



PROTECTING
the Jewish community





This graphic shows an Israeli-sleeved hand putting money into the Houses of Parliament, which are, in turn, held in the palm of a Jewish-sleeved hand. It is a striking example of the fusion of anti-Israel hatred and anti-Zionism with old antisemitic themes of Jewish money and control.

The graphic was posted by The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza, on its Facebook page, having been shared from the Palestine Telegraph website: where it illustrated an article entitled, "Will 'Nipper' Cameron obey Tel Aviv's trumpet or vote for Palestinian freedom?"

(The graphic originally appeared in 2009, in response to a Channel 4 Dispatches documentary, entitled, "Inside Britain's Israel Lobby".)

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Executive summary

- Explicit antisemitism against Jews is rare in British public life and within mainstream political and media discourse. Nevertheless, antisemitic themes alleging Jewish conspiracy, power and hostility to others can resonate within mainstream discourse about Israel and (especially) about so-called 'Zionists'.
- When explicit antisemitism does occur, it tends to do so within circles that are also racist or hateful towards other groups.
- The internet and social media are providing new opportunities for the spread of antisemitic discourse. This includes mainstream companies, such as Amazon, selling blatant antisemitic propaganda, such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last*.
- Fears that economic troubles in 2011 would spark antisemitism in Britain proved largely unfounded.
- 2011 was notable for the public reaction to antisemitic remarks made by fashion designer John Galliano. The case was not especially remarkable, but provided a focus for numerous articles in mainstream media that analysed and spoke strongly against contemporary antisemitism.
- The trend to blame so-called 'Zionism' for anti-Muslim hatred intensified in 2011. This included allegations that Norwegian mass-murderer Anders Breivik was inspired by 'Zionism'.
- The controversy surrounding the Home Secretary's (ultimately unsuccessful) attempt to deport Sheikh Raed Salah epitomised debates around antisemitism and overseas Islamist figures. This case also included false accusations that the UK Government had acted at Israel's behest and was somehow under the control of Israel's supporters in the UK. This falsehood encourages and reinforces antisemitic attitudes.
- The *Guardian* reinforced its reputation as being the most subjective and contentious mainstream newspaper on issues of antisemitism in the context of Israel and Zionism. This, despite the paper also warning against antisemitism.
- The publication and promotion of Gilad Atzmon's book *The Wandering Who?* introduced a relatively new form of antisemitism into 'anti-Zionist' discourse.
- Britain's refusal to attend a United Nations anti-racism conference, due to prior instances of antisemitism there, was an especially important public statement.
- In Scotland, the conviction of Paul Donnachie on criminal and racist charges showed that anti-Israel behaviour can be prosecuted under legislation relating to race, colour, nationality or ethnicity.
- Fears and concerns about antisemitism, as expressed by mainstream Jewish communities and bodies, are routinely ignored, or even maliciously misrepresented, within supposedly 'progressive' circles, including some media, trade unions and churches. Few, if any, other minority representative groups are treated with such reflexive suspicion and ill-will.

Introduction

This CST *Antisemitic Discourse in Britain* report analyses written and verbal communication, discussion and rhetoric about antisemitism and related issues in Britain during 2011. It is published annually by CST¹.

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

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

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

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

Racist or political violence is sometimes influenced by wider discourse, as perpetrators may be emboldened by perceiving that others, such as opinion leaders, media or sections of society, support their actions.

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

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

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

1. Previous reports are at the publications page of the CST website: www.thecst.org.uk/index.cfm?content=7

2. Paul Iganski and Abe Sweiry. "Understanding and Addressing the 'Nazi card' – Intervening Against Antisemitic Discourse." European Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism, London: <http://www.eisca.eu/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/nazicard.pdf>

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

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

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

Antisemitic discourse and antisemitism

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

Antisemitic discourse may fuel antisemitic race hate attacks against Jews and Jewish institutions, and may leave Jews feeling isolated, vulnerable and hurt.

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

Antisemitic impacts of legitimate debate and media coverage

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

Statistics show that hate crimes against perceived members of a particular group can be triggered (or exacerbated) by media and public responses to events related to that particular group. This dynamic is repeated in antisemitic incident levels⁶, which typically rise in relation to some public events and stories involving Jews, Jewish institutions or Jewish-related subjects such as Israel.

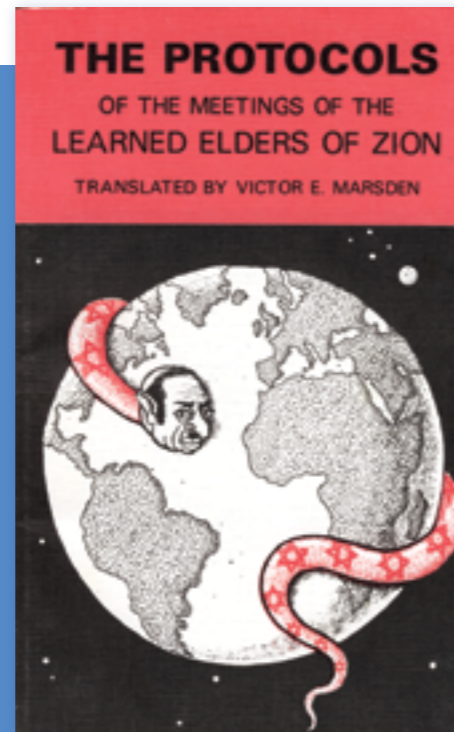
Media coverage of, or political comment on, Jewish-related events may be entirely legitimate, fair and in the public interest. Nevertheless, those debates can inadvertently give rise to antisemitism, or cause concern to Jews. These problems will particularly arise if the debates involve gratuitously inflammatory language; the use of traditional antisemitic imagery; or appear to single out one particular object or individual for scrutiny due to their being Jewish.

OSCE: confronting antisemitic discourse

In July 2011, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the world's largest regional security organisation, held a conference in Prague, entitled, "Confronting Antisemitism in Public Discourse". This explained:

"Expressions of anti-Semitism in public discourse remain a serious issue of concern as they exacerbate hostile attitudes towards Jews. They

*have the potential to fuel anti-Semitic incidents, leading to greater insecurity in the Jewish communities and in societies across the OSCE region. The purpose of the meeting is to consider the role that media and public discourse may play in promoting tolerance and preventing hate crimes, and to raise awareness of the existence of anti-Semitic expressions in public discourse, to increase the understanding of this phenomenon and of its impact on security, and identify practical measures to counter it."*⁷



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

Championed by both far right and Islamist extremists, it includes chapters on Jewish control of war, politicians, finance and media. The *Protocols* contains old antisemitic themes that still resonate, impact and evolve in modern politics, media and discourse, as shown by Iran's use of the *Protocols* on page 34 of this report.

UK Jewish life: putting antisemitism into context

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

Overview

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

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

Despite their achievements, many Jews regard themselves, and future generations, as potentially vulnerable to antisemitic attitudes and impacts. This is partly based upon knowledge of antisemitic race hate statistics, but it also derives from the perception that Israel is unfairly, and increasingly, singled out for scrutiny, hostility and outright hatred – and the fear that this may be, at root, connected to the long and deep history of antisemitism.

The 2005–06 *Report of the All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* noted "that there is much truth" in the apparent contradiction between the extremely positive situation of British Jewry, and feelings of vulnerability and isolation⁸.

History

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

Following the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, a covert Jewish community became established in London. The present British Jewish community, however, has existed since 1656, when Oliver Cromwell formally invited Jews to return to this country.



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

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 in those areas where the new arrivals had settled.

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, predominantly in urban areas. Other major Jewish centres are in Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham 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. Considerable numbers of Jews of other national origins have arrived in recent years and decades, from countries including South Africa, Israel and France.

8. *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*. Published September 2006, London: The Stationery Office. Also, website of the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism: www.thepcaa.org

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

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

What is antisemitism? Background and concepts

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

'Antisemitism' came into use in the late 19th century to describe pseudoscientific racial discrimination against Jews, but is now used more generally to describe all forms of discrimination, prejudice or hostility towards Jews throughout history. It has been called "*the Longest Hatred*"⁹.

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

Antisemitism: background

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

The near destruction of European Jewry in the Nazi Holocaust rendered open antisemitism taboo in public life, but it has led many to wrongly categorise antisemitism as an exclusively far right phenomenon that is essentially a historical phenomenon.

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

A dominant antisemitic theme is the allegation that Jews are powerful and cunning manipulators, set against the rest of society for their evil and timeless purpose. The notion of Jewish power – codified within the notorious forgery¹⁰, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* – distinguishes antisemitism from other types of racism, which often depict their targets as ignorant and primitive.

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

Types of antisemitism

Antisemitism is a global phenomenon, occurring even where there are no Jews. Its manifestation and expression may range from violent thuggery and attempted genocide, to literary, philosophical and political discourse. Antisemitism has been described as an ideology in its own right; but Anthony Julius has argued that it is undeserving of such status and should rather be regarded as a polluter of ideologies.

Antisemitism, or Judeophobia, predates Christianity and is referred to as "*the Longest Hatred*". Its persistence in some form or other is not doubted, yet precise definitions of antisemitism, its scale and the nature of its contemporary appearance can cause heated debate.

Differing definitions of antisemitism

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

"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 Jews¹¹."

Anthony Julius has argued that anti-Jewish hostility today mixes "several kinds of anti-Semitism"; and he identifies four kinds of antisemitism that wholly or substantially "have an English provenance¹²":

- "A radical anti-Semitism of defamation, expropriation, murder, and expulsion – that is, the anti-Semitism of medieval England, which completed itself in 1290, when there were no Jews left to torment."
- "A literary anti-Semitism – that is, an anti-Semitic account of Jews continuously present in the discourse of English literature...through to present times."
- "A modern, quotidian anti-Semitism of insult and partial exclusion, pervasive but contained... everyday anti-Semitism experienced by Jews... through to the late twentieth century."
- "A new configuration of anti-Zionisms, emerging in the late 1960s and the 1970s, which treats Zionism and the State of Israel as illegitimate Jewish enterprises. This perspective, heavily indebted to anti-Semitic tropes, now constitutes the greatest threat to Anglo-Jewish security and morale...By 'tropes' I mean those taken-for-granted utterances, those figures and metaphors through which more general positions are intimated, without ever being argued for."

