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A GUIDE TO THE
INTERNATIONAL
HOLOCAUST
REMEMBRANCE ALLIANCE
WORKING DEFINITION
OF ANTISEMITISM

Cover Image: The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance plenary where the definition of antisemitism was adopted. Reproduced with permission from the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

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Introduction

On 26 May 2016, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)¹ adopted a Working Definition of antisemitism, which has also been formally adopted by the Government of the United Kingdom.² The IHRA definition states:

“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”

Accompanying the definition and integral to it are 11 examples which are outlined in detail below. This Working Definition should be regarded as a helpful set of guidelines to help identify different examples of possible antisemitism, rather than a strict legal definition. For the full working definition, please see the appendix section of this guide.

The IHRA was founded in 1998 and is an alliance of 34 member states, with one liaison country,³ that seeks to promote Holocaust remembrance and to combat antisemitism. Member states, of which the United Kingdom is one, include other European states as well as several countries in North America and South America.⁴

In June 2017, the European Parliament called on all European States to adopt the IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism in order to *“support the judicial and law enforcement authorities in their efforts to identify and prosecute antisemitic attacks more efficiently and effectively”*.⁵ The British Government adopted the definition in December 2016, with over 250 local authorities following suit.⁶ The purpose of this guide is to explain why each clause included in the IHRA definition is legitimate;

namely why each form of antisemitism is insidious and negatively affects Jewish people, Jewish communities and wider society. This guide will provide cases which have been reported to the Community Security Trust (CST) to demonstrate each form of antisemitism, as included in the IHRA clauses, and how this has affected British Jews. All the cases included in this guide are illustrative and do not constitute a complete list of antisemitic incidents in the United Kingdom. Each case, as the full IHRA definition makes clear, must be judged on its particular context.

The clauses of the Working Definition do not seek to explain the obvious forms of antisemitism, such as clear *“rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism”* which are *“directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals.”* This could include incidents where someone shouts *“I am going to kill a Jew”* or when someone places bacon on the door handles of a synagogue; both these instances are clear and obvious antisemitic acts.

There have been several calls to resist the definition, particularly due to the clauses which define certain forms of discourse on Israel as antisemitic. This guide seeks to put to rest any resistance against the definition, which has been debated by university student unions, local councils and by various countries' governments. For more information on criticism and responses to the Working Definition, please see the Antisemitism Policy Trust's briefing, 'The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism' available online and in hard copy.

Antisemitism Policy Trust wishes to thank our partners, Community Security Trust, for providing the incidents and the accompanying images.

1 <https://holocaustremembrance.com/media-room/stories/working-definition-antisemitism>

2 <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-leads-the-way-in-tackling-anti-semitism>

3 <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/about-us/countries-membership>

4 <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/member-countries>

5 <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=MOTION&reference=B8-2017-0383&language=EN>

6 <https://antisemitism.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Web-IHRA-2020.pdf>

Clause 1: Calling For The Harm of Jews

“Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.”

This is clear form of extreme and violent antisemitism – namely the destruction of Jews for simply being Jewish. Even if someone does not out-and-out call for the murder of Jews, if they justify others doing so, they are promoting antisemitism.

This clause specifically states it is antisemitic if this call for harm is done in the name of an ideology. Politically, this would be whether the incident was motivated by a far-right, a far-left, an Islamist⁷ or an anti-Zionist motivation.

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- In 2008, a Jewish woman in Manchester was approached and two Asian men who said: *“Kill the Jews and Israel, we are going to join al-Qaeda and bomb all of you.”*⁸ This call for violence against Jews was motivated by an Islamist ideology.
- In 2010, leaflets were left in a train station in London which included references to the Holocaust: *“Abreit nichts macht frei, Jewish vermin should be extermination, re-open Auschwitz and Treblinka, get all Jews and Muslims out of Redbridge.”*⁹ This call for violence against Jews was potentially driven by a far-right belief.
- In 2012, a visibly Jewish man was walking home from synagogue when he was told; *“you are Jewish aren’t you. Go back to Israel you filthy, dirty Jews. The Quran says we will kill all the Jews, inshallah, soon. Kill the Yahud.”*¹⁰ This call for harm against Jews was inspired by an Islamist ideology.
- In 2015, a synagogue received a letter that stated: *“All Jews will die IS”* in reference to Islamist terror group, Islamic State.¹¹ This is a clear call for violence against Jews motivated by Islamist ideology.
- In 2015, three men walked past a Jewish nursery school and one said: *“IS will come and kill you”*, in reference to Islamist terror group, Islamic State, and made a gun gesture with his hand.¹² Again, this incitement to violence against Jews was evidently motivated by an Islamist ideology.
- In 2015, the North West branch of the far-right proscribed terror group, National Action, tweeted an image of a National Action member, in the guise of an ISIS executioner, beheading a Jewish prisoner.¹³ Therefore, this incitement to violence was motivated by a far-right ideology.
- In 2017, graffiti was daubed in Suffolk depicting a Star of David, a Swastika and the word *“die.”*¹⁴ This call for harm against Jews was potentially motivated by a far-right ideological belief.

