



THE ALL-PARTY PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY
INTO ANTISEMITISM

SELECTION OF
WRITTEN EVIDENCE

SEPTEMBER 2006
ALL-PARTY PARLIAMENTARY GROUP AGAINST ANTISEMITISM

The All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism

The All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism was commissioned by John Mann MP, Chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Group against Antisemitism.

The terms of reference for the inquiry were:

1. To consider evidence on the nature of contemporary antisemitism
2. To evaluate current efforts to confront it
3. To consider further measures that might usefully be introduced

The inquiry was chaired by the former Minister for Europe, Rt Hon Dr Denis MacShane MP (*Labour, Rotherham*) and included:

Rt Hon Kevin Barron MP (*Labour, Rother Valley*)
Tim Boswell MP (*Conservative, Daventry*)
Rt Hon David Curry MP (*Conservative, Skipton and Ripon*)
Rt Hon Iain Duncan Smith MP (*Conservative, Chingford and Woodford Green*)
Nigel Evans MP (*Conservative, Ribble Valley*)
Rt Hon Bruce George MP (*Labour, Walsall South*)
Lady Sylvia Hermon MP (*Ulster Unionist, North Down*)
Chris Huhne MP (*Liberal Democrat, Eastleigh*)
Daniel Kawczynski MP (*Conservative, Shrewsbury and Atcham*)
Barbara Keeley MP (*Labour, Worsley*)
Khalid Mahmood MP (*Labour, Birmingham, Perry Barr*)
Rt Hon John Spellar MP (*Labour, Warley*)
Theresa Villiers MP (*Conservative, Chipping Barnet*)

The inquiry issued a call for papers in late November 2005, requesting information from Government departments, the police and criminal justice agencies, academics, trade unions, community groups and NGOs, amongst others. Over one hundred written submissions were received from a broad range of interested parties and individuals. Whilst all members of the panel were parliamentarians and the meetings were held within Parliament, this investigation held no official powers and the proceedings were not covered by parliamentary privilege.

The panel heard evidence from representatives of key organisations and individuals in four oral evidence sessions held in Parliament during February and March 2006 and this report was written in the months following those sessions. In addition, there were delegations to Paris and Manchester with the aim of setting the oral and written evidence in a wider UK and European context. In addition, the Chairman visited Rome to discuss the phenomenon with senior Vatican officials and has carried out research into the rising antisemitism in Eastern Europe.

The documents that follow are a sample of the written evidence received by the inquiry. Some of the text has been redacted for legal reasons but they have not been edited in any other way and are otherwise reproduced exactly as they were submitted to the inquiry. A full list of witnesses to the inquiry is available at the back of the report.

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Memorandum submitted by the Association of Chief Police Officers, National Community Tension Team

Summary

- The number of anti-Semitic incidents reported to police, outside London and Manchester is low – as a result, only a small number of forces record anti-Semitic incidents as a distinct category.
- London and Manchester record the highest numbers of incidents – around 300 and 80 per year respectively.
- The incidents of anti-Semitism rose markedly after the declaration of the second intifada in September 2000 and have not returned to the previous lower levels.
- Whilst we are aware of concerns that suspects for anti-Semitic incidents might be disproportionately from certain communities, reflecting the tensions in the middle-east, police data are not robust enough to draw such a conclusion.
- International events impact on anti-Semitism in this country and the police service is sensitive to this dimension.
- ACPO recognises that Jewish communities remain targets for international terrorists throughout the world and that Jewish communities in the UK are extremely sensitive to the threat from terrorism. There have been no terrorist attacks against Jewish targets in the UK since 1994 but it remains a significant risk.
- The police service has a very productive relationship with the Jewish community security organisation, the Community Security Trust (CST).
- Forces with significant Jewish communities liaise closely at local level. The National Community Tension Team (NCTT) liaises with CST at national level on behalf of the police service.
- Liaison at local and national level takes place routinely, through regular meetings. There are also meetings to respond to specific incidents – e.g. terrorist incidents that may lead to increased fear in Jewish communities.
- Specific policing operations are undertaken for events that could lead to anti-Semitic incidents – e.g. visits of high profile Jews. A national policing operation has taken place for the last two years to ensure consistency of policing for the High Holy Days.
- ACPO considers that the number of anti-Semitic incidents is far too high and has asked NCTT to analyse reports to try to identify common themes to reduce them.

The Current Situation

Community Security Trust Figures

CST addresses anti-Semitism, terrorism and security within Jewish communities. It records anti-Semitic incidents reported to it and produces an annual report.

Its 2004 report on anti-Semitism recorded annual statistics from 1996 and showed 2004 to be the highest year for anti-Semitism in the UK. It also showed a significant increase in incidents over 2003 (up from 375 to 532).

Police Figures

For the purposes of legal definition, Jews are both a faith and a race. Anti-Semitism is consistently regarded as a form of racism within the police service. One reason is that racially aggravated offences have been recognised in law since 1998, whereas religiously aggravated offences were first recognised in 2001.

Not all police forces record anti-Semitic incidents in a separate category – all forces collate statistics on racism and the majority (all but eight) record anti-Semitic incidents within their racist incident figures.

The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) has recorded anti-Semitism as a separate category for many years. There are around 20-25 anti-Semitic incidents per month in the MPS area. The next highest figure is recorded in Greater Manchester Police area, at around 8 incidents per month. These figures indicate that the only area where there are sufficient incidents to enable meaningful analysis is the MPS area.

The MPS recorded a significant increase in anti-Semitic incidents in 2000, following declaration of the second intifada in the Occupied Territories. Since then, reports have remained at this higher level.

Most incidents recorded by the MPS are at the less serious end of the criminal justice system scale. However, we recognise the serious impact that any anti-Semitic incidents can have on victims and in Jewish communities.

Whilst ACPO does not collate anti-Semitic statistics, we believe that the situation in London reflects the rest of the UK. NCTT monitors racist incidents and other indicators of tension on a weekly basis. There is no evidence at present to suggest that anti-Semitism is increasing across the UK.

National Picture

Typically forces with the highest Jewish populations record and disseminate more extensive data regarding anti-Semitic crime, incidents and community intelligence. The MPS holds a broad range of data in relation to anti-Semitic crime and intelligence as this paper indicates. Reports from other UK Forces do not suggest an increase in anti-Semitic criminality and generally speaking the vast majority of incidents are at the lower end of the criminal justice spectrum, are isolated in nature and have no link with extremism. The MPS and the CST have noted the existence of a relationship between specific critical incidents in the Middle East and higher anti-Semitic targeting in the UK. Examples of such incidents are the second intifada and the incursion into Jenin. It might be reasonable to expect the proportion of suspects of middle eastern appearance to have increased. Data from Forces are currently not robust enough to corroborate this hypothesis.

Additionally, the number of incidents recorded by individual forces and trends therein are not at a level where statistical significance can be tested. Nevertheless forces demonstrate a heightened sensitivity to anti-Semitic crime and criminality with respect to that of a general racist nature and they respond accordingly.

Terrorism

The experience of Jewish communities throughout the world leads to much greater sensitivity to terrorism matters than in other communities. Jewish communities often feel much more vulnerable to attack from terrorists.

Fortunately, there have not been terrorist attacks against Jewish targets in the UK since 1994. However, the experience of Jewish communities around the world teaches us that they remain a target for terrorism and that there is no room for complacency in the UK.

It is also important to recognise the consistent mention of Jews and Zionists in the rhetoric of those purporting to lead international terrorist groups. There is evidence of this type of rhetoric being used by locally based groups. Whilst the talk may be of Jews and *Zionists*, the experience is almost always of attacks against Jews.

ACPO remains concerned about reports of suspicious behaviour at or near Jewish premises. These reports are rigorously investigated by police.

Policing Responses

Although the number of anti-Semitic incidents is a cause of great concern, the majority relate to minor offences, such as verbal abuse and minor criminal damage. However, we recognise the deeper impact that such incidents can have on victims and their communities.

Research

NCTT has been working with Greater Manchester Police, Hertfordshire Constabulary, the MPS and the CST.

This work seeks to analyse anti-Semitic incidents by concentrating on reports from a three month period in each of the forces concerned. It is hoped that some commonalities may be identified enabling prevention activity. For example, research by Paul Iganski et al indicated significant increases in anti-Semitic activity after the declaration of the second intifada and after the incursion into Jenin by the Israeli Defence Forces.

More analysis of data may reveal other indicators that could enable preventative activity. It is hoped that some interim conclusions will be available in Spring 2006.

General Police/Community Engagement

Those forces in the UK that have significant Jewish communities liaise closely with them. This goes some way to ensuring that policing responses to anti-Semitism are timely and as effective as possible. In addition, local liaison can be effective in reducing the fear of crime.

It is important to recognise that the CST is a highly respected and well connected charitable organisation within Jewish communities. The organisation has impressive reach. In addition to liaison with the CST, other local links ensure police/community contact is well developed.

High Holy Days

The religious festivals that occur during the High Holy Days lead to high visibility of Jewish communities and increased feelings of vulnerability to anti-Semitism. For some years the MPS has adopted a pan-London policing plan to ensure sufficient and consistent policing across all areas of the capital.

Since 2004 a national plan, including London, has been co-ordinated by NCTT.

Early liaison takes place between NCTT and CST. Intelligence is assessed for its potential impact on Jewish communities and policing options are suggested to address the intelligence picture.

CST volunteers are briefed by police staff, ensuring that local security is well co-ordinated between CST volunteers and police.

We believe that the policing operations have been successful in addressing fears and concerns of Jewish communities.

Response to Specific Incidents

Police forces throughout the UK have community engagement plans that are appropriate for their own particular circumstances. Where there are significant Jewish communities forces have representatives on Independent Advisory Groups and other mechanisms to ensure effective police engagement with Jews.

These mechanisms are utilised when responding to local critical incidents. In addition, liaison with CST at local level ensures that concerns of Jews are addressed by police. An example of this type of liaison took place in London after the July 7th bombs. The MPS formed a 'Diamond Support Group' – a broad range of community groups brought together to discuss the impact of the attacks and devise actions to deal with community issues. The CST is represented on this group.

Conclusions

ACPO is concerned at the high level of reports of anti-Semitism. We recognise the risks to Jews posed by international terrorists. We are aware of fears and concerns felt within Jewish communities about terrorism and anti-Semitism.

The relationship with CST at a national level is vital to our understanding of the impact of anti-Semitism and terrorism within Jewish communities and we value this relationship extremely highly.

National and local liaison takes place with Jews to ensure that policing is sensitive to the needs of these communities.

We are not complacent about terrorism. ACPO works closely with CST to ensure local policing is responsive to the needs of local Jewish communities.

ACPO considers the levels of reported anti-Semitism to be far too high and we are working with a small number of forces to try to identify common features of such incidents. We hope to be able to bring forward some proposals to reduce incidents.

We will continue to work closely with Jewish communities to ensure the police service responses to the fears and concerns of Jews across the UK are as effective as possible.

Robert Beckley
Assistant Chief Constable Hertfordshire Constabulary
ACPO lead on Faith Issues

5 January 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Board of Deputies of British Jews

Introduction

The Board is the representative body of the Jewish community in Britain. It was founded in 1760 to present a loyal address on the accession of King George III. Since then its activities have centred on two main issues: to obtain equality for Jews; the tradition that the Board would intervene on behalf of imperilled Jewish communities abroad.

The Board's constituents are individual synagogues and Jewish organisations. Its membership spans the spectrum of communal life.

Since the 1930's the Board has sought to combat antisemitism, while at the same time playing a prominent role in securing legislation to guarantee freedom from discrimination for all. The Board took a lead in the campaign to establish the Race Relations Act of 1965 and subsequent legislation

The Board is active nationally and internationally and has played an important role in meetings of the EU and OSCE on antisemitism. The Board's Defence and Group Relations Divisional Director was a member of the working party that drafted the EUMC Working Definition on Antisemitism and represents the European Jewish Congress, the European umbrella body at the OSCE. He was also a member of the working group that drafted the Racist and Religious Crime Prosecution Policy for the Crown Prosecution Service.

Antisemitism in the Third Millennium

Antisemitism is never static. It has always changed in relation to the social and political context of the day and it continues to evolve today. In medieval times it stemmed primarily from the church and had a religious basis; during the nineteenth century it was mostly provoked by a reaction to rapid industrialisation and political change, and had an economic and political basis; in the first half of the twentieth century it took on a racial basis, a belief in the superiority of the Aryan race and inferiority of the Jews. Today, antisemitism has taken on a political character once again, although it now has a national focus on the collective identity of Jews, the state of Israel. This holds the state of Israel up to standards to which no other country is held; it singles Israel out for extraordinary criticism, and at worst denies Israel the right to exist.

Contemporary antisemites see Israel and the Jews as a single entity, holding all Jews collectively responsible for Israeli actions in the way that Jews have always been held collectively responsible by antisemites. Rather than refer to Jews and Judaism they complain about the malign influence of Zionists and Zionism. Using a very real political conflict, and political terms such as Zionism, it can be difficult to isolate antisemitism and distinguish this from completely legitimate political discourse, but the distinction can be made. The language of Jew-hate employs the same dangerous stereotypes and myths that have been the basis of antisemitism throughout the ages. These involve allegations that Jews are engaged in a cosmic conspiracy; that they are disloyal, or evil or dangerous; that they kill children or that they are somehow the antithesis of humanity, and should be excluded from ordinary society. In addition, this contemporary antisemitism works to delegitimise Israel and argue that Jews use the Holocaust for economic or political gain.

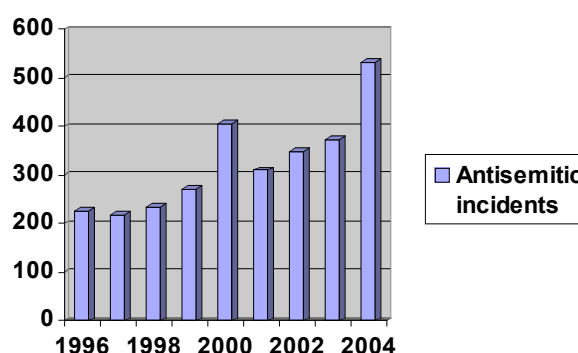
Not all of this discourse is deliberately antisemitic; perhaps the majority of it is not. The use of certain imagery and language may simply be clumsy, insensitive, unwitting or unconscious. It is no surprise that centuries of antisemitic caricatures leave a residue in modern society. Yet its provenance, and the base hatred that it evokes cannot be ignored.

Deliberate or not, wrapping this rhetoric in the language of politics is, for some, a sufficient defence. They respond by claiming for example, that The Board of Deputies is attempting to silence criticism of Israel, yet this is untrue. There are countless examples of criticism of Israel that appear daily and are not objected to, but we must be very clear that antisemitism is antisemitism. Whether the target of hate speech is Israel or not, the impact is felt by Britain's Jewish Community.

Since the outbreak of the Palestinian Intifada in September 2000, as antisemitic rhetoric in relation to Israel dramatically increased, attacks against Jews in Britain and Jewish communal property have risen substantially.

The Community Security Trust recorded the following increases:¹

1996 – 228 incidents
 1997 – 219 incidents
 1998 – 236 incidents
 1999 – 270 incidents
 2000 – 405 incidents
 2001 – 310 incidents
 2002 – 350 incidents
 2003 – 375 incidents
 2004 – 532 incidents



Incidents are fuelled by the increase in antisemitic discourse which stems, in the main, from three areas: anti-Jewish propaganda promoted by Arab states and their media, often based on medieval themes such as blood libel or child abduction accusations and which are accessible in the UK, (recent examples include the screening on Syrian, Lebanese and Jordanian satellite television channels of al Shatat (The Exile), a series of 29 episodes which tell the story of a murder of an Arab boy so that Jews can use his blood to bake Passover matza); the spread of Islamist ideology, which has at its core a belief in a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world; a left/liberal anti Zionist discourse which holds Israel uniquely responsible for the sufferings of the Palestinians and accuses Israel of collusion with the USA in a conspiracy to dominate the Middle East or even the world, with the assistance of world Jewry.

The Response to Antisemitic Discourse

The Jewish community is often seen as successful in material terms and one whose contribution to British life in many fields is continuously lauded. It is also one that has integrated into British life, whilst maintaining its own beliefs and religious practices. It can appear that the Jewish community does not face the same types of overt racism that other minorities do, but, whilst it is difficult to measure the extent to which public discourse about Jews has deteriorated in recent years, it is unquestionably the case that the situation is worsening.

Many Jews feel increasingly apprehensive. As the Chief Rabbi, Sir Jonathan Sacks, stated recently,

“There have been times – the first in my memory – when it has been uncomfortable to be a Jew in Britain.”²

Middle East coverage by the BBC and by certain broadsheet newspapers fuels the community's apprehension. A front page of the New Statesman (February 2002), suggesting

that Jews were conspiring against Britain out of loyalty to Israel, and a continuous stream of articles in *The Independent* and *The Guardian* have strengthened these fears.

The Board of Deputies does not believe that any of these publications are antisemitic, quite the opposite. The fundamental problem is that, when the use of offensive language is highlighted, the concerns of the Jewish community are frequently, at times systematically, dismissed by the belief that it is motivated out of a desire to defend Israeli policy. The *New Statesman* accepted that its notorious front cover evoked an antisemitism of old, yet it did so only in response to numerous complaints including one from the then General Secretary of the Labour Party.

It has become apparent that no other ethnic or religious group has to pass a political test to have their concerns about racism or discrimination heard. Yet Jewish concerns tend to be ignored unless they come from anti-Zionists. In other words, supporting the right of Israel to exist (the basis of Zionism) which the vast majority of Jews do, appears to disqualify Jews from being allowed to identify discrimination against them. This situation may have arisen unconsciously, but it amounts to an institutional bias that has developed against the Jewish community.

When action is taken, it is often muted, and does not match the response to the racism or antisemitism of the far right. The Jewish community was appalled when the Stop the War Coalition allowed leaflets and placards which showed the Star of David equalling the Swastika on its rallies. They were only withdrawn after complaints by the Board and others. The image had originated on the website of the Muslim Association of Britain, a Coalition partner, but little public action was taken to temper such imagery or oppose offensive positions taken by coalition partners or demonstrators. Letters in the press by Jewish anti-war campaigners attested to the antisemitism they encountered on the rallies.³

The use of what most Jews regarded as antisemitic motifs in proposed Labour Party election posters during 2005 suggests that even here too there has been a coarsening of sensitivity. What is deemed acceptable now, as a consequence of the demonisation of Israel and Zionism, would have been unthinkable twenty or thirty years ago when memories of the Holocaust were stronger. Attempts to frighten the voters against voting for the Conservative Party by employing subtle anti-Jewish iconography, despite denials that this was the intention, proved to many Jews how far the desensitising process has gone.⁴

Other Concerns

It is appropriate to note other directions from which hostility comes. Gains by the British National Party in recent elections suggest a widespread disillusionment with traditional political parties. A recent study indicates that, in the minds of many London voters, immigration has become a symbol for a wide range of local problems and that voters have increasingly turned to the BNP, particularly in the outer East London suburbs and certain towns in the North West. The authors conclude that it is “legitimate to argue that both UKIP and the BNP have entered the political mainstream rather than being fringe players with complex linkages between the two parties”.⁵

The BNP and other far right groups, though constrained by law from voicing their antisemitism openly and in their publications, nevertheless promote it internally at their meetings and reflect it in the books they sell to their members. Increasingly they reflect the anti Zionist discourse of others but do so only because it may be considered more acceptable.

The magnitude of the Holocaust was so immense that the world is still struggling to get to grips with it. We therefore look to Holocaust education as a multi-purpose tool to educate for democracy and against antisemitism and racial and religious prejudice. With the passage of

time and as memories dim and the survivors die it becomes ever more important to ensure that all school children learn what happened and understand the implications and consequences of hatred.

Knowledge of the Holocaust and the true nature of genocide are also important in combating the false paradigm that Israel is embarked on a genocidal mission against the Palestinians as promoted by some anti-Israel campaigners.

Prosecution of Antisemitic Incitement and Violence

Since the 1970s the Board has sought to alert the government, police and prosecuting authorities of the threat which the Jewish community faces. Initially it encountered an unwillingness to recognise the relationship between incitement and the violence that follows. Additionally Part III of the Public Order Act was almost impossible to implement until it was amended by the Criminal Justice Act 1994 and the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. However the series of prosecutions, which started with the trial of Lady Jane Birdwood in 1994, and subsequently against National Front, British National Party and Combat 18 leaders, resulted in a marked diminution in anti-Jewish incitement, criminal damage and violence by the far right.

Only since 2000 has there been a similar recognition that anti-Jewish incitement from new sources needs to be likewise addressed and parameters laid down by the courts on what constitutes legitimate criticism of the State of Israel and what is antisemitic incitement masked as anti-Zionism.

On numerous occasions material from these other sources that called for the killing of Jews has been referred to the police and CPS but few prosecutions have followed. This includes material that would almost certainly have been prosecuted had it been published by neo-Nazis. If Omar Bakri Mohammed or Abu Hamza and their followers had been indicted for incitement years ago their convictions may have had a moderating influence and their groups might not have been so influential in recruiting terrorists.⁶

The conviction of Sheikh Faisal in 2003 for incitement to murder and the convictions of several members of al Muhajiroun (a Salafi Islamist group, now disbanded and succeeded by other groups), for incitement have had some effect. But the sentences tend to be derisory, commonly a small fine or a community service penalty, that they have failed to prevent the continuance of such incitement. What does appear to have changed, perhaps as a consequence, is that incitement is now published on the internet rather than in printed publications or pamphlets, and is not prosecuted for evidential and jurisdictional reasons, thereby giving a 'green light' for others to publish similar material.

Conclusion

There is an increasingly common assumption that criticism of Zionism is fair criticism. No country should be immune from criticism and there may be reason to criticise the State of Israel for some of its actions. But to demonise Israel and Zionism, the aspiration of the Jewish people to rebuild their ancestral homeland, is to deny to Jews a right that is accorded to all other people.

The Jewish community may be accused by some of being oversensitive and that criticism of Israel is fair criticism. So it may be when it relates to a particular action by the government of Israel. It is not when no account is taken of the fact that most of Israel's neighbours still want to destroy it fifty years after its establishment and that combating terror attacks is a daily challenge. It is not when that hostility seeks to link Israel and the Jews in an evil conspiracy to dominate the world or to engage in genocide. This linkage undermines the safety and security

of the Jewish community. Jewish history suggests that we have good reason to be sensitive. Our experience has taught us that strains within society, a breakdown within that society, for economic, religious or other reasons or prejudice against a particular section of society will inevitably rebound on us.

Anti-Jewish prejudice can take different forms and has been described as a mutating virus. Inevitably it impacts all of society and not just its primary targets, the Jews.

For the fight against antisemitism to be won, the Jewish community should not be expected to stand alone. Yet an unwillingness to recognise concerns and admit the existence of a problem in fact serves to isolate Jews. Political disagreement and debate is healthy and should be encouraged, but when political differences serve to overlook or disregard hate, discrimination and the fears of an entire community, there is a serious problem indeed. While this may not be intentional, it is a problem that must be recognised.

The Working Definition of Antisemitism developed by the EUMC represents an important step forward in allowing professionals to identify discrimination in their midst and should be recommended to all police forces, statutory and non statutory bodies combating discrimination.

Notes

1. Antisemitic Incidents Report 2004, The Community Security Trust, London.
2. 'A Message from the Chief Rabbi, Sir Jonathan Sacks', October 2005 (copy attached)
3. 'Post – march reflections', letter in The Guardian, signed by Reva Klein, Edie Friedman and Francesca King, 1 October 2002; 'CND Man Claims Anti-Semitism', Mark Scodie, Jewish Chronicle, 5 December 2003.
4. Consider the widespread media and political criticism over comments made during 2005 by the Labour Party Chairman Ian McCartney MP, Labour Party plans for election posters with the heads of the two most prominent Conservative MP's, Michael Howard and Oliver Letwin, superimposed on flying pigs, and the portrayal of Michael Howard as a Fagin or Shylock figure.
5. "The Far Right in London – a challenge for local democracy?", The Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust, York, October 2005.
6. Al Muhajiroun maintained an office in Lahore, Pakistan managed by former Manchester member Hussan Butt. In press interviews he stated that the purpose was to recruit and train volunteers to fight abroad. (See for example 'Holy War of a Rebel Brit,' Rebecca Smith, Manchester Evening News, 30 October 2001; 'Jihad Lad Branded a Liar,' Adam Jones, Whitefield Advertiser, November 2001.

Contemporary press reports noted that 3 British Al Muhajiroun activists were killed in an American bombing raid in Afghanistan, see for example, Helen Giburn, 'Traitors or Martyrs', Time Magazine, 12 November 2001; 'British Muslims Killed in Air Raid', Manchester Evening News, 29 October 2001; Interview with Al Muhajiroun spokesman Abdul Haq, The World at One, BBC Radio 4, 30 October 2001.

Asif Hanif and Omar Khan Sharif, the bombers of the Mike's Place Disco in Tel Aviv on 29 April 2003, were briefly members of Al Muhajiroun.