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

"The Jew belongs to a sinister people set apart from all others, not merely by its customs but by a collective character: arrogant yet obsequious; legalistic yet corrupt; flamboyant yet secretive. Always looking to turn a profit, Jews are as ruthless as they are tricky. Loyal only to their own, wherever they go they form a state within a state, preying upon the societies in whose midst they dwell. Their hidden hand controls the banks, the markets and the media. And when revolutions occur or nations go to war, it is the Jews – cohesive, powerful, clever and stubborn – who invariably pull the strings and reap the rewards¹³."

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

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

10. Norman Cohn. *Warrant for Genocide*. First published 1967. Reprinted: Serif Books, London, 1996.

11. 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>

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

Antisemitism: legal definitions

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

Race Relations Act

The 2005–06 *All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* summarised antisemitism by reference to the Race Relations Act 1976 as follows¹⁴:

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

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

Government definitions of racism

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

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

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

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

The Government command response to the Parliamentary inquiry concurred, stating¹⁵:

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

‘perception’ of the victim and others.”

Cross-Government Hate Crime Action Plan

In law, the Lawrence inquiry recommendations were built upon by new anti-hate crime legislation, issued in 2009. This is explained in the below graphic:



The Government’s official PowerPoint explanation of its Hate Crime Action Plan¹⁶.

European Union Monitoring Centre/ Fundamental Rights Agency

The Monitoring Centre, now renamed the Fundamental Rights Agency, is the European Commission’s anti-racism watchdog group. In 2002–03, it conducted a study of antisemitism in Europe that included a recommendation to “define antisemitic acts”¹⁷, as a necessary prerequisite for European Police forces to collect data about antisemitic race hate crimes.

Following this, the centre, assisted by Jewish groups, developed a short “working definition”¹⁸ of antisemitism which “could, taking into account the overall context”, indicate antisemitism in cases of crime and bias.

The “working definition” is primarily intended for use by law enforcement when deciding whether crimes are antisemitic or not. It standardises the classification and measurement of antisemitism, and is an important and innovative aid for the protection of Jews in some European countries.

British Jews: relationship with Zionism and Israel

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

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

Overwhelmingly, British Jews do not come from Israel and their families have been British for at least two or more generations. Nevertheless, Israel plays an important or central role in the self-identity of British Jews¹⁹, in the practical sense of physical, emotional and family links that many Jews enjoy with Israel and Israeli citizens, as well as the psychological sense of perceiving Israel as representing Jewish self-definition, refuge and rebirth in the post-Holocaust age.

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

19. An extensive survey on the attitudes of British Jews to Israel and Zionism was conducted in 2010 by Jewish Policy Research institute. 95% of UK Jews have visited Israel; 90% see it as the “ancestral homeland” of the Jewish people; 72% self-categorise as “Zionists”. <http://www.jpr.org.uk/downloads/JPR%20Israel%20survey%20report%2015.pdf>

Antisemitism and anti-Zionism

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

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

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

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

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

14. Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism. Published September 2006, London: The Stationery Office. Also, website of the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism: www.thepcaa.org <http://www.thepcaa.org/Report.pdf>

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

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

17. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2010/manifestations-antisemitism-eu-2002-2003>

18. <http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/as-workingdefinition-draft.pdf>

Anti-Zionism

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

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

Not all anti-Zionists are antisemites and anti-Zionism is not necessarily antisemitic. Nevertheless, the corruption of mainstream Jewish understanding of the word 'Zionism' invites antisemitic impacts and attitudes, as does the repeated and widespread singling out of Jewish self-determination for criticism, debasement, suspicion and hatred.

Jews and anti-Zionism

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

After the Holocaust and the creation of Israel, and following repeated antisemitic purges by the Soviet Union and its allies under the guise of 'anti-Zionism', Jewish opposition to Zionism declined markedly. Today, other than within strictly Orthodox or small Marxist groups, many of Israel's fiercest Jewish critics would not describe themselves as anti-Zionist.

Extremists, anti-Zionism and antisemitism

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

Employing the word 'Zionist' where once the word 'Jew' would have appeared in open antisemitic discourse may, or may not, be deliberate on the

part of the user; but it essentially fulfils the same psychological and political purpose as open antisemitism once did.

This antisemitic "anti-Zionism", which has at its heart a construction of 'Zionism' as a political, financial, military and media conspiracy that is centred in Washington and Jerusalem, and which opposes authentic local interests, is commonly found in extremist discourse, and sometimes alluded to in more diluted forms in mainstream discourse. Unlike Jewish pre-war anti-Zionism, these anti-Zionists are not motivated by a concern for Jewish political and civic rights.

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

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

"...discourse has developed that is in effect antisemitic because it views Zionism itself as a global force of unlimited power and malevolence throughout history. This definition of Zionism bears no relation to the understanding that most Jews have of the concept; that is, a movement of Jewish national liberation, born in the late nineteenth century with a geographical focus limited to Israel. Having re-defined Zionism in this way, traditional antisemitic notions of Jewish conspiratorial power, manipulation and subversion are then transferred from Jews (a racial and religious group) on to Zionism (a political movement). This is at the core of the 'New Antisemitism' on which so much has been written²⁰."

Continuities between antisemitism and anti-Zionism

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

These include the following:

- The allegation that Jewish holy books preach Jewish supremacy and that this is the basis for alleged Zionist racism.
- The image of the shadowy, powerful 'Zionist'. This repeats antisemitic charges that Jews are loyal only to each other, and that leading Jews conspire to control media, economy and Government for their evil ends.
- Dehumanising and demonising antisemitic language comparing Jews to rats, cancer, plague and bacteria is now repeated in some depictions of Zionists and Israel. This reduces its target to a pest or disease, encouraging the notion that 'cleansing' or 'extermination' must occur.
- Scapegoating Jews as 'the Other'; blaming them for local and global problems; and demanding their destruction or conversion as a vital step in the building a new, better world is echoed in the notion that Zionism is uniquely illegitimate, and that its destruction is paradigmatic of theological and political struggles for the future of the world.
- The image of Jews as alien corruptors of traditional, authentic society and established morality endures in today's portrayals of Zionists as somehow hijacking other peoples' true will and nature. In the UK, this may be seen in some mainstream depictions of American Zionists.
- Historically, Jewish-born adherents of other modes of identity, such as Christianity, nationalism or communism, had to show that they had cast off their 'Jewishness'. Today, there are those (mainly on the anti-Israel left) who uniquely demand that Jews declare their attitude to Israel, before they will be decently treated.

Anti-Jewish and antisemitic impacts of anti-Zionism

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

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

- Depicting the Jewish state as a uniquely racist or imperialist enterprise. This serves to threaten, isolate and demonise all those who believe that Jews have a right to statehood. Indeed, anyone showing support for Israel or Zionism risks being defined and castigated for this behaviour, rather than gauged by any of their other actions and beliefs.
- Potentially increasing the number of actual antisemitic race hate attacks against British Jews and British Jewish organisations. There is a close statistical correlation between antisemitic attack levels and events involving Israel. Jews are intrinsically associated with Israel and Zionism, so agitation against Israel and Zionism may increase antagonism towards Jews, Jewish organisations and Jewish concerns.
- At its most extreme, potentially increasing incitement to terrorism against Jews, which risks Jewish safety and morale, and requires a security response that imposes further psychological and financial burdens upon Jews.
- Providing concealment, encouragement and self-legitimation for antisemites.

20. Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism. Published September 2006, London: The Stationery Office. Also, website of the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism: www.thepcaa.org <http://www.thepcaa.org/Report.pdf>

- The fostering of a reflexive hatred, fear, suspicion or bias against Jews per se, which leads to Jews and Jewish organisations being prejudicially treated due to the supposed nature of their support for Israel or Zionism.
- Extreme hostility to mainstream Jewish representative bodies that actively support Israel, or that are presumed to do so.
- The use of 'Zionist' as a pejorative description of any organised Jewish (or Jewish related) activity, such as the 'Zionist Jewish Chronicle', or the 'Zionist CST'. These bodies are then maltreated for being allegedly Zionist, rather than properly engaged with.
- Contemporary antisemitism is judged by its supposed utility to Zionism, and antisemitism from anything other than overt far right sources is often ignored, downplayed or denied.
- Holocaust commemoration may be judged by its supposed utility to Zionism and is reacted to on that basis. This includes denigrating Holocaust memorial dates and events by using them as opportunities for pro-Palestinian activism.
- Employing anti-Israel rhetoric or actions specifically because they have unique resonance for Jews; for example, comparing Israel to Nazi Germany, or advocating an academic boycott of Israel on the basis that education is a particularly Jewish trait.
- Enacting anti-Israel activities, especially boycotts, that inevitably impact against local Jews far more than on any other sector of society.

'Celebrity antisemitism': media reactions, analyses and condemnations

In 2011, the involvement of celebrities in antisemitism-related controversies led to what was, perhaps, the most concentrated degree of UK media comment on antisemitism in recent years.

The most notable controversy was around fashion designer John Galliano, convicted in a French court of having shouted antisemitic abuse in a Paris bar²¹. Other cases involved the actor Charlie Sheen²² and WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange²³ (for more detail see page 29 of this report).

Overall, these celebrity cases posed little direct threat to Jews. They were less important than anti-Jewish race hate attack levels; the threat of anti-Jewish terrorism; and the negative impacts upon Jews that arise from anti-Israel campaigning and media hostility. Nevertheless, the celebrity cases provide a trigger and framework for public discussion of antisemitism in a manner that is quite distinct from other causes of debate.

Some articles deriving from the celebrity controversies are summarised below. They are included as articles of interest and represent the authors' opinions, rather than those of CST.

"How anti-semitism entered the zeitgeist"

In the *Daily Telegraph*, David Baddiel's article, "How anti-semitism entered the zeitgeist"²⁴, was subtitled, "As Charlie Sheen, John Galliano and Julian Assange demonstrate, anti-Semitism is becoming fashionable".

Baddiel stated, "You can't get more culturally now than John Galliano, Charlie Sheen and Julian Assange" before writing:

"...In commissioning this piece, the brief was could I come up with the reason why many people still harbour negative ideas about this fairly tiny racial group, but of course there isn't one single reason..."

"The truth is complex. One way into it is to ask: how is anti-Semitism different from other types of racial hatred? The answer, I think, can be found in the language...Mel [Gibson] said, in his rant of 2008: 'Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world.'

"This is key: Jews are the only race whose negative image as projected by racists is high-status. It's the same with Julian Assange's (alleged) notion that a cabal of powerful Jewish journalists are behind the smearing of WikiLeaks; it's even somewhere in Charlie Sheen's renaming of the producer of his former sitcom Chuck Lorre as 'Chaim Levine', carrying with it as it does two suggestions: one, that Jews are the controlling forces behind the US media, and two, that they have disguised this fact about themselves and need to be outed.