7 For the purposes of this briefing paper, the Government’s 2013 definition of Islamism is to be used: “It is an ideology which is based on a distorted interpretation of Islam, which betrays Islam’s peaceful principles, and draws on the teachings of the likes of Sayyid Qutb. Islamist extremists deem Western intervention in Muslim-majority countries as a ‘war on Islam’, creating a narrative of ‘them’ and ‘us’. They seek to impose a global Islamic state governed by their interpretation of Shari’ah as state law, rejecting liberal values such as democracy, the rule of law and equality. Their ideology also includes the uncompromising belief that people cannot be Muslim and British and insists that those who do not agree with them are not true Muslims”. For more see: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263181/ETF_FINAL.pdf

8 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/c/2/Incidents-Report-2008.1425052422.pdf>

9 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/b/4/Incidents-Report-2010.1425052704.pdf>

10 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/d/c/Incidents-Report-2012.1425052902.pdf>

11 https://cst.org.uk/data/file/1/9/Incidents_Report_2015.1454417905.pdf

12 Ibid

13 Ibid

14 https://cst.org.uk/data/file/f/c/Antisemitic_Incidents_Report_Jan-June_2017.1501074748.pdf

Clause 2: Dehumanisation and Jewish Control

“Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

This clause highlights both racial-biologically, or classical antisemitism, as well as conspiracy theories about Jews, often emanating from the forgery, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

In terms of racial antisemitism, this includes comparing Jews to, for example; rats, cancer, plague and bacteria.¹⁵ Historically, Jews were often portrayed as animals, such as the Judensau, the Jewish pig, popularised some 700 years ago. Sculptures of such Judensau still exist on numerous churches across Europe, including in Wittenberg, Germany where Martin Luther, the antisemitic Protestant church reformer, preached.¹⁶ This form of antisemitism still manifests today in imagery shared, both online and offline, which refers to Jews as evil, animals or disease.

In terms of antisemitic conspiracy theories, expressions can include the concept of the International Jew and the belief that a cabal of Jews controls various aspects of the world, such as banking, the media and politics. These concepts were widely popularised by the well-known Russian antisemitism forgery ‘The Protocols of the Elders of Zion’ published in 1903. Today, this manifestation of antisemitism is often depicted graphically, such as through the portrayal of octopuses and tentacles

around the earth or by repellent images of Jewish bankers or politicians.

Examples which highlight dehumanising antisemitism:

- In 2014, graffiti was daubed on a Jewish home in London, with a crossed-out Star of David, the words *“All Jewish are rats”* and the words *“free Palestine.”*¹⁷
- In 2016, graffiti was drawn on a wall in Sussex of a face with the words *“Jews r evil”* beneath it.¹⁸

Examples which highlight the Jewish control antisemitic conspiracy theories:

- In 2016, on a pub in London, the words *“Jews run UK BD5”* were drawn.¹⁹
- In 2017, an image was shared on social media with the headline, *“WHO RUN THE WORLD? THE SYNAGOGUE OF SATAN”* with a pyramid created of groups, such as the United Nations, which are allegedly controlled.²⁰
- In 2017, hate mail was sent to a Jewish organisation which alleged that the *“Rothschilds are extremely powerful and are one of the top ranking members of the illuminati...they are extremely evil people and sacrifice children to Satan.”*²¹
- In 2018, a woman on a train said: *“Dirty Jews... think you run this place... This isn’t Jerusalem this is London. You Jews think you can take over the world. I will kill you and go to prison I wouldn’t care.”*²²

15 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/6/7/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202016%20final.1504698121.pdf>

16 <https://www.timesofisrael.com/europes-anti-semitism-is-literally-carved-in-stone/>

17 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/3/3/Incidents-Report-Jan-June-2014.1425053096.pdf>

18 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/b/e/Incidents%20Report%202016.1486376547.pdf>

19 Ibid

20 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/a/b/IR17.1517308734.pdf>

21 Ibid

22 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/2/9/Incidents%20Report%202018%20-%20web.1549538710.pdf>

Clause 3: Jews Responsible for Wrongdoing

“Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.”

The form of antisemitism blames Jews, either as individuals or collectively, for misconduct. Often this includes blaming Jews for wars, terrorist attacks, or the spread of diseases. Historically, Jews were wrongly blamed for the death of Jesus (known as Jewish deicide), the Black Death and poisoning wells during the Middle Ages.²³ This can also include blaming Jews for the action of well-known Jewish groups or figures or celebrities such as former MP, media proprietor and fraudster Robert Maxwell or film producer and sex offender Harvey Weinstein.

More recently, Jews have been falsely accused of creating Bolshevism (Communism) and for carrying out the 11th September 2001 Al-Qaeda terror attacks against America. Another antisemitic accusation of Jewish wrongdoing, is the inflation of the function of Jews within the slave trade. Jews did play a role in the slave trade, but by no means did Jews play a disproportionately large role in the trade. Scholars have argued that in reality Jews held a minority role in the financing of slavery.²⁴ This falsehood is still professed today.

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- In 2009, a 10-year-old girl at school was asked by a fellow pupil: *“Why do Jews always start wars? I hate Jews.”*²⁵

- In 2010, a leaflet was delivered to houses in Kent and Hertfordshire which claimed *“9/11 was carried out by Israel”* and this was *“the same forces that created 7/7, WWI, WW2, the Russian Revolution, the French Revolution, every conceivable act of terrorism and financial downfall in history – including the recession.”*²⁶
- In 2012, a man who is not Jewish but has a Jewish grandparent, was called a *“Christ-killer”* by men at a taxi rank in London.²⁷
- In 2012, a man was told at a bus stop *“You killed the best man that ever lived, my best friend Jesus.”*²⁸
- In 2015, the words *“Jesus killers”* was written on the front door of a Synagogue.²⁹
- In 2019, during the Jewish festival of Chanukah, several Jewish buildings in North London, as well as non-Jewish buildings, were daubed with graffiti referencing the 11th of September 2001 attacks on America, with the Star of David.³⁰
- In 2019, a Twitter user posted: *“Jews killed the Son of God, & continue to slaughter his innocent flock in Palestine! The Jews heart if void of Christian virtue, thus darkness reigns. Resist the Jew & terrorist @Israel!”*.³¹

23 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/6/7/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202016%20final.1504698121.pdf>

24 <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/jews-and-the-african-slave-trade/>

25 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/e/f/Incidents-Report-2009.1425052588.pdf>

26 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/b/4/Incidents-Report-2010.1425052704.pdf>

27 Ibid

28 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/d/c/Incidents-Report-2012.1425052902.pdf>

29 https://cst.org.uk/data/file/1/9/Incidents_Report_2015.1454417905.pdf

30 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/9/0/IncidentsReport2019.1580815723.pdf>

31 Ibid

Clause 4: Holocaust Denial

“Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).”

During the Holocaust, which occurred during World War II and was instigated by Nazi Germany, over 6 million Jews across Europe were murdered. Holocaust denial is an insidious form of antisemitism which attempts, at times, to masquerade as legitimate historical revisionism. Holocaust denial is specifically the “*minimization or distortion of the facts of the Holocaust.*”³² Holocaust denial can include, but is not limited to: ignoring or discrediting evidence of the Holocaust; claiming the Holocaust is a myth or a “Holohoax”; claiming the Holocaust was invented by either the Allies or the Soviets after the war, asserting that photographs or accounts have

been forged, or stating that the Holocaust has been falsified for Jewish advantage, whether that be the creation of the State of Israel or for profit.³³

In October 2013, the member states of the IHRA adopted the ‘Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion’ which seeks to further explain what constitutes Holocaust denial³⁴. This includes excusing or minimising the impact of the Holocaust, minimisation of the number of victims, blaming Jews for the Holocaust, statements calling the Holocaust a positive historical event and attempts to lay all the responsibility of concentration camps and death camps on other groups, as opposed to the Nazis.³⁵ The full Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion can be found in the appendix of this guide.

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- In 2012, an email was sent to an organisation that is involved in Holocaust commemoration that read, *“Those that died in Auschwitz, died of typhus! Is it not time you stopped the lies and propaganda? The truth is available to all now.”*³⁶
- In 2015, a Christmas card was sent to a non-Jewish MP with a cartoon of a person saying, *“Do you still believe and Father Christmas?”* and another character, *“Do you still believe in the Holocaust?”*³⁷
- In 2018, Alison Chabloz was found guilty of posting grossly offensive material online for songs which called the Nazi gas chambers *“a proven hoax”* and called Auschwitz extermination camp a *“theme park.”* Lyrics also included *“Did the Holocaust ever happen? Was it just a bunch of lies? Seems that some intend to pull the wool over our eyes.”*³⁸



32 <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007272>

33 Ibid

34 <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-holocaust-denial-and-distortion>

35 Ibid

36 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/d/c/Incidents-Report-2012.1425052902.pdf>

37 https://cst.org.uk/data/file/1/9/Incidents_Report_2015.1454417905.pdf

38 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/may/25/woman-who-posted-holocaust-denial-songs-to-youtube-convicted-alison-chabloz>