Memorandum submitted by the Catholic Bishops Conference of England and Wales: Department for Christian Responsibility and Citizenship

We are aware of and very concerned by the increase in antisemitic incidents in this country in recent years. This increase, recorded by the Community Security Trust (CST), is possibly an underestimate and includes attacks on people, synagogues and cemeteries, boycotts of Jewish groups on campuses and other manifestations of hatred towards Jewish people. In addition to these official estimates, through our association with community groups in East London, we have heard anecdotally of attacks on Jewish cemeteries (eg 380 graves desecrated in East Ham). Moreover, the increase in antisemitic incidents is mirrored by similar, even more worrying, trends in France and some other European countries.

This development is undoubtedly due in part to events in the Middle East. For some, these events have enflamed anti-Semitism, just as anger at suicide bombers has enflamed Islamophobia.

There is some evidence of a reluctance to acknowledge that the recent escalation has been due in part to attacks against the Jewish community by members of the Muslim community; and we have heard of the police explaining a slowness to pursue those who desecrated a cemetery because 'it was Muslims not the National Front'. We sympathise entirely with the wish not to fan hatred against Muslims by pursuing some of their community for crimes against Jews, but any long term strategy to build cohesion must include an honest assessment of what is happening. Reflecting on these complexities, we believe an Inquiry into hate crimes generally would be useful.

The escalation in antisemitic incidents builds on the centuries old history of antisemitism which has scarred western civilisation. We Christians have unhappily been part of this, which we have publicly acknowledged. For us, in the Catholic Church, the Second Vatican Council and the publication of *Nostra Aetate*, was a turning point in our relations with the Jewish Community, and over the past fifty years these relations have been transformed. It was in the spirit of these developments that Pope John Paul II visited Yad Vashem in March 2000 and expressed his deep sorrow on behalf of Christians generally for the hatred and persecution of Jewish people over the centuries. All this has been explained at greater length in the Submission from the Committee for Catholic Jewish Relations.

Attacks on Jewish and Muslim people are increasing and are threatening not only the victims of those crimes but the peace and stability of a number of local communities. The issues of *Antisemitism* and *Islamophobia* must, therefore, be addressed together, and we feel this would best be done within a broad strategy to curb hate crime and to promote community cohesion.

Such a strategy will necessarily include the monitoring of attacks on particular communities as well as the monitoring of hate crime generally. In the current climate, the careful monitoring of incidents against the Jewish and Muslim communities is a priority.

It is of course important that, in addressing hate crime, the right to criticise nations and religions must be protected as long as such rights are exercised in a context of tolerance, mutual respect and cooperation.

We believe the government is trying to move in the right direction. However, the current approach gives the appearance of being piecemeal and possibly too focused on legislation.

The recent unease over proposed legislation on *incitement to religious hatred* is an indication of the difficulty. We note, for instance, that the fact that the Jewish community is covered by

the law against *incitement to racial hatred*, has not protected them from the increased vulnerability to attack which the Inquiry will be exploring.

We need a visible and multi-faceted strategy, involving the various sectors of society, to address hate crime and community cohesion; and it may be that the voluntary sector, including churches and faith communities, should be more involved in that strategy.

We hope that the All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Anti-Semitism may be a positive step in our search for a way forward.

12 January 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Committee for Catholic Jewish Relations

The Committee for Catholic-Jewish Relations was established after the Second Vatican Council to implement the teachings of the Council in the Roman Catholic Church with regard to Jews and Judaism. There are 13 members on the Committee including priests, lay people and two Jewish members. The Committee is chaired by the Archbishop of Southwark, Rt Rev. Kevin McDonald. The committee works on three fronts: to educate Catholics about the Jewish roots of their faith; to further dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people and to confront anti-Semitism wherever it is found. While all three are to some extent separate they are at the same time interconnected and it is hoped that an understanding of Judaism and especially the history of the relationship between the Church and the Jewish people will have an affect on the attitude to Jews in general.

The Document promulgated at the Second Vatican Council in 1965, *Nostra Aetate*, (In our Time) was groundbreaking in its teaching. Until that point, there had been no positive theology of Judaism in the Catholic Church. Throughout the previous 2000 years, Jewish scholars were sometimes sought after for a more accurate understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures or Old Testament but the accusation of deicide, that the Jews were responsible for the death of Christ, still lingered. By the 1930's a climate of anti-Judaism within Christianity fed into the prevailing Nazi ideology of ethnic purity. The charge of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, that there was a Jewish conspiracy against the world, also held sway. After the Second World War when 6 million Jews were killed in what is known as the Shoah or Holocaust, a French historian, Jules Isaac, approached Pope John XXIII to ask him if anti-Semitism could be put on the agenda at the Vatican Council. The Pope, who had witnessed the persecution of Jews during the war, agreed. This action resulted in the promulgation of *Nostra Aetate* which marked a sea-change in the teaching of the Catholic Church.

From 1965 onwards anti-Semitism has been viewed in a negative light by the Catholic Church. *Nostra Aetate* states;

"Furthermore, in her rejection of every persecution against any man, the Church, mindful of the patrimony she shares with the Jews and moved by the spiritual love of the Gospel and not by political reasons, decries hatred, persecutions, manifestations of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone."

The next statement on the Church's relationship with the Jewish people takes the form of guidelines for implementing the Conciliar Declaration. It says in reference to the original document:

"....we may simply restate here that the spiritual bonds and the historical links binding the Church to Judaism condemn (as opposed to the very spirit of Christianity) all forms of anti-Semitism and discrimination, which in any case the dignity of the human person alone would suffice to condemn." (Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing the Conciliar Declaration *Nostra Aetate* (No.4) (1974)

The third Vatican document underlines the importance of combating anti-Semitism. It says, "Education and catechesis should concern themselves with the problem of racism, still active in different forms of anti-Semitism." (Notes on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism in preaching and catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church (1985).

In 1998 a further document devoted entirely to the Shoah (or Holocaust) was issued. After outlining the history of anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism the document concludes, "Pope John Paul II himself has repeatedly called upon us to see where we stand with regard to our relations with the Jewish people. In doing so, "we must remember how much the balance

(of these relations) over two thousand years has been negative.”¹ This long period “which”, in the words of John Paul II, “we must not tire of reflecting upon in order to draw from it the appropriate lessons”² has been marked by many manifestations of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism, and, in this century, by the horrifying events of the Shoah.” (We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah, Rome, March 16th 1998).

While official Catholic documents have roundly condemned all forms of anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism, it is difficult to ascertain how much still exists in the mind and heart of the individual Catholic. The Committee is aware that anti-Israel attitudes can often lead to anti-Semitism but the evidence for this is purely anecdotal. The Committee tries to ensure that statements issued by the Catholic Conference of Bishops are even-handed in criticism concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict so that the views of both sides in the conflict are expressed. The Committee is also aware of the complex nature of the conflict and reflects the complexities in interviews with the media. The Committee works closely with the Department for International Affairs of the Catholic Bishops’ Conference who are striving to establish good relations with the Israeli Embassy in order to gain a deeper understanding of the thinking of the Israeli people.

The Committee is aware that the Jewish community in the UK feels very fragile and that anti-Semitic attacks have increased in recent times. These attacks are often personal in the form of hate-mail or racist abuse but where the attacks have been more overt, in the form of desecration of synagogues or cemeteries, the Committee has sent messages of sympathy and support.

The main way the Committee tries to combat anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism is through education, by presenting Jews and Judaism in a positive light. We do this through leaflets at various seasons of the year for example in Advent and Lent, when the liturgical readings can be misinterpreted negatively against Jews or Judaism. We also prepare leaflets each year for Holocaust Memorial Day making suggestions as to how the day can be marked. Judaism is now taught in all Catholic primary and secondary schools and there are optional courses on Judaism and Christian-Jewish Relations at tertiary level. Interest in Judaism is growing and Heythrop College, University of London, is about to launch a degree in the Abrahamic Faiths. Jewish and non-Jewish students seem to mix happily in the Universities the Committee is in touch with.

Report prepared specially for the Inquiry by Sr Clare Jardine nds, Secretary of the Committee for Catholic-Jewish Relations after consulting the Committee.

December 30 2005

¹ Cf Notes on Correct Way to Present the Jews and Judaism on Preaching and Catechesis in the Catholic Church, 1985

² Speech delivered on the occasion of His holiness to the Synagogue of Rome (13 April 1986)

Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Church of England

This submission is made on behalf of the Church of England by the Bishop of St Albans who is the Chair of Trustees of the Executive Committee of the Council of Christians and Jews.

The Church of England repeats in this submission the welcome given to the Inquiry by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his statement on the occasion of Holocaust Memorial Day. This is in line with the welcome given to Lord Tony Pandy on 11th July 1991 by the then Archbishop to the formation of the British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Council against Anti-Semitism with these words: “*The fact that, despite the horrors of the Holocaust, anti-Semitism still persists in our world makes it all the more important that Parliamentarians and Church people of every nationality should combine to fight it*”

There is no doubt that anti-Semitism is a real and continuing scourge. The most cursory reading of the literature and the most superficial attention to the daily news makes this clear. The annual reports of the Community Security Trust record historically high levels of serious incidents; the work of the OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights; the reports on the ‘manifestations of anti-Semitism in the European Union’, pictures of desecrated Jewish graves in Manchester – all these make clear that anti-Semitism is indeed a ‘Very Light Sleeper’ as the Runnymede Report of 1994 made clear. At the time of writing this submission, the reiteration by Mr David Irving after his imprisonment of his obnoxious views on the Holocaust, and the outrageous statements by the President of Iran in denying the historical reality of the Holocaust, confirm the need for constant vigilance and education.

The statement made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Rowan Williams in January 2006 is as follows and reiterates the longstanding position of the Church of England:

The importance of Holocaust Memorial Day is in its role in continually bringing to mind the unique significance for Europe in general and for Christians in particular, of the Holocaust.

It is essential for each generation to be able to enter into the terrible events of the Holocaust at the level of knowledge and of feeling and I welcome the Government’s grant to the Holocaust Educational Trust to enable more schools to make a visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau. While it is true that human history has been stained by other genocides, including those of our own generation, the events of the Nazi era stand alone in their nature and causes.

The development of a range of inter religious dialogues in recent years has been welcome and fruitful, and further new initiatives such as the Christian Muslim Forum and the work towards a full Hindu Christian dialogue carry real promise. Nevertheless from a Christian perspective the dialogue between Christians and Jews is not only historically the most senior, but is also theologically distinct. The Council of Christians and Jews, founded in the midst of the terrible events in Europe of 1942, has done an enormous amount to help many to reconsider their theological understandings and to develop deep personal friendships. The many celebrations of the 40th anniversary of Nostra Aetate (the declaration on Christian-Jewish relations by the second Vatican Council) last year highlighted the journey that many Christians and Jews have made together.

2006 is a year of particular significance as the 350th anniversary of the Resettlement of the Jewish community in this country. As a nation we should celebrate this anniversary, marking as it does, not only an attempt to right some of the terrible wrongs earlier inflicted on Jewish people, but also as an opportunity to celebrate the quite remarkable contributions of Jewish people to every aspect of the life of this country. Without the Resettlement, it is hard to imagine what our history, culture, politics and economy would be like today. Without doubt we would have been greatly the poorer in every respect.

It is all the more appalling that despite these positive developments, there is an acknowledged and frightening rise in anti-Semitic publications, websites and physical incidents in this country and in many others. The desecration of Jewish cemeteries in Manchester and London, a range of hate incidents and the need for security at all synagogues - these are matters that we cannot ignore. Is it not a matter of the gravest concern that a religious community in this country must, on the advice of the police, put in place a range of security measures for its worship, the education of its children and its social activities? For what other religious community is this systematically the case? This is serious enough; but elsewhere in the world, there are inflammatory, bigoted and irresponsible statements made even by some in prominent public positions.

I welcome the All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into rising levels of anti-Semitism in this country and I hope that all religious communities will make clear to it their abhorrence of anti-Semitism and the measures they are taking to ensure that it finds not the smallest foothold in our churches, mosques and temples.

In this year of the anniversary of the Resettlement, one important mark of the progress we have made since 1656 will not only be that we can celebrate what Jewish people and the Jewish faith have so abundantly given to our society, but more profoundly that we renew our commitment to the struggle against anti-Semitism and its causes."

1942 marked the depths of anti-Semitism in the modern era with the calling of the Wannsee Conference and the instructions for the Final Solution. From that moment began the possibility for all to see and acknowledge where centuries of anti Judaism, of the teaching of contempt, of the blood libel and of the accusations of deicide, could lead. The record of violent anti-Semitism in this country, including the York and other massacres in the early mediaeval period down to the expulsion of 1290, is as bad as in any other European country of the time. The connection between anti Judaism and anti-Semitism was laid bare

For the Church of England, 1942 was also the year in which it was offered the possibility of changing the basis of its relationships with the Jewish communities. It was in this year that following correspondence between Archbishop William Temple and Chief Rabbi Herz, the Council of Christians and Jews was formed

The Archbishop of Canterbury has since then been the Chair of the Presidents who include the leaders of the Christian Churches and of the main Jewish traditions. The Chair of Trustees is a senior bishop, currently the Bishop of St Albans. The executive staff of the Council are Christian, including Anglican, and Jewish. There are over 50 branches of the CCJ across the country

It is through the CCJ that the Church of England has particularly expressed in word and in action not only its abhorrence of anti-Semitism, but as important, its wish to be at the forefront of work to enable close relations between Jewish communities and the Church of England nationally and locally. Just as anti Judaism cannot be separated from anti-Semitism, so the antidote to anti-Semitism lies in significant part in a better understanding and appreciation of Judaism.

It is therefore appropriate to cite the statement of the Presidents of the CCJ on anti-Semitism made in 2004 as a further clear statement of the Church of England on anti-Semitism; and this is attached below

There are many other organisations through which the Church of England seeks to engage with the Jewish communities of this country, including for example the Centre for the Study

of Jewish Christian Relations, the Three Faiths Forum and as part of the wider multi-faith context the Inter-Faith Network.

In 2003 the Bishop of St Albans was invited to speak at a conference hosted by the Italian Government for all the Ministers of the Interior in Europe. In that speech he spelt out the work that the Council of Christians and Jews and the British Government had done in fostering good inter faith relationships. In brief, in this and other ways, the Church of England is also playing a part in helping to shape European thinking on this important subject.

If the Church of England has a commitment to developing its relationships with Jewish communities through bilateral and multilateral inter faith dialogue, it also has a responsibility to ensure that within its own communities, there is appropriate teaching about Judaism and about anti-Semitism. The Church is constituted as a nationwide network of inter connecting but essentially independent communities and organisations, linked in a multitude of ways to the worldwide Anglican Communion and through ecumenical instruments to other Churches. It includes 13,000 parishes, 44 dioceses, a quarter of the UK's primary schools, many further and higher education colleges, societies and communities, charitable organisations and agencies. Each of these has a part to play and it is not sufficient to look only to national statements in relation to responses to anti-Semitism. There are such statements, but the reality that lies behind them and the ways in which they are given expression day by day, are to be found in Christian theology, liturgy, pastoral practice, and personal relationships.

These are all matters on which there has been substantial debate in the past sixty years in the Church of England and in all the Christian churches of the United Kingdom. Whilst this submission does not permit more than a brief review, there is a substantial documentation which is evidence of the range of discussion within the Church of England and of the extent to which there has been real change in attitudes to Judaism and therefore to the anti-Semitism to which some attitudes and understandings can give rise.

The constitution of the CCJ in 1942 is a key document that laid the foundation for so much subsequent work. Since then, there have been a number of important documentary milestones in the evolving of a healthier understanding of the significance of Judaism for Christianity in general and for the Anglican Communion and the Church of England in particular.

In 1965 the Roman Catholic document 'Nostra Aetate', which was the subject of many anniversary celebrations last year, marked a foundational shift in that Church's basic theology and attitude to other faiths in general and to Judaism in particular. It opened a torrent of new thinking and discussion, not only within the Roman Catholic Church, but also in many others, including the Church of England.

In 1988 the Lambeth Conference agreed a range of documents on inter faith relations and in particular the document "Christians, Jews and Muslims: the Way of Dialogue". One significant part of this document lies in its affirmation that *"for Christians, Judaism can never be one religion amongst others. It has a special bond and affinity with Christianity. Jesus our Lord and the Christ was a Jew and the books that informed and guided his life were the books of the Hebrew Bible, the God in whom Jesus believed, to whom he totally gave himself, and in whom we believe, is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob"*

In 1994 the Churches Commission on Inter Faith Relations in which the Church of England plays a leading role, produced the report: "Christians and Jews - A New Way of Thinking". This included a clear statement about anti-Semitism: *"the way to one of the most constructive developments in modern Christianity is its unequivocal rejection of anti-Semitism and its determination to reformulate its theology in such a way as no longer to give 'false witness' concerning the faith to which it is more intimately bound than all others"*

In 2001 'Sharing one hope? The Church of England and Christian - Jewish Relations' was produced as a contribution to a continuing debate. It traces the way in which in the past fifty years there has been a transformation in the theology and practice of Christian-Jewish relations. *"Slowly and sometimes painfully we are learning to face up to the horrors of the Holocaust, the shameful legacy of anti-Semitism, the teaching of contempt for all things Jewish in much of the Church's history. More positively, Christians are beginning to recognise the Jewishness of Jesus, and the New Testament,and the continuing vitality of Judaism today"*

Supplementing and contributing to these developments have been the writings of a number of prominent Anglican theologians. These include the early pioneer, the Revd James Parkes, Canon Marcus Braybrooke, the Rt Revd Richard Harries and the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Rowan Williams. Each of these have reflected on the core themes that have shifted much Anglican thinking away from the lethal anti Judaistic strands of earlier Christian teaching. These themes include the Jewishness of Jesus, replacement theology and the understanding of covenant, the nature of the Old Testament as Hebrew Scripture and issues of proselytism and conversion

It is not unreasonable to believe that one of the Church's greatest contributions to the struggle against anti-Semitism has been to engage profoundly with those aspects of its teaching which had provide for centuries a rationale for anti-Semitism

The Church has made clear through its work in the CCJ and other dialogues and through its engagement with its inherited theology its abhorrence of anti-Semitism. It has also joined other organisations locally and nationally in the struggle against anti-Semitic attitudes and actions. It will not shy away from engaging with political parties, individuals or groups acting in the name of religion, which espouse anti-Semitic attitudes.

There is one further area to mention which has proved to be a continuing source of difficulty to the present day. It is the long and often violent search for a resolution to the issues for Palestinians raised by the creation of the State of Israel and its subsequent drive for security in the face of continuing hostility. The 1988 Lambeth Conference in its Resolution 24 set out the Anglican Communion's position, which affirmed the State of Israel and its right to secure borders and the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination. There is no doubt that there are strongly differing voices within the Church of England – as indeed in society more generally - about the balance of right and wrong and about the ways in which a just settlement should best be pursued. The Church repudiates all forms of violence in the Holy Land and has expressed this clearly in the 2002 Alexandria Declaration of religious leaders of the Holy Land initiated by the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Within those essential limits, strongly held and debated views are not to be discouraged and may not legitimately be labelled as anti-Semitic. There undoubtedly are those whose policies towards Israel are motivated by deeply anti-Semitic attitudes, but genuine concern for justice must encouraged and not denigrated

To conclude, the Church of England regards anti-Semitism as *"abhorrent. It is an attempt to dehumanise a part of humanity by making it a scapegoat for shared ills. We reject utterly the politics of hate and we pledge ourselves once more to combat anti Semitism and all forms of racism, prejudice and xenophobia."*

Joint Statement on anti-Semitism by the Presidents of the Council of Christians and Jews January 2004

"Since its inception sixty years ago during the darkest days of World War Two, the Council of Christians and Jews has continued to confront the evil of anti-Semitism with a message of healing and mutual respect between our communities."

We believe the warm friendship between Britain's Christian and Jewish leaders – nourished by the work of CCJ at local level – has had an influence that extends beyond our two faiths. It has helped to set a tone for tolerance and respectful diversity across religious and ethnic boundaries in Britain.

Today, however, anti-Semitism is resurfacing as a phenomenon in many parts of the world. There have been fatal attacks on Jewish people, destruction and desecration of synagogues and cemeteries and the firebombing of Jewish schools. Incitement to hatred and violence against Jewish people has increased.

Britain has been less affected than many other countries but has certainly not been immune. We recognise that many in the Jewish community feel vulnerable and afraid. They seek and deserve the support that we as religious leaders can offer.

It is against this background that, as the Presidents of CCJ, we agree the following:

- *Anti-Semitism is abhorrent. It is an attempt to dehumanise a part of humanity by making it a scapegoat for shared ills. We reject utterly the politics of hate and we pledge ourselves once more to combat anti-Semitism and all forms of racism, prejudice and xenophobia.*
- *We celebrate the fact that Jewish people have made a vast contribution to humanity; that Judaism is a valued voice in the conversation of mankind; and that, along with people of other faiths, Jews and Christians are called by God to work for peace, human dignity and respect for all people.*
- *We recognise that the suffering of the Jewish people is a stain on the history of Europe. Today, our total rejection of anti-Semitism, amid evidence of its resurgence, is a signal that we will not permit it to stain our continent's future as it has its past. This is our common pledge and one we call on others to join.*
- *We acknowledge that criticism of government policy in Israel, as elsewhere, is a legitimate part of democratic debate. However such criticism should never be inspired by anti-Semitic attitudes, extend to a denial of Israel's right to exist or serve as justification for attacks against Jewish people around the world.*
- *We share with so many others a deep longing for peace, justice and reconciliation in the Holy Land and we believe that achieving this would help to make it harder for anti-Semitism to flourish.*
- *As religious leaders we reject the misuse of religion and religious language in seeking to address political challenges. We seek instead to speak and be heard together in our shared confidence that, in the mercy of God, the wounds of the world can be healed.*

Memorandum submitted by the Church of Scotland

ANTISEMITISM IN EUROPE : A REPORT BY THE COMMITTEE ON CHURCH AND NATION**Presented to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland May 2005****[An introductory section of the report has been substantially omitted here to comply with the Inquiry's word limit.]**

This is a very hard topic upon which to write, especially for the church, which must acknowledge with sorrow its complicity in much of the history of anti-Semitism ... It is therefore important to bring this matter before the Church, in order that we may renew and strengthen our opposition to antisemitic attitudes and actions.

2. Continuation

2.1 It is clear that antisemitism did not die when the horror of Auschwitz and the other Nazi concentration camps was uncovered. Today, there are signs that it is once again on the increase. Certainly many Jewish groups have expressed such concern, and have pointed to incidents, including attacks on Jewish property (fire-bombing, desecration, graffiti), assaults on and insults towards Jewish people, the dissemination of antisemitic material, threatening letters, offensive telephone calls and e-mails, as well as statements by politicians and articles in the media which they perceive as antisemitic or at least as giving licence to antisemitism. In the United Kingdom for example, the Community Security Trust's report for 2003 revealed that the number of antisemitic incidents in this country had risen from 369 in 1996 to 609 in 2003. In Italy it has been reported that nearly one in eight Italians believe the Shoah is a Jewish invention and "Holocaust Denial" is widespread elsewhere.

2.2 Incidents of racist abuse and violence against Jews and Jewish property, such as synagogues and cemeteries, have been recorded in recent years in the United Kingdom and in other parts of Europe. Pernicious attitudes persist. Accusations are routinely levelled against Jews that there is a tendency to over-exaggerate the threat to Jewish communities and to see antisemitism where none was intended. In some quarters, there is a denial that any actions are antisemitic. It is not uncommon to hear the view expressed that Jewish people should somehow "get over" the Shoah. Claims are frequently made that Jews use the charge of antisemitism as a convenient way of deflecting legitimate criticism of individuals or groups, most notably the Government of Israel.

2.3 A report prepared by the European Union Monitoring Centre (EUMC) on Racism and Xenophobia looked at the manifestations of antisemitism in the European Union in the year 2002 – 2003. Its findings were based on information gathered by the National Focal Points of the Racism and Xenophobic Network (RAXEN) in each of the then 15 member states. It was somewhat hampered by a wide difference in the quality and quantity of the data from the different countries with only a minority of EU countries able to supply reliable official or semi-official statistics. Not all states have well-developed systems for monitoring and recording antisemitic incidents. This means that it is impossible to make accurate comparisons between member states. However, the report concludes "it is clear that antisemitism manifests itself with greater strength in some countries than in others, and there are countries where there is evidence of an increase in the regularity of these incidents over the past two or three years." This increase was evident in Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

2.4 There are clear problems defined in the EUMC report about making any generalisations about the growth of antisemitism in the EU: a lack of a common definition of antisemitism, a

lack of comparability between states, a lack of official data, and suspicion that in some states some antisemitic incidents are under-reported. What is not in doubt is the perception by Jews in EU countries that antisemitism is on the increase. In a comprehensive study released at the same time as the above report, 35 prominent Jews from eight different EU countries were interviewed in depth. They expressed concerns about changes in public attitudes, media distortion, education in schools, the way in which authorities handle the Shoah, awareness of violent or symbolic attacks on Jews, and the relationship of Jewish communities with their state governments. While in no country is the situation comparable to the widespread antisemitic atmosphere which existed in many countries between the two World Wars, the rise in antisemitism is a matter for serious concern. *“Many of the interviewees appear to believe that in numerous countries, the political elites who are dependant on public votes have hesitated to recognise the real extent of antisemitism while swearing that another Shoah will never happen again in Europe.”*

3. Scotland

3.1 We are grateful to the Scottish Council of Jewish Communities for their help in preparing this report, and also to individuals within those communities.