"...it is only Jews who get this extra, subtle spin, that they are secretly in charge, secretly pulling the strings..."

"This is also what gives anti-Semitism a somewhat ambiguous status with the Left...a sense [for many] that Jews don't quite fit into that key Venn Diagram marked Oppressed/Worth Fighting For. Yes, there was the Holocaust, yes there was 2,000 years of persecution and pogroms and massacres, but a) quite a lot of them have got a fair wodge of cash, and b) Israel.

"Because Israel has become, in recent years, an icon for the Left of everything that is bad – American imperialism, oil wars, suppression of human rights – and since Jews, even Jews who do not support the state or its policies, are (at least in the minds of, say, Hamas) associated with it, knocking Jews may just be a blow for the oppressed, rather than to them.

"As a result, people talking the anti-Jew talk can do it not as racists, but, paradoxically, as if they are somehow sticking up for other races..."

Baddiel explained that he had "made a short film recently, for Kick Racism Out of Football, called *The Y-Word*, which is about the chanting of the word *Yid* or *Yiddo* at games." He contrasted football clubs' lack of action with the following:

21. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14833259>

22. <http://www.thejc.com/news/world-news/45877/charlie-sheens-chaim-levine-rant-borderline-antisemitic>

23. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1362107/Julian-Assange-anti-Semitic-row-accusing-journalists-Jewish-conspiracy-WikiLeaks.html>

24. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/8363371/How-anti-semitism-entered-the-zeitgeist.html>

“...imagine for a second if the word we were talking about was the N-word. If a club with mainly white fans decided to chant, en-masse - y’know, affectionately, in context - the word n*****r: and then had the word thrown back at them, with menaces, by opposing, mainly white, fans. All the clubs involved would be shut down tomorrow.”

Baddiel then reasoned:

“There are various reasons for this, but the basic one is: anti-Semitism isn’t quite considered proper racism.”

“Antisemitism: the hatred that refuses to go away”

In the *Guardian*, Jonathan Freedland’s article, “Antisemitism: the hatred that refuses to go away”²⁵, was subtitled, “John Galliano’s antisemitic diatribes and a glut of recent claims that there is a Jewish conspiracy will be dismissed as eccentric. But they are symptoms of a deeper malaise”.

Freedland wrote:

“...[Galliano’s] outburst stands out from the rest of the current crop of antisemitic remarks partly because it consists solely of abuse, even if of the most hateful kind. The others have in common that hallmark of anti-Jewish rhetoric: the conspiracy theory, the suggestion that Jews secretly plot and scheme with each other to shape the world to their own ends.”

Freedland then summarised a number of controversies, including Julian Assange (see page 29); Iranian claims that the London Olympic logo revealed a Zionist plot; and US commentator Glenn Beck’s depiction of George Soros as “The Puppet Master”. Freedland noted:

“All this might prompt the conclusion that antisemitism is making a sudden and unwelcome return. The trouble is, it never really went away. What’s more, it is not confined to the celebrity wackos and eccentrics who have let the mask slip in recent days. It is more widespread than that – contrary to those who like to pretend antisemitism is a historical phenomenon, one that faded away with the Third Reich.

“...Everyone can condemn a Sheen or Galliano or, earlier, Mel Gibson – who, in 2006, was arrested bellowing, ‘Fucking Jews...the Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world’ – for crude, overt bigotry. What exercises Jews rather more are the less clear-cut cases, those subtler expressions of anti-Jewish feeling, for which they suspect they get rather less understanding, especially from the liberal or progressive quarters where once they would have expected to find allies.

“Much of this centres on Israel. Some new clichés have arisen that act as barriers to sympathy for Jews. One is the claim that Jews brand any and all criticism of Israel as antisemitic; another is the claim that Jews ‘cry antisemitism’ in order to silence opposition to Israel. These clichés – which are belied by the sheer volume of criticism of Israel by Israelis and Jews themselves, let alone by everyone else – have now become so durable that it is now difficult for Jews to get a hearing on antisemitism connected with the Middle East debate. And yet it is this that raises more unease than the alcohol-fuelled ravings of a washed-up Hollywood star or clothes designer.

“What most Jews object to is not, in fact, criticism of Israel itself, but when that criticism comes wrapped in the language or imagery of Jew-hatred...”

“...Similarly, Jews are unnerved when they read learned essays by foreign policy experts alleging the domination of US affairs by the ‘Zionist lobby’ – seeing in such arguments a veiled, upmarket form of the perennial conspiracy theory. They feel similarly alarmed by claims that the hidden hand behind all world events is really Israel...”

“What makes all this terrain so tricky is not only that every inch of it is vigorously contested but that many of those who resort to anti-Jewish tropes when tackling Israel do so apparently inadvertently, even at the very same time as they fiercely denounce antisemitism. Because they don’t lapse into Galliano-esque abuse, they believe they must be free of all prejudice. To many, it comes as a shock to discover the provenance of the imagery they have just deployed...”

“What accounts, then, for the stubborn resilience of what has been called ‘the longest hatred’? Why does it continue to appear even among those educated, liberal elites who pride themselves on their opposition to racism.

“...We may want to see the likes of Galliano as relics from another era or as mere eccentrics, but they are expressing a set of attitudes that remain deep in the soil and which have never been fully shaken off. They can appear in the most respected institutions, voiced by the most respectable people. Even when they seem to be dozing, they are never quite dead.”

“Celebrities and anti-Semitism: has our liberal creative elite rediscovered an ancient prejudice?”

On the *Daily Telegraph* website, Julian Kossoff summarised antisemitism controversies around Galliano, Sheen and Oliver Stone (who had apologised in 2010 after making remarks about the Jewish lobby), before stating²⁶:

“But if there is rising ambivalence towards Jews among the liberal, creative elite, then the British director Ken Loach represents its true face.

“The dour Leftie, who can’t blame drink, drugs or rank stupidity, has endlessly used a desiccated anti-imperialist rhetoric to incite the boycott of Israel at every turn, and in doing so flirts with the very bigotry he claims to ideologically oppose.

“This was highlighted by his notorious response to a report on the growth of anti-Semitism in the aftermath of the Gaza War, in which he said: ‘If there has been a rise I am not surprised. In fact, it is perfectly understandable because Israel feeds feelings of anti-Semitism.’ So whether perpetrator or victim, in Ken’s world, the Jews are to blame.”

Kossoff concluded:

“For Booker prize winner Howard Jacobson, anti-Semitism is a historical bacillus too toxic to have become extinct in a generation or two. Post Holocaust, it has hidden in the cracks of time waiting for the right conditions to re-infect the

minds of men. The bitter, at times cruel, Israel-Palestine conflict now provides the environment for renewed contagion. To borrow a phrase, it may not be long before anti-Semitism once again ‘passes the dinner-table test’.”

“Galliano’s not the worst”

In *The Spectator* magazine, Tanya Gold’s article, “Galliano’s not the worst”²⁷, was subtitled, “A mutated, modern anti-Semitism is all around us, especially among the liberals who ask why we keep going on about it”.

Gold ridiculed Galliano as a drunken “pirate”, recalled the imprisonment of David Irving for Holocaust denial and continued:

“But this is how Europe battles anti-Semitism in 2011. It may seek to delegitimise Israel, deny her defensible borders, smirk with piety as the Israeli flag is torn from its embassy in Egypt – those Jews must learn!...The only memorial the Holocaust needs is a Jewish state.”

Gold’s article ended:

“...We are not anti-Semites; we just want justice for the Palestinians...So – we would not hate the Jews were they not wicked. That is the clarion call of the anti-Semite through the ages. They did get the pirate though.”

“Anti-Semitism is the new black”

In the *New Statesman* magazine, Rob Marchant’s article, “Anti-Semitism is the new black”²⁸, was subtitled, “The union movement is giving succour to the oldest form of racism”.

Marchant’s article began, “Oh, how fashionable it is all becoming”, before then summarising examples of antisemitism within the pro-Palestinian movement. Marchant criticised the mainstream political left for allegedly acquiescing in this:

“But there’s a new twist on the ideological catwalk. We can visualise far-right thugs indulging in this kind of thing but somehow we don’t expect it from our comrades on the supposedly liberal-left...”

25. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/world/2011/mar/03/antisemitism-hatred-wont-go-away>

26. <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/juliankossoff/100077971/celebrities-and-anti-semitism-has-our-liberal-creative-elite-rediscovered-an-ancient-prejudice/>

27. <http://www.exacteditions.com/read/the-spectator/17-september-2011-9423/27/2/>

28. <http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-staggers/2011/10/psc-anti-union-israel-racism>

“And which mainstream group is unthinkingly giving succour to this new vogue? Step forward, Britain’s trade unions, once the reliable ballast of the Labour right, who are increasingly being influenced, in their wilder conference pronouncements at least, by the far left...

“Yet the worst culprit of all, in the propagation of this twisted fashion, is us. You and me. We of the Labour party and the labour movement, because we are content to sit back and let it happen.”

He concluded:

“Tolerance of the viewpoints of a broad church is fine. But this fashionable tolerance of racism, in imagined support of a cause, is unacceptable and must not go unchallenged.”

Islamist antisemitism: Sheikh Raed Salah controversy

Reactions to antisemitism (and to Jewish concerns about it) can often depend upon the perpetrator’s ideology and ethnicity. In basic terms, Jews are routinely supported in the face of far right antisemitism, but can receive less support when facing antisemitism from far left and Islamist sources.

The reporting and analysis of Jewish concerns about antisemitism from Islamist sources is an important matter for both Jews and Muslims. If Jewish concerns (or Muslim reactions) are misreported, this can heighten tensions between the communities and strengthen the hand of those extremists who would seek to exploit such division.

Controversies concerning alleged antisemitism from Islamist sources were typified by the 2011–12 visit to Britain of Sheikh Raed Salah, a leader of the Islamic Movement in Israel. In particular, the *Guardian* newspaper was highly partial in its reporting of the case.

Some coverage of the case (including, in part, by the *Guardian*²⁹) asserted or assumed that the Salah controversy had been engineered by the Israeli Government and carried out, at its behest, by its ‘local’ supporters and forced, somehow, upon the Home Secretary. These allegations about Israeli Government involvement were both unreferenced and untrue.

