

The Union of Jewish Students is the only cross-communal body dedicated to the provision of meaningful Jewish experiences to Jewish students from all denominations and political views, as well as defending the rights of Jewish students on campus. UJS offers a wide range of opportunities in political, educational, cultural and leadership roles, empowering students to take up positions of responsibility, to advantage themselves and those around them.

UJS works closely with over 100 Jewish Societies within Students' Unions and individual student activists on campus to enhance and enrich their Jewish identity and Jewish experiences at University. J-Soc is responsible for almost everything Jewish that happens on campus. UJS provides a structure and a service that supports J-Socs, whilst also providing extra opportunities for Jewish students on a local, regional, national and international level.



Supported by:



national union of students

CST is proud of Britain's diverse and vibrant Jewish community, and seeks to protect its many achievements from the external threats of bigotry, antisemitism and terrorism.

CST provides physical security, training and advice for the protection of British Jews. CST assists victims of antisemitism and monitors antisemitic activities and incidents. CST represents British Jewry to Police, Government and media on antisemitism and security.

CST believes that the fight against antisemitism and terrorism is an integral part of safeguarding our wider democratic British society against extremism and hatred.

To report incidents, for general enquiries and to join CST, call your campus team on:

London 020 8457 9999

Manchester 0161 792 6666

students@thecst.org.uk

www.thecst.org.uk



Community Security Trust
Registered charity number 1042391



A STUDENT'S GUIDE TO ANTISEMITISM

RECOGNISING, REACTING TO AND FIGHTING ANTISEMITISM

ON CAMPUS

UJS INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the second edition of *The Student's Guide to Antisemitism on Campus*.

University is an amazing time for new friends, bizarre experiences, embarrassing stories and maybe even the odd lecture. It is a time like no other with the freedom to do what you want, when you want. We hope that you throw yourself fully into the Jewish student life that exists on your campus and around the UK. The Union of Jewish Students (UJS) is your union and we're here for you!

The fight against antisemitism has been an unfortunate but constant part of the work of UJS since its creation. The past few years have seen a troubling increase in incidents against Jewish students both on and off campus. Our first responsibility as a student union is to our members and to their welfare; that is the rationale behind this project.

We're delighted to have the support of the Community Security Trust (CST) in creating a resource which we hope will give you, our members, the tools to deal with some of the issues you may face on campus. We'd also like to thank one of the UK's top lawyers, Anthony Julius, and his colleague Alexandra Fawcett for their help in producing this guide. Hopefully, you will not encounter any antisemitism at university, but if you do, this guide can help you recognise it and take the necessary action, with the help of your Jewish Society, UJS, CST and your university.

UJS has always maintained that we won't allow our enemies or their actions to define the Jewish student experience or Jewish identity. This guide should be seen, and used, in the context of flourishing Jewish life on campus. The positive elements of campus life whether social, educational, religious or cultural are what should define our collective experience at university. The best way to tackle prejudice is through education and the most effective tool in the fight for a strong Jewish identity is involvement in the positive aspects of Jewish student life.

So, in short, use this guide as a resource should any issues arise but otherwise have a fantastic time at university and please be in touch if we can help with anything!

The UJS team

NUS INTRODUCTION

NUS has a long and proud history of working alongside the Union of Jewish Students to tackle issues of antisemitism on UK campuses. Whilst I think it's unfortunate that there is still the need for UJS to produce such a resource for Jewish students, I am pleased that NUS is supporting the publication of this guide that I hope helps you deal with any issues that you may face during your time at university.

Attending university offers students a wide range of opportunities to get involved in - and I hope that you are able to enjoy your student days to the maximum and play a full and active role in your student community.

I would also encourage you to find the time to become involved in your students' union. Students' unions provide many activities for students, whether through volunteering in the local community, getting involved in clubs and societies, be they sporting, cultural or recreational.

Or you have a passion for improving the educational experience, or you could join the growing community of course-representatives playing a vital role in educational quality in their institutions. So many people these days are talking about graduate skills and post-graduate employability. Taking an active role in your on-campus life can provide the ideal opportunities for you to develop those key life skills.

I wish you all the very best for your time at university and hope that you, like me, enjoy what have been to date the best years of my life.

Have fun

Aaron Porter
NUS National President

CONTENTS

PART I WHAT IS ANTISEMITISM?

6

Definitions:

6

The EUMC Working Definition of Antisemitism

6

Hate crimes and antisemitic incidents

8

CST's definitions of antisemitic incidents

10

Stereotyping Jews and antisemitic tropes:

12

The Jewish Conspiracy

12

A short history of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

14

Dual Loyalty

16

Blood Libel

17

Jews as Nazis

19

Carlos Latuff

21

Who are the perpetrators?

23

How broad is the term 'antisemitism'?

24

How do I recognise antisemitism?

25

How serious is the threat?

26

Antisemitic incidents involving students

26

What can I do to protect myself?

27

PART II ZIONISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM

28

What is Zionism?

28

The Origins of Zionism

28

The First Zionist Congress

30

Why Israel?

31

What does Israel mean to British Jews?

32

The Holocaust – Israel as a refuge

32

What is Anti-Zionism?

33

Is anti-Zionism antisemitic?

34

The statistics

34

A Case Study: Conflict in Gaza and Antisemitism
in the UK

35

Baroness Tonge

38

New Statesman Cover

39

Mearsheimer and Walt: The Israel Lobby and US
Foreign Policy

39

President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

42

PART III TACKLING ANTISEMITISM ON CAMPUS

44

I'm not really political, do I need to engage in the
Israeli/Palestinian debate or other Jewish-related
issues?

44

I don't really feel Jewish, is all this relevant to me?

44

What can I expect when I arrive at university?

44

Ways to tackle antisemitism

46

Your legal rights

48

Who can help? Reporting an Incident

50

A case study

54

SOURCES AND OTHER USEFUL INFORMATION

60

Useful Organisations

60

Books

60

Articles and Papers

62

Websites

63

Other

64

WHAT TO DO IN CASE OF AN ANTISEMITIC INCIDENT

66

WHAT IS ANTISEMITISM?

Definitions

There have been numerous attempts to define antisemitism but in essence, it is an irrational hatred of Jews, or bigoted ideas about Jews. Antisemitic prejudice is characterised by a combination of religious, racial, cultural and ethnic prejudices.

The EUMC Working Definition of Antisemitism

The Working Definition of Antisemitism was designed to act as a basic guide to both official and non-official data collecting agencies in the European Union highlighting possible examples of antisemitism, taking into account the wider context. It was adopted as policy by the National Union of Students (NUS) at the 2006 Annual Conference and re-affirmed at the 2010 Annual Conference. It therefore became advisory to Students Unions that affiliate to NUS.

The definition is by no means perfect but given that it is official NUS policy, it is an important guideline for students and Students Unions and is worth looking at in a little more detail. It was drafted, following informal discussion, that the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC¹) and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) held with Jewish organisations, other major Jewish non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and prominent academics, to develop a common working definition.

The result was the following statement:

“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, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as a collective – such as, especially, but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.

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, e.g. by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g. claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterise 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 levelled 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.”

¹ The EUMC has recently been renamed the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)

Hate crimes and antisemitic incidents

CST provides physical security, training and advice for the protection of British Jews. It assists victims of antisemitism and monitors antisemitic activities and incidents. It also represents British Jewry to Police, Government and media on antisemitism and security.

The organisation is also responsible for collecting information on antisemitic incidents. Its findings are published in an annual incidents report². CST classifies as antisemitic any malicious act aimed at Jewish people, organisations or property, where there is evidence that the incident has antisemitic motivation or content, or that the victim was targeted because they are (or are believed to be) Jewish.

The History of Antisemitism in Britain

The history of antisemitism in Britain dates back to the 12th Century. This timeline shows some of the key dates in the history of the Jewish community in Britain.

1144	'William of Norwich' blood libel; the first recorded blood libel against Jews anywhere.	1960s	Arson attacks on synagogues in London by Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement.
1190	Anti-Jewish riots, including the massacre of 150 Jews at Clifford's Tower, York.	1970s	UJS established; UN Zionism = Racism passed (later revoked in 1991), sparking the first wave of bannings of JSOCs in the UK.
1255	'Hugh of Lincoln' blood libel.		
1290	Expulsion of Jews from England; first of the general expulsions in medieval Europe.	1985	Banning of JSOC at Sunderland Polytechnic triggers another wave of JSOC bannings and counter-protests.
1656	Return of Jews permitted by Oliver Cromwell.	2000	Start of second Palestinian Intifada sparks sudden rise in antisemitic incidents in UK; 105 incidents recorded in October, the highest monthly total on record at that point.
1880s	Large-scale immigration of Jews from Russia & Eastern Europe begins.		
1905	Aliens Act introduced; first legal move to limit Jewish immigration.	2006	All-Party Parliamentary Report into Antisemitism published; CST records 598 antisemitic incidents, the highest number on record to date.
1936	'Battle of Cable St' as Mosley's British Union of Fascists tries to march through Jewish area of East London.	2006	NUS adopts the EUMC definition of antisemitism.
1938	Beginning of Kindertransport programme, which rescued nearly 10,000 Jewish children from Nazi Germany.	2008/9	Over 260 antisemitic incidents recorded in Britain in January during the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, the highest number ever recorded by CST in a single month.



Aliens Act Cartoon, 1905



Battle of Cable Street, 1936



Graffiti at a London synagogue, 2000



Arson at a London synagogue, 2009

CST's definitions of antisemitic incidents

Antisemitic incidents can take several forms, including physical attacks on people or property, verbal or written abuse, threats against Jews or antisemitic leaflets and posters. The categories below are used by CST when it analyses reports that it receives from the Jewish community about potentially antisemitic incidents.

Such incidents are reported to CST in a number of ways, most commonly by telephone, e-mail or by post. For information on how to contact CST, see its website at <http://www.thecst.org.uk>.

Antisemitic Incident Categories

Listed below are the six types of antisemitic incidents that are used by CST for analytical purposes, with a brief definition of each, and a list of the types of incidents covered by each category. These lists are not exhaustive.

Category 1: Extreme Violence

- Any attack on a person that potentially causes loss of life or Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH).
- Any attack on property, for example by arson or petrol bombs, where there is the potential for people in the property to be killed, for instance if the building is inhabited or occupied at the time of the attack.
- Bombs, including letter bombs. This includes any viable device that either detonates or is defused, and therefore was life-threatening. It also includes any device which is assessed to have been intended by its sender to be viable, even if after analysis it is found that it was incorrectly constructed and therefore will not have gone off.
- Kidnapping
- Shooting
- Stabbing

Category 2: Assault

- Any physical attack against a person or people, which does not pose a threat to their life and is not GBH. This would include Actual Bodily Harm (ABH) or Common Assault.
- Attempted Assault, which fails due to self-defence or because the victim is able to escape.
- Throwing of objects at Jews, including where the object misses its target.

Category 3: Damage and Desecration of Property

- Any physical attack directed against Jewish property, which is not life threatening. This would include the daubing of antisemitic slogans or symbols (such as swastikas) on Jewish property, or damage caused to Jewish property, where it appears that the property has been specifically targeted because of its Jewish connection.

- Arson attacks on property where there is no threat to life, for instance, if the building is uninhabited at the time of the attack.
- Failed attempts, for instance, attempted arson where the fire fails to catch or the arsonist is disturbed.
- Damage to cars or other personal property belonging to Jewish owners, where it is apparent that they have been targeted for this reason.
- Placing of antisemitic stickers or posters on Jewish property.

Category 4: Threats

- Any clear and specific threat, whether verbal or written. If the threat is not clear and specific then the incident should be recorded as Abusive Behaviour.
- Any 'bomb' which is assessed to be a hoax. This would include something that was designed to look like a real device but not intended to be viable, for instance if it does not contain any explosive material.

Category 5: Abusive Behaviour

- Verbal antisemitic abuse, whether face-to-face or via telephone or answerphone messages. This includes antisemitic abuse directed at non-Jews.
- Written abuse, including antisemitic emails and text messages, as well as targeted antisemitic letters (that is, those aimed at and sent to a specific individual). This includes written antisemitic abuse sent to non-Jews. This is different from a mass mailing of antisemitic leaflets or other publications, which is dealt with by the separate Literature category.
- Antisemitic graffiti or stickers on non-Jewish property. Where it is clear that a group of antisemitic stickers or cases of graffiti were done at the same time and by a single perpetrator, they are recorded as a single incident.

