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Cartoons and the new anti-Semitism

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Abstract

This thesis examines how the use of the Star of David symbol in cartoons published in the three months following the May 31, 2010 Gaza flotilla incident reflects a global new anti-Semitism. The objective is to identify and examine how particular signifiers in editorial-style cartoons are used to communicate an anti-Semitic message. Over the three-month period immediately following the flotilla incident the mechanical and automatic retrieval method, Google Alerts captured cartoons published internationally on the Internet each day. Roland Barthes' theory of systematic semiotic analysis was employed to examine visual aspects of cartoons for signs which connoted anti-Semitic messages against a framework of criteria drawn from a synthesis of recognised definitions of anti-Semitism. The research supports claims that a new anti-Semitism has spread into the consciousness of mainstream culture. The research suggests that criticism of Israel via the medium of cartoons can cross the line from legitimate criticism to established anti-Semitic manifestations.

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Notes on spelling and terminology

Anti-Semitism: The thesis applies the spelling, anti-Semitism or Anti-Semitism where appropriate. Where quotations and titles of works render the term differently, typically without the hyphen (Antisemitism), the quoted text's spelling is retained.

Cartoon: This term encompasses political cartoons, editorial cartoons and satirical cartoons, in any static form of two-dimensional visual art, photography, illustration or composite.

Gaza Strip: The geographic territory officially known as the Gaza Strip is rendered Gaza, following colloquial usage.

Jews: To limit lengthy descriptors such as "Jewish people", the term Jew or Jews is generally applied. It is acknowledged that the terms, Jew and Jews may have colloquially derogatory usage. This is not the intention and apologies are offered in advance.

Introduction

This thesis examines a series of cartoons published on the Internet in response to the May 31, 2010 Gaza flotilla incident involving the State of Israel. It explores whether this form of visual communication design published during the three-month period immediately following the incident played a role in communicating anti-Semitic messages. Cartoons related to the incident led to the design of this investigation into the role of cartoons in the flotilla's broader context and whether they evince a global new anti-Semitism.

The 2010 Gaza flotilla

On May 31, 2010 it was reported that Israeli naval commandos had stormed a multinational aid flotilla destined for the shores of Gaza. The incident resulted in several fatalities and was the catalyst for much international news media attention.

The Turkish-led flotilla set sail from Turkey and Greece 10 days earlier, on May 22, 2010, intending to breach the Egyptian-Israeli naval blockade of Gaza. The flotilla consisted of six passenger and cargo ships, carrying 700 activists and politicians from more than 40 countries, and 10,000 tonnes of supplies intended for Gaza. The blockade was implemented after Hamas seized political and military control of Gaza in 2007 (BBC, 2011). Hamas was designated a terrorist organisation in 2003 by the European Union (The Council of the European Union, 2003).

The flotilla was organised by the Turkish organisation, İnsani Yardım Vakfı “Humanitarian Relief Fund” (IHH), and an international coalition of human rights activists, the Free Gaza Movement. Israel has banned IHH from operating in the country since 2008, claiming it is an overt supporter of Hamas (BBC Middle East, 2010). Organisers of the flotilla challenged the legality of the blockade and accused Israel of causing a humanitarian crisis in Gaza. They aimed to foster public awareness of the plight of Gazans, by delivering humanitarian aid and thereby instigating international pressure on Israel to end the blockade. Although there had been three previous attempts to breach the blockade, none were on this scale. Neither did any attract the attention of international media.

On May 28, three days’ before the fatal incident, Israel’s Foreign Minister, Avigdor Lieberman warned that the flotilla was “an attempt at violent propaganda against Israel, and Israel will not allow a violation of its sovereignty at sea” (Sherwood, 2010b, para. 13). Israel stated that its navy would enforce the blockade and divert the ships to the Israeli port of Ashdod.

Israeli forces intercepted the flotilla on May 31. The flagship, Mavi Marmara was boarded by Israeli commandos, who had been lowered by ropes from helicopters. They were met with resistance from the activists. The violence led to the death of nine activists and serious injury of a number of Israelis. Israel defended its use of force, arguing that its commandos acted in self-defence against armed attacks by the activists. Israel was vilified, however, for using weapons against the activists and faced intense international outrage and condemnation over the incident, which caused mass street protests to erupt around the world (Kershner, 2010).

Reporting in 2011, Israel’s independent Turkel Commission of inquiry into the incident, which included Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Lord David Trimble, subsequently supported Israel’s position over the incident when it concluded that IHH activists carried out

violence on the Israeli soldiers by “arming themselves with a wide array of weapons, including iron bars, axes, clubs, slingshots, knives ... firearms” (Sherwood, 2011, para. 5). The commission found that Israel acted within international law and its naval commandos had opened fire in self-defence, stating: “Overall, the Israeli Defense Forces personnel acted professionally in the face of extensive and unanticipated violence” (2011, para. 6).

Also reporting in 2011, the United Nations Palmer Report on the incident came to similar conclusions to that of the Turkel Commission, although it went further in questioning the true purpose of the flotilla. The Palmer Report accepted that the majority of the flotilla participants – members of NGOs, academics, journalists, religious leaders and MPs – were motivated by a genuine concern for Gazans. It reported, however, that “40 hardcore IHH activists” boarded the Mavi Marmara separately and without any security checks and therefore it “seriously questions the true nature and objectives of the flotilla organisers” (United Nations, 2011, p. 45 & 46). The Palmer Report called into question the true purpose of the flotilla by making the following observations: most ships carried construction equipment and materials instead of humanitarian aid, on the Mavi Marmara any humanitarian supplies were limited to foodstuffs and toys carried in passengers’ personal baggage, there was little need to organise a flotilla of six ships to deliver humanitarian assistance when only three vessels carried any aid, there was no port in Gaza large enough to receive vessels of that size, offers to off-load essential aid at other ports (Ashdod) and have them delivered to Gaza by land were rejected, and there were a number of journalists who embarked on the ships. All give further power to the conclusion that the flotilla’s primary purpose was not to deliver humanitarian aid (United Nations, 2011, p. 47).

This was in line with Israel’s previously stated position; when three days before the incident, Lieberman declared that the flotilla’s ulterior

objective was a clandestine propaganda initiative designed to provoke Israel and draw media attention to an alleged humanitarian crisis in Gaza. In the days leading up to the incident, the participants of the flotilla were successfully portrayed in the media as humanitarian and peace activists.

Nonetheless, Israel's actions sparked international "press fury", which "dominated world headlines" and drew widespread condemnation (BBC, 2010, para. 1; BBC UK, 2010, para. 1). The press negatively framed Israel's role, portraying Israel as the aggressor. Anti-Semitism scholar Robert Wistrich (2010) responded to reporting of the incident with the following criticism: "Such harsh polemics are happening at a time of unprecedented hatred towards Israel as a nation within the international community. The hysteria surrounding the Gaza flotilla brought this trend to new heights of hypocrisy. It reflects the ongoing campaign of branding Israel as the 'Jew' of nations – labelling it as a racist, bloodthirsty, pariah state" (2010, para. 2).

The following year international mainstream press continued to endorse the portrayal of Israel as the guilty party in the flotilla incident. In a statement released in 2011, Palmer Panel member Joseph Ciechanover (2011) criticised the misrepresentation of the flotilla incident and the global outcry against Israel. He declared that the report should "send a message to the international community about the need to engage with all sides to a dispute and to avoid prejudging an incident before all of the facts are known" (2011, para. 11).

This thesis is specifically concerned with one aspect of press coverage of the flotilla incident: the role of cartoons in reflecting a global new anti-Semitism, as illustrated in examples that emerged following the flotilla incident. The phenomenon of contemporary anti-Semitic cartoons is reported by a number of scholars, and while the phenomenon has attracted investigation and is monitored to some degree, how anti-Semitism is communicated by cartoons is not well studied.

Cartoons and visual communication

This thesis focuses on a particular kind of cartoon, the political cartoon. Political cartoons play a significant role in public discourse on what society or their media producers regard as important topical issues. They are heuristic visual devices that convey meaning by enabling rapid understanding of complex issues, which rely on the cartoonist's interpretation of events.

Since their origins in the 16th century political illustrations and later cartoons, were the earliest forms of visual satire. Satire has been used throughout history to raise awareness of critical issues and shape public opinion (Crittenden et al., 2011). Marketing scholars Bal et al. (2009) state that the cornerstone of satirical cartoons is the "criticism of the abuse of power and the injustice perpetrated by the dominant party" (2009, p. 230). Satire requires the caricature of an object to become a cartoon. They define caricature as "the difference in an object of empathy so as to reveal a gap between image and reality" (2009, p. 233). The necessary mechanism for the success of caricature and cartoon communication is exaggeration.

Cartoons are devices for expressing opinion and clarifying in visual communication form the essence of events, facts and realities with certain distortions depending on the intention of the producer. The efficacy of the medium is explained by intimate interdependency of words and images and their simplification, which is inherent in the way people view the world. Cartoons leverage off the manner that people simplify how they see the world to more easily navigate its meaning (Rozenman, 2010; Strömberg, 2010).

Sociologist Josh Greenberg (2002) declares that political cartoons are a form of visual news discourse. He suggests that sociologists dismiss the ideological implication of cartoons on the grounds that "cartoons simply offer newsreaders absurd accounts of putative

problem conditions and are not likely to be taken very seriously” (2002, p. 181). This view is challenged by a number of scholars (Geipel, 1972; O’Shaughnessy, 2002; Badarneh, Migdadi, & Momani, 2009; Kotek, 2009; Strömberg, 2010). Cartoons are given power by enabling the public to reinforce and interpret meaningfully what they see or experience about the world around them. The cartoon plays a potentially significant role as a political or ideological tool to influence public opinion.

Cartoons use conceptual metaphors to encode meaning about political thoughts and opinions, which are expressed through complex signs. Signification is constructed both visually and linguistically (when cartoons contain textual elements), and political metaphors as employed in cartoons are never neutral. Metaphors as used in political communication are “more than just substitutes for literal meanings”. Rather they contain codes that “modify, or generate meaning” and profoundly affect the discourse community (Badarneh, Migdadi, & Momani, 2009, pp. 297 & 307).

Professional cartoonist John Geipel (1972) defines the cartoon as a graphic jibe. He states that “the cartoon is at base an aggressive medium and offensive weapon whose effect can be devastating” (1972, p. 21). Cartoons are used with the express purpose of transmitting ideas and convincing the reader of various things (Strömberg, 2010, p. 9), and are thereby effective tools of propaganda. Although propaganda can be a factual and accurate reflection of situations and events, it is often deceptive and exaggerated. Only since World War I has mass communication been employed particularly in a visual form to reconfigure the thoughts and actions of entire populations in a global struggle (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1992). Writing in the 1920s about how public opinion can be manipulated, pioneering scholar in the field of public relations, Edward Bernays (1928) posits that authoritative and influential groups (NGOs, the United Nations, governments, and the media in the case of the flotilla incident) are the important channels

to reach the larger public. He states: "Ideas and situations must be made impressive and dramatic in order to overcome the inertia of established traditions and prejudices" (1928, p. 51). The flotilla and the subsequent reportage are examples of Bernays' impressive drama.

In contemporary visual culture, where the world is defined by images, the cartoon has become a popular and cost effective communication vehicle. Political science scholar Jöel Kotek (2009) suggests that the work of current editorial cartoonists published in prominent newspapers in USA and UK are "just as powerful in forming public opinion as a traditional editorial, if not more so" (2009, p. XIX). This is due to the increased visual literacy of the audience and the immediacy of visual communication. Visual communication scholars Liliana Bounegru and Charles Forceville (2011) found that the political cartoon genre is flourishing because of the Internet, and reaches larger audiences than its printed version (2011, p. 211). Its efficacy to inform new ideologies and shift public opinion is therefore increasing.

This thesis studies a number of cartoons published on the Internet in the three months following the May 31, 2010 Gaza flotilla incident, with the purpose of identifying the extent to which cartoons were used to communicate anti-Semitic messages. The thesis aims to answer the following questions: (1) what visual signs were used in cartoons to express anti-Semitic messages, (2) how did these visual signs construct anti-Semitic meaning, and (3) does this reflect a global new anti-Semitism?

Chapter outlines

Chapter One provides an overview of the literature and discusses the phenomenon of anti-Semitic cartoons. The chapter continues with

a discussion of traditional anti-Semitism, the claims of an emerging new anti-Semitism and the relevance of Zionism and the Jewish state. The chapter closes with a discussion on the symbols of Jewishness.

Chapter Two sets out the methodological framework underpinning this thesis. It focuses on research methods and processes employed in gathering, coding and analysing raw data. It discusses the synthesis of a definition of anti-Semitism and its application to a data coding framework. It includes the results of the data-gathering phase and closes with a discussion on its overall validity and reliability.

Chapter Three presents detailed findings and proceeds with systematic analysis of the data consistent with the methodological framework. Identified themes are arranged in sections and supported by the analysis of cartoon exemplars. It integrates broader discussion to contextualise the analyses.

Chapter Four consolidates the findings and analysis of the previous chapter through discussion and argument, based on the background to, context of and analysis of the cartoons.

Chapter Five presents several conclusions that answer the questions posed in the thesis, discusses their significance and suggests further research directions.

Appendices A, B and C provide further detail and support to the content of Chapter Two. Appendix D displays every cartoon collected as raw data during the data collection phase of the thesis, including each cartoon's Internet source reference. This is followed by the section beginning on page 204, which lists the Internet references of all cartoon data cited in the thesis.

1. Background

This chapter provides an overview of the literature and discusses the phenomenon of anti-Semitic cartoons, traditional anti-Semitism, the claims of an emerging new anti-Semitism and the relevance of Zionism and the Jewish state. The closing discussion on the symbols of Jewishness informs the analysis and discussion chapters by providing understanding of the design and meaning of contemporary visual symbols that indicate Jewishness.

Anti-Semitic cartoons

Forms of visual communication have long been used as tools to convey bias against Jews. This is evident in frescos and illustrations of the Middle Ages, caricatures of 18th century France, cartoons of Nazi Europe and mid-20th century Middle East. Cartoons are meant to be read as narrative images and are an effective medium for delivering messages in conflict situations (El Refaie, 2009). If the narrative they portray is spurious, as in the case of anti-Semitic cartoons, they can distort realities.

Instead of simply magnifying or exaggerating an existing differentiation, the caricature of Jews in anti-Semitic cartoons graphically depicts differentiation that is based on falsification. Political policy analyst Arieh Stav (1999) differentiates anti-Semitic caricature as the only type of caricature where the content

is derivative of a unique synthesis of “theological, moral, racial, social, and political negation” (1999, p. 18). He suggests that anti-Semitic cartoons are devoid of the element of humour often coded into political cartoons through satire, and that the satire generally has a constructiveness. Anti-Semitic cartoons lack a constructiveness, except for the demonisation of Jews. However, if their demonisation is a cartoonist’s express intention, they serve a useful purpose.

Stav’s point on the lack of humour and constructiveness is evident in Nazi depiction of Jews in cartoons. Nazi propagandists effectively popularised radical ideas of Jewish threat through publications supported largely by cartoons. Their stereotypical visual representations of Jews validated Nazi Judeophobic ideology and reinforced the need to eliminate the Jews (Herf, 2006). Anti-Semitic cartoons contribute to the process of turning Jews into a culture’s belief of what Jews *are*; where the imaginary figure of the Jew becomes the only real one (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2004, p. 238). The prevailing beliefs about Jews are myths constructed over the centuries (Kotek, 2009). Cartoons that evidence that process are identifiable as anti-Semitic.

Traditional anti-Semitism

The enduring narrative of the Jewish people is notable for a significant recurrent theme: animosity and intolerance towards them. Historian Paul Johnson (1988) in his survey of the 4,000 years of Jewish history, suggests that anti-Semitism originated in antiquity. His rationale for the developing animosity towards the Jews was their monotheistic separatism. Their ancient dietary and hygiene laws meant that Jews avoided social interaction with other peoples. The separatism of the Jews stood in opposition to the Greeks’ civilised, multicultural society and the Greek belief in the unity of humanity. As such the

separatist doctrines of the Jews rendered them enemies of mankind. During the 4th century BC, Hecataeus of Abdera attacked the Jews' abnormal lifestyle and wrote of them as having "an inhospitable and anti-human form of living" (Sevenster, 1975 as cited in Johnson, 1988, p. 134). The anti- or subhuman nature of the Jews is an idea that endures today and is consistent with anti-Semitism.

Although formalised animosity had its genesis in the Greco-Roman era, xenophobic and genocidal actions against the Jews are documented milestones in their long history. Their 400-year enslavement and near destruction by the Egyptians has been commemorated annually for over 3,000 years as the Jewish festival of Passover (Miller, 2008). Jewry has been persecuted in the Middle East under Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and since their diaspora under Byzantines, Arabs, Europeans, Ottomans, and in Europe during inquisitions, pogroms and the Holocaust. Chief Rabbi of the United Kingdom, Lord Jonathan Sacks (2010) suggests there have been three progressive stages of Jew-hatred: (1) early hatred of Jews by Christians at the rejection of Christ, (2) Jews become a demonic, bloodthirsty force during the first Crusade, and (3) racial hostility towards Jews, which resulted in the emergence of the new term, Antisemitismus "anti-Semitism" in 1879.

The tradition of communist Jew-hatred found its quintessential modern expression in Sergei Nilus' spurious Russian publication of 1905, *The protocols of the elders of Zion*. The *Protocols* is a supposed record of secret meetings of Jewish leaders, which attributes superhuman and occult powers to a small clique of scheming Jews, describing their conspiracy to dominate the world and blames Jews for a variety of ills (Wistrich, 2005). The work is a fabrication and exposed forgery, which plagiarises 19th century Prussian and French satirical writings. Nonetheless, the *Protocols* has become the most notorious and widely distributed anti-Semitic publication of the 20th century. It appears in multiple languages and currently continues to be translated, published and distributed worldwide. It has enjoyed continual publishing in

Arab countries since the 1970s and is particularly instructive in the Arab sphere; Hamas draws on the *Protocols* to justify its mission in Article 30 of their founding charter (Islamic Resistance Movement, 1988), and “many school textbooks throughout the Arab and Islamic world teach the *Protocols* as fact” (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2011, para. 17).

The *Protocols* contributed to Adolf Hitler’s Judeophobic ideology. Hitler was fixated with the idea that the mightiest counterpart to the Aryan (German race), and a threat to all humanity, were the Jews. This was the doctrine on which the Nazis built their final solution to the Jewish problem that culminated in the Holocaust. He writes that progress of mankind occurs in spite of the Jews and not through them, referring to Jews as “parasites in the bodies of other peoples”, and as having “satanic joy” in their face (Hitler, 1969, pp. 21–299). His ideology about Jews built on prejudice and myths passed on by early Christian anti-Judaism. Kotek (2009) classifies the prevailing myth in the Christian West from 1144 to 1946 of the vampire, the cannibal and child-slaughtering Jew as three “antisemyths” – myths and fears of the evil nature of Jews, which systematically outlawed them from society (2009, p. 1).

New anti-Semitism

Towards the late 20th century traditional anti-Semitism mutated into a new form of Jew hatred. In this new anti-Semitism, the hatred usually directed at Jewish people in diaspora countries shifted focus to Israel as the collective Jew, and manifests itself as opposition to Zionism and Israel. New anti-Semitism has not replaced traditional anti-Semitism. While the latter abated after the Second World War it is now on the increase – agitated by the new anti-Semitism. Attacks on the State of Israel “start a chain reaction of assaults on individual Jews

and Jewish institutions” (Liberal Party of Canada, 2011, para. 5; United States Department of State, 2008; Canadian Parliamentary coalition to combat Antisemitism, 2011).

Senior Research Fellow in Philosophy at Oxford University, Brian Klug observes a global war against the Jews, where the State of Israel has become what he calls the “Jew of the world” (2005, p. 39). Proponents of the idea posit that criticism of Israel and radical anti-Zionism is often in fact disguised demonisation, and therefore anti-Semitic. Anti-Zionism foreshadowed new anti-Semitism, and first appeared soon after Israel declared statehood in 1948. Just 20 years after Zionism achieved its goal of statehood Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. recognised anti-Zionism as anti-Semitism. During his 1968 appearance at Harvard University King stated: “When people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews. You are talking anti-Semitism” (Lipset, 1969, as cited by Bostom, 2003, para. 3). Speaking in October, 2011, former Canadian Minister of Justice and Attorney General Irwin Cotler delivered the following remarks at the signing of the Ottawa Protocol on Combating Antisemitism, quoting the former Deputy Prime Minister of Sweden, Per Olmark:

In the past the most dangerous anti-Semites were those who wanted to make the world Judenrein, free of Jews. Today, as he put it, the most dangerous anti-Semites might be those who want to make the world Judenstaatrein, free of a Jewish state. (Liberal Party of Canada, 2011, para. 6)

French philosopher Pierre-André Taguieff (2004) argues that this new Judeophobia (new anti-Semitism) emerged in the Arab–Soviet sphere following Israel’s victory in the 1967 war with its neighbours (2004, pp. 62–64). Those in the Arab–Soviet sphere project the endemic negative image of the Jew onto Israel using traditional anti-Semitic themes. Israel is thus imbued with the detestation of those whom they wish to brand as “fascists”, “warmongers”, “racists”, “child-killers”, or “conspiring cabalists” (Wistrich, 2005, p. 40). In these areas, Israel

serves both as a proxy for anti-Americanism and as a “punching bag” in its own right. More recently the European far-left leads the assault on Israel and the Jews as “capitalist predators and imperialist dynamos in a globalising world” (2005, p. 41). New anti-Semitism is the juncture where the antiglobalist far-left, the far-right, and radical jihadists have an uneasy alliance (Wistrich, 2005, p. 41).

The internationalisation of new anti-Semitism, through the influence of the Arab–Soviet voting block at the United Nations, was manifest in 1975 in UN Resolution 3379 (UN General Assembly, 1975), which declared Zionism to be racism and sought its elimination. The idea was revived at the United Nations World Conference Against Racism held in Durban, 2001, attended by governments and 1,500 international NGOs. The conference intended to address and combat racism, xenophobia and intolerance in all its forms internationally. However, the discourse became centred on the issue of Zionism and Israel’s treatment of Palestinians. Successive Durban conferences (the Durban Process) were held in 2009 and 2011. Due to the tabling of overt anti-Semitic agendas, all three conferences saw government delegates of several countries either walking out or boycotting altogether (Steinberg, 2010; Prague Daily Monitor, 2011).

Paradoxically, the Durban Process has been instrumental in internationalising the new anti-Semitism by fostering and disseminating leftist–jihadist rhetoric opposing Zionism and Israel. The strategy enabled by international NGOs (such as those that attend the Durban conferences) includes campaigns such as: Israeli Apartheid Week; held annually on university campuses internationally; the global Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign; the quasi-legal Russell Tribunal on Palestine, and a number of others including the Free Gaza flotillas. They all aim at publicising a negative view of Israel in the media with the intention of shifting the attitudes of the general public and policy makers.

Political scientist Gerald Steinberg (2010) proposes that the Gaza

flotilla coalition of international NGOs and activists is a potent example of the left–right–jihadist alliance. The nexus against Israel has come about through widespread ignorance in the West, as suggested by political commentator, Melanie Phillips (2004). She argues that the ignorance is created by imbalanced reporting of the facts with lack of context. According to Phillips, propaganda promulgated by the political left appropriates the jihadist narrative of “Palestinian oppression and malign Jewish power” (2004, para. 15). Her attack on the media is supported by a 2008 all-party inquiry into anti-Semitism by the British government. The report calls on the media to “have discussions on the impact of language and imagery in current discourses on Judaism, anti-Zionism and Israel and to recognise that the way which they report the news has significant consequences on the interaction between communities in Britain” (Government of the United Kingdom, 2008, p. 17).

That the State of Israel was born into such a history cannot be ignored and possibly empowers anti-Semites. Taguieff describes this strain of anti-Semitism as “a combination of old clichés of hatred against Jews with new anti-Semitic arguments and anti-Israel feelings” (Taguieff, 2009, p. xi). The Jew–Judaism–Zionism–Israel nexus constitutes the apparatus of the new anti-Semitism; thus with each military action undertaken by Israel there is a spike in attacks against Jews in various parts of the world (United States Department of State, 2008).

Zionism and the Jewish state

At the core of the Arab–Israeli conflict is the issue of Zionism. The idea of Zionism is a primary agitator of opposition to the State of Israel and source of anti-Semitic sentiment in the Middle East. Zionism refers to the Jewish political movement that formed in the mid-18th century and worked towards the establishment of a modern Jewish national

state in the region of the ancient homeland of the Jews (Zionism, 2002, p. 922).

Zionism is a nationalist expression of the continuum of Jewish attachment to the region. The term *Zion* historically links the Jews and the Jewish religion to the city of Jerusalem and to the land. Mount Zion is the name of eastern hill of the ancient Jebusite citadel Jebus, also called the Stronghold of Zion. In the 11th century BC, the Israelite King David took Jebus and renamed it the City of David. It was later renamed Jerusalem, the capital city from where David ruled as monarch over the nation of Israel (City of David, 2011).

Zionist ambitions have been embedded within Jewish culture since their expulsion from the land by the Romans in the 1st century AD, and the Roman renaming of the region to Syria Palaestina (anglicised as Palestine). A carved relief from the Arch of Titus (Figure 1), commemorating the 70 AD destruction of the Jewish temple and depicting the confiscation of the temple furniture, displays another symbol of Judaism, the seven-stick candelabra (menorah). This symbol was appropriated into the emblem of the State of Israel (Figure 2).



Figure 1. *Arch of Titus*, c. 82 AD, Rome.
New Vilna Review, newvilnareview.com.



Figure 2. State of Israel emblem.
Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
mfa.gov.il.

In 1947, United Nations Resolution 181 called for the partition of the British-ruled Palestine Mandate into separate sovereign Jewish and Arab states (UN General Assembly, 1947). The resolution was accepted by the Jews in Palestine, and in 1948 the State of Israel was declared. The local newspaper at the time called it “the first

independent Jewish state in 19 centuries” (The Palestine Post, 1948). The resolution was rejected by most of the Arabs in Palestine and by all of the Arab states. With the British no longer present in either the Jewish or Arab territories of Mandated Palestine, instead of declaring the Arab state of Palestine the armies of Egypt, Syria, Transjordan, Lebanon and Iraq coordinated an invasion of Israel.

During the 1948 war Jordan and Egypt seized control of the West Bank and Gaza (proposed Palestinian state territories), which remained occupied by them until 1967. Jordan occupied and annexed the West Bank, Egypt occupied Gaza. During the 19 years those (Palestinian) territories were under Arab occupation, no Palestinian state was established. In May, 1964, however, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was established. The PLO was created to liberate *Palestine* three years before Israel had any presence in the West Bank and Gaza. It was in the 1967 war that Israel displaced Jordan and Egypt and took occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza. The PLO did not seek to liberate the West Bank and the Gaza from Jordan and Egypt. Instead the liberation of Palestine meant the elimination of Zionism and the entire State of Israel, as stated in their Palestine National Council (1968, paras. 15 & 19). The parties have ever since engaged in wars and negotiations over the ownership of land and the definition of borders.

The year-long 1948 war resulted in 260,000 Jewish refugees fleeing to Israel from surrounding Arab countries (Shulewitz, 2000, pp. 139 & 155), and according to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine, 472,000 Arab refugees fled Israel to surrounding Arab countries (Bard, 2011, para. 2). Some 160,000 Druze and Arabs remained in Israel; Arab-Israeli citizens now number 1.5 million people, comprising 19% of Israel’s citizenry (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010; Ayalon, 2011). During the 19-year Arab occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees remained in camps or isolated communities in Arab countries, and

remain refugees today. Influential Palestinian–American literary theorist Edward Saïd argues that they are generally unwelcome and oppressed by Arab governments (2001, p. 209). Of all the countries, only Jordan naturalised its refugee population, although they remain civically disadvantaged. In 2010, Lebanon’s parliament amended a clause in a 1946 law, which barred the 400,000 Palestinians living in the country from taking any but the most menial jobs (The Wall Street Journal, 2010).

The refusal of Arab governments to integrate the refugees is a strategy in the conflict with Israel (Ayalon, 2011). It aids the construction of the Palestinian narrative of suffering under Israel. During the 1980s the regional Arab–Israeli conflict began the shift to a more localised Palestinian–Israeli conflict, the issue of which remains the ownership of land and the rights to self-determination. Phillips (2004) argues that this shift is promoted by the far-left’s belief that the West is always the oppressor while the Third World is always the oppressed; the Palestinian cause has thus become the left’s prime world cause (2004, para. 15). Pearl (2005) expands on this by explaining that “anti-Zionism disguises itself in the cloak of political debate, exempt from sensitivities and rules of civility that govern interreligious discourse” (2005, para. 11). Pearl states that, as a form of racism, anti-Zionism is worse than anti-Semitism as it targets the people of Israel themselves, and their history and nationhood.

Following Phillips, Pearl, and political research fellow, Jean-Yves Camus (2005, p. 47), Wistrich (2005) argue that Europe leads the assault on Israel and the Jews as imperialist oppressors and capitalist predators in an increasingly globalised world. On the conservative right and particularly in the Muslim world, conspiracy theories and traditional hatred abound against Israel and the Jews. He suggests: “this is the point where the jihadists, the antiglobalist-left, and the far-right can join hands as uneasy allies” (2005, p. 41). This is enabled by contemporary zeitgeist, which according to Pearl (2005), allows

“people of conscience to reject anti-Semitism” and “simultaneously, anti-Zionist rhetoric has become a mark of academic sophistication and social acceptance in Europe and in some US campuses” (2005, para. 10).

Symbols of Jewishness: The Star of David and the Israeli flag

In order to analyse anti-Semitic messages in cartoons it is first essential to identify whether a particular cartoon’s theme is related to Jews. It is thus necessary to understand the design and meaning of contemporary visual symbols that indicate Jewishness. Pearl (2005) describes Jewishness as being more than just a religion: “It is an intricate and intertwined mixture of ancestry, religion, history, country, culture, tradition, attitude, nationhood and ethnicity” (2005, para. 8). The Jewish collective has become associated with and identified by the Star of David. Scholar of Jewish history, Gershom Scholem (1949) calls the Star of David “the symbol of Jewishness” (1949, p. 251).

Scholem explains that the true history of the six-pointed Star of David and its ascent as the symbol of Judaism and the State of Israel is bound up with amulets and talismans of ancient Jewish superstition. The device was a common decoration motif in the 2nd century AD, and while found on synagogues from the 2nd century it was not a symbolic device especially relating to the Jews (Figure 3). Both the five-pointed pentagram (Figure 4) and the six-pointed hexagram (Figure 5) became known by one name – the Seal of Solomon – and no distinction was made between them. In the 13th century German publication, *Book of desire* the narrative popularised a new name; Shield of David. At this point the common representation of the symbol changed from pentagram to hexagram (1949, p. 245), as shown in Figure 5.



Figure 3. Solomon's Seal on a 4th century synagogue, Galilee, Israel. From Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *mfa.gov.il*.



Figure 4. Five-pointed pentagram known as the Seal of Solomon.



Figure 5. Six-pointed hexagram known as the Star of David.

Scholem points out that the modern hexagram Star of David did not begin its career as a symbol of Judaism, “but as a magical talisman for protection against the evil spirits” (1949, p. 246). He suggests this remained its primary meaning until the mid-1800s, when political Zionism gained momentum, and that the prime motive for the proliferation of the Shield of David (Star of David) during the 19th century was to emulate the symbolisation of the cross with Christianity. The star’s use in synagogue architecture, publications and the like led to its ascendancy as the symbol of Jewish religion (Judaism).

Proponents of Zionism chose the Star of David as the movement’s emblem at their Basel Congress of 1897. For Zionism, the star possessed two virtues: its ubiquity made it widely recognisable in Europe, and it was not explicitly identified with a religious association in the consciousness of their contemporaries. The star could be imbued with hope for the future (p. 251).

The practice of using badges to brand or identify Jews was enforced historically to indicate their otherness and undesirability. Badges (often yellow) were used in the Middle Ages during the Ottoman Empire and made particularly famous by the Nazis. The earlier badges did not contain the Star of David as in the Nazi iteration. The Nazis sealed the connection of the Star of David to the Jewish people, which has become “the universally recognised symbol of Jewry” (Jewish

Virtual Library, 2011, para. 7). Since worldwide Jewish communities identified it as emblematic of the Zionist movement, it was natural to display the Star of David on the Zionist flag adopted at the 1897 Basel Congress, and again later on the Israeli flag adopted after the official proclamation of statehood in 1948, shown in Figures 6 and 7 respectively.



Figure 6. Zionist flag, adopted in 1897, Basel. Herzl Museum, *herzl.org*.



Figure 7. State of Israel flag, adopted in 1948.

Art historian Alec Mishory (2003) posits that the power of the Zionist and Israeli flags lies in their echoing the design, symbolism and conveyed message of the Jewish tallit (prayer shawl). The tallit (Figure 8) features blue bands at the extremes of the cloth separated by the white background of the cloth itself.



Figure 8. Jewish prayer shawl (tallit). Galilee Experience, *thegalileeexperience.com*.

The reason for the blue in the shawl (and in the flags) is the observance of the biblical command to work blue cord tassels into each corner of

the shawl, throughout their generations (B'midbar "Numbers" 15:38). The blue symbolises a life of purity, guided by Jewish law. The Israeli flag is thus a hybrid representation of Zionism and Judaism through their symbols, which jointly form a new design that represents the State of Israel.

2. Research method and processes

Objective

The objective of this study was to identify and examine how particular signifiers in editorial-style cartoons were used to communicate an anti-Semitic message. The focus was on static cartoons published in international media channels in the three months following the 2010 Gaza flotilla incident. This chapter discusses the research methods engaged to address this question.

Data-gathering with Google Alerts

Over the three-month period immediately following the flotilla incident, the mechanical and automatic retrieval method, Google Alerts was employed as a method to capture cartoons published internationally on the Internet. Google Alerts is an online search and notification application, which allows a user to receive customised alerts of the latest relevant Google search engine results. The user creates individual alerts based on their own query search keywords, as shown in Figure 9 (see p. 24).

The automated search is international in its reach and can be set up with various appropriate functionality. Each alert delivers an email containing a summary of captured URL links that contain references of keywords I had specified; these were then followed manually and

data gathered at my discretion.

This method of data collection was selected in order to collect as many cartoons as possible on any given day. In a country as small as New Zealand, the number of daily newspapers available to a researcher is small. Google Alerts enabled access to international newspapers.

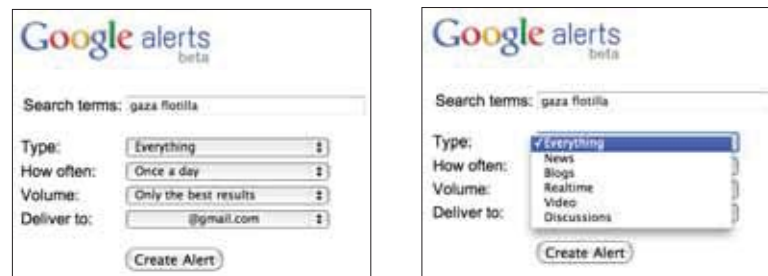


Figure 9. Google Alerts setup page showing choice fields.

Programming Google Alert keywords

The first phase of the gathering process was designed to locate as many cartoons as possible that potentially evidenced instances of anti-Semitic messages. This included searching broad Internet media channels such as news, magazine, blog, and general websites that referenced issues relating to but not limited to the Gaza flotilla incident. All cartoons about Israel, Zionism, Judaism or the Jews corporately or individually and any related issues were gathered.

The Internet locations shown in Figures 10–12, are samples of the variety of contexts from which cartoon data was extracted. Figure 10 shows a newspaper, Figure 11 a blog, and Figure 12 a magazine.



Figure 10. *Atılım* newspaper, June 6, 2010, Turkey. Cartoon by Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

Antoine Raffoul – Israel's Maritime Piracy, an Open Letter to Humanity

By [Antoine Raffoul](#) • Jun 1st, 2010 at 18:29 • Category: [Analysis](#), [Counter-terrorism](#), [No thanks!](#), [Features](#), [Israel](#), [Newswire](#), [Palestine](#), [Resistance](#), [Somoud](#), [Arab Voices of Resistance](#), [Uprooted Palestinians](#), [Testimonies](#), [War](#), [Zionism](#)



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It is thought that at times like these, people would be lost for words. Perhaps. But people should never be lost for action.

We, at 1948.Lest.We.Forget, as anyone who has scanned our website would come to realize, are focussed directly on events relating to the Palestinian Nakba of 1948 and which, we strongly

Figure 11. *Palestine Think Tank* blog, June 1, 2010, Bahrain. Cartoon by Steve Bell (UK).



Figure 12. *TIME* magazine, June 19, 2010, USA. Cartoon by Nate Beeler.

The Google Alert keywords were designed to be media neutral, thus enabling the location of cartoons from the widest possible type of sources. Twenty-five individual Google Alerts were created, which ranged from elementary keywords such as *Anti Semitic Cartoon* to broader examples such as *Political Satire Israel*, as shown in Figure 13.

Your Google Alerts				Switch to full
Search terms	Type	How often	Email length	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti israel	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti israel cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti israel media	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti israel nazi	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti Israel political satire	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti Israel political satire cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti israel satire	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti Semitic cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti zionist	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> anti zionist cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> free gaza flotilla	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> gaza cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> gaza flotilla	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> hamas cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> israel cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> israel news cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> israel propaganda	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> ISRAEL SATIRE	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> jew cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> jewish cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> nazi cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> nazi jew cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> palestine cartoon	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> palestinian propaganda	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	
<input type="checkbox"/> political satire israel	Everything	once a day	up to 20 results	

Figure 13. The 25 Google Alerts created for this study.

The alerts were programmed to deliver results daily and allowed for a maximum of 20 results per alert. This translated to a potential of 25 emails a day containing a maximum of 20 URL links each, meaning a potential of 500 URL links a day, or 45,000 URL links over the three-month period to examine.

Selection and gathering process

Not every alert returned results each day. Figure 14 (on next page) shows an example of a single alert email for the keywords *Gaza Flotilla*, received on June 28. That day's alert for those particular conjoined keywords located 18 potential references contained in web pages located at the URL links (underlined in blue). Alerts did not show where cartoons are located. Therefore each link had to be opened and scrutinised for cartoon material relating to the subject area. Cartoons were then extracted to comprise the initial data set. The three-month gathering period resulted in over 1,000 alert emails, averaging 10 URL links each. At least 10,000 URLs were opened and visually scrutinised.

Adobe Acrobat PDF files were generated that contained each cartoon's source location, publish date and contextual visual objects of the web page. Working with A5 size prints of each cartoon enabled the identification of duplicate cartoons.

The incidence of duplicate cartoons demonstrated the effectiveness of the Internet as a viral medium, where works were published and shared and then successively republished. A single cartoon published on the Internet, irrespective of its original production location had the potential of expeditious promulgation to international audiences many times over across different media.


Google Alert - gaza flotilla
1 message

Google Alerts <googlealerts-noreply@google.com> 28 June 2010 21:38
To: smithkz@gmail.com

Google News Alert for: gaza flotilla


[The blockade's damage](#)
Haaretz
By Sallit Meridor Tags: Israel news **Gaza flotilla** Last week the cabinet decided to ease the blockade of the Gaza Strip. Will it implement the resolution ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

[Jewish groups to send Gaza flotilla](#)
Jewish Telegraphic Agency
JERUSALEM (JTA) -- A coalition of international Jewish organizations sympathetic to the Palestinians will send a **flotilla** to Gaza to try to break Israel's ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

 [US and Israel say no to international investigation into Gaza flotilla attack](#)
FirstCall.com News
... the May 31 Israeli attack against a nine-ship humanitarian aid "Gaza Freedom Flotilla" despite Israel's announcement on June 14 of an internal probe ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

[Israel flotilla inquiry to question premier](#)
The Associated Press
JERUSALEM — The head of the Israeli inquiry into last month's deadly naval raid on a Gaza-bound **flotilla** says he will summon the prime minister for ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

[Israel's probe begins flotilla probe](#)
Jerusalem Post
The committee will also investigate the legality of the actions taken by the navy on May 31 to prevent the **flotilla** from reaching Gaza and an investigation ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

 [Israel's flotilla probe commission to meet](#)
AFP
JERUSALEM — The Israeli commission investigating the legality of a deadly naval raid on a Gaza-bound aid fleet was on Monday set to officially begin its ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

[Israel flotilla departure postponed](#)
Jewish Telegraphic Agency
JTA — The departure of a Gaza-bound Iranian ship carrying aid and activists has been postponed after Egypt said it would prevent the ship from using the ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

[UN summer camp in Gaza vandalized](#)
The Associated Press
GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip — Two dozen masked men vandalized a UN summer camp for children in Gaza early Monday, burning and slashing tents, toys and a plastic ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

[Family of Captive Israeli Soldier Marches for Prisoner's Death](#)
Voice of America
Photo: AP Participants in the "True Freedom Flotilla" mark the fourth anniversary of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit's capture by Hamas by sailing around the ...
[See all stories on this topic](#)

Google Blogs Alert for: gaza flotilla

[Israel Palestine: The Missing Headlines - Jewish groups to send ...](#)
By If Americans Knew
JTA -- A coalition of international Jewish organizations sympathetic to the Palestinians will send a **flotilla** to Gaza to try to break Israel's blockade. The "Jewish Boat to Gaza" will sail next month from an undisclosed location ...
[Israel Palestine: The Missing Headlines - http://www.israel-palestinenews.org/](#)

[Kevin Barrett's radio show schedule, Tuesday 8:29, Gaza Flotilla ...](#)
By Kevin Barrett
Tuesday 6:29 **Gaza Flotilla** Survivor Kenneth O'Keefe, Tuesday, June 29nd, 9-10 a.m. Pacific (noon-1 pm Eastern) on <http://NoJewsRadio.org>, to be archived here a few hours later... Kenneth O'Keefe is one of the survivors of the Israeli ...
[Kevin Barrett's radio show schedule - http://truthradio.blogspot.com/](#)

[Observers of Gaza flotilla probe arrive in Israel for opening ...](#)
By admin
More Jewish News Updates: Observers of **Gaza flotilla** probe arrive in Israel for opening panel session, Related posts: Sources: Barak to okay panel for **Gaza flotilla** probe - **Gaza flotilla** probe panel to hold first meeting on Wednesday ...
[Breaking Jewish News Updates - http://jewishupdates.com/](#)

["Sheer Criminal Aggression" Israel's Attack on Gaza Flotilla ...](#)
"Sheer Criminal Aggression" Israel's Attack on **Gaza Flotilla** Chomsky Says "No Credible Pretext". Loading mentions Retweet. Posted 1 hour ago. 0 comments. Leave a comment... Got an account with one of these? Login here, or just enter ...
[Glenn Wether's Ponderous Blogs - http://wetherponderous.com/](#)

[RubinReports: "Smoking Guns" Gaza Flotilla Documents Indicate ...](#)
By Barry Rubin
Check out these captured documents from the **Gaza flotilla** that show: 1. The organizers knew their goal was helping Hamas and 2. The mission was to do so by ending the sanctions. The goal was not to help Gaza's people by delivering ...
[RubinReports - http://rubinreports.blogspot.com/](#)

Google Web Alert for: gaza flotilla

[BBC News - Gaza flotilla inquiry panel members](#)
Profiles of the members of the panel set up by the Israeli government to look into the raid on the **Gaza aid flotilla** by Israeli commandos.
www.bbc.co.uk/2/health/10_june_2010/100629_21.shtml

[Barak Warns Lebanon over Planned Gaza Flotilla - DefenseMedia ...](#)
Barak warns Lebanon that if its citizens attempt to 'bust' Hamas blockade, it will be responsible for the consequences. Israel's envoy warns UN.
www.israelinfo.com/news/news.aspx?ID=138142

[UK Indymedia - Sheffield protests against the Gaza Flotilla attack](#)
Three protests took place in Sheffield against the murderous Israeli assault on the **Gaza Freedom Flotilla**, on 31st May, 2nd June and 5th June. ...
www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2010/05/457548.html

[Israel approves Gaza flotilla inquiry panel | JTA - Jewish ...](#)
Israel's Cabinet unanimously approved a commission of inquiry into the interception of a Gaza-bound **flotilla** that left nine passengers dead.
[jta.org - israel approves gaza flotilla inquiry commission](#)

Figure 14. Google Alert email featuring 18 URL links, each with potential raw data.

Methodological framework

This thesis followed literary and cultural theorist, Roland Barthes' (1968; 1977) theory of systematic semiotic analysis to examine visual aspects of cartoons, as outlined by communications scholars, Fiske (1996) and further expounded by Cartwright and Sturken (2001), with the purpose of looking for signs in the raw data which connoted anti-Semitic messages. Barthes set up the first systematic model by which his interactive idea of meaning could be analysed (Fiske, p. 85).

Barthes' model was selected since it offers a clear and direct way to understand how images create meaning. Cartright and Sturken explain that "the meaning of an image is predominantly derived from objects within in the frame" (2001, p. 29). Barthes' model to establish meaning was thus appropriate for the analysis of cartoons, which are designs that frame visual imagery.

A framework was designed to maintain rigorous data selection and analysis processes. It integrated a recognised definition of anti-Semitism with the Barthian model. The definition was central to the coding of data and the analysis of visual content.

The method involved two phases of coding the data. The first was *initial coding*, where large quantities of raw data were effectively sorted and grouped into broad categories in a data coding sheet. Once the initial coding phase was complete, Barthes' system of visual analysis was used to analyse the coded cartoons, providing a way to identify and understand their signification. Sociologist, Kathy Charmaz (2006) explains that coding is "the pivotal link between collecting data and developing a theory to explain these data", and encourages the researcher to generate theories as the data emerges (2006, p. 46).

Barthes' model utilises two orders of signifying meaning in images. A synthesis of Fiske (1996, pp. 85–91) and Cartwright and Sturken's

(2001, pp. 29 & 30) interpretations of Barthes' model is as follows:

First order of signification (a sign system):

denotation – the obvious, literal descriptive meaning,

the sign – a composite formed by:

the signifier – the physical image / marks, and

the signified – the mental concept that is the meaning.

Second order of signification (the sign system is inserted into the value system of a culture):

connotation – specific meanings which rely on the cultural and historical context,

myth – cultural values and beliefs, the hidden set of rules and conventions through which meanings are made to seem universal for a whole society.

Connotation is the second-order meaning of the signifier. Myth is the second-order meaning of the signified. Cartwright and Sturken suggest that myths “allow connotative meaning of an image to appear denotative, hence literal or natural ... myths are thus connotations parading as denotations” (2001, pp. 19 & 22). A consolidation of the aforementioned interpretations of Barthes' model was employed for this thesis' visual analysis framework, as presented in Figure 15.

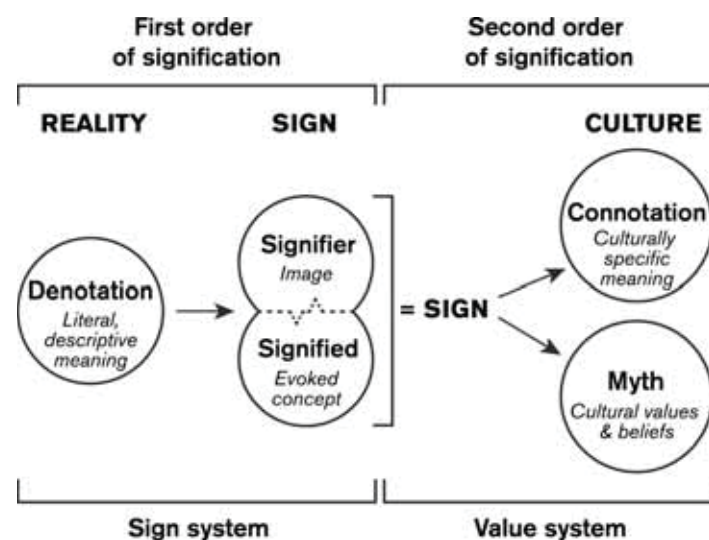


Figure 15. Roland Barthes' systematic model of visual semiotic analysis.

Fiske refers to a third way of signifying in Barthes' second order:

symbolic – an object which has acquired (through convention and use) a meaning that enables it to stand for something else (1996, p. 91).

Synthesising a definition of anti-Semitism

The framework for analysis required the application of a recognised definition of anti-Semitism. The definition was central to the coding of data and the analysis of visual content. A comprehensive definition was synthesised from a number authoritative sources. Having established broad characteristics of anti-Semitism through contemporary reference definitions it was necessary to include other recognised definitions to result in practically applicable criteria.

The European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia's (EUMC) (2005) widely cited working definition became the foundational reference for the thesis definition. It is reproduced in Appendix A. It was a result of a major study into anti-Semitism in Europe during 2002 and 2003. It has been translated into 30 languages and was adopted by the Management Board of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, which comprises appointees of the 27 European Union governments, thus reflecting the views of those governments.

Positioning the EUMC definition as the most influential work in this area is the calibre of entities that adopt, reproduce or cite it. They include the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, the European Forum on Antisemitism, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Yad Vashem – The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, the Canadian Parliamentary coalition to combat Antisemitism and the US Department of State.

EUMC's definition was informed by their 2004 report on anti-Semitism in the European Union member states over a two-year period. The EUMC report lists attributes of anti-Semitic stereotypes (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2004). These were also included in the thesis definition and are reproduced in Appendix B.

The legitimacy and veracity of EUMC's 2004 report is supported by the integrity of the Council of Europe, a 47-member state organisation which, since 1949 has concerned itself with issues relating to human rights, democracy and rule of law. Their founding fathers were pioneers of a peaceful, unified Europe and included Winston Churchill.

The final criteria that informed the thesis definition was from the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance's (2004) general policy recommendation, which was tabled on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. This source augmented the definition criteria with further detail, as reproduced in Appendix C.

The aforementioned definitions were synthesised and tabled as precise definition wording (quotations) with corresponding expanded descriptions and potential visual manifestations of that wording. The synthesised definition resulted in 23 sections, each with several conceptions of how anti-Semitism might evidence itself. The synthesised definition is tabled below (on next page).

Table 1
Synthesised definition of anti-Semitism with corresponding descriptions and potential visual manifestations.

Definition text (verbatim text from original sources)	Descriptions/expanded potential visual manifestations
<p>Disliking Jews. Opposing Jews. Hating Jews. Persecuting Jews. Discrimination against Jews. Prejudice against Jews. Unfair treatment of Jews. Hostilely towards Jews. Cruel treatment of Jews.</p>	<p>Jew as physically offensive (obese, ugly, gnarled, large/hook nose). Jew smaller in relation to other characters. Jew downtrodden. A Jew being hurt/hit/tortured.</p>
<p>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.</p>	<p>Violence towards/defacing/ destruction of Jewish property (temple, synagogue, scripture/ bible, vehicle, home, clothing: yarmulka, religious symbols: Star of David, menorah, scrolls).</p>
<p>Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.</p>	<p>Call to kill/harm Jews (endorsed in cartoon). Jew being harmed, window's smashed, weapons trained on Jews. Jews being butchered.</p>
<p>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.</p>	<p>One Jew bad = all Jews bad. Jews are all unified. Jews are a big club. Jewish collective.</p>
<p>Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (for example, 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).</p>	<p>Holocaust denial/down-play (gas chambers, genocide, ovens, trains, concentration camps). Jews lying. Jew manipulating numbers. Smoke and mirrors. Illusion.</p>
<p>Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, for example, by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.</p>	<p>Israel is racist. Israel is an apartheid state. Denying right of Zionism. Israel is an illegitimate state. Zionism is racist.</p>

Applying double standards by requiring of it (Israel) a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.	Invalid criticism.
Using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism (for example, claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.	Classic anti-Semitic symbols & images referring to Israel, Israel Defense Forces, Israelis, prime minister, flag, map, and so forth. Drinking blood, Christian cross/crucifixion, Christ-killer, crown of thorns, killing children, Israel engaging in genocide against Palestinians (mendacious claim), (Kotek, 2009): Enemy of humanity, crucifixion, infanticide, ritual murder, cannibalism, desecration of the Host (Eucharist), blood libel, gold (money), bloodthirsty, vampires, demonic, scapegoat (Israel is responsible for Arab/world misfortune), zoomorphism (monsters/creatures), world-dominators, corruptors.
Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.	Israel = Nazi. Swastika, Nazi colours (Red flag, white spot, black symbol), Nazi salute, Hitler moustache, SS symbol, eagle, Nazi march, Nazi uniform, Nazi helmet, yellow JUDE star. Alleged genocide (Kotek, 2009).
Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel.	Israel = all Jews = Israel.
the 'deceitful', 'crooked', 'artful' nature of 'the Jew',	Cunning look in the eye. Under cover. Back turning. Crouching.
the 'foreign' and 'different' essence of 'the Jew',	Orthodox Jewish dress.
the 'irreconcilability', 'hostility', 'agitation' of 'the Jew',	A hostile Jew. Weapons. Jewish symbols uses for violence.
the 'commercial talent' and 'relation to money' of 'the Jew',	Good with money. Money-mad. Coins, notes, money bags, money box.

(construction of 'the Jew' as the worst possible incarnation of a capitalist), the 'corrupt' nature of 'the Jew',	Money stuffed in pockets. Money. Corruption: cover up, deceit, two-faced.
Jewish 'power and influence' and a Jewish 'world conspiracy'. (Eger & Pollak, 2002, as cited by EUMC, 2004, p. 12).	Jew controls earth/globe. Jew with gun to the head of world leaders/ organisations, and so forth. Jew on top of earth.
The EUMC report then adds to Eger and Pollak's list a seventh category, "the Christian anti-Judaist myth of 'the Jew' as 'Christ-Killer'" (p. 13).	Crucifixion. Cross. Nails. Blood on hands, feet, side.
e. the public denial, trivialisation, justification or condoning of the Holocaust,	Holocaust never happened. Holocaust was trivial. Holocaust was right to happen. Holocaust happened because Jews deserved it. Myth of a Palestinian holocaust – the real holocaust.
b. among the latter, criticism of the Israeli Government's actions that can be considered legitimate sometimes turns into querying or denial of Israel's right to exist as a state, or	Does Israel have a right to exist? or Israel has no right to exist.
c. truly anti-Semitic remarks under cover of anti-Zionism. Zionism is the "Jewish national movement which had as its goal the creation and support of a Jewish national state in Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jews". (Zionism, 2002, p. 921).	Zionism is illegitimate. Israel is vermin, demonic, blood libel, bloodthirsty, killing of children, Israel lies, Israel is a predator, Israel dominates the world, genocides against Arabs/Palestinians, Israel kills Palestinians like they did Christ (deicide), Israel the chief symbol of capitalism (controller of finance), Israel the metaphor of the evils of modernity (Kötek, 2009). Role reversal: reprocessing the holocaust to advantage the Palestinians/ myth of a Palestinian holocaust – the "real holocaust". Making the Palestinians the victims of genocide' committed by 'the Jews' (Taguieff, 2004, p. 68).

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.

Jew not telling truth (fork tongue).
 The lying Jew.
 Jew as corruptor and corrupt.
 Jews are harmful, inhuman and a menace to mankind.
 Jew as subhuman/animal/insect (animal features/traits/behaviours, wild eyes).
 Jew as demonic (evil grimace, horns, tail, hairy, otherworldly, grotesque, teeth, fangs, blood sucking, monster, bloodthirsty, white/red eyes, wild eyes, wings, claws, underworld, sinister shadows, stance, hunched over, bony/ skeletal).
 Large gnarled/warted nose.
 Jewish world conspiracy (domination/control of world, economy, money, media, government, institutions).

Consolidating the synthesised definition and applying it to a Barthian framework

The synthesised definition was analysed to identify conceptual patterns. The identified concepts were consolidated to form 15 distinct categories of anti-Semitism. These constitute *the definition* referred to in the thesis from this point onwards.

The 15 definition categories of anti-Semitism each corresponded with an evoked concept. These evoked concepts formed the criteria for visual analysis and constitute the *signified* of Barthes' model. The consolidated definition categories and their corresponding evoked concepts are tabled below.

Table 2
Consolidated definition categories with corresponding evoked concepts (Barthes' signified).

Definition description	Evoked concept (Barthes' signified)
The irreconcilability, hostility, agitation of the Jew. Threatening.	Hostile
The existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour. Zionism is illegitimate. State of Israel is illegitimate. Israel's right to exist.	Right to self-determination
The foreign and different essence of the Jew. Unfair treatment. Hostility towards. Physical features. Jewish dress. Requiring of Israel a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.	Discrimination
Calling for, aiding or justifying the harming or killing of Jews.	Incitement
Role reversal – genocide against the Palestinians. Israel is an apartheid state.	Mendacious claim
Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.	Nazi
Dehumanising Jews: as animals, beasts, insects.	Zoomorphism
Literal evil: Demon, devil, vampire, monster, enemy of humanity.	Demonic
Killing children, drinking blood, ritual murder, cannibalism, bloodthirsty (blood libel).	Bloodthirsty
Deicide. Israel crucifies enemies (a la Christ).	Crucifixion
Denial, downplay, trivialisation, justification or condoning of the Holocaust.	Holocaust
The deceitful, crooked, artful, corrupt, lying nature of the Jew.	Cunning

The commercial talent and relation to money of the Jew. Israel the chief symbol of capitalism (controller of finance), Israel the metaphor of the evils of modernity.	Money
Jewish power and influence and a Jewish world conspiracy. Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.	Domination
Jews/Israel is responsible for Arab/world misfortune.	Scapegoat

Following Cartwright and Sturken (2001, p. 29), Figure 16 shows how the definition concepts were applied in Barthes' model. The example demonstrates how the signification process constructed an anti-Semitic message when the *Hostile* concept was found in a cartoon.

The sign: a Jew as hostile, which comprises the interaction of the signifier and the signified, was created by a visual signifier of Jewishness (the sign's primary signifier), contextualised by secondary visual signifiers that together enabled the *Hostile* concept to be evoked.

Cartoons that evidenced the *Hostile* concept and also displayed a visual signifier of Jewishness thus created the sign of a Jew as hostile, and connoted Jewish hostility, irreconcilability, agitation and threat. Such a cartoon communicated an anti-Semitic message pursuant to the definition in Table 2.

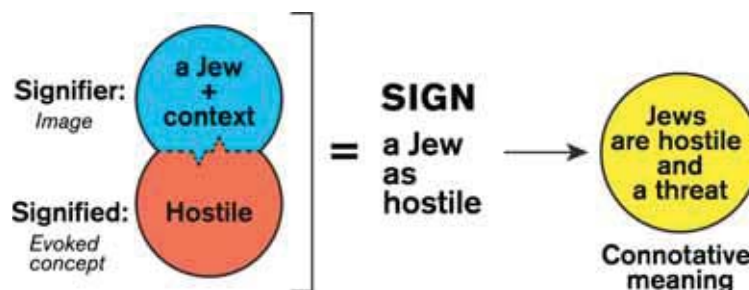


Figure 16. Example of Barthesian application using the definition concept: *Hostile*.

This framework was systematically applied to the data set with the aim of identifying cartoons that evidenced the evoked concepts of the definition, and the visual signifiers that enabled the concepts to be evoked.

Initial coding of the data set

The Google Alert process resulted in the gathering of 406 cartoons, which displayed content broadly related to Jews, Zionism, the State of Israel, the conflict or the Gaza flotilla event itself. An initial coding phase was applied to the data set of 406 cartoons.

This stage of the coding framework did not track whether a cartoon met the criteria for conveying anti-Semitic messages. It coded information relating to which Google Alert the URL (and cartoon) was sourced, date published, publishing media type, media title, and the geographic region and country.

The efficacy of each Google Alert keyword is represented in Figure 17. The two most successful keywords which netted the greatest number of cartoons contained the word *cartoon*. The most successful keyword by a large margin was *israel cartoon* with 196 cartoons, the second most successful was *palestine cartoon* with 78. The next highest numbered keyword was 17 cartoons (*anti zionist*), with the remaining keywords tailing off down to only one or zero counts for seven of the alerts.

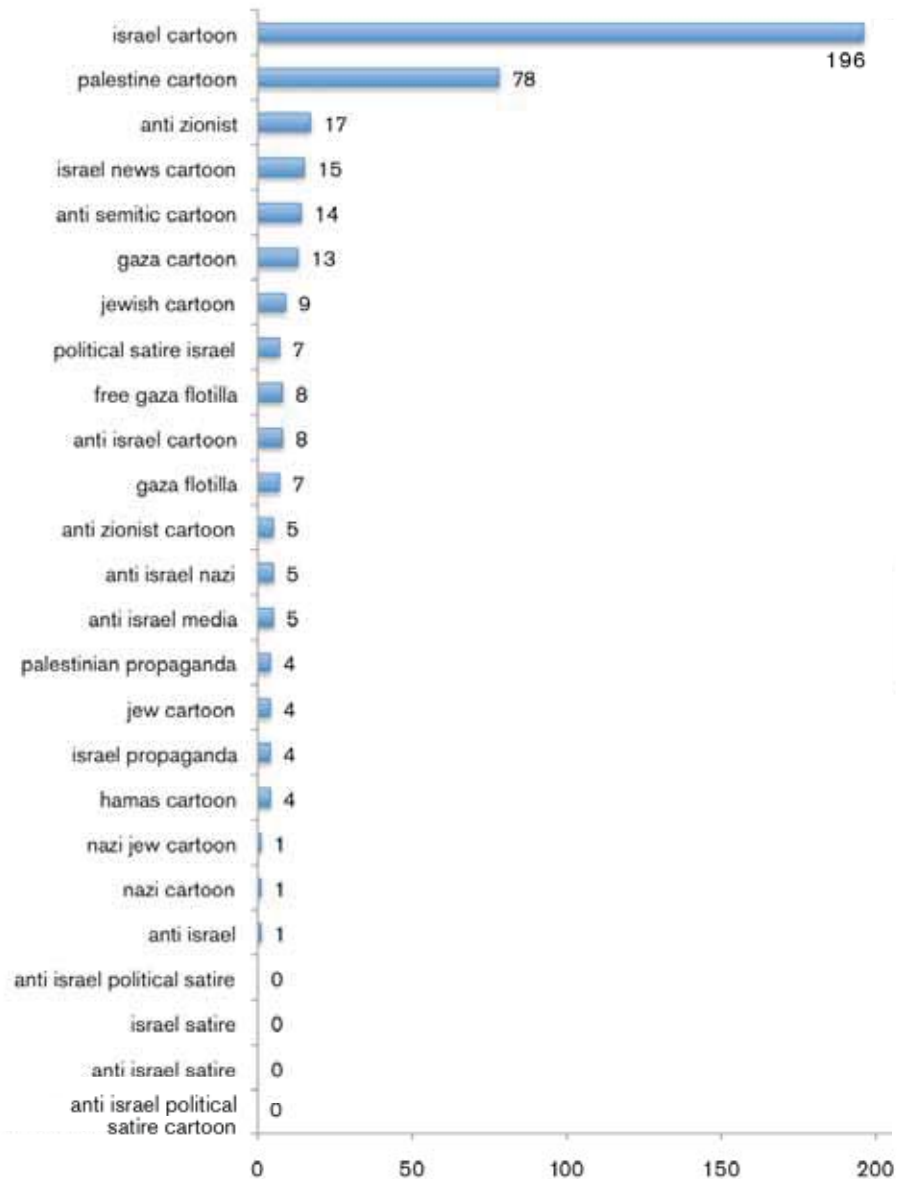


Figure 17. Total number of cartoons gathered, by Google Alert keywords.

While the keywords *israel cartoon* comprised 48% of the total collection, other keywords designed to elicit cartoons of a specifically Jewish nature (*jewish cartoon*, *jew cartoon*, *nazi jew cartoon*), when combined, totalled 3.5%. The keywords *anti semitic cartoon* delivered a little over 3.5%.

The keyword *flotilla* featured in less than 4% of the total collection. It does not necessarily follow that under 4% of the cartoons referenced

the Gaza flotilla incident, only that the Google Alert keyword *flotilla* did not feature significantly in the retrieval of cartoons with a flotilla subject matter, as demonstrated by Figures 18 and 19 where both cartoons were acquired via the keyword *israel cartoon*, and Figure 20 which was acquired via keyword *free gaza flotilla*. All displayed flotilla subject matter, yet were found by different Google Alert keywords.



Figure 18. Acquired via Google Alert *israel cartoon*.
Palestine Think Tank blog, June 1, 2010, Bahrain. By Steve Bell (UK).



Figure 19. Acquired via Google Alert *israel cartoon*.
Yechiel Offner website, August 1, 2010, Israel. By Yechiel Offner.



Figure 20. Acquired via Google Alert *free gaza flotilla*.
Karmalised blog, June 5, 2010, USA. By Mike Keefe.

Searching for instances of the broader context via keywords such as *palestine* and *israel*, and adding the word *cartoon* was more successful in locating cartoons relating to the flotilla event. Conversely, in this particular study, narrowly defined searches were less fruitful. This indicates that the meta-tags (digital labels) assigned to cartoons on their uploading to the Internet potentially comprised broad descriptors, or that Google Alerts located the cartoon primarily by the surrounding contextual text on the webpage.

With the data coded into categories it was possible to chart statistics of various aspects found in the data. Figure 21 shows the number of cartoons gathered in each country grouped by continent or geographic region. Almost half of all cartoons (196 cartoons) relating to the subject were published in media with origins in the Middle East – almost twice the number that were published in North America (including Canada).

Africa and particularly Asia featured low in the statistics with only five and one cartoon gathered respectively. This was countered by South America and Oceania (primarily New Zealand) which both significantly surpassed Africa and Asia in cartoon numbers.

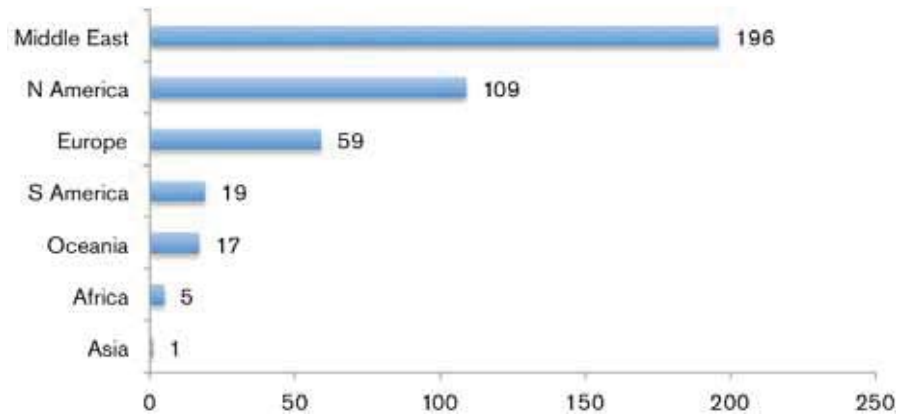


Figure 21. Total number of cartoons gathered, by geographic region source.

The same data set was statistically analysed for the type of media in which cartoons were published on the Internet (Figure 22). Almost half the data set originated from news websites (newspapers). The chart suggests that cartoons are a commonly used form of visual communication on Internet blog sites, with a quarter of all cartoons sourced from this media.

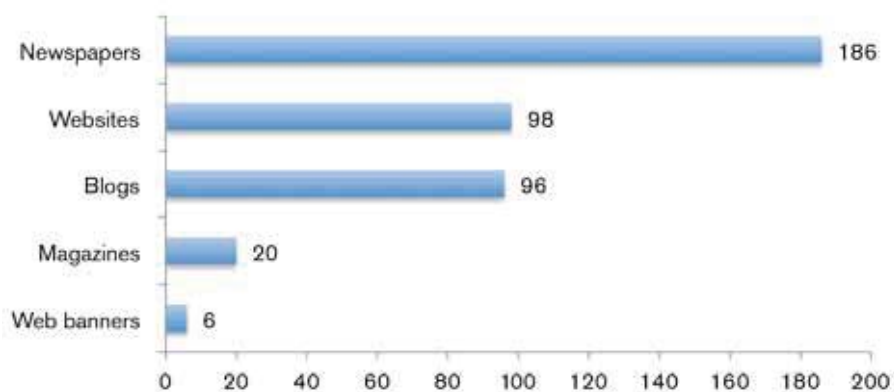


Figure 22. Total number of cartoons gathered, by Internet media type.

The majority of the data set displayed content relating to Israel and the related conflict, including themes such as negotiations, the conflict, Gaza, dealings with other nations, the United Nations and the flotilla. To be certain of the relevance to the research topic of foreign language

cartoons, text within cartoon compositions was translated into English. Over 100 Arabic cartoons were translated into English by two Arabic-speaking Assyrian Iraqis residing in Wellington (the author's barber and his father, a retired school teacher). Google Translate was effective for translating French, Spanish and Turkish text. Where appropriate, foreign language translations are reproduced in the captions of relevant cartoons.

A recurring motif: The Star of David

During the initial coding phase a pattern emerged. It was evident that a large number of cartoons contained representations of the Star of David (Figure 23) in various forms, and applied in various contexts.



Figure 23. The Star of David.

The ubiquity of the Star of David is shown in Figure 24. Of the initial 406 cartoons collected, 286 cartoons (70%) contained a representation of the Star of David or the Israeli flag (which also displays a Star of David).

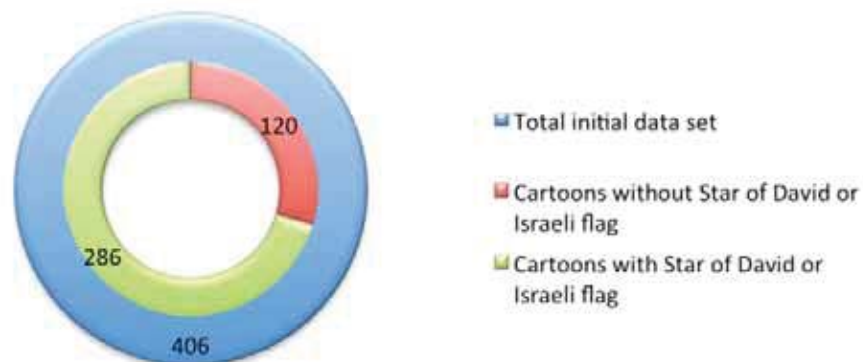


Figure 24. The number of cartoons that contained the Star of David.

The cartoons that contained a Star of David were divided into those that contained the Star of David on its own (solus), and cartoons that contained the Israeli flag. The Israeli flag is distinctive; it comprises two horizontal blue stripes on a white ground. A blue Star of David is located in the centre of the flag in between the blue stripes (Figure 25). Cartoons that contained a representation of the flag were further sorted into two groups: (1) cartoons with an accurately represented Israeli flag, and (2) cartoons with a modified representation of the Israeli flag where the star had been altered or replaced with a different image, such as a Nazi swastika, as shown in Figure 26.



Figure 25. The official Israeli flag.



Figure 26. Israeli flag with a Nazi swastika replacing the Star of David. *Al-Watani al Youm* newspaper, June 15, 2010, Egypt.

Figure 27 charts the number of cartoons in each of the above categories. Of the 286 cartoons in the Star of David data set, 183 cartoons contained the solus star with no flag at all (64%), 103 cartoons contained the standard Israeli flag (36%), and eight cartoons contained the flag with an altered or replaced star.

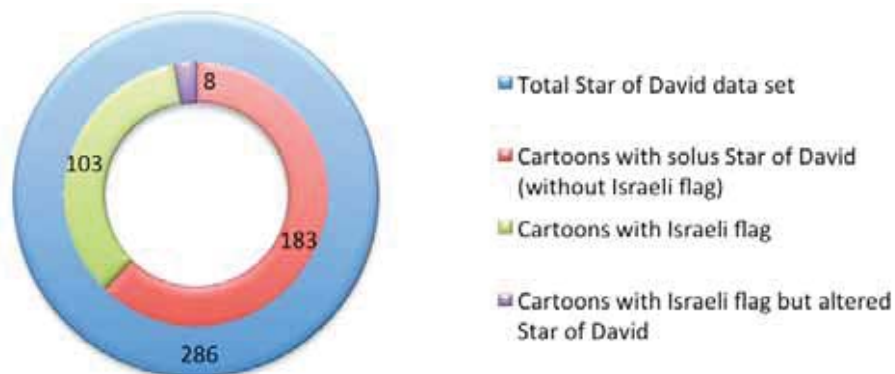


Figure 27. Findings on the Star of David data set.

The ubiquitous use of the Star of David, including those with the Israeli flag suggested that the star is a significant signifier worthy of analysis. The Star of David data set, comprising 286 cartoons became the principal subject of analysis. Cartoons were analysed within the framework of concepts that were identified in the synthesised definition of anti-Semitism, as shown in Table 2 (see p. 42). Table 2 defines 15 potential categories of anti-Semitism, and shows a correlating concept evoking each definition criterion. The evoked concepts are associated with *the signified* of Barthes' system of signification. Barthian semiotic analysis was employed to identify visual signifiers that aided signification these concepts.

Validity and reliability

Acknowledging the interpretive nature of Barthian visual semiotic analysis, the potential for biased analyses was mitigated by the automation of part of the process, and rigorous adherence to recognised definition criteria. The data was coded and populated in a structured data sheet. Findings were firstly based on objective, measurable and verifiable content analysis using the denotative order of signification (Fiske, 1996, p. 136), and followed by interpretive analysis. It is anticipated that the high data numbers (in the hundreds) reduced margins of error and contributed to reliability.

During the gathering process the notion of what *publishing* means on the Internet became an issue to resolve. Internet content is generally constantly live and accessible; works are consequently perpetually published. Many instances arose where URLs supplied by Google Alerts displayed relevant cartoons originally published outside the date range of this study. Initially these cartoons were captured but were later excluded from the data set. Only cartoons published with a date of June, July and August 2010 were included. In instances

where no date was indicated, because Google search flagged these pages during the date range (meaning any Internet user could also have accessed them at that time), these cartoons were included in the data set. Where older cartoons (indicated by a date in the cartoon's composition) were republished within the collection period, these cartoons were included in the data set. They were included because irrespective of their original publishing date, they were republished into new textual environments for new audiences, and this was taken to mean newly published or first published.

Where a cartoonist from a particular country had their cartoon published in another region, the publishing region source was coded as the final place of publishing. This was frequently the case with Brazilian cartoonist Carlos Latuff (his cartoons were most often published in other parts of the world).

In some instances the Google Alert URLs led to Internet pages with multiple cartoons (often with blogs), as well as containing links to other cartoons (often with newspapers or cartoon repositories like *Toon Pool*). Here the Google Alert was treated as a starting point and subsequent URLs were also mined for relevant data. This allowed exhaustive searching of the Internet. There were several instances where the search uncovered a collection of cartoons in one URL; for example, the Iranian stand-alone website, *Holocartoons.com*. This website contained over 50 distinct cartoons. In such an instance, each cartoon was included as an individual entry.

The initial search led to several video cartoons that related to the topic. These were noted but excluded from the data set. Videos were excluded because they presented different dynamics to static images, such as: time-based narrative, moving image, moving text, visual effects, music and sound design.

The internationality of the Internet posed a challenge of authorship and publishing region source. While mainstream media like

newspapers were not an issue, blogs were more challenging. They are often anonymous and often a network of contributors. Great effort was applied to investigate and ascertain a blog's publishing location, or that of the owner or registrant. They were thus coded in the data sheet.

Chapter 3. Findings and data analysis

Analysis of cartoons that evidenced concepts identified in the synthesised definition of anti-Semitism

This analysis section investigates the visual communication design of the phenomenon as reflected in the cartoon data set for the three-month period. Significant numbers of cartoons referred to Israel and the conflict, but displayed content unrelated to the flotilla incident. They appeared as a response to, or associated with the event, even if they only appeared after it.

The focus is on the analysis of the Star of David data set, and identifies the imagery that evoked the definition concepts in cartoons. With the exception of the criterion of *Deicide* (Crucifixion), every concept from the definition was evidenced visually in this data set. The *Scapegoat* concept is not analysed as it is statistically somewhat insignificant. This chapter involves closer scrutiny of each definition concept and is supported by the analysis of relevant cartoon exemplars, and not the whole data set.

The primary visual signifier common to all the cartoons in this data set was the Star of David. Cartoons displayed various combinations of secondary visual signifiers – images that combined to evoke concepts that related to specific definition criteria.

An overview of the findings, as shown in Table 3 below, demonstrates that one concept in particular, *Hostile*, was found in substantially greater numbers than the other 14 concepts. The *Hostile* concept

was evidenced visually in 24% more cartoons than the second most numerous evidenced concept: *Discrimination*. The concepts of *Right to self-determination*, *Money* and *Scapegoat* were statistically poorly evidenced in the cartoon data, numbering between one and seven cartoons each.

Table 3

Overview on findings: Number of cartoons evidencing concepts from the synthesised definition of anti-Semitism.

Evoked concept	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
Hostile	162	57%
Discrimination	94	33%
Bloodthirsty	56	20%
Demonic	43	15%
Domination	39	14%
Cunning	38	13%
Zoomorphism	30	11%
Holocaust	30	11%
Incitement	22	8%
Nazi	21	7%
Mendacious claim	12	4%
Money	5	2%
Right to self-determination	4	1%
Scapegoat	1	1%
Crucifixion	0	0%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

Noting that the criteria for this data set were cartoons with a representation of the Star of David on its own (solus) or in the context of the Israeli flag, the ratio of the use of solus stars to flags was recorded. Overall, cartoons demonstrated a far greater use of the solus Star of David than use of the Israeli flag. In four concepts, the ratio of solus stars to flags neared 50:50 (*Bloodthirsty*, *Demonic*, *Zoomorphism*, and *Nazi*), with the star still numbering greater, as shown in Figure 28.

Figure 28 shows that the *Nazi* and *Scapegoat* concepts were the only categories where the flag was used more often than the star, albeit negligibly, as in both cases flags prevailed by just one instance. In the

case of *Scapegoat* only one cartoon was found to evoke the concept at all; here the Israeli flag was used.

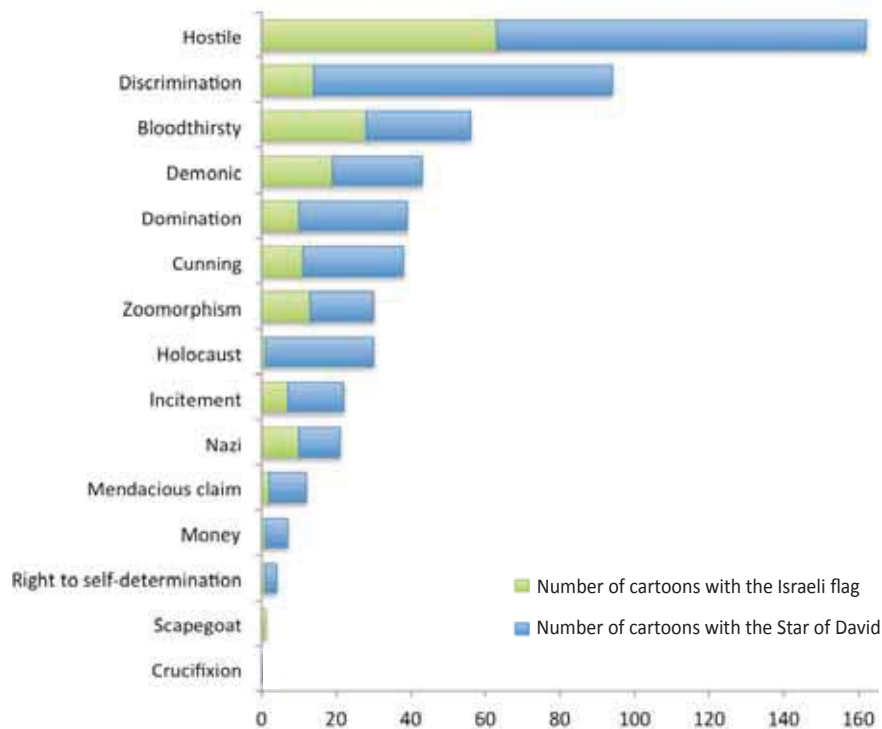


Figure 28. Overview on findings: Ratio of Star of David to Israeli flag instances per concept from the synthesised definition of anti-Semitism.

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Hostile

The *Hostile* concept refers to the portrayal of Jews as hostile, threatening agitators. It is related to the *Discrimination* concept in that it implies a certain irreconcilability of Jews towards general populace.

The *Hostile* concept had the highest incidence recorded out any of the 15 concepts from the definition criteria. The concept was found in 162 cartoons (57% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that evidenced this concept, those that displayed a solus Star of David accounted for 13% more than cartoons that displayed an Israeli flag,

as tabled below.

Table 4
Findings on the concept: Hostile.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	162	57%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	99	35%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	63	22%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

A cartoon published in a Qatari newspaper (Figure 29) displays only two visual elements. The one is a book (or photo album) with Arabic text: “Gaza”, the other is a prominent Star of David. The star has become an object in itself and here pierces through the Gaza book, locking it shut. Several lines are drawn around the star and at the point of penetration, which add movement and vigour to the star’s piercing action and imply a sense of hostility.



Figure 29. *Al-Watan* newspaper, June 21, 2010, Qatar. In Arabic: “Gaza”.

The Star of David, as shown in Figure 30, has again been reappropriated to form a new object, a visual double entendre. Here the star is placed on the end of a rifle. The star’s placement in line of sight of the rifle’s scope indicates that it functions as the rifle’s sights. The barrel of the rifle aims directly at a bee carrying a package labelled “Aid”. The

Palestinian Authority flag is also displayed on the package. The rifle as signifier of hostility is supported by the rifle-bearer's militaristic boots and camouflage trousers. The excessive nature of the threat posed by the Star of David weapon is amplified by the disproportionate conflict with its target – a benign looking insect. This bee is imparted with endearing (and innocent) qualities through its dashed-line flight path, large winsome eyes and fluttering wings.



Figure 30. *The Buffalo News* newspaper, June 4, 2010, USA. By Adam Zyglics.

The choice of cartoonists to display a Star of David on militaristic objects to signify hostility was a common theme (see Figure 120, p. 119). In the cartoon by American cartoonist Deb Milbrath (Figure 31), the star is displayed as the insignia on a rocket. The rocket billows smoke and has the Israeli prime minister riding it, which indicates his own hostility. His aggression is further supported by his grimace, pointed ears and red eye sockets. The rocket's trajectory aims at a ship flying a white "Aid" flag. The hostility of the rocket is further dramatised by the white flag, traditionally signifying surrender, the red flow on the water stemming from the ship, possibly signifying blood, and a red sky towards which the rocket flies.

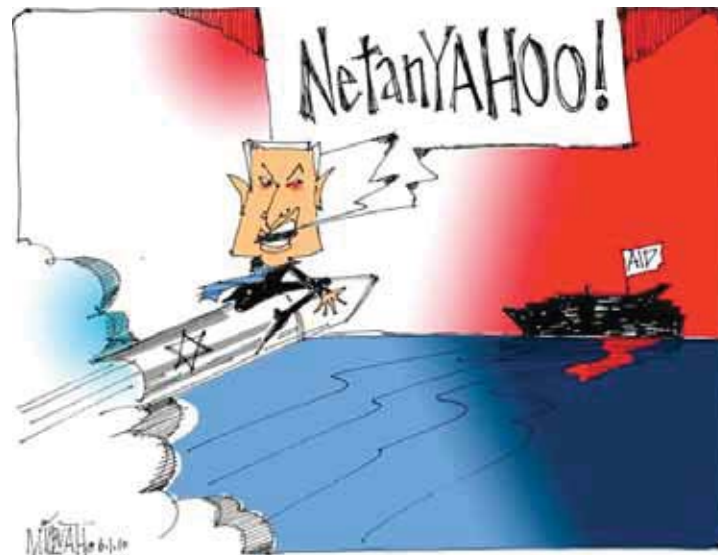


Figure 31. Association of American Editorial Cartoonists website, June 1, 2010, USA. By Deb Milbrath.

A similar narrative was evident in the following cartoon from India, shown in Figure 32. Again a rocket fires towards a sea vessel. The rocket displays a Star of David, and the text “Israel”, composed within two vertical lines, alludes to the Israeli flag. The use by the two previous cartoons of disparate visual signifiers to indicate gross inequity of a conflict is also employed here; large rocket pitted against a small inflatable dinghy carrying apparently defenceless civilians. This form of visual hierarchy and juxtaposition was common in cartoons that referred to the Gaza flotilla.



Figure 32. *The Hindu* newspaper, June 2, 2010, India. By Amina Wasif.

In the American cartoon of Figure 33, hostility is evidenced by the character's holding a smoking shotgun and his excessively bullet-ridden target of three yellow ducks at a carnival stall. His face is turned towards the audience with a smirking expression. He is a caricature of the Israeli prime minister. A Star of David is displayed on his shirt, the same manner by which Nazi Europe singled out and identified individuals as Jews.



Figure 33. *The Register Mail* newspaper, June 1, 2010, USA. By Dave Granlund.

Figure 34, below, displays the Star of David on the helmet of a man dressed in an all-green military uniform. He holds a smoking rifle and has stepped forward with his very large boot crushing several bodies. His splayed victims carry no weapons, are dressed in civilian clothing and one still holds a yellow sign with the peace symbol (the logo of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament designed in 1958 by Gerald Holtom).

The hostility of the soldier is enhanced by his downturned mouth and shadowed eyes. His deep shadow on the ground and on his right side indicate that the light source emanates from the direction of the victims. The black background behind his head and shoulders suggests he has stepped out of the shadow, rendering him all the more menacing.



Figure 34. *Daily Kos* blog, July 6, 2010, USA. By Stuart Carlson.

A similarly dressed soldier appears in the following cartoon from Oman (Figure 35), again with the Star of David on a helmet. The scene takes place on a ship. The soldier stabs a civilian in the back with a menorah, a seven-stick Judaic candelabra, signifying the light of God in Judaism and used in temple liturgy (see Figure 1). Blood trickles out of the victim and pools onto the deck. The victim holds a protest sign and an olive branch (a traditional symbol of peace). In the background a soldier climbs down a rope ladder from an attack helicopter, which fires on the flotilla with twin machine guns.



Figure 35. *Al-Watan* newspaper June 1, 2010, Oman. In Arabic on the sign: "Free Gaza", and on the ship: "Freedom convoy".

The previous two cartoons exaggerate the aggression and hostility of the soldier by juxtaposing weapons against peace symbols. Similar juxtaposition is used in a cartoon from an Egyptian newspaper (Figure 36), which shows a heavily armed soldier pointing his automatic rifle at an unarmed, terrified child. The soldier asks in Arabic: “Where are all the stones you have, you terrorist?” The soldier is rotund with a large pink nose, and has six rockets and two additional rifles strapped to his back. Both a solus Star of David and an Israeli flag are displayed, the star on the side of his helmet and the flag on his shoulder.



Figure 36. *Ruz-al-Yusuf* newspaper, June 20, 2010, Egypt. By Mostafa Salem.
In Arabic: “Where are all the stones you have, you terrorist?”

Similarly, the star and flag appears in the South African cartoon below. Figure 37 shows three inflatable dinghies with naval commandos attacking a large ship labelled “Gaza aid flotilla.’ A foreground dinghy displays a Star of David on its hull, and a dinghy in the background has the star on its flag. A commando points to the ship and commands: “... women and children first!!” Red streaks indicating fired rounds streak from the commandos’ weapons towards the ship; a total of 11 firearms are trained on the ship as target. At the top of the cartoon, an Israeli flag forms the background to Israel’s prime minister. His index finger in the air as he makes a speech.



Figure 37. *AfriCartoons* website, June 3, 2010, South Africa. By Brandon Reynolds.

Another South African newspaper cartoon displays the Israeli Flag only (Figure 38). The cartoon is a spot-the-difference puzzle showing a duplicated image with slight changes. Scene “A” shows a boat racing in the water flying a Somali flag. The five sailors have brown skin and are dressed in civilian clothes, one wears a balaclava and two brandish AK-47s. Three wear red peak caps and all but the balaclava wearer appear to be shouting. This is clearly a hostile crew. Scene “B” is an exact duplicate of Scene “A”. The only difference is the boat’s flag and the addition of head adornments to two of the seamen. Scene “B” has the boat flying an Israeli flag. The balaclava wearer and another crew member now each wear a white yarmulka (Judaic skullcap). The yarmulkas are visual signifiers of Orthodox Judaism.

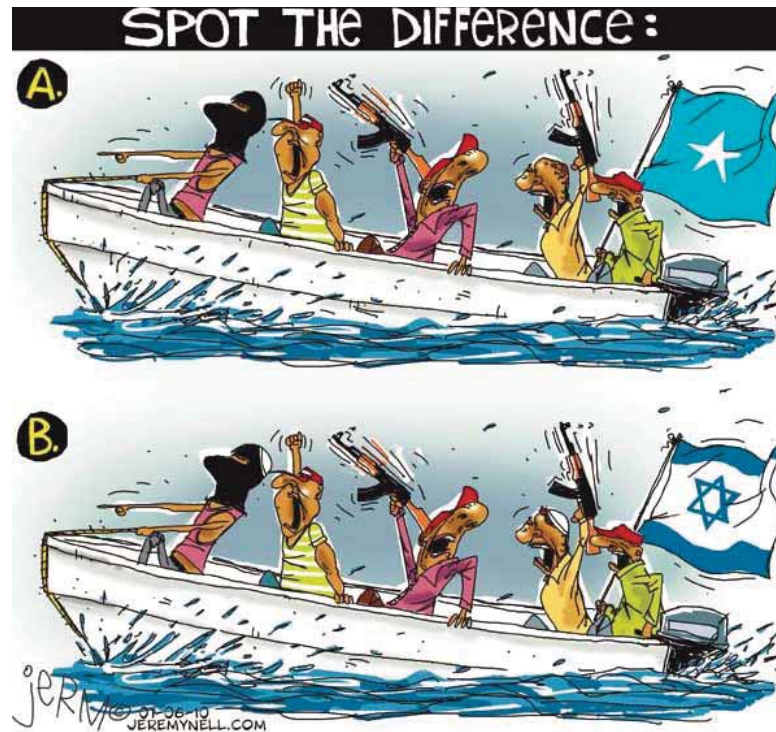


Figure 38. *The Times* newspaper, June 24, 2010, South Africa. By Jeremy Nell.

The Carlos Latuff cartoon below (Figure 39) displays a similar combination of visual signifiers. The Israeli flag is on a shepherd boy's shirt. He wears a yarmulke and – an additional signifier of Jewishness – long curled sideburns. The shepherd boy's hostility is evoked by his hysterical shouting at man (protester) quietly holding a placard. The man is dressed in a shirt resembling the Palestinian Authority's flag. Hostility is further implied by the pistol holstered at the shepherd boy's right hip and an American M16 assault rifle slung over his left shoulder. The over-animated shepherd boy is juxtaposed against the repose of the protester, who by contrast is motionless and has one hand in his pocket.



Figure 39. Zazzle.com web banner, June 1, 2010, USA. By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Discrimination

Discrimination was one of the more overt and thus easily identified concepts in the definition criteria. It deals unambiguously with Jewish religion, race and ethnicity. The concept evokes a sense that Jews are foreign and essentially different, and thus discriminates against them.

Coding this concept meant identifying representations of common historical anti-Semitic stereotypes, often echoing the demeaning Jewish caricatures of the Nazi propaganda genre. It often included the formal black attire, yarmulke, top hat, beard and long side burns associated with European Orthodox Judaism, as well as distorted physical features maliciously ascribed to Jewish ethnicity and race since the Middle Ages.

The *Discrimination* concept was found in 94 cartoons (33% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, those that displayed a solus Star of David accounted for 25% more than cartoons that displayed an Israeli flag, as tabled below.

Table 5
Findings on the concept: *Discrimination*.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	94	33%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	80	30%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	14	5%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

A cartoon published in *The Palestinian Times* newspaper, West Bank, is an exemplar of the imagery that evidenced the *Discrimination* concept (Figure 40). It shows a head and shoulders caricature of a man in a black jacket and hat. The hat opens at the top with a sardine tin mechanism revealing many human skulls filling the hat. The rolled-back tin lid is inscribed with the text: “Gaza”. These particular visual signifiers do not relate directly to the *Discrimination* concept, but reference the conflict between the State of Israel and Hamas in Gaza. The signifiers indicating *Discrimination* are the man’s coat, hat, large beard, scruffy head hair and long braided sideburns, while his nose is grossly distorted into a large beak-shaped protrusion. These obtuse physical features and stylised Orthodox Jewish attire are typical of historic stereotyping of Jews.



Figure 40. *The Palestinian Times* newspaper, July 25, 2010, West Bank.

The primary signifier, that of the man's Jewishness, is a Star of David emblazoned on his jacket. The use and placement of the star is reminiscent of the Jewish star, which the Nazis forced all Jews to wear prominently on their attire. The Jewish star was essentially a Star of David embroidered on a yellow cloth, and often incorporated the text, "Jew" in the regional vernacular, as shown in Figure 41.

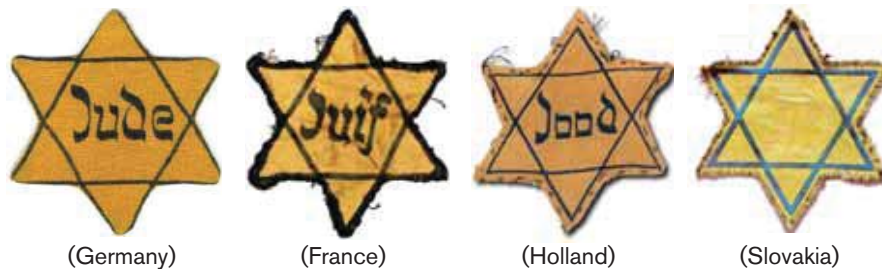


Figure 41. Nazi-era Jewish star badges. History in chronology, geschichteinchronologie.ch.

The core of the *Discrimination* concept emanated from the fallacious belief in the otherness of Jews and the danger they posed, thus the imperative to have them visibly identifiable in general public at all times. Nazi-era Jews were identified and discriminated against through the use of the star as shown in Figures 42 and 43 below. The Nazi-era illustration on the left portrays a Jew with a Jewish star, black jacket and hat, and large hooked nose.



Figure 42. Nazi stereotype of a Jew. *Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda*, Spring/Summer, 1943. In German: "He bears the guilt for the war!" (Herf, 2006).



Figure 43. Nazi-era Jewish star, France. History in chronology, geschichteinchronologie.ch.

The Nazis also employed other identification apparatus that used the Star of David. Figure 44 shows a Jewish man in a Warsaw ghetto wearing an armband that displays the star.



Figure 44. Nazi-era Jewish star armband, Warsaw. History in chronology, *geschichteinchronologie.ch*.

The cartoon by Brazilian cartoonist Pete Pasho (Figure 45), echoes the Nazi armband. Here an illustration of a man with a likeness to the Israeli prime minister has a band wrapped around his upper arm. The armband displays a Star of David and two stripes, indicating an Israeli flag.



Figure 45. *Dollops of Irony* website, June 4, 2010. Brazil. By Pete Pasho.

The armband in Figure 45 is comparable to the examples of Nazi-era Jewish star armbands shown in Figures 44 and 46. While they show a variance of design, the Polish armband (Figure 46) is comparable to the design of the Israeli flag and to the armband worn by the Israeli prime minister in Figure 45. This latter armband is as much a signifier of the prime minister's Israeli citizenship as it is of his Jewishness, or indeed the Jewishness of the State of Israel. It is the close resemblance to Nazi armbands and their identification and separation of Jews that evokes the *Discrimination* concept.



Figure 46. Nazi-era Jewish star armbands. History in chronology, geschichteinchronologie.ch.

Several of the classic discriminatory visual signifiers discussed above were identified in the following two Middle East cartoons (Figures 47 and 48), and the cartoons from USA (Figure 49) and Canada (Figure 50). Again, the primary signifier is the Star of David.



Figure 47. *Al-Watan* newspaper, June 21, 2010, Qatar. By Elie Saliba (Lebanon). In Arabic: "The criminal", and "The judge".



Figure 48. *PalToday* newspaper, June 25, 2010, West Bank. By Aalaa Allagta. In Arabic: "... Lonely".

The olive branch–white dove composite in Figure 49 is an Early Christian symbol of peace. The branch and dove were shown in some cartoons as a composite peace symbol (Figures 49 & 84), or separately as individual peace symbols (Figures 34, 80 & 106).



Figure 49. *Daryl Cagle Political Cartoons* website, August 27, 2010, USA. By Stéphane Perray (Thailand).

A cartoon published in a Canadian newspaper, *La Métropole* (Figure 50), shows other forms in which the Star of David was displayed.

In the previous cartoons the star appeared on clothing a flag and a playing card; here it is applied to other inanimate objects – the taxi door and roof sign, and also becomes the vehicle’s front hood emblem.



Figure 50. *La Métropole* newspaper, July 10, 2010, Canada. By Serge Métyvié.
 In French: “A taxi transformed into a ... synagogue?”
 “David’s taxi www.cheapcheap.com”, “Come in! May God be with you”.

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Bloodthirsty

The *Bloodthirsty* concept identifies two manifestations. The first is a general bloodlust, evidenced in displays of butchery, blood, blood-soaked or dripping weapons (usually edged weapons). The second is a specific bloodlust that recalls an ancient blood libel against Jews. The libel accuses Jews of the ritual sacrifice of Christian children around the time of the Passover Feast in order to drink their blood. The 1656 AD fresco from a Polish cathedral (Figure 52) and a wood engraving from 1900 AD (Figure 53) illustrate the libel.



Figure 51. *Ritual murder by Jews* fresco, Sandomierz Cathedral, 1656 AD, Poland. (Kotek, 2009).



Figure 52. Wood engraving depicting Jews sucking blood from a child, 1900 AD, Poland. (Kotek, 2009).

The *Bloodthirsty* concept was found in 56 cartoons (20% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, equal numbers displayed a solus Star of David and an Israeli flag, as tabled below.

Table 6
Findings on the concept: Bloodthirsty.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	56	20%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	28	10%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	28	10%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

The blood libel of the *Bloodthirsty* concept is unambiguously portrayed

in the cartoon shown in Figure 53 (the *Demonic* concept is also evoked here). A young boy with his eyes closed lies limp in the clutches of a vampire-like man. Apart from his other demonic attributes (pointed ears, white eyes, small pupils, clawed nails), his large fangs and pronounced canine teeth drip with blood. The vampire appears to be ravaging the back of the boy's neck. A signifier of the boy's identity is offered by his shirt, which resembles the design of the Palestinian Authority's flag. The vampire's identity is shown by the use of two visual signifiers, a white yarmulke worn by Orthodox Jews, and a Star of David displayed on the yarmulke.



Figure 53. *BackseatBlogger.com* blog, August 24, 2010, USA.
By Omayya Joha (Gaza).

The *Demonic–Bloodthirsty* synchronicity is again evidenced in a Carlos Latuff cartoon, published on a website in the United Kingdom (Figure 54). A skeletal, demonic soldier with “Born to kill” on his helmet and “The Ziombies” on his bullet-proof vest, holds an M16 rifle. The figure’s skull face has a Star of David instead of a nasal cavity. The star is bounded by two blue stripes; the composition makes up an Israeli flag. Six baby soothers are drawn onto the rifle butt in a manner alluding to the number of kills the soldier has made. The implication is that his victims were babies, and suggests his future targets are also babies.

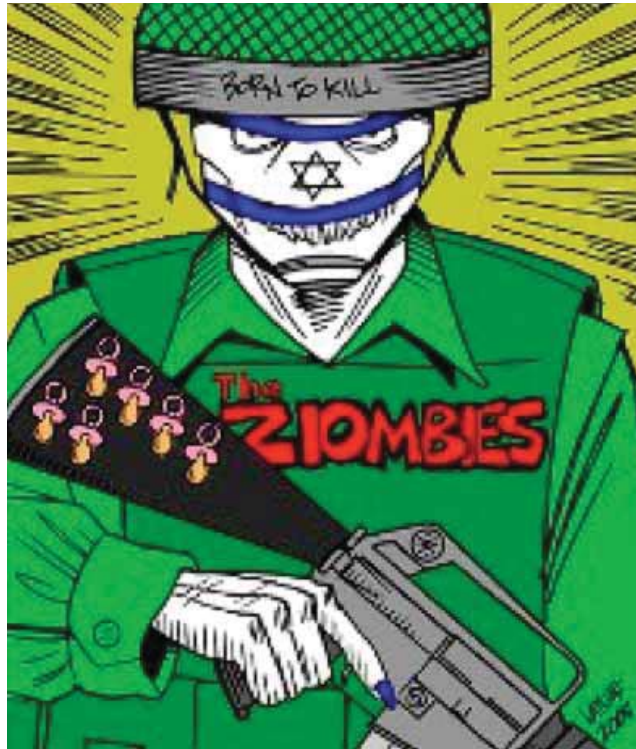


Figure 54. *CafePress* website, June 1, 2010, UK. By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

A Ben Heine cartoon published in Belgium, shown in Figure 55, displays no blood, yet is a tacit example of the *Bloodthirsty* concept. Here a soldier hoists up an infant by his one ankle, dangling him upside down. The infant's mouth shape indicates that he is crying. He holds a small Palestinian Authority flag. With his other hand, the soldier aims a pistol at the defenceless infant. The visual signifier qualifying the soldier is an Israeli flag badge on his bullet-proof vest. This naturalistic use of the flag and non-obtuse caricature of a soldier was not commonly seen in the cartoon data set.



Figure 55. *Stop de Bezetting* website, July 9, 2010, Belgium. By Ben Heine.

Figure 56 is an example of the general blood lust exhibited in this concept. A man is dragging a dolphin from the sea onto the beach. His clothing (yellow rain hood, jacket and trousers, black rubber boots) resembles that of a fisherman. His eyes are darkened, he has a beard and smokes a pipe. The fisherman's clothes are splattered and smeared with blood. In his left hand he holds a large knife still dripping with blood. His right hand has a gaffing hook by which he drags the dolphin. On the dolphin's flank is the text: "Freedom flotilla". Its eyes are closed, blood is emanating from its mouth onto the sand and into the sea, and it has three large gashes to its body – apparently inflicted by the fisherman's knife. On the side of the fisherman's yellow hood, around which flies buzz, a large, black Star of David is displayed. (Flies would more naturally be buzzing around the decaying dolphin.) The cartoonist has the flies more attracted to the Star of David, indicating the star's greater putrefaction.

The cartoonist's decision to portray the flotilla as a butchered dolphin is a powerful visual signifier (particularly for left-leaning audiences). A dolphin is imbued with endearing qualities and is popularly regarded as a friend of humankind. This cartoon, as were many, is thus coded with layers of meaning. Here the idea that Jew is an enemy of good – and thus mankind – is subtly reinforced.



Figure 56. *Daily Kos* blog, June 7, 2010, USA. By Emad Hajjaj (Jordan).

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Demonic

The *Demonic* concept, although related to zoomorphism, was differentiated from the latter concept by a number of visual signifiers. It required the manifestation of unnatural, monstrous creatures or features associated with the underworld, wickedness, the occult or the literal incarnation of evil, for example; a vampire, the Devil or a demon.

The *Demonic* concept was found in 43 cartoons (15% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, those displaying a solus Star of David accounted for 1% more than cartoons that displayed an Israeli flag.

Table 7
Findings on the concept: Demonic.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	43	15%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	24	8%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	19	7%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

Figure 57 shows a cartoon published on an American blogsite. A silhouette of a stylised black figure is rendered against a red background. At first it appears to represent a cowboy, implied by the wide stance, a revolver holstered on each thigh, boots, hat and star badge on the waistcoat. However, the *Demonic* concept is evoked by a number of visual elements. Two sharp horns emerge from the ‘cowboy’s’ hat; his eyes are sharp, triangular shapes and are entirely red, his fingers end as sharp, curved sickle-shapes, and he has a prominent tail that ends in an arrow (the Devil’s tail). Signifiers of Jewishness are his distinctive curled sideburns, beard and hat of Orthodox Judaism, and the white star badge on the waistcoat. A sheriff’s badge (associated with cowboys) is usually a five-pointed star. Here the badge is a solid-shaped six-pointed star, constructed of two triangles – a Star of David, reminiscent of some iterations of the Nazi Jewish star.



Figure 57. *NewsReal* blog, July 25, 2010, USA.

A cartoon that appeared in a Bahraini blog by Spanish cartoonist Matías Tolsà (Figure 58), shows a lone figure facing the viewer. It is dressed from head to toe in black cloak and hood, with the face of an evil-looking skeleton. Its skeletal hand clutches a scythe, the blade of which is constructed of an Israeli flag. The figure is a personification of death; the “Grim Reaper”.



Figure 58. *Sabbah Report* blog, July 18, 2010, Bahrain. By Matías Tolsà (Spain).

A Venezuelan newspaper cartoon published days after the Gaza flotilla, shows a man with demon-like features (Figure 59). He has small pointed ears, a long, hairy nose with warts and sparsely placed teeth shaped like those of an animal. A wild look in his eyes is accentuated by darkened eye sockets. With his face and neck bulging and deformed, and saliva spitting from his grimacing mouth, he utters in Spanish: “With the Football World Cup, the massacre will be forgotten”. The Gaza flotilla incident occurred during the Football World Cup played in South Africa. The round helmet on his head displays a large Star of David.



Figure 59. *Diario Vea* newspaper, June 8, 2010, Venezuela.
In Spanish: “With the Football World Cup, the massacre will be forgotten”

The polemic that portrays or associates Jews with the demonic harks back to antiquity, as demonstrated in Figure 60. This section of a Middle Ages illustration shows a demon pointing to two Jews. The entire illustration contains several demons and a number of renowned Jews who lived during the reign of King Henry III.



Figure 60. Illustration on a tax roll, 1233 AD, Norfolk, England. The National Archives, nationalarchives.gov.uk.

Familiar visual treatments were applied to the character from a cartoon published in an Egyptian newspaper (Figure 61). He bears similar features to the black and red cartoon in Figure 57. Here a man is dressed in a green uniform and wears boots and a helmet – a soldier. Through his grimace, his sparsely placed teeth are just evident. A tail ending in an arrow-shape, the same colour as his skin, flicks up behind him; this tail assures his demonic essence. The man has intensely glaring eyes and a long pointed nose. His ears are like those of a bat and his hands drip with red – blood. The Arabic title reads: “Israel attacks the Freedom flotilla”. His helmet displays the same white Star of David seen in Figure 57.



Figure 61. *Ruz-al-Yusuf* newspaper, June 2, 2010, Egypt. By Abdul Rahman. In Arabic: “Israel attacks the Freedom flotilla”, and “I don’t understand why people are concerned, this is what I do, I kill innocents and nobody questions me!!”

Another military man–creature is portrayed in Figure 62. This cartoon appeared on the front cover of a Turkish magazine. It features a man–creature confronting a benign-looking civilian man. A white Star of David is displayed on the protagonist’s uniform, another on his helmet. The *Demonic* concept is evoked through his exceedingly large nose clustered with warts, large fangs and foam frothing about and dripping from his mouth.



Figure 62. *Girgin* magazine (No. 23), June 2, 2010, Turkey. By Mehmet İlhan. In Turkish: “What’s onboard?!” “Humanitarian Aid material ...” “I want some rabies medicine!”

The cartoon shown in Figure 63 also appeared on the front cover of a Turkish magazine. It also shows a heavily armed *man* in military uniform. His rifle is still smoking and spent shotgun rounds lay about his feet, also smoking. He stands in a glistening red pool, which appears to be blood. He utters in Turkish: “Before humanity attacks!” His inhumanity – the *Demonic* concept – is evoked by his gnarled and wrinkled hands and face, and his red eyelids that frame eyes with large whites and pinprick pupils. A Star of David is boldly displayed on his helmet.



Figure 63. *Pengu* magazine (No. 402), June 3, 2010, Turkey.
In Turkish: "Before humanity attacks!"

In Figure 64, the Israeli prime minister is illustrated with two long canine teeth made of high calibre brass bullets. His crudely drawn vampire-like teeth drip with what can be inferred as blood. While the top of his head is shrunken and his ears enlarged, neither of these exaggerations imply evil. The cartoon displays strong demonic signifiers, implied by the vampire fangs. The visual signifiers also evoke the *Bloodthirsty* concept (and was also thus coded). The figure's tie has a pattern constructed by the repetition of the Star of David. This cartoon appeared in a Lebanese newspaper.



Figure 64. *Albalad* newspaper, June 2, 2010, Lebanon. By Stavro Jabra.

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Domination

The *Domination* concept manifests the idea that Jews hold disproportionate power and influence in local and global affairs, and corporately plot world domination. The idea of domination extends to Jewish control of the world media, economy and governments or societal institutions. Jewish domination has been a popular belief for a number of centuries, as shown by the late 19th century French illustration of a Jew enveloping the entire globe (Figure 65).



Figure 65. A 1898 AD illustration from French magazine, *Le Rire*. (Herf, 2006).

The *Domination* concept was found in 39 cartoons (14% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, those displaying a solus Star of David accounted for three times as many cartoons that displayed an Israeli flag, as tabled below.

Table 8
Findings on the concept: Domination.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons conveying this concept	39	14%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	29	10%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	10	4%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

The cartoon shown in Figure 66, from a Lebanese blog, demonstrates a similar use of visual signifiers to those seen in Figure 65, except here the globe is overcome by something other than the personification of a Jew. The cartoon borrows its illustrative technique and content, of a representation of a Roman military standard (Figure 67), from Albert Uderzo's *Asterix* comic series (published 1959–2011). It copies Uderzo's standard, which is: made of a gold metal and impaling terra firma, causing cracks in the ground, decorated with two gold discs adorned with faces, a plaque bearing text, a sculpture of a creature followed by another disc, a flag, and a final gold sculpture at the top.

Uderzo's angle of view and perspective is also copied. Where the Lebanese cartoon differs is that this standard pierces the earth as a globe at the geographical location of the State of Israel, the cracks emanating from the area are red and the text on the plaque reads: "Zionism". The creature above the plaque is horned, has pointed ears, black eyes and a heavy brow (a demonic creature); the flag is that of the United States, and the sculpture at the very top of the standard is a Star of David. Apart from the other concepts evoked, the visual signifiers give a clear sense of Jewish–Zionist domination over America, then over the Middle East, then over the entire earth.



Figure 66. *South Lebanon* blog, June 22, 2010, Lebanon.



Figure 67. *Asterix and The Actress*. (Uderzo, 2002).

The *Domination* concept recalls the now repealed UN Resolution 3379 (1975), which mooted the idea that Zionism is a threat to world peace and security. The concept also recalls Nazi portrayals of Jewish conspiracy, as shown in Figure 68, where a stereotypical Jew oversees the collaboration between the British and Russians to crush Germany.



Figure 68. *Reich Ministry for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment*, Summer, 1941, Germany. In German: "Jewish conspiracy against Europe!" (Herf, 2006).

A Carlos Latuff cartoon that appeared on the cover of a German magazine leads with: “The Israel Lobby” (Figure 69). An ominous figure lurks in shadows; his only visible facial features are the whites of his eyes. He is dressed in a blue suit, and a clenched fist made of riveted metal emerges from his jacket sleeve. Two visual signifiers contextualise the figure: an American flag, also retreating to shadow, flies behind him; and his white tie, displaying an Israeli flag, prominently jumps out of the otherwise dark composition.



Figure 69. *Der Semit* magazine, July 3, 2010, Germany. By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).
In German: “The Israel Lobby”.

The Latuff cartoon uses visual signifiers in a similar way to the Nazi cartoon shown in Figure 70 below, where a man skulks behind American, UK and Soviet flags; his identity in this instance revealed by the gold Star of David signifier on his waistcoat.



Figure 70. Nazi Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Spring/Summer, 1943, Germany. In German: "Behind enemy powers: The Jew". (Herf, 2006).

A cartoon published in an Egyptian newspaper (Figure 71), evokes the concept of political domination. Here a large Israeli prime minister bears down on the shoulders of a smaller man dressed in a coat-tailed suit and American flag hat. The American in turn presses down on the shoulders of the even smaller Palestinian Authority president. The Israeli has a large Star of David on his jacket.

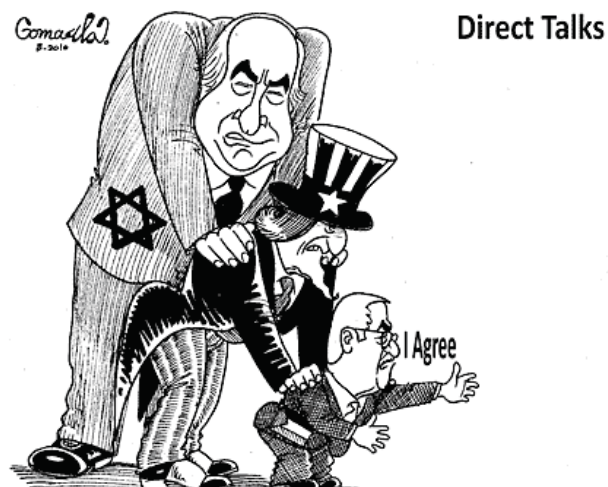


Figure 71. *Al-Ahram* newspaper, August 19, 2010, Egypt. By Gomaah Farahat.

The Qatari cartoon in Figure 72 evokes a similar sense of power and influence over America. Here the Israeli flag strangles the American president, whose elongated neck now serves as its flag pole.



Figure 72. *Al-Watan* newspaper, July 1, 2010, Qatar. By Elie Saliba (Lebanon).

The *Domination* concept also evidenced references to Jewish influence over media channels and access to information. The cartoons in Figures 74 and 75, published on American and Canadian blogs respectively, display a solus Star of David associated with the Wikipedia logo (Figure 73).



Figure 73. Wikipedia logo, en.wikipedia.org.

In the American cartoon, a Star of David is integrated into the surface of the Wikipedia globe, while the Canadian version displays the star as a large background, which frames a smaller Wikipedia globe.

Wikipedia's veracity as an encyclopaedia is called into question by the two cartoons. Jewish influence or control of encyclopaedic truth is thus implied.



Figure 74. *Robert Lindsay* blog, August 27, 2010, USA.



Figure 75. *Pacific Free Press* blog, August 20, 2010, Canada.

Finally, Figure 77 displays a redesigned monoline CNN logo (Figure 76). Here, cartoonist Pete Pasho replaces the "C" of the CNN logo with a "Z". The typically red CNN logo now vignettes from a blue "Z" to the red of the "Ns".

The blue monolines at the start of the "Z", frame a blue Star of David on a white ground and represents an Israeli flag. The following text is placed beneath the logo: "The best Zionist team on television". Pasho thus repurposes "Cable News Network" to "Zionist News Network". The relationship of the CNN and Israeli flag signifiers imply Jewish influence over global media production and news presentation.



Figure 76. CNN logo, *cnn.com*.



Figure 77. *Dollops of Irony* website, July 11, 2010, Brazil. By Pete Pasho.

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Cunning

This concept identifies Jews as having a deceitful, corrupt, lying and artful nature. The Jew as corruptor is portrayed in the Nazi propaganda cartoon shown in Figure 78. This is a visual portrayal of Hitler's ideology that Jews were attempting to corrupt the purity of the German race by raping German girls. The libel extends even further back in history. The following 1543 AD pamphlet cover by Martin Luther, shown in Figure 79, reads in German: "On the Jews and their lies".



Figure 78. From Dr Kurt Plischke's 1935 publication, *The Jew as race defiler: An accusation against Judah and a warning to German women and girls.* (Herf, 2006).



Figure 79. *Von den Jüden und jren lügen* "On the Jews and their lies." Germany, 1543 AD. A pamphlet by Martin Luther. (Herf, 2006).

The *Cunning* concept was found in 12 cartoons (4% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, those that displayed a solus Star of David accounted for almost three times as many cartoons as displayed an Israeli flag.

Table 9
Findings on the concept: Cunning.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	38	13%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	27	9%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	11	4%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

The *Cunning* concept is evidenced in the Egyptian cartoon shown in Figure 80. Here a rotund man dressed in a blue and white outfit has caught a fish using an olive branch (peace). The fish's black and white scales construct a pattern that resembles the distinctive black and white kaffiyeh (headscarf) worn and made famous by Egyptian-born PLO leader, Yasser Arafat; the black and white kaffiyeh has since been taken up as a symbol of Palestinian identity. The fish in the cartoon is thus a metaphor for the Palestinians. The fisherman has a large nose,

sideburns and beard. He wears a blue top hat and laughs gleefully. On the side of his hat is a white Star of David between two white stripes. His blue and white outfit resembles the Israeli flag's patterning.



Figure 80. *Al-Ahram* newspaper, July 22, 2010, Egypt. By Fathi Abouelezz.

The following cartoon published in a New Zealand magazine (Figure 81) displays a similar cunning. A military man, finger poised to launch an atomic missile hides behind a panel which presents him as another character. He looks to the sky, pouting, which indicates his innocence. The panel shows a pleading Holocaust victim, shown by the signifiers of a black and white image, striped uniform, razor wire fence, silhouette guard tower, bare feet and importantly, a Jewish star on the jacket. On the base of the panel reads: "Israel".



Figure 81. *Uncensored* magazine, June 9, 2010, New Zealand. By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

The Star of David was applied to worms in the cartoon shown in Figure 82. The worms have long noses, wear black hats or yarmulkes (skullcaps) and have long sideburns. The worms are wiggling away from a large tome which they have apparently been boring through, shown by three worm-size holes. The tome's title reads: "The history of the world". The visual signifiers thus deliver the message that the whole of world history has been corrupted by these invertebrates, which clearly resemble stereotypes of Orthodox Jews.

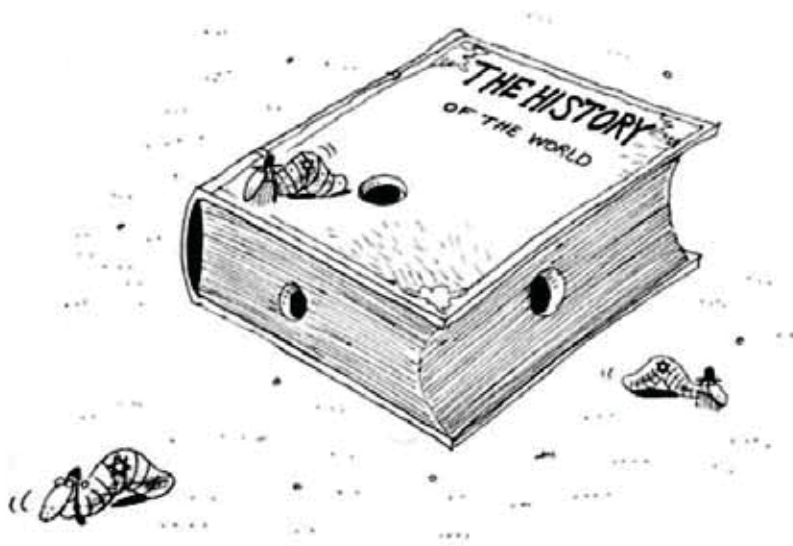


Figure 82. *Holocartoons.com* website, June 1, 2010, Iran. By Maziar Bijani and Borzo Bitaraf.

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Zoomorphism

The *Zoomorphism* concept was coded to refer to the dehumanising of Jews and for their likening to dangerous animals that threaten mankind. The notion of Jewish subhuman, animal-like status has circulated since the Middle Ages and is closely related to the concepts of *Demonic* and *Bloodthirsty*. Several cartoons evidenced all three concepts.

The *Zoomorphism* concept was found in 30 cartoons (11% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, those that

displayed a solus Star of David accounted for 1% more than cartoons that displayed an Israeli flag, as tabled below.

Table 10
Findings on the concept: Zoomorphism.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	30	11%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	17	6%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	13	5%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

Carlos Latuff's visualisation of the Gaza flotilla event is shown in Figure 83, which appeared in a major newspaper in Egypt. The cartoon shows the flotilla's flagship, the Mavi Marmara, being attacked by a giant sea monster resembling an octopus. Aboard the vessel, a crowd of people have arms raised in protest. The creature's tentacles wrap around the ship, while its head emerges from the sea, its eyes an evil-looking, entirely red colour. The creature dwarfs the ship and looks set to crush it or drag it beneath the surface. Further contextualising the creature is a large banner on its forehead. The banner's white background with two blue stripes and a central symbol represents the Israeli flag. The Star of David of the official Israeli flag, however, has been replaced by a Nazi swastika.



Figure 83. *Al-Watani al Youm* newspaper, June 15, 2010, Egypt.
By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

Figure 84 below, from an American newspaper also shows a deranged, octopus-like monster attacking a flagship rendered as a white dove (peace). As the octopus attacks, the olive branch (peace) in the dove's beak falls to the ocean. Here the octopus has a large Star of David on its forehead. The stark juxtaposition of the innocence of the white dove against the threat and wickedness of the dark grey octopus reinforces the idea that – as Jews were in the Middle Ages – Israel is a threat to world peace, and that the flotilla incident is proof thereof (UN General Assembly, 1975, paras. 4 & 6 ; Sacks, 2002, para. 6).



Figure 84. *The Week* newspaper, June 1, 2010, USA. By Emad Hajjaj (Jordan).

The octopus motif was creatively textualised in the following cartoon from Qatar (Figure 85). It shows a creature swimming in the water. The top half of its body is that of a man, while his bottom half (beneath the surface) has the tentacles of an octopus. His tentacles construct a phrase in Arabic script: "The terrorist state". The top half is the classic stereotype of an orthodox Jew – black hat, jacket, extensive facial hair and hooked nose. With an expression of glee, he holds in his right hand a still-smoking sub-machine gun. In his left hand is a meat cleaver that drips with a thick liquid (blood is inferred). A white Star of David is displayed on the side of his hat.



Figure 85. *Al-Watan* newspaper, June 2, 2010, Qatar. By Elie Saliba (Lebanon).
In Arabic: “The terrorist state”.

Cartoons referring to the Gaza flotilla often featured zoomorphism in the form of sea creatures. The following examples show the use of sea snakes (Figures 86 and 87), the *merman* king, Triton (Figure 88), and a shark (Figure 89). Each example displays a solus Star of David or an Israeli flag associated with the sea creature. The cartoons are from diverse regions: Egypt, Spain, Portugal and New Zealand respectively.

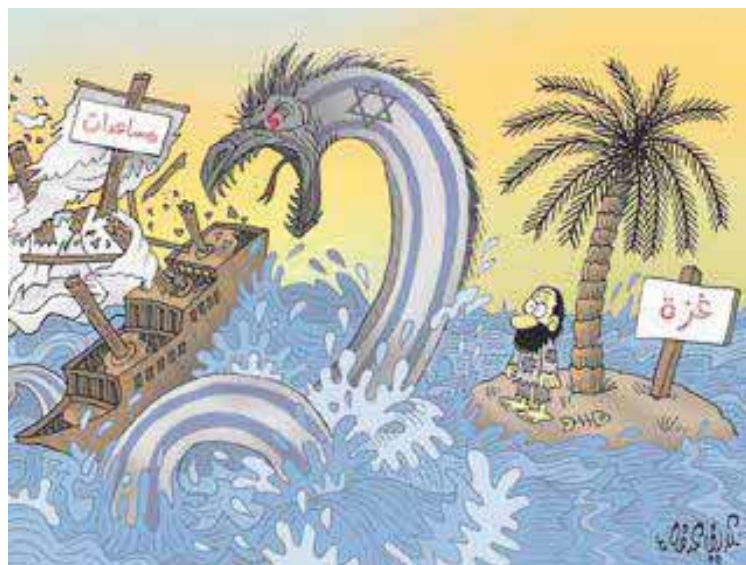


Figure 86. *Ruz-al-Yusuf* newspaper, June 1, 2010, Egypt. By Sherif Arafa.
In Arabic: “Aid”, and “Gaza”.



Figure 87. *Tlaxcala* blog, June 8, 2010, Spain. By Hana Hajjar (Saudi Arabia).



Figure 88. *Expresso* newspaper, June 4, 2010, Portugal. By Rodrigo.



Figure 89. *Suzanne Carter* blog, July 7, 2010, New Zealand.

Representation of animal forms was not limited to sea creatures. A cartoon published in a South African newspaper by South Africa's most prominent cartoonist, Jonathan Shapiro (Figure 90), uses the variegated fur of a skunk to make up an Israeli flag. The body of the skunk is the flag and the head is a caricature of the Israeli prime minister. He is cross-eyed, has a large nose and wears a helmet with the text: "Israel". The skunk walks on top of the comparatively tiny earth while a ship entitled, "Gaza aid" smoulders on the horizon. The skunk excretes a plume of bubbling and popping (stinking) gas from its behind. The cartoon's title, "Skunk of the world" reflects Klug's (2005) observation that Israel has become the "Jew of the world" (2005, p. 39). Shapiro's cartoon is a literal visual manifestation that confirms Klug's argument.



Figure 90. *Mail & Guardian* newspaper, June 3, 2010, South Africa.
By Jonathan Shapiro.

An example of a similar historical use of zoomorphism is demonstrated in Figure 91. This 19th century French caricature shows the body of well-known Jewish banker, Baron James Rothschild, transformed into a wolf. He is also portrayed with a large hooked nose. This is one of a series of posters titled, *Musée des horreurs* "Museum of horrors"

(that is, a freak show), which portray the evils of prominent Jews of the time.

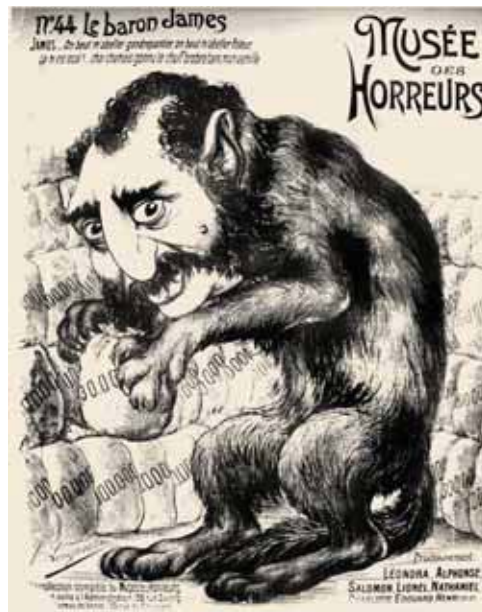


Figure 91. French caricature of Baron James Rothschild.
Musée des Horreurs (Freak Show) No. 44 poster, c. 1890s. By V. Lenepveu.
 The Alfred Dreyfus Collection, Johns Hopkins University, library.jhu.edu.

A cartoon from a Qatari newspaper illustrated by their regular cartoonist, Elie Saliba, shows a mouse with its head caught in a trap (Figure 92). A white Star of David and Arabic text reading, “Spy” is displayed on the trapped mouse.

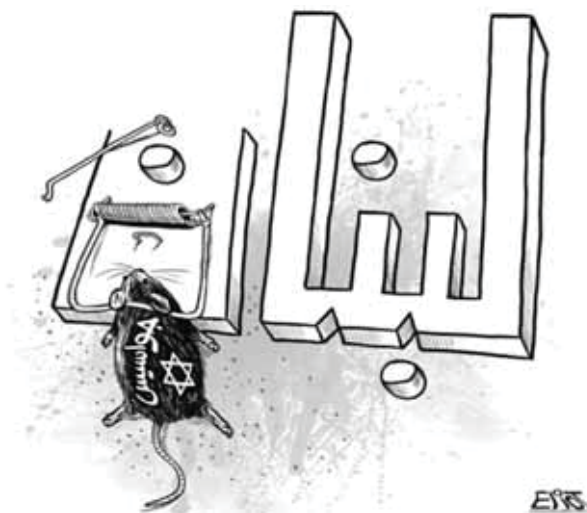


Figure 92. *Al-Watan* newspaper, July 2, 2010, Qatar. By Elie Saliba (Lebanon).
 In Arabic: “Lebanon”, and “Spy”.

The characters in the Saudi cartoon shown in Figure 93, are rats. Three rats run in and out of holes in a wall. A title reads: “Palestine House”. Two rats wear olive-drab green helmets (a military colour), shaped in a Nazi style. One rat’s helmet displays a black Star of David on the side.



Figure 93. *Arab News* newspaper, July 13, 2010, Saudi Arabia. By Amjed Rasmi.

An ape was identified in Figure 94. The hairy ape is dressed in a quasi-military uniform. Signifiers of his ape-likeness are his hairy hands, finger shape, mouth, teeth, nose, brow and small ears. He waves one finger in the air, grasps a rifle with the other hand, and carries a grenade launcher on his back. He displays two Star of David symbols: one on his peak cap, the other on his jacket.



Figure 94. *Ruz-al-Yusuf* newspaper, June 15, 2010, Egypt. In Arabic: “Censure, condemnation, deprecation ... I became tired”, and “Israeli piracy”.

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Holocaust

The *Holocaust* concept seeks to identify manifestations of denial, downplaying, trivialisation or justification of the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews, during which six million Jews were systematically killed. This concept correlates with the *Mendacious claim* concept. However, the latter deals with its own specific definition criteria and does not deal directly or exclusively with the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews.

The *Holocaust* concept was found in 30 cartoons (11% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, only one (less than 1%) of those displayed an Israeli flag and almost all displayed a solus Star of David, as tabled below.

Table 11
Findings on the concept: Holocaust.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	30	11%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	29	10%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	1	< 1%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

One website in particular published many of the cartoons that evidenced this concept. Iran's *Holocartoons.com*, illustrated by Maziar Bijani and Borzo Bitaraf, is a showcase of 51 distinct cartoons supporting a narrative of Holocaust denial and trivialisation. The website is published in English, Spanish, Turkish, Arabic and Persian.

In Figure 95 below, a rotund man sits at a desk. He is dressed in a black suit and hat, has long sideburns and a large beard – visual signifiers associated with Orthodox Jews. On the desk a document displays a Star of David at the top with the text underneath: “Holocaust story”. An open pot of liquid ink sits next to the document, and the character's nose forms a long protrusion with which he signs the document (as a

pen). The visual representation of the length of his nose recalls that of Pinocchio, and thus implies the notion of lying. The visual elements here suggest the fabrication of the Holocaust narrative.

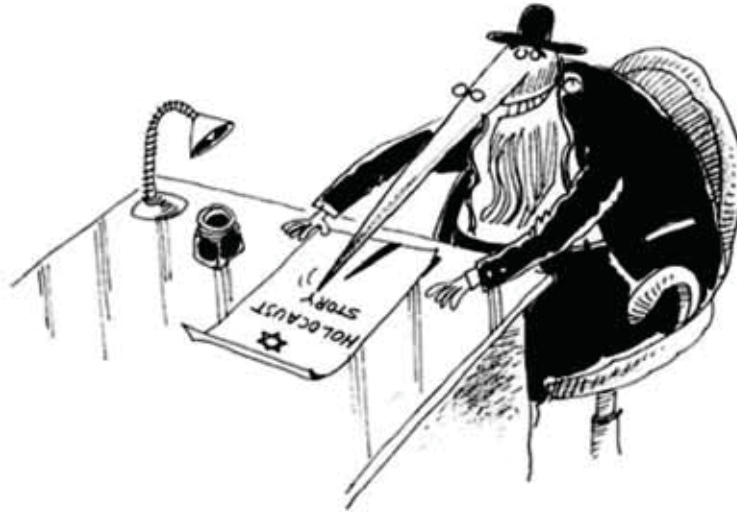


Figure 95. *Holocartoons.com* website, June 1, 2010, Iran. By Maziar Bijani and Borzo Bitaraf.

In Figure 96, a similarly Orthodox dressed man crouches behind a statue of a cow, which displays a Star of David on its flank. With eyes bulging, the man blows into a pipe connected to the cow's behind. The cow utters: "Holocaust!" while another man with "West" written on his trousers prays to it. Figure 96 distorts and trivialises the Holocaust.



Figure 96. *Holocartoons.com* website, June 1, 2010, Iran. By Maziar Bijani and Borzo Bitaraf.

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Incitement

The *Right to self-determination* concept is principally a racist idea, and when allowed to develop can manifest in a more malign concept targeting Israel and Jews, that of *Incitement*. The *Incitement* concept refers to calling for, aiding, or rhetoric justifying the harming or killing of Jews. Throughout their history, Jews have been subject to incitements to harm them, some of which culminated in genocide. This concept builds on traditional incitements and refers to recent examples (BDS campaign, Free Gaza flotillas) that target the Jewish state.

The *Incitement* concept was found in 22 cartoons (8% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, those that displayed a solus Star of David accounted for twice as many cartoons that displayed an Israeli flag, as tabled below.

Table 12
Findings on the concept: Incitement.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	22	8%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	15	5%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	7	3%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

The cartoon in Figure 97 appeared on Carlos Latuff's *Twitter* repository. It shows a wall with a military turret. The panels of the wall transform into dominoes towards the foreground. A large hand with "Boycott" inscribed on it pushes over the first of the dominoes. Further into the frame an Israeli flag flies on the turret. The trajectory of the falling dominoes – as initiated by the boycott – implies the impending toppling of the turret and Israeli flag. Latuff's cartoon calls to aid the Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign initiated in 2005 by several Palestinian NGOs against the State of Israel.

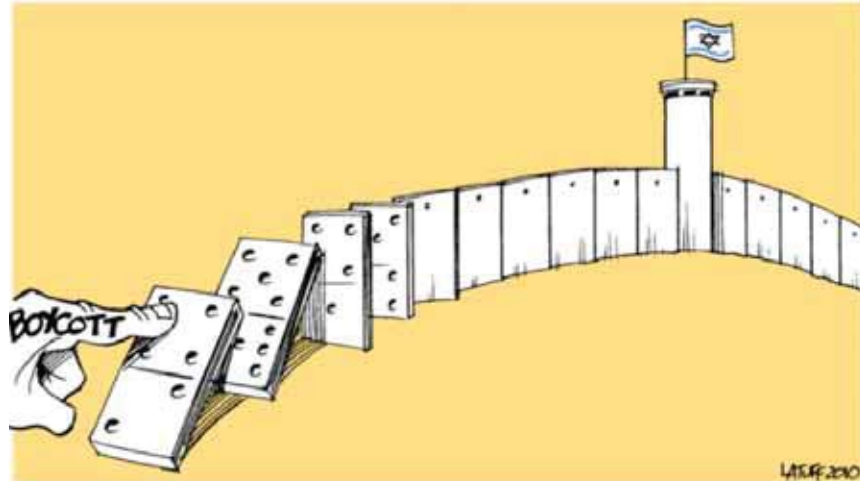


Figure 97. *Twitpic* website, July 29, 2010, USA. By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

Peter Pasho's cartoon (Figure 98), shows a glass window set in a frame. A small globe (the earth) lies on the floor beneath the window surrounded by shards of blue glass. The blue blind and blue window sill frame a Star of David shape in the centre of the glass pane that is formed by the shattered window pane. The entire arrangement constructs the Israeli flag. The globe is the approximate size of the window's star shape, and was thus the projectile that smashed through the window. The message coded by the visual signifiers reads as a call or justification for the world to shatter the State of Israel. This alludes to *Kristallnacht* "Crystal night", when on the night of November 9, 1938 throughout Germany, synagogues and Jewish-owned stores had their windows broken.



Figure 98. *Dollops of Irony* website, June 25, 2010, Brazil. By Pete Pasho.

Pasho's visual justification of harm is also evident in Gomaah Farahat's cartoon below (Figure 99). Here a soccer player with the globe for a head strikes a football at goal while smiling and signalling the victory sign with his left hand. The football has "Freedom flotilla" written on it. Two men lie prostrate and anguished at the mouth of the goal posts. One has an American flag hat, the other displays stereotypical visual signifiers of Orthodox Jews. His black hat has a large white Star of David on the side.



Figure 99. *Al-Ahram* newspaper, June 17, 2010, Egypt. By Gomaah Farahat.

In the cartoon of Figure 100, a blazing sun melts a soldier dressed in blue. The sun is constructed in part by the “G” of the text: “Gaza”. The construction of the “G” resembles a crescent shape, the symbol associated with Islam. The soldier stands at attention with a bayoneted rifle at his shoulder. He wears a white helmet with an Israeli flag on the side. The “Gaza” sun’s orange solar blasts bear down on the soldier, melting his right and bottom half to form pools on the floor.



Figure 100. *Al-Ahram* newspaper, June 17, 2010, Egypt. By Osama Qassem.

The cartoon shown in Figure 101 features a composite illustration and photograph. It shows the Israeli flag flying over a photographic seascape. The flag’s Star of David is pulled out of shape by two of its points being sucked into black slits in the sea and sky. The cartoon portrays nature’s (sea and sky) disapproval of Israel by its destruction of the Israeli flag, starting with the Star of David. Read in the context that nature is all that is essentially good (particularly for left-leaning audiences), the flag is portrayed as the enemy of good, which means that Israel is the enemy of good – it is therefore incumbent on all good people to also oppose such an enemy.



Figure 101. *Tlaxcala* blog, July 8, 2010, Spain. By Nedal Hashem (West Bank).

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Nazi

The *Nazi* concept refers to drawing of comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis. This includes implying that the Israeli state is a Nazi state or that Jews, Israeli citizens or its military behave like Nazis.

The *Nazi* concept was found in 20 cartoons (7% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that evidenced this concept, there were equal numbers of those that displayed a solus Star of David, and those that displayed an Israeli flag, as tabled below.

Table 13
Findings on the concept: Nazi.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	21	7%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	10	4%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	11	4%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

The *Nazi* concept was evoked by the use of a number of commonly recognisable Nazi symbols in conjunction with Jewish or Israeli signifiers. In a cartoon from Palestinian blog *Al-Qassam*, an original Nazi Party flag is reproduced with amendments (Figure 102). It is a distinctive red banner surrounding a white circle in the centre, which contains a line-art symbol. The entire cartoon resembles a Nazi Party flag. The original flag (Figure 103) contained a black swastika within the white circle. In the *Al-Qassam* cartoon, the black swastika of the original flag has been skewed and superimposed onto a blue Star of David, the two symbols merging to form a single composite unit.



Figure 102. *Al-Qassam* blog, August 2, 2010, West Bank.



Figure 103. Nazi Party and German state flag, 1935. Live Auctioneers, liveauctioneers.com.

The theme of an abstracted Star of David merging with a Nazi swastika was also found in the following cartoon from the United Kingdom blog, *Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK* (Figure 104). In this iteration the star and swastika are rendered in blue and seamlessly merge into a composite symbol. The abstracted Star of David is placed in a white

background, bordered by a blue stripe above and below. The entire composition is a close approximation of the Israeli flag.



Figure 104. *Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK* blog, July 16, 2010, UK.

The use of Nazi imagery is more varied in Figure 105. Illustrated by Carlos Latuff, this cartoon shows a military tank leading a battle charge towards a civilian woman, whose hands are covering her ears in anguish. Her striped grey coat resembles the prison outfits of Jewish concentration camp victims during the Holocaust (see Figures 81 & 111). Alongside the tank, two fighters charge – guns blazing; their helmets, trench coats, long black boots and sub-machine guns resemble those of Nazi troopers. The text, “Gaza”, labels a building in the background to the left of the tank. The architectural style of the building resembles an Islamic Mosque, with dome and tower. The tank is commanded by a figure of Nazi appearance (overcoat and Nazi tank commanders’ peaked cap). The tank’s undercarriage morphs into a Nazi swastika, the shadow of which looms over the civilian woman. An Israeli flag flies on top of the tank, which therefore designates the tank and fighters as those of the State of Israel.



Figure 105. *PNGOF* blog, July 9, 2010, West Bank. By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

A swastika is also used in a cartoon from the Venezuelan newspaper *Aporrea* (Figure 106), except in this instance the swastika is flipped horizontally. The swastika adorns the side of a blue and white pirate head scarf; the scarf also has a Star of David on the front. The scarf is worn by a pirate character, signified by the scarf, black eye patch, scarred face, ear ring, hook for a hand and striped pantaloons. The pirate has an image of the American flag (adapted) on his shirt and has apparently shot a white dove (peace) with the rifle he holds. The dove has three blood-splattered bullet wounds and cries in pain. It holds a Palestinian Authority flag while sitting in a small boat bobbing on water. The Spanish text reads: “Israel. Pirate and murderer” and “Boycott Coca-Cola and any product that has to do with Israel”.



Figure 106. *Aporrea* newspaper, June 3, 2010, Venezuela. In Spanish: “Israel. Pirate and murderer”, and “Boycott Coca-Cola and any product that has to do with Israel”.

The Nazi concept was also conveyed via imagery other than the swastika. In Figure 107, a cartoon by Russell Hodin that appeared in the American newspaper, *New Times San Luis Obispo*, the Israeli prime minister stands over the smouldering remains of a ship; his rifle, still smoking, is aimed at the ship. The following text reads in white on the ship: “Gaza raid flotilla raid”. The prime minister is in military uniform with many bullet magazine pouches around his waist. He wears a helmet with the distinctive flared and angled rim of Nazi helmet designs – and is unlike the helmets of the Israeli Defence Forces. In the cartoon an Israeli flag is emblazoned on the front of the helmet.



Figure 107. *New Times San Luis Obispo* newspaper, June 10, 2010, USA.
By Russell Hodin.

The distinction between Nazi and Israeli helmets is shown in Figures 108 and 109. The Nazi helmet is flared at the rim, the transition between front peak and side flare is acutely angled, and carries distinguishing insignia. The Israeli helmet is by contrast rounded, without peak, angulation or flares, and does not carry any insignia.



Figure 108. Nazi helmet.
German-Helmets online reference
guide, german-helmets.com.



Figure 109. Israeli Defense Forces
helmet. Israeli Defense Forces
combatants gallery, dover.idf.il.

Figure 110, a cartoon from Spanish blog, *Tlaxcala*, shows a similarly shaped Nazi helmet. It is also emblazoned with a symbol, but in this instance it is a white Star of David. A long lock of hair extends from

under the helmet to the man's coat collar, which is similar to the sideburns commonly worn by Orthodox Jews. The character appears to be in a nondescript military uniform, but carries an armband. The armband is white with a blue Star of David placed within blue stripes (the Israeli flag); this is reminiscent of the Jewish star armbands which branded Jews during the Nazi era (see Figures 44 & 46). The man's facial features are less human-like and more grotesque. He has blood splatters on his uniform, blood is dripping from his arm, and he stands in a pool of blood.

The figure is portrayed with typical features associated with pirates: a metal peg-leg, steel hook for a hand and a cutlass sheathed on his belt. He flies an Israeli flag, except the Star of David has been replaced by skull and cross bones, similar to the iconic *Jolly Roger* pirate flag. The character in Figure 110 represents a pirate. It is therefore important to note the decision of the cartoonist to replace the typical pirate hat or head bandana with a helmet, and that the design of the helmet is specifically Nazi in character.



Figure 110. *Tlaxcala* blog, June 8, 2010, Spain. By Abdul Aziz Al Adwan (Saudi Arabia).

Single cartoons frequently evidenced multiple concepts from the synthesised definition criteria; Figure 110 is such an example. This cartoon was thus coded as evidencing the following concepts: *Nazi* (helmet, armband), *Hostile* (saliva-spewing facial expression and sword), *Discrimination* (Orthodox Jewish sideburns, armband), *Demonic* (nonhuman facial features), and finally *Bloodthirsty* (blood splatters and pool of blood).

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Mendacious claim

The *Mendacious claim* concept is related to the *Nazi* concept. Whereas mendacious claims within the synthesised definition relate to any fallacious accusation against Jews, Judaism, Zionism or the State of Israel, this study only focuses on the following two claims: (1) the role-reversal of the historical Jewish Holocaust of World War II with a purported genocide of Palestinians at the hands of Jews or Israel (referred to as a *holocaust*), and (2) drawing comparisons of the State of Israel to South Africa's pre-1994 apartheid legislation.

The *Mendacious claim* concept was found in 12 cartoons (4% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, only two (less than 1%) of those displayed an Israeli flag, while most displayed a solus Star of David, as tabled below.

Table 14
Findings on the concept: Mendacious claim.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	12	4%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	10	4%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	2	< 1%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

Figure 111 is a cartoon by Carlos Latuff, which was published in an Irish blog. The cartoon displays two emaciated men, mouths gasping, hanging awkwardly on a barbed wire fence. Each man's frame is contorted into the shape of a Nazi swastika, and they are identical except for their attire. The man on the left wears a grey-and-white-striped outfit with a yellow Star of David on the jacket; attire consistent with Jewish Holocaust victims. The man on the right is dressed in grey, has a Palestinian black-and-white kaffeyeh and the word: "Gaza" written on the jacket. The association of the swastika with both characters implies they are victims of that which it symbolises – the Nazis. The Jewish Holocaust victim visually reiterated as a Palestinian victim portrays a repeated holocaust event subject to both Jews and Palestinians.



Figure 111. *Info-Wars.org* blog, July 26, 2010, Ireland. By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

A cartoon appearing in an Indian newspaper evokes similar claims and also employs the Nazi swastika (Figure 112). This cartoon uses only two visual elements, each supported with a textual descriptor. Framed within a red panel, a Star of David fills half the frame. The star has "Gaza" written above it. Comparatively diminutive in size at the bottom right corner sits a Nazi swastika with the words: "Auschwitz to scale". Auschwitz was the largest site for the extermination of

Jews during the Holocaust. More than 1.1 million men, women, and children lost their lives at Auschwitz (Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2011).

Both the star and swastika are rendered stark black on the red background. Whereas the swastika is most often coloured in black, the Star of David is most often associated with blue. This cartoon's treatment creates a synergy between the two signifiers, alluding to a commonality and thus equating the star with the swastika. By radical hierarchal scaling of the two visual signifiers, the composition offers the viewer a simple visual comparison, which reads: the Jewish role in Gaza is exceedingly greater than the Nazi role in Auschwitz.



Figure 112. *Mail Today* newspaper, June 3, 2010, India. By R. Prasad.

Figure 113 displays imagery relating to the denial of the Jewish Holocaust, which simultaneously supports the claim of a Palestinian holocaust. It shows a man wearing a "UN" tie shedding a very large tear over an open and empty grave with a headstone that reads: "6,000,000 Holocaust victims". A Star of David is engraved into the headstone above the text. Countless corpses fill the rest of the composition surrounding the empty Jewish Holocaust grave cavity. The corpses are signified as Palestinian by their black-and-white kaffiyeh head coverings. The arrangement of the Palestinian corpses simulates images of Jewish Holocaust victims, as shown in Figure 114.



Figure 113. *Holocartoons.com* website, June 1, 2010, Iran. By Maziar Bijani and Borzo Bitaraf.



Figure 114. The corpses of Holocaust victims at Dachau concentration camp, Germany, May, 1945. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, ushmm.org.

The cartoon in Figure 115 below, was published on the UK blog *Shoah The Palestinian Holocaust*. “Shoah” is the Hebrew term for the World War II Nazi Holocaust of the Jews. The cartoon was illustrated by Australian-born American, Pat Oliphant, who is the world’s most widely syndicated cartoonist, and who is called “the most influential cartoonist now working” by the *New York Times* (University of Virginia, 2011, para. 6). Oliphant’s cartoon shows a headless, goose-stepping soldier in Nazi-like black boots. His one arm is rigid and salutes (or

signals a charge) with a sword. With the other he wheels along a Star of David monster with large fangs, its eye fixed on a diminutive and cowering woman holding an infant. Printed on the woman's dress is, "Gaza". The cartoon's visual elements compose an Israeli flag. The flag is constructed by a horizontal, dark cloud at the top, mirrored by a dark ground at the base, which frame the deformed Star of David in the centre.

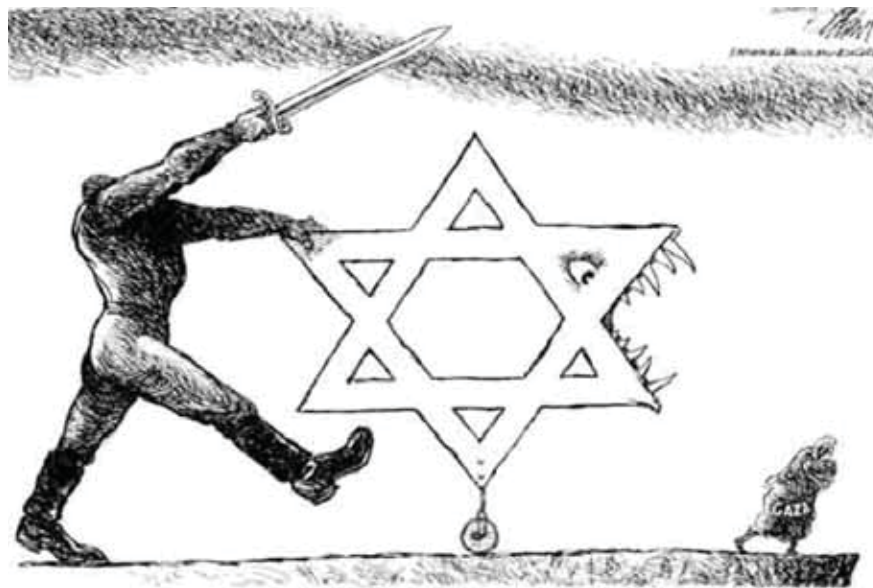


Figure 115. *Shoah The Palestinian Holocaust* blog. August 9, 2010, UK.
By Pat Oliphant (American).

The second aspect of the *Mendacious claim* concept is evoked in Figure 116 below. An overview analysis of the cartoon shows the composition creating an Israeli flag; the flag's horizontal stripes created by the words, "Israeli apartheid", and a visual representation of a blue Star of David in the centre, all on a white background. The textual element of the cartoon is integral to the display of the Israeli flag signifier. Otherwise it could be read as displaying only a solus Star of David. The star is formed by the arrangement of batons held up by six men dressed in military uniforms. The men's eyes are covered by helmets and they are grimacing. Their batons are raised above their heads as if striking out at an adversary.



Figure 116. Zazzle.com web banner, June 1, 2010, USA. By Carlos Latuff (Brazil).

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Money

This concept refers to the idea that Jews have extraordinary commercial talent and a consequent love of money. The *Money* concept's origin can be traced to early Christian Judeophobia, particularly inspired by Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Jesus Christ for 30 pieces of silver. It is also evident in Shakespeare's Shylock character, a Jewish moneylender. The concept is extrapolated to include the Jews' relationship with Capitalism.

The *Money* concept was found in five cartoons (3% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, only one (less than 1%) of those displayed an Israeli flag, while four displayed a solus Star of David, as tabled below.

Table 15
Findings on the concept: Money.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	5	2%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	4	1%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	1	<1%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

The following cartoon from a Norwegian blog (Figure 117) evokes the *Money* concept with photographic visual signifiers. A hand deposits a coin into the British Houses of Parliament, while another hand holds it up (in support). The British prime minister looks on approvingly. Three signifiers reveal the intended of the unseen protagonists. The sleeve of the hand with the coin ends in an Israeli flag – an Israeli. The shirt cuff of the hand supporting the Houses of Parliament displays a blue Star of David – a Jew. Screened behind the entire scene is an Israeli flag background.



Figure 117. *Europa Network* blog, August 18, 2010, Norway.

Cartoons that evidenced the concept: Right to self-determination

This concept denies the Jewish right to self-determination by calling into question the legitimacy of the State of Israel, its right to exist, the rights of Jews to live in a Jewish state in that geographic region (Zionism), and it equates Zionism with racism (Pearl, 2005). The concept was legitimised in the 1970s by the promulgation of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379, which determined that “Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination”, and that Israel is an “imperialist, racist régime” (UN General Assembly, 1975, para. 4). The resolution urged the “elimination of Zionism, because it is a threat to world peace and security” (1975, para. 6). Resolution 3379 was repealed in 1991 (UN General Assembly, 1991).

The *Right to self-determination* concept was found in four cartoons (1% of the Star of David data set). Of the cartoons that conveyed this concept, only one displayed an Israeli flag while three displayed a solus Star of David, as tabled below.

Table 16
Findings on the concept: Right to self-determination.

	Number of cartoons	% of total data set
All cartoons evidencing this concept	4	1%
– of which displayed the Star of David (solus)	3	1%
– of which displayed the Israeli flag	1	< 1%
Total Star of David data set	286	100%

The cartoon in Figure 118 shows the globe redrawn to form buttocks. The buttocks are personified through the addition of eyes and mouth. The eyes angrily glare at the point on the globe where Israel is located. The globe’s mouth angrily grits and bares its teeth. A title across the globe reads: “Zionism: A pain in the ass”. The State of Israel is

coloured in red and three Star of Davids shoot out from that point into the white space surrounding the globe.

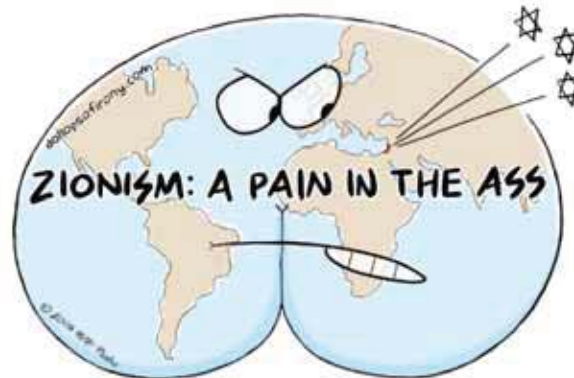


Figure 118. *Dollops of Irony* blog, June 2, 2010, Brazil. By Pete Pasho.

The Bene Heine cartoon below (Figure 119), shows a fist firmly holding a menorah (see Figure 2), with a Star of David in the background. The menorah symbolises the light of God in Judaism. The seven candles are each represented by white typography. The candles read: “Colonise”, “Terrorize”, “Naturalize”, “Militarize”, “Racialize”, “Intimidate” and “Censure”, respectively. The visual signifiers of the menorah, the manner in which it is held and the Star of David background accuses the Jewish religion for the injunction to Jews that they should colonise, terrorise and naturalise the land.



Figure 119. *Sabbah Report* blog, June 9, 2010, Bahrain. By Ben Heine (Belgium).

Summary of findings on the contextual placement of the Star of David signifier

A content analysis was performed to identify contexts in which the Star of David signifier was displayed. The following eight contextual forms of the Star of David were common motifs: (1) on animals or monsters (or associated with either), (2) on civilian clothing or headwear, (3) on a commonplace object, (4) as a specific commonplace object, (5) on military clothing or headwear, (6) on a military object or device, (7) as a specific military object, and (8) as a background.

The contextual placement of the Star of David (or the Israeli flag) constituted what Barthes identifies as the *form* of the signifier (Fiske, 1996, p. 88). Barthes points out that the form of the signifier is the critical factor that affects the connotative meaning of the imagery (1996, p. 86). The study of the forms of the signifiers indicated more frequent use of the solus star than the flag, irrespective of the nature of the context or subject, as shown in Figures 120 and 121. Recalling that the star functions as the primary signifier of Jewishness, and recalling the Nazi use of Jewish star badges, it is not surprising that the solus star was most often displayed on civilian clothing or headwear.

The solus star's ubiquitous display on military attire and equipment, however, was an important observation (Figure 120). These secondary signifiers referred to a state mechanism, and given the context here, that means Israel. It therefore follows that such use of the star conferred stereotypical Jewish stigma on the State of Israel.

Conversely, it was notable that the Israeli flag's application, particularly on things military, was to a vastly lesser extent than the solus star (Figure 121). There were more instances of the solus star applied to a specifically Israeli referent (a prime minister, military clothing, devices or objects, and so forth) than there were Israeli flags applied.

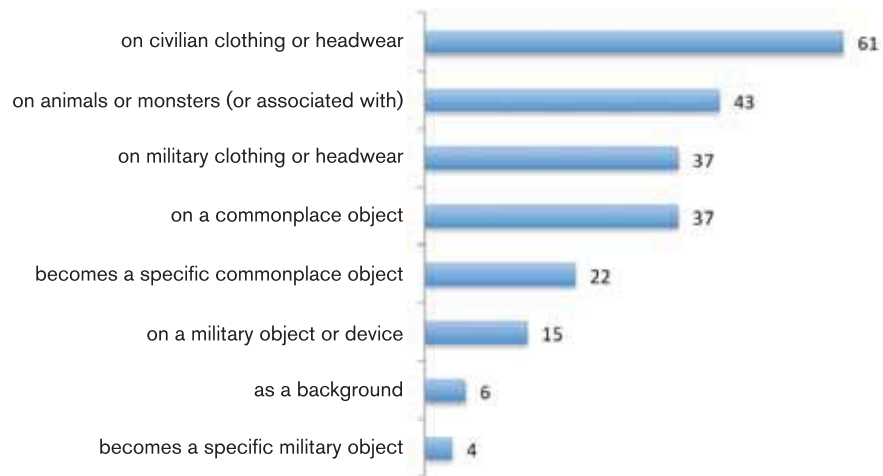


Figure 120. Contextual placement (form) of the solus Star of David signifier (for cartoons that evidenced definition concepts).

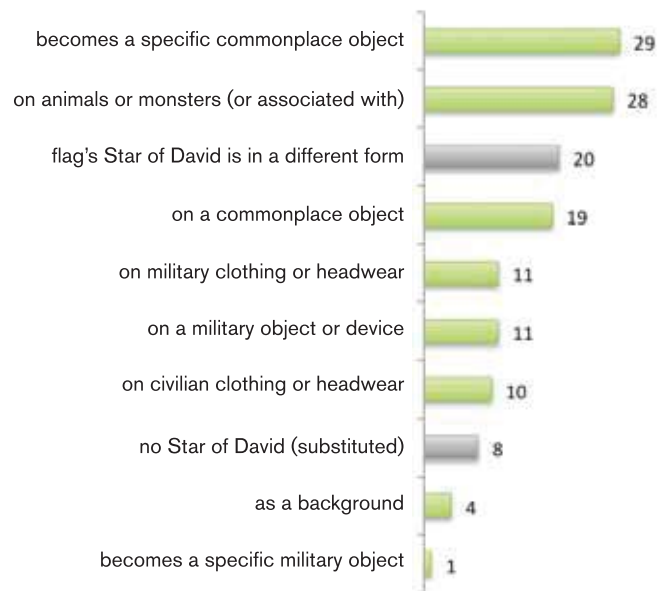


Figure 121. Contextual placement (form) of the Israeli flag signifier (for cartoons that evidenced definition concepts).

The flag's second highest incidence demonstrated another significant observation. As the primary signifier of the State of Israel, the Israeli flag was often associated with or displayed on animals or monsters. Stereotypical Jewish libels were thus conferred on the State of Israel. Figures 122 and 123 below chart comprehensive findings on the relationship of the eight contextual forms of the star and flag to each of the 14 definition concepts.

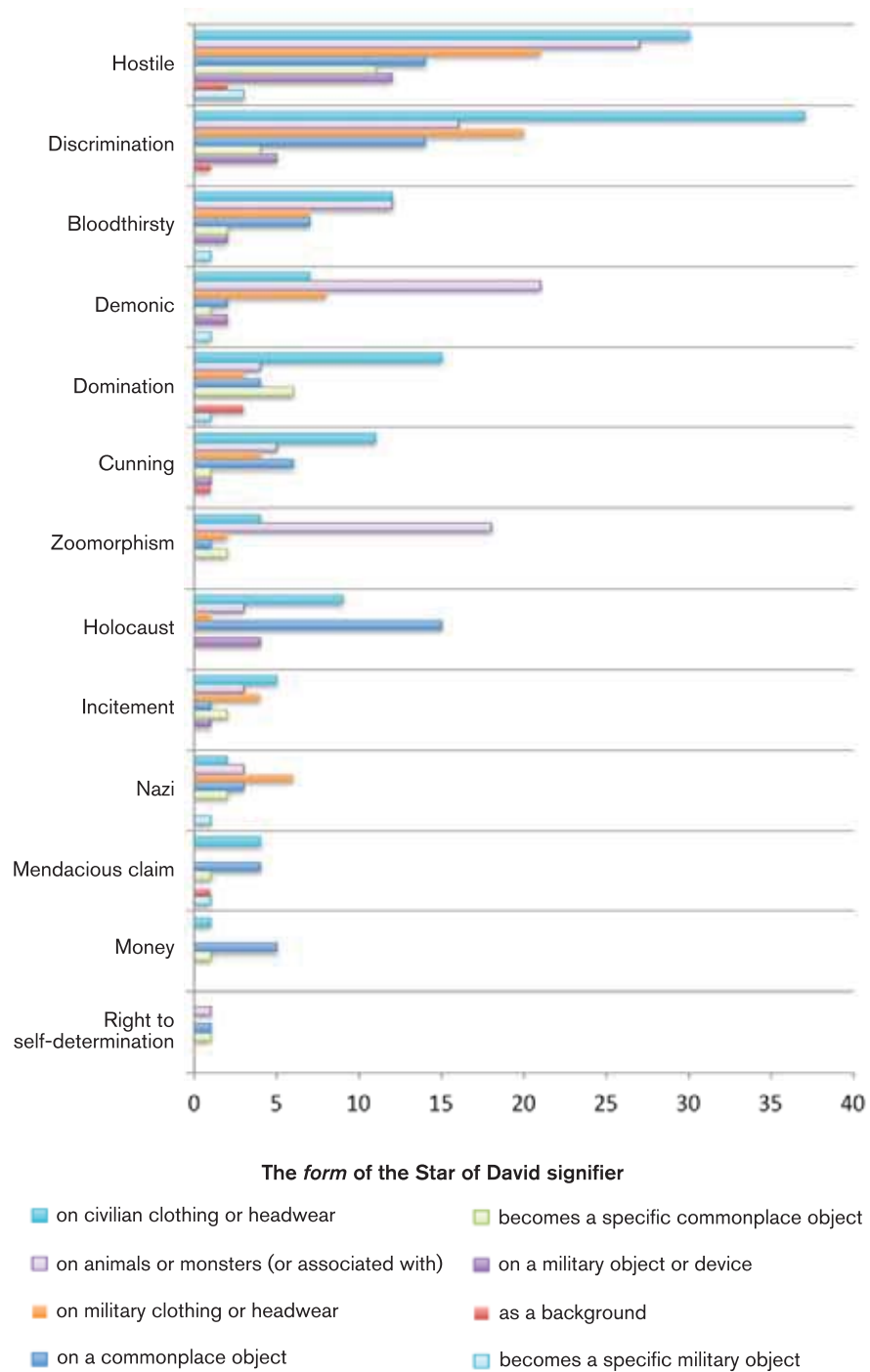


Figure 122. Comprehensive findings on the contextual placement (form) of the solus Star of David signifier, in relation to the definition concepts.

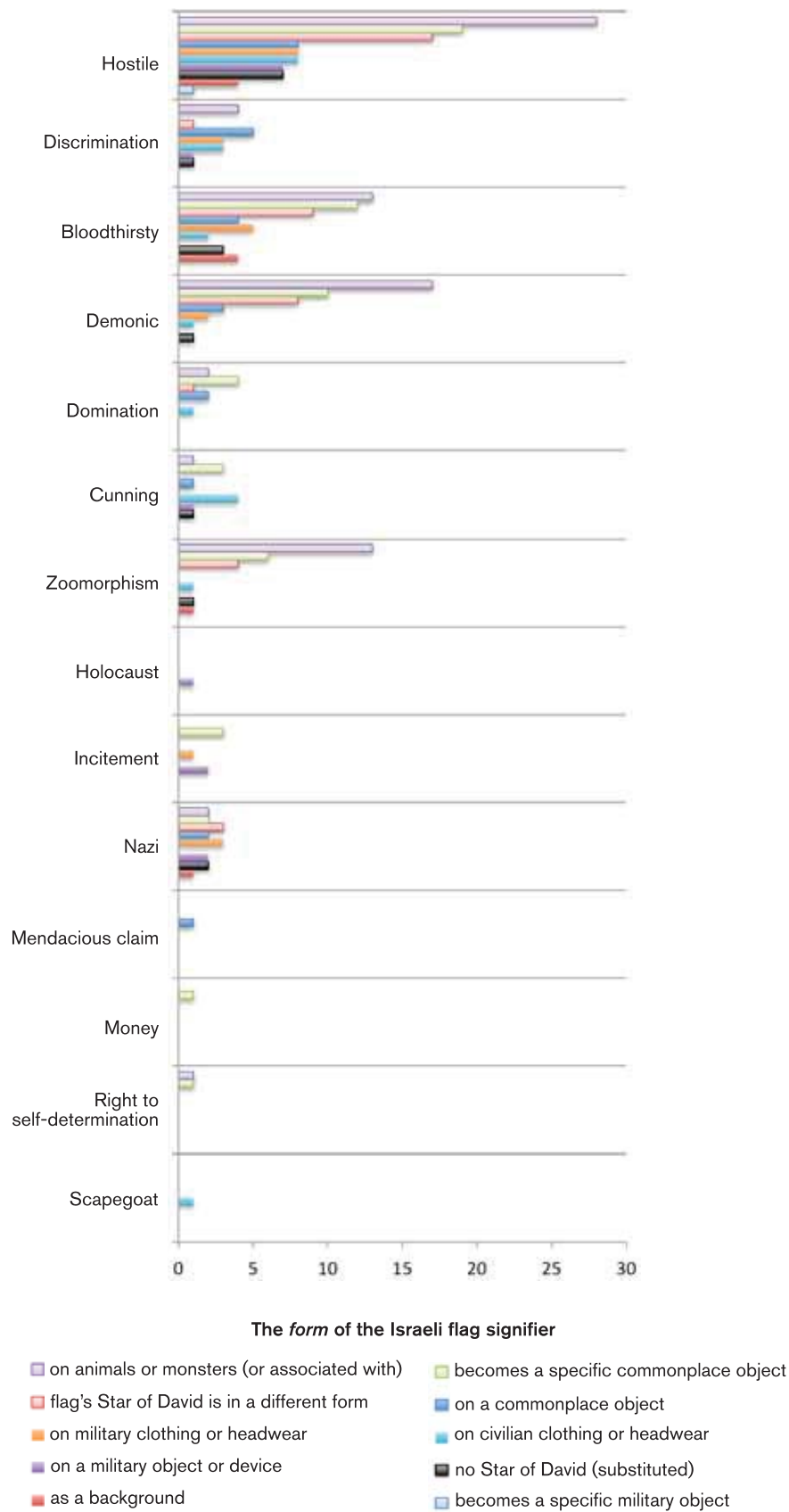


Figure 123. Comprehensive findings on the contextual placement (form) of the Israeli flag signifier, in relation to the definition concepts.

Figure 124 shows the organisational structure of how the emergent findings on forms, concepts and signifiers were appropriated to the Barthian framework. During, and as a result of, the analysis process, the Star of David and Israeli flag were designated the *signifier*, the definition concepts were designated the *signified*, and the contextual placement of the star and flag were designated the *form* (of the signifier). In conjunction, these created meaning through signification.

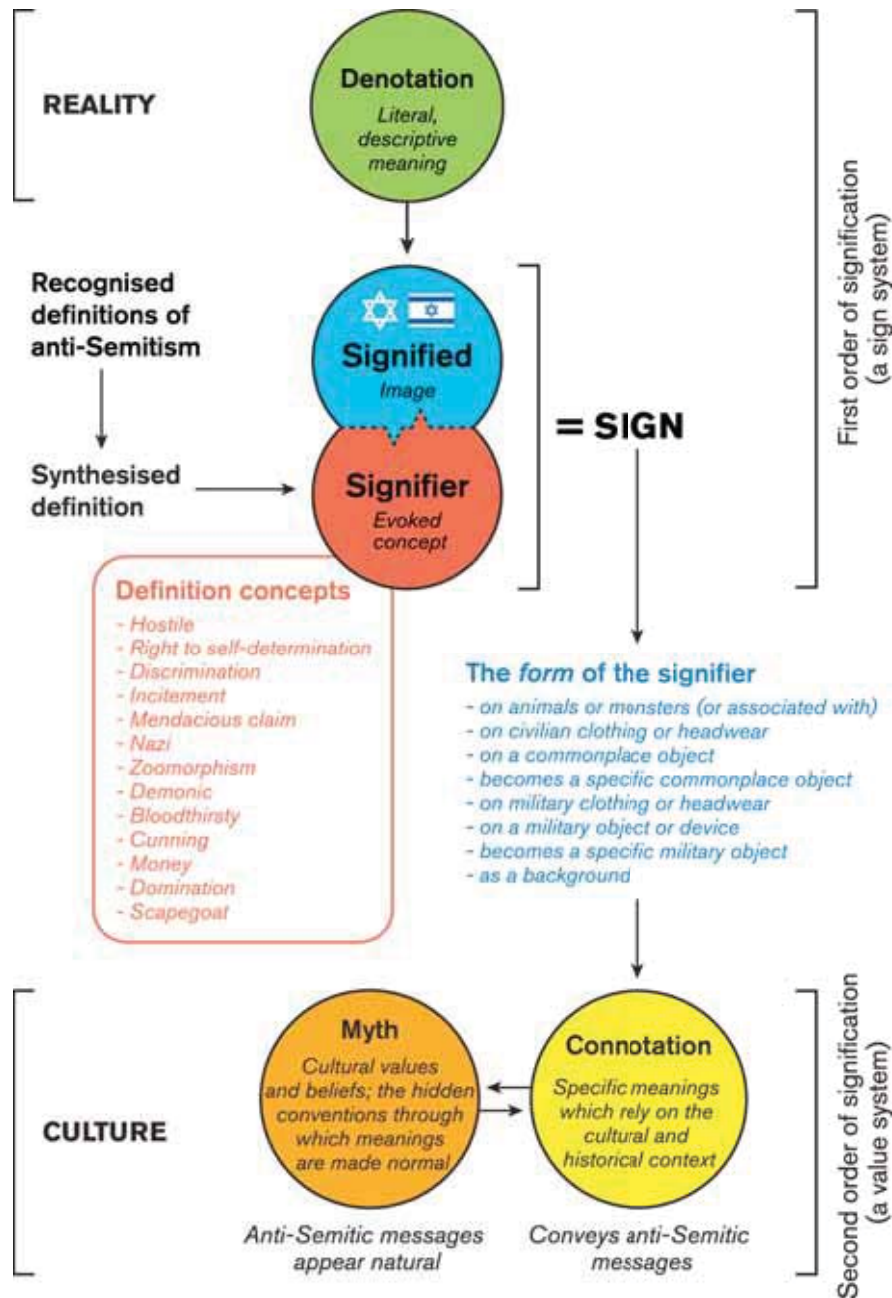


Figure 124. How findings on forms, concepts and signifiers were appropriated to the Barthesian model.

Findings on geographic regions where cartoons were published (in cartoons evidencing definition criteria)

Of the Star of David data set, comprising 286 cartoons, a total of 259 cartoons (91%) were identified as evoking concepts from the definition. The analysis section above comprises cartoon exemplars from the 259 cartoons.

An overview of the findings on geographic region sources, specific to cartoons that evidenced definition concepts, is shown in Table 17 below. The data demonstrates that Internet media channels located in the Middle East published over half of all the cartoons that evoked anti-Semitic concepts. Although the Middle East was the most prolific region for this period, it is significant that over a third of all cartoons that evoked anti-Semitic concepts were published in Europe and the Americas. Internet media channels located in Europe published 16% of the total while North America published 15%.

Table 17
Geographic region source of cartoons that evidenced definition concepts.

Geographic region	Number of cartoons	%
Middle East	155	60%
Europe	42	16%
N America	39	15%
S America	14	5%
Oceania	4	2%
Africa	4	2%
Asia	1	<1%
Total: Cartoons evidencing definition concepts	259	100%

South America's publication of 5% of the total is notable but does not reflect the international ubiquity of the work of one of its native cartoonists. Carlos Latuff was the third most prolific cartoonist

of the entire data set, the vast majority of his work was published internationally and not in his home country (Brazil). The popularity of his work is demonstrated by its reappropriation and republishing throughout the world, particularly on blogs.

The cartoonists (in cartoons evidencing definition criteria)

Of the 259 cartoons that evidenced concepts from the definition, a total of 85 cartoonists from 26 countries were identified, as tabled below. Cartoonists from English-speaking countries commonly signed their work in an easily identifiable manner. Cartoon authorship in instances of foreign and obscure cartoonist signatures or pseudonyms (pen name) was verified through rigorous cross-referencing of news media websites, cartoonists' own websites, books and cartoon repositories. While this process was largely successful, the cartoonists of 23 cartoons remain unknown.

Reflecting the regional findings, the most prolific cartoonists (numbering at least five cartoons) were from the Middle East (Iran, Lebanon, Egypt, Saudi Arabia). These cartoonists are regular (daily) contributors to major newspapers in their countries, which indicates that cartoons communicating anti-Semitic messages are socially acceptable to Middle East media producers and their audiences. Iran's Maziar Bijani and Borzo Bitaraf together created 43 cartoons (the highest number in the data set), which all appear on the *Holocartoons.com* website. The Brazilians, Carlos Latuff and Pete Pasho created 21 and 8 cartoons respectively, and were the two most prolific Western cartoonists of the data set. Latuff's cartoons engaged with a number of Palestinian-Israeli issues, including the flotilla, and were published widely in multiple geographic and media locations. Pasho's work centred on Zionism, and many were published on his personal website.

Table 18
The cartoonists who created the cartoons that evidenced definition concepts.

Cartoonist's name (and pen name)	Country	Number of cartoons
Maziar Bijani and Borzo Bitaraf	Iran	43
Elie Saliba (ElioT)	Lebanon	37
Carlos Latuff	Brazil	21
Abdul Rahman	Egypt	9
Peter Pasho	Brazil	8
Gomaah Farahat (Gomaala, or ala)	Egypt	7
Mostafa Salem	Egypt	6
Fathi Abouelezz (Fathi)	Saudi Arabia	5
Jihad 'Awartani	Saudi Arabia	4
Osama Qassem	Egypt	4
Ben Heine	Belgium	3
Mahmoud Darwish (Amer)	UAE	3
Sherif Arafa	Egypt	2
Abdala Mahragy	Bahrain	2
Deb Milbrath	USA	2
Emad Hajjaj (ZB)	Jordan	2
Habib Haddad	Lebanon	2
John Cole	USA	2
Jonathan Shapiro (Zapiro)	South Africa	2
Mohamed Alafia	Morocco	2
Omayya Joha	West Bank	2
Pat Oliphant	USA	2
Stavro Jabra	Lebanon	2
Stéphane Perray (Stephff)	Thailand	2
Abdellah Derkaoui	Morocco	1
Abdul Aziz Al Adwan	Saudi Arabia	1
Adam Zyglis	USA	1
Ahmed	Egypt	1
Aalaa Allagta	West Bank	1
Ali Khalil	Bahrain	1
Amina Wasif	India	1
Amjed Rasmi	Saudi Arabia	1
Angel Boligán Corbo (Bolígan)	Mexico	1
Baker Alhashki	Jordan	1
Bruce Beattie	USA	1
Brandan Reynolds	South Africa	1
Damien Glez	Burkina Faso	1
Daryl Cagle	USA	1
Dave Granlund	USA	1
Frederick Deligne	USA	1
Dwayne Booth (Mr. Fish)	USA	1
Easen Alkalel	Oman	1
Esmail M. Effat Abd El-Azim (EFFAT)	Egypt	1
Andrés Rábago (El Roto)	Spain	1

Essam Ahmed	West Bank	1
Fahd Khamisi	Saudi Arabia	1
Fuad Ayyach	Syria	1
Haitham Shabbah	Bahrain	1
Hamsa Abu Ayyash	West Bank	1
Hana Hajjar	Saudi Arabia	1
Hussain Al Farra	West Bank	1
Jeremy Nell (JERM)	South Africa	1
John Trever	USA	1
Juan Kalvellido	Spain	1
Kamal Sharf	Yemen	1
Khalil Bendib	USA	1
Luis Sánchez Verdeguer	Spain	1
Matías Tolsà (TatO)	Spain	1
Matt Wuerker	USA	1
Mehmet Ilhan	Turkey	1
Serge Métyvié	Canada	1
Mike Keefe	USA	1
Mohamed Abo Alefa	West Bank	1
Moussa Ajawi	Jordan	1
Nabee Al Hasanat	Jordan	1
Naji Benaji	Morocco	1
Nedal Hashem	West Bank	1
Osama bo Seba	Sudan	1
Patrick Chappatte	Switzerland	1
Julio Zúñiga (Peli)	Venezuela	1
R. Prasad	India	1
Ramzy Abbass Altaweel	West Bank	1
Raúl Sánchez	Spain	1
Rod Emmerson	New Zealand	1
Rodrigo de Matos (rodrigo)	Portugal	1
Rob Rogers	USA	1
Russell Hodin	USA	1
Shariff Adnan	Egypt	1
Signe Wilkinson	USA	1
Steve Greenberg	USA	1
Steve Kelly	USA	1
Tamer Youssef	USA	1
Ted Rall	USA	1
Tim Eagan	USA	1
Tom Scott	New Zealand	1
Cartoons with unknown cartoonists		23
Total number of cartoons		259

Findings on the incidence of flotilla-specific cartoons (in cartoons evidencing definition criteria)

Using the geographic region sources chart base, Figure 125 shows the number of cartoons that contained flotilla-specific content as ratios to the number of cartoons per region. Of the 259 cartoons that evidenced definition concepts, 83 cartoons (32%) related to the Gaza flotilla incident. This indicates that for the three-month period following the flotilla incident significant numbers of cartoons were published that displayed content unrelated to the flotilla, recalling that these non-flotilla cartoons evidenced concepts from the definition. In all regions except the Middle East and North America flotilla-specific cartoons accounted for just under half of the cartoons. North America's flotilla-specific cartoons numbered just under a third, while the Middle East's flotilla-specific cartoons accounted for only a quarter of its total.

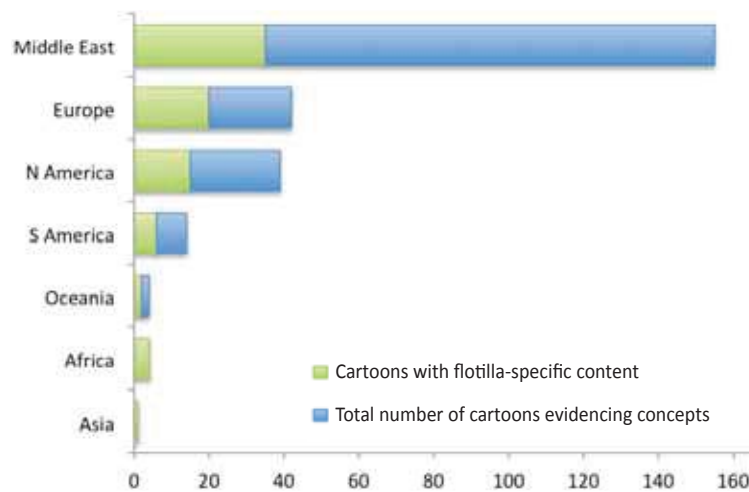


Figure 125. Cartoons containing flotilla-specific content, by geographic region source (for cartoons that evidenced definition concepts).

Findings on publishing dates of flotilla-specific cartoons (in cartoons evidencing definition criteria)

The research found that while there was evidence of Jew and Judaic-specific content (most notably relating to the Holocaust), the majority of cartoons that evidenced anti-Semitic concepts displayed content that specifically related to Israel or Zionism. Themes included the Gaza situation, the Palestinian–Israeli conflict and peace negotiations, settlements, Israeli foreign affairs, and the flotilla incident itself.

Of the 83 flotilla-specific cartoons, most were published during June, immediately following the 31 May incident. The number published in July tapered off significantly, down to eight, and in August only two were published. Figure 126 below, shows the number of cartoons with and without flotilla-specific content published during the three months following the incident. In each month cartoons without flotilla content significantly outnumbered those relating to the incident.

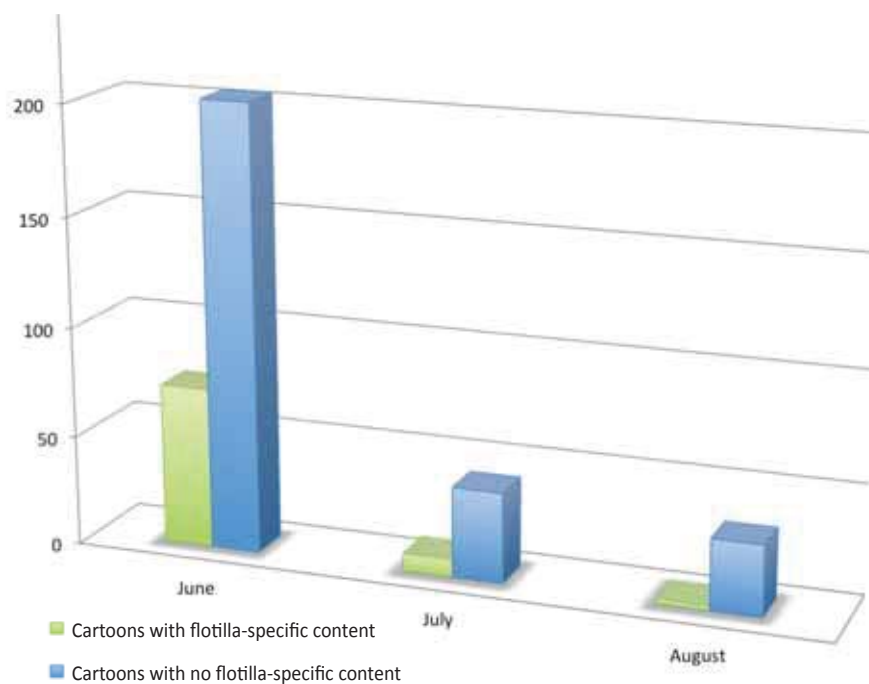


Figure 126. Cartoons with and without flotilla-specific content (for cartoons that evidenced definition concepts).

June was the most prolific for both categories. This may suggest that the flotilla incident was an impetus for higher numbers of non-flotilla cartoons in June compared to the following two months. Without statistics of the preceding months it is not possible to postulate on the significance of June's numbers being a spike during the 2010 year because of the flotilla.

Although fewer cartoons were published in July and August for both, publication of flotilla cartoons almost completely ceased by the end of the period, while non-flotilla cartoons enjoyed similar numbers published during both months. The trajectory tentatively suggests that cartoons evidencing the definition criteria are consistently published on the Internet.

4. Discussion

The evoked concepts from the definition, which were identified and analysed in the previous section, forms the basis of interpretation in the following discussion.

Recalling the example of Barthian application shown in Figure 16 (see p. 38), and the appropriation thereof, shown in Figure 124 (see p. 122), the evidence of anti-Semitic concepts (the signified), combined with primary visual signifiers indicating Jewishness, constructs anti-Semitic signification in the cartoons. The construction of these visual signs enables the communication of anti-Semitic messages. Recalling that the Jewishness of the referent does not only mean a Jew, depending on context and secondary signifiers, Jewishness can also refer to Israel, Zionism or Judaism. This deductive process applies to all categories in the definition. The signification and connotative meanings of each respective definition concept is as follows:

Cartoons that evidenced the *Hostile* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as hostile, which connotes Jewish hostility, irreconcilability, agitation and threat. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form on military clothing or headwear (Figures 34, 35 & 36).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Discrimination* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as discriminated against, which connotes the foreign and different essence of the Jew, that Jews look and dress differently, and that Jews are to be viewed with disdain and treated accordingly. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form on civilian clothing or headwear (Figures 40 & 48).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Bloodthirsty* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as bloodthirsty, which connotes that Jews have a lust for blood, that Jews practise infanticide and the killing of innocent people. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form on civilian clothing or headwear (Figures 53 & 56), and on military clothing or headwear (Figures 54 & 55).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Demonic* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as demonic, which connotes the literal evil of Jews, that Jews are monstrous, subhuman creatures associated with the underworld, they are the incarnation of wickedness and thus enemies of humanity. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form on military clothing or headwear (Figures 59, 61, 62 & 63).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Domination* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as dominator, which connotes Jewish power and influence in local and global affairs; that Jews corporately plot world domination through their control of world media, economy and governments. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form becoming an object or on an object (Figures 66, 69, 72, 74, 75 & 77).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Cunning* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as cunning, which connotes the inherent artful nature of Jews to lie, deceive and corrupt. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form on civilian clothing and headwear (Figure 80).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Zoomorphism* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as dehumanised, which connotes the bestial nature of Jews; they are a dangerous threat to mankind. The sign was most often constructed by the Star of David's form on animals or monsters, or associated with either (Figures 83–90 & 92–94).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Holocaust* concept constructed the visual sign of the Holocaust as myth, which connotes that the Holocaust never really occurred, that six million Jews did not die at the hands

of Nazis, or that Jews exaggerate the extent of the Holocaust and it was in fact a trivial event, or that the Holocaust is justified. The sign was most often constructed by the Star of David's form on an object (Figures 95 & 96).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Incitement* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as deserving harm, which connotes the merits of calling for, aiding or justifying the harming or killing of Jews. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form on civilian and military headwear (Figures 99 & 100), and in the form of the Israeli flag (Figures 97, 98 & 101).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Nazi* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew (Israel) as a Nazi, which connotes contemporary Israeli policy is similar to that of the Nazis, that the Israeli state is a Nazi state or that Jews, Israeli citizens or its military behave like Nazis. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form on military devices and headwear (Figures 105, 107 & 110).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Mendacious claim* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew (Israel) as genocidal and practising apartheid, which connotes that Israel is guilty of a genocidal Palestinian holocaust and that Israel enforces pre-1994 South African apartheid legislation. The sign was constructed by the Star of David's form on civilian clothing and relating to Nazi symbols (Figures 111 & 112), and in the form of the Israeli flag, where the flag was constructed by objects (Figures 115 & 116).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Money* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew as money-mad, which connotes the extraordinary commercial talent of the Jews and their love of money. The sign was often constructed by the Star of David's form on an object (Figure 117).

Cartoons that evidenced the *Right to self-determination* concept constructed the visual sign of a Jew (Zionism) as illegitimate, which connotes that Jews have no rights to live in their own state in the

region of Israel, that Israel is an illegitimate state, that Israel is an imperialist, racist régime – a threat to world peace and security, and that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination and should be eliminated. The sign was constructed by the Star of David's form becoming an object (Figure 118), or as a background (Figure 119).

This research supports scholars' (Oboler, 2005; Taguieff, 2004; Phillips, 2004; Klug, 2005; Kotek, 2009) claims that the anti-Semitism that pervaded Europe in the Middle Ages has once again spread into the consciousness of mainstream culture. Anti-Semitic cartoons were published both in mainstream media (newspapers and magazines) as well as in blogs and websites. Oboler (2008) suggests that the *sharing* essence of Web 2.0, as opposed to earlier models of knowledge transmission from authoritative sources, has contributed to anti-Semitism's social acceptance, as shown by the global production and publishing of anti-Semitic cartoons not only in the Middle East (*Al-Ahram*, Egypt; *Al-Watan*, Qatar; *Sabbah Report*, Bahrain), but particularly in Europe (*Der Semit*, Germany; *Europa Network*, Norway; *Tlaxcala*, Spain; *Stop de Bezetting*, Belgium; *Shoah*, UK), and North America (*The Buffalo News*, USA; *NewsReal*, USA; *Zazzle*, USA; *New Times San Luis Obispo*, USA; *Pacific Free Press*, Canada).

The research points to a transition in the use of the Star of David. In ancient times the Star of David had no Jewish religious, political or social connotations whatsoever (see Figure 4). With the positive associations as a talisman, the Star of David came to represent: (1) Judaism – the Jewish religion, (2) Jews – the race, (3) Zionism – the Jewish nationalist political movement, and (4) Israel – the Jewish national state. Repeating the brief Nazi period when it became a brand of offence (see Figures 42–45), the Star of David has now returned to use as an inimical signifier, most notably employed in the criticism of Israel.

The use of the Star of David as evidenced in the cartoons is an example of Barthes' symbolic signification of meaning (Fiske, 1996, p. 91). The

Star of David is an object that has acquired (through convention and use) a meaning that enables it to stand for something else. It is an outstanding example of the variable significance of symbols (Mishory, 2003, para. 21).

The Israeli flag is used as a signifier to a lesser extent than the solus Star of David, but is inextricably linked to the symbols of Jewish religion and Zionism (see Figures 6 & 8). The findings show that Israel and its Jewishness are inseparable (Scholem, 1949; Jacobs & Blau, 2002). The relative lack of flags and abundance of stars displayed in the cartoons demonstrates deliberate visual designation of Israel-related characters and referents, not just as Israeli per se, but as Jewish (Figures 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 84, 88, 94, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64 & 71). In a context of anti-Semitic signification this presents Israelis as the despised Jew of the past and Israel as the “Jew of nations” – a pariah state (Wistrich 2010, para. 2). If a cartoonist’s intention was to designate a referent (animate or inanimate) in the narrative as pertaining to the State of Israel, it could be argued that the Israeli flag would be a more appropriate signifier than the solus Star of David.

The research suggests that criticism of Israel via the medium of cartoons can cross the line from legitimate criticism to established anti-Semitic manifestations (Figures 37, 38, 49, 54, 55, 69, 72, 77, 81, 83, 84, 85, 90, 104, 105, 107, 111, 112 & 115). The significance is explained by Barthes’ idea of myths. When a sign system (such as discussed in this research) is inserted into the value system of a culture, a myth results (see Figure 124, p. 122).

Myths allow connotative meaning of an image to appear denotative, hence natural. The anti-Semitic myths communicated by the cartoons masquerade as truth, and to the audience appear to reflect reality. Computer science and social media scholar, Andre Oboler (2008) attributes this to the Internet’s social functionality, particularly in non-mainstream media (blogs, websites), which allow anyone to be a content producer and publisher, and anyone to be a content critic.

Oboler asserts that “Web 2.0 promotes the idea of multiple narratives rather than the quest for a single truth ... the community gets the truth it already believes” (2008, para. 10). An example of this is the republishing of the *La Métropole* newspaper cartoon (Figure 50) on *Stormfront.org White Power World Wide*, an American white supremacist blog (<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t733209/>); the blog post’s commentary endorses the cartoon’s anti-Semitic content, this instance relates to Jewish people and not Israel.

Oboler points out that the internationalisation of anti-Semitism (old and new) is further enabled by the Internet’s increasingly social nature, which enables mass sharing of ideas and information, particularly among young people, and creates a global culture where “anti-Semitism has social acceptability” (2008, para. 3), thus normalising oppositional views on Zionism and Israel (in the case of new anti-Semitism). The worldwide rejection of Israel, according to Kotek (2009), has become a cultural code. He traces back Israel’s outlaw status to the “ideological void of the democratic left and the function of the scapegoat allotted to Jews since the Middle Ages” (2009, p. 150). He suggests that anti-Zionism is an extension of anti-Judaism which holds the Jew chiefly responsible for all the evils of the world.

5. Conclusion

Conclusions drawn from the research

This thesis analysed a number of cartoons published on the Internet in the three months following the May 31, 2010 Gaza flotilla incident, with the purpose of identifying the extent to which cartoons were used to communicate anti-Semitic messages. Specifically, the thesis is concerned with the role of cartoons in reflecting a new anti-Semitism, and aims to answer the following questions: (1) what visual signs were used in cartoons to express anti-Semitic messages, (2) how do these visual signs construct anti-Semitic meaning, and (3) does this reflect a global new anti-Semitism?

As a result of the research, a number of inferences can be made about visual signification and the use of cartoons, which answer the aims of the thesis:

The Star of David (solus or in the Israeli flag) is the primary visual signifier in the signification process. The star is displayed with secondary visual signifiers, which are relevant to the current cultural-historical context.

The Star of David's contextual placement (form) and association with secondary visual signifiers construct a signified meaning. When that meaning evokes a concept pursuant to the definition of anti-Semitism, an anti-Semitic sign is constructed. The research has shown evidence of 14 anti-Semitic signs in the cartoon data.

A distinct correlation exists between display of the Star of David and anti-Semitic connotative meaning. Following Barthes, the Star of David in particular contexts is the critical factor in connoting anti-Semitic messages. The Star of David is the universally recognised symbol of Jewry and is used as a signifier in cartoons to conflate the Jew–Judaism–Zionism–Israel nexus.

Scholars posit that anti-Semitism has mutated into a new form of Jew-hatred, which manifests as worldwide rejection of Israel and Zionism. Criticism of Israel and radical anti-Zionism is often disguised demonisation, and is therefore anti-Semitic. The new anti-Semitism is a combination of traditional mediaeval Christian clichés of hatred against Jews with new anti-Semitic arguments and anti-Israel feelings. Scholars observe a global war against the Jews where the State of Israel has become the Jew of the world (Taguieff, 2004; Phillips, 2004; Klug, 2005; Pearl, 2005; Kotek, 2009). The conflation of the Jew–Judaism–Zionism–Israel nexus, as enabled by a Star of David signifier, provides the means for cartoonists to communicate anti-Semitic messages about Jews, Judaism, Zionism or the State of Israel. Analysis of the cartoon data has shown a greater proportion of anti-Semitic cartoons targeting the State of Israel (and Zionism) versus Jewish people in general. Anti-Semitic messages targeting Israel and Zionism reflects the new anti-Semitism. The research further shows that the production and publishing of anti-Semitic cartoons is a global phenomenon.

If contemporary cartoons, which communicate anti-Semitic messages about Jews, Judaism, Zionism or the State of Israel are persuasive in altering public perception and beliefs about them, then this new cartoon genre will likely contribute to negative perceptions of Israel. The increasing global animosity towards Israel – proxy for the collective Jew – translates into increasing incidences of physical attacks on Jews and Jewish religious and civic property (Bergman & Heitmeyer, 2005, p. 70).

The research has shown that some contemporary cartoonists' work – whether unwittingly or deliberately – communicates anti-Semitic messages. The difference lies in the intent. Scholars claim there is a deliberate campaign from right-wing extremism (radical Islamists) to delegitimise Israel with the aim of its destruction, and they suggest that the motives from left-wing activism emanate from rights and justice concerns – the Gaza flotilla is such an example (Wistrich, 2005; Phillips, 2004; Pearl, 2005). Nonetheless, the consequences of cartoonists' work often render Israel as the “Jew of nations” (Wistrich 2010, para. 2), and are complicit in delegitimising Israel. In some quarters, delegitimising Israel precedes dehumanising Israel and declared aims to liquidate the Jewish state (as sanctioned by the Iranian state, for example).

Following on from the most extreme opposition against Israel, Kotek (2009) suggests that “the best way of getting rid of an individual (or group of individuals) is by casting doubt on their humanity” (2009, p. XXI). This strategy was successfully employed by the Nazis against Jews. Hitler's (1969) visual propaganda altered public perception of Jews so skilfully that the public was “convinced that a fact was real, the process necessary, and the necessity correct” (1969, p. 164). The Nazi's implementation of visual communication propaganda succeeded in normalising the idea of delegitimising, dehumanising and finally destroying the Jews. This is reflected in the current situation where the global spread of anti-Semitism on the Internet, supported by cartoons, relies on the “ignorance of the masses, the ability to manipulate them, and the pure democracy of Web 2.0 where each uninformed opinion counts just as much as an expert's analysis” (Oboler, 2008, para. 65).

Significance and contribution of the research

The thesis contributes knowledge to several areas, which include critical study of visual communication design as well as its practice, and the study and monitoring of global anti-Semitism. It outlines an approach to collecting raw visual data on the Internet and tests the relatively new Google Alerts' application and its value to academic research.

The value to visual communication scholars is in the practical implementation of Roland Barthes' visual semiotic analysis. In addition, it informs the practice of visual communication design by examining the processes involved in encoding visual communication with signification to connote specific meanings. It serves also as a caution to practitioners of unwittingly encoding myth into their designs and of the potential malevolent effects thereof.

The research augments the development of scholarship into contemporary anti-Semitic phenomena, particularly in relation to the production of visual communication and its global distribution on the Internet.

Limitations and recommendations for further research

The use of Google Alerts to acquire raw data for this research resulted in a comprehensive overview of the cartoons phenomenon. While this answered to the aims of the thesis, Google Alerts's broad nature presents a limitation. With the benefit of hindsight, experiencing the quantity of potential raw data and the form in which Google Alerts delivers notifications, it is clear that too many alerts were initiated for research of this nature.

The use of English in the automated search potentially precluded

many foreign language cartoons being found. This may have had a bearing on the data or instigated other findings in support of or conflict with the research findings.

Gathering the raw data sample immediately following the flotilla incident may have had a significant bearing on the number of cartoons published as well as their visual content. Whereas the statistical trajectory suggests that by the third month very few flotilla-specific cartoons were published, and conversely, generic anti-Semitic cartoon publishing remained constant, without continued research into the latter half of 2010 it would be erroneous to suggest that generic anti-Semitic cartoons continually appear on the Internet during any given month.

To overcome these limitations, further research should be initiated to investigate whether the flotilla incident was an unusual catalyst that instigated the international production and publishing of anti-Semitic cartoons, whether the number of cartoons found was abnormally high due to the incident and whether future events relating to Israel are equally catalytic vis-à-vis cartoon production and publishing.

A number of videos and Internet games that appeared to communicate anti-Semitic messages were found during the search. There is scope for future research into other forms of media published on the Internet and their use to connote anti-Semitism.

The research took a broad approach, but identified particular media owners that regularly published anti-Semitic cartoons. This included blogs and newspapers internationally. An extended period of tracking daily cartoons of select publications from around the world could offer valuable findings on the growth, decline or changing nature of anti-Semitic messaging in cartoons.

A study investigating whether Israel is more negatively framed than any other country in mainstream media (newspapers for example), would augment the conclusions of this thesis. It would be important

to include countries with similar allegations against them. Research might go beyond visual analysis to include semiotic analysis of text.

This research can be extrapolated to be relevant to the study of visual communication directed at other minority groups. Further research into discrimination of other peoples, religions or countries evidenced in contemporary cartoons, with the aim of identifying emerging forms of racism and discrimination, would contribute valuable knowledge to current discourses in these areas.

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Appendix A

European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. (2005). Working definition of Antisemitism

(The following wording is reproduced verbatim from the cited document.)

The purpose of this document is to provide a practical guide for identifying incidents, collecting data, and supporting the implementation and enforcement of legislation dealing with antisemitism.

Working definition: **“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.”**

In addition, such manifestations could also target the State of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. 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.
- 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 (for example, 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.

Examples of the ways in which antisemitism manifests itself with regard to the State of Israel taking into account the overall context could include:

- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, for example, by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior

not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.

- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (for example,, 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.

However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic.

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.

Appendix B

European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. (2004). Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002–2003

(The following wording is reproduced verbatim from the cited document.)

In the past, some traits commonly attributed to Jews have become for the antisemites a constituent part of their (imaginary) 'Jew'... These antisemitic stereotypes concern:

- the 'deceitful', 'crooked', 'artful' nature of 'the Jew';
- the 'foreign' and 'different' essence of 'the Jew';
- the 'irreconcilability', 'hostility', 'agitation' of 'the Jew';
- the 'commercial talent' and 'relation to money' of 'the Jew' (construction of 'the Jew' as the worst possible incarnation of a capitalist);
- the 'corrupt' nature of 'the Jew';
- Jewish 'power and influence' and a Jewish 'world conspiracy'.

To these six categories of racist antisemitic beliefs one could add a seventh category, the Christian anti-Judaist myth of 'the Jew' as "Christ-Killer". (Excerpt from pp. 11 & 12)

Appendix C

European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance. (2004). General Policy Recommendation No. 9 on the fight against Antisemitism

(The following wording is reproduced verbatim from the cited document.)

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance:

Recommends that the governments of the member states:

– ensure that criminal law in the field of combating racism covers antisemitism and penalises the following antisemitic acts when committed intentionally:

- a. public incitement to violence, hatred or discrimination against a person or a grouping of persons on the grounds of their Jewish identity or origin;
- b. public insults and defamation of a person or a grouping of persons on the grounds of their actual or presumed Jewish identity or origin;
- c. threats against a person or a grouping of persons on the grounds of their actual or presumed Jewish identity or origin;
- d. the public expression, with an anti-Semitic aim, of an ideology which depreciates or denigrates a grouping of

- persons on the grounds of their Jewish identity or origin;
- e. the public denial, trivialisation, justification or condoning of the Holocaust;
 - f. the public denial, trivialisation, justification or condoning, with an anti-Semitic aim, of crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes committed against persons on the grounds of their Jewish identity or origin;
 - g. the public dissemination or public distribution, or the production or storage aimed at public dissemination or public distribution, with an anti-Semitic aim, of written, pictorial or other material containing manifestations covered by points a), b), c), d), e), f) above;
 - h. desecration and profanation, with an anti-Semitic aim, of Jewish property and monuments; and
 - i. the creation or the leadership of a group which promotes anti-Semitism; support for such a group (such as providing financing to the group, providing for other material needs, producing or obtaining documents); participation in its activities with the intention of contributing to the offences covered by points a), b), c), d), e), f), g), h) above.

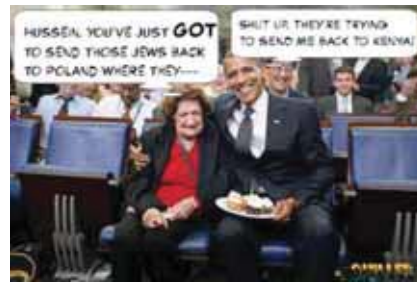
Appendix D

Raw data: All cartoons collected during this thesis

(URL references active as at September, 2010.)



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<http://sabbah.biz/mt/archives/2010/02/12/zionism-unmasked-anti-semitic-the-label-that-stops-criticism/>



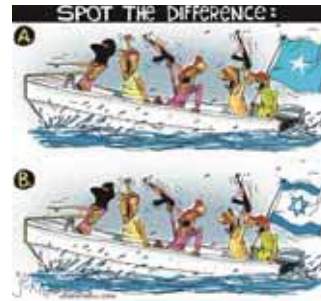
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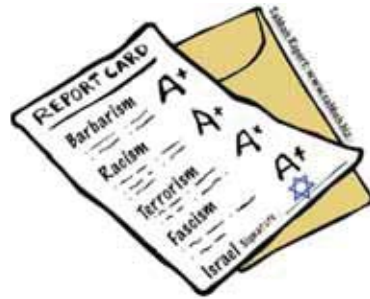
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<http://sabbah.biz/mt/archives/2010/06/22/let-the-truth-be-heard/>



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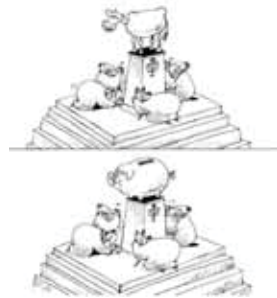
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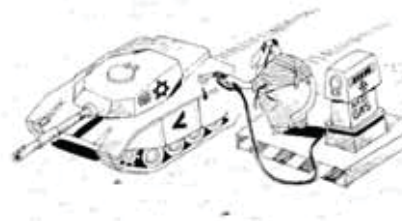
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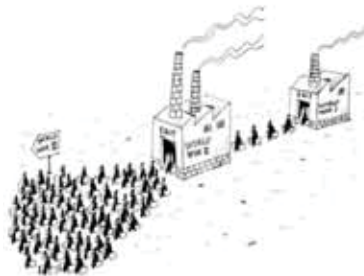
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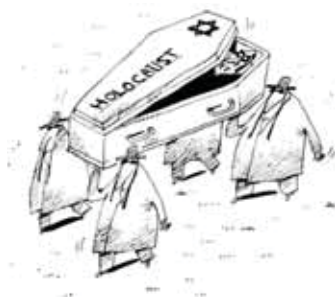
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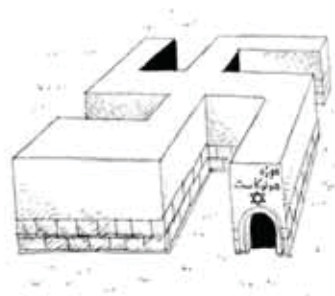
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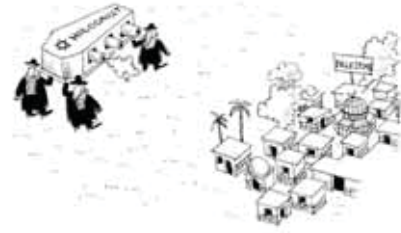
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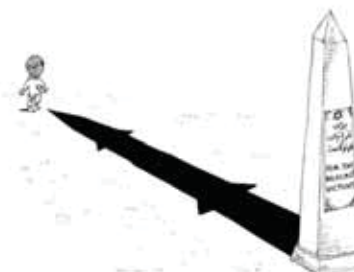
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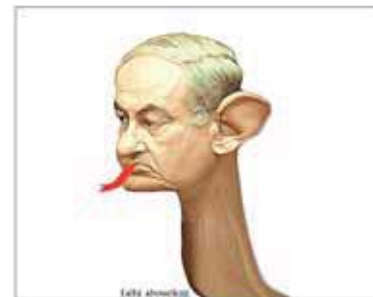
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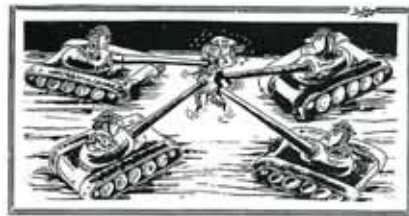
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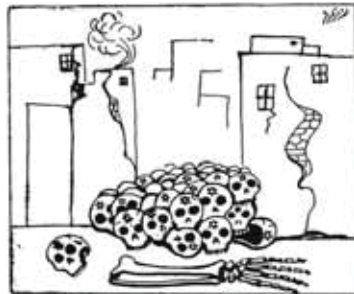
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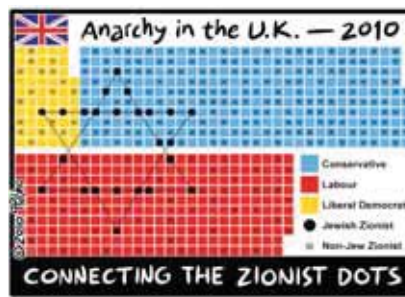
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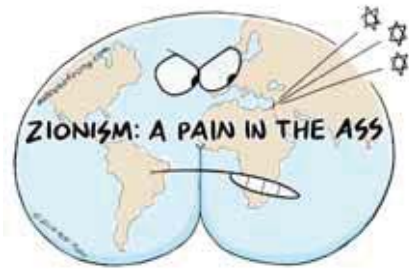
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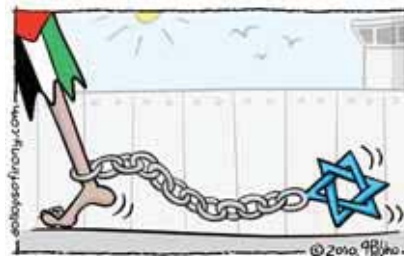
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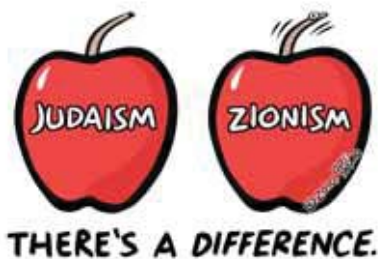
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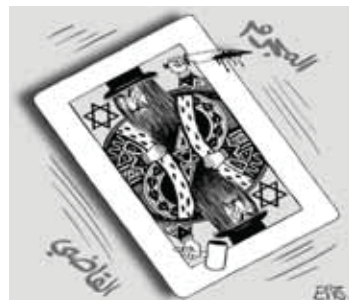
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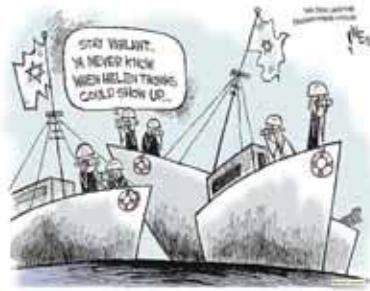
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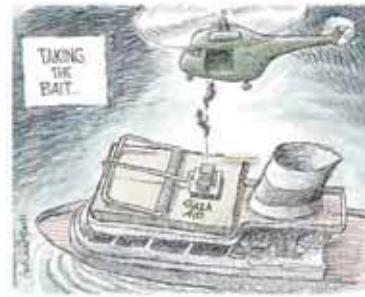
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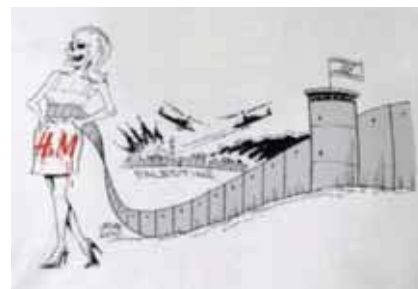
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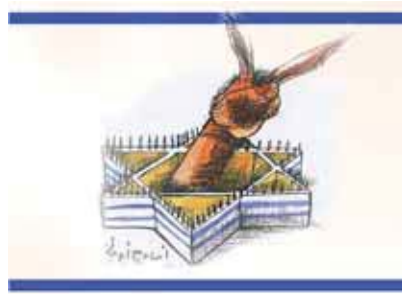
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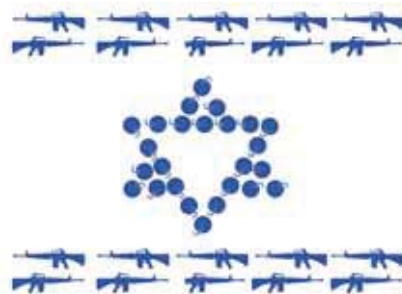
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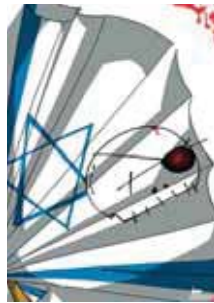
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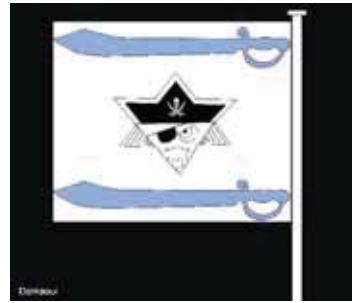
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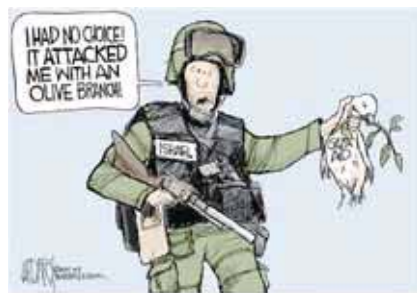
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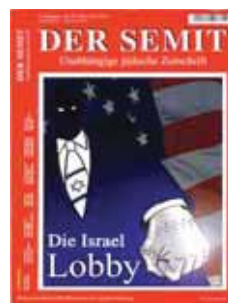
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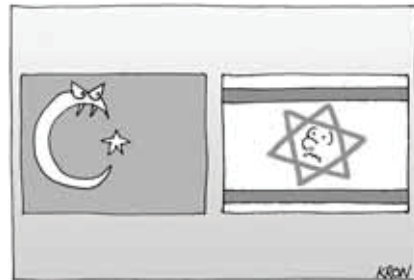
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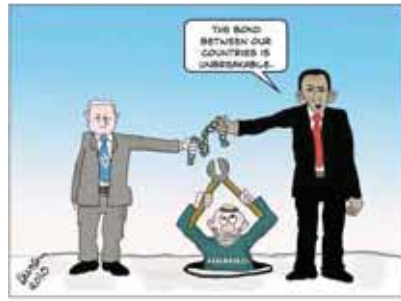
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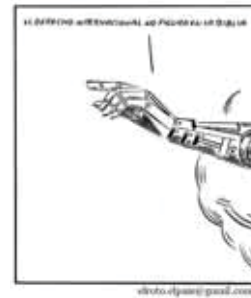
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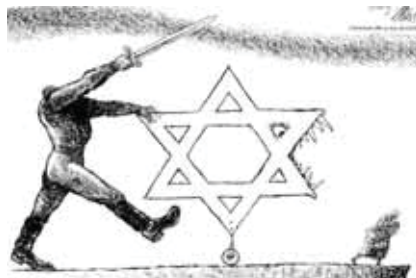
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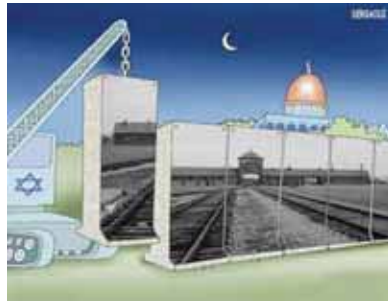
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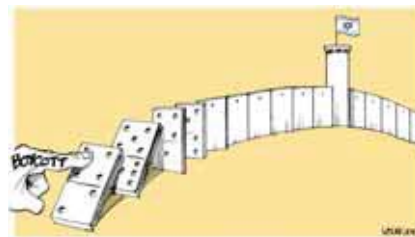
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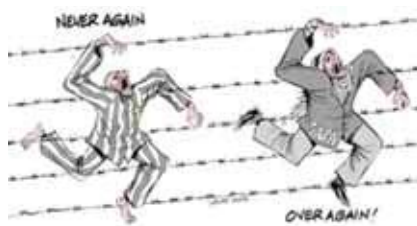
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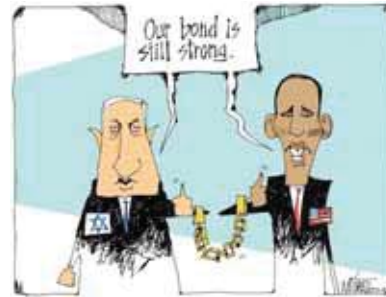
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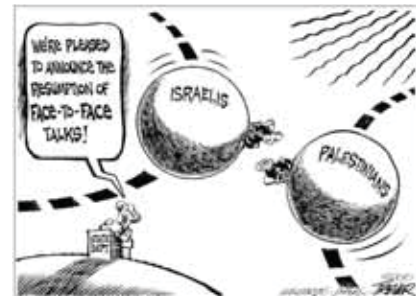
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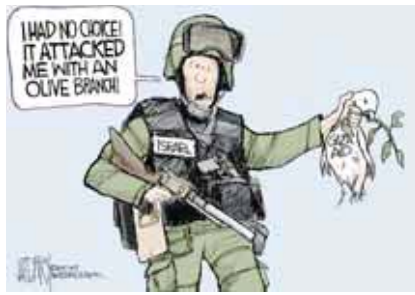
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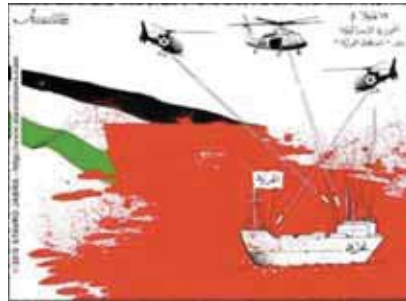
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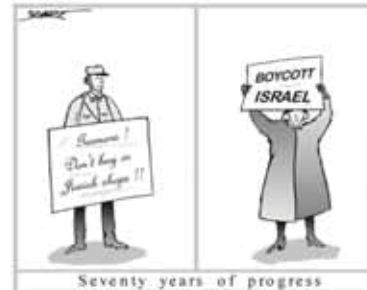
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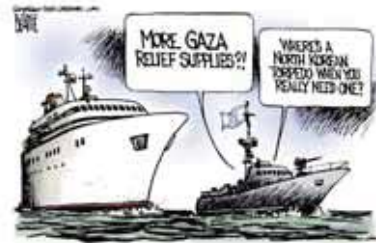
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