

LABOUR FRIENDS OF ISRAEL
SUBMISSION TO THE LABOUR PARTY INQUIRY INTO
ANTISEMITISM AND OTHER FORMS OF RACISM

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- There is nothing illegitimate or anti-Semitic about criticising the actions of the Israeli government. Millions of Israelis – and Jews in Britain and around the world – do it every day.
- However, for at least the past 40 years, there has been a discourse on the hard left which has crossed a line between criticism of the Israeli government into something altogether more disturbing and unacceptable: a discourse which seeks to delegitimise the state of Israel and deny the Jewish people their right to self-determination. As it was in the early 1980s, that discourse is now evident among a minority of individuals in the Labour party.
- Over the past six months, a number of instances of alleged anti-Semitism by members of the Labour party have come to light. In almost every instance, their remarks have been focused on, or related to, Israel.
- Labour’s anti-Semitism problem is one of what has been termed “anti-Zionist anti-Semitism”. While some believe that anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism (opposition to the movement to create a Jewish state in the Middle East, corresponding to the historic land of Israel) are separable, this is a difficult argument to sustain – not least because the vast majority of British Jews have a strong attachment to Israel and Israel is the world’s only Jewish state.
- It is important to draw some clear boundaries which make apparent to all where legitimate criticism of Israel ends and anti-Semitism begins. We believe it is possible for Labour to give a clear indication of language and imagery which the party deems unacceptable when criticism of Israel is being made:
 - *First, the use of imagery and language which invoke classic anti-Semitic tropes and accusations.*
 - *Second, the denial of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination and claims that equate Zionism with racism.*
 - *Third, the drawing of comparisons between Israeli policies and those of the Nazis.*
 - *Fourth, holding Jews collectively responsible for the actions of the state of Israel.*
 - *Finally, the application of double standards which demand of Israel behaviour not expected of any other democratic nation. However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot and should not be regarded as anti-Semitic.*

There is nothing illegitimate or anti-Semitic about criticising the actions of the Israeli government. Millions of Israelis – and Jews in Britain and around the world – do it every day.

Whether it be settlement-building, the situation in Gaza, or the inequalities faced by Arab-Israelis, there are plenty of concerns which people inside and outside of Israel have about the policies of Israeli governments which they wish to express, and should not feel impeded from doing so. Other democracies face criticism, both at home and internationally, for the policies of their governments and Israel should not be exempt from such criticism; very few Israelis believe their government should be.

However, for at least the past 40 years, there has been a discourse on the hard left which has crossed a line between criticism of the Israeli government into something altogether more disturbing and unacceptable: a discourse which seeks to delegitimise the state of Israel and deny the Jewish people their right to self-determination.

As it was in the early 1980s, that discourse is now evident among a minority of individuals in the Labour party.

Labour anti-Semitism: the link to Israel

Over the past six months, a number of instances of alleged anti-Semitism by members of the Labour party have come to light. In almost every instance, their remarks have been focused on, or related to, Israel.

Ken Livingstone (Labour Party member, suspended, own statements)

“When Hitler won his election in 1932 his policy then was that Jews should be moved to Israel. He was supporting Zionism before he went mad and ended up killing six million Jews.”¹

As Dave Rich of the Community Security Trust (CST) suggests:

“This propaganda cherry-picks examples of contact and negotiations between Zionists and Nazis in the 1930s and 1940s and uses them to place Zionism and Nazism alongside each other, as if they are somehow connected. Hitler never wanted Jewish rights or self-determination, he wanted the exact opposite. Some Zionists thought they could save Jewish lives by negotiating with Nazis, but this was an act of desperation and nothing more. Then there is the fact that Hitler did not “go mad” and “end up” killing six million Jews. The Holocaust was the result of a genocidal mind-set that was evil but not insane in the way Mr Livingstone says. By the time Hitler came to power he had already written Mein Kampf, one of the most antisemitic books in history.”²

Khadim Hussain (Labour Party member, suspended (since resigned membership), shared image)

“Your school education system only tells you about Anne Frank and the six million Zionists that were killed by Hitler.”³

¹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36169654>

² <http://www.theic.com/comment-and-debate/analysis/157793/jew-hate-a-guide-perplexed>

³ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/khadim-hussain-former-lord-mayor-of-bradford-suspended-by-labour-party-over-anti-semitism-a6948856.html>



As Dave Rich of the CST suggests:

“Sometimes "Zionist" is just a straight swap for "Jew" ... This use of the word "Zionists" is a direct synonym for "Jew". Anything else Hussain has written about "Zionists" should be read with that in mind.”

Beinazir Lasharie (Labour Party member, suspended (suspension lifted in December), shared video and added own statements)

Shared a video titled “ISIS: Israeli Secret Intelligence Service” along with the message: *“Many people know about who was behind 9/11 and also who is behind ISIS. I've nothing against Jews ... just sharing it!”*⁴

As Dave Rich of the CST suggests:

“Modern antisemitism relies on conspiracy theories... Conspiracy theories blaming war, terrorism, financial disaster or other calamities on Jews have been around for well over a century. After the Holocaust and the creation of Israel, these conspiracy theories modified their language slightly to blame Zionists or Israel instead of Jews, but the way of thinking is identical. Without those explicitly anti-Jewish predecessors, today's conspiracy theories about Zionists and Israel wouldn't exist in the way they do. The change in language, though, means contemporary conspiracy theorists may not understand what they are doing. Lasharie blamed ISIS on "Israel" and "Zionists" while saying "I've got nothing against Jews", so she clearly thinks she isn't antisemitic. In fact she is spreading antisemitism without even knowing it.”

⁴ <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/exbig-brother-contestant-suspended-from-labour-party-over-antiisrael-facebook-posts-a3093956.html>

Vicki Kirby (Labour Party member, suspended, own statements)

Sent a tweet saying: “Who is the Zionist God? I am starting to think it may be Hitler. #FreePalestine”

Another tweet said: “We invented Israel when saving them from Hitler, who now seems to be their teacher.”

A third tweet read: “I will never forget and I will make sure my kids teach their children how evil Israel is!”

One post from 2011 referred to Jews having “big noses”.⁵

As Dave Rich of the CST suggests:

“This notion - that Israel is inflicting on the Palestinians the same crimes that Jews suffered under the Nazis - is remarkably common in anti-Israel circles. It is, of course, factually incorrect, but that is not enough to make it antisemitic; nor is the fact that it is grossly offensive. The real reason this trope is antisemitic is because it uses Israel's Jewishness as the basis of its attack: “See how you Jews behave now, you are no better than those Nazis whose Holocaust you still complain about”. It connects the Holocaust, Israel and today's Jews via the thread of their shared Jewishness to cause hurt, while forcing some of the moral guilt of the Holocaust onto its victims. It is a form of abuse that only works against Jews, and for that reason it is antisemitic.”

Gerry Downing (Labour Party member, suspended, own statements)

In an article entitled “Why Marxists must address the Jewish Question”:

“But the outcome of WWII, and then the rise of Israel, destroyed this worldview among the imperialist bourgeoisie. What took its place was an emerging understanding that the Jewish bourgeoisie was an important reserve for the survival of capitalism itself, particularly in its ability to see beyond narrow national horizons and look out for the interests of the bourgeois class on a broader basis. As a distinct caste, this depends on the Zionist project for its internal coherence; without it this caste would disappear through assimilation into the separate imperialist bourgeoisies. The end of ethnocracy in Israel would spell the defeat of this extra resource of imperialism, which today's Western ruling classes value highly indeed.”⁶

In his letter to the NEC appealing against his expulsion:

“It is pretty clear that on the spectrum of racist terror and tyranny, Israel is considerably worse than apartheid South Africa, though obviously so far less severe than Nazi Germany itself (though it should be noted that Hitler's regime lasted only 12 years – Israeli terror continues unabated after 70 years)”⁷

⁵ http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/jeremy-corbyn-vicky-kirby-anti-semitism_uk_56e80319e4b03fb88ede23bf

⁶ <https://socialistfight.com/2015/08/22/why-marxists-must-address-the-jewish-question-concretely-today/>

⁷ <https://socialistfight.com/2016/03/16/letter-to-labour-party-nec-appealing-against-my-re-expulsion-from-the-party/>

As Dave Rich of the CST suggests:

“Marxist theory believes that Jews survived in the Middle Ages because they provided an economic function as money lenders. Because capitalism does not need Jewish money lenders, Marxists believe Jews should have disappeared from trace by now; our failure to do so ruins their theory. Firstly, wishing the disappearance of Jews, by whatever means, is objectively antisemitic. Mr Downing's website compounds the offence by explaining that Jews' failure to disappear is due to a "world Jewish-Zionist bourgeoisie" that dominates America and Europe. This echoes classical antisemitic conspiracy theories about wealthy Jews manipulating governments.”

Naz Shah MP (Labour Party member, suspended, own statements)

Shah shared a graphic of Israel's outline superimposed on a map of the US under the headline “*Solution for Israel-Palestine Conflict – Relocate Israel into United States*”, with the comment: “*Problem solved.*”⁸

As Dave Rich of the CST suggests:

“Shah's post was antisemitic for a number of reasons. Israel is, among other things, the world's largest Jewish community. Endorsing the mass deportation of its citizens - ethnic cleansing, effectively - is both racist in itself and has obvious antisemitic antecedents. The post suggested Israel's existence in the Middle East is "foreign interference", thereby denying the historic Jewish connection to the land of Israel and the legitimacy of Jewish sovereignty in the region. Opposing Israel's historical creation or its current existence can be made to sound reasonable as a bland academic or theoretical argument. In the real world, though, the political movements in the Middle East who are trying to end Israel's existence are all violently antisemitic. In the world of real politics, this is the movement to which Western opponents of Israel's existence attach themselves.”

Oxford University Labour Club (Labour Party members, suspension status unknown, own words)

One member stated specifically that it was ‘not anti-Semitic’ to allege the existence of a ‘New York – Tel Aviv axis’ that rigs elections, and said that ‘we should be aware of the influence wielded over elections by high net-worth Jewish individuals’. He also stated that it was ‘not anti-Semitic’ to allege the existence of an international Jewish conspiracy, even though he did not endorse the idea himself. One member, then on committee, stated that all Jews should be expected to publicly denounce Zionism and the state of Israel, and that we should not associate with any Jew who fails to do so.

Several individuals, some who have been on committee, repeatedly used the word ‘Zio’ (a word normally only found on neo-Nazi websites) to refer to Jewish students.

Several members have alleged that US foreign policy is under the control of the ‘Zionist Lobby’ and when asked if by ‘Zionist’ they simply meant ‘Jewish’ they went very silent.

One member was formally disciplined by their college for organising a group of students to harass a Jewish student and to shout “filthy Zionist” whenever they saw her.

⁸ <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/27/naz-shah-suspended-labour-party-antisemitism-row>

One member argued that Hamas was justified in its policy of killing Jewish civilians and claimed that all Jews were legitimate targets.⁹

As Dave Rich of the CST suggests:

"It is alleged that the term "Zio" was routinely used by members of the Oxford University Labour Club to refer to Jewish students. This case shows how interpreting antisemitic or racist language is often about context. "Zio" could, at first glance, simply be an abbreviation of "Zionist" with no further meaning. However, this term is only used by people who are hostile to Zionism: Jewish students do not call each other "Zio" as a term of endearment. It probably originated on the American far right. The wider context for its use at Oxford is the allegation that those same Labour Club members also sang songs celebrating Hamas attacks on Israeli civilians and claimed that US foreign policy was under control of the "Zionist lobby". Alex Chalmers, who resigned as co-chair of the Labour Club when it endorsed Israel Apartheid Week, says that Jewish students were routinely ridiculed and denounced, while Mr Chalmers himself (who is not Jewish) was called a "Zionist stooge". Put this pattern of behaviour together and the context suggests that "Zio" is a derogatory term used in an abusive and bigoted way."

Although less high-profile, there have been a number of other, similar instances:

Ilyas Aziz (Labour Party member, suspended, shared an image and added own statements)

"It would be wiser to create Israel in America it's big enough. They could relocate even now [sic]". And shared a post saying "Stop drinking Gaza blood" with reference to Coca-Cola.¹⁰



Also said "A reminder of the treatment and suffering of Jews in Nazi Germany. Are there any similarities to how Israel is treating Palestinians"¹¹

⁹ https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=217291595285988&id=100010154474702

¹⁰ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/02/labour-has-secretly-suspended-50-members-for-anti-semitic-and-ra/>

¹¹ https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/labour-suspends-councillor-over-comments-about-israel-on-fac?utm_term=.ebKpXNQj7D#.toDaNpqlXw

Salim Mulia (Labour Party member, suspended, own statements and an image share)

“Apartheid at its best. Zionist Jews are a disgrace to humanity” and shared the same “solution for Israel-Palestine conflict” image as Naz Shah.¹²

Shah Hussain (Labour Party member, suspended, own statements)

Tweeted to Israeli footballer Yossi Benayoun that “*you and your country doing the same thing that Hitler did to ur race in ww2 [sic]*”¹³

Aysegul Gurbuz (Labour Party member, suspended, own statements)

Claimed Hitler was the “*greatest man in history*”.

Another tweet on Ms Gurbaz's account suggested Iran could develop a nuclear weapon to “*wipe Israel off the map*”¹⁴

John McAuliffe (Labour Party member, suspended (although John denied he had been), own statements)

Described the Holocaust as a “*useful political tool of the Zionist government in Israel to establish a financial racket in the West*”¹⁵

Bob Campbell (Labour Party member, suspended (although Bob denied he had been), own statements and an image share)

Posted a series of Facebook updates asserting that “*ISIS is run by Israel*” and “*Holocaust the sequel...Please stop Israel*”.

As well as posting an image of Israeli flag with a rat and the comment “*the real plague*”¹⁶



¹² https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/labour-suspends-councillor-over-comments-about-israel-on-fac?utm_term=.ekbV51GA2D#.heRkXR2MI6

¹³ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/02/labour-has-secretly-suspended-50-members-for-anti-semitic-and-ra/>

¹⁴ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/04/10/labour-councillor-suspended-over-claims-she-called-hitler-the-gr/>

¹⁵ <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/157341/labour-activist-suspended-saying-israel-uses-holocaust-a-political-tool%E2%80%99>

¹⁶ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/labour-suspends-member-who-thinks-isis-israeli-conspiracy-a6956551.html>

Marlene Ellis (Labour Party member, suspended, own statements)

Said that Zionists were “involved with Nazis” and that Labour was “seeking to curry favour with... the pro-Zionist lobby in and beyond the media”¹⁷

The above examples demonstrate the clear use of traditional anti-Semitic tropes, language and imagery in anti-Zionist rhetoric, for instance the evocation of blood libels and conspiracy theories; the portrayal of Jews as rats or other form of vermin; the suggestion that Jews should be banished to someplace else; or the notion that Jews are manipulatively exploiting allegations of anti-Semitism.

But, even prior to these recent examples, there have also been occasions in which language has been deployed by Labour parliamentarians which we believe is unacceptable.

In January 2009, for instance, former Shadow Foreign Secretary Gerald Kaufman MP told the House of Commons:

“On Sky News a few days ago, the spokeswoman for the Israeli army, Major Leibovich, was asked about the Israeli killing of, at that time, 800 Palestinians—the total is now 1,000. She replied instantly that ‘500 of them were militants.’ That was the reply of a Nazi. I suppose that the Jews fighting for their lives in the Warsaw ghetto could have been dismissed as militants.”¹⁸

Last November, Kaufman remarked at a meeting of the Palestine Return Centre in Parliament on the allegedly pro-Israel stance of the British government:

“It’s Jewish money, Jewish donations to the Conservative Party – as in the general election in May – support from the Jewish Chronicle, all of those things, bias the Conservatives. There is now a big group of Conservative members of parliament who are pro-Israel whatever government does and they are not interested in what Israel, in what the Israeli government does. They’re not interested in the fact that Palestinians are living a repressed life, and are liable to be shot at any time. In the last few days alone the Israelis have murdered 52 Palestinians and nobody pays attention and this government doesn’t care.”¹⁹

In July 2014, for instance, former Deputy Prime Minister Lord Prescott wrote in the Mirror:

“Israel ... is acting as judge, jury and -executioner in the concentration camp that is Gaza ... What happened to the Jewish people at the hands of the Nazis is appalling. But you would think those atrocities would give Israelis a unique sense of perspective and empathy with the victims of a ghetto.”²⁰

¹⁷ <http://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/labour-suspend-momentum-activist-for-saying-zionists-involved-with-nazis/>

¹⁸ <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/kaufman-blasted-nazi%E2%80%99-remark>

¹⁹ <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/148290/labour-veteran-sir-gerald-kaufman-claims-jewish-money-has-influenced-conservativ>

²⁰ <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/john-prescott-israels-bombardment-gaza-3918413>

Although she later apologised, during a parliamentary debate in February 2014, Yasmin Qureshi MP, stated:

*"[Israel] was founded because of what happened to the millions and millions of Jews who suffered genocide ... It is quite strange that some of the people who are running the state of Israel seem to be quite complacent and happy to allow the same to happen in Gaza."*²¹

At the time of the appointment of Britain's first Jewish ambassador to Israel, Paul Flynn, the Labour MP for Newport West, said ambassadors to Israel had not previously been Jewish *"to avoid the accusation that they have gone native"*. Britain needed, he said, *"someone with roots in the UK [who] can't be accused of having Jewish loyalty"*.²²

Some, of course, have claimed that Labour does not have a problem with anti-Semitism. For these people, as Len McCluskey has said, it is a "cynical attempt to manipulate antisemitism for political aims".²³ However, as David Hirsh of Goldsmiths, University of London argues: "The idea that the Jews profit from antisemitism is an old one; it was the substance of Chapter Nine of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion."²⁴ Even members of the Shadow Cabinet have attempted to dismiss Labour's anti-Semitism problem. Most prominently, Diane Abbott said "It's a smear to say that Labour has a problem with antisemitism. It is something like a smear against ordinary party members."²⁵ Martin Mayer, a sitting member of the party's NEC, said "Labour's Blairite right wing have used the smear of anti-Semitism to undermine Jeremy Corbyn's leadership."²⁶

Anti-Zionist anti-Semitism

As the above examples indicate, Labour's anti-Semitism problem is one of what has been termed "anti-Zionist anti-Semitism". This has been defined by Professor Alan Johnson as follows: "Antisemitic anti-Zionism bends the meaning of Israel and Zionism out of shape until both become fit receptacles for the tropes, images and ideas of classical antisemitism. In short, that which the demonological Jew once was, demonological Israel now is: malevolent, full of blood lust, all-controlling, the obstacle to a better, purer, more spiritual world."²⁷

While some believe that anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism (opposition to the movement to create a Jewish state in the Middle East, corresponding to the historic land of Israel) are separable, this is a difficult argument to sustain – not least because the vast majority of British Jews have a strong attachment to Israel and Israel is the world's only Jewish state.

²¹ <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/115471/labour-mp-condemned-gaza-holocaust-comparison>

²² <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/59300/jewish-envoy-not-loyal-uk-says-labour-mp>

²³ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36180572>

²⁴ <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/analysis/157780/there-a-serious-problem-among-uk-opinion-formers>

²⁵ <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/01/diane-abbott-smear-labour-antisemitism-problem-andrew-marr>

²⁶ <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/157892/tom-watson-i-am-ashamed-labour-antisemitism>

²⁷ <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/comment/144673/antisemitic-anti-zionism-and-left>

Research conducted among British Jews by Ipsos-Mori for Yachad last autumn found:²⁸

- 93 per cent believing that Israel played some role in/is central to their identity as Jews;
- 90 per cent support Israel's right to exist as Jewish state;
- 84 per cent express pride in its cultural and scientific achievements;
- 78 per cent see it as a vibrant and open democracy;
- 70 per cent believe that, in order to achieve a lasting peace, the Palestinians must recognise Israel as a Jewish state, not simply recognise its right to exist.

As David Hirsh also writes: "There is a clear consensus emerging, both within the Jewish community and also among democratic opinion in the country more widely about contemporary antisemitism ... the consensus is that there is a relationship between hostility to Israel and antisemitism".²⁹ Moreover, he suggests, "the existence of antizionist Jews is not evidence that there is no Jewish consensus". While the opinions of antizionist Jews should, of course, not be ignored and while many influential anti-Zionists in the UK are Jews, it is also the case that "not many Jews in the UK are antizionist", as indicated by the figures above.³⁰

Last month, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) – an intergovernmental body devoted to commemorating the Holocaust which has 31 member states, including the UK – adopted a non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism.³¹ It made clear that "criticism of Israel similar to that levelled against any other country cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic." However, it also stated that manifestations of anti-Semitism may include "the targeting of the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity". It went on to include the following as "contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere":

- 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.

Red lines in Labour's Israel debate

It is important to draw some clear boundaries which make apparent to all where legitimate criticism of Israel ends and anti-Semitism begins. Each of the examples above, we believe, crossed those red lines.

²⁸ <http://yachad.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/British-Jewish-Attitudes-Towards-Israel-Yachad-Ipsos-Mori-Nov-2015.pdf>

²⁹ <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/analysis/157780/there-a-serious-problem-among-uk-opinion-formers>

³⁰ David Hirsh Submission to the Chakrabarti Inquiry

³¹ <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/media-room/stories/working-definition-antisemitism>

We accept that context is important. We agree with David Hirsh that, “in order to judge what is antisemitic and what is legitimate criticism it is necessary to judge the politics of a situation as a whole, taking the context whole and complex into account. If a newspaper reports street crime and rape by black men, day after day, with menacing pictures of perpetrators and bruised white innocent victims, it may well produce a racist discourse, even if every element, in itself, is not only legitimate but also true. It is not only the elements of discourse which may or may not be racist, but the way in which it all swirls together in the real world to make a whole.”³²

Alongside the IHRA, both the American Anti-Defamation League³³ and the European Forum on Anti-Semitism³⁴ have addressed this question. Based upon their work, we believe it is possible for Labour to give a clear indication of language and imagery which the party deems unacceptable when criticism of Israel is being made.

First, the use of imagery and language which invoke classic anti-Semitic tropes and accusations. Some of these – the depiction of Israelis in a manner which comes straight out of the pages of Der Stürmer – are probably not hard for most people to spot. But others – suggestions of Jewish conspiracies and cabals shaping western policies towards Israel or the evocation of the medieval blood libels – are no less pernicious and, sadly, all too evident in some of the criticisms levelled against Israel.

Second, the denial of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination and claims that equate Zionism with racism.

*Third, the drawing of comparisons between Israeli policies and those of the Nazis. As the late Professor Robert Wistrich one of the foremost experts of anti-Semitism argued, anti-Zionists who compare Zionism and the Jews to the Third Reich “knowingly exploit the reality that Nazism in the postwar world has become the defining metaphor of absolute evil. For if Zionists are ‘Nazis’ ... then it becomes a moral obligation to wage war against Israel”.*³⁵

Fourth, holding Jews collectively responsible for the actions of the state of Israel.

Finally, the application of double standards which demand of Israel behaviour not expected of any other democratic nation. However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot and should not be regarded as anti-Semitic.

Conclusion

The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians – and the manner in which we best achieve a two-state solution – will continue to be debated within the Labour party. We accept that it is one that arouses strong passions and that sometimes that debate will be fierce, with sharp disagreements. That debate, however, must be freed from all manifestations of “anti-Zionist anti-Semitism”. We believe that the boundaries we set out above would go a long way towards ensuring that happens and should be able to command a broad consensus within the party.

³² David Hirsh Submission to the Chakrabarti Inquiry

³³ <http://www.adl.org/israel-international/israel-middle-east/content/AG/inaccuracy-israel-critics-anti-semites.html#.V1avtWgrKUI>

³⁴ <http://european-forum-on-antisemitism.org/definition-of-antisemitism/english-english>

³⁵ <http://jcpa.org/article/anti-zionism-and-anti-semitism/>