Summary: banning, entry, deportation order, custody, release, appeals

The Home Office had banned Sheikh Salah from Britain, but the ban was not implemented upon his arrival in June 2011^{30 31}. A deportation order was then issued and Salah was held in custody³². After a successful bail appeal³³, Salah received compensation for two of the days he had been detained³⁴.

In October 2011, Salah lost his first anti-deportation appeal³⁵ and remained in Britain to appeal again³⁶.

In April 2012, Salah won his second appeal and promptly returned to Israel³⁷.

Summary: the *Guardian*

The case exemplified the manner in which UK Islamists and pro-Palestinian activists defend their political allies from accusations of antisemitism. It is normal for such groups to act in this way and for them to misrepresent British Jewish concerns; but

the *Guardian*’s actions brought this phenomenon into the mainstream. Worse, the *Guardian* failed to explicitly report that the legal judgment³⁸ confirmed the claim of CST and others, that Salah had once repeated the antisemitic “*blood libel*” allegation that Jews consume the blood of Christian children.

“Not conducive to the public good”

Home Office banning and deportation orders are based upon an individual’s presence being “*not conducive to the public good*”. The decision is not a judgement as to whether or not an individual is a racist per se.

The Home Office had asked CST’s opinion of Salah’s entry to the UK and requested information concerning him. CST advised that his visit was not conducive to the public good and provided evidence to this end³⁹. CST did not provide all of the information relied upon by the Home Secretary and the *Guardian* failed to fully explain what information had actually been provided by CST.

Sheikh Salah: UK visit

Salah is leader of the Northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel. He is one of Israel’s leading Islamist activists. His British visit was to UK Islamist circles, in particular MEMO (Middle East Monitor)⁴⁰. He was also due to meet with senior *Guardian* staff, and to address the secular left-wing PSC group (Palestine Solidarity Campaign) in Parliament (facilitated by Jeremy Corbyn MP) and elsewhere. Both MEMO and PSC strongly rejected the accusations against Salah; and these rejections were echoed by the *Guardian* newspaper.

29. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/jun/29/israeli-trap-britain-raed-salah?INTCMP=SRCH>

30. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14048648>

31. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13957476>

32. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13969105>

33. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14311401>

34. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-15131564>

35. <http://www.judiciary.gov.uk/Resources/JCO/Documents/Judgments/raed-mahajna-v-sshd-judgment.pdf>

36. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/57161/salah-loses-deportation-case>

37. <http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/04/16/208254.html>

38. <http://hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Salah-ruling.pdf> (sections 57, 58, 59)

39. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=3072>

40. <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/downloads/publication/the-sheikh-raed-salah-affair.pdf>

41. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=3338>

42. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=3218>

43. <http://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/press-release/2482-press-release-sheikh-raed-salah-issues-statement-refuting-all-allegations-made-against-him>

44. <http://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/3272-israeli-court-acquits-sheikh-raed-in-the-hilwani-rooftop-case>

45. <http://hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Salah-ruling.pdf> (sections 57, 58, 59)

46. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/apr/19/britain-duty-to-palestinian-people?commentpage=6#comment-15720063>

47. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/apr/19/britain-duty-to-palestinian-people?commentpage=6#comment-15720076>

Blood libel allegation

CST argued that Salah's presence was unwelcome, primarily because of a speech he had made in Jerusalem in 2007 that had alluded to the "blood libel", the notorious medieval charge that Jews kill Christian children in order to use their blood for religious practices.

As the controversy developed^{41 42}, Salah and his supporters claimed that Israeli officials had brought no charges against the speech, then said charges had been brought but dropped due to lack of evidence⁴³, before admitting that the case remained outstanding in Israel⁴⁴, but Salah and his



supporters now claimed he had been discussing the Spanish Inquisition, not the behaviour of Jews.

The final hearing (which Salah won) agreed with CST's interpretation of the speech⁴⁵. The closest the *Guardian* came to acknowledging this, was deep within an electronic comment chain where Comment is Free's editor, Becky Gardiner, stated that she had "cut" a paragraph by Salah that included his saying, "I don't believe in the 'blood libel' against Jews and I reject it in its entirety"^{46 47}.



These images, of medieval, Nazi, Syrian and Hizbollah origin, each depict the notorious antisemitic blood libel charge.

In February 2012, Justice Ockelton ruled in Salah's favour against deportation, despite Section 59 of his own ruling finding that Sheikh Salah ("the appellant") had indeed referred to the blood libel and that the Home Secretary ("the respondent") had been right to consider this.

This finding has never been acknowledged by Salah's pro-Islamist and pro-Palestinian hosts, nor explicitly in any *Guardian* articles (despite its extensive coverage of the case).

Justice Ockelton's statement included⁴⁸:

Section 50. "The blood libel is something that cannot but be deeply offensive to Jews and, given its close association with the history of persecution of the Jews across Europe over centuries, we accept that iterations of it have the potential to foster hatred which might lead to inter-community violence in the UK."

Section 54. "We consider, however, that, as in the poem, the intemperate language in the sermon is addressed towards the Israeli state rather than Jews as such."

Section 57. "In our judgment this [Salah's counter-argument] is all wholly unpersuasive. The appellant is clearly aware of the blood libel against Jews... The truth of the matter is that the conjunction of the concepts of 'children's blood' and 'holy bread' is bound to be seen as a reference to the blood libel unless it is immediately and comprehensively explained to be something else altogether."

Section 59. "We have taken into account that the same sermon contained more moderate language and concepts and positive references to Jewish prophets and synagogues. Nevertheless we do not find this comment could be taken to be anything other than a reference to the blood libel against Jews..."

Antisemitic poem allegation

The evidence against Salah included a poem that he had written. CST contended that it risked inciting hatred of Jews⁴⁹ and argued that its Koranic context and references made Jews the subject of its

rhetoric. Salah denied having written the poem⁵⁰, before subsequently claiming that oppressors and Israel were its subject, not Jews.

The final hearing disagreed with CST's interpretation of the poem. This was reported by the *Guardian*⁵¹.

Islamist reactions

A statement by Salah's own Islamic Movement in Israel showed the readiness of such groups to couple "the Jewish lobby" with Zionism, even whilst denying being antisemitic. It also alluded to that lobby controlling British media and politics⁵²:

"Since Salah received the invitation to come to Britain, the Jewish lobby went crazy and did everything in its power to prevent the visit, so that the Zionist narrative remains the only narrative."

Salah's UK hosts, MEMO, also rejected the accusations against Salah. In an article entitled, "More extremist than their Israeli paymasters", MEMO branded UK complainants as being liars in the pay of Israel. The article included the following⁵³:

- "hysterical hue and cry by Israel's lackeys in Britain"
- "Israel lobbyists have shown themselves to be even more extreme than their paymasters in Tel Aviv"
- "Israel's British hirelings mounted a scurrilous smear campaign"
- "A number of fantasies were concocted"

These accusations were scaled back somewhat in an article by MEMO's press officer, Dr Henan Chehata, in "defence" of Salah for the *New Statesman* magazine⁵⁴. This began:

"Sheikh Raed Salah has been the target of a vicious and concerted smear campaign by the pro-Israel lobby in the UK and unfortunately our government has now weighed in to give legitimacy to the systematic persecution of Palestinians on British soil as well."

48. <http://hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Salah-ruling.pdf>

49. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=3122>

50. <http://electronicintifada.net/content/uk-court-releases-raed-salah-government-case-flounders/10186>

51. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/apr/09/activist-deportation-overturned?intcmp=239>

52. <http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=227078>

53. <http://www.middleeastmonitor.com/resources/commentary-and-analysis/2481-more-extremist-than-their-israeli-paymasters>

54. <http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-staggers/2011/07/palestinian-israel-british>

The Guardian: pro-Salah bias

Throughout the controversy, the *Guardian* newspaper and its website reported the views of Salah's UK Islamist hosts and defenders, but failed to adequately ask for, report, or consider, the concerns of CST and the UK Jewish community. It ran no articles countering Salah's position. Following CST's intervention, the paper amended an article that had risked misrepresenting CST's actions⁵⁵.

One of Salah's hosts, the Islamist group MEMO, claimed that Salah's detention occurred shortly before he had been due to brief a number of senior staff at the *Guardian*⁵⁶. Despite running at least 14 articles relating to the case, the newspaper made no mention of this. Some of these articles are summarised below:

On 29 June 2011, the *Guardian* ran an article by Haneen Zoabi, entitled, "An Israeli trap for Britain". This framed the Salah controversy as being an Israeli ploy, carried out by its "supporters abroad". It essentially reduced the allegations against Salah to the status of lies, concocted by Israel and its British supporters to defend racism and then forced upon the Home Secretary. Excerpts included⁵⁷:

"...Unable to produce any legal evidence, the Israeli establishment and its supporters in Britain accuse him of antisemitism. Salah has rebutted the fabricated allegations..."

"It appears that the charge of antisemitism is being used as a way of suppressing criticism of Israeli policies..."

"The British authorities cannot give one legal reason for Salah's arrest. His statements against Israeli policies are no stronger than those made by many Israeli leftwingers and humanitarians. But it seems that the British government has bowed to pro-Israel pressure even when it comes to its home affairs."

Next, Zoabi alluded to Zionists being responsible for Islamophobia, repeated her dismissal of the allegations against Salah and ended by implying

that "Zionist racism" and "the pro-Israeli lobby" were controlling UK policy:

"Pro-Israel organisations in Britain and elsewhere are manipulating growing European Islamophobia to discredit us by falsely portraying the democratic Palestinian struggle against racism and discrimination in Israel as antisemitic."

"...The British authorities have fallen into an Israeli trap...until now, Palestinian citizens of Israel have been struggling for our political rights in our country, and confronting Zionist racism inside Israel. But now it seems we have to confront Zionist racism abroad as well."

"The pro-Israeli lobby must not be allowed to determine politics in Britain..."

On 1 July 2011, the *Guardian* ran an editorial in support of Salah⁵⁸. Its title, "Muslim Brotherhood activists: unwelcome guests?" signalled the newspaper's failure to properly address the antisemitism allegations against Salah, or what this meant for British Jews, Muslim-Jewish communal relations and the Government's recently tightened anti-extremism guidelines.

The editorial echoed Haneen Zoabi's opinion piece by crassly suggesting that the UK Government was moving against "all Palestinian activists Israel has a problem with", before appearing to accept Salah's denials at face value:

"...he says [the allegations] were fabricated, and for which he has started libel proceedings...Mr Salah has not been convicted of antisemitism".

On 26 September 2011, the *Guardian* reported upon Salah's forthcoming appeal. The story summarised the antisemitism allegations against Salah and ran his lawyer's rebuttals of them. This included implying that CST had "doctored" the Koranic poem and the "blood libel" speech to include mentions of "Jews". Following CST's intervention, the story was altered on the *Guardian* website, clarifying that these were the lawyer's claims, not the *Guardian*'s, and stating⁵⁹:

"there is no suggestion that CST doctored the quotes".

A line suggesting CST had not checked the quotes for accuracy was removed; but a further clarification that CST had actually found and supplied the accurate versions of the poem and speech was not included.

On 30 September 2011, the *Guardian* reported that Salah had won compensation for two days of wrongful immigration detention.

On 26 October 2011, Salah lost his first appeal. Despite its extensive prior coverage (at least 11 articles prior to this date), this verdict did not appear to be reported by the *Guardian*. Indeed, the paper seems to have made no further mention of Salah until 9 April 2012, when he won a further appeal. This was covered at length by the *Guardian* in two articles^{60 61}, which implied that Salah had won on all charges, whilst making no mention of the ruling dismissing Salah's denial of having made a blood libel speech. It also ran an article by Salah himself, entitled, "Britain's duty to the Palestinian people"⁶². (See above, page 20, discussing Becky Gardiner's "blood libel" intervention.)

55. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/sep/26/may-warned-case-sheikh-salah?INTCMP=SRCH>

56. <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/downloads/publication/the-sheikh-raed-salah-affair.pdf> (page 10)

57. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/jun/29/israeli-trap-britain-raed-salah?INTCMP=SRCH>

58. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/jun/30/palestinian-activists-unwelcome-guests?INTCMP=SRCH>

59. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/sep/26/may-warned-case-sheikh-salah?INTCMP=SRCH>

60. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/apr/09/activist-deportation-overturned?INTCMP=SRCH>

61. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/apr/09/theresa-may-raed-salah-ban?INTCMP=SRCH>

62. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/apr/19/britain-duty-to-palestinian-people>

The Guardian newspaper and website

Concerns within the Jewish community and elsewhere regarding the *Guardian*⁶³, relative to other mainstream media outlets, have persisted for many years now – a situation that will probably worsen as the paper's Comment is Free website grows.

In 2011, the *Guardian* faced more accusations of antisemitism than any other mainstream UK newspaper. (See also, pages 18–22 of this report concerning its coverage of the Sheikh Salah controversy.) In contrast, however, the newspaper also published three important opinion pieces against antisemitism, two of which are summarised below. (The other, by Jonathan Freedland, is summarised on page 15 of this report.)

Comment is Free website: overview

The Comment is Free website hosts many more articles than the *Guardian*'s actual print edition – and has lower editorial standards. Articles critical of Israel and its supporters are commonplace and routinely attract hundreds of comments from members of the public. Counter-articles are far less common. In recent years, the *Guardian* has gone to considerable lengths to ensure that antisemitic (and other racist) postings within these comment chains are removed soon after they appear. Persistent offenders are banned from the site.

The Guardian: overview

Specific accusations of antisemitism against the *Guardian* itself usually arise from opinion pieces (both in the newspaper and on its website) that reflect the hostility of the writer to Israel or those they associate with it. These articles are rarely, if ever, explicitly antisemitic. Rather, they usually contain remarks and attitudes that echo antisemitic motifs, such as Jewish conspiracies of wealth and power, and the notion that Jews are loyal to no one but each other. In their hostility, these articles afford little or no room for mainstream Jewish voices or perspectives.

“[Not] innocent in the war of words about Jews and Israel”

A March 2011 opinion piece in the *Jewish Chronicle* by its deputy editor, Jenni Frazer, appeared to capture the feelings of many Jews and mainstream UK Jewish communal bodies towards the *Guardian*. She wrote⁶⁴:

“...I cannot count the number of complaints we have had from readers who do not understand the *Guardian*'s obsession with Jews and Israel, the poisonous letters or op-eds it publishes.

“...I will not join the chorus which says ‘the *Guardian* is an antisemitic paper.’ It is not. But it should not give house room to antisemites or pretend that it is innocent in the war of words about Jews and Israel.”

In 2011, three *Guardian* stories typified its problems regarding antisemitism. These were its coverage of the Sheikh Raed Salah controversy (explained at length on pages 18–22); and comment articles by Washington correspondent Chris McGreal and weekly columnist Deborah Orr. These latter comment articles are shown below, and are followed by the advice of *Guardian* readers' editor Chris Elliott on how the newspaper ought to behave in regard to antisemitism and the sensitivities surrounding it.

Chris McGreal: “George Bush slavishly refusing to pressure the Jewish state”

In an article concerning American Jewish voting patterns, senior *Guardian* correspondent Chris McGreal wrote⁶⁵:

“Obama [told] American Jewish leaders that he would put some ‘daylight’ between the US and Israel after eight years of George Bush slavishly refusing to pressure the Jewish state to move toward ending the occupation.”

Following protests that this risked reading as if former President Bush had somehow been a slave to Jews, the word “slavishly” was changed to “consistently”. The *Guardian* stated that this would “clarify the intended meaning” of the sentence.

Given President Obama's ethnicity, it seems unlikely that the *Guardian* would have allowed the word “slavishly” to be as readily used as when in

relation to former President Bush. Nevertheless, the importance of conspiracy theory to antisemitism requires the newspaper (and others) to show sensitivity to risking such associations. In this regard, the *Guardian*'s alteration of “slavishly” to “consistently” maintained the overall meaning of the sentence, while reducing (but not entirely removing) the potential antisemitic sting.

Deborah Orr: “lives of the chosen”

In October 2011, Israel exchanged over 1,000 Palestinian prisoners in return for a soldier, Gilad Shalit, who had been held captive in Gaza for five years.

Guardian columnist Deborah Orr sparked outrage when she used the phrase “the chosen” in an article about the exchange⁶⁶:

“...there is something abject in their [Hamas'] eagerness to accept a transfer that tacitly acknowledges what so many Zionists believe – that the lives of the chosen are of hugely greater consequence than those of their unfortunate neighbours.”

Writing in the *Jewish Chronicle*, commentator David Aaravonich explained his (and others') concerns with Orr's use of “the chosen”⁶⁷:

“...when the predicted complaint [about the Shalit exchange terms] was made in the predictable place (the *Guardian*'s opinion columns), the source surprised me. Deborah Orr is a clever, sensitive writer, as little given to bombast or prejudice as any columnist.

“...What was so shocking to me about this phrase was its casualness – not its deliberation. The writer just didn't realise, it seemed, that this charge about ‘chosenness’ – as applied specifically and categorically to Jews (whether ‘Zionists’ or not) is one of the most recurrent and poisonous tropes in antisemitism... Had she been confronted with the suggestion that, say, blacks were a bit childlike, undisciplined, sensual and physical rather than intellectual, she'd have recognised immediately the contours of old-time racism. The alarms would have gone off, the thought would have been

interrogated, the problem noticed.

“...Orr's reaction seems to come from a place that deems all Zionism – all belief in a Jewish homeland – to be beyond respectability.

“...What worries me here, as it increasingly has done for a decade, is the way in which the Palestinian issue is leading to a slippage in sensibilities, from concern, to partisanship, to an almost unconscious acceptance of the characterisation of Jews or Zionists or Israelis which replicates ancient libels. So I can state, without any danger of perjuring myself, that Deborah Orr is no racist and no antisemite, and then add that that is exactly what scares me.”

The week after her article, Orr apologised in an article entitled, “Why it's right to weigh your words carefully”⁶⁸:

“Last week I upset a lot of people by suggesting Zionists saw themselves as ‘chosen’. My words were badly chosen and poorly used, and I'm sorry for it. But accusations of antisemitism have also been intemperate...”

The Guardian readers' editor: antisemitism

Following the protests against Orr's article, Chris Elliott, the *Guardian* readers' editor, wrote an article on “averting accusations of antisemitism”. It was subtitled, “*Guardian* reporters, writers and editors must be more vigilant about the language they use when writing about Jews or Israel”.

This article was an important public demonstration of the *Guardian*'s awareness of its reputation in this regard. Excerpts included⁶⁹:

“The *Guardian* has always had a strong commitment to reporting on the Middle East. That means a lot of news reporting, as well as comment and analysis...but it is seen as being especially critical of the Israeli government and its actions. And that has led to complaints that the *Guardian*, in print or online, is carrying material that either lapses into language resonant of antisemitism or is, by its nature, antisemitic.

63. For example, see <http://cifwatch.com>

64. <http://www.thejc.com/blogs/jenni-frazer/cynara-part-2>

65. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/world/blog/2011/sep/16/barack-obama-usforeignpolicy>

66. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/19/israeli-lives-more-important-palestinian?INTCMP=SRCH>

67. <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/columnists/57312/a-worrying-choice-words>

68. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/26/call-israel-to-account>

69. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/nov/06/averting-accusations-of-antisemitism-Guardian>

“...antisemitism can be subtle as well as obvious. Three times in the last nine months I have upheld complaints against language within articles that I agreed could be read as antisemitic. The words were replaced and the articles footnoted to reflect the fact. These included references to Israel/US ‘global domination’ and the term ‘slavish’ to describe the US relationship with Israel; and, in an article on a lost tribe of Mallorcan Jews, what I regarded as a gratuitous reference to ‘the island’s wealthier families’.

“...An important feature of the Guardian online is that the comment threads are post-moderated... [moderators] are experienced in spotting the kind of language long associated with antisemitic tropes such as Jews having too much power and control, or being clannish and secretive, or the role of Jews in finance and the media.

“Newspapers have to be aware that some examples involve coded references. They need to ask themselves, for example, if the word Zionist is being used as a synonym for Jew.

“I have been careful to say that these examples may be read as antisemitic because I don’t believe their appearance in the Guardian was the result of deliberate acts of antisemitism: they were inadvertent. But that does not lessen the injury to some readers or to our reputation. The Guardian should not be oppressed by criticism – some of the language used by our critics is abusive and intimidatory – or retreat into self-censorship. But reporters, writers and editors must be more vigilant to ensure our voice in the debate is not diminished because our reputation has been tarnished.”

Warning against antisemitism within pro-Palestinian advocacy

The controversial “proud self-hating Jew” Gilad Atzmon (see page 30 in this report) provided the basis for an article in the Guardian by Socialist Unity activist Andy Newman. It was subtitled,⁷⁰ “The Palestinian cause is hindered, not helped, when the left fails to notice or confront antisemitism”.

Newman, a staunch critic of Israel and Zionism, discussed and condemned a number of egregious examples of antisemitism in leftist circles, before concluding:

“... The actually existing Israel is founded upon displacement of another people, and there will never be peace and security until the Palestinians achieve justice. However, the cause of the Palestinians is hindered, not helped, by association with antisemitism.

“It is incumbent upon the left and the Palestinian solidarity movement to both be aware of the conscious effort of far-right antisemites to infiltrate the movement, and to vigorously oppose and exclude antisemites. We would not hesitate to condemn racists, homophobes or sexists, and must be equally robust in opposing anti-Jewish hate-speech.”

The Guardian also stated that it had removed Atzmon’s book from those on sale at its own website⁷¹. (As with many other companies’ websites, the Guardian’s list of books for sale is externally generated.)

Jews, Zionism and Islamophobia

Islamophobia has come to mean anti-Muslim hatred and irrational fear or hatred of Islam.

The year 2011 saw a significant increase in Jews, ‘Zionism’ and ‘Zionists’ being blamed for Islamophobia. These slurs harm inter-communal relations and promote antisemitic attitudes. They also pervert the analysis of anti-Muslim hatred and Islamophobia, thereby undermining attempts to counter them.

Background

From 2000 to 2010, so-called ‘Zionist influence’ was variously blamed for developments that impacted upon Islamophobia. These included the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq; domestic UK actions against extreme Islamist terrorism and ideology; heightened media scrutiny of Muslim issues (much of it critical or explicitly hostile); and far right groups prioritising Islamophobic agitation and attacks upon Muslims.

Jews against Muslims?

‘Anti-Zionists’ repeatedly fail to specify what they mean by ‘Zionism’ and ‘Zionist’. The failure fuels the notion that they mean all Zionists (including most Jews), without exception.

This theme repeats within the charge of Zionist Islamophobia, where it follows that all ‘Zionists’ are, ipso facto, anti-Muslim. It is a short step from this to assuming that most Jews are anti-Muslim.

Anders Breivik massacre – ‘Zionists’ blamed

The charge of Zionist Islamophobia found its most extreme expression to date in assertions that Zionism was somehow a primary contributing factor for the dreadful terrorist attacks perpetrated by Norwegian far right extremist Anders Breivik^{72 73}.

This association of Zionism with the killings arose in two ways: that Breivik acted under orders from Israel; or that his act of mass murder arose from his allegedly being a Zionist. Examples included the following, from anti-Zionists, the British National Party and the website of the Guardian:

Pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist activists

Ellie Merton, chair of Waltham Forest Palestine Solidarity Campaign and Viva Palestina (aid convoy to Gaza) participant, wrote⁷⁴:

“Just re-watched Hillary Clinton’s statement about the Norwegian terror atrocity, and she looks 300 per cent shifty, implying she knows exactly who did it and why, and she’s embarrassed about it was ‘her’ guys – an Israel government-sponsored operation...

“As far as I can see, globally, Christian far-right white supremacists work hand in hand with Zionist fascists, since their aims are mutually inclusive.”

Alan Hart, former television presenter, anti-Zionist author and regular speaker at anti-Israel events, wrote⁷⁵:

“...From the obscenity of the Nazi holocaust to the present, Zionism’s success in selling its propaganda lies as truth is the reason why the search for peace based on an acceptable amount of justice for the Palestinians has been, and remains, a mission impossible.

“...It’s bad enough that Zionist propaganda has prevented a cure for it [the Israel-Palestine conflict], but if now that same propaganda is inspiring Europeans in Europe to slaughter their own, the future is very, very frightening.”

Gilad Atzmon, anti-Zionist activist and “Proud self-hating Jew” (see page 14 of this report), wrote⁷⁶:

“...who could provide such knowledge, and such a vast amount of lethal explosives? I am not in a position at present to firmly point a finger at Israel, its agents...considering all possibilities may suggest that Anders Behring Breivik might indeed, have been a Sabbath Goy.

72. <http://www.thejc.com/news/world-news/52344/oslo-massacre-opens-floodgates-conspiracy-madness>

73. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=2828>

74. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=2828>

75. <http://www.alanhart.net/norway%E2%80%99s-monster-and-the-question/>

76. <http://www.redress.cc/global/gatzmon20110725>

70. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/sep/25/gilad-atzmon-antisemitism-the-left>

71. <http://cifwatch.com/2012/03/12/guardian-changes-course-permanently-removes-gilad-atzmons-book-from-their-online-shop/>

“Within its Judaic mundane-societal context, the Sabbath Goy is simply there to accomplish some minor tasks the Jews cannot undertake during the Sabbath. But within the Zion-ised reality we tragically enough live in, the Sabbath Goy kills for the Jewish state. He may even do it voluntarily...”

Les Levidow, of Jews Against Zionism, told a pro-Hizbollah rally in Central London⁷⁷:

“The mass murderer Breivik massacred the Norwegian Labour Party Youth because they support multi-culturalism and the boycott of Israel. His motives illustrate the inherently racist character of the Zionist state.”

British National Party

The British National Party website placed the Oslo killings within a wider context, strongly implying that both Al-Qaeda and Anders Breivik were controlled by Americans and Zionists, and that “Zionist neo-Conservatives” are the driving force behind this⁷⁸:

“Who profits? Who gains from this?”

“Who benefits from the anti-Western proclamations of Al Qaeda, which occur regularly every time the American and Zionist regimes are in crisis? Certainly, the Zionist neo-Conservatives that wish for a Civilization clash in which while two dispute, a third enjoys.

“Bin Laden was a CIA man, and surely it will be discovered that the man who carried out the attack in Oslo was not acting alone.

“Somebody, finally, will ask: why Norway? In order to answer the question, we keep in mind the words of Michael Ledeen, a man of the CIA and of Mossad... There cannot be an oasis of tranquillity in Europe, the Europeans would not be able to avoid a war, because in their case war will inevitably come.”

The Guardian's Comment is Free

Philosopher Slavoj Zizek, international director of the Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities, wrote an article for the Guardian's Comment is Free website, entitled, “A vile logic to Anders Breivik's choice of target”.

Over half the article's length concerned Zionism and Israel, mainly in a highly critical manner. Having already described Breivik as antisemitic, pro-Israel and someone who cannot be pigeonholed as a “Nazi”, Zizek wrote⁷⁹:

“He [Breivik] realises the ultimate paradox of a Zionist Nazi – how is this possible?”

Zizek continued to abuse the word “Zionist” at length, characterising it by its most extreme elements and making exaggerated comparisons between the attitudes of “Zionism” and the history of antisemitism. The article ended with claims of collusion between Israel and “US” and “Christian” “fundamentalists”, before referencing a depiction of two Austrian Nazis and ending:

“These are today's allies of the state of Israel.”

BBC and the Guardian: Jews and Islamophobia

A BBC Two *This World* documentary, on 20 February 2011, asked if Dutch Islamophobic politician Geert Wilders was “Europe's Most Dangerous Man”⁸⁰.

The programme disproportionately concentrated upon Wilders' connections to extreme right-wing Jews and time he had spent in Israel as a young man.

Roy Greenslade, writing in the *Guardian* media blog⁸¹ about alleged *Daily Star* support for the English Defence League, noted that the *Star*'s owner, Richard Desmond, is Jewish, and stated:

“As a Jew, he may well have negative views of Muslims.”

Upon complaints being received, the *Guardian* immediately removed the comment. Greenslade readily apologised⁸², saying he had been “stupid”.

UK far right and Zionism

The British National Party (BNP) and the English Defence League (EDL) have both claimed at various times to be pro-‘Zionist’.

The BNP, a political party, has a long and deeply disturbing record of antisemitism, including

Holocaust denial and promotion of Jewish conspiracy theory. Its limited and sporadic claims to be pro-‘Zionist’ are basically ignored.

The EDL does not fit the older model of a far right party as typified by the BNP. It promotes a clash of cultures between the West and Islam, and generally eschews overt anti-Jewish or anti-black racism, homophobia and the like, in favour of pushing Islamophobia. It has tried to promote gay, Sikh and Jewish branches to this end, and waves the Israeli flag in attempted provocation of Muslims.

Jewish groups, including CST and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, have repeatedly warned Jews not to fall for the EDL's anti-Muslim racism⁸³; and the EDL's so-called ‘Jewish’ branch has never amounted to more than a handful of members. The ‘Jewish’ branch split from the EDL in 2011 but was later reformed under the leadership of a Canadian.



EDL leader Stephen Lennon addresses an EDL rally, in a sick joke disguise, having been introduced to the crowd as “Rabbi Benjamin Kidderman”⁸⁴.

SpinWatch report

The notion of Zionists promoting Islamophobia was given a modicum of academic legitimacy by a report from the SpinWatch group, entitled, “*The Cold War on British Muslims: an examination of Policy Exchange and The Centre for Social Cohesion*”⁸⁵.

The report was launched at the House of Commons with the UK pro-Islamist groups the Cordoba Foundation and Middle East Monitor (see also page 15 of this

report, for the Monitor group's role in the Sheikh Salah controversy). The report concentrates upon two think tanks, to which it apportions blame for fostering a “*cold war on British Muslims*”, and also includes an analysis of the funding and links of these think tanks.

In total, the report lists 53 donor foundations and trusts that fund these two think tanks. For 21 of the 53 it also lists some other recipients of their money. Ten of the 21 are Jewish and/or Israeli; and seven are Conservative Party linked. Most of the donor foundations and trusts listed in the report are not actually analysed any further; but the impression is given (without writing anything untrue) that Jewish and/or Israeli causes are relatively prevalent.

This concentration upon Jewish-related issues may also be seen in the publicity for the report on the SpinWatch website, a relatively large part of which concentrates upon the funding aspect. It states, in part⁸⁶:

“The Cold War on British Muslims, shows how the Centre for Social Cohesion and Policy Exchange have rejected counter-terrorism policies based on public safety and have instead sought to revive discredited counter-subversion policies from the Cold War era... is likely to stigmatise and even criminalise politically active Muslims, as well as liberals and leftists, and risk undermining the traditional freedoms enjoyed by churches, schools, universities and public libraries.

“The Cold War on British Muslims also reveals for the first time the network of individuals and foundations that are bankrolling both think-tanks. Donors identified in the report include the neoconservative Rosenkranz Foundation in the United States, and hardline Zionists like Lord Kalms and the late Cyril Stein in the UK. It reveals that both think-tanks share major donors with a number of controversial organisations including the Association for the Wellbeing of Israel's Soldiers, the Israel-Diaspora Trust (an organisation founded by the late Rabbi Sidney Brichto, a passionate supporter of Israel and scourge of its critics inside and outside the UK Jewish community) and the Anglo-Israel Association (founded in 1949 by the Christian Zionist Sir Wyndham Deedes).”

83. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=2913>

84. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/54187/rabbi-disguise-edl-leader>

85. http://www.thecordobafoundation.com/attach/SpinwatchReport_ColdWar12.pdf

86. <http://www.spinwatch.org/-articles-by-category-mainmenu-8/317-islamophobia/5446-how-policy-exchange-and-the-centre-for-social-cohesion-encourage-the-cold-war-on-british-muslims>

Julian Assange: Jewish and Zionist conspiracy allegations

WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange was subject to accusations of antisemitism that centred upon alleged quotes in which he (wrongly) described individuals as being Jewish or Zionist – as if this explained their stances towards him. Assange strenuously denied this interpretation of his remarks.

The allegations contributed towards a general decline in respect for Assange as the WikiLeaks controversy deepened in 2011. Nevertheless, a number of minor celebrities continued to support him in his legal struggles.

East Coast American Jews and the “Zionist” wife of a BBC producer

In February 2011, reacting to a BBC *Panorama* investigation into WikiLeaks, Assange told a French news site⁸⁷:

“We finally found out that the producer’s wife for this show was part of the Zionist movement in London.”

Jim Booth, the *Panorama* producer, responded:

“I have got no idea why he said that. My wife is not Jewish, has nothing to do with Zionism or the Jewish community...I do not set out with an agenda and he gave the sense there was a Jewish agenda...It’s below the belt.”

Assange also misrepresented allegations of antisemitism against one of his supporters, Israel Shamir, and claimed WikiLeaks had initially feared leaking material on Israel because “we were afraid of attacks from the East Coast of the United States”.

Assange then stated his fear of “the union” of Israel and the USA, blaming their shared interests for the Iraq conflict. He again mentioned the US East Coast, this time with a bizarre claim about American Jews having been issued with passports for their supposed Israeli (not American) “homeland”⁸⁸:

“Israel, meanwhile, has strong ties with the East Coast of the United States. Not only because of the presence of many Jews on American soil, but also because Jews on the East Coast were given Israeli passports in order to strengthen their ties with

their homeland.”

“Jewish” journalists

Ian Hislop, editor of *Private Eye* magazine, wrote of Assange phoning him to complain about an article on Israel Shamir, a Russian contact of WikiLeaks, accused of antisemitism and Holocaust denial⁸⁹:

“He [Assange] said that I and Private Eye should be ashamed of ourselves for joining in the international conspiracy to smear WikiLeaks. The piece was an obvious attempt to deprive him and his organisation of Jewish support and donations, he said angrily, and he knew perfectly well who had written it. He then named a Fleet Street hack who had nothing to do with it.”

Hislop claimed Assange alleged that *Private Eye* was:

“part of a conspiracy led by the Guardian which included journalist David Leigh, editor Alan Rusbridger and John Kampfner from Index on Censorship – all of whom ‘are Jewish’”.

Hislop added:

“I pointed out that Rusbridger is not actually Jewish, but Assange insisted that he was ‘sort of Jewish’ because he was related to David Leigh (they are brothers-in-law)...When I doubted whether his Jewish conspiracy would stand up against the facts, Assange suddenly conceded the point. ‘Forget the Jewish thing’.”

Assange denied being antisemitic⁹⁰:

“Hislop has distorted, invented or misremembered almost every significant claim and phrase. In particular, ‘Jewish conspiracy’ is completely false, in spirit and in word...We treasure our strong Jewish support and staff, just as we treasure the support from pan-Arab democracy activists and others who share our hope for a just world.”

Gilad Atzmon: antisemitism and anti-Zionism

Gilad Atzmon is an ex-Israeli, now living in Britain. He is a leading anti-Zionist activist, who has described himself as a “proud self-hating Jew”⁹¹.

Atzmon’s anti-Zionism consists of extreme condemnations of some modes of Jewish self-identity. He urges that Zionism be understood and opposed as part of a wider struggle against what he terms “*Jewish identity politics*”.

Atzmon’s analysis of Jewish history, identity and culture introduces an unusually explicit and quite new antisemitism into far left-wing politics.

Leading Jewish anti-Zionist figures have denounced Atzmon as an antisemite. Most anti-Zionists have followed suit and now also condemn Atzmon, but some factional splits have occurred due to a minority of activists defending him. Notably, Andy Newman of Socialist Unity used the controversy around Atzmon to write an article in the *Guardian* newspaper (see page 16 of this report), warning his fellow pro-Palestinians against antisemitism.

Arguments concerning Atzmon peaked in 2011 with the publication of his book *The Wandering Who?*⁹² (a compilation of his website writings), his speaking at Exeter University⁹³ and his performing at a left-wing music festival in Bradford⁹⁴. The *Guardian* and *Daily Telegraph* were amongst those that removed the book from sale on their websites⁹⁵.

The Wandering Who?

In September 2011, left-wing publisher Zero Books published and promoted a book by Atzmon, entitled, *The Wandering Who?* and subtitled, *A study of Jewish identity politics*. Its title, *The Wandering Who?*, combines ancient and modern antisemitism as it puns The Wandering Jew, a notorious antisemitic legend claiming that a Jew who had mocked Jesus was damned to eternally walk the earth.

Chapter titles include⁹⁶:

- “Credit Crunch or Zio Punch?”
- “Fagin vs. Einstein”
- “One Hundred Years of Jewish Solitude”
- “Sex and Anti-Semitism”
- “Swindler’s List”

Excerpts from the book include:

(page 19) *“Zionism is not a colonial movement with an interest in Palestine...Zionism is actually a global movement...To be a Zionist means to accept that, more than anything else, one is primarily a Jew.”*

(page 21) *“...It is more than likely that ‘Jews’ do not have a centre or headquarters. It is more than likely that they aren’t aware of their particular role within the entire system, the way an organ is not aware of its role within the complexity of an organism...”*

“...Looking at Zionism as an organismus [Atzmon italicises this German word in the book] would lead to a major shift in our perception of world affairs.”

(page 88) *“...Zionism is a global network with no head, it is a spirit – spirit, unfortunately, cannot be defeated. Yet, it must be exposed for what it is.”*

(page 150) *“...To a certain extent, the Holocaust religion signals the final Jewish departure from monotheism, for every Jew is potentially a little God or Goddess...AIPAC (the American-Israeli Public Affairs committee) is the American Olympus, where mortals elected in the US come to beg for mercy, forgiveness, for being Goyim and for a bit of cash.”*

(page 153) *“...From this point onward, I shall maintain that the Holocaust religion was well established a long time before the Final Solution (1942), well before Kristallnacht (1938), the Nuremberg Laws (1936) and even before Hitler was born (1889). The Holocaust religion is probably as old as the Jews themselves.”*

91. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilad_Atzmon

92. Gilad Atzmon, *The Wandering Who? A study of Jewish identity politics*. Zero Books, Winchester, 2011.

93. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kYecmT2GhHQ>

94. <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/blog/article/1487/pull-the-plug-on-gilad-atzmon>

95. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/56632/fury-over-distribution-racist-gilad-atzmon-book>

96. Gilad Atzmon, *The Wandering Who? A study of Jewish identity politics*. Zero Books, Winchester, 2011.

87. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/46734/bbc-producer-says-assange-ridiculous-over-zionist-wife-claims>

88. <http://assangewatch.blogspot.co.uk/2011/02/julian-assange-fears-israel.html>

89. <http://www.Guardian.co.uk/media/2011/mar/01/julian-assange-jewish-conspiracy-comments>

90. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1362107/Julian-Assange-anti-Semitic-row-accusing-journalists-Jewish-conspiracy-WikiLeaks.html>

(page 162) *“...I believe the Holocaust is actually engraved in the Jewish culture, discourse and spirit. The Holocaust is the essence of the collective Jewish Pre-TSS, which predates the Shoah.”* [“Pre-TSS” is Atzmon’s own “Pre-Traumatic Stress Syndrome” idea. “Shoah” is Hebrew, referring to the Holocaust.]

John Hunt Publishing: defence of Atzmon

Atzmon’s publisher, Zero Books, is an imprint of the larger John Hunt Publishing. Zero’s website advertises *The Wandering Who?* as⁹⁷:

“An explosive unique crucial book tackling the issues of Jewish Identity Politics and ideology and their global influence.”

The website also quotes John Hunt personally commenting upon the controversy:

“If the book itself promoted anti-semitic views I would, (cancel it) without question. If it does not, but Gilad Atzmon himself is anti-semitic, that’s a more difficult problem, publishing-wise, and ethically. But is he?”

Hunt then directs readers to a defence of Atzmon by anti-Israel author John Mearsheimer, before concluding:

“So we’ll take the heat, whether it’s (oddly enough) from the far left or neo-con right.”

CST’s attempts to discuss the book with the publishers were met with a referral to the Mearsheimer article. When CST pointed out misrepresentations in the Mearsheimer article (and in his blurb on the Atzmon book cover), its email went unanswered. John Hunt Publishing continues to publish and promote the book.

Exeter University: Israel “must be de-jewdified”

Jewish students protested against Atzmon when he spoke at a Friends of Palestine meeting on 8 November at Exeter University. The Students’ Guild refused to cancel the meeting; and there was confusion as to whether the Palestine Solidarity Campaign supported the event or not.

Responding to a question from a member of the audience, Atzmon stated⁹⁸:

“Israel must be, if you want to be politically correct, must be de-zionised, first, it must be de-zionised, but if you want to tell the truth it must be de-jewdified.”

Bradford music festival: “shabbes goy” and “send me his foreskin”

Atzmon’s performance at the left-wing “Raise Your Banners” music festival in Bradford attracted much controversy, with many local trade unionists and anti-racist groups opposing his participation.

The controversy was fuelled by Atzmon being booked to play inside Bradford Cathedral. Local leading church figures then also became embroiled in the controversy, with one of Atzmon’s refutations derogatively describing a respected Bradford trade unionist as a “shabbes goy”⁹⁹ (i.e. a non-Jew who does the bidding of Jews).

The cathedral concert was cancelled due to poor ticket sales and was held in a nearby community centre. Despite being banned from selling his book, copies were given freely to anyone who purchased Atzmon’s CDs. Leaflets attacking anti-racists for criticising Atzmon were placed on each seat at the concert; and Atzmon asked his bemused audience to “say hello to the Board of Deputies [of British Jews]”, whom he wrongly accused of having tried to ban him. (The Board had objected to the Arts Council part-funding the event.)

The Board commented on this on its website and noted a recent email exchange in which Atzmon (referring to Paul McCartney’s relationship with the Jewish community) had written¹⁰⁰:

“Send me his foreskin, once you chopped it, we’ll look after it and re-install it once he realizes what he is involved with.”



Images of the notorious antisemitic legend, The Wandering Jew, claiming that a Jew who had mocked Jesus was damned to eternally walk the earth. The title of Gilad Atzmon’s book, *The Wandering Who?*, is a play on this.

97. <http://www.zero-books.net/books/wandering-who-the>

98. <http://www.gilad.co.uk/writings/exeter-university-gilad-atzmon-the-wandering-who-and-where.html#entry13678024>

99. <http://www.gilad.co.uk/writings/hope-not-hate-truth-not-lies-more-likely.html>

100. http://www.bod.org.uk/live/content.php?Item_ID=130&Blog_ID=275

British boycott of United Nations “Durban III” Conference

In an important demonstration of official opposition to antisemitism, Britain refused to participate in the United Nations event (dubbed “Durban III”), marking the 10th anniversary of the 2001 World Conference on Racism, held in Durban.

The initial Durban conference was notorious for having been dominated by anti-Israel, anti-Zionist and antisemitic expressions. The follow-up conference in 2009 (in Geneva) saw countries, including Britain, walk out in protest during a speech by President Ahmadinejad of Iran. The 2011 conference, held at the UN General Assembly in New York, saw Britain join many other countries (including the USA, Germany and Australia) in

refusing to attend due to the expected nature of the event.

Prime Minister David Cameron MP stated that it would be wrong of Britain to associate with¹⁰¹:

“open displays of unpleasant and deplorable antisemitism”.

The PM stressed:

“No one should be in any doubt: this government is 100 per cent committed to tackling racism both at home and abroad...But those aims cannot be met by accepting this invitation.”

Iranian international television quotes notorious antisemitic hoax

Today, Iran is the world’s leading state producer of antisemitism, ranging from anti-Jewish terrorism to Holocaust denial propaganda. The nature of modern media allows this Iranian antisemitism to be broadcast internationally. This includes references to the notorious antisemitic hoax, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The hoax was largely written in its current form by the tsarist secret police at the turn of the 20th century. It claims to be a Jewish plot to rule the world and has been used by antisemites throughout the world..

Iranian broadcaster banned in UK: Jewish conspiracy blamed

Press TV’s website ran the *Protocols* quote after UK broadcast regulator OFCOM began investigations into its London branch. The investigations led to Press TV being fined. Finally, OFCOM withdrew Press TV’s broadcasting licence¹⁰². George Galloway was one of those representing Press TV during the hearing process¹⁰³.

The Press TV website was seemingly controlled via Tehran rather than from its London office. The *Protocols* article included further antisemitic statements, drawing together the words “Jewish lobby” and “Zionist”, with reference to the Talmud (a Jewish book of religious study), supposed Jewish/Zionist financial control of America and alleged attempts to spark a war¹⁰⁴:

“...It may not be a coincidence that the British Ofcom case against Press TV Iran pops up against the backdrop of Netanyahu’s state visit to the United States to press his own case for ongoing Talmudic Death and Destruction in the Middle East, courtesy of wholehearted American political support and economic subsidy. Israel’s purchased Democratic and Republican supporters in the Zionist Occupied Territory (ZOA) known as Capitol Hill are tripping over themselves to demonstrate which of the two major parties can demonstrate more obeisances to the Zionist State and its domestic Jewish lobby stateside...”

“...This is the transparent connection in this case, as it is in other recent attacks on Press TV in the West involving media outlets and correspondents with provable connections to the American Jewish lobby; Israeli intelligence; and Neo-Conservatives thirsting for a War of Civilizations with Iran specifically, and the Islamic world generally...”

“...Corporate Zionist Media in America will begin a louder drumbeat for a war of preemptive aggression with Iran, joined by a theocratic and Talmudically-oriented Christian Right led by John Hagee of Cornerstone Church in San Antonio and his Crusaders at Christians United for Israel (CUFI). All that remains is the execution of the False Flag Incident of the 21st Century to launch the operation. The time and the place remain to be determined...”

101. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/54689/david-cameron-pulls-britain-out-durban-anniversary-conference>



The graphic on the far left is taken from the English language website of Iranian state news channel Press TV. It shows Press TV directly quoting from chapter seven of the *Protocols*¹⁰⁵.

Chapter seven of the *Protocols*. This graphic shows chapter seven of an English language version of the *Protocols*, distributed by British neo-Nazis in the 1980s.

102. <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/enforcement/broadcast-licence-conditions/press-tv-revoked>

103. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=3231>

104. <http://www.presstv.ir/detail/181711.html>

105. <http://www.presstv.ir/detail/181711.html>

Jewish UK Ambassador to Israel

Matthew Gould's position as the UK's Ambassador to Israel was questioned by Labour MP Paul Flynn and senior Green Party activist Pippa Bartolotti, both of whom subsequently apologised. Gould is the first British Jew to hold the position and his ability was questioned, as if a Jew was somehow not capable of properly representing the UK in this way.

Flynn questioned Gould's suitability, on behalf of his constituent Bartolotti, at a meeting of the Public Administration select committee. Flynn related that Bartolotti and a colleague had met Gould when they were¹⁰⁶ "briefly imprisoned in Israel...and they strongly believe...that he was serving the interest of the Israeli government, and not the interests of two British citizens."

Flynn later told the *Jewish Chronicle*¹⁰⁷:

"I do not normally fall for conspiracy theories, but the ambassador has proclaimed himself to be a Zionist and he has previously served in Iran."

Flynn further explained that he was afraid "neo-cons and war-mongers" were pushing for war against Iran and added:

"In the past there hasn't been a Jewish ambassador to Israel and I think that is a good decision – to avoid the accusation that they have gone native."

Following numerous complaints, Flynn issued a lengthy apology and the Green Party apologised on behalf of Bartolotti.

Liam Fox controversy

In the context of discourse, there are few things more uncomfortable for the Jewish community than when suspicions are raised concerning the actions and motivations of Jewish participants in mainstream politics.

This scenario came to the fore in 2011 during the controversy around Secretary of Defence Liam Fox MP and allegations about the commercial and political actions of his associate, Adam Werritty. This led to Fox's resignation in October 2011.

Jewish involvement in the controversy concerned some of the donors who had contributed to Fox, the Conservative Party and to projects run by Werritty.

No respectable politicians or media outlets constructed an explicitly antisemitic conspiracy

theory, but certain commentators and journalists expressed strong concerns that such thinking lay behind some of the presentation of Fox and Werritty's links with Jews and Israel¹⁰⁸. These concerns included claims that Jewish donors were being singled out for investigation and so-called 'exposure'; and an allegation raised by the *Independent on Sunday*¹⁰⁹ that Werritty had plotted with Israel's intelligence agency, Mossad, to overthrow Iranian leader Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

Scottish legal case: anti-Israel actions as racism

Paul Donnachie was convicted of the racially aggravated harassment of a fellow St Andrews University student in a notable legal case (under Scottish law) that showed when anti-Israel behaviour is deemed both criminal and racist.

The conviction followed Donnachie's having, late at night, entered the room of a Jewish student, Chanan Reitblat. Donnachie woke Reitblat, rubbed his pubic hairs on an Israeli flag that hung on Reitblat's wall and called Reitblat a terrorist. The case against a co-defendant of Donnachie was found "not proven".

Donnachie was charged under Section 50A of the Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995, which clearly states:

"'racial group' means a group of persons defined by reference to race, colour, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins".

Sheriff Charlie Macnair, who heard the case, made it clear that Donnachie broke the law specifically because of his anti-Israel abuse, rather than for antisemitism¹¹⁰:

"This flag was his [the victim's] personal property. I consider that your behaviour did evince malice towards Mr Reitblat because of his presumed membership of Israel...you said Israel was a terrorist state and the flag was a terrorist symbol and I also hold that you said that Mr Reitblat was a terrorist."

Donnachie is a Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign (SPSC) activist and was strongly backed by the group in legal appeals and media coverage. Much of the publicity concerning the case centred upon whether or not Donnachie's actions were antisemitic. However, both the law and the sheriff's ruling show that this discussion about antisemitism was essentially at cross-purposes to the courtroom meaning of "racial group"¹¹¹.

106. <http://www.jpost.com/LandedPages/PrintArticle.aspx?id=248009>

107. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/59300/jewish-envoy-not-loyal-uk-says-labour-mp>

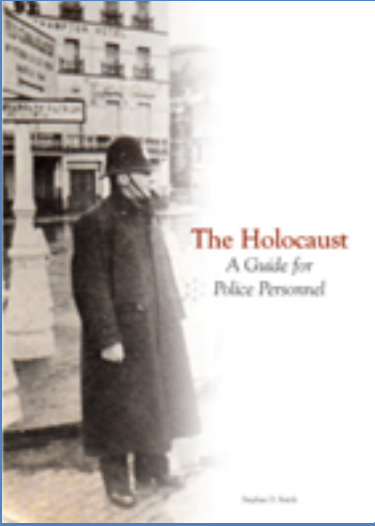
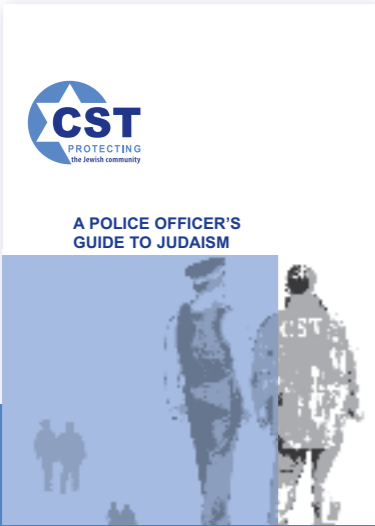
109. <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/analysis/76817/beware-language-suspicion>

108. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/liam-fox-adam-werritty-and-the-curious-case-of-our-man-in-tel-aviv-6268640.html>

110. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-14638515>

111. <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=2865>

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

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