Category 6: Literature

- Mass-produced antisemitic literature that is sent to more than one recipient. This covers mass mailings rather than individual cases of hate mail, which would come under the category of Abusive Behaviour or Threats (depending on content).
- Literature that is antisemitic in itself, irrespective of whether or not the recipient is Jewish.
- Incidents where Jews are specifically targeted for malicious distribution, even if the material itself is not antisemitic. This would include, for instance, mass mailings of neo-Nazi literature to Jewish homes, even if the literature did not mention Jews.
- Antisemitic emails sent to specific people/locations, for instance, who are members of email lists or online groups. This does not include material that is generally available on websites.
- Each mass-mailing of literature is recorded as a single incident, rather than recording each different victim as a different incident. However, if the same literature is sent on more than one occasion, then each occasion will be recorded as a separate incident.

Stereotyping Jews and antisemitic tropes

As the categories above demonstrate, antisemitism manifests itself in many ways. The final category above (antisemitic literature) needs to be analysed in a little more detail. Usually the objective for those who produce antisemitic literature is to perpetuate lies and stereotypes about Jewish people. This kind of antisemitism can be less overt and therefore harder to identify.

So what do we mean by Jewish stereotypes? All too often, Jews are portrayed as homogenous – it is assumed that they share the same values and beliefs and speak with one voice. In reality, of course, Jews have a wide range of opinions, and often disagree with each other, on many subjects. This is reflected, for instance, in the make up of broad umbrella groups like UJS or the Board of Deputies of British Jews. There is also a tendency to attribute certain characteristics to all Jews – Jews are wealthy, they are stingy, they are well educated, they worry a lot, they have a dry sense of humour. Some of these attributes are positive and some are not but all have the potential to be antisemitic because they stereotype Jews as all thinking and acting the same.

Jewish people come in all shapes and sizes. To assume that it is possible to make a range of assumptions about a person based purely on the fact that they are Jewish is irrational. The tendency to stereotype Jews is made worse by the fact that many of the widely held misconceptions about Jews are extremely negative. Below are some of the more persistent and damaging misconceptions (or tropes) about Jews.

The Jewish Conspiracy

Perhaps the most dangerous of the myths about Jews is the idea that there is a worldwide Jewish conspiracy. The most famous expression of this lie is contained in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The *Protocols*, a late 19th century forgery, comprise 24 chapters, or 'protocols' which purport to be the minutes of meetings of a secret international Jewish government. It describes the steps that the Jews will take in order to take over the world. Their ultimate success will be marked by the establishment of a world-state, despotically ruled by a Jewish sovereign from the House of David.

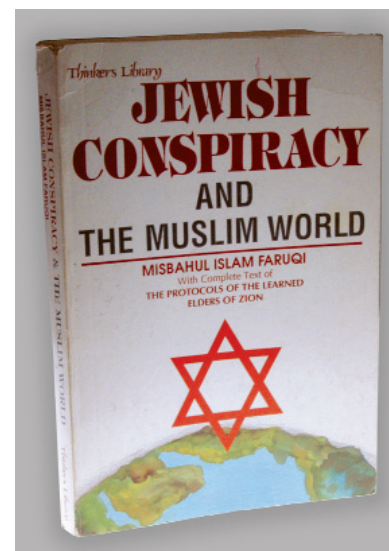
Within the first decades of the 20th century, the *Protocols* had already been translated into many languages, and had close to worldwide circulation. New forgeries have been added to the *Protocols*, to keep them up to date. The history of the *Protocols* is set out in more detail on p14-15.

The *Protocols* are only the most infamous expression of the concept of a Jewish conspiracy. There are several examples of publications that, though not in the same form as the *Protocols*, promote with equal venom the lie of the Jewish conspiracy, e.g. Henry Ford's *The International Jew* which was published in the early 1920s.

More recently, the *Protocols* have been adapted for television. The Internet has made it simple for antisemites to disseminate their conspiracy theories.

The impact of the *Protocols* and similar books has been profound. In many countries (such as Turkey and Egypt), the text is widely accepted as fact.

In Britain, most people recognise that the text is a crude forgery created by antisemites. However, even though the numbers willing to accept it wholesale are small, a more sophisticated and subtle version of the lies contained within it has found its way into the mainstream of political debate by substituting the words "Israeli" or "Zionist" for the word "Jew". Some examples of this are given later in this guide (see p38-42).



A Star of David dominates the world.

Cover, Malaysian publication sold in UK, includes *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*.

A short history of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

The direct literary source of the *Protocols* was the pamphlet *Dialogues in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, published by the non-Jewish French satirist Maurice Joly in 1864. Joly may have plagiarised an earlier work, *Les Mystères de Paris* by Eugène Sue (1843).

In *Dialogues* Joly attacked the political ambitions of the Emperor Napoleon III, using the literary device of a dialogue between two plotters in Hell. Montesquieu makes the case for liberalism; Machiavelli presents the case for cynical despotism. The effect is a satire on how unrestrained liberalism might spawn a despot such as Napoleon III. The pamphlets were soon discovered by the French authorities and Joly was tried and imprisoned. *Dialogues* makes no mention of the Jews.

Hermann Goedsche, an *agent provocateur* for the Prussian secret police, plagiarised Joly's *Dialogues* in his 1868 novel *Biarritz*. Writing under the name of Sir John Retcliffe, he added a chapter called *The Jewish Cemetery in Prague and the Council of Representatives of the Twelve Tribes of Israel*, which described a centennial rabbinical cabal which meets at the cemetery at midnight to plan the next hundred years of Jewish conspiracy. Goedsche plagiarised a scene from the novel *Joseph Balsamo* by Alexandre Dumas for this chapter.

Biarritz found its way to Russia, and was translated in 1872. A separate version of the *Jewish Cemetery* chapter appeared as *The Rabbi's Speech* in Russian in 1891. The Okhrana, the Russian secret police, saw this material as a means to discredit liberal reformers who were sympathetic to the Jews, and to strengthen the ineffectual Tsar Nicholas II. An Okhrana agent in Paris, Matvei Vasilyevich Golovinski, edited Joly and Goedsche's works into a new version in 1890 or 1891, which he called the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. The manuscript of the *Protocols* was brought to Russia in 1895 and was printed privately in pamphlet form in 1897.

The *Protocols* gained popularity in the wake of the 1905 revolution. Opponents of the constitution and institution of the Duma, particularly the 'Union of the Russian Nation', or Black Hundreds organisation, stirred up popular feeling against the Jews, who they blamed for the revolution and the constitution. To this end they used the *Protocols*, which was first published in a public edition by Sergei Nilus in 1905.

Nilus published the *Protocols* as part of the second edition of his book *The Great in the Small*. Later in 1911 he published a separate edition of the *Protocols*. His *Protocols* enjoyed wide success in Russia. By the time of his death in 1929 from a heart attack, Europe had been saturated by millions of copies of the *Protocols*. His son Sergei continued in his father's footsteps, joining the Russian Nazi Party.

In the civil war following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the White Armies made extensive use of the *Protocols* to incite widespread slaughters of Jews. At the same time, Russian emigrants brought the *Protocols* to Western Europe, where the Nilus edition served as the basis for many translations. The most widespread English translation of the *Protocols* is credited to a British correspondent for *The Morning Post* in Russia, Victor Marsden. Just after its appearance in London in 1920, Lucien Wolf exposed the *Protocols* as a plagiary of the earlier work of Joly and Goedsche, in a pamphlet of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

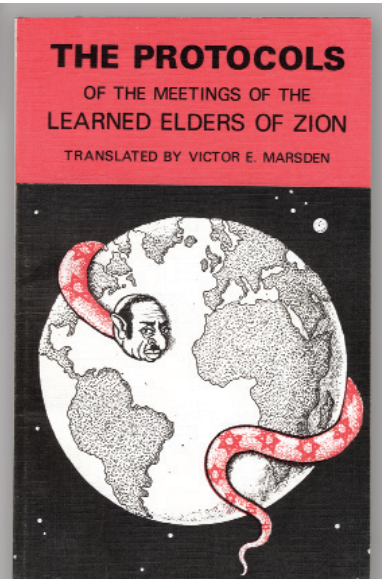
The following year, on 16, 17 and 18 August 1921, the story of the forgery was published in a series of articles in *The Times* of London by Philip Graves, the paper's correspondent in Constantinople. A book documenting the forgery was published the same year in the United States by Herman Bernstein. Nevertheless, the *Protocols* continued to circulate widely. They were sponsored by Henry Ford in the United States until 1927, and influenced Nazi antisemitism.

Alfred Rosenberg, an early ideological influence on Hitler, issued an edition of the *Protocols* in 1923 called *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion und die jüdische Weltpolitik*. In the wake of the growing alliance between Hitler's Germany and Fascist Italy, the *Protocols* were published in Italy in 1937, with an introduction by Julius Evola.

In 1933 a suit was brought in Switzerland against Georg Bernard Haller, editor-in-chief of the Nazi-oriented *Confederates of the Oath* (Eidgenossen) and its publisher Theodor Fischer for libel and distributing 'Schunliteratur' (smut literature). The trial began in Berne on 29 October 1934 and on 14 May 1935 the Cantonal Court of Berne declared the *Protocols* to be forgeries, plagiarisms and libellous. In November 1937 the Court of Appeals set aside the judgement because the obscenity statute was not applicable, but confirmed the previous findings that the *Protocols* were a fabrication.

In a similar case in Grahamstown, South Africa in August 1934, the Court imposed fines totalling £1,775 (\$4,500) on three men for concocting a modern version of the *Protocols* and pretending to discover them in a synagogue.

In 1964, the US Senate Judiciary Committee unanimously adopted a report on the *Protocols*' fabrication, and entered the report into the public record.



Cover, UK edition of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, 1978.

Dual Loyalty

Immigrant communities have long been accused of dual loyalty: by maintaining the cultural heritage of their ancestors they are exposed to the allegation that they have failed to fully integrate.

The desire to avoid the allegation was one of the key factors in persuading some Jews that the Zionist project was folly. They argued that it made credible the antisemite's assertion that Jews could not be trusted as citizens of any land other than their own, and would never assimilate.

Of course, the idea that the connection that British Jews feel towards Israel undermines their loyalty to Britain is illogical. It is also extremely dangerous because it cultivates suspicion and ensures that Jews are always viewed as outsiders. Many people in Britain's modern diverse society have emotional or family connections to other countries. This does not make them any less British.

The allegation of dual loyalty is often combined with the allegation of a Jewish conspiracy – the former explains why Jews plot against the interests of their own countries. The Mearsheimer & Walt book, *The Israel Lobby* (discussed on p39-42) is an excellent example of a contemporary construction of the dual loyalty argument.

Blood Libel

The blood libel holds that Jews entertain homicidal intentions towards non-Jews, and that Jewish law underwrites these intentions. 'Blood libel' is the generic term for a number of related charges against Jews. These charges are all false – fantastical, pernicious nonsense. They are known collectively as the blood libel partly because they suppose that Jews wish to kill non-Jews (at first, Christians, now more usually Muslims) partly because Jews require non-Jewish blood for ritual purposes and partly to satisfy a blood-lust that is inherent in the make up of all Jews.

The blood libel emerged in Britain in the 12th Century. The principal charge is that Jews kidnap and then kill non-Jewish children; the murder is usually preceded by abuse and torture. Jewish motives are said to be diverse, for example: the blood is used to make unleavened bread for Passover, or in the preparation of a surrogate eucharist; it is sprinkled in synagogue; or it is used for essential blood transfusions necessary for all Jews to fortify themselves following the experience of the Nazi death camps (a version of the libel that circulated in post-war Poland).

When it first emerged, the blood libel meant that the local authorities had available to them an easy scapegoat for unexplained crimes: Jews would be blamed if a corpse was found washed up on a riverbank, abandoned in a wood, hidden by the murderer on a Jew's property, or even if a child had merely disappeared and was reported missing.



Simon of Trent

Engraving, Illustration in Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, Germany 1493.