3.2 In the 2001 census, 6,500 people in Scotland identified themselves as Jewish; this may be an under-accounting due to fear of antisemitism. The political opinions of members of Scotland’s Jewish communities are as varied as among any other groups of citizens – including their opinions on events in Israel and Palestine. The risk of antisemitic attack is lower in Scotland than in the rest of the UK, and (like fear of crime generally) is over-estimated; but nevertheless it is rising. Jewish organisations have been advised by the police to improve their security – and are doing so where finances are available.

3.3 Antisemitic incidents occur regularly in Scotland. Thankfully, they are mostly minor, but contribute to the rising level of fear. Recent recorded incidents include, among others, graffiti in Ayrshire, verbal abuse in the centre of Glasgow, and an attempt to firebomb a synagogue in Edinburgh. Jews in Scotland also regularly report the elision of all Jews with the Israeli government – with the resultant presumption of responsibility for all its actions.

4. Sources

There is no single source of antisemitism in Europe today. However, research has identified four distinct sectors within society from which antisemitic views are promulgated: the Christian anti-Jewish tradition, the antisemitic far right, the anti-Zionist far left, and finally the anti-Jewish and anti-Israel thinking among some sectors of the Muslim community. To these can be added events in the Middle East.

4.1 Christianity

Currently, no denomination of the Christian church can accurately be accused of being deliberately antisemitic. Rather, antisemitism within churches may be associated with a collective unconscious: it may be perpetuated or passed on in some of the traditional ways of teaching Christian beliefs, and the ways in which Jews are referred to in teaching Bible stories. Interestingly, in Greece relations with the Orthodox Church are reported to be positive, despite their dogma still including the charge of deicide.

4.2 The Far Right

The threat of far right antisemitism is increasing as extremist parties like the Front National in France and the British National Party are attracting increasing support and right wing parties in other countries have been gaining more influence. It is to this element that one Scottish Rabbi attributes any rise here of antisemitism. While the official line of these parties does not promote antisemitism - it would be illegal to do so in some countries - it is feared that privately some of their leaders and many of their grass roots supporters hold strongly antisemitic views. And though the rise of far right parties in Europe may be symptomatic of a

wider anti-foreigner/anti-immigrant sentiment, which includes a well-documented rise in Islamophobia and attacks on Muslims since September 11, 2001, the antisemitic dimension to their rhetoric must not be ignored.

4.3 The Far Left

Antisemitism on the left of politics takes a different character. Strong criticism of some of the actions of the Government of Israel and strong support for Palestinians has regularly been read as being anti-Semitic and on occasion has drifted into being so.

4.4 Islamic Extremism

There is clear evidence that Islamic extremism is generating antisemitic feelings among Muslims in Europe. There must be deep disquiet about the discourse of hatred and misinformation spread by certain sections of the Arab media and the negative effect this may be having.

4.5 The Middle East

Unfortunately, current conflicts in the Middle East undoubtedly have an influence on the rise of antisemitism in Europe. There is clear evidence that the increase in the number of violent incidents against Jews coincides with events in the Middle East, sometimes even those with no connection to Israel or Palestine. In many countries, such an increase was particularly noted in April 2002, when the Israeli army controversially occupied several Palestinian towns.

[A section on Israel has also been substantially omitted.]

5.5 As Christians, we follow the prophetic tradition of speaking out against injustice, wherever we see it. We have regularly criticised our own government, as well as those, for example, of Zimbabwe, Burma, or the United States of America; the government of Israel cannot expect to be exempt from criticism. Equally, expressing solidarity with the Palestinians is not or need not be antisemitic, but those who criticise the actions of the Israeli government have to make it clear that their criticism is not of the whole Jewish people. More than that, they would do well to condemn any show of antisemitism from fellow critics. On a march against the war in Iraq, cries of “kill the Jews” were heard; during the campaign to elect Mordechai Vanunu as Rector of Glasgow University, some of his supporters announced that “Israelis are evil; Jews are evil”; when such things happen, remaining silent helps nobody. The duty to speak out against injustice applies on these occasions as well.

6. Vigilance

6.1 The legitimate fears of Jewish communities in Europe today must be heard. It is a matter of concern when language is used carelessly and thoughtlessly, encouraging the misconceptions that “Israelis” and “Jews” are interchangeable, and that all Jews support the actions of the Israeli government. It is shameful that misinformation and antisemitic material are still being disseminated. It is a disgrace when Jews, and Jewish communities, are attacked.

6.2 It is dreadful that other racial and religious groups are also experiencing a rise in attacks, in prejudice and in discrimination. Europe ought never again to be the place that allowed the Shoah; safeguards having been enshrined in European laws to prevent it. But vigilance is still needed. Condemning antisemitism must be part of a wider condemnation of attacks on any religious or racial groups.

6.3 The article with which we began this report goes on to include this: *“The Holocaust, Mr Blair reminded his audience, had not started with the death camps; it had started with a brick through a Jewish trader’s window, the burning of a synagogue – countless small but hateful acts that snowballed into the destruction not only of life, but of human essence.”*

6.4 In words that have now been set to music in a new oratorio by James Whitbourn, Anne Frank wrote: *“I see the world being slowly turned into wilderness. I hear the approaching thunder.”* As people who are called to recognise the signs of the times, we are called to see and to hear: to name the evil of racism in all its forms, and to act against it.

In receiving this report, the General Assembly:

1. Remembered with deepest sorrow the atrocity of the Holocaust and commemorated with thanksgiving the liberation 60 years ago of Auschwitz and the other Nazi concentration camps.
2. Viewed with anxiety the continued evidence of antisemitism in Europe, including instances in Scotland, and condemned unreservedly both such acts and the attitudes which lead to them.
3. Called on those who criticise policies of the Israeli government to do so in ways which cannot thereby be seen to be critical either of all Israeli citizens or of Jewish people in general.

Memorandum submitted by the Commission for Racial Equality

1. Introduction

- 1.1 The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) is a publicly-funded, non-departmental public body set up under the Race Relations Act 1976 to tackle racial discrimination and promote racial equality and good race relations. Our mission is to:
“...work for a just and integrated society, where diversity is valued. We use both persuasion and our powers under the law to give everyone an equal chance to live free from fear, discrimination, prejudice and racism”.
- 1.2 The CRE welcomes this opportunity to make a written representation to the Parliamentary Inquiry into Anti-Semitism in the UK

2. Background

- 2.1 Jewish can mean a racial or ethnic group for the purposes of the Race Relations Act. This follows the case *Seide v Gillette Industries Limited* (1980) IRLR 427, EAT.
- 2.2 Anti-Semitism has plagued the world for centuries. Taken to its most far-reaching and violent extreme, the Holocaust (Hebrew: *Shoah*), anti-Semitism resulted in the deaths of millions of Jews and the suffering of countless others. However, subtler forms of anti-Semitism have continuously disrupted lives, decimated religious communities, created social and political cleavages and complicated relations between countries.
- 2.3 In 2005, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism & Xenophobia (EUMC) defined anti-Semitism in the following way: "...a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of anti-Semitism 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. Anti-Semitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for 'why things go wrong'."¹
- 2.4 The Commission for Racial Equality has a long history of engaging with the Jewish community in tackling racial discrimination and promoting good race relations. The Commission has dealt with cases arising out of discrimination against Jewish people.
- 2.5 The CRE has noticed an upsurge in anti-Semitism in the past two years. The 2004 figures published by the Community Security Trust (CST – the Jewish community’s own security body) showed there had been an increase in attacks on both Jewish people and property in the UK. In 2004 there were a total of 532 incidents reported to the CST. This is 31 per cent higher than the previous record of 405 incidents in 2000. Of particular concern was the record number of violent anti-Semitic assaults - a rise of 54 per cent on the 2003 figures.
- 2.6 These figures are supported by police statistics which also show a rise in anti-Semitic attacks over the last 10 years.
- 2.7 The EUMC Report, which included UK analysis provided by the CRE, shows a worrying trend in increasing attacks on Jews across Europe. The Commission recognises that while levels of attacks against Jews are not as high in the United Kingdom as they are in some

¹ EUMC (2005) Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002 – 2003 <http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/as/PDF04/AS-Main-report-PDF04.pdf>

other European countries - notably France - there is cause for concern about the growing tide of anti-Semitism in Britain today.

- 2.8 The CRE is aware that attacks on the Jewish community come from many different sources. More traditional sources of anti-Semitism include the continuing and growing threat of the far-right whilst the internationalisation of the conflict in the Middle East has also led to increased tensions between British Jews and Muslims living in this country. Extremist groups have a history of anti-Semitism. In the meantime, neo-Nazi /neo-fascist parties are also growing in the UK.
- 2.9 Anti-Semitic Internet hate literature also continues to grow. Much of this comes from far-right political groups who espouse anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, Holocaust denial material and other hate material. Attempts to ban this in the UK has resulted in some groups relocating to US domains where the First Amendment of the United States Constitution permits the publication of hate material.

3. CRE Activities in Combating Anti-Semitism in Great Britain

a) The Safe Communities Initiative & the Jewish Communities Seminar

- 3.1 The CRE's Safe Communities Initiative (SCI)² was set up in the wake of the riots in Burnley, Bradford and Oldham in 2001. Its primary purpose is to look at community tensions and conflict prevention. Its remit is to develop models of conflict prevention that result in the lessening of tensions, monitor community relations and support organisations that are involved in conflict prevention. It offers advice and support to both individuals and groups who are trying to fulfil these aims. The work of SCI is divided into several thematic strands. This has included work on two distinctive areas relevant to this Inquiry: Racial Hatred/Extremism and Relations between faith communities.
- 3.2 In response to the increasing attacks on the Jewish Community the Safe Communities Initiative decided to host a Jewish Communities Issues seminar with 40 invited guests from across the Jewish community. Representatives were invited from a variety of organisations representing different sectors (academics, community leaders, think tanks, rabbis, students, women's groups, welfare) and from across the religious spectrum within the community (Haredi, Modern Orthodox, Reform, Liberal, Masorti and secular). The event was hosted by the Commission in order to learn more about issues pertinent to the community. This included presentations on anti-Semitism in the UK, the fears of the community and models of best practice in promoting good community relations. The event was introduced by Trevor Phillips, the Chair of the CRE and was chaired by CRE Commissioner Julia Chain.
- 3.3 The seminar revealed that there were concerns about the rising levels of anti-Semitism in the UK. Much attention was given to the spilling-over of tensions from the Middle East into the United Kingdom. In some cases the Middle East situation was utilised by those wishing to make anti-Semitic remarks here in the UK. Particular concerns were raised about the treatment of Jewish Students on campuses in the United Kingdom.
- 3.4 Presentations were also given on projects that promoted good race relations. In particular, there were a number of projects that promoted good relations and understanding between Jewish and Muslim Communities. Some of these models follow the example set by earlier generations who had set up dialogue groups between committed Jews and Christians in

² More information about SCI is available on the CRE website at <http://www.cre.gov.uk/about/sci.html>

order to promote understanding and respect between different religions.

- 3.5 A number of individuals pointed out that the Jewish community had a responsibility for standing up and combating all forms of discrimination.
- 3.6 Some participants expressed concerns about the provision of public services to Jewish people and the refusal of some local authorities to fund Jewish-specific needs even though the needs of other community groups were funded without similar concerns being expressed.
- 3.7 There were concerns expressed about attacks on people who were “visibly Jewish” through the wearing of identifiable religious dress such as that worn by the Haredi community or Jewish men wearing yarmulkes (a Jewish skull cap).

b) CRE Case Studies

- 3.8 The Commission has studied a number of anti-Semitic incidents over the past two years. These case studies come from both the work of the Safe Communities Initiative (SCI) and from other sectors of the Commission. The Commission submits these case studies as examples of the different situations that the Commission has observed directly. They are illustrative of the rising number of anti-Semitic incidents being reported across the United Kingdom.

Case Study 1: Graveyards

- 3.9 The Commission has been made aware of the increasing level of attacks on Jewish cemeteries and the desecration of gravestones usually through the daubing of headstones with Nazi insignia or the pushing over and breaking of headstones. One such case was described at the Commission for Racial Equality’s first conference on Defeating Racial Hatred, which focussed on organised racist groups, in March 2005. Stuart Hyde, Assistant Chief Constable, highlighted an attack on a Jewish graveyard in Birmingham where dozens of headstones were attacked. In this case the police made arrests and prosecutions followed. Members of the SCI steering group highlighted a number of other attacks where no arrests had yet been made. There have been a number of cemetery desecrations over the past two years. A more recent example of this occurred in November at a Jewish cemetery in Bristol.

Case study 2: SOAS – Intervention by the Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality

- 3.10 Tensions between Muslim and Jewish groups have been a cause for concern. Some groups which have openly published anti-Semitic materials have utilised university campuses as a recruiting ground. These groups espouse hatred of Jews, Hindus and homosexuals. In the main they have been banned from many university student unions on the basis of the NUS ‘no racist’ platform. However, there are some university campuses where Jewish students still feel threatened.
- 3.11 There has been a long history of claims by Jewish students that they are subjected to forms of anti-Semitism and bullying by other students. Relations between Jewish students and the Student Union have been particularly strained and in the past the Israel Student Society was banned by the student union. In February 2005, the Students’ Union at London University’s School of Oriental and African Studies attempted to ban a speaker, Roey Gilad of the Israeli embassy, from speaking to the School’s Israel Society. Mr Gilad was allowed to finally address Jewish students at the University following

negotiations between the SOAS management and Jewish students. On the day there were disturbances as 300-400 protestors tried to stop proceedings by setting off a fire alarm and causing an evacuation. Trevor Phillips, Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, intervened in proceedings unannounced. When students were allowed to return to the building he was asked to give an impromptu address where he stressed the need for freedom of expression on campus, and told the audience in a direct and challenging way that anyone who prevented this through intimidation or interference would be answerable to him and to the powers of the Commission. The meeting then continued and Roey Gilad spoke.

c) Examples of Good Practice in Building Good Community Relations

3.12 The Commission for Racial Equality has been looking at ways in which community tensions can be reduced. In terms of best practice there are a number of good examples where Jews and Muslim groups have worked together in order to prevent violence, reduce tensions and build good relations. The best example of this has been the Jewish-Muslim Forum which was established by the Haredi Jewish Community and the Muslim Community. The group first met over five years ago following an incident in the Middle East that sparked tensions in the Stamford Hill area. The group has successfully built lines of communication and trust between all parties. When one-off incidents have subsequently occurred the Forum has been quick to act in both the Jewish and Muslim communities to avoid any escalation of violence. Projects to meet the social welfare and other needs of the communities have been proposed within the group.

3.13 Tensions between Jewish and Muslim students continue on several campuses in the United Kingdom. At Cambridge University a Jewish-Muslim women's group was set up to promote dialogue and understanding. The establishment of a men's group has followed this. The situation at Cambridge University contrasts with campuses where there has been a breakdown in relations. The Commission believes that interfaith activity produces better communication and relations between different faith communities on campus. This is likely to reduce tensions and promote an atmosphere of respect.

3.14 The Commission has also noted the vital work of the Three Faiths Forum, the Maimonides Foundation and Alif-Aleph in promoting good relations.

4. Recommendations

4.1 The Commission for Racial Equality believes that anti-Semitic discrimination needs to be combated not only through the law but also through education and building good community relations.

4.2 The CRE proposes that the government establish a new body – to deal with citizenship and Integration – which could:

- Take up the 'good community relations' work currently undertaken by the CRE, which would include taking a leading role in conflict avoidance and resolution in race and ethnic relations, including anti-Semitism
- Effectively combat the racist activities of extremist groups. Current legislation against inciting hatred has proven ineffective and although a comprehensive review of this legislation should take place, the CRE believes this proposed Commission would be another powerful and effective tool in challenging extremist activity.

- 4.3 There is a need to tackle extremist violence more effectively. In the main this could be carried out through current criminal legislation. Law enforcement authorities need to take the threat of anti-Semitic incidents seriously in all instances, just as they should for all race-hate incidents.
- 4.4 The Commission believes that education about anti-Semitism is vital. The teaching of the Holocaust/Shoah in schools is vital as part of a young persons' education. The conception of Holocaust Memorial Day has been fundamental in educating young people about the horrific consequences of racism in general and anti-Semitism in particular. Efforts must continue in educating the young both in schools and elsewhere about the horrors of racism, anti-Semitism and intolerance.
- 4.5 The Commission has observed a number of good practice examples in reducing conflict and prompting good relations. There are a number of encouraging models in promoting relations between the Jewish and Muslim communities. Some of these groups need supporting and in certain cases expanding. It is possible that increased levels of public funding need to be directed towards promoting good community relations projects that promote an environment of respect and understanding where tensions exist.

5. Conclusion

- 5.1 The rising level of anti-Semitic incidents is of concern to the Commission for Racial Equality. In the circumstances, we recommend our findings and observations to you and express a willingness to give further details in oral evidence if required.

3 January 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Community Security Trust

Introduction

1. The Community Security Trust (CST) welcomes the opportunity to make this submission to the Inquiry.
2. The CST provides security and defence services and advice for the Jewish community. It was established as a charity in 1994 with the backing of the Home Office and the Metropolitan Police.

Rise in Antisemitic Incidents

3. The CST, and its forerunner, the Community Security Organisation of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, have recorded and collated reports of antisemitic incidents in the United Kingdom since 1984.
4. The past five years have seen a significant and sustained rise in the number of antisemitic incidents reported by the Jewish community to the CST. These incidents mainly comprise physical assaults, verbal or written abuse and damage to Jewish property. There were 532 such incidents in 2004, the highest total yet recorded¹. A similar increase has been recorded in other Western European nations.
5. This rise has occurred in parallel with the ongoing violence between Israel and the Palestinians, which began in September 2000. In 1999 there were 270 antisemitic incidents recorded by the CST; this had almost doubled by 2004. This sustained rise, over a period of five years, reflects a new stage in patterns of antisemitic incidents.
6. There is a pattern of temporary rises ('spikes') in incidents when there is an escalation of Israeli-Palestinian violence or as a reaction to a particular event in that conflict. This fits more general patterns of racist violence which often experience spikes as a consequence of trigger events. For instance, particularly high monthly incidents were recorded in September 2000, when the current violence began (105 incidents – the highest monthly total on record); and in March 2004, when Israel assassinated Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin (100 incidents). The concern for the Jewish community is that the high number of trigger events since September 2000 has led to an increase in the 'background' level of antisemitic incidents that take place when there are no trigger events.
7. This pattern also suggests that the rise in antisemitic incidents since September 2000 is, in part, a wave of political violence directed against British Jews, as a way for the perpetrators of the incidents to participate in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, it is important to note that very few identifiably Israeli – as opposed to Jewish – targets have been attacked. Jewish people and property have been attacked for their Jewishness, and for the associations that this holds in the minds of their attackers. This is a basic building block of antisemitism and should not be obscured by the fact that events in the Middle East appear to act as a catalyst for attacks.
8. There is also a similar pattern of spikes in levels of antisemitic incidents as a response to Middle Eastern violence that does not directly involve Israel. For instance, in September 2001, when the 9/11 attacks took place (50 incidents) and in March 2003, when the Iraq war began (48 incidents). This suggests a conspiratorial view of Zionism, Israel and Jews that sees them as actors in global affairs, with responsibility for conflicts beyond that of Israel-Palestine.

¹ The Community Security Trust, *Antisemitic Incidents Report 2004*

9. This focus on Israel, Zionism and the Middle East as a motor for attacks on British Jews is evidenced by the growing proportion of incidents that make explicit reference to these issues. In 2004 124 incidents showed clear anti-Zionist motivation, compared to 84 that were motivated by far right sentiments or ideology. This is a demonstrable change from antisemitic incidents in the 1990s, which were almost exclusively the manifestation of xenophobic or other extreme right wing attitudes.

Terrorism against Jewish Communities

10. Al-Qaeda and its supporters in the Global Salafi Jihad have, since 2002, adopted a tactic of devastating terrorist attacks against Jewish communities as part of their wider terrorist campaign. This is rooted in a deeply antisemitic worldview that believes there is a Jewish conspiracy to attack Muslims and subvert Islam.
11. These attacks include attacks on a synagogue in Tunisia (April 2002); a Jewish community centre, restaurant and cemetery, as well as a hotel used by Israeli tourists and a Spanish restaurant, in Casablanca (May 2003); two synagogues in Istanbul (November 2003). All suicide bombings, these attacks killed a total of 86 people.
12. Similar attacks were also planned on a Jewish community centre in Spain, a Jewish museum in Berlin and a Jewish-owned bar in Düsseldorf, but were foiled by successful police action.
13. Al-Qaeda is not the first terrorist organisation to attack Jewish communities in Europe and elsewhere. Between 1968 and 2003 there were 413 terrorist attacks (including attacks foiled by police action) against Diaspora Jewish communities around the world, including attacks by terrorists from the far right, far left, Islamists and Palestinian nationalists². The most recent terrorist attacks against Jewish targets in the United Kingdom were the 1994 car bombings of Balfour House (which houses several Jewish charities) and the Israeli embassy, by Palestinian activists ideologically aligned with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).
14. Al-Qaeda's most vocal supporters amongst British Muslims are to be found in the ranks of al-Muhajiroun and its successor organisations. British supporters or followers of al-Muhajiroun have carried out suicide bombings in Israel and Kashmir and fought against coalition forces in Afghanistan. These organisations and their activists have also, for many years, produced overtly antisemitic propaganda, including calling for Jews to be killed and promoting Holocaust Denial. It is possible that more determined prosecution of al-Muhajiroun activists and leaders for antisemitic incitement during the 1990s may have had a moderating effect on their political trajectory, and prevented them from becoming overt supporters of the Global Salafi Jihad.

Impact on Jewish Communal Life

15. This history of anti-Jewish terrorism and the ongoing problem of antisemitic incidents, mean that for many years the Jewish community has been forced to integrate security awareness and activity into its daily life. The CST, which organises much of this activity, is paid for entirely by voluntary donations from the Jewish community.
16. The CST has approximately 3,000 trained volunteers who act as security officers at Jewish events. In 2005 approximately 1,000 Jewish events were protected by these volunteers.³
17. Over 170 synagogues in the United Kingdom organise their own security rotas, manned by congregants standing outside their synagogue on security duty, rather than inside participating

² The Community Security Trust, *Terrorist Incidents Against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad, 1968 - 2003*

³ CST figures

in the service. As an aggregate total, volunteers spend approximately 20,000 manhours conducting security at their synagogues during services.⁴ Other synagogues – although fewer in number – employ paid security guards. Most synagogues also have CCTV cameras and other physical security measures.

18. Jewish schools and schoolchildren are not immune from this threat. In September 1995, for example, the Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA) detonated a car bomb outside a Jewish school in Lyons, France, injuring fourteen people.⁵ There are 80 Jewish schools in the United Kingdom that have physical security measures to protect against terrorism or antisemitic attack. These include CCTV, gates with intercom systems and fences with wide perimeters around the school buildings. At over a quarter of these, parents of children at the schools participate in security rotas, totalling approximately 16,600 manhours. Over half the schools employ paid security guards.⁶
19. In addition to schools and synagogues, a further 64 Jewish communal organisations and buildings are protected by volunteer or paid security guards and physical security measures. This includes a further 6,400 volunteer manhours.⁷
20. This security network, whether it involves CST volunteer security officers or synagogue congregants, parents and caretakers, requires extensive training in security methods and procedures. In 2005 approximately 7,000 people were trained by the CST, with an aggregate total of over 17,500 manhours of security training.⁸

Recognising Antisemitism

21. The changing and varied nature of antisemitism, illustrated by the shifting content and sources of antisemitic incidents, has revealed that many people have a narrow and often insufficient understanding of antisemitism. The Nazi period, and in particular the Holocaust, created a strong association between antisemitism and far right ideology, often to the exclusion of other possible types of antisemitism.
22. In trying to understand contemporary antisemitism, however, it is important to note that not every antisemite shares the genocidal intentions of the Nazi movement. Antisemitism encompasses many different forms of discrimination against, or prejudice about, Jews; stereotypes of Jewish behaviour and attitudes; demands that Jews prove their independence from mainstream Jewish group behaviour and loyalty; and holding all Jews responsible for the behaviour of all other Jews, including for the actions of the government and State of Israel.
23. All of these sub-genocidal features of antisemitism are present on both the left and right of the political spectrum, as well the Islamist movement. A trend has developed whereby Jews are expected to demonstrate their disapproval of the government, or even the State, of Israel, in order to be accepted as ‘good’ Jews. The implication is that any Jews who will not yield to this demand are personally responsible for, and complicit in, any perceived Israeli wrongdoing. Furthermore, this demand is often made by people who see Israel as a uniquely racist state perpetrating uniquely evil crimes, and who either support or refuse to condemn Palestinian violence against Israeli civilians.