Clause 5: Holocaust Exaggeration

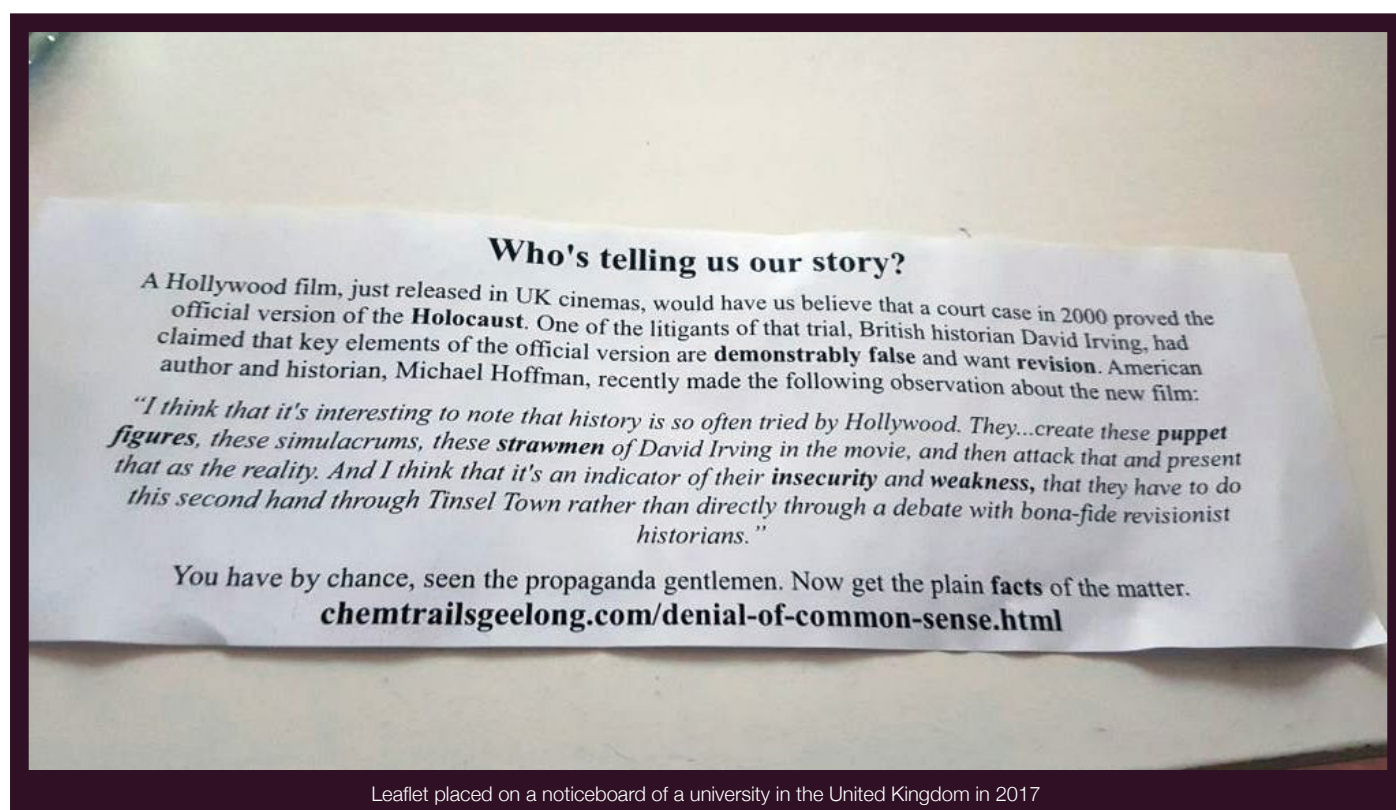
“Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.”

One part of Holocaust denial, as outlined in Clause 4 of the Working Definition, is the claim that Jews, or Israel as the only Jewish state, have collectively overstated the tragedy of the Holocaust. This can include, but is not limited to, claiming the number of deaths has been inflated, that most people died by diseases not as a result of Nazi persecution or that certain Jews were lawfully executed as criminals.³⁹

This form of antisemitism is specifically poignant and important to separate from wider Holocaust denial because it insinuates and propagates the antisemitic conspiracy theory that Jews want to control the discourse about the Holocaust for their own nefarious purposes, just like they control the world, media and governments.

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- In 2017 a leaflet was placed on a University noticeboard entitled *“The Greatest Swindle of All Time” and called the Holocaust a “Hollywood production.”*⁴⁰
- In 2017, a Twitter user posted: *“WW2 was political, no Jews were killed because of their faith, the Zionist caused WWI and WW2 it was about money and power. Same as today.”*⁴¹



Leaflet placed on a noticeboard of a university in the United Kingdom in 2017

39 <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007272>

40 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/a/b/IR17.1517308734.pdf>

41 Ibid

Clause 6: Jewish Loyalty To Israel Over Their Home Nations

“Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.”

This antisemitic canard, which echoes Clause 2’s concept of conspiracy theories, segregates Jews from wider society as “the other”. This form of antisemitism was included in ‘The Protocols of the Elders of Zion’. Originally this meant Jews were more loyal to their own community than to the State.

This concept of dual loyalty has often been taken, since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, to mean Jews are more loyal to the State of Israel than to the country in which they reside.

As Professor David

Feldman succinctly explains, *“the idea that Jews conspire to shape public policy so that it serves Jewish interests is closely related to the notion that Jews in general (that is to say, not only powerful Jews) reserve their loyalty for Jewish interests only”*.⁴²

This form of antisemitism often includes accusations of Jewish treason, most famously evident in the 1894 to 1906 Dreyfus Affair where Jewish French military officer, Alfred Dreyfus, was accused of divulging French military secrets. Today, dual loyalty accusations are often levied against Jewish members of Parliament, Jewish organisations or against Jewish public figures.

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- Jewish Labour Member of Parliament, Dame Louise Ellman MP, was asked by a member of the party, *“How does it feel to be elected as a member of a democratic party in this country but represent a fascist party overseas?”*⁴³
- Former British Ambassador to Israel, Matthew Gould’s, loyalty was questioned in a commentary from MEMO, which asked: *“Can a Jewish*

*ambassador to Israel ever be truly objective when advising his home government on relations with the Jewish state?” and asked “how can he serve what are to all intents and purposes two masters at the same time?”*⁴⁴



This is something which is unlikely to be asked of another diplomatic representative of the United Kingdom due to their religion.

- In 2014, former Member of Parliament, David Ward, alluded that Israel controls members of parliament and that there is dual loyalty in the Commons: *“Need to expose Pro-#Israel control of MPs against recognition.”*⁴⁵

42 <http://antisemitism.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Report-of-the-All-Party-Parliamentary-Inquiry-intoAntisemitism-1.pdf>

43 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/politics/louise-ellman-quit-labour-accused-having-dual-loyalty-israel/>

44 <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20140421-memo-comment-is-britains-new-ambassador-to-israel-really-going-to-be-objective/>

45 <https://twitter.com/DWard/status/526069599981563904>

Clause 7: Denial of Jewish Self-Determination

“Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour.”

This form of antisemitism, where Jews are denied the right to self-determination, is often linked to anti-Zionism. This denies the Jewish people the right to a nation-state and can lead to calls to destroy Israel in its entirety as a state (and therefore its millions of Jewish inhabitants too).⁴⁶ Not all anti-Zionists are antisemites and anti-Zionism is not necessarily antisemitic. However, this clause has been included in the IHRA definition as it is often reminiscent of classical antisemitic tropes.

Firstly, the call for a Jewish nation-state and Jewish emancipation in modern times emanated from the need for Jews to escape the onslaught of antisemitism across Europe, including pogroms and eventually the Holocaust. Denying the legitimacy of this call for emancipation and escape, effectively implies that the Jewish right to survive and flee persecution is illegitimate. This form of antisemitism also denies the Jewish people's historical and religious ties to the area where the land of Israel. Historically, Jews have always had a presence in the area which is now Israel. Concerning religion, Jewish prayers often reference the land of Israel and Jews pray towards the holiest site in Judaism: The Western Wall in Jerusalem. Denying this connection is antisemitic and a flagrant denial of Jewish identity.

Secondly, when individuals deny the right to Jewish people to have self-determination, they often deny the concept of Jews as a people. This includes the antisemitic Khazar hypothesis of Ashkenazi Jewish ancestry. This pseudo-scientific theory is used to challenge the state of Israel as a Jewish

state. The argument is that Jews are of Turkic origin and therefore have no connection with or right to live in Israel.⁴⁷ This is related to the argument that Jews are not ‘Semitic’, therefore the negating the existence of antisemitism. ‘Semitic’ literally translates as languages, or people that speak languages, that includes “Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Phoenician.”⁴⁸ This view asserts that modern Jews are not descended from Hebrew or Aramaic peoples and therefore do not have the right of self-determination in the Middle East.

Additionally, the claim that Israel is a racist state stems from the classical antisemitic canard that Jews, who were biblically, rightly or wrongly, defined as the chosen people, are therefore racist against others and hate non-Jews.

- Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:
- In 2011 a Jewish peer received an email calling him a “*Khazar fake Jew*” whilst denying the Holocaust and claiming “*Talmudic Bolshevik Communism*” had tried to destroy Europe.⁴⁹
- In 2012, several organisations, including Jewish groups, in London received an email which referred to “*the true Satanic colours of the Khazar-Ashkenazi Jews of convenience*” and “*the Masonic Zionist kikester lobby*”.⁵⁰
- In 2015, a Jewish man received an offensive mass emailing entitled, “*DNA science and the Jewish bloodline*”.⁵¹

46 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/6/7/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202016%20final.1504698121.pdf>

47 <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/khazar-myth-busted-1.5253397>

48 <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/semitic?s=t>

49 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/d/b/Incidents-Report-2011.1425052805.pdf>

50 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/d/c/Incidents-Report-2012.1425052902.pdf>

51 https://cst.org.uk/data/file/1/9/Incidents_Report_2015.1454417905.pdf

Clause 8: Double Standards Applied To Israel

“Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.”

This clause has been, arguably, the most contentious amongst those who disagree with adopting the working definition. In order to clarify this, the IHRA crucially states that this does not include *“criticism of Israel similar to that levelled against any other country”* which *“cannot be regarded as antisemitic.”*

As the European Union has explained in its guide to the IHRA definition, antisemitism through double standards often involves the use of antisemitic tropes not employed when criticising other states. For example, sometimes protestors question Israel’s right to exist because of opposition to its policies. However, it is rare to hear critics call into question other countries’ right to exist, on account of their policies.

In 2004, Natan Sharansky, former political prisoner in Soviet Russia put forward the 3D Test of Antisemitism to differentiate between appropriate criticism of Israel and antisemitic, or antisemitically motivated, criticism of Israel. The three Ds are: Delegitimization, Demonization and Double Standards.⁵² Double standards are often more easily recognisable when applied by governments or international organisations, where their record on the behaviour of other countries is more readily available, in comparison to their record on Israel. The key question is: when protesting against another State, would you invoke the same tropes?

This form of antisemitism can include the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign. On a surface level, this form of political pressure is not antisemitic. However, the campaign has been argued to violate Sharansky’s 3D Test in respect of Double Standards. The All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism of 2015 noted that whilst BDS campaigns might be legitimate, the boycott movement faced a challenge of how to put its tactics into effect whilst not “slipping into antisemitism, unlawful discrimination or assaulting valued freedoms”. For example, this might include the denial to Jewish people of Kosher provisions through lack of availability.

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- In 2016, a Tweet was sent to a Jewish organisation that stated, *“History shows that most Jews are incapable of telling the truth about anything. Most of the propaganda Jews are peddling is easily disprovable lies. #BDS”*.⁵³ This tweet included the hashtag #BDS, which stands for Boycott, Divestment Sanctions.



- In 2019, a Twitter user responded to a Jewish actor’s tweet stating, *“Lying and spreading your filthy rumours about decent people to appease your Israeli bosses isnt going to help your cause. Apartheid in any country is terrible if you support if then dont be surprised at the backlash.”*⁵⁴ The actor has not affirmed any stance on Israel.⁵⁵

⁵² <http://jcpa.org/article/3d-test-of-anti-semitism-demonization-double-standards-delegitimization/>

⁵³ <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/b/e/Incidents%20Report%202016.1486376547.pdf>

⁵⁴ <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/9/0/IncidentsReport2019.1580815723.pdf>

⁵⁵ Ibid

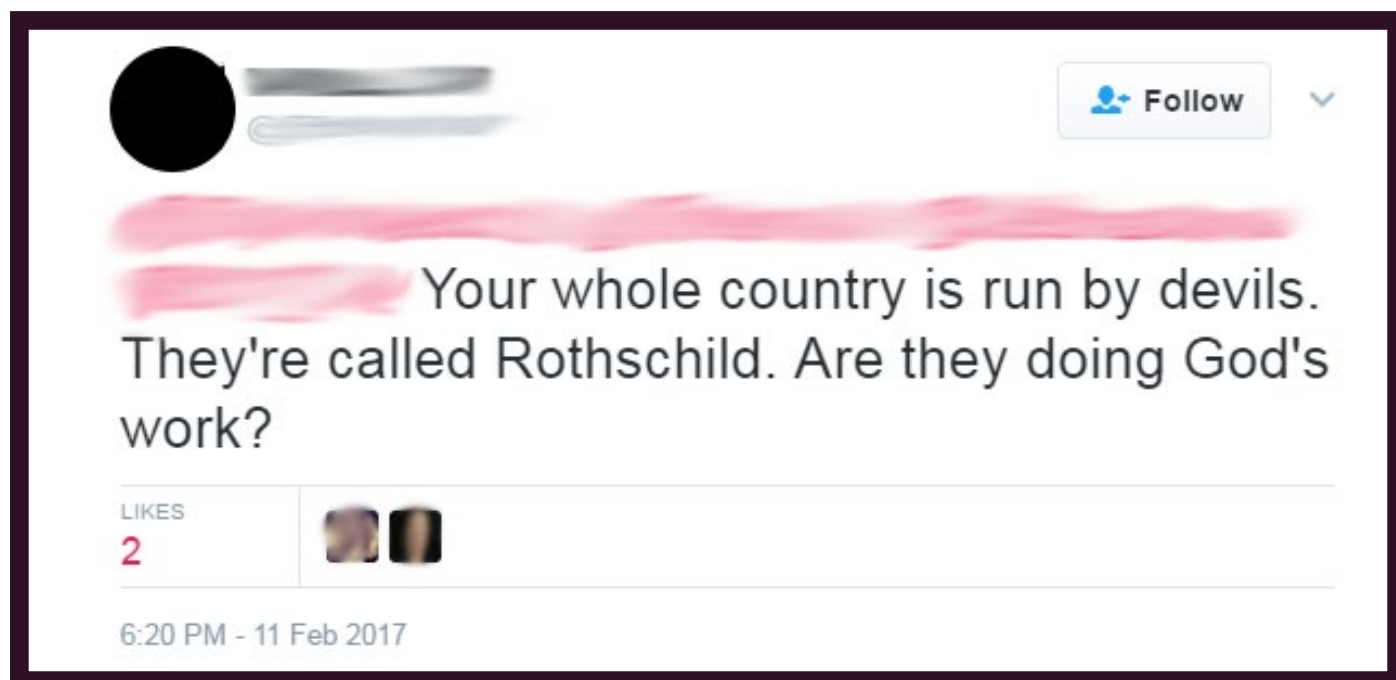
Clause 9: Classical Antisemitic Tropes about Israel or Zionism

“Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.”

This is another contentious clause of the Working Definition of Antisemitism as people have claimed it is being used to stop criticism of Israel. However, context is key, because when classical and recognisable antisemitic canards are applied to Israel, it is antisemitic. This would include; alleging that Jewish holy books preach Jewish supremacy and claiming this is the foundation for alleged Zionist racism rather than Jewish racism, using dehumanising and demonising language in portrayals of Zionists and Israel rather than Jews, claiming that Zionists rather than Jews are in control of the media or government or financial system, accusing Zionists rather than Jews as being ‘the Other’ and blaming them for wrongdoings, the portraying Zionists instead of Jews as contaminating humanity.⁵⁶

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- In 2012, an email was sent to several Jewish and non-Jewish organisation called *“Israeli Jock Drinks Christian Blood”* referencing the classical antisemitic blood libel. The email referred to *“the true Satanic colours of the Khazar-Ashkenazi Jews of convenience”*, *“ZioNazi xenophobes”* and *“the Masonic Zionist kikestar lobby.”*⁵⁷
- In 2014, graffiti was daubed on a pavement in London reading, *“Jews kill Palestinian babies.”*⁵⁸
- In 2017, a Twitter user posted a message: *“Your whole country is run by devils. They’re called Rothschild. Are they doing God’s work?”*⁵⁹
- In 2018, an email was sent in Scotland which called *“Israel a terrorist state”* who *“control the West through the central banking system.”*⁶⁰



56 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/6/7/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202016%20final.1504698121.pdf>

57 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/d/c/Incidents-Report-2012.1425052902.pdf>

58 Ibid

59 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/a/b/IR17.1517308734.pdf>

60 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/2/9/Incidents%20Report%202018%20-%20web.1549538710.pdf>

Clause 10: Israel - Nazi Comparisons

“Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.”

The use of Nazism to describe Israel is antisemitic because it is a deliberate invocation of the Jewish nature of the Holocaust to attack its targets, in order to provoke and upset.⁶¹ Nazism is not used, for the most part, to criticise or attack other states, nor often is those states racial or religious character. During the 2014 summer conflict between Israel and Gaza, imagery of Swastikas and comparisons between Israel and the Nazis become commonplace during protests on the streets of London.⁶² This form of antisemitism often uses swastikas, pictures of Hitler and other imagery or concepts from Nazi Germany to portray Israel.

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- In 2014, leaflets were sent to several synagogues in Birmingham, Liverpool and London stating *“Israeli – Nazis have turned Gaza into a modern Auschwitz and are now annihilating its civilians without remorse.”*⁶³
- In 2016, graffiti was daubed in Dunham stating, *“ZioNazis”* with a Star of David.⁶⁴
- In 2017, a tweet was sent stating: *“I boycott Israeli goods Because Israel is a terrorist State Run by a bunch of Neo-Nazi.”*⁶⁵



Graffiti daubed in Dunham Massey, near Manchester, in 2016

61 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/5/2/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202014.1448538833.pdf>

62 Ibid

63 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/5/5/Incidents-Report-2014.1425053165.pdf>

64 <https://cst.org.uk/news/latest-news/2017/11/06/pensioner-who-daubed-anti-zionist-and-antisemitic-graffiti-in-dunham-massey-sentenced-following-cooperation-between-cst-and-police>

65 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/a/b/IR17.1517308734.pdf>

Clause 11: Jews Responsible for Israeli Actions

“Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.”

Holding Jews, as a group, responsible for Israel’s actions is antisemitic because it is reminiscent of the classical antisemitic trope that Jews are collectively responsible for any number of problems and ills. This, likewise, repeats the notion of collective Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus, which is further explained in Clause 3.

Fundamentally it is wrong to blame Jews collectively, including those born in Israel, those living in Israel and those in the diaspora, for the actions of the Israeli state and individuals within the Israeli state. To blame an individual of any nationality or religious affiliation for the actions of a foreign state is discriminatory.

Often the manifestations of this form antisemitism will include targeting Jewish communal buildings, Jewish individuals, Jewish organisations or synagogues to protest the situation in Israel and Palestine.

Examples which highlight this form of antisemitism:

- In 2008, at Manchester University, a Jewish student was approached by a Palestinian student who shouted at her, *“you Jews are killing my people.”* The Jewish student responded, *“what, me personally?”* and the Palestinian student replied, *“yes, you fucking Jew.”*⁶⁶
- In 2009, posters with the slogan *“Jihad is the only solution for Palestine”* were placed on the gates of a Jewish building in North West London.⁶⁷ This took place during Operation Cast Lead; the winter conflict between Israel and Gaza.
- In 2009, numerous synagogues in London received a letter stating, *“how can you sleep at night? Talking about genocide! No wonder people want to see you wiped out of the face of the earth. How can you kill so many innocent creatures and justify it?... You don’t integrate. You only help your own...”*⁶⁸ This also took place during Operation Cast Lead.
- In 2011, a visibly Jewish man was walking to his car when the driver of another vehicle spat at him and said, *“you Jew”* and drove off, returned and stated, *“Free Palestine.”*⁶⁹
- In 2014, a synagogue in Brighton and Hove had the words *“Free Gaza”* daubed on its outside walls.⁷⁰
- In 2015, BBC News reporter Tim Wilcox interviewed a Jewish woman who attended a memorial rally in Paris for those murdered in the terror attacks that struck the city in 2015. After the woman expressed fears of antisemitism in Europe, as a kosher supermarket had been one of the targets, Wilcox proceeded to state that *“Palestinians suffer hugely at Jewish hands as well.”*⁷¹ This is antisemitic as a woman, totally detached from Israel, a foreign nation, was being quizzed about the Israeli state’s actions.
- In 2018, after hearing two men talking about Israel, a man on a bus said, *“You are child killers.”*⁷²

66 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/c/2/Incidents-Report-2008.1425052422.pdf>

67 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/e/f/Incidents-Report-2009.1425052588.pdf>

68 Ibid

69 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/d/b/Incidents-Report-2011.1425052805.pdf>

70 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/5/5/Incidents-Report-2014.1425053165.pdf>

71 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/b/c/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202015.1482423626.pdf>

72 <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/2/9/Incidents%20Report%202018%20-%20web.1549538710.pdf>

Appendix

IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism

In the spirit of the Stockholm Declaration that states:

“With humanity still scarred by ...antisemitism and xenophobia the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils” the committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial called the IHRA Plenary in Budapest 2015 to adopt the following working definition of antisemitism.⁷³

On 26 May 2016, the Plenary in Bucharest decided to:

Adopt the following non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism:

“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”

To guide IHRA in its work, the following examples may serve as illustrations:

Manifestations might include the targeting of the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that levelled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic. Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for “why things go wrong.” It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.



The IHRA plenary where the definition of antisemitism was adopted. Reproduced with permission from the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

73 <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism>

- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

Antisemitic acts are criminal when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

Criminal acts are antisemitic when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property – such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries – are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

Antisemitic discrimination is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

IHRA Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion

The present definition is an expression of the awareness that Holocaust denial and distortion have to be challenged and denounced nationally and internationally and need examination at a global level. IHRA hereby adopts the following legally non-binding working definition as its working tool.

Holocaust denial is discourse and propaganda that deny the historical reality and the extent of the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis and their accomplices during World War II, known as the Holocaust or the Shoah. Holocaust denial refers specifically to any attempt to claim that the Holocaust/Shoah did not take place.

Holocaust denial may include publicly denying or calling into doubt the use of principal mechanisms of destruction (such as gas chambers, mass shooting, starvation and torture) or the intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people.

Holocaust denial in its various forms is an expression of antisemitism. The attempt to deny the genocide of the Jews is an effort to exonerate National Socialism and antisemitism from guilt or responsibility in the genocide of the Jewish people. Forms of Holocaust denial also include blaming the Jews for either exaggerating or creating the Shoah for political or financial gain as if the Shoah itself the result of a conspiracy was plotted by the Jews. In this, the goal is to make the Jews culpable and antisemitism once again legitimate.

The goals of Holocaust denial often are the rehabilitation of an explicit antisemitism and the promotion of political ideologies and conditions suitable for the advent of the very type of event it denies.

- Distortion of the Holocaust refers, *inter alia*, to:
- Intentional efforts to excuse or minimize the impact of the Holocaust or its principal elements, including collaborators and allies of Nazi Germany;
- Gross minimization of the number of the victims of the Holocaust in contradiction to reliable sources;
- Attempts to blame the Jews for causing their own genocide;
- Statements that cast the Holocaust as a positive historical event. Those statements are not Holocaust denial but are closely connected to it as a radical form of antisemitism. They may suggest that the Holocaust did not go far enough in accomplishing its goal of “the Final Solution of the Jewish Question”;
- Attempts to blur the responsibility for the establishment of concentration and death camps devised and operated by Nazi Germany by putting blame on other nations or ethnic groups.⁷⁴

74 <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-holocaust-denial-and-distortion>

The Antisemitism Policy Trust's mission is to educate and empower parliamentarians, policy makers and opinion formers to address antisemitism. It provides the secretariat to the British All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism and works internationally with parliamentarians and others to address antisemitism. The Antisemitism Policy Trust is focussed on educating and empowering decision makers in the UK and across the world to effectively address antisemitism.

Contact APT



www.antisemitism.org.uk



[@antisempolicy](https://twitter.com/antisempolicy)



Antisemitism Policy Trust



mail@antisemitism.org.uk

The Antisemitism Policy Trust is a registered charity (1089736) [England] and company (04146486) [England and Wales]