At Easter 1475, the Jews of Trent, Italy, were accused of murdering a small Christian boy, Simon, who had been found dead. The leaders of the Jewish community were arrested; seventeen 'confessed' under torture and fifteen were burned at the stake for their 'crime'. Simon was widely venerated and his cultus confirmed by Pope Sixtus V in 1588. 'Little Simon' was only withdrawn from the calendar of saints, and his shrine dismantled, in 1966 after the Second Vatican Council.

There were rarely witnesses to these 'crimes'. No one would report actually having seen a murder being committed. The Jewish suspects arbitrarily chosen were often tortured; confessions were extracted (any failure to confess could be attributed to Satan's intervention); 'experts' would confirm the truth of the allegations. Occasionally, elements among the local populace would find themselves in conflict with sceptical representatives of the authorities.



Many Jews died in consequence of these blood libels, some by judicial means, others at the hands of local mobs. In several instances, whole communities were expelled. In two cases, the Church honoured the deceased child: Blessed Andreas of Rinn and St. Simon of Trent.

Of course, the number of people in Britain today who accept the conventional blood libel is extremely small. However, as with the idea of a Jewish conspiracy, the blood libel is dangerous not because of the minority who believe it in its purest form but rather because distorted versions can still appear. For example, in 2009 and 2010, stories circulated falsely alleging that Israel deliberately murdered Palestinians to harvest their bodies for organs. After the earthquake in Haiti in January 2010, it was even alleged that Israeli medical relief teams had stolen organs from the bodies of dead Haitians. By extension, British Jews who support Israel are seen as condoning these murderous acts.

'Here's to peace'

Al Ahram (Egypt), 21 April 2001

In a direct revival of medieval and Nazi accusations of Jewish ritual murder, Israeli soldiers are shown murdering Palestinians so that religious Jews can drink their blood. The person being fed into the mangle is marked 'The Palestinian People'; the two Jews drinking his blood are saying "Here's to peace".

Al Ahram is one of the most widely read newspapers in the Arab world, with a circulation of around 900,000.

Jews as Nazis

This allegation is extremely common in the language used to criticise the Zionist project. There are two strands: first, Zionists were complicit in the Holocaust and second, Israel's treatment of the Palestinian people is akin to a new holocaust in which the persecuted have been the persecutors. Both strands are offensive and untrue.

The Zionists were complicit in the Holocaust

The Holocaust poses a problem for antisemites. Unsurprisingly, it has created a great deal of sympathy for Jews and the Zionist project. The murder of six million Jews also debunks the myth of Jewish power and a worldwide Jewish conspiracy.

The solution to this problem is to claim that Jews, or more specifically Zionists, were complicit in the destruction of the European Jews. Evidence for this is found in the fact that Zionists entered into talks with Nazi Germany during the 1930s – they were, it is alleged, co-conspirators in finding a solution to the 'Jewish Problem'.

In fact, the Zionists entered into talks with the objective of rescuing Jews from the persecution that they faced in pre-war Nazi Germany. Although they could not imagine the full horror that awaited those Jews who did not escape, Zionists were well aware that antisemitism was part of the National Socialist creed and sought to assist those Jews who wished to leave the country.

The result of the negotiations between the Nazi regime and the Zionists was the Transfer Agreement. This enabled 12,000 German Jews to leave for Palestine between 1933 and 1937. These were 12,000 Jews who were saved from the gas chambers.

Although the Nazis and Zionists agreed that the Jews should leave Germany for Palestine, their reasons for wanting the transfer were diametrically opposed: one side sought to destroy, the other to protect. There was no meeting of minds.

The conflict is a new holocaust

This argument is extremely useful to those who wish to demonise the Zionist project. The murder of six million Jews during the Holocaust was an evil on a horrific scale. There can be no greater insult to Jews than to be compared to those responsible for this evil.

This is why it is so effective as an insult and why it is so frequently used by antisemites - Jewish Zionists are to Palestinians what Nazis were to the Jews of Europe. Accordingly, rather than deserving sympathy

or compassion for their collective suffering, Jews should be despised. The suffering of the Jewish people is inverted and used against them.

In making this crude comparison, antisemites take the most heinous and monstrous figure in contemporary Jewish history (Hitler) and then say to the Jews: "You are like him. You are comparable to those who murdered your parents, your siblings and your children. You are Nazis."

Playing the 'Hitler card' has become common place in discussions about Israel. The work of Carlos Latuff is filled with the imagery of the Nazi-Jew.



'Gaza ghetto'

Carlos Latuff, Indymedia Belgium,
8 October 2002

The then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is shown holding a canister of Zyklon B, the poison gas used by the Nazis to murder Jews in the Holocaust. The cartoonist has redrawn it to read 'Deportation B', but the visual equation with the Holocaust remains.



'Welcome to Palestine'

Carlos Latuff, 44an.com (Sweden)
16 April 2002

The gates to a Nazi death camp are redrawn as the entrance to Palestine. Latuff's cartoons are reproduced on anti-globalisation Indymedia websites all around the world.

Carlos Latuff

Latuff is a Brazilian cartoonist. He is vehemently anti-Israel. The images that he creates regularly contain the antisemitic tropes discussed above. In his work, IDF soldiers are shown relishing in the death of children and the shadowy lobby is portrayed as infinitely powerful and malign.

Latuff also draws crude comparisons between the Holocaust and the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Jews are accused of executing a second Holocaust – the oppressed has become the oppressor.

Here are some examples of Latuff's work:



In 2006, Latuff entered and came second in a competition run by an Iranian paper to find the best Holocaust cartoon.

This is his winning entry.

To view all the winning cartoons, see www.irancartoon.com/120/holocaust/index.htm



Latuff also has an answer for those who accuse him of antisemitism: they are merely using the allegation to silence legitimate criticism of Israel.

Images sourced from:
<http://latuff2.deviantart.com/gallery>
<http://sabbah.biz/mt/archives/2006/12/12/us-senators-for-fear-israel/>
<http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/01/31/on-holding-the-israeli-terrorist-accountable-for-its-war-crimes/>

Who are the perpetrators?

Explicit antisemitism (where Jews are openly targeted on the basis of their religion or ethnicity) is rare in British society, media and politics, and on university campuses. The perpetrators of this kind of antisemitism are found at the fringes of British society either on the far right or amongst extreme Islamist movements.

However, there is also a more mainstream type of antisemitism that has a far greater impact on society. This is when antisemitic tropes (most notably the allegation of dual loyalty and the idea of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy) are normalised by replacing the word 'Jew' with the word 'Zionist'.

Who are the perpetrators of this 'new antisemitism'? Sadly the list is long and includes politicians, journalists, trade unions and academics. A survey conducted by the US-based Anti Defamation League (ADL) in December 2009/January 2010 demonstrates how antisemitic charges are accepted by a significant minority of people in the UK.

In a poll of 500 people:

- 37% of UK respondents believe it is "probably true" that "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country"
- 15% of UK respondents believe it is "probably true" that "Jews have too much power in the business world"
- 15% of UK respondents believe it is "probably true" that "Jews have too much power in international financial markets"
- 20% of UK respondents believe it is "probably true" that "Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust"
- 19% of UK respondents "strongly agree" or "somewhat agree" that "Jews are responsible for the death of Christ"
- 20% of UK respondents say their opinion of Jews is influenced by Israel's actions
- Of those responding "yes" to this question, 66% said their opinion of Jews was worse as a result of Israel's actions
- 26% of UK respondents believe that antisemitic violence in Britain is the result of anti-Israel sentiment, while 30% believe it is the result of anti-Jewish feelings.

A previous poll by the ADL, in 2007, found that 34% of UK respondents "agree" or "somewhat agree" that "American Jews control US Middle Eastern policy". This means that one-third of the public believed that when it comes to the Middle East, the world's leading superpower is doing the bidding of the Jews. The problem is that antisemitism and anti-Israeli sentiment have become entwined with each other. Although it is important to stress that anti-Zionism and antisemitism are different, when anti-Zionism portrays Zionists in the same way that antisemitism portrays Jews, then

the difference between them disappears. In fact, it really isn't possible to understand the nature of antisemitism today without also understanding a little about anti-Zionism and, by extension, Zionism. These concepts are explained in more detail later on in this book.

How broad is the term 'antisemitism'

Some have tried to argue that 'antisemitism' is also the appropriate term to describe prejudice against Arabs because they too are Semitic people. Proponents of this position find it attractive because it enables them to accuse Israel of a "virulent form of antisemitism" when it criticises Arab nations. Perversely, the same principle is used to rebut allegations of antisemitism by Arab countries – Arabs cannot be accused of antisemitism if they themselves are Semites. For an example of the way that the argument is presented, see John Pilger's letter to the Guardian published on 10 October 2003, and Oliver Kamm's response³.

It is hard to see what this argument achieves: it is almost universally accepted that both Arabs and Jews suffer prejudice and that such prejudice should be condemned in the strongest possible terms. But it is equally accepted that antisemitism is the term used to describe prejudice against Jews. To attempt to undermine the meaning of the word is distasteful particularly if it is done for political reasons (to attack Israel). The enormity of the crimes that have been motivated by antisemitism are well documented and to use semantics to dispossess the word of its true meaning is itself antisemitic.

³ http://oliverkamm.typepad.com/blog/2003/10/john_pilger_def.html

Sound familiar?

Those who believe in the Jewish conspiracy will argue that Jews are using the following tactics in order to achieve world domination:

- Manipulate global politics to create wars between non-Jews so that only the Jews are left standing;
- Control the media and use it as a mouthpiece for Jewish propaganda;
- Appoint puppet leaders who can secretly be controlled by their Jewish puppet masters;
- Control the world's wealth especially gold;
- Manipulate the global financial markets, in particular, offer loans to governments;
- Encourage speculation in the financial markets instead of sound investments;
- Replace religion with science and materialism; and
- Create entertaining distractions so that non-Jews don't notice what is happening around them.

How do I recognise antisemitism?

Sometimes it will be obvious (physical and verbal acts of antisemitism are rarely equivocal). But there will be times when it may be harder to recognise. It is very common for Jewish students to begin their account of an antisemitic incident by saying "*I'm probably just being paranoid but...*" or to end it by asking "*Was that antisemitic?*"

Here are some examples of how you might see or hear the antisemitic tropes set out above used today:

- If a journalist refers to a "Jewish lobby" controlling events in Washington⁴, this is an updated version of the Jewish conspiracy allegation.
- If it is said of a British national who is Jewish that they cannot be trusted because their sympathy with Israel means that they are not loyal citizens, this is an updated version of dual loyalty allegation.
- If somebody claims that UJS is an agent of Israel, rather than a union for Jewish students in Britain, and therefore cannot be trusted.

One of the main purposes of this book is to give you a better understanding of what constitutes antisemitism, because recognising it is the first step towards stopping it. What you choose to do about an antisemitic incident is of course the next step and the wide range of options available to you are explored in Part III.

⁴ For example, Robert Cornwell's article, "'Israel lobby' blamed as Obama's choice for intelligence chief quits" stated: "Fears over the Jewish lobby's excess influence on US foreign policy flared anew yesterday".

The formula is very simple: identify a set of universal problems then identify a secret oppressor who has been covertly causing the problems. The reason why the *Protocols* enjoyed such longevity is because they provide a simple, mono-causal explanation when things go wrong. World War I? Blame the Jews. The Great Depression? Blame the Jews. America invades Iraq? That's right, blame the Jews.

In fact, the same principle can be applied to any group: during the Cold War, the *Protocols* were adapted by both sides: the word "Jew" was in some instances supplemented with the word "Communist" or "Capitalist".

Of course, these simplistic explanations for complex world events are bound to fail but in times of crisis, it is surprising how comforting it can be to identify a scapegoat. Throughout history, it has been the poor fortune of the Jews that they have fulfilled this role.

How serious is the threat?

In many ways, Jewish life is thriving in Britain more than it has done for years, and you should have a positive and rewarding experience as a Jewish student on campus. However much or little this is threatened by antisemitism is a subject of debate. Some argue that the threat from antisemitism is insignificant. Others argue that we live in extremely dangerous times and that the scale of antisemitism in Britain threatens the entire Jewish community. It is not the purpose of this guide to make judgements about the level of the threat or what the future holds.

Often, those who choose to deny or minimise the threat of antisemitism will compare it to other types of discrimination and argue that, in relative terms, the problem is not that serious. This is not a serious approach to anti-racism. Any discrimination or bigotry is too much, and there is no league table of racism. It also fails to take into account the unique characteristics of the discrimination faced by different minorities. We should be able to agree that where any form of racism, including antisemitism, exists, it should be opposed. Understanding its nature and how it has changed will enable you to recognise it and take a stand against it.

Antisemitic incidents involving students

CST publishes an annual report on the antisemitic incidents that have been reported to it. In 2009, there were 97 incidents involving students or academics (924 incidents were reported in total). Of the 97, 38 incidents involved hostile or abusive emails sent to an individual Jewish academic, probably by a single perpetrator. Discounting this group of 38 incidents leaves 59 antisemitic incidents involving students, academics or student bodies, of which 41 took place on campus. Whether or not the attack was motivated by the victim's status as a student, is difficult to determine when the incident took place off campus. It's therefore more helpful to look at the incidents on campus.

CST statistics for antisemitic incidents of all types

Category	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Extreme Violence	0	2	1	5	0	4	2	4	1	1	3
Assault	33	51	40	42	54	79	79	110	116	87	121
Damage & Desecration	25	73	90	55	72	53	48	70	65	76	89
Threats	31	39	37	18	22	93	25	28	24	28	44
Abusive Behaviour	127	196	122	216	211	272	278	366	336	315	605
Literature	54	44	20	14	16	31	27	20	19	37	62
TOTAL	270	405	310	350	375	532	459	598	561	544	924

Here are some examples of the incidents recorded:

Abuse can sometimes occur in a political context, when criticism of Israel may be directed towards Jews generally. Anti-Zionist sentiment becomes polluted with antisemitism.

The following examples occurred on different British campuses:

- A Jewish student received a threatening phone call, warning him to watch his back as somebody would "get him". The caller claimed to be from a pro-Palestinian group.
- A Jewish student society received an email that read: "It's a shame Hitler lost the war before killing all of you f**king scum."
- A swastika with the words "Gas the Jews" was written on a university wall
- A comment stating "Now the world knows why I gassed this violent people" and signed "Hitler the second" was left on a blog promoting pro-Palestinian student activity

The nature of the incidents is telling: the abuse sometimes occurs in a political context and there is a tendency to direct criticism of Israel towards Jews generally. Anti-Zionist sentiment becomes polluted with antisemitism.

What can I do to protect myself?

UJS is your union and can help you deal with any problems you have during your time at university. Your university should also be able to assist.

If you are the victim of, or a witness to, an antisemitic incident, then CST and UJS can both give you the necessary support. UJS has a section in its website where you can download a booklet that provides helpful tips on personal safety. You can visit their website at www.uj.org.uk.

Protecting yourself against antisemitic discourse means you need to learn how to recognise it and then challenge it. This guide will help you to do both.



'Jew' scratched into a student's door, Nottingham University 2008

ZIONISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM

Antisemitic tropes can sometimes be more difficult to identify when they appear in anti-Zionist propaganda. As mentioned earlier in this guide identifying where anti-Zionism ends and antisemitism begins is a crucial part of isolating and challenging antisemitism. In order to do this, it is important to understand a little about Zionism and anti-Zionism.

What is Zionism?

The concept of anti-Zionism refers to the rejection of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination in a sovereign Jewish state. It is very difficult to understand anti-Zionism without also understanding a little about Zionism.

A Zionist is nothing more than a person who supports the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state, rather than someone with a particular view on Israeli policy.

So, it is possible to be a Jew who is not a Zionist, it is also possible to be a non-Jew and a Zionist. It is also possible to be a Zionist (Jewish or not) who does not agree with all or part of the Israeli government's policy on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Many Zionists object to policies of the Israeli government on a whole range of issues.

The Origins of Zionism

The movement known as 'Zionism' can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century. It was a response to the Jewish experience of Diaspora life. 'Diaspora' is the word used to describe the scattering of an ethnic group following expulsion from its homeland. The Jewish Diaspora took place when the Jews were expelled from Judea (an area that correlates with modern day Israel).

The effect of the Diaspora upon the Jews was profound: for almost 2,000 years, Jews were forced to rely on the hospitality of other nations. Often this hospitality came with strict conditions and on many occasions it was withdrawn entirely leading to mass expulsions (e.g. France in 1306 and 1394, England in 1290, Austria in 1421 and Spain and Portugal in 1492) and massacres or genocide.

When we look at the experiences of Jewish communities across the centuries and throughout the various countries to which they fled, a pattern emerges:

The Jews arrive in a country. Grateful that they have been given sanctuary, they accept the terms and conditions (express or implied) upon which they have been allowed to enter.

Although they usually live together, the Jews establish themselves in their host country and begin to assimilate.

A crisis occurs which creates an atmosphere of fear and panic. The Jewish community is wrongly identified as the cause of the crisis and singled out for blame.

Having been made a scapegoat, retribution follows.

This experience was described by Leo Pinsker, a respected Russian doctor in his book, *Auto-Emancipation: A Warning to his Kinsfolk by a Russian Jew* (published anonymously, in German, in September 1882) which he wrote in the aftermath of the assassination of the Russian Tsar Alexander II on 13 March, 1881.

The Jews were blamed for the assassination although it was in fact carried out by Russian revolutionaries who were frustrated at the slow pace of reform in Russia. There were at least nine people involved in the assassination plot, one of whom, Gesya Gelfman, was Jewish. Gelfman had rejected her Jewish roots when, aged 17, she ran away from home apparently to escape a forced marriage. She fled to Kiev where she became a social revolutionary.

Before the assassination, Pinsker was an acculturated Jew, he believed that it was important for Jews to speak Russian and advocated "Russification" or integration.

But soon after Alexander was killed, rumours began to spread that the assassination had been a Jewish plot and a series of pogroms (an organised, officially sanctioned attack on a particular community or ethnic group) swept across the Russian Empire. Jewish neighbourhoods were pillaged and destroyed, their inhabitants raped and killed.

The instinct to blame and punish the Jews was not restricted to the mob. The state authorities responded to the crisis by curtailing the rights of Jews: restrictions were placed on Jews entering secondary schools and universities and their ability to move freely was also curtailed.

It was against this background that Pinsker wrote his book. In it, he called for a mass exodus of Jews from Russia and Europe to a “Promised Land”. He had come to the conclusion that assimilation was impossible:

“Though you prove patriots a thousand times... some fine morning you find yourselves crossing the border and you are reminded by the mob that you are, after all, nothing but vagrants and parasites, outside the protection of the law.” He believed that without a homeland, Jews were “like a [people] without a shadow” and that they would never be truly safe.

In the wake of the pogroms, Jews began to leave Russia and by 1914, well in excess of one million Jews had left. The vast majority went to America but a small number began to settle in Ottoman ruled Palestine. This first wave of settlers is known as the First Aliyah. Zionism had begun.

The First Zionist Congress, 29-31 August 1897

The first congress was organised by Theodor Herzl and took place in Basel. Herzl wanted to bring together the leading Jewish thinkers to consider the nature of Zionism and its objectives. Herzl believed that the Jewish people needed a homeland and that it should be in Palestine. The outcome of the meeting was the Basel Program – a statement of Zionist goals:

“Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Eretz Israel [meaning Holy Land and referring to the region of Palestine] secured under public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

- 1. The promotion by appropriate means of the settlement in Eretz Israel of Jewish farmers, artisans, and manufacturers.*
- 2. The organization and uniting of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, both local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.*
- 3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness.*
- 4. Preparatory steps toward obtaining the consent of governments, where necessary, in order to reach the goals of Zionism.”*



“If you will it, it is no dream”: Theodor Herzl, the father of political Zionism.

Why Israel?

The First Zionist Congress did not just decide that the Jews needed a homeland. They decided that the proper place for it was the region of Palestine (now Israel).

Why do Jewish people feel such a strong connection to the region?

The answer is complex. First, it must be remembered that Jews have lived in the area continuously for thousands of years, under Jewish rule, and also under the rule of many others.

Second, the land has an important religious significance. The land of Israel is central to Judaism, it is the Holy Land given to the Jewish people by God. For example, substantial portions of Jewish religious ritual can only be performed in Israel and the Talmud indicates that the land is so holy that merely walking on it can gain you a place in the next world.

Of course, not all Jews believe in God and the ties to Israel are not simply religious or historical. For the majority of Jews living in Israel, the tie is much more practical: put simply, Israel is their home. They were born in Israel or have lived there for most of their life, they went to school there, they carry Israeli passports and they own businesses and houses there.

What does Israel mean to British Jews?

The majority of British Jews feel a strong connection to Israel and consider themselves to be pro-Israel. In spring 2004, the United Jewish Israel Appeal (one of the major Jewish charities in the UK) conducted a survey examining Jewish identity. The survey showed that 78% of British Jews “care deeply” about Israel. This has different manifestations, from going on holiday in Israel, following the Israeli football team or engaging in Israel advocacy.

The Holocaust – Israel as a refuge

Between 1939 and 1945 six million Jewish men, women and children were systematically murdered by the Nazis. Approximately 78% of the Jewish population of Europe was wiped out. The State of Israel was created in 1948.

The Holocaust is an important event in the history of the State of Israel but it is by no means the only reason for its existence. In fact, the foundations of the State of Israel are much older, its history far more complex. In recent years voices on both the left and right of the political spectrum have sought to de-legitimise the State of Israel by claiming that the land was essentially stolen from its Arab inhabitants and given to the Jews in order to assuage Europe’s collective guilt over the Holocaust. Such claims are far too simplistic and ignore the historical Jewish attachment to the land of Israel as well as the Zionist movement’s attempts to create a state well before the advent of the Holocaust.

However, there is no doubt that the Holocaust played a significant part in Israel’s creation. Indeed, Israel’s Declaration of Independence states that the Holocaust clearly demonstrated the urgent need for a Jewish homeland. Israel’s founding fathers envisaged the state as a refuge for all Jews. Successive Israeli governments have endeavoured to carry out this vision and over the years Israel has welcomed millions of Jews from all over the world. One of the first laws passed by the Israeli Parliament was the Law of Return which granted citizenship rights to all Jews.

What is Anti-Zionism?

Anti-Zionism is opposition to the idea that the Jewish people should have their own state in Israel. It should not be confused with criticism of the State of Israel’s actions or with antisemitism. Anti-Zionists may express this opposition by objecting to the way in which Zionism is being pursued or the character of the State of Israel.

Anti-Zionism was a common position amongst Jews in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Many Jews felt that the creation of a separate Jewish state would jeopardise their position as equal citizens of their own countries. However, Zionism increased in popularity amongst Jews in the 1920s and 1930s, and especially after the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel. Before Israel existed, anti-Zionism was only a theoretical argument. Now that Israel exists, anti-Zionism entails calling for the destruction of an existing state against its will.

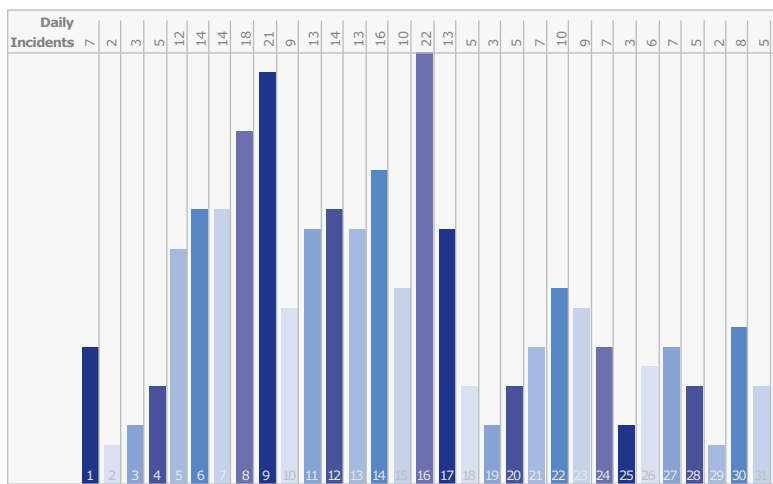
An example of pure anti-Zionism would be if an individual objected to all forms of nationalism and believed instead that the world should be classified along alternative lines. A Marxist who rejected entirely the notion of national identity and instead promoted the idea of a global coalition of workers would object to the Zionist project on principle. This position is not antisemitic. There are also some Strictly Orthodox Jews who object to the current existence of Israel on religious grounds. They believe that Israel should only be created during the Jewish messianic age. Beyond these narrow examples, it is rare to find examples of pure anti-Zionism today. Most of the opinions that are classified as ‘anti-Zionist’ should in fact be categorised as either criticism of the policies of the Israeli government or as antisemitism.

Is anti-Zionism antisemitic?

As shown in this guide, it is possible to be anti-Zionist without being antisemitic. Criticism of the Israeli government (and its policies) is legitimate, but it is not acceptable for antisemitism to creep in, as it often does.

The Statistics

The link between anti-Zionism and antisemitism can be seen most clearly in the way that antisemitic incidents spike at times when the Israeli/Palestinian conflict intensifies. Overall, the number of incidents recorded has increased dramatically since the Second Intifada began in 2000. According to figures published by CST (see p26), in 1999, the number of antisemitic incidents recorded was 270. In 2000, the number increased to 405. In 2009, the figure was 924, a record.



Graph showing the number of antisemitic incidents reported to CST during the Gaza conflict in January 2009

Broadcasting antisemitism

In 2002, a 41-part series based on the *Protocols* called *Horseman Without a Horse* was aired on the Egyptian government's television channel. At the time, the series was widely denounced by the United States, world leaders, Jewish organisations and others for its potential to incite and rationalise antisemitism across the Muslim and Arab world.

Each episode of the series opens with the following text scrolling on the screen: "Two thousand years ago the Jewish Rabbis established an international government aiming at maintaining the world under its control and suppressing it under the Talmudic commands, and totally isolating them from all of the people.

Then the Jews started to incite wars and conflicts, while those countries disclaimed them. They falsely pretended to be persecuted, awaiting their savior, the Messiah, who will terminate the revenge against the Goyim that their God, Jehovah, started. In the beginning of the 19th century, the international government decided

A case study: Conflict in Gaza and antisemitism in the UK

The UK experienced a significant rise in antisemitic incidents in the first part of 2009. This was largely a consequence of the reaction to the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza and southern Israel that took place in December 2008/January 2009. During January 2009 alone CST recorded 288 antisemitic incidents, by far the highest monthly total ever recorded by CST, of which 158 included some reference to the fighting in Gaza.

Even though the fighting in Gaza ended on 17 January, the number of antisemitic incidents reported in Britain did not fall back down to normal levels until April, some three months after the fighting had ended. In February 2009, CST recorded 114 antisemitic incidents, the second-highest monthly total ever recorded. The previous monthly high was 105 incidents in October 2000 (which is when the second Palestinian intifada, or uprising, began). In total, CST recorded 628 antisemitic incidents in the first half of 2009 – more than in the whole of any previous year.

The highest daily total of antisemitic incidents during the Gaza conflict was 22 incidents on 16 January. Of these, 17 incidents involved antisemitic graffiti on or near to Jewish buildings across 11 different London boroughs, in what appeared to be an orchestrated campaign. The graffiti included slogans such as "Kill the Jews", "Jihad 4 Israel", "Jews kill babies and lie", "Slay Jewish pigs" and "Holocaust was a lie".

Trigger events such as the conflict in Gaza do not create antisemitic incidents out of a vacuum. They act as a spark for people whose capacity for perpetrating incidents already exists, or as an outline for their expressions of antisemitism, rather than as the original cause of that prejudice. The antisemitism already exists, however latent, and is then energised by external events.

to increase the conspiracies and the Jewish international secret government was established, headed by Amschel Rothschild."

The series is saturated with horrifying stereotypes of Jews, antisemitic stereotypes, and includes a heinous dramatisation of the killing of a Christian child and the use of his blood to make matzah. Jews are presented as conspiring people, violent, evil and manipulative, who will easily betray their community members for their own interest. As the programme develops, the characters work through an "international Jewish government" to "rule the world," using "money, science, politics, murder, sex and any other means", and attempting to incite wars between nations.

The series was syndicated and shown on 17 Arabic language satellite channels.

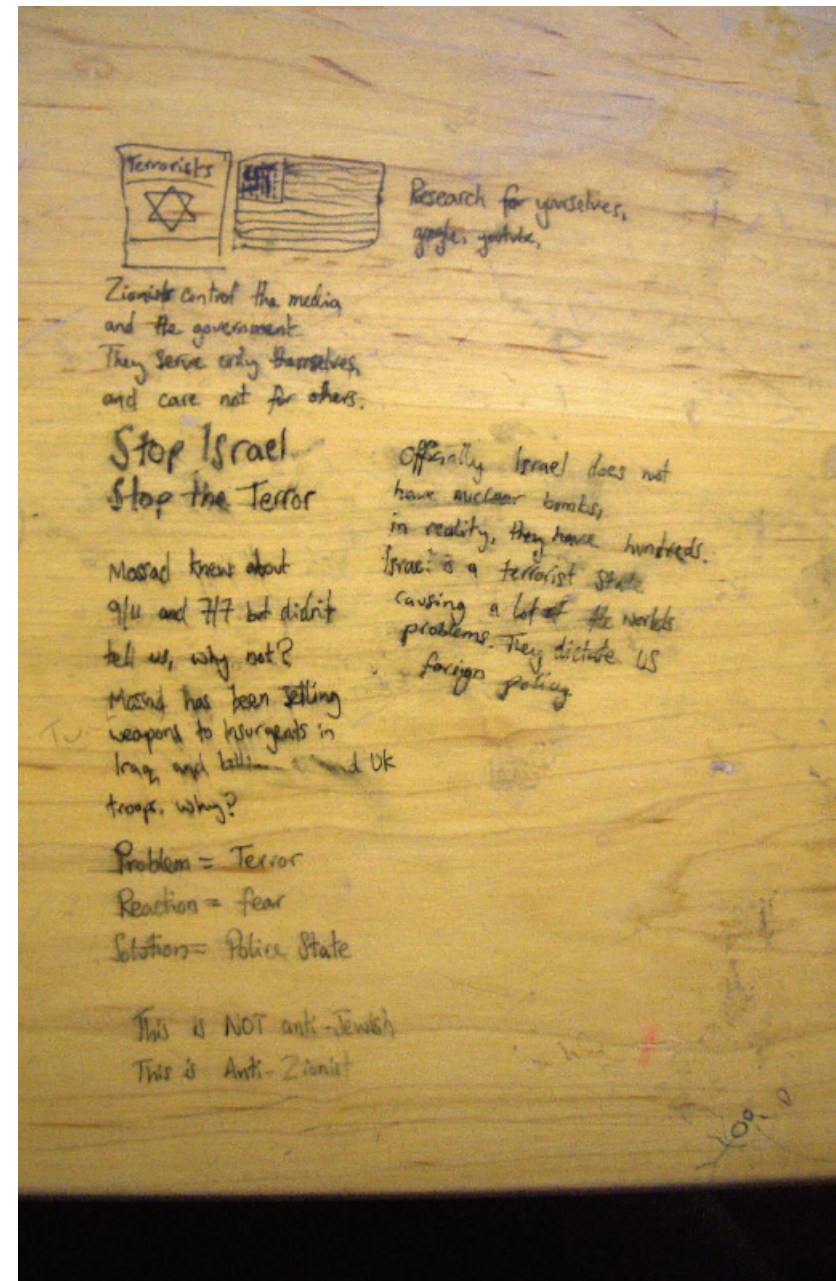
It is often said that supporters of Israel 'play the antisemitism card' in order to stifle legitimate debate about the conflict. The charge of antisemitism is an extremely serious one. In turn, it is difficult to discuss the way in which anti-Zionism has become polluted with antisemitism without being accused of trying to stifle legitimate criticism of Israel.

So, how do you recognise when the line between legitimate criticism of Israel and antisemitism has been crossed? Sometimes it will be obvious. For example, when Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad calls for Israel's destruction while simultaneously denying the Holocaust, his words are clearly driven by anti-Jewish bigotry. Several examples of such a call can be found on his official website. In a summary of a speech given by Ahmadinejad on 11 February 2006, the website states:

"President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad said here Saturday that the real holocaust should be sought in Palestine, where the blood of the oppressed nation is shed every day and Iraq, where the defenceless Muslim people are killed daily. Stressing that these crimes mark western liberalism, he noted that the Zionists are about to be annihilated and that the era of occupation of Palestine is over."

There are other tell-tale signs to watch out for:

1. Is the person criticising Israel adopting antisemitic tropes when talking about Israel? For example, do they claim that US foreign policy in the Middle East is controlled by Israel or the Jews?
2. Does the author refer to Jews as a homogenous group who all think in the same way?
3. Is the level of debate gratuitously offensive? For example, does the person make crude comparisons between Israel and the Nazi Germany?



Graffiti on a desk at Leeds Metropolitan University, 2007.

Examples

Baroness Tonge

Jenny Tonge was fired as a spokesperson for the UK's Liberal Democrat Party in January 2004, after saying that if she had been a Palestinian, she would have considered becoming a suicide bomber. Charles Kennedy, then party leader, stated: "Her recent remarks about suicide bombers are completely unacceptable" and "not compatible with Liberal Democrat party policies and principles"⁵.

In September 2006, after being elevated to the House of Lords, Baroness Tonge said during a House of Lords debate:

"I am beginning to understand the power of the Israel lobby, active here as well as in the USA, with AIPAC, the Friends of Israel and the Board of Deputies. They take vindictive actions against people who oppose and criticise the lobby, getting them removed from positions that they hold and preventing them from speaking - even on unrelated subjects in my case. I understand their methods. I have many examples. They make constant accusations of antisemitism when no such sentiment exists to silence Israel's critics. If Israel is not persuaded to obey UN resolutions, and especially to start dismantling the settlements in the West Bank, antisemitism will again stalk Europe. Israel will never have peace and the world will never be free of terrorism unless this problem is resolved first".

In her speech, Baroness Tonge has:

- Used the words 'Israel lobby' to describe an organisation that supports British Jews (the Board of Deputies) thus failing to make the crucial distinction between Israel and Jews.
- Revived the idea of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy.
- Accused those collective Jewish organisations that she refers to as the 'Israel lobby' of using the allegation of antisemitism as a means of silencing legitimate criticism of Israel.
- Blamed Israel for the problem of global terrorism.
- Accused Israel of failing to end global terrorism because it has failed to (unilaterally) resolve the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.

New Statesman Cover

In February 2002, the *New Statesman* ran a cover that featured a gold Star of David impaling a Union Jack flag with the title *A Kosher Conspiracy?*

The editor, Peter Wilby, responded to complaints from the Jewish community by publishing an editorial in which he said: *"The cover was not intended to be anti-Semitic; the New Statesman is vigorously opposed to racism in all its forms. But it used images and words in such a way as to create unwittingly the impression that the New Statesman was following an anti-Semitic tradition that sees the Jews as a conspiracy piercing the heart of the nation. I doubt very much that one single person was provoked into hatred of Jews by our cover. But I accept that a few anti-Semites (as some comments on our website, quickly removed, suggested) took aid and comfort when it appeared that their prejudices were shared by a magazine of authority and standing. Moreover, the cover upset very many Jews, who are right to feel that, in the fight against anti-Semitism in particular and racism in general, this magazine ought to be on their side."*

Mearsheimer and Walt: The Israel Lobby & US Foreign Policy

According to American academics John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt (M&W), US policy in the Middle East is determined by a loose coalition of primarily Jewish organisations and individuals ('the lobby') acting in Israel's interests against the interests of America. Those who promote this distortion of US foreign policy are thus de facto agents of a foreign government and disloyal Americans.

M&W first made this argument in an essay in a British journal, *The London Review of Books* (LRB), on 23 March 2006; they also put a footnoted version of it online. They then defended it in a response to critics published on the authors' website www.israellobbybook.com on 12 December 2006. They published an expanded version of their argument in a book, *The Israel Lobby*, published in the United States on 4 September 2007, and in the UK on 7 September 2007. Notwithstanding essentially defensive modifications, their argument remained the same.

The authors' argument is merely an updated version of traditional antisemitic tropes. This fact is concealed by M&W's adoption of the academic genre which creates the impression that the work is reasoned, objective and rational. However, upon inspection, the tropes are easily recognised:

There is a Jewish conspiracy: This is the central thesis of the book. Issues on which the authors claim that members of the lobby speak with

⁵ See the report on the BBC's website http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3421669.stm

one voice include: the decision to invade Iraq; the US' anti-Syrian stance; US hostility towards Iran and US support for Israel's response to Syrian-sponsored Hezbollah attacks. Disclaimers such as 'The Israel lobby is the antithesis of a cabal or conspiracy; it operates in the open and proudly advertises its own clout', are merely inverted versions of the same idea.

Jews control the media: M&W write: "If the media were left to their own devices, they would not serve up as consistent a diet of pro-Israel coverage and commentary." And: "Key elements in the lobby strive to influence discourse about Israel by putting pressure on the media, think tanks and academia." And: "Some leading figures in the lobby are uncomfortable with a free and open discussion of issues related to Israel."

The allegation that the Jews control the media is a familiar element of the wider Jewish world conspiracy theory. This allegation has been toned down from the original LRB article which included a section titled *Manipulating the Media* but the underlying allegation remains.

American Jews are traitors, exhibiting dual loyalty: The entire book is premised on the notion that Jews are traitors, shaping US foreign policy to serve Israel's interest at the expense of America's interests. The direct consequences of this include the 9/11 attacks and the war in Iraq. Not only are members of the lobby traitors, but also they have American blood on their hands.

The accusation that Jews are untrustworthy citizens whose allegiance to the Jewish people is directly contradictory to the nation-state system is at the heart of modern antisemitism. In this version, the lobby's loyalty to international Jewry is substituted for a reflexive loyalty to Israel, in direct conflict with its loyalty to the US.

Jews have a pernicious influence, infiltrating non-Jewish society in an attempt to extend their power: American politician Howard Dean's 'unabashed' pro-Israel stance is explained by the fact that his "wife is Jewish and his children were raised Jewish as well." In a supposedly academic work there is no place for a charge that a Jewish wife will somehow turn the head of a seasoned and well-respected politician and cause him to lose all perspective. It is the 'dual loyalties' charge taken one step further: in the world of the authors, the very fact of having a Jewish wife will lead to being part of this amorphous, sinister lobby.

Jews accuse their critics of antisemitism in order to silence them: M&W write: "The charge of antisemitism remains a widely used weapon for dealing with critics of Israel, especially in the United States." The authors pre-empt the allegation that the book is antisemitic



New Statesman, January 2002: A gold Star of David, signifying Jewish wealth and power, impales a supine Union Jack. The language moves easily from 'kosher conspiracy' to 'Pro-Israeli Lobby', as if the two terms are synonymous.

by suggesting that those voicing this concern raise it merely to shame critics of Israel into silence. The effect, supposedly, is to stifle legitimate debate. The authors attempt to pre-empt the charge of antisemitism by stating that members of the lobby are united not by their Jewish heritage but by an irrational loyalty to Israel. In order to prove this they emphasise the importance of non-Jewish elements of the lobby, for example the Christian right. However, readers of the book can have no doubt that this is fundamentally about the Jewish lobby and so-called Jewish influence.

The book offers comfort and support to antisemites.

President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

President Ahmadinejad is President of Iran.

During his presidency, Ahmadinejad has made repeated calls for the destruction of Israel. Some apologists have tried to claim that his statements have been misinterpreted.

Specifically, they claim that his call during a speech in October 2005, for Israel to be “wiped off the map” has been mistranslated and that it is not a call for the physical destruction of the Jewish state and its inhabitants. Instead, they claim, it is more accurately translated as “the occupation regime over Jerusalem should vanish from the page of time” so Ahmadinejad is merely calling for the political dismantlement of the Jewish state in Palestine.

The distinction between “wiped off the map” and “vanished from the page of time” is marginal. In any event, there are numerous examples of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad calling for the destruction of Israel, for example:

1. On 14 April 2006: “Whether you like it or not, the Zionist regime is on the road to being eliminated.”
2. On 3 August 2006: “...the main solution is for the elimination of the Zionist regime.”
3. The following passages appear on Ahmadinejad’s own website: “The president called on the public and the Palestinian combatant groups to be vigilant and added that if they manage to overcome the new conspiracies of the world arrogant powers, the way would be paved for destruction of the Zionist regime and establishment of a national Palestinian government.”
4. In a summary of a speech given by Ahmadinejad on 11 February 2006: “President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad said here Saturday that the

real holocaust should be sought in Palestine, where the blood of the oppressed nation is shed every day and Iraq, where the defenceless Muslim people are killed daily. Stressing that these crimes mark western liberalism, he noted that the Zionists are about to be annihilated and that the era of occupation of Palestine is over.”

Ahmadinejad’s criticism of Israel is heavily polluted with antisemitism. In the quotes above, Ahmadinejad alludes to the worldwide Zionist conspiracy and also adopts the language of Holocaust in relation to Israel, for example, Zionists will be “eliminated” or “annihilated”.

In a speech made on 14 December 2005, President Ahmadinejad described the Holocaust as a “myth”. The following year, he hosted a conference attended by leading Holocaust deniers and white supremacists from around the world. The purpose of the conference was to question the authenticity of the Holocaust as a historical event.

TACKLING ANTISEMITISM ON CAMPUS

ANTISEMITISM ON CAMPUS

I'm not really political, do I need to engage in the Israeli/Palestinian debate or other Jewish-related issues?

You don't need to engage with them but be aware that other people will. Only by engagement will you be able to set the tone and ensure balance. Supporting those students that are political by getting out to vote, writing letters and supporting their campaigns is an excellent way to help without too much involvement.

I don't really feel Jewish, is all this relevant to me?

Yes. This is all meant to help in case the issue does arise for you. Antisemites don't limit their attacks and intimidation to those students who feel Jewish. If you never experience any problems – and many Jewish students don't – then that is fantastic; but if you do then you should know your rights and where to turn to. Organisations such as UJS exist to support all Jewish students regardless of how Jewish they feel or how late in their student life they choose to approach them.

What can I expect when I arrive at university?

A warm welcome from the vast majority of those you meet. This issue should not dominate your student life – you are there to learn, to make friends and to have a great experience. This applies to your Jewish life on campus just as much as your other activities.

Antisemitism should not and will not dominate your student experience. However, there are some occasions when it may become an issue.

These include:

Visiting speakers

Almost every day there will be a different speaker at your university talking about every issue under the sun. Occasionally you might find that some of them are dealing with controversial issues, perhaps around the Middle East or the Holocaust.

Student Union and Junior Common Room (JCR) campaigns against Israel

Student politics is an important feature of student life at all universities. Student debates are often highly charged with both sides expressing their views with passion.

The conflict between Israel and Palestine is frequently debated by student unions, common rooms and societies. Such debates are healthy and are to be encouraged but they are typically either extremely one-sided or polarised between completely opposing views. Criticism of Israel is of course legitimate (although it may not be valid). However, the tone of such debates can sometimes move from legitimate criticism of Israel to antisemitism.

Making suitable provisions for religiously observant students

You should never have to choose between your religious beliefs and your degree. Universities have a legal obligation to make reasonable efforts to accommodate the needs of religiously observant students. If you are religiously observant then make sure you speak to your tutor early and explain what some of the restrictions might be. The earlier you plan and discuss, the more likely you are to get a positive response. Universities may schedule exams on a Saturday or during a Jewish festival and students should speak to their tutor and other relevant staff as soon as possible if they do not feel able to sit exams on a Saturday. If your university or department are not able to assist then you should get in touch with UJS, who will be able to advise you how to resolve the problem.

The way in which the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is taught

It is not acceptable for lecturers to use their position to put forward biased or one-sided political viewpoints or demonise particular students (e.g. asking the Jewish students to explain or even justify Israel's actions). If your lecturer is being unbalanced then we advise either to speak to them, to your personal tutor or to other relevant university contacts.

You should also report the incident to UJS as it has a great deal of experience dealing with these sorts of problems and will be able to advise you on your rights and what can be done. This kind of problem may be more to do with bad academic practice than antisemitism, but as your union, UJS can still help.

Ways to tackle antisemitism

The good news is that there are many ways to combat antisemitism. Some are preventative measures and some are more relevant if an incident occurs. As a Jewish student, you have a wide range of legal rights that you can rely on, but first here are some of the non-legal options available.

Education

Discrimination (in all forms) thrives on suspicion and ignorance. Education is the antidote. Initiatives such as Jewish awareness weeks, inviting Jewish speakers onto campus, commemorating Holocaust Memorial day and even informal conversations are all fantastic ways to educate fellow students about Judaism and reduce antisemitism.

If you are interested in getting involved with or even starting an education-based initiative there are plenty of resources available. A good place to start is UJS and your local Jewish Society. As well as running programmes, it provides ideas and information to Jewish students about getting involved in issues that affect them. UJS has a fund to provide financial support for educational initiatives.

Fostering better relations

Inevitably there will be individuals and groups on campus who are anti-Israel. This sentiment can quickly flow over into antisemitism. To avoid positions on both sides becoming entrenched, it is sensible to try to foster cordial relations. This doesn't discourage healthy (and lively) debate but it does go some way to ensuring that the debates do not cross the line and become polluted with antisemitism. It is often the case that personal relationships and putting a face on an 'adversary' can relax the vehement tone of debate, as people tend to be more civil when they see their political opponents as fellow students deserving of respect.

Good practice on campus – ensuring that universities do not ignore the problem

Jewish students should encourage their universities to engage with Jewish societies. Sometimes this will require J-Socs and similar groups to take the initiative: don't feel intimidated, universities should welcome suggestions and be grateful when potential problems are brought to their attention early on. You can use national guidelines and external organisations like the Equality Challenges Unit (ECU) for support. There are plenty of examples of good practice across the country.



Codes of Conduct

Make sure that you and your friends are aware of these. Ask questions about what they mean before any specific events, help adapt and evolve them if necessary, suggest strong ones through student unions and lobby the university to accept them too. If they exist make sure they are used and implemented.

No Platform policies

The No Platform policy is the strongest tool at the disposal of minority students to protect themselves on campus. It exists to ensure that those people or groups who have a history of engaging in racist propaganda and incitement are not allowed onto campus to spread their hate and cause intimidation. Most student unions have some form of No Platform policy or at the very least a vetting process for outside speakers.

Your legal rights

It's helpful to know what your legal rights are and to recognise situations where they have been compromised. Some of the legal complaints set out below are criminal offences: the offender will be investigated and may be prosecuted. If found guilty, he or she may be fined, receive a community penalty or a custodial sentence. Some are civil: it is up to the victim to pursue the claim in the civil courts, if the claim is successful, the defendant would be required to pay a sum in damages.

Criminal offences

It is a depressing truth that each year, a small number of Jews are the victims of crime motivated by antisemitism.

The law recognises that certain crimes are even more abhorrent if the assailant is motivated by racial or religious prejudice. The perpetrator will therefore receive a more severe punishment if it is established that the crime is racially or religiously aggravated. The types of offences included within this category are offences against the person such as common assault, harassment and public order offences.

There are also a number of discriminatory acts which are classified as criminal offences because they incite racial or religious hatred. These are set out in the Public Order Act 1986 which prohibits acts which are intended to or are likely to stir up religious or racial hatred (for example, handing out leaflets containing antisemitic material or putting on a play which glorifies those who kill Jews).

In practice, the Public Order Act offences are rarely invoked and it is notoriously difficult to successfully prosecute an individual for inciting racial or religious hatred. In 2006, for example, BNP leader Nick Griffin was found not guilty of inciting racial hatred when he said that Muslims were turning Britain into a "multi-racial hell hole". Mark Collett, also of the BNP, was cleared of the same offence despite having said at the same BNP meeting "Let's show these ethnics the door in 2004."

Irrespective of the problems with the current legislation, if you witness or are yourself a victim of a crime, it is important that you report it. For more information on how to report an incident, see p50.

Discrimination law

There is legislation in place that is designed to outlaw racial and religious discrimination in the way that you as a student are treated by your university or educational establishment. This means that if you believe that your university or those employed by it (for example, your teachers) are discriminating against you, you have the right to raise a complaint and even commence legal proceedings.

By law, there are four types of discrimination:

1. **Direct Discrimination:** this is overt discrimination, an extreme example would be if a Jewish student were told that because they are Jewish they could not take a certain class.
2. **Indirect Discrimination:** this is when a Jewish student must satisfy a condition or requirement that is harder for them to fulfil than non-Jews, for example, if a Jewish student was told that they had to sit an exam on a Saturday or attend lectures on a Friday evening.
3. **Victimisation:** this is when an individual is treated less favourably because they have previously raised a complaint about discrimination.
4. **Harassment:** this is when, on the grounds of race, an individual is subjected to unwanted conduct which has the purpose or effect of violating their personal dignity or creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment. So an openly anti-Israel lecturer who forces a Jewish student to stand up and "justify Israel's existence" to his/her classmates may be guilty of harassment.

Human Rights Act 1998 (HRA)

The HRA came into force on 2 October 2000. The relevant articles are:

Article 9: Freedom of thought, conscience and religion

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes the freedom to... manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance."

Article 10: Freedom of Expression

"Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas."

Article 14: Prohibition of discrimination

"The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention, shall be secured without discrimination on any ground."

Defamation

English defamation laws provide protection to individuals (and other bodies such as trade unions) whose reputation has been impugned. It does not offer protection to broad collectives such as communities or racial groups so, for example, the Jewish community could not claim that it had been defamed.

Often antisemitism manifests as a personal attack on an individual, for example, in addition to more general antisemitic attacks, a community figure such as a rabbi may also be attacked on a personal level.

If antisemitism is personalised in this way, defamation law enables the victim to complain and if the aggressor fails to respond appropriately, it enables him/her to sue for an apology and/or damages.

Who Can Help? Reporting an Incident

There are many people who can help you if you are experiencing a problem. Who you approach will depend on the nature of the problem and who you feel most comfortable talking to. In particular, UJS and CST can help you report your problem to the right people and ensure that you get the necessary support. Whatever you do, don't feel intimidated and don't keep the problem to yourself.

If you do suffer or witness an antisemitic incident, it should be reported to the police and CST without delay. This way, they will be able to investigate the incident properly and give you the help and support you need.

All universities have University Security teams who will also help with any security concerns and issues facing students and should be a first point of contact alongside UJS and CST when an incident occurs on campus.

Your Parents

Some students are reluctant to ask their parents for help – they feel that they should be able to solve their own problems and not rely on their parents like they used to. Whether you choose to tell your parents that you are experiencing antisemitism is, of course, up to you but you may find that your parents will be your strongest allies and will be able to provide invaluable practical and emotional support. It may also be that they have first-hand experience of antisemitism and will want to do everything they can to ensure you are safe and happy.

University Student Services

Your University Student Services will be able to help you with any complaint or concern or help you channel it to the relevant section of the university.

UJS and J-Socs

UJS is the representative body for the 10,000 or so Jewish students in the UK. As well as defending the rights of Jewish students on campus, UJS offers a wide range of opportunities in political, educational, cultural and leadership roles, empowering students to take up positions of responsibility.

J-Socs are responsible for almost everything Jewish that happens on campus. UJS is an umbrella organisation that works closely with over 100 J-Socs to enhance the experience of Jewish students at university. When you sign up to a J-Soc you automatically become a member of UJS. The UJS website provides loads of useful information for Jewish students including the contact details for J-Socs around the country. If you are experiencing antisemitism, contacting UJS or your university's J-Soc is an excellent first step. They will be able to explain your rights and, if necessary, help direct your complaint to the relevant person or body (from advising you on ways to raise a problem with a fellow student who may have overstepped the mark, to reporting a violent incident to the police). They will also have a close relationship with your University Security or campus liaison officer and will help you make a complaint if appropriate. UJS is therefore a great first port of call.

CST

CST is a Jewish charity that provides security, training and advice for the protection of British Jews. It records antisemitic incidents, assists victims of antisemitism and monitors antisemitic activities across Britain. It also represents British Jewry to Police, Government and media on antisemitism and security. CST has a great deal of experience in supporting victims of antisemitism and can offer you a wide range of help and advice.



CST has student security volunteers on many campuses, as well as student security staff in its offices in Manchester and London, whose dedicated role is to provide security assistance to Jewish students. It works closely with UJS, J-Socs, university authorities and also, if appropriate, with local police forces. If you report an antisemitic incident to UJS, they will ask if they can pass the report on to CST, and vice versa.

Your rabbi/campus chaplain

University Jewish Chaplaincy is a national organisation that places rabbis around the country to serve the pastoral and spiritual needs of Jewish students. The organisation welcomes all Jewish students including those who are not observant or involved in Jewish life.

Their website (<http://ujc.org.uk>) will help you find your local chaplain.

Many universities offer multi-faith chaplaincy provision and students should be able to speak to any members of the chaplaincy about any problems they are experiencing.

Your Tutor

Most universities will assign a personal tutor to each student.

These tutors act as a 'first port of call' for students who are experiencing problems. In theory, the tutor should be able to provide emotional support and help you get access to the relevant advice and assistance within the university.

In practice, personal tutors can be a little hit and miss - not all academics are cut out to perform a pastoral role. Whether or not you choose to approach your personal tutor will depend on how well you know them and whether you feel that they will be sympathetic to your dilemma.

A good personal tutor will be a strong ally, a bad personal tutor will be inert.

Your university may also have a Jewish studies department and there may be sympathetic people there.

Students' Unions

Your students' union is there to support you in a range of aspects of your life at University and we encourage you to engage with the union soon after you arrive on campus. However if you do find that you are a victim of antisemitism whilst at University your students' union should be able to offer you support and advice on how to deal with the situation - this is especially important if you are being victimised by an organised group on campus.

The Union will be responsible for funding groups and societies and therefore have an active role to play in ensuring that students are not using such platforms to victimise other students. The Union will also be able to assist you in navigating your way through your institutional complaints procedure, as well as offering to you or signposting you to places where you can get further support.

The Police

If you have been the victim of crime it is really important to report it to the police. Unless you do, there is the chance that the perpetrator will do it again.

Many universities across the UK have dedicated University Police Liaison Officers who are on hand to deal with any student crime issues, including antisemitism. Campuses without dedicated Police Liaison Officers will still be covered by neighbourhood policing teams from the local police station.

How to contact the police

In an emergency, always dial 999.

For non-emergency situations, the easiest way to find the police officers who cover your campus is by going to the neighbourhood policing website (<http://localcrime.direct.gov.uk>) and entering your postcode. Alternatively, you can speak to your University Security team as they generally have the best daily contact with local police and will know if there is an identified police point of contact. If you do not know how to find your University Security team, your Student Union should be able to help you.

Alternatively you may feel more comfortable reporting it to the police via CST, who work closely with police and University Security teams. CST has third-party reporting status, which means that if you are the victim of an antisemitic incident and you are unable or unwilling to report the incident directly to the Police yourself, CST can do it on your behalf.

You can report an incident to CST by phoning 020 8457 9999 if you are in London or the south of England, or 0161 792 6666 if you are in the Midlands, north of England or Scotland. You can also report an incident to CST online at www.thecst.org.uk/report_incident.

Another useful website is www.saferstudents.co.uk. This mainly deals with the West Midlands campuses, however, it does have lots of useful information on student safety as well as a section on Hate Crime, and can also help point you in the right direction in reaching your local crime prevention team.

A case study

It can be difficult to see how all the various legal rights set out above apply to a real-life situation. It's also tricky to know who to contact and what the proportionate and sensible response to an antisemitic incident might be. We have therefore created a fictional case study that includes several antisemitic incidents and suggested ways that each could be handled.

The Student Union Elections are taking place. There are four candidates for the position of Treasury Secretary: Jacob, Omar, Sally and Russell. Jacob is a British Jew. He is not particularly religious but he has strong ties to Israel (his uncle and aunt live there) and would describe himself as 'pro-Israel' although he realises that this is a contentious subject on campus and so tends to avoid discussing his views publicly. He excels at university and is popular among his peers.

Omar is a British Muslim. Like Jacob, Omar is not particularly religious and is not overtly political. He too excels in his university studies and is held in high esteem by his peers. Although they have not discussed the issue, both candidates would agree that their views on the Middle East are not relevant to their campaign for the position of Treasury Secretary.

Sally considers herself to be a socialist and has strong political opinions on all manner of social and religious topics. She is known for being politically out-spoken, an active protester and very involved in pro-Palestinian activism.

Russell is a class clown who prides himself on amusing his friends with his hilarious pranks. He is running for office on a dare from a friend.

Jacob has the opening speech for the election. He discusses his past experience and his vision for the union and what he will do if he is elected Treasury Secretary.

Omar goes next. During his speech, Omar also explains why he thinks he is best qualified for the job. When dealing with his opponents he points out that Jacob is also on the UJS committee and questions whether there is a risk that Jacob would prioritise his work for UJS over the role of Treasury Secretary.

Sally then speaks. She briefly explains why she would make a good Treasury Secretary then quickly moves on to her opponents. She points out that Jacob is Jewish and speculates that there is a risk that he will allocate funds to groups that 'share his outlook' on life and give money to groups that are pro-Israel.

Russell is the final candidate to make his speech. He states that his primary manifesto promise is to increase the availability of biscuits in the common room. He takes a cue from Sally's previous comment and closes his speech by stating that students shouldn't vote for Jacob as "his lot tend to be a bit stingy" and therefore if Jacob were elected the quality of the biscuits would inevitably suffer.

Later that same day, a flyer is distributed purporting to be for Sally's Treasury Secretary campaign although Sally is not aware of it. The flyer argues that students shouldn't vote for Jacob because "the Jews are responsible for the systematic oppression and murder of innocent Palestinians". It goes on to say that "apartheid Israel must be ended by any means possible". It also empathises with Palestinian suicide bombers, saying "you can understand why people are driven to defend themselves".

The next day Professor Smith is tackling the conflict in the Middle East with his second-year politics students. Both Jacob and Omar are in his class. He decides to hold an impromptu debate. He says that, given that they are Jewish and Muslim, Jacob and Omar are the perfect people to argue the case for Israel and Palestine respectively. He finishes by saying: "Jacob will clearly have an up hill struggle defending war criminals but I suppose we should give him a chance".

Both Jacob and Omar feel uncomfortable because neither have ever openly expressed views on the conflict and have clearly been chosen because of their respective cultural backgrounds. Jacob, in particular, feels that the atmosphere is extremely hostile and that he has been singled out for criticism because he is Jewish. When it comes to the debate, Professor Smith gives Omar ten minutes and Jacob five minutes to speak. Omar and Jacob both give their speeches, although neither of them is comfortable doing so. After Omar finishes his speech, Professor Smith introduces Jacob by saying, "And now we're going to hear from the Jews..."

Clearly the above scenario (which has been inspired by actual events reported to UJS and/or CST) raises a number of issues and there are several occasions when Jacob has experienced antisemitism. So, what are Jacob's legal rights and what should he do about the way he has been treated?

Omar's Comments

What's the problem?

Omar has pointed out that Jacob has other commitments which may impede on his ability to fulfil the role of Treasury Secretary. This is a reasonable comment to make, although it could be construed to mean that Jacob, as a Jewish student, is likely to prioritise his work for Jewish students above his work for the student body in general. Equally, it could be that Omar would have made a similar comment if Jacob was captain of the University football team.

What should Jacob do?

If Jacob is concerned, he should clarify with Omar that he was querying Jacob's ability to take on so many commitments, rather than singling out his Jewish activity in particular. Assuming that this is the case, it is unlikely that any further action would need to be taken.

Sally's Comments

What's the problem?

Sally said that Jacob was Jewish and that there was a risk that, as treasurer, he might allocate funds to those who "share his outlook on life" and give money to groups that are pro-Israel. Given the context of the comment, it is clear that the people who Sally thinks share Jacob's outlook are Jews. Sally is therefore suggesting that all Jews think the same way. This is an unacceptable racial stereotype. Sally has also fallen into the trap of assuming that because Jacob is Jewish, he is automatically pro-Israel. She has gone one step further and assumed that because he is Jewish, he will not be able to carry out his role as treasurer objectively. This is insulting to Jacob: because he is Jewish, he has a 'dual loyalty' and cannot be trusted as treasurer.

What should Jacob do?

The first step is to speak to Sally and explain why her comments are offensive and antisemitic. Whether further action would be required would depend on Sally's response: if she was unaware that her comments were inappropriate and apologised to Jacob then there would be no need to take the incident any further. Jacob could use the opportunity to chat further with Sally about antisemitism and ways that it can be overcome.

However, if Sally is unrepentant and Jacob believes that she is likely to make similar comments again, Jacob should take the issue further.

Sensible first steps would be to report it to the head of the union as he or she has responsibility for the election. NUS's No Platform policy could be invoked to prevent Sally from making similar statements during the rest of the campaign. Jacob should also speak to his university's J-Soc or UJS who will advise him on what steps to take.

Russell's Comments

What's the problem?

In order to get a laugh from the crowd, Russell has chosen to make an antisemitic joke about Jews being stingy. It seems unlikely that Russell could have made the joke without knowing that it was offensive.

What should Jacob do?

Jacob should let Russell know how unacceptable his comment was. If Russell does not take Jacob's complaint seriously, Jacob should report the incident to the union and the university authorities and make a recommendation that Russell be struck off the ballot.

A report should also be made to J-Soc and CST.

The Flyer

What's the problem?

Of all the antisemitic incidents, this is the most worrying. The author makes it clear that he or she holds all Jews responsible for the "murder of innocent Palestinians". When taken together, the comment about stopping "apartheid Israel" by "any means possible" and the expression of empathy for suicide bombers, could be construed as encouraging the use of violence against Jews.

The author of the flyer is unknown and therefore the risk that they pose cannot be properly assessed. Although the threat is not overt, the risk that the author may follow up the flyer with physical attacks against Jacob or other Jewish students cannot be ruled out.

What should Jacob do?

Jacob should report the flyer to CST. CST can then assess the risk and decide whether a report should be made to the police. If it is necessary to make a police report, Jacob will be able to do so via CST or directly.

CST will guide Jacob through what other steps he should take such as reporting it to the relevant person on campus and at the student union.

Jacob also has a claim in defamation because his reputation has been impugned, but the priority is to ensure that all those responsible for the flyer are identified by the police as they may pose a serious threat to Jacob and other Jewish students on campus.

Professor Smith's class

What's the problem?

Professor Smith has abused his position of authority by placing Jacob and Omar in such an intimidating position. He has also potentially exposed the university to a discrimination claim on the basis that his behaviour constitutes hostile and degrading treatment.

He has selected Omar and Jacob to take part because of their religious beliefs. In doing so, he has made a series of assumptions about their political views which are based on stereotypes.

He has further humiliated Jacob by holding him out as a legitimate target for criticism and ridicule because he is Jewish. By saying: "Jacob will clearly have an up hill struggle defending war criminals but I suppose we should give him a chance", Professor Smith has also encouraged the class to pre-judge the Israeli position – as a teacher his duty is to give his students the tools to draw their own conclusions not to advocate a particular perspective.

His comment "now we are going to hear from the Jews" is clearly antisemitic, as it identifies Jacob as a spokesman for 'the Jews', as if all Jews speak with one voice and Jacob is their representative in the class.

What should Jacob do?

Clearly, this is the most serious and sensitive aspect of the case study, as Professor Smith can influence Jacob and Omar's academic progress at the university. Although this kind of behaviour from an academic is rare, it is important for students to know how to respond if such a scenario does occur.

Jacob can seek advice from his course tutor, chaplain or anyone else who he trusts to assist in this situation. He should certainly report the situation to his J-Soc, his UJS representative and also to the university. It is not acceptable that a student should be singled out by a teacher in this way. Professor Smith's behaviour raises the very real possibility that he may be guilty of bias in the way that he marks Jacob's work. Even if Professor Smith does not apply bias in this way, it would be

understandable for Jacob to have lost trust in him. The incident should also be reported to CST, which UJS can do for Jacob or he can do himself.

If a Jewish student feels that the classroom is a hostile environment then the university has an obligation to investigate the complaint and take the necessary steps to ensure that antisemitism is not given a platform.

Jacob should ask to see a copy of the university's code of conduct. This will enable him to highlight what the university's obligations are and how Professor Smith has breached these. Jacob should not feel obliged to approach Professor Smith direct – there is an imbalance in power between a student and a teacher and it would be unfair to expect Jacob (who has already been publicly humiliated by the professor) to confront him.

Jacob may also wish to discuss the possibility of making a joint complaint with Omar. Although Omar was not subjected to such extreme prejudice, he was singled out for being a Muslim and was made to feel extremely uncomfortable.

If his complaint is not taken seriously, Jacob could consider a complaint under the Race Relations Act 1976 and the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003.

SOURCES AND OTHER USEFUL INFORMATION

Useful Organisations

UJS (Union of Jewish Students) www.ujis.org.uk

CST (Community Security Trust) www.thecst.org.uk

UJS Hillel www.ujshillel.co.uk

University Jewish Chaplaincy <http://ujc.org.uk>

JLEC- Jewish Life Education Centre (London) www.jlec.ujia.org

National Union of Students <http://www.nus.org.uk/>

Office of the Independent Adjudicator for Higher Education
<http://www.oiahe.org.uk/>

Board of Deputies of British Jews www.boardofdeputies.org.uk

FRA (Fundamental Rights Agency) www.fra.europa.eu

Books

Gabriel Schoenfeld, *The Return of Antisemitism* (San Francisco, 2004)

Kenneth R. Timmerman, *Preachers of Hate* (New York, 2004)

Raphael Israeli, *Anti-Jewish Attitudes in the Arabic Media, 1975-1981*
in Robert S. Wistrich, ed., *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism
in the Contemporary World* (New York, 1990)

Arieh Stav, *Peace: The Arabian Caricature* (Jerusalem, 1999)

Jonathan Frankel, *The Damascus Affair* (Cambridge, 1997)

Will Eisner, *The Plot, The Secrets Story of the Protocols of the Elders
of Zion* (New York, 2005)

Joël Kotek, *Cartoons and Extremism, Israel and the Jews in Arab
and Western Media* (London, 2008)

Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide The Myth of the Jewish World*

Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (London, 1967)

Henry Ford, *The International Jew, the World's Foremost Problem*
(1920)

Philip Jenkins, *Hoods and Shirts: The Extreme Right in Pennsylvania*
(North Carolina, 1997)

Robert S Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred*. (New York, 1991)

David Vital, *The Origins of Zionism* (Oxford 1980)

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims, A History of the Zionist – Arab Conflict
1881-2001* (New York, 2001)

Leo Pinsker, *Auto-Emancipation: A Warning to his Kinsfolk by a Russian
Jew* (1882)

Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2000 Years*
(New York, 1996)

Colin Shindler, *A History of Modern Israel* (Cambridge, 2008)

Colin Shindler, *What Do Zionists Believe?* (Granta, 2007)

Efraim Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History* (London, 1997)

Efraim Karsh, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Palestine War 1948*
(London, 2002)

David Meir-Levi, *Big Lies: Demolishing the Myths of the Propaganda
War Against Israel* (Los Angeles, 2005)

Chaim Gans, *A Just Zionism, On the Morality of the Jewish State*
(Oxford, 2008)

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign
Policy* (London, 2007)

Phyllis Chesler, *The New Anti-Semitism: The Current Crisis and What
We Must Do about It*. (San Francisco, 2003)

Alexander Cockburn, *The Politics of Anti-Semitism*. (Oakland,
California, 2003)

Abraham Foxman, *Never Again? The Threat of the New Anti-Semitism* (San Francisco, 2003)

Jonathan Freedland, "Is Anti-Zionism Anti-Semitism?" in *Those Who Forget the Past: The Question of Anti-Semitism*, ed. Ron Rosenbaum, (New York, 2004)

Shalom Lappin, "Israel and the New Anti-Semitism." in *Those Who Forget the Past: The Question of Anti-Semitism*, ed. Ron Rosenbaum (New York, 2004)

Dennis MacShane, *Globalising Hatred, the New Antisemitism* (London 2008)

Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora* (Oxford, 2010)

Articles and Papers

Antisemitic Discourse in Britain in 2007 published by CST, 2008

Antisemitic Discourse in Britain in 2008 published by CST, 2009

Attitudes to Jews and the Middle East in Six European Countries published by ADL, 2007

Painful Truths in the Middle East John Pilger's letter to the Guardian, 10 October 2003

John Pilger Defines Antisemitism by Oliver Kamm, published on www.oliverkamm.typepad.com, 11 October 2003

"Jewish World Plot." An Exposure by Philip Graves, *The Times*, 16 August 1921, available at: <http://emperor.vwh.net/antisem/graves-16.pdf>

"Jewish Peril" Exposed. by Philip Graves, *The Times*, 17 August 1921, available at: <http://emperor.vwh.net/antisem/graves-17.pdf>

The Protocol Forgery by Philip Graves, *The Times*, 18 August 1921, available at: <http://emperor.vwh.net/antisem/graves-18.pdf>

Supporters of the Occupation are not Zionists by Professor Zeev Sternhell, *Haaretz*, 29 September 2008

When Evil is a Question of Bias by Peter Wilby, *Guardian*, 30 March 2009

General Assembly official records: 3rd session, supplement no.11 (A/648), Paris, 1948

Hamas Charter, 1998 an English translation is available at: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp

Hamas's Illegal Attacks on Civilian and Other Unlawful Methods of War - Legal Aspects by the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, with the assistance of the International Law Department of the IDF Military Advocate General's Corps, 7 January 2009

Anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism: Cosmopolitan Reflections by David Hirsh (Yale, 2007)

The New Statesman and anti-Semitism by Peter Wilby, 11 February 2002, *New Statesman*

The Israel Lobby by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *London Review of Books*, Volume 28, No.6, 23 March 2006

The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, Working Paper RWP06-011, 13 March 2006

Setting the Record Straight: A Response to critics of the "The Israel Lobby", by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, 12 December 2006, published on www.israellobbybook.com

Hansard's transcript of House of Lords debate on 2 July 2008 (including Baroness Tonge's comments on the "Israel lobby") see http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200708/ldhansrd/text/80702-0012.htm#80702-0012.htm_spnew8

Websites

CST Blog: <http://thecst.org.uk/blog/>

Harry's Place: www.hurryupharry.org

Engage: <http://engageonline.wordpress.com>

European Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism www.eisca.eu

Z-Word: www.z-word.com

Jewish Virtual Library: www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org

Other

Crime and Disorder Act 1998

Public Order Act 1986

Race Relations Act 1976

Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003

Human Rights Act 1998

Defamation Act 1996

WHAT TO DO IN CASE OF AN ANTISEMITIC INCIDENT

Assault (e.g. Physical attack)

- 1 Seek assistance and first aid from campus security or emergency services
- 2 Once you are safe, approach potential witnesses and note their contact details
- 3 Write down the exact events, location and description of offender

Damage & Desecration (e.g. graffiti, vandalism, arson)

- 1 Collect evidence:
 - Take a photo
 - Note the area – look for landmarks / name of building / room number / library stack
- 2 Ask campus security to fix / paint / remove graffiti

Abusive behaviour (e.g. verbal abuse, hate mail)

- 1 Seek assistance from campus security in case offender is still in the area (see page 50-53)
- 2 Once safe, approach potential witnesses and note their contact details
- 3 Write down the exact events, location, description of offender

Literature (e.g. leaflets, posters, group e-mails)

- 1 If being distributed, safely take a copy and note description of offender
- 2 If found, take a copy and note location of discovery. Search surrounding area for other signs of antisemitism.
- 3 Take photos if appropriate

All antisemitic incidents should be reported as soon as possible to:

Your University

e.g. campus security, Student Services, Student Union and UJS.

The Police

Remember to ask for a crime reference number

CST

Attach all relevant files and information you collected



Report any antisemitic incidents or suspicious activity

**IN AN EMERGENCY
ALWAYS DIAL 999**

Then call CST

London 020 8457 9999

Emergency 24hr 07659 101 668

Manchester 0161 792 6666

Emergency 24hr 0800 980 0668

www.thecst.org.uk