⁴ *ibid*

⁵ The Community Security Trust, *Terrorist Incidents Against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad, 1968 - 2003*

⁶ CST figures

⁷ *ibid*

⁸ *ibid*

24. The consequence of this is that the vast majority of British Jews, who feel a basic emotional and spiritual connection to the State of Israel, become political pariahs and are held to be legitimate targets for displaced anti-Israel violence. An attitude that supports or excuses violence against Israel in this way slips easily into excusing violence and prejudice against British Jews. An editorial in *Palestine Times*, [REDACTED] published in London, wrote: “Jews, after all, are not hated for being Jews. They are hated for being child killers, home demolishers, vile occupiers, apartheid enforcers and dastardly criminals...As such, they deserve to be hated.”⁹
25. [REDACTED]
26. The inability of some on the political left to acknowledge as antisemitic attacks on Jews that do not come from the xenophobic far right may be unwitting. For some on the far left, antisemitism is seen as a diversion from the real struggle against imperialism. However this is often compounded by an attitude that dismisses Jewish concerns about antisemitism as being unfounded. This is often accompanied by false claims that Diaspora Jewish communities talk about antisemitism only to aid pro-Israel political campaigning. This not only ignores all the evidence collated by CST and similar monitoring bodies in other European countries; it portrays Jews as cynical, manipulative and deceitful, thereby feeding antisemitic stereotypes.

Anti-Zionism: the Lingua Franca of Antisemitic Movements

27. A narrative has developed that views Zionism as a global force of unlimited power and malevolence. It takes Zionism – a movement of Jewish national liberation, born in the late 19th century with a geographical focus limited to Israel – and inflates it to a movement of global power throughout history. This definition of Zionism bears no relation to the understanding that most Jews have of the concept. Having re-defined Zionism in this way, traditional antisemitic notions of Jewish conspiratorial power, evil, manipulation and subversion are then transferred from Jews (a religious or racial group) onto Zionism (a political movement). This is at the core of the ‘New Antisemitism’ of which so much has been written, and in fact comes in the form of an anti-Zionism that reaches far beyond previous campaigns against the nature and politics of the State of Israel and the political movement that founded it. This form of ‘anti-Zionism’ is found across the political spectrum and has become a shared language for political extremes that previously had little in common.
28. Examples of this phenomenon abound. The Muslim Public Affairs Committee (MPACUK) described Zionism as an “octopus that now penetrates every western nation and pushes it to start world war three upon Muslims”¹⁰, and warned that “Any man who knows anything of Zionists, knows that they will not stop until the Muslims ‘followed by mankind’ are dead or enslaved.”¹¹ Sheikh Rachid al-Ghannouchi, a Tunisian Islamist living in the United Kingdom, wrote in a Muslim youth magazine that “The Zionist threat is endangering the Islamic nation and the world, and is a threat to values, family and religion. It aims to get rid of everything good about humanity.”¹² This view of Zionism inflates its power and reach to such an extent that it cannot be understood simply as criticism of Israel [REDACTED]
29. This use of ‘Zionism’ as a euphemism for Jew is now common and is sometimes quite explicit. MPACUK described the Talmud – a Jewish religious text written many centuries before the emergence of political Zionism – as a “zionist holy book”¹³. They also posed the question: “Is this the most Powerful and Racist book in the world?!”¹⁴ When Tam Dalyell MP claimed there

⁹ “Israeli crimes generate anti-Semitism”, *Palestine Times* December 2003

¹⁰ “MPACUK Receives Death Threat From Zionists”, <http://www.mpacuk.org>, posted 25 November 2005

¹¹ “The MPAC ABC: The Global War of lobbies and institutions has begun”, <http://www.mpacuk.org>, undated

¹² Rachid al-Ghannouchi, “Islamic Movements – self-criticism & reconsideration”, *Insight* May/June 2002

¹³ MPAC Student Alert, “Lecturer on islam calls Quran ‘grim’”, 10 November 2002

¹⁴ “Is this the most Powerful and Racist book in the world?!” <http://www.mpacuk.org>, 23 September 2003

was a “Jewish cabal” around the Prime Minister, Paul Foot wrote that “obviously he is wrong to complain about Jewish pressure on Blair and Bush when he means Zionist pressure.”¹⁵ This idea that, by substituting the word Zionist for the word Jew, all antisemitic meaning can be extracted from the relevant sentence, is, at best, naïve and fanciful.

30. The far right has observed this developing trend and learnt that it, too, can make an antisemitic message more palatable if it redirects it towards Zionism. The war in Iraq provided a platform for the far right, far and mainstream left and Islamists to develop similar conspiracy theories about Jewish or Zionist influence on American foreign policy. The theory that the war was launched to promote a mythical Zionist dream for Israel’s borders to reach from the Nile to the Euphrates was advanced by such disparate sources as The Stop The War Coalition, Ayatollah Khamenei [REDACTED] The MCB warned that “UK Muslims reject neo-Conservative/Zionist plans for Iraq”¹⁶, while the British National Party, in its General Election manifesto, included a promise not to go to war for “neo-con adventures on behalf of the Zionist government of Israel” and separately condemned Tony Blair for swapping “British blood for donations from a clique of filthy-rich Zionist businessmen.”¹⁷
31. This new anti-Zionism incorporates many traditional antisemitic themes. [REDACTED] BNP leader Nick Griffin wrote that “capitalism, particularly at the point at which it intersects with Zionism, is the surviving old enemy”¹⁸, while MPACUK published an article arguing that “The number one weapon of 20th century imperialism is Zionist-Dollarism”¹⁹. Zionist – and Jewish – conspiracies are everywhere in this worldview. *The Guardian* and *The Muslim Weekly* both published articles suggesting that Israel was behind the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri.
32. The anti-Jewish bigotry within this critique of ‘Zionism’ is sometimes impossible to conceal. Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, in a sermon in Qatar on 2 December 2005, said: “We Muslims are besieged by many forces that want to uproot the Muslims under various pretexts... They want to eradicate the nation of Islam... But we will be victorious, Allah willing – despite the traps set by Judaism and the Crusaders”²⁰. An article in *The Muslim Weekly* argued that the Iraq war was the project of “an evangelical Christian imperialism wedded to a near-demented judaic banking elite... the judaic fanatics who combine their brilliant control of the banking system with the feverish rhetoric of a Zionist aspiration which sees Israel as nothing more than a primary base station... With all the great ancient posts which defined the law in Britain today in the hands of the jews... we are now participating in the abolition of that entity known as the United Kingdom.”²¹

Conclusion

33. Antisemitism, like all forms of racism, can be pushed to the margins by a strong united position against it. Antisemitic activity by the far right in the 1990s was moderated and reduced by a series of prosecutions of people producing and disseminating antisemitic propaganda. A similar

¹⁵ Paul Foot, “Worse than Thatcher”, *The Guardian* 14 May 2003

¹⁶ “UK Muslims Reject Neo-Conservative/Zionist Plans For Iraq”, <http://www.mcb.org.uk>, 11 April 2003

¹⁷ “Blair’s Evil War”, *The Voice of Freedom* August 2004

¹⁸ Nick Griffin, “Islam, Zionism and the Western Heritage”, *Identity* April 2002

¹⁹ Lorenzo Kibler, “Zionism, an effectively organized world wide fascist system”, <http://www.mpacuk.org> 20 October 2003

²⁰ MEMRI Special Dispatch Series – No. 1045, <http://www.memri.org>, 9 December 2005

²¹ Shaykh Dr. Abdalqadir as-Sufi, “British Election – A Counsel”, *The Muslim Weekly* 27 May – 2 June 2005

determination, particularly by prosecuting authorities, needs to be shown to antisemitism from Islamist or other sources. In particular, prosecuting non-violent Islamists who indulge in antisemitic incitement or rhetoric may prevent them from moving towards more overtly violent activities in the future.

34. In this age of instant, global communications, events overseas can impact on local communities in Britain. Similarly, high-profile figures based overseas are capable of damaging community relations in Britain by their use of antisemitic rhetoric and language in their home countries, even though they may temporarily moderate their words when they visit the United Kingdom. Public figures and opinion-formers who consistently use insensitive, inflammatory or offensive language must be condemned, irrespective of their political or religious background; excusing or ignoring their antisemitism implicitly validates it.
35. Terrorism against Jews exists at the extreme end of a spectrum of antisemitic activity, and is encouraged – whether wittingly or otherwise – by the antisemitic rhetoric and ideas of those on other parts of that spectrum who would not, themselves, use terrorist violence against Jewish communities. Efforts to prevent the use and spread of antisemitic language by non-violent actors – whether politicians, religious leaders or public figures – would make a positive contribution to the fight against terrorism.

Memorandum submitted by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport

My officials have consulted our NDPBs and I am pleased to say that none have reported any instances of complaints alleging or making reference to antisemitism.

There are however 2 areas of activity within my Department I would like to bring to your attention.

As you know my department has responsibility for the Spoliation Advisory Panel. The Panel can consider claims from anyone (or from any one or more of their heirs) who lost possession of a cultural object during the Nazi era (1933 – 1945) and where the object is now in the possession of a UK national collection. The Panel advises the claimant and the institution on what it thinks would be appropriate action to take in response to the claim. In theory, the Panel can consider claims from anywhere in the world during that period from owners or descendants of any race or nationality. The Panel has only dealt with a handful of cases so far, but in the main, claims have been from Jewish families and they have all been upheld. The establishment of the Panel was welcomed by various Jewish organisations who we consulted when establishing the Panel.

The second area is the broadcasting of anti-Semitic material by other nations. We believe that it is important to show any government which tolerates the production of anti-Semitic material that the wider world is watching, and does not countenance such material. The cumulative impact of such representations from Britain and other like-minded countries, does, we believe, have some effect on these governments' attitudes to these kind of activities.

The regulation of all channels is principally a matter for their country of origin. Under the EU 'Television Without Frontiers' Directive (Article 22a), Member States must ensure that broadcasts do not contain any incitement to hatred on the grounds of race, sex, religion or nationality. The Directive also provides that broadcasts from another Member State which manifestly, seriously and gravely infringe that requirement, can be restricted. Therefore, if a channel broadcasts anti-Semitic material and it is licensed in the UK, the regulator OFCOM could take action; and if it is licensed in another EU Member State, then the regulatory authority in that country would be responsible for taking action. However, if the channel is licensed outside the EU, the international action is likely to be more effective. We have made specific representations to the relevant authorities in a number of cases, such as in the case of Al-Manar TV.

The Broadcasting Act 1990 provides a power for the Secretary of State to proscribe a foreign satellite TV service if it has been notified to her by OFCOM. OFCOM may notify a service on the grounds that it repeatedly broadcasts which offends against good taste and decency, or which is likely to encourage or incite to crime or to lead to disorder or to be offensive to public feeling. This can include services which incite racial hatred or violence.

Proscription means that it is an offence for anyone in the United Kingdom to perform certain acts connected with the service, including advertising on it, supplying decoding equipment designed or adapted to be primarily used for receiving it, and supplying equipment or other goods in connection with its operation.

James Purnell MP, Minister for Creative Industries and Tourism
31 January 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES)

Anti-Semitism is no more acceptable in educational institutions than elsewhere in society – indeed, it is perhaps particularly to be deplored in the area of education, where young people's views are being shaped and ideas generated that can permeate the whole of society. So my colleagues and I have consistently made clear our view that where there is evidence of anti-Semitism, governing bodies should ensure that it is vigorously tackled. This Government has greatly strengthened the legal obligations on public bodies to take action on racism, and education institutions as public bodies are quite rightly subject to the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000.

I know that there has been some public concern about cases in universities where Jewish speakers have been denied access to a platform. I can see no justification for such restrictions, and governing bodies have a duty in law to protect freedom of speech in their institutions. By the same token, of course, speakers who express strong criticism of the Israeli state or of its policies should be given a platform to express those views. The presumption must be in favour of argument and reason, not restriction.

There is a judgement for institutions to make about when the expression of controversial opinions spills over into something unacceptable. Free speech is of primary importance, but I do not believe that it extends to the right to stir up hatred on grounds of race, religion, or for that matter of gender or sexuality.

For Higher Education Institutions, the sector's Equality Challenge Unit issued guidance in November 2005 on how this balance should be struck, including the factors to be taken into account in the legal position, and the Government put its support for this initiative on the record.

Bill Rammell MP

Minister of State for Lifelong Learning, Further and Higher Education

24 January 2006

Memorandum submitted by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia

Overview of the situation regarding antisemitism in the United Kingdom

1. Evidence on the nature of contemporary antisemitism

The EUMC collects regularly all available data and information on antisemitism in the EU Member States through its RAXEN network of National Focal Points. In March 2004 the EUMC presented to the European Parliament an extensive report¹ on antisemitism containing a country by country report on all available data and information, a detailed appraisal of the data collection mechanisms, a historical analysis, an elaboration of the conceptual debates and a proposal for a working definition.

The available data indicate an increase in antisemitic activity in 2002 in respect to 2001 and in 2004 in respect to 2003, but does not allow other than speculative conclusions regarding causes, namely that developments in the Middle East influence these trends affecting the Arab and Muslim European communities, as well as the activities and rhetoric of the extreme and far right and to a certain extent the extreme left. A clear distinction must be made between antisemitism in political and media discourses and concrete incidents directed against Jews. There is no systematic research so far showing the relationship between these two strands. Therefore, the motivation of perpetrators and the relationship between their acts and antisemitic attitudes and ideology remains under-researched and unclear.

Antisemitic activity after 2000 is increasingly attributed to a “new antisemitism”, characterised primarily by the vilification of Israel and perpetrated primarily by members of Europe’s Muslim population. The available studies dealing with the perception of Jews within the EU indicate that there is little evidence supporting any change in antisemitic stereotypes, but public manifestations of antisemitism in politics, media, and everyday life, have changed in recent years, especially since the start of the al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000. There is a commonly assumed change in the profile of the majority of perpetrators of antisemitic incidents from the extreme right to “young Muslims”, “people of North African origin”, or “immigrants” and, also, to members of the “anti-globalisation left” in countries, like Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK. Media reports often highlight this development and several allegations are recorded by both official and non-official sources pointing to members of these groups as perpetrators. Nevertheless, the development is difficult to substantiate on the basis of the available statistical evidence. One has to point here to the difficulty of verifying classifications of perpetrators that are based solely on the perceptions of victims or witnesses, and not on official records, which must rely on specific procedures for determining the identity of perpetrators.

A major aspect of post-1945 antisemitism is its transformation through the existence of Israel: The most recent wave of antisemitism begins with the breakdown of the Oslo Peace process and the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000. The impact of left anti-Zionism to this recent wave remains unclear, especially since antisemitism has not constituted a core ideological element for the left in the past. Secondary antisemitism, particularly Holocaust denial and the use of anti-Zionism as a form of getting around the antisemitism taboo are prevalent among the extreme right in Europe.

Data on antisemitic incidents in the UK² show 532 antisemitic incidents in 2004 – the highest annual total since 1984 representing a 42% rise on 2003. There were a record number of violent antisemitic incidents (Assaults - 83 in 2004, compared to 54 in 2003, a rise of 54 per cent including four cases, in which the victims’ lives were endangered. There were also record highs in the categories of antisemitic threats - 93 in 2004, a rise of 323 per cent - and abusive behaviour - 272 incidents, a rise of 29 per cent. 24 incidents showed clear anti-Zionist or anti-Israel motivation, while 84 incidents showed far right motivation. In 162 incidents the targets were synagogue premises, their staff and congregants, many on their way to or from prayers. 17 synagogues and five Jewish cemeteries were

¹ Appended to this submission

² *The Community Security Trust; Antisemitic Incidents report 2004*

desecrated in 2004. In 28 antisemitic incidents the victims were Jewish schools and schoolchildren. In 21 incidents the targets were Jewish students and academics. In 29 incidents public figures from the Jewish community, including politicians, communal leaders and journalists, were targeted. In 79 cases the victims were Jewish organisations, including representative bodies, cultural organisations, youth movements and museums. In 54 incidents the targets were Jewish people in their homes. This included abuse from neighbours, threatening or abusive hate-mail or phone calls and damage to personal property.

The increase in antisemitic incidents and particularly for some types of offences, such as physical assaults was attributed by the Community Security Trust (CST) to the transfer of tensions in the Middle East resulting in an unprecedented level of antisemitic incidents particularly in London and specifically Barnet, where a third of anti-Jewish hate crimes in London are committed. Nearly 60% of antisemitic incidents -311- took place in the Greater London area with just under 100 being recorded in Greater Manchester.

According to the CST the record number of assaults meant, for the first time in five years, assaults on people outnumbered incidents involving Jewish property, which included the desecration of 17 synagogues and five Jewish cemeteries.

Following the terrorist attacks in Central London in July and until October 2005, the Jewish community remains on a high level 2 alert status and the CST urges continuing extra vigilance from the Jewish community. The following are incidents recorded after the attacks:

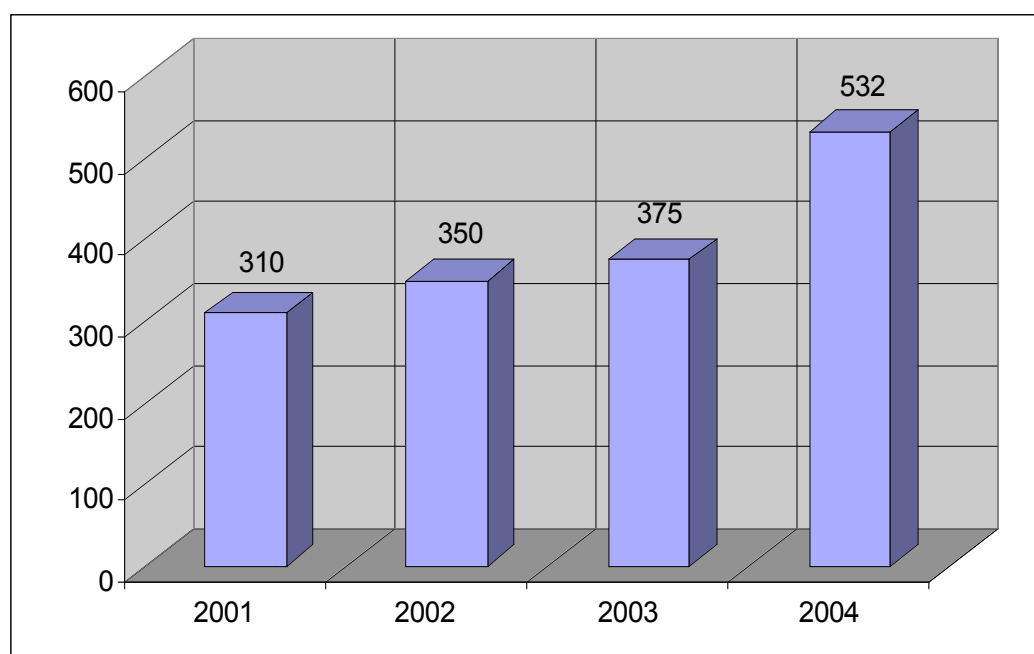
- A 16-year-old Jewish student was assaulted during the evening of Wednesday 23 November 2005, as he walked to his college in Salford. The attack left the student with a wound across his ear. The assailant was then chased away by a neighbour who had witnessed the attack. The CST is working closely with Manchester police to provide increased security patrols and ensure that the local Jewish community can go about their daily lives in confidence.
- On Wednesday 26 October, three Jordanian Palestinians and an Algerian were jailed for up to eight years for planning to bomb a Jewish community building and a Jewish Museum in Berlin and two Jewish-owned restaurants and bars in Düsseldorf. The men, who were members of the extremist group Al Tawhid, are believed to have set up the cell in 2001 under the orders of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq.
- Three orthodox Jewish men were held at gunpoint on their way back from synagogue in three separate incidents which took place in Golders Green on the evening of Friday 19 August. A teenager pointed what appeared to be a gun at his victims and asked for their money.

Antisemitic incidents – United Kingdom

The Community Security Trust (CST), which is part of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, collects data on antisemitic incidents in collaboration with the police. Regional police forces also collect data since 2004.

CST (all incident categories) ³

2001	2002	2003	2004
310	350	375	532



³ The CST classifies antisemitic incidents into six distinct categories: Extreme Violence; Assault; Damage and Desecration of Property; Threats; Abusive Behaviour; and Antisemitic Literature

2. Current efforts to confront contemporary antisemitism

The close collaboration of the police and Jewish organisations ensures that data on antisemitic incidents are collected efficiently and effectively. There are numerous positive initiatives and measures introduced to address antisemitism from both government and civil society, such as the work of the 'Maimonides Foundation', the 'Council of Christians and Jews', the 'Racism Tears Britain Apart' campaign by the Union of Jewish Students and the National Union of Students Anti Racism Campaign. The Home Office and the Department for Education and Skills have also worked closely in the preparation of Holocaust Memorial Day and provide free resources for schools for addressing antisemitism.

The Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003 on discrimination on grounds of religion including perceived religion offers increased protection and ACAS has further recommended that employers should consider whether their policies, rules and procedures indirectly discriminate against staff of particular religions and if so whether reasonable changes might be made. Further legislation addressing the issue is the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill 2005.

A major task of the EUMC is to work towards comparability by developing common indicators, working definitions and methodologies, which could also be used by other international organisations. It is also the task of the EUMC to develop precise and reliable working definitions for data collection in improve our understanding of such phenomena and provide a clear picture of the situation.

In this context the EUMC in close collaboration with OSCE/ODIHR, the European Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee developed in 2004 a common approach to data collection on antisemitism. The draft data collection guidelines including a working definition was then further elaborated by the EUMC and forwarded to its RAXEN National Focal Points (NFPs) for further feedback. As work in progress the draft working definition is currently under review in the light of the NFPs feedback and will be revised in 2006.

3. Further measures that could be introduced

A strong and united stand taken by the Government, police and community leaders in condemning antisemitism would support the fight against antisemitism. The crucial message for the future is that engagement in the issues that matter in relations between ethnic and religious communities must continue to be a priority. It is important to listen sensitively to the fears of Jewish community, but also to identify the social context which gives rise to the hatred of the perpetrators. We need the courage and commitment of political leaders at every level to turn words into action, and we need new coalitions between politicians, intellectuals, journalists, teachers and many others in order to overcome hate: Jews are highly valued and respected members of the society, and we must ensure that they are able to feel as such.

Furthermore, the EUMC provides specific opinions to the Member States of the European Union regarding measures in its Report on Antisemitism. The following could be highlighted as particularly pertinent:

- The EUMC calls on the Council of Ministers to adopt the Framework Decision (COM 2001/664) proposed by the European Commission in November 2001 on defining a common criminal law approach to racism and xenophobia in the EU. This Framework Decision, if adopted, will introduce effective, proportionate and dissuasive criminal penalties and define antisemitic acts.
- The EUMC encourages the Member States to introduce in teacher training a compulsory component to raise awareness, understanding and respect of the diverse cultures, religions and traditions in the European Union.
- The EUMC encourages all religious communities, Non Governmental Organisations and other organisations involved to speak out against bigotry and hatred and to develop interfaith and intercultural dialogue through specific initiatives at local, national and European level. Such initiatives should be encouraged and actively supported by the Member States and the European Commission.

- Mainstream and minority media emanating from both within and outside the EU play a key role in shaping social attitudes and behaviour. Further research is needed on both their content and the impact they have on society in particular concerning antisemitism. The EUMC for its part will continue and reinforce its work on the media notably through media monitoring initiatives.
- The EUMC calls upon the Member States to enact or reinforce appropriate legislation on Internet service providers preventing the dissemination of racist, xenophobic and antisemitic material as foreseen by article 14 of the EC Directive on Electronic Commerce (2000/31/EC).
- The EUMC encourages media and Internet service providers to develop clear codes of conduct, and training programmes for journalists and other media professionals to promote diversity and combat all forms of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism.

Memorandum submitted by Professor Gert Weisskirchen, Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office on Combating Antisemitism, Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

Excerpt of the report to the Permanent Council of the OSCE in November 2005

Introduction

Antisemitism, racism and discrimination against social groups and religious and ethnic minorities are unfortunately still widespread throughout the world. The 2004 report by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) found that this also applied today to the countries of the European Union. Prejudices are implanted even in OSCE participating States with well established democratic societies. For example, a recently published study showed that 18.9 per cent of Germans believe that even today the Jews still have too much influence. “Old” antisemitism is based on deep-seated and long-established prejudices. “New” antisemitism swallows up every moment of topical relevance and turns it without any justification against Jews either as individuals or as a collective group, and especially against the Jewish State of Israel.

Although the different political and historical developments and the specific features of the various governments and regions make it almost impossible to generalize about all States, the extent to which certain groups within the population of the OSCE area as a whole are susceptible to antisemitic attitudes is apparent.

If we are to operate effectively, we need focuses and goals, which should take the form of medium-term strategies. First of all, we need to analyse the key problems so as to recognize their causes and highlight the conditions that give rise to them. Once this information has been obtained, a speedy political response should follow. The activities at the different levels need to be optimized on the basis of options; unfortunately, these options are also subject to financial constraints. I should therefore like to limit myself to outlining a few central points.

In the first few years following earth-shattering changes, xenophobic and racist parties and groups emerge as a rule in realigned societies only on the margins of the party systems. That is what happened in western Europe after the Second World War. A comparable development has been observed in the entire OSCE area since the early 1990s. Nationalistic or right-wing populist movements are trying to gain a foothold to varying degrees in all European States. Apart from bringing chauvinistic longings up to date, the common elements in their rationale are the emphasis on authoritarian thinking, the stirring up of resentment towards established parties and the mobilization of right-wing extremist attitudes in the form of xenophobia or even open racism and antisemitism.

A wealth of studies, beginning with the sociological writings of Theodor W. Adorno more than 60 years ago, demonstrate that xenophobia and modern versions of ethnic and racist sentiments with antisemitic prejudices are the most significant features of right-wing extremism and populism. Although they sometimes do without the key trappings of classic Fascism and Nazism, they still make use of its arsenal of discriminatory and denigrating contemptuous prejudices. In accordance with the classic scapegoat mechanism, foreigners are held responsible for whatever social problems exist, such as unemployment and failing social systems, and are disparaged as social parasites who dispute the right of the native population to the country’s wealth. As a group they are ostracized as “disruptive factors” who need to be removed. Behind the “new” forms of antisemitism the old core still remains. If preventive measures are not taken to combat antisemitism at its source it will turn into a “social disease” that infests society, gradually eating it up from within and finally destroying it.

Recommendations

In general

The specific nature of antisemitism must be recognized. Latent antisemitic attitudes only need an outside stimulus for them to come to the surface. Antisemitism is much more than a particular form of right-wing extremism. Jews are no longer discriminated against today as a race or because of their religion. They are accused of wanting to dominate the world. Zionism and the Jewish State of Israel have replaced “the Jews” and are the “collective Jew” of today. This form of antisemitism is relatively new. It combines world conspiracy theories, Holocaust denial, anti-Zionism and exclusion and makes Jews all over the world supposedly responsible for Israel’s politics. This new syndrome is a move away from the earlier classic stereotype catalogue of right-wing extremism and racism. It is therefore incorrect to interpret antisemitism as a form of racism. The new forms of antisemitism go much further.

In western Europe, the old antisemitism has been supplemented by radical Islamism and anti-Zionist activism. In eastern Europe, chauvinistic parties are preparing the ground out of which attacks could emerge. For them, antisemitism is a way of defining themselves. Right-wing extremism has grown throughout Europe following the eastward enlargement of the European Union. Lack of integration and discrimination can be found in various forms in all OSCE participating States. Radical groups can infiltrate them, attempt to establish themselves in segments of the national societies and from there recruit insecure young people for their inhuman ideologies.

The greatest challenge for the OSCE is therefore

- (a) To develop a plan of action that combines the various levels of intervention in combating antisemitism, to make it politically binding for all participating States, helping in this way,
- (b) To strengthen the forces in society working towards social integration in the Organization’s participating States so that they, in co-operation with their governments and parliaments, can act more effectively to combat the conditions that facilitate the development of antisemitism.

The OSCE is ideally suited for this task because it operates on a transnational level, and can support State authorities and encourage civil societies to network productively among themselves and beyond their borders.

In particular

- (a) The UN General Assembly’s decision to designate 27 January as the annual Holocaust Remembrance Day encourages the OSCE to bear “a special responsibility to ensure that the Holocaust and its lessons are never forgotten and that this tragedy will forever serve as a warning to all people of the dangers of hatred, bigotry, racism and prejudice.” Therefore the OSCE should implement this decision in a unique way, stressing that “never again” means not only remembering the *Shoah*, but preventing new genocides in the future.
- (b) The OSCE participating States should acknowledge that they have to fulfil their commitments under the decisions they have taken. They should accept the fact that the Personal Representatives are the tools available to them to assist in the implementation phase. In close co-operation with the CiO, we should try to determine what should be done in practical terms if States are somewhat hesitant to assume their political obligations. A national action plan complementary to the efforts of the OSCE should be developed in every State. The national delegations of the OSCE PA should establish committees in their parliaments and prepare an annual debate reviewing the progress in the fight against antisemitism.

(c) Civil societies should continue to develop a much closer transnational co-operation with each other, crossing the respective traditional constituencies. Nationally, they should try to open channels in order to involve more members of parliament and to encourage them to take a more active part in the fight against antisemitism.

(d) (a), (b) and (c) should determine how the annual event on 27 January will be used in order to mobilize the younger generation in this fight.

(e) The media have a tremendous influence across the entire OSCE region in raising public awareness. Therefore, representatives of authors, journalists, publishing houses, and filmmakers should elaborate a code of ethics independently. The free flow of information must be guaranteed and the meaning of events that occur should be interpreted by a set of moral criteria. The CiO, the Personal Representatives and the Permanent Representative on Freedom of the Media could extend an invitation in order to initiate such a deliberation.

The way forward

The following points of emphasis are envisaged:

- Establishment of a committee consisting of members of political and academic circles to advise me on my activities and to act as multipliers in their respective environments;
- Focus on combating antisemitic hate propaganda in the OSCE area, sounding out the diplomatic possibilities available to OSCE States in cases when the countries of origin of such material are outside the OSCE area;
- Preparation and holding of a congress on “antisemitism as an international phenomenon”, at which academics, journalists and politicians can discuss the causes and manifestations of antisemitism and strategies for countering them. The contributions should be made accessible to the public through the media. The congress will probably take place in Mannheim in March 2006;
- I intend to hold regular discussions with journalists who cover the OSCE’s activities;
- I shall contact representatives of Jewish communities to find out directly about their problems and needs and make use of foreign contacts to draw the attention of political representatives where necessary to antisemitic trends in the States visited. Administrative and judicial aspects of combating antisemitism will also be discussed;
- The increase in Internet activities is designed not only to provide me with information but also to enable me to engage in interactive discussions with as many people as possible in the different countries. I hope in this way to be able to support local initiatives to combat antisemitism and right-wing extremism, and to acquire and provide assistance to new co-operation partners;
- By means of a systematic compilation of material and country-specific reports on antisemitism in OSCE participating States I hope by the end of 2006 to be able to identify acute manifestations of antisemitism with empirical evidence. I shall then present the resultant political consequences in the form of a detailed and dedicated catalogue of measures;
- In 2006, I should like to continue the country visits started in 2005, ensuring a strict balance between “west of Vienna” and “east of Vienna”;
- Co-operation and communication between the various actors will be fostered through expert meetings at various venues and on various facets of combating antisemitism. This will also

improve the process of Holocaust education and data collection. Two regional conferences with experts from the academic world and NGOs are to be held in 2006. A possible focus could be combating the spread of antisemitic literature and media, a phenomenon that extends beyond the OSCE area but also directly affects the OSCE States domestically — as can be readily seen from the Hezbollah TV channel “Al-Manar”, the Turkish magazine “Vakit” and the Frankfurt Book Fair both this year and last year. The results of the conferences will be published as books and brochures.

Conclusions

- On 14 December I shall invite representatives of various NGOs to discuss their aims and planned initiatives for the coming year.
- In view of the different manifestations of antisemitism within the OSCE area, I should like to plan my country visits in such a way that they cover each of the manifestations locally:
 - (a) Representatives of the press, media and politics who spread or support the traditional scenario of a Jewish world conspiracy or Jewish control over economic and political events;
 - (b) The activities of skinheads and neo-Nazis for whom antisemitism is a distinct aspect of their general racist and xenophobic messages;
 - (c) The stirring up of antisemitic sentiments through anti-Israel attitudes and inaccurate representations of the Middle East conflict, particularly in Muslim and Arab migrant communities in various countries in the OSCE area.
- The Personal Representatives cannot work completely without conflict. They are deployed to defuse social conflicts and must therefore work closely with the Chairman-in-Office to implement normative goals linked with commitments that have been undertaken.

Memorandum submitted by the Mayor of London, Greater London Authority

1 Celebrating communities, combating racism

1.1 London is one of the most diverse major cities in the world; as borne out by many opinion polls, Londoners are proud of our city's diversity and tolerance.

1.2 We have built harmonious community relations on the simple formula that in London everyone can express their heritage, faith and culture as long as they respect the rights of others; one of my major priorities is to ensure that such positive community relations are maintained.

1.3 This is the bedrock of multiculturalism – the acceptance of many cultures, races, creeds, and ideas. Racism and anti-Semitism run counter to this, and represent a very real danger to the well-being of our capital and its inhabitants.

1.4 As Mayor of London, I am determined that there should be zero tolerance of racism, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in this city.

1.5 Racism and anti-Semitism feed upon ignorance of different cultures and religious faiths. In London, we have introduced official celebrations by the Greater London Authority of the cultural contributions of London's different communities, including Christmas, Hanukkah, Diwali, Vaisakhi, St Patrick's Day and Eid so that all Londoners can appreciate the different cultures of different communities.

1.6 In order to give young people the chance to learn more about London's diversity, Transport for London (TfL) operate the School Party Travel Scheme. This gives schools in London free travel on Underground, Bus, Tramlink, Docklands Light Railway and National Rail services within the Greater London area to venues of educational and cultural interest. This includes places of worship such as synagogues, temples, mosques and churches.

1.7 Through celebrating and respecting the cultures of all Londoners we make it easier to confront those that seek to spread intolerance, whilst also reassuring all Londoners that this is their city and that they are welcomed and valued on their own terms.

1.8 This was also how we responded to the terrorist attacks in July – bringing together all faiths and communities in united determination not to allow terrorists or those seeking to exploit the attacks to divide our city.

1.9 Community relations are improving in London. All of our polls show large majorities enjoy the cities cultural diversity and, according to the Metropolitan Police Service, racist attacks have fallen by 35 per cent in London over the last five years.

2 The Jewish community in London

2.1 Almost 150,000 people living in London are Jewish. Fifty-six per cent of individuals in England and Wales who identified themselves as Jewish in the 2001 Census live in London, residentially concentrated in the boroughs of Barnet, Redbridge, Harrow, Camden, Hackney, Westminster and Brent.

2.2 The Jewish community is one of the city's most longstanding communities. It is my broad view that the modern, humanist, liberal, progressive culture of today has its intellectual and historical origins in Judaism and the GLA seeks to highlight the extraordinary contributions of Jewish people to virtually every field of intellectual and cultural endeavour over many, many centuries.

2.3 In London, one of our major debts is to the role played by the Jewish community in confronting and defeating the Blackshirts in the East End in the 1930s at a time when Jewish people were the targets of a vicious anti-Semitic campaign in media like the Daily Mail.

3 Supporting the Jewish community and celebrating Jewish culture

3.1 We have backed a series of initiatives to address concerns of the Jewish community in London. As Chair of Transport for London (TfL) I supported measures to ensure the go-ahead for the North London eruv. This required TfL granting a licence to the United Synagogue Eruv Committee for poles and wires to mark the eruv boundary sited on TfL land.

3.2 I met the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations and my recent Housing Supplementary Planning Guidance (November 2005) noted that London's Orthodox Jewish community has a particular need for large family homes which is not always adequately met in specific areas where their communities are based, such as North London, and specified that 'London boroughs should recognise that some ethnic and faith groups such as the Hasidic Jewish and Bangladeshi communities have distinct housing needs'. We recommend in the guidance that planners should seek to 'facilitate housing that addresses these needs to help preserve the unique character of different parts of London'.

3.3 My London Plan requires boroughs to identify the full range of housing needs within their area. Boroughs are directed to consult fully when carrying such exercises in order to ensure their assessments consider the full range of different communities. This includes consultation with faith and minority ethnic communities and also households with specialist or different housing requirements.

3.4 We have used other mechanisms, such as articles in The Londoner newspaper, promoting Jewish festivals, events and places of interest such as the New West End Synagogue to enable Londoners to learn more about the Jewish community in London.

3.5 Jewish cultural organisations were consulted and invited to contribute to my Culture Strategy.

3.6 We now publish a regular Jewish London Guide to Jewish cultural events in London, listing the many places of interest to visit; exhibitions; Jewish London history and walks; film events; music; dance; family and other events.

3.7 I supported the DASH 05 season, bringing together a diverse programme of events offering Londoners the opportunity to see work by Jewish artists from all over the world at some of London's best venues.

3.8 In 2004 City Hall housed the 'Connections' exhibition, documenting the hidden history of Jewish, black and Asian people in London as part of our Black History Month programme of events.

3.9 My office is currently engaged in continuing discussions with Jewish cultural organisations on plans for 2006 to mark the 350th anniversary of the invitation to the Jewish community to return to Britain including a major event in Trafalgar Square.

3.10 In December 2005 we established the annual official lighting of a menorah at City Hall to celebrate Hanukkah.

4 Holocaust Memorial Day

4.1 The Holocaust was the ultimate, 'industrialised' expression of racist barbarity. As Mayor of London, I mark Holocaust Memorial Day, with the London Assembly and I have marked the day each year since its inception in 2001. I consider it vital that the horror of the Holocaust is never forgotten and never repeated.

4.2 It is because of the importance of education in combating racism and anti-Semitism that I have worked with the Anne Frank Trust to bring their exhibition to City Hall. We also hosted the play 'And Then They Came For Me – Remembering The World Of Anne Frank' at City Hall in 2005.

5 Responding to anti-Semitic incidents

5.1 Community relations are improving in London, but racist, Islamophobic and anti-Semitic attacks remain a serious issue. As Mayor of London I have worked with the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) to promote a culture of zero tolerance of racist, anti-Semitic or Islamophobic attacks on London.

5.2 Overall, community relations have been improving in London. One indicator of this is recent figures from the MPS which indicate that racist incidents in London have fallen by 35% in the last five years.

5.3 However, it is necessary to remain vigilant, particularly with increasing activity by fascist and racist groups in parts of east London.

5.4 In 2001 I took legal action against the Al-Muhajiroun group after they defied my ban on them using Trafalgar Square because of their anti-Semitism.

5.5 In 2003 I agreed with Commissioner Sir John Stevens that investigating hate crimes should have the highest priority for the MPS.

5.6 After the desecration of Jewish graves at Plashet cemetery in East Ham I made it clear that anti-Semitism would not be tolerated in London, with the full force of the law deployed to stamp out this kind of activity. I also wrote to the London Jewish News condemning this attack and underlining my commitment to fighting anti-Semitism.

5.7 After the attack on a Jewish cemetery in East London in 2005 I wrote to the Board of Deputies and the United Synagogue to express my horror at the attacks and re-state my commitment to working with Commissioner Sir Ian Blair to ensure that these crimes are treated with the utmost seriousness, and to urge the courts to pass the strongest possible sentences against the perpetrators.

5.8 The MPS has responded well when vulnerable communities have been targeted, such as during a spate of anti-Semitic attacks on the Jewish community in Hackney in early 2005, when the MPS increased the frequency of their high visibility patrols in the area.

6 The incidence of racist attacks on different communities in London

6.1 Police figures show that Jewish people were three times more likely to suffer racist attacks than White Europeans. Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, African and Caribbean people are ten times more likely to be attacked than White European people, while Arab and Egyptian people were eleven times more likely to be attacked in London than White Europeans.

6.2 The relatively high concentration of anti-Semitic incidents in the boroughs of Barnet, Hackney, Westminster and Camden (two thirds of all incidents reported), is relatively unsurprising given the demographics of the areas concerned. However, it is a matter of great concern that most incidents occur either at identifiably Jewish locations or in public locations where the victims are identifiably Jewish.

6.3 It is of even greater concern that these incidents appear to be directed more frequently at individuals rather than property or Jewish organisations.

6.4 It has been suggested in some quarters that there is a new phenomenon where the main source of anti-Semitism is Muslims influenced by events in the Middle East. I know of no evidence that anything like this is developing in London. I know of no evidence that perpetrators of anti-Semitic attacks are disproportionately Muslim, nor that perpetrators of attacks on Muslims are disproportionately Jewish. On the contrary, racists and fascists target both communities and these communities have an interest in uniting together against every form of racism.

7 After 7 July – promoting interfaith understanding

7.1 Since the terrorist attacks in London on 7 July 2005, I have emphasised the importance of promoting interfaith understanding and solidarity between different communities

7.2 Immediately following the bombings we brought together the leaders of all London's major faiths to state their commitment to standing united against terrorism and not allowing communities to be set against each other.

7.3 These events included the opening and signing of the book of condolence at City Hall, the two-minute silence and vigil held in Trafalgar Square and the Memorial Service in St Paul's Cathedral in November.

7.4 I believe it is a measure of the success of our approach that we have continued to see a decline in hate crimes despite the murders of innocents on 7 July.

7.5 The latest available figures from the MPS for the period April-Nov 2005 show a 20 per cent reduction in anti-Semitic incidents of 20% when compared to the same period from 2004 (from 165 recorded victims to 132). I welcome this downward trend.

8 Representing London's communities

8.1 I am committed to ensuring that my administration is representative of London and its communities. I recently published my Faith Equality Scheme for the GLA, which sets out how I intend to ensure that the GLA takes a strategic lead in combating discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity for all those who live and work in London. It also sets out my strategy for challenging religious discrimination so that all faith communities feel safe and able to prosper in the capital.

8.2 It is vital that our public institutions, from our police service to our teachers to London's government at the GLA, reflect the communities they serve and I am pleased that the GLA group has made good progress to ensure London's diversity is represented.

9 Definitions of anti-Semitism

9.1 Anti-Semitism is a vile, racist ideology which has been used to justify pogroms, murders and ultimately the holocaust. The term should not be abused to label people who, for example, are critical of the policies of the government of Israel, as anti-Semitic. Indeed a great many Jewish people hold such critical views. This prevents reasoned political and moral debate on the future of the Middle East. It also obscures discussion of the true nature of anti-Semitism in the UK.

9.2 Antony Lerman, Director of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, argues that the equation of all criticism of Israel's policies with anti-Semitism:

‘...drains the word anti-Semitism of any useful meaning. For it means that to be an anti-Semite, it is sufficient to hold any view ranging from criticism of the policies of the current Israeli government to denial that Israel has a right to exist as a state, without having to subscribe to any of those things which historians have traditionally regarded as making up an anti-Semitic world view: hatred of Jews per se, belief in a worldwide Jewish conspiracy, belief that Jews generated communism and control

capitalism, belief that Jews are racially inferior and so on. Moreover, while theoretically allowing that criticism of Israeli government policies is legitimate, in practice it virtually proscribes any such thing. Following [this] reasoning, an Israeli soldier who sees elements of racism and the denial of human rights in policies towards the Palestinians must be anti-Semitic.'

9.3 Further, Professor Yaron Ezrahi, Professor of Political Science at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem similarly rejects attempts to label criticism of Israel as, in itself, anti-Semitic:

'The right-wing in Israel describes every criticism of the country as a form of anti-Semitism. It is very convenient...to blame everything on anti-Semitism. Any attempt to make the current government and its very questionable policies invincible to legitimate criticism should be wholly rejected'.

9.4 In August 2005 the famous Israeli author Amos Oz published an article in the Times, which was also broadcast on Radio 4, in which he criticised right-wing religious Jewish settlers. Speaking on behalf of supporters of a 'secular, modern Israel', Oz wrote: '... we, too, have a dream for Israel, totally different from the settlers' religious fantasy. We want to live in peace and in freedom, not under the rule of the rabbis, not even under the rule of the Messiah, but under our own elected government.'

This was attacked as anti-Semitic. 'One must start with recognizing the pedigree of Oz's bias', a commentator in the US publication the Jewish Press wrote. 'Its roots lie in the swamp of European anti-Semitism.'

9.5 In September 2005, at a meeting to promote a book he had written with the late Palestinian intellectual Edward Said, the Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim refused to be interviewed by an army radio reporter, on the grounds that she was in uniform. For this Barenboim was denounced by Education Minister Limor Livnat of the Likud party as 'a real Jew-hater, a real anti-Semite'.

Barenboim replied: 'Anti-Semitic? What is anti-Semitic about it? When I say that a uniform should be worn to the right places and not to the wrong ones, there is nothing anti-Semitic about it, there is no logic to this claim. I just thought that in this place, discussing a book written together with a Palestinian, it shows lack of sensitivity.'

9.6 Of Tony Blair a journalist Yoel Marcus wrote in Ha'aretz: 'When Tony Blair cites the conflict in the Middle East ("the Israeli occupation", of course) as one of the three reasons for Islamic terror, he is no different from your common anti-Semite.'

9.7 The BBC is also regularly accused of anti-Semitism. In 2002 Douglas Davis, the London correspondent of the Jerusalem Post, published an article in the Spectator entitled 'Why I won't talk to the BBC', in which he declared that he was 'convinced that the BBC has become the principal agent for re-infecting British society with the virus of anti-Semitism'. He wrote: 'I parted company with the BBC over its hysterical advocacy of the most extreme Palestinian positions; an advocacy that has now transmogrified into a distorting hatred of a criminal Israel and, by extension, into a burgeoning hatred of Jews closer to home.'

9.8 I have no doubt about the need to protect the civil and human rights of Jewish people and the need for permanent vigilance against the reality of anti-Semitism. This requires educating each generation in the horror of the Holocaust and combating every manifestation of anti-Semitism.

9.9 However, the above are examples of the abuse of the term anti-Semitism for the political purpose of suppressing criticism of policies of the Israeli government or state. Such abuse of the term inevitably has the effect of minimising the true horror of anti-Semitism and the crimes it has resulted in.

10 Conclusions

10.1 I believe that the GLA's approach to challenging racism and anti-Semitism by celebrating diversity and continuing to recognise and value all London's communities is the right way to confront racism. Community relations in London are improving and all of our polls show strong support for our multi-cultural city.

10.2 Community involvement in all aspects of society promotes greater cohesion and solidarity when particular groups feel that they are particularly under threat.

10.3 The decline in hate crimes in London in recent years would suggest that this approach is delivering success, through continuing to build a tolerant society where communities feel safer and can be assured that any threats to them will be treated as a priority by any administration that I lead and by the Metropolitan Police.

10.4 A crucial weapon in the fight against anti-Semitism is to enable as many Londoners as possible to appreciate and enjoy the extraordinary contribution of Jewish people to all fields of cultural and intellectual life and the continuing vitality of Jewish culture today.

10.5 As Mayor of London, I believe that free discourse on all matters that are of concern to the different communities in London is crucial to combating ignorance, promoting the understanding of different communities and their diverse cultures and celebrating the contribution that they make to our city.

6 February 2006

Memorandum submitted by Greater Manchester Police

A Jewish Community has been present in the Greater Manchester area since 1780. During the early 19th century as Manchester became a major centre for the world's textile trade the community grew to some 1,500. By 1881 to 7,000. Following the arrival of refugees fleeing the political situation in Central Europe the Jewish Community reached a peak of 33,000 at the outbreak of the Second World War.

The most recent Census of 2001 asked about people's religion for the first time. It was established that in Greater Manchester 21,733 persons living in 8,615 households identified themselves as Jewish.

There were concerns about the proportion of people who took part in the census in the Manchester area. The Office for National Statistics, who were responsible for overseeing the exercise, have undertaken further work with some local authorities, including Manchester, resulting in a revised Jewish population estimate for Manchester some 300 higher than the Census figure. There is anecdotal concern that not all Jews who were enumerated would have decided to disclose their religion although this is hard to evidence.

The 2001 Census for each local authority within Greater Manchester is as follows:

Authority	Number of persons recording themselves as Jewish by religion (voluntary question)	Total Population	Percentage
Bolton	146	261037	0.06%
Bury	8924	180608	4.94%
Manchester	3076	392819	0.78%
Oldham	91	217273	0.04%
Rochdale	181	205357	0.09%
Salford	5179	216103	2.40%
Stockport	1654	284528	0.58%
Tameside	85	213043	0.04%
Trafford	2314	210145	1.10%
Wigan	83	301415	0.03%
Total	21733	2482328	0.88%

The Jewish Community in Greater Manchester place their population substantially higher with varying figures ranging from 27,000 to 35,000.

Jewry in Greater Manchester mirrors World Jewry in that the majority of Jews fall into only a handful of communities, the largest of which are the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim. Together, these two groups comprise 90-95% of the Jewish people.

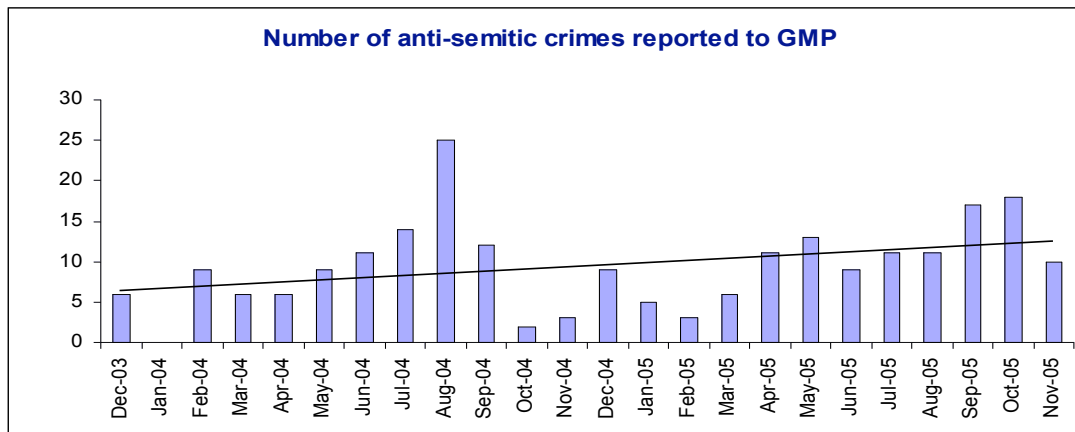
The Jewish Communities numerous faith strands are reflected in Greater Manchester with Haredi / Hassidic / Lubavitch (Ultra Orthodox), Orthodox, Sephardi, Liberal, Reform and Masorti congregations. The Ultra Orthodox Community in Greater Manchester particularly in the Broughton Park area of Salford is the fastest growing community in the United Kingdom.

Anti Semitic Crimes Reported by the Jewish Community in GMP

The following definitions are used by Greater Manchester Police in the recording of these types of incidents: -

- A racist incident is defined as ‘Any incident, which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person.’
- A Hate Crime is defined as ‘Any hate incident, which constitutes a criminal offence, perceived by the victim or any other person, as being motivated by prejudice or hate.’
- Faith Related Incident is defined as ‘Any incident, which is perceived to be based upon prejudice towards or hatred of the faith of the victim or so perceived by the victim or any other person.’

Level of Anti-Semitic Crime



There has been a rising trend of anti-Semitic crimes reported to GMP over the last two years, although the number of crimes reported each month fluctuated.

The highest levels of anti-Semitic crimes were reported on the Salford and Bury divisions. The level reported on Salford division increased 13.9% between the two years (from 36 to 41 crimes reported) although the Bury division remained roughly the same level (from 35 to 34 crimes reported). The number reported on the Trafford division between the two years rose by 83.3% although these were relatively low numbers (from 6 to 11). These Divisions correspond with the areas where the largest Jewish Communities live.

Division	Dec 03 to Nov 04	Dec 04 to Nov 05	Difference	% Change
A	19	13	-6	-31.6%
B + C	2	5	3	150.0%
F	36	41	5	13.9%
G	0	3	3	
J	1	5	4	400.0%
K	0	2	2	
L	0	2	2	
M	6	11	5	83.3%
N	35	34	-1	-2.9%
P	1	3	2	200.0%
Q	3	3	0	0.0%
Airport	0	1	1	
Force Total	103	123	20	19.4%

The overall number of anti-Semitic crimes reported to GMP rose by 19.4% for the Force. This represents 20 extra crimes in the year.

Type of Anti-Semitic Crime

Crime type	Dec 03 - Nov 04	Dec 04 - Nov 05	Difference	% Change
Violence against the person	68	82	14	20.6%
Robbery	1	2	1	
Sexual offences	1	0	-1	
Criminal damage	9	14	5	55.6%
Theft from person	1	0	-1	
Other crime	1	1	0	
Hate incidents	22	24	2	9.1%
Total	103	123	20	19.4%

Whilst hate crimes reported by the Jewish community resulted in a 20.6% increase in violence against the person (VAP) offences, the number of offences across the Force decreased over the same period by 1.4%.

Violence against the person offences	Jewish Community				Whole Force Area			
	Dec 03 - Nov 04	Dec 04 - Nov 05	Difference	% Change	Dec 03 - Nov 04	Dec 04 - Nov 05	Difference	% Change
A	4	11	7	175.0%	6833	6450	-383	-5.6%
B + C	1	2	1	100.0%	7511	7362	-149	-2.0%
F	29	31	2	6.9%	4246	4480	234	5.5%
G	0	3	3		4923	5622	699	14.2%
J	0	4	4		4536	4269	-267	-5.9%
K	0	1	1		5249	5556	307	5.8%
L	0	0	0		4964	4223	-741	-14.9%
M	6	7	1	16.7%	3464	3324	-140	-4.0%
N	26	21	-5	-19.2%	2868	3003	135	4.7%
P	1	2	1	100.0%	4928	4807	-121	-2.5%
Q	1	0	-1	-100.0%	4185	3858	-327	-7.8%
Airport	0	0	0		132	145	13	9.8%
Force	68	82	14	20.6%	53839	53099	-740	-1.4%

Whilst most perpetrators of hate crimes against the Jewish community did not operate in gangs, between 13% and 17% of victims were subjected to crimes involving up to 5 offenders. The majority of offenders were White males aged between 16 and 25 years.

Few hate crimes reported by the Jewish community were committed by offenders belonging to extreme organisations. Of the four hate crimes reported in connection with extreme organisations over the past two years, three were in linked to anti-Israeli demonstrations near the city centre targeted at Marks and Spencer plc. The remaining hate crime was in connection to National Front literature delivered to the victim's home in the Bury division.

Comparison of Hate Crime Recording with Other Minority Ethnic Groups*Black Community*

There has been a rising trend of hate crimes reported by the Black community to GMP over the last two years, although the number of crimes reported each month fluctuated.

Overall, hate crimes reported by the Black community rose by 41.2%. Hate incident increased by 64.5%, violence against the person offences by 41.5% and criminal damage by 35.2%.

Whilst hate crimes reported by the Black community resulted in a 41.5% increase in violence against the person (VAP) offences, the number of offences across the Force decreased over the same period by 1.4%.

None of the hate crimes reported by the Black community were marked as being committed by offenders belonging to extreme organisations. The majority of offenders were White males aged between 16 and 25 years, although there were also significant numbers of offenders (23.1%) in the 36 – 50 age group.

The Asian Community

There has been a rising trend of hate crimes reported by the Asian community to GMP over the last two years. There were particularly high numbers reported during the periods April to June 2004 and July to October 2005.

Overall, hate crimes reported by the Asian community rose by 22.1%. Hate incidents rose by 44.9%, criminal damage by 39.6% and violence against the person offences by 13.6%.

Whilst hate crimes reported by the Asian community resulted in a 13.6% increase in violence against the person (VAP) offences, the number of offences across the Force decreased over the same period by 1.4%.

Offenders belonging to extreme organisations committed few hate crimes reported by the Asian community. Of the six hate crimes reported in connection with extreme organisations over the past two years, four related to graffiti mentioning the BNP or National Front and two concerned verbal abuse regarding Al-Qaeda or the conflict in Iraq. The majority of offenders were White males aged between 16 and 25 years.

The numbers of hate incidents being reported has increased across all minority ethnic groups, not just the Jewish community. This has resulted from an increased training and awareness both in GMP and in the community at large and the active encouragement of crime reporting. It does not necessarily mean that the incidence of hate crime is on the increase. The National Crime Recording Standard is fully implemented in the Force and there are stringent auditing and monitoring systems in place to improve compliance in this area. An Assistant Chief Constable oversees this whole process at the highest level.

Greater Manchester Police Jewish Police Association

Over the last two years, Greater Manchester Police has made great strides in supporting its Jewish staff and the wider community. This period has seen the formation of the Greater Manchester Jewish Police Association (GMJPA), which has been fully supported by Force Command.

However, there is still progress to be made both internally and externally. ‘The Secret Policeman’ documentary by the BBC demonstrated that the organisation cannot relax.

Jewish members of staff are able to relate examples of anti-Semitism suffered during their careers. The current chair can recall his experience of receiving a yellow star of David with “Juden” written on it in the internal mail. It came complete with safety pin so he could wear it whilst on duty. Thankfully such instances are now rare. However, they do still occur. For example, in August 2005 the National Community Tension Team “cut and pasted” an article from a news service that referred to the

Holocaust as the “alleged” murder of six million Jews. Perhaps equally disturbing was the fact that this was distributed to all Forces, but not one individual raised any objection until it was spotted by a member of GMJPA.

The police service has a significant part to play in countering anti-Semitism in this country, but Home Office policies can be counter productive. For any Police Force to be effective, it has to truly represent the community it serves. Recruitment targets have been set by the Government to achieve this. The problem is that these concentrate on ‘visible’ minority ethnic communities and overlook the Jewish Community. This is because Jews are not represented in the 16+1 ethnicity codes. The Jewish population appears underrepresented within the Service as a consequence because Jewish staff do not appear on lists of minority ethnic staff within the organisation.

It is also accepted that just as with the wider Jewish Community police officers may be reluctant to identify themselves and may explain why many male Jews do not cover their head in public or the work place despite the need to do so in order to comply with religious observance. Jews have learnt to hide who they are, integrating and in some cases assimilating in order to protect themselves, their family and community.

Greater Manchester Police and the Jewish Community

Greater Manchester Police have links with two primary community structures: -

1. The Jewish Representative Council of Greater Manchester and Region. The Council President has meetings with Chief Officers and for example was fully engaged with meetings in relation to community cohesion, which included other minorities following the 7/7 bombings in London.
2. The Community Security Trust has a strong relationship with Chief Officers, Special Branch and the Bury and Salford Divisions, which have the highest Jewish populations. Again they were engaged with meetings, concerning the operational response to the 7/7 bombings in London.

In the Prestwich and Whitefield area of Manchester, there is a particularly good working partnership between the Police, the Jewish Community and the CST.

One of the main reasons behind this successful relationship is the Police Officer in charge of the area, Inspector David Jones, who has worked tirelessly for the last eight years in providing a police service that understands and caters for the needs of the Jewish community in his area.

Inspector Jones has put together a brief document that outlines the work he has undertaken in his policing area to make it so successful and perceived by many as best practice. This report is a very honest and modest account by an officer ‘on the ground’, of his efforts to improve the confidence and quality of life for the Jewish community in his area. It is attached at **Appendix A** for your information.

Feedback received from the Community Safety Trust suggests this successful model is not replicated in all areas of Greater Manchester Police yet it is accepted that the Force is now moving in the right direction.

Having looked into the nature and extent of anti-Semitism within the county it is apparent that further consideration of the issue is required. However, one issue that is strikingly apparent is lack of any recognition of the Jewish Community within the current 16+1 ethnicity codes. This presents two particular problems,

1. The Jewish Community may see this as a lack of acceptance by the authorities of their status as a separate ethnic or religious group. This in itself may lead to a lack of confidence in the Criminal Justice System tackling the issue of anti-Semitism.
2. As GMP use the 16+1 ethnicity codes stipulated by the Home Office it is difficult to readily identify the organisations interaction with the Jewish Community. This is the case in varied areas ranging from recruitment to crime pattern analysis to complaints against police. The addition of a code for being 'Jewish' would enable more effective analysis of the problems facing that particular community. It is by being aware of such problems in the first place that we are able to address them.

It is recommended that a starting point for addressing the issue of anti-Semitism be a change in the current ethnicity coding system.

APPENDIX A – Anti-Semitism and Community Engagement

'Community Engagement' with the Jewish Community began for me when I moved to my present role as Area Inspector for Prestwich & Whitefield in 1996. The very term Community Engagement suggests something intended or at the very least planned or prepared. For me it is a natural way of working with all in the Community, and in my particular case around a third of that community are Jewish.

My first recollections were that I had met individuals in their professional capacities and that I had 'failed' to recognise their Jewish faith. In many ways I was ignorant of the Jewish way of life and I soon realised that my ignorance was an irrelevance and only ever became relevant when dealing with specifics of custom and practice around the Jewish faith. It followed that the 'innocent' partnership between me and say the Chairman of the Carnival Committee or the President of Prestwich Lions was interpreted as my willingness (quite rightly) to work with all key people in the Community. By the time I recognised that these individuals were in fact Jewish I had a strong network of people who I would consider in many instances to also be friends. I say that because of the honest open relationship I have and also an understanding that there is no room for any degree of disingenuous or patronising behaviour. Put simply I wasn't doing what I was doing because they were Jewish or because I had to. It was because they were members of the local community and I actually enjoyed it as well.

That was the position as I saw it in 1996 and I began to work harder at communicating with the Jewish community. I had picked up, rightly or wrongly, that in very general terms Jewish people are very demanding and have high expectations of 'public servants'. Coupled with the fact that in the main Jews are very law abiding (excluding road traffic!) this did put extra demands on me that were not presented to me by non-Jewish individuals.

I also identified very large measures of ignorance on their part about Policing and it's methods in modern society. I put this down to an insular lifestyle by many, certainly not all, in that children attended Jewish schools, moved through university and live out their lives in Jewish communities in very clear areas of Greater Manchester.

Whatever the sociological reasons I spotted what I saw as an opportunity to promote GMP, it's officers and practices and so I began an active process of 'engagement with the Jewish community at any and every occasion.

Simultaneously the C.S.T. underwent some restructuring and they introduced a new post of Northern Regional Director. The timing for me could not have been better, given what I perceived to be the position. I made early, serious formal links with David Dellew the new Director and these have matured into an honest professional relationship, a relationship I have not encountered with any other group. David and I are confident we can contact each other at any time to discuss issues.

The C.S.T. have shown their willingness to work with the Police and are always guided and advised by local officers on the ground. That climate, I believe I have had to create and I will return to it later, as it did/does pose some threats. The CST and I have occasionally disagreed on issues, for example levels of Policing. These differences have always been resolved and we continue to work together as and when needed.

Officers within the CST regularly ask about unreported incidents, sometimes they are incidents that we are aware of and investigating and I keep them informed. When a local Jewish Cemetery was damaged earlier in the year dialogue with the CST to arrange press appeals, a reward etc was invaluable. Subsequent work with local councillors, planning officers etc to 'design out' and repetition was also facilitated by the CST.

Other features of this 'communication strategy' include the local synagogue leaders. I have tried to ensure that they know how to contact me and I them.

Each year around September I attend a briefing for local synagogues facilitated by the CST to deal with security issues around the High Holy Days. These are Religious high points in the Jewish Calendar at the end of September and in October that can present themselves as a security threat dependant upon the National position. I use this again as an opportunity to exchange contact details offer Crime Prevention advice and more importantly arrange for dates and times of particular services at every Synagogue to be sent to me in order that I can deliver a Police response. Normally this takes the form of high profile reassurance patrols and where necessary joint Police/CST patrols near to vulnerable premises. A feature of the services around High Holy Days is that it requires all members of the Synagogue to walk to the service at times and days of the week not normally associated with the Synagogue services (normally Friday evenings or Saturday mornings) By me being able to coincide the Police Patrols before and after services very many members of the Community can go to and from Synagogue services without feeling threatened. These 'special' services also attract Jewish people who might not normally attend synagogue the remainder of the year, so from my point of view there is an added investment.

Deployment of Police and Community Support Officers around Jewish venues has been particularly appreciated by the local M.P. I enjoy an excellent working relationship with Ivan Lewis M.P. and again he and I speak frequently on all matters that concern people locally. He too can reach me when I'm off duty. The point that he is also Jewish and a leading member of the Jewish Community is 'almost' an irrelevance for I believe I would have forged those links with him anyway, but this too is a bonus. He is able to communicate to me fears/ requests and I am able to respond far more quickly by direct contact than by a letter. One idea we have discussed is having a dedicated PCSO as a point of contact for things Jewish. This is yet to be developed and is dependant upon resources. Crime Prevention measures around Synagogues and support for funding bids to improve site security is one spin off from this close contact.

At a variety of Civic functions that I attend (Association of Jewish Ex Servicemen's Parade, Holocaust Memorial Day and many Special Synagogue Services I use these as opportunities to raise the profile of the local Police, to build on existing links and make new ones.

I am supported by teams of Community Beat Managers who on a daily basis, put into practice the needs identified by me of the Jewish Community. More often than not of course those needs are the same as everybody else in the community, but I think it remains incumbent on police Officers to be aware of everybody's particular needs (differences almost) This has taken some time and is something I constantly work at as staff changes take place, occasionally I have been questioned about my stance. I have arranged for regular training input from individuals in the Jewish Community describing not only Jewish customs and religious practices but also and fundamental understanding of the differences between being Jewish and Israeli or Jewish and British, even looking at the complicated political signals involving the PLO and Palestine.

The 'threat' to my Policing style has constantly been (to me at least) the possibility that I had favoured one sector of the community over another when policing events. I have involved all local officers in the rationale behind particular initiatives involving the Jewish Community to avoid this very allegation. It is so often a Police Officer's viewpoint that even-handedness and fairness need to be seen to done. By fully informing officers it removes and suggestion of favourable or beneficial treatment and instead replaces it with proportionate and necessary treatment. None of what I have offered has been a significant drain on resources; more often than not it has been about reassurance patrols and dialogue. Dialogue in respect of feedback of incidents and reported crime is often sufficient.

I regularly get a feeling of under reporting of Anti Semitic incidents all for the sake of not wanting to raise the Jewish profile, or out of indifference. As perhaps I might if my car suffered minor damage.

I was invited to Auschwitz last month as a guest of the Holocaust Educational Trust I given the persecution that the Jewish people have encountered in this lifetime appreciate many of the 'reasons' for under reporting anti Semitism. I do not necessarily agree with the reasoning but I am not Jewish. If I was I may think differently.

By regularly speaking to Jewish Youth groups, Jewish Community Centres and schools I have been able to confront some of these attitudes However sometimes when the victim is a 'senior 'member of the community it does become apparent to me that there remains a view across the Community that tolerance is perhaps the easiest way out. My strategy of zero tolerance on anti Semitism is not yet fully agreed by all members of the Jewish Community.

I recall one incident of a Rabbi walking along a main road on a summer's evening to a Synagogue. As he walked past a public house there were drinkers outside and they made anti Semitic remarks to him. He refused to complain about that incident in spite of my protestations and my seeking help from the CST to explain his shortsighted folly.

I do appreciate the assistance given to me by the CST in educating victims to report and then support incidents to the Police.

I think this speaks volumes about the level of trust and engagement that my team and me have with the Jewish community.

D.Jones

Inspector
Whitefield Police Station.

Memorandum submitted by the Home Office

Executive Summary

1. This Memorandum outlines what is known in relation to the number of anti-Semitic incidents; the nature of these incidents; the legal framework to deal with these incidents; what is being done both to tackle racist incidents and hate crimes more effectively, and to prevent such unacceptable behaviour from taking place; and international co-operation in tackling anti-Semitism.
2. During the period 2002/03 to 2003/04 the British Crime Survey (BCS) placed racially motivated incidents at around the same level, whilst the total number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded in England and Wales rose. The Government believes this reflects better recording and greater confidence of communities in reporting incidents.
3. There is evidence to suggest that a broad perspective should be taken when considering who the potential perpetrators of anti-Semitic incidents might be.
4. The Government has in recent years strengthened the legal framework against race discrimination and the penalties for criminal offences such as incitement to racial hatred, racially or religiously aggravated assault and criminal damage.
5. We have robust police and CPS policies, we are educating young people through the schools curriculum, encouraging inter-communal and interfaith dialogue, and support the annual commemoration of Holocaust Memorial Day to reinforce the message that racism and prejudice can have catastrophic consequences and that there are still important lessons to be learnt.
6. In January 2005 a Government launched its strategy: "Improving Opportunity and Strengthening Society" to increase race equality and community cohesion. It brings together practical measures across Government to improve opportunities for all - helping to ensure that a person's ethnicity or race is not a barrier to their success. It clearly signals the Government's intention to give greater emphasis to the importance of strengthening society, by helping people from different backgrounds come together, supporting people who contribute to society and taking a stand against racists and extremists.
7. The Government is fully committed to engaging with faith communities at all levels and this forms a crucial part of its overall strategy of building a more inclusive, tolerant and cohesive society. Since the publication and subsequent implementation of the recommendations of the 'Working Together: Co-operation between Government and Faith Communities' Report (2004) there has been substantial progress in consulting and involving faith communities in policy development across Whitehall. Our relations with the Jewish community are extremely important and we will continue to strive to improve them.
8. Finally the Government strongly supports efforts to tackle all forms of racism and intolerance at an international level.

Introduction

9. The Government deplores all forms of hate crime.
10. The Government celebrates and values the contribution made by the Jewish community - economically, socially and culturally - to British society as a whole. We share the community's deep concern about attacks on Jewish people and property. We are

committed to tackling all forms of hate crime and racial intolerance including anti-Semitism wherever they exist. We believe that the best way to do this is through the effective implementation of strong legislation against racial and religious discrimination and racially and religiously motivated crime, underpinned by policies and strategies to increase racial equality and community cohesion.

Number of Anti-Semitic Incidents and evidence of prejudice

11. The police treat Anti-Semitic incidents as racist incidents. Their definition when recording such incidents is: “any incident which is regarded as racist by the victim or any other person.” This is the definition recommended by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and goes much wider than the proposed new European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC¹) working definition of anti-Semitism. (See also para 27 below.)

12. As a consequence the statistics available do not distinguish between religiously and racially aggravated crime, or, more specifically, anti-semitic incidents. The total number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded in England and Wales has risen from 31,035 in 2002/03 to 35,022 in 2003/04, and to 37,074 in 2004/05, according to the Home Office Statistical Bulletin ‘Crime in England and Wales 2004/05’.

13. Placing this rise in perspective, the British Crime Survey (BCS) put racially motivated incidents at around 206,000 based on interviews in 2003/04; and there was a similar response in 2002/03. The BCS figures for these years were not broken down by the religion of the victim: a question asking whether the victim thought the crime to be religiously motivated has been included in 2005/06 BCS for the first time and data including religion will therefore be available in summer 2006.

14. The increase in the number of recorded incidents of racially or religiously aggravated offences reflects in part, at least, better recording and greater confidence by communities in reporting incidents.

15. Although the 2003 Citizenship survey did not ask about experiences of religious prejudice directly, it did ask whether people feel there is more or less prejudice compared to five years ago against a variety of groups, one of which was ‘Jews’. One percent of respondents felt that there was more racial prejudice against Jews than five years before, whilst half a percent of respondents felt that racial prejudice against Jews had lessened.

16. The 2005 Citizenship Survey will look in more detail at religious prejudice, so additional information on perceptions of anti-Semitism will be available from spring 2007.

17. The Community Security Trust (CST) (a registered charity working to ensure the safety and security of the Jewish community in Britain) works closely with the police and assists in highlighting areas of specific concern around the country. It is also engaged in UK wide data collection of the number of anti-Semitic incidents and these figures are published by the Metropolitan Police. A May 2004 report by Human Rights First noted the good level of co-operation between the police and the CST and commented that their “respective data on anti-Semitic incidents tend to match and confirm one another, providing a reliable picture of the phenomenon”. CST figures show that there were 532 anti-Semitic incidents in 2004, a rise

¹ The EUMC was established in 1997. Its primary task is to provide objective, reliable and comparable information and data on racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism at the European level in order to help the EU and its Member States establish courses of action against racism and xenophobia.

of 42% from 375 in 2003. This the highest level since records began in 1984 and is a matter of great concern. Partnership links between the police, the CST and the Jewish community, (for example in Greater London, Hertfordshire and Greater Manchester) have been very successful in incident reporting and developing early intervention strategies. For example, extra policing has been provided in London boroughs with significant Jewish communities around the time of important holy days.

Nature of Anti-Semitic Incidents

18. The EUMC report on anti-Semitism states that from the nature of most of the attacks

“it seems likely that the majority were carried out by far-right extremists whose political agenda is the intimidation of ethnic minorities, not the criticism of Israel’s perceived human rights abuses. Nevertheless, the climate of hostility towards Israel provides such groups with a convenient cover”.

19. Whilst it seems likely that responsibility for a number of incidents lies with far right organisations and individuals with a strong anti-Semitic bias, there are inherent risks in attempting to generalise about the motivation of perpetrators of anti-Semitic incidents in the UK and what proportion of incidents any one category might be involved in. In July 2005, the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and the Metropolitan Police Service published their joint report based on research into anti-Semitic incidents in London. Their findings, drawn from 1,296 crime reports made to the Metropolitan Police Service² from 2001-2004, discussed the nature and location of incidents, the characteristics of victims and offenders, and used qualitative information in the crime reports to theorise about the social context and potential motivations of offenders. This analysis shows that most anti-Semitic incidents did not appear to be carried out by perpetrators associated with organised extremist groups, but instead occurred as part of the dynamics of everyday life.

Legal Framework

20. Our laws do not distinguish between particular racial groups or particular forms of racism.

21. Under Part III of the Public Order Act 1986 it is an offence to use threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour with the intention or likelihood that racial hatred would be stirred up. ‘Racial group’ means a group defined by reference to race, colour, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins. The courts have deemed Jews and Sikhs to be racial groups for these purposes. In 2001, the Government increased the maximum penalty for incitement to racial hatred from two to seven years’ imprisonment and extended it to include incitement to hatred against groups abroad. We made this change because hatred of nationalities is sometimes a cover for racial hatred. This means, for example, that it is now unlawful to incite hatred against Israelis. This does not however in any way prevent freedom to criticise or even condemn the actions and policies of countries and governments. The Public Order Act sets a high criminal threshold matched by high penalties and we believe that much of its effectiveness lies in its deterrent value.

22. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 introduced specific racially aggravated offences, with higher penalties for such hate crimes. In 2001 this was extended to include religiously aggravated offences. This means that anti- Semitic crimes of violence, are dealt with more severely by the courts.

² Anti-Semitic incidents are treated as racist incidents by the police and all forces record racist incidents. The Metropolitan Police Service specifically flags anti-Semitic incidents as a particular type of racist incident and also flags faith hate crimes.

23. The Race Relations Act places a statutory general duty on public authorities to promote good relations between persons of different racial groups and in July 2005 the CRE produced "Promoting Good Race Relations: A Guide for Public Authorities".

24. As part of the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill currently before Parliament, we are proposing to make incitement to hatred against persons on religious grounds also an offence. This would afford the protection to religious groups, such as Muslims and Christians, as currently exists for racial groups such as Jews and Sikhs.

25. The Government deplores attempts to deny the Holocaust, including those views expressed in a pseudo-intellectual manner. We understand why some European countries, because of their particular histories, have expressly legislated against Holocaust denial, but successive governments have taken the view that criminalising Holocaust denial in the UK would represent an unnecessary infringement of freedom of expression. It is of course the case that if Holocaust denial is expressed in a way that is threatening, abusive, or insulting and incites racial hatred, or is likely to do so, then that would be unlawful under the Public Order Act 1986.

Tackling Racist Incidents and Hate Crime Effectively

26. Racist incidents can only be dealt with effectively if there is consistent and effective multi-agency co-operation. Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships are required to consider all crime including hate crime in their local areas when determining their strategies. Tackling hate crime is an essential element of ensuring safer communities.

27. The Government encourages the reporting of all racist incidents so that the police and other agencies can get an accurate picture of what is happening. Since the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report in 1999 there has been changes to the way in which racist incident cases are handled including:

- The adoption of a new definition of a racist incident (see also para 11 above) by the police, the Crown Prosecution Service, and other criminal justice agencies as discussed above – namely *"A racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person."*
- The publication of a Home Office Code of Practice on the reporting and recording of racist incidents in 2000. This Code sets out ways in which comprehensive systems can be put in place at local level for this purpose. The impact of the Code has been evaluated and the report, published in October 2005, made recommendations for a number of agencies including the police service. The intention is that the recommendations from this report will be taken forward by the Racist Incidents Working Group. The Group is currently developing proposals for a national 24-hour racist incident reporting helpline.
- The publication of a Racist Crime and Harassment Toolkit on the Home Office Crime Reduction website. This gives advice to practitioners on the handling of racist incidents.

28. In May 2005, ACPO and the Home Office published a Hate Crime Manual: "Hate Crime: Delivering a Quality Service." The manual aims to provide tactical and practical guidance to police forces and authorities on the handling and investigation of hate crime including racially and religiously motivated aggravated offences. The manual makes specific reference to criminal damage attacks on religious premises (e.g. churches, mosques, synagogues). The manual recommends that faith hate crimes/incidents should be flagged on command and control systems and that each Basic Command Unit has a specific contingency

plan for attacks on religious premises or individuals, including cascading the necessary information of fact and reassurances to the right people quickly. There is also reference to the Metropolitan Police publication *"Policing Diversity-MPS handbook on London's religions, cultures and communities."*

29. The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) published its Public Policy Statement on Racist and Religious Crime in 2003, in which it undertakes to deal with such offences firmly, fairly, and robustly. The publication of the CPS Racist Incident Monitoring Annual Report 2004-2005 shows the determination and achievements of the CPS in bringing offenders to justice.

30. Under the terms of the Code of Practice for Victims of Crime on reporting and recording racist incidents, victims of racially or religiously motivated offences are defined as vulnerable and will receive an enhanced service.

31. Home Office officials working with a small number of key stakeholders are at an early stage in taking forward a range of work to tackle race, faith and homophobic hate crime more effectively. It is envisaged that this work will include projects to improve the local response to hate crime, increase victim confidence in the criminal justice system, increase the proportion of victims who report hate crimes and the proportion of those crimes that are brought to justice, and improving the evidence base on hate crime.

Prevention

32. As part of the Government's wider efforts to tackle racial inequality, build more cohesive communities, and engage more effectively with faith communities there are a range of initiatives aimed at reducing prejudice and tackling some of the issues underlying hate crime.

Education

33. The DfES is committed to equality in schools and tackling the wider issues of prejudice, racism, diversity and religious intolerance.

34. Citizenship education in secondary schools, as part of the national curriculum, teaches pupils about the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the UK, and the need for mutual respect, tolerance and understanding. It provides a context within which schools may discuss sensitive issues as and when they arise, in a way that is appropriate to the age and understanding of their pupils.

35. In October 2004, the Government launched a non-statutory framework for religious education. Religious education provokes challenging questions about issues of right and wrong and offers opportunities for personal reflection and spiritual development. The framework provides opportunities for pupils to study all the principal religions, as well as other religious traditions and secular philosophies in line with Government's goals of inclusion, tolerance and diversity, whilst recognising the position of Christianity as the dominant religion of this country.

36. In March 2005 DfES's Anti-Bullying Conference focused entirely on countering racist bullying, as did a second conference held in Anti-Bullying Week in November 2005. DfES are currently drafting advice to schools and Local Authorities on countering racist bullying, including recording and reporting racist incidents.

37. There is a statutory requirement to teach about the Holocaust and DfES has supported Holocaust Memorial Day in schools through the production of free education resources to support its issues and themes.

Holocaust Memorial Day

38. The Government established Holocaust Memorial Day in 2001 as an annual national event for honouring the victims of the Holocaust and reflecting on the lessons for today's generation.

39. The Government has always taken a broad and inclusive approach towards the content and community outreach of the commemoration. Lessons about the need to confront all forms of racism and hatred, including anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, have been a consistent theme of Holocaust Memorial Day. The annual events have been attended by representatives of all the main faith communities and have recognised victims of more recent tragedies, such as those which occurred in Bosnia, Kosovo and Rwanda.

40. The Home Office established the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust in 2005 to take over responsibility for organising the national commemoration. The Government believes that the commitment and expertise of the Trust members will lend renewed drive and creativity to the commemoration. The Government supports the Trust with an annual grant of £500,000 to meet the costs of the commemoration. The 2006 HMD event is in Cardiff on 26 January 2006, and will be hosted by the Welsh Assembly and Cardiff Council.

41. Additionally, in 1998, the UK, with Sweden and the US, founded the Task Force for International Co-operation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research. The Task Force now has 24 member countries and met most recently in Krakow in November 2005. The Task Force contributes to ensuring high standards in the way we teach the Holocaust in our schools, universities and communities. The Task Force funds multilateral educational, memorial and academic projects. The Task Force has also produced guidelines for teachers and NGOs on teaching about the Holocaust.

Interfaith Activity

42. The Government is also keen to facilitate and encourage the significant number of bodies that are involved in developing inter-community dialogue at national, regional and local levels.

43. Following the inner city disturbances in the 1980s and the subsequent Faith in the City report, the Government set up the Inner Cities Religious Council (ICRC). It is now run by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM). ICRC's focus is on urban regeneration, neighbourhood renewal and social cohesion. ICRC's terms of reference limit its membership to the five main faith groups (Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim and Sikh). 'Working Together' was a Home Office initiative launched in 2003. A steering group, on which all main faiths were represented, published a report in 2004 making recommendations for improvements across Government in faith literacy and consultation with faith communities. The recommendations were largely implemented.

44. ODPM and the Home Office recently decided, after consultation with faith communities, to merge these two bodies into a single Faith Communities Consultative Council (provisional name). The new Council is expected to be launched by Spring 2006 and will aim to combine a continued emphasis on urban regeneration, neighbourhood renewal and social cohesion with a broad overview of cross Government relations with faith communities.

45. The Home Office also supports the Inter Faith Network; and maintains contact with a number of national interfaith organisations whose aim is to build understanding and respect for a range of faiths including:

-The Three Faiths Forum aims to promote dialogue, friendship and understanding at all levels, but particularly at grassroots level, between Christians, Jews and Muslims.

-The Maimonides Foundation focuses on fostering good relations and understanding, based on dialogue and mutual respect, between Jews and Muslims in the UK and abroad.

46. The Home Office's Cohesion and Faiths Unit has also facilitated contacts between Rabbis and Imams to support regular dialogue between the two communities and to promote better understanding. A larger conference is being planned for the Spring with involvement of grassroots activists and young people from both communities.

International Co-operation

47. The Government strongly supports efforts to tackle all forms of racism and intolerance at the international level. We are party to the International Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination and other UN and Council of Europe human rights conventions. We are strong supporters of the anti-racism bodies in the Council of Europe and the EU, respectively the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and the European Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). We welcomed the EUMC's major report on anti-Semitism in the EU, published in 2004.

48. We also welcome OSCE's recent involvement in the fight against racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and other forms of intolerance and have actively contributed to their successive conferences on these issues since 2003. Most recently, the UK sent a strong delegation to the July 2005 OSCE conference in Cordoba. The Solicitor General led the Government's delegation and spoke there of the need for all OSCE countries, the UK included, to continue to fight all forms of intolerance and discrimination, including, importantly, anti-Semitism.

49. The UK has contributed £50,000 to support the work of the OSCE Chair's Personal Representatives on Islamophobia, Racism and anti- Semitism. We have already received visits from Representatives on Islamophobia and Racism and look forward to receiving the Personal Representative on anti- Semitism at the end of January 2006.

January 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research

Data on Antisemitic Incidents

1. Annually, the Home Office publishes data on racist incidents recorded by police forces that are likely to include many antisemitic incidents. However, the published data do not provide any information about antisemitic incidents specifically.¹ The Community Security Trust is the only agency that regularly publishes such data based upon the self-reporting of incidents to the Trust by victims.

2. For London, police data on antisemitic incidents were recently published for the first time by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR), drawing from a joint research project between JPR and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS).²

3. To extend that research specifically for this submission, JPR wrote to every Chief Constable in the United Kingdom in November and December 2005, to ask if they might release any data their force holds on antisemitic incidents. A request was made for data for the period from January 2001 to June 2005 so that a comparison of trends in incidents could be made with the period covered by the London data. Chief Constables were asked alternatively for data for a shorter period – July 2004 to June 2005 – if only more recent data were available.

4. Responses were received from forty-four of the fifty-one forces contacted. Only seventeen forces, however, were able to provide any data on antisemitic incidents. Most of the data covered the more recent and shorter time period. The data for that period – July 2004 to the end of June 2005 – for the seventeen forces combined, are provided in the table below. The table also provides a comparison with the data on antisemitic incidents published by the Community Security Trust for July to December 2004.³

	July 04	Aug 04	Sept 04	Oct 04	Nov 04	Dec 04	Jan 05	Feb 05	Mar 05	Apr 05	May 05	June 05	Total
Number of incidents recorded by UK police forces	64	45	49	45	26	32	49	35	39	34	41	53	517 ⁴
Number of incidents recorded by the Community Security Trust ⁵	48	29	60	29	29	24	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

5. The data show a close alignment in the total number of incidents recorded by police forces and by the Community Security Trust for the six months for which such a comparison is possible. Although for the six months overall, the police recorded a slightly higher number

¹ See U.K. Home Office (2005) *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System – 2004*, London Home Office, pages 7-9, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/s95race04.pdf> accessed 15th January 2006.

² Iganski, P., Kielinger, V. and Paterson, S. (2005) *Hate Crimes against London's Jews. An analysis of incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service 2001-2004*, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

³ Given the limitations in the police data a comparison is not made in this submission with the trends in the London data as was originally intended.

⁴ The total is higher (by seven incidents) than the monthly count as one police force that responded to the request for data did not provide monthly totals, but provided instead one figure for the period July 2004 to June 2005.

⁵ The data for July to December are taken from Community Security Trust (2005) *Antisemitic Incidents Report*, London: Community Security Trust, page 14. Published data for January to June 2005 were not available at the time of writing.

of incidents than the CST, with the police total exceeding the CST total in four of the six months.

6. The number of antisemitic incidents recorded by the police constitutes a small proportion – approximately one per cent – of the racist incidents in general recorded for the same time period. However, any one incident – as is the case with racist incidents in general – can have profound deleterious effects for the person victimised, a fact that is recognised by the greater punishment of offenders in racially and religiously aggravated and motivated crimes – compared with parallel but otherwise motivated crimes – as established by the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act and the 2001 Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act.

Accuracy of the Police Data

7. Even though the total number of incidents recorded by police forces outnumbers those recorded by the Community Security Trust for the period in question, it is highly unlikely that the police records of antisemitic incidents capture every single incident recorded by the CST, and vice versa. This is indicated by the JPR published research on police records of antisemitic incidents in London. For two sample months, April and May 2002, an attempt was made to match anonymised records of incidents recorded by the CST for London and incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service to see if victims were reporting incidents to both agencies. It was discovered that less than a quarter of the cases recorded by the MPS were recorded by the CST. In comparison, a higher proportion – over half – of the cases that were recorded by the CST were also recorded by the MPS as antisemitic incidents.⁶ In short, whilst some victims reported incidents to both agencies, the police and the CST, a substantial number reported incidents to one but not the other. This is likely to be the case nationally.

8. A further factor affecting the accuracy of the police statistics is that even for those forces that provided information for this submission it is likely that their force data undercount the number of incidents actually reported to their force. The comparison of the MPS and CST records for the two sample months revealed that a small number of antisemitic incidents, while correctly recorded by police officers as racial incidents, were incorrectly not 'flagged' as antisemitic. It is likely that similar omissions will affect other police forces.

9. More substantially, in terms of the omissions from police records, twenty-five police forces that responded to JPR's inquiry for this submission reported that their force crime recording systems were not configured to record a distinction between antisemitic incidents and incidents in general that might be racially or religiously aggravated or motivated. Some of those forces have few Jews living in their force area and hence there are likely to be no or very few antisemitic incidents reported. However, at least two of the forces have substantial Jewish communities in their areas. Moreover, it is clear from the CST's annual reports, and from press reports, that antisemitic incidents have clearly occurred in these localities that are not captured by police records. It is likely that the similarity between the police and CST totals for July to December 2004, as reported in the table above, would be eroded therefore if more forces had the capability to record and retrieve data on antisemitic incidents in their force areas.

10. Even more significantly, it is well known that official crime statistics substantially under-represent the true extent of crime as many victims do not report their experience to the police for a variety of reasons. In consequence many countries have established crime victimization surveys to ask people directly about their experience of crime. For Britain, British Crime Survey (BCS) estimates of the number of racist incidents far exceed the number recorded by the police. Four times as many racist incidents were estimated by the survey for

⁶ Iganski, Kielinger and Paterson, *Ibid.* pages 66-67.

2003-04 compared with incidents recorded by the police for the same period.⁷ All of the reasons for underreporting do not necessarily apply in the same way to Britain's Jewish communities as they do for other minority ethnic communities. However, it seems reasonable to conclude on the basis of the findings from the British Crime Survey for racist incidents in general, that the number of antisemitic incidents recorded by police forces as reported in this submission considerably understate the true extent of victimisation. This assertion could only be validated, however, by a rigorously designed sample survey. Unfortunately, the British Crime Survey, the main source of crime data in Britain in addition to recorded crime, does not specifically sample Jewish respondents to gauge their experience of antisemitic victimisation.

Trends in Antisemitic Incidents

11. Given the short time period covered by the police data on antisemitic incidents presented in this submission it is not possible to determine from police statistics whether the long term trend is a rise or fall in incidents. Metropolitan Police Service data clearly indicate a slight downward trend in the frequency of reported incidents in recent years, as they do for racist incidents in general. However, it is perfectly conceivable that police forces across Britain might record contradictory trends as determined by local circumstances and the trend for any one force may not therefore correspond to the national trend. This phenomenon is indicated by Community Security Trust data whereby the level of recorded incidents in London has remained steady over the last few years whilst the national trend has shown an increase.⁸ Rises and falls in the number of recorded incidents can be affected by the propensity of victims to report incidents and the determination of agencies to record them. Regular crime victimisation surveys provide the only reliable measure of trends in crime.

The Perpetrators of Antisemitic Incidents

12. Arguably, a dominant perception about antisemitic incidents is that they are mainly committed by political extremists who purposefully target their victims.⁹ It is not possible from the information provided by police forces for this submission to determine whether this is in fact the case, given the limitations of the data. However, the research on incidents in London carried out jointly between the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and the Metropolitan Police Service suggests that in many cases the offenders come from the mainstream of society and incidents occur in the unfolding events of everyday life, for offenders and victims alike.

Dr Paul Iganski

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Institute for Jewish Policy Research

20th January 2006

⁷ U.K. Home Office (2005) *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System – 2004*, London Home Office, page 8.

⁸ Community Security Trust (2005) *Antisemitic Incidents Report*, London: Community Security Trust, page 13.

⁹ The authors of a controversial report produced for the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia concluded that 'looking at the perpetrators identified or at least identifiable with some certainty, it can be said that the antisemitic incidents in the monitoring period were committed above all by right-wing extremists and radical Islamist or young Muslims...' Bergmann, W. and Wetzel, J. (2003) *Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the European Union*, First Semester 2002, Synthesis Report on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung/Center for Research on Antisemitism, Technische Universität Berlin. The impression arguably given by this statement that much of the antisemitism on the streets in Europe is a manifestation of political violence against Jews, is also reproduced in the report's section on antisemitic incidents in the U.K. This view has also been echoed in the press. See, for example, Last, J. 'Hate's "from Right"', *The Jewish News*, 14th May 2003 and McGavin, H. 'Anti-Semitic attacks rise', *Independent*, 16th February 2004,

Memorandum submitted by the Liberal Democrat Party

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the All Party Parliamentary Committee on Anti-Semitism's call for reports on the rise and nature of Anti-Semitism in the UK. I welcome the opportunity to respond to this Committee as the Chair of the Ethnic Minority Liberal Democrats, Deputy President of the Liberal Democrats on minority issues and affairs and as an individual who has been heavily involved in interfaith work on a professional level over the last 2 years – primarily between the Muslim and Jewish communities.

Introduction

I would firstly like to start off by saying that the scourge of Anti-Semitism is indeed on the rise and this statement is not just based on the excellent work that the Community Security Trust (CST) does in collating Anti-Semitic attacks (be they verbal or physical), it also is linked to the perception within the Jewish community and fear that many have of being targeted because of their race and religious background. Certainly matters within the Middle East have not helped and whenever military attacks or killings take place in Israel or the West Bank and Gaza, the impact of such terrible events are felt worldwide. However, whatever the views people have on the military attacks and extra-judicial killings by Israel within the future Palestinian state enclaves of the West Bank and Gaza, as well as on the murderous attacks by suicide bombers within Israel, these events should not and must not provide an excuse for attacks on fellow citizens in the UK. Our community cohesion and mutual respect and empathy for each other should not be fractured to the degree where minority communities should live in fear and most of all when communities like the Jewish community have helped to shape modern-day Britain in so many different ways.

Our Responsibilities

As we move towards 70 years since the Battle of Cable Street, the questions that we possibly should be asking ourselves at this point should be:

- Have we learnt from such important historical and social events that took place within the capital and when Anti-Semitic attacks are on the rise?
- Should educational programmes and Citizenship modules in schools reflect such important events as the Battle of Cable Street, the migration of East African Asians to the UK in the 1970's and the input that so many migrant and minority communities have provided to the UK?
- Should the Government look towards funding other innovative educational programmes on combating racism, xenophobia and Anti-Semitism, bearing in mind that it recently set up the Connecting Communities Plus Grant Fund, the Faith Communities Capacity Building Fund and others as well as providing the Holocaust Educational Trust with much needed funding for the excellent work that they do?
- Should the Government, local authorities, the police, NGO's and other community and statutory based organisations involved in the protection of human and civil rights, strongly push forward the proposal that actions in the Middle East should *not* lead to criminal actions and repercussions here in the UK.
- The use of language obviously is extremely important in combating Anti-Semitism. Wide sweeping statements made against the Jewish community that can be construed as Anti-Semitism are unfortunately, still part of the vocabulary within the UK. These statements are not only unjustified, they are part of the 'nuts and bolts' that feed the root and branches of hate that lead to violent actions on our streets. They also help to feed the scourge of Islamophobia, attacks against refugees and migrants and to the murder of young Black men on our streets by racists. Should we therefore take a

more pro-active and vigorous approach in tackling such statements that are usually couched in attacks against the political situation in Israel and Palestine?

- Are there any discrepancies in the numbers and type of Anti-Semitic attacks between 'old' EU countries and the 'newer' Eastern European countries that have recently joined the EU?

Supporting Data

Community Security Trust

In 2003, the number of Anti-Semitic incidents recorded in Britain rose by 7% compared with 2002. The Community Security Trust recorded a total of 375 acts aimed at the Jewish community or individuals. This was primarily blamed by the CST, on the tensions in the Middle East. In fact, they went on to provide further specific breakdowns that included the fact that the number of Anti-Semitic assaults rose 15% to 54 in 2003, whilst incidents involving damage and desecration of Jewish property went up by 31% to 72.

The reports resulted in the second highest annual total number of such incidents since records began in 1984, with the highest at that time being 405 in 2000. Yet, during 2004 – 2005, the CST reported some 550 Anti-Semitic incidents and this rise was also documented and reported by leading human rights organisations like the European Union Monitoring Centre on Xenophobia and Racism, which is based in Austria.

CST has stated on numerous occasions that, “the number of incidents fluctuated in response to events in the Middle East, as they had done in previous years.”

Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch

CST's conclusions have been supported by key agencies like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. In 2002, both of these organisations were concerned with the sharp rise in Western Europe of violent attacks on persons and property due to national, religious, racial and cultural differences. In particular, they pointed to the rise in Anti-Arab, Anti-Muslim and Anti-Semitic attacks across Europe. These organisations pointed to events in the Middle East for a rise in Anti-Semitic attacks and violence and threats against the Jewish community included the posting of threatening hate mail, vandalizing of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries and verbal abuse and physical assaults targeting Jews.

Both organisations also suggested that most of the victims of Anti-Semitic attacks in the UK were mainly **Orthodox and Hassidic Jews**. The same report also highlights attacks on mosques and religious centres associated with people who were assumed to be Arabs.

Board of Deputies for British Jews

The Board of Deputies is one of the leading organisations that has been advocating for public awareness on the rise of Anti-Semitic attacks. There are those non-Jews who have suggested that the Board of Deputies attempts to over-simplify and exaggerate issues affecting the Jewish community in order to build up sympathy for the community on issues like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the sharp rise in Anti-Semitic attacks. I for one, do not buy such arguments since there is strong liberal tradition that runs through the Board's senior members and in particular, as a Muslim, I have always found them welcoming and more than happy to support projects that build interfaith, religious and cultural bridges with other faith communities.

The President of the Board, Henry Grunwald, has repeatedly raised the spectre of further rises in Anti-Semitic attacks in the media and has also written to the Mayor on numerous

occasions. I commend the Board's work in this area and its continuing support of information sharing between the police, intelligence services and the CST in order to clamp down on any form of Anti-Semitic behaviour. In particular, I must also urge that the Mayor of London co-ordinate a London-wide campaign against Anti-Semitism, particularly when the recent demise of Ariel Sharon may be a destabilizing factor in Israeli politics with repercussions for Gaza and the West Bank. It is clear as suggested before, that the ramifications of political disturbances in Israel and Palestine are felt within Europe and these need to be limited.

London Wide Race Hate Forum

This Forum has also expressed concern at the increase in the number of racially motivated Anti-Semitic attacks. The recent destruction of 87 Jewish gravestones in East London (West Ham) led to the following statement by the Chair of the Group (Peter Herbert),

"The behaviour of those guilty for bringing the latest appalling assault on the Jewish community at the West Ham cemetery must be brought to justice."

Two of the damaged graves belonged to children aged 13 and 14 and had stood undisturbed since the 1870's

Conclusions

As I have suggested earlier it is clear that:

- The scourge of Anti-Semitism is on the rise and is related to events in the Middle East.
- That locally based community cohesion projects like inter-faith groups, anti-racism groups and groups supporting refugees and migrants, should receive more assistance from Central and local Government sources in order to combat racism and xenophobia.
- That innovative and primary focussed educational programmes be delivered around not only the Holocaust (as the Holocaust Educational Trust does), but also on the various social arenas in the UK and Europe that have been shaped by Jews and Jewish history.
- That the Criminal Prosecution Service and the Criminal Justice system raise the sentences for racist and xenophobic crimes. These should include Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia which are branches from the same roots of hate.
- That the Mayor of London launch a campaign against Anti-Semitism and racist crime.
- That groups like the Muslim Safety Forum work with counter security organisations like the Community Security Trust.
- That all faith leaders consistently voice the message that events in the Middle East should not lead to physical and verbal assaults in the UK and that a mutual respect and empathy for all religions and races is the way ahead. This is what distinguishes those societies that are civilised from those which are clearly not.

Fiyaz Mughal,
Chair – Ethnic Minority Liberal Democrats,
Deputy President – Liberal Democrats

5 January 2006

Memorandum submitted on behalf of the London Assembly Conservative Group

Thank you for your letter of 2 December 2005 regarding a request for a written submission to the above inquiry from the GLA Conservative group. I am delighted to outline, on behalf of the group, our observations and experiences from a London perspective on this weighty matter that affects a very significant number of our constituents.

As you are no doubt aware, 56 per cent of the Jewish population of Great Britain are resident in London, one-third of whom reside in the London Borough of Barnet alone.¹ Any UK-wide increase in anti-Semitism is therefore typically reflected in London, and a quick review of the recent literature does indeed appear to show just such a nation-wide increase, with the *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia* (EUMC) reporting increasing levels of anti-semitism in five EU countries during 2002-2003, including Britain², and the *Community Security Trust* (CST) Anti-semitic Incidents Report 2004 uncovering a 42 per cent rise in incidents on the previous year. Out of a total number of 532 incidents, 311 were attributed to London, and 90 of those occurred in the London Borough of Barnet.³

The very appearance of such observations has undoubtedly contributed to the perception that anti-semitism is on the increase London and the UK at large. Whilst the analysis of incidents recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) between 2001-2004 reports, on the contrary, a *downward* trend in anti-semitic crime in London, the MPS acknowledges therein the variance of its statistics from both the CST report as well as the dominant media portrayal of an upward trend.⁴

It would appear that two initial conclusions could be drawn from these twin disparities identified by the MPS. The first is that as the home for the majority of British Jews and as a litmus test for anti-semitic feeling nationwide, London requires a more reliable and integrated system for recording trends in anti-semitic crime. Secondly, the portrayal of an upward trend in anti-semitic incidents in the media and, relatedly, the rendering of certain international developments such as those in the Middle East by some sections of the press and by radical groups at both ends of the political spectrum, have contributed to the perception of a rise in anti-semitism in London, whether it is 'justified' by actual incidents or otherwise.

As any local police officer knows, fear of crime is no less of a burden to a given community than the prevalence of crime itself, and from the anecdotal experiences of Conservative GLA members (in particular Deputy Chairman of the Assembly, Brian Coleman, who represents the constituency of Barnet and Camden), the *perception* of harassment held by Jewish communities within London has certainly increased. It is furthermore apparent that beyond the media horizon this perceived rise in anti-semitism at least partly results from what has been termed 'salon anti-semitism'⁵ – the opportunistic expression of anti-semitic opinion in relation to a host of extraneous factors including Palestine, Iraq, and even conspiracy theories relating to the effects of globalisation. In a similar fashion Sir Jonathan Sacks' recent comments on the ascension of a more pervasive form of 'day-to-day' anti-semitism cited "*A globalised anti-semitism through satellite television, e-mails and the internet*"⁶

It is clearly important to combat the wrongheaded construal of international events into an anti-semitic discourse, although it is by no means clear how to go about this. The obvious prescriptions - to some degree already underway - are education, and co-operation between London's diverse communities. From

¹ According to the 2001 Census <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=956>

² European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) report, 'Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002 – 2003' <http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/as/PDF04/AS-Country-UK-PDF04.pdf>

³ The Community Safety Trust Antisemitic Incidents Report 2004: http://www.thecst.org.uk/downloads/Incidents_report04.pdf

⁴ "Hate Crimes Against London's Jews – An Analysis of incidents Recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service 2001-2004": http://www.axt.org.uk/hate_crimes/

⁵ Ibid. p9

⁶ Sir Jonathan Sacks comments on Radio 4, 1st January 2006, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4573052.stm#>

the perspective of London's local government we would also argue, in particular, that the very highest standards of respect for the Jewish faith amongst all of our public institutions must be maintained as an example of resilience to this insidious form of anti-semitism.

With this in mind, we have been saddened and disappointed during the previous year with the example set by the London Mayor, Ken Livingstone, who has on two separate occasions acted in a manner many have construed as deeply offensive to the Jewish faith. Most recently, Mr Livingstone provoked outrage when he likened a Jewish reporter for the *Evening Standard* to a 'concentration camp guard.'

This group awaits the decision of the Adjudication Panel on this matter with interest, but regardless of that verdict it must be said that such outbursts from a notable public figure only serve to popularise the idea that certain anti-semitic comments may be acceptable within a certain context, when clearly they ought to remain taboo.

Secondly, from 7 – 11 July 2004, City Hall was the venue for the annual session of the *European Council for Fatwa and Research*, which is headed by the outspoken and radical Sheikh Dr Yusuf al-Qaradawi. On 12 July the Sheikh spoke at the 'Assembly for the protection of Hijab' conference, during which Mr. Livingstone also issued a personal invitation to Mr Qaradawi to attend the European Social Forum (ESF) event planned for October. Sheikh Qaradawi's controversial visit was robustly defended by the London Mayor Ken Livingstone, despite the fury it provoked and despite comments credited to Sheikh Qaradawi such as, "*O God, protect them and show them the right path. O, God, destroy the usurper Jews, the vile Crusaders, and infidels.*"⁷; and "*Look for the Zionists behind every disaster. We have found their fingers in Darfur, and their fingers are in Iraq and Kashmir. Everywhere where the Muslims can be hurt – you will find them there...*"⁸ It ought not, in our view, to be a matter for debate whether someone openly holding such exceptional views should be invited onto a public platform in London, particularly by its chief political representative.

Whilst detailed statistics relating to anti-semitic incidents for 2005 have yet to be released, the previous twelve months have witnessed some outrageous and disturbing attacks on Jews and their property in London. A variety of incidents included the eighth anti-semitic attacks in 6 weeks amongst the Charedi Jewish community at Stamford Hill on 5 January; the desecration of 87 headstones in the United Synagogue-owned West Ham cemetery in Stratford in June (the 117th in the UK since 1990), and a violent attack on two rabbis and two congregants in Gants Hill, Ilford, in July.

Clearly, incidents such as the above punch well above their statistical weight in terms of delivering fear, insecurity and distrust to their respective communities. In order to counterbalance such concerns, the corresponding presence of police officers on the street in areas with vulnerable and substantial Jewish populations, is clearly a high priority. We would also concur with the Metropolitan Police that, given "*the 'everyday', opportunistic and indirect character of the incidents*", a greater focus on the quality of the initial investigation, (and indeed categorisation) of incidents, is required.⁹ Whilst not disregarding more organised criminal hate groups, such an approach would move to counter the more prevalent form of anti-semitism currently practiced in London, such as those surges of anti-semitic opportunism that have occurred in the wake of, for example, the assassination of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in March 2004, during which CST recorded a total of 100 incidents.¹⁰ We can also be hopeful that this approach will also go some way towards improving statistics for proceedings taken against offenders in anti-semitic incidents: in

⁷ Sermon at Unar-Bin-al-Khattab Mosque, Doha, Qatar, 01/10/04:

<http://www.kokhavivpublications.com/2003/israel/06/0306161734.html>

⁸ Interview with *Al Sharq*, an Arabic-language Qatari newspaper, September 10, 2004.

Qaradawi.net) sourced at

http://www.adl.org/main_Arab_World/al_Qaradawi_report_20041110.htm?Multi_page_sections=sHeading_2

⁹ Cit. n4 pgs 80,81

¹⁰ Cit. n3 p10

their report of 2004 the MPS declare that *“Just under one in ten incidents resulted in a suspect being charged, cautioned or having other proceedings taken against them.”*¹¹

With regards to the perceived rise in ‘intellectual’ or ‘salon’ anti-semitism in London, there is clearly no straightforward prescription. We would, however, support any measures the Inquiry saw fit to recommend which related to improving the quality of education towards religious tolerance in schools, and in particular policies that facilitated much closer partnerships between London’s communities, in particular between Asian and Jewish communities, where tensions over the course of international events can tend to flare. There is also a real risk that, in some political quarters, views on international events can, almost subconsciously, lead to subtly different attitudes to, and levels of engagement with, different minority groups. In a nutshell, in the same way as there can be ‘institutional racism’ there is a risk of a similar ‘institutional anti-semitism’ developing. This must be vigorously guarded against.

Finally, following the example set by the London Mayor last year, public figures who perpetuate the idea of exceptions to the norm of religious tolerance must be stopped in their tracks.

I do hope that the foregoing has been of some interest to the Inquiry, and we look forward to reading the report in due course.

Yours sincerely

Robert Neill AM
Leader of the Conservative Group

5 January 2006

¹¹ Cit. n4 pgs 3,4

Memorandum submitted by the Metropolitan Police

This report provides a brief review from the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) response to the communication from the All Party Parliamentary inquiry into anti-semitism.

MPS Structures / Capacity

The MPS strategic response to anti-semitism is dealt with by the Racial and Violent Crime Task Force, (RVCTF) and The Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate. At an operational level specialist Community Safety Units and frontline staff deal with incidents and investigations

The MPS established the Racial and Violent Task Force (RVCTF) in 1999, it is located as part of Territorial Policing and is centrally located at New Scotland Yard. This unit is responsible for policy, minimum standards (standard operating procedures), monitoring and supporting organisational specialists located across the MPS. This unit also provides an intelligence function, which monitors anti-semitism on a daily basis. The next tier of proactively consists of 32 Community Safety Units, resourced by 550 specially trained staff that investigates a range of Hate Crime, including antisemitism at a local borough level. At the borough operational level, crimes and incidents of anti-semitism are recorded and investigated.

The Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate is working together with the rest of the MPS, its partners and the people of London to meet the strategic aims of the organization and enable it to deliver a diversity- and citizen-focused service to all, internally and externally. Part of their portfolio includes antisemitism.

General Overview

This section report provides a brief overview of incidents and crimes reported to the MPS.

- **Trend information:** Since 2001, a downward trend in anti-Semitic incidents recorded by the MPS is evident, which mirrors the downward trend in racist incidents recorded by the MPS over this time period. Similarly, the British Crime Survey estimates of the number of incidents considered by the victim to be racially motivated have decreased steadily over the last ten years. However, it cannot be concluded from police data alone whether this represents an actual decline in victimisation. Other sources of information, such as third party reporting or assisted reporting schemes, need to be interrogated to provide further information on this.
- **Location of incidents:** An analysis of a sub-sample of 156 antisemitic incidents suggests that most incidents take place either at identifiably Jewish locations (such as places of worship and schools) or in public locations where the victims are identifiably Jewish.
- **Characteristics of incidents:** An analysis of a sub-sample of 156 anti-Semitic incidents recorded by the MPS suggests that many incidents appear to be opportunistic and indirect in nature. Just fewer than one in ten of the sub-samples of incidents (12 out of 156) involve direct contact with and explicit targeting of an individual by a perpetrator where there is some evidence of a political or anti-Semitic belief or 'mission' that appears to have driven the incident. Moreover, whilst a number of the incidents are clearly

politically motivated, the majority of the sub-sample of incidents do not appear to be carried out by perpetrators who are active in organised or extremist groups.

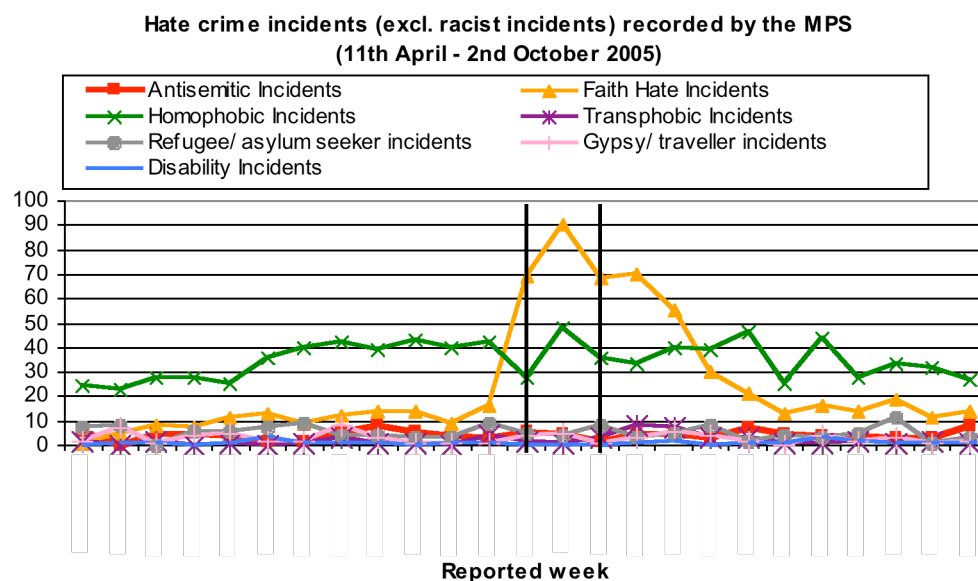
- **Implications for policing:** Much of what is recorded by the MPS as hate crime is ‘low level’ or ‘ordinary’ crime (such as damage to property, theft and name-calling) and this needs to be understood within its wider social context and the substantial impact it has on the lived reality of Londoners. Focus on the quality of the initial investigation of incidents as well as effective supervision is highlighted as key in tackling this form of crime.

Further details about this research can be found on the following Internet site:

http://www.axt.org.uk/hate_crimes/

In-depth research into antisemitic incidents reported to the MPS between 2001 and 2004 that was conducted for the book “Hate Crimes Against London’s Jews”¹ provides the following information about the nature, location and features of such incidents: This study has been submitted directly to the enquiry team.

More recently, the Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate has looked into the potential impact the events of the 7th and 21st July 2005 may have had on the hate crimes recorded by the MPS. A rise in racist incidents and faith hate incidents is evident over the months of July and August. However, as can be seen in the graph below, there is no indication that a similar rise took place in antisemitic incidents recorded by the MPS over the same time period (Please note that, for purposes of scale and clarity the graph does not include the levels of racist incidents, as the level of these are much higher than the other types of hate crime).



It provides a picture of the level of antisemitic offences occurring across the Metropolitan Police District (MPD), highlighting any emerging trends or long-term concerns.

MPS Statistics - Antisemitic Offences -Snapshot

This part of the report provides a snapshot of antisemitic activity in all MPS boroughs for the time period 1st September to 30th November 2005 (and the corresponding period in 2004).

This report provides a more detailed insight into the nature of the incidents /crimes reported and the quality of intelligence gathered within the MPS. This intelligence is used to support local borough command units.

Executive Summary

- **The level of recorded antisemitic incidents has remained stable for the last three months, well within the expected range of 10-35 incidents per month.**
- **Overall recorded incidents in the three-month period 2005 (68) are marginally down 2.9% compared to the corresponding period 2004 (70).**
 - Furthermore, the patterns of targeting, in terms of the six crime categories identified by the Community Safety Trust (CST) (i.e. Extreme Violence, Assault, Damage & Desecration of Property, Threats, Abusive Behaviour, and Literature) appear to remain largely stable and in line with the trends for 2003 and 2004.
- The majority of recorded incidents remain relatively low-level and do not appear to be impacting significantly on the community threat level. The largest proportion of all MPS recorded incidents take the form of Abusive Behaviour, accounting for 41.2% of all incidents in the 3-months analysed in 2005 (in line with previous trends)
- In terms of geographical spread, the majority of incidents recorded by the MPS in 2005 are concentrated within the North West cluster, 60.3% of all incidents and North East cluster, 26.5%. This is in line with the longer-term trends for 2003 and 2004.
 - **There is no suggestion of any emerging hotspots.** While there are boroughs (and clusters) with a high concentration of reported incidents, these have not changed.
- In relation to the events of the 7th and 21st of July, the Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate will be submitting figures showing the different hate crime types in order to show the impact these events may have had on antisemitic crime.
 - **The Racial and Violent Crime Task Force monitored reported Hate Crime offences and intelligence that related to the events of the 7th of July 2005. From the approximately 1500 entries recorded in our database (July 2005 – November 2005) of events possibly relating to the terrorist incidents, only five antisemitic incidents can be found which are believed to be as a result of the increased hate crime following those attacks.**

MPS Recorded Anti-Semitic Incidents by Geographic Cluster*

The table below shows a breakdown of recorded antisemitic incidents on the MPS Crime Reporting Information Systems between 1st September and 30th November in 2004 and 2005.

Overall recorded incidents in the three-month period 2005 (68) are marginally down 2.9% compared to the corresponding period 2004 (70).

The majority of incidents continue the trend of being concentrated in the North West and North East Cluster.

The North West Cluster accounted for 60.3% in 2005 and 45.7% in 2004. The North East Cluster accounted for 26.5% of incidents in 2005 and 37.1% in 2004.

Specific borough of note is Barnet, which accounts for 42.6% of all MPS incidents recorded in 2005 (and 70.7% of incidents within the North West cluster in 2005). This follows the trend in previous periods and is likely to be due to the high proportion of Jewish residents in the borough (Jews account for 14.8% of all residents in Barnet), as opposed to a concerted campaign against the community, as there appears to be no pattern in targeting.

Recorded incidents within the other clusters remain low in volume and sparsely distributed across boroughs.

	Sept - Nov 2004	% of incidents in each cluster	Sept - Nov 2005	% of incidents in each cluster
North East Cluster	26	37.1%	18	26.5%
North West Cluster	32	45.7%	41	60.3%
South East Cluster	5	7.1%	2	2.9%
South West Cluster	3	4.3%	2	2.9%
Westminster And Lambeth	4	5.7%	5	7.4%
	70		68	

* See Appendix for details of Geographical Cluster areas

Breakdown of Anti-Semitic Incidents

The table below shows a breakdown of MPS incidents between 1st September and 30th November in 2004 and 2005 according to the six CST categories of Extreme Violence, Assault, Damage & Desecration of Property, threats, Abusive Behaviour, and Literature.

The majority of recorded incidents continue the trend of being by way of abusive behaviour, accounting for 41.2% of all incidents in 2005 (and 27.1% in the corresponding period 2004).

While there are some fluctuations in the other categories, this is accounted for by the low numbers involved. The overall trend remains largely stable. No serious assaults have been recorded for the time period assessed.

ALLEGATION (CST CATEGORIES)	Sept - Nov 2004	Offence as a % of all crimes Sept - Nov 2004	Sept - Nov 2005	Offence as a % of all crimes Sept - Nov 2005
1 Extreme Violence	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
2 Assault	16	22.9%	9	13.2%
3 Damage & Desecration of Property	13	18.6%	9	13.2%
4 Threats	5	7.1%	14	20.6%
5 Abusive Behaviour	19	27.1%	28	41.2%
6 Literature	5	7.1%	4	5.9%
N/A	12	17.1%	4	5.9%
	70		68	

Monthly Breakdown of MPS anti-Semitic Incidents

The table below shows a monthly breakdown of antisemitic incidents recorded by the MPS in 2004 and 2005. **Incidents remain within the expected range of 10-35 incidents per month.**

MONTH	MPS 2004	MPS 2005
September	27	23
October	26	28
November	17	19
TOTAL	70	70*

* the reason for the discrepancy in recorded incidents in 2005 is due to a number of offences where a specific date could not be attributed to the offence (68 incidents compared to the 70 when broken down into monthly intervals). However, this discrepancy is marginal and does not affect the overall trend.

Yearly breakdown

N.B. This yearly breakdown data has been requested for a meeting with the Jewish Community Security Trust (CST).

Calendar Year (1st Jan – 14th Dec)	Volume
2005	262
2004	302
2003	291
2002	358
2001	344

The above figures are obtained from CRIS

As can be seen from the above table there has been a general downward trend in antisemitic targeting over the last five years.

Financial Year (1st Apr – 14th Dec)	Volume
2005	177
2004	213
2003	208
2002	273
2001	258

The above figures are obtained from CRIS

Similarly figures for financial year-to-date, and comparison with the same period in previous years, also shows a downward trend over the last five years.

MPS Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate's Engagement with Jewish Groups

The Jewish community is one of a number of community groups that the MPS engages with across London.

The main contact point for the Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate is through the Community Security Trust (CST). This body attends a meeting on a regular basis to discuss community concerns and other issues. This meeting is attended not just by the Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate but other police partner agencies.

Engagement has been expanded to include Jewish representation on the Diamond strategic advisory group formed in the wake of Operation Theseus.

(operation name given to police activity following the London bombings in July 2005). A CST member is part of the Diamond 'Purple' group, which is the group that advised police during the immediate aftermath of the event.

People on the Diamond group include CST and MPS Jewish Police Association members, are available for ad-hoc advice and have the capacity to attend meetings relating to issues that may affect their community.

Although the relationship is a functional one, with the two previously mentioned groups as a reference point for issues such as security and crime reporting, there are less formalised links established with AMWAS, a group that researches antisemitic incidents and a number of Rabbis working in North London.

Beyond the central work undertaken by the Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate, there is work undertaken by Borough commands that will involve representation on Police Community Consultative Groups and other local forums.

MPS Reactive Operations in Response to antisemitic Crime

Currently the Racial and Violent Crime Task Force, based within the Territorial Policing Directorate, are not engaged in any reactive operations targeting antisemitic criminality.

The most recent coordinated MPS proactivity around potential antisemitic crime was based around the Jewish High Holy days which ran throughout October 2005. A national response and strategy was drafted by the National Community Tensions Team and this was communicated to the individual London Borough command units for their own individual response and planning.

Breakdown of incidents by borough and cluster:

Antisemitic incidents flagged 'RS' on CRIS			
	BOCU	Sept - Nov 2004	Sept - Nov 2005
NORTH EAST CLUSTER	Barking And Dagenham KG	0	0
	Enfield YE	3	1
	Hackney GD	10	6
	Haringey YR	5	6
	Havering KD	0	0
	Newham KF	1	0
	Redbridge JI	2	1
	Tower Hamlets HT	5	3
	Waltham Forest JC	0	1
	Cluster total	26	18
NORTH WEST CLUSTER	Barnet SX	18	29
	Brent QK	2	1
	Camden EK	1	5
	Ealing XD	2	3
	Harrow QA	5	3
	Heathrow Airport ID	0	0
	Hillingdon XH	0	0
	Islington NI	4	0
	Cluster total	32	41
SOUTH EAST CLUSTER	Bexley RY	1	1
	Bromley PY	1	1
	Croydon ZD	1	0
	Greenwich RG	1	0
	Lewisham PL	0	0
	Southwark MD	1	0
	Cluster total	5	2
SOUTH WEST CLUSTER	Hammersmith And Fulham FH	0	0
	Hounslow TX	1	0
	Kensington And Chelsea BS	1	1
	Kingston Upon Thames VK	0	0
	Merton VW	0	0
	Richmond Upon Thames TW	0	0
	Sutton ZT	0	1
	Wandsworth WW	1	0
	Cluster total	3	2
WESTMINSTER AND LAMBETH	Belgravia AB	1	0
	Charing Cross CX	1	2
	Lambeth LX	0	0
	Marylebone DM	1	1
	Paddington DP	1	1
	West End Central CD	0	1
	Cluster total	4	5
TOTAL		70	68

Memorandum submitted by the National Union of Teachers

Introduction

1. The National Union of Teachers (NUT) welcomes the opportunity to respond to the House of Commons All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Anti-Semitism in the UK, based on the ongoing work of the Union. The NUT, established over 130 years ago, is the largest teachers' organisation in Europe with over 255,000 members in England and Wales. The NUT has in its membership those with Qualified Teacher Status (QTS), or those on courses or in posts that will lead to QTS. It is therefore well placed to speak on behalf of the profession.
2. The NUT is a trade union and a professional association, working on professional and curricular issues as well as on conditions of service and pay. Contained within the NUT's membership are a significant number of Jewish teachers and teachers from other religious and ethnic groups representing the entire spectrum of the diversity of the teaching profession.
3. The NUT welcomes the opportunity to provide a written submission to the All-Party Parliamentary Committee Inquiry into anti-Semitism. The NUT would also wish to present oral evidence to the Inquiry at the appropriate time.
4. The NUT has a long and proud tradition of promoting anti-racism and equal opportunities in schools, education and in society more widely. The NUT believes that all forms of racism are unacceptable. Anti-Semitism has both connections to, and similarities with, other forms of racism.
5. Anti-Semitism is a form of racism in which hostility towards culture and religion is a major factor, which manifests itself as a strong dislike or unfair treatment of Jewish people. The Runnymede Commission on Anti-Semitism states that '...modern anti-Semitism tends to be quasi-racial, in that it is Jews as a people who are the objects of prejudice, rather than religion'¹.
6. Strong anti-Jewish feeling and anti-Semitism in Europe has a long history that predates Christianity and has persisted through the Middle Ages, the nineteenth century, through Nazism and the Holocaust.
7. More recently, the ongoing instability in the Middle East and the increasing numbers of racist attacks have led to fear and concern amongst minority ethnic communities, including within the Jewish community. The number of anti-Semitic incidents perpetrated in Britain have been found to fluctuate in response to events in the Middle East².
8. Anti-Semitism is on the rise in Britain, attacks on Jewish people have increased by 260 per cent over a two-year period³. There have been attacks on synagogues, Jewish schools and community centres and the desecration of Jewish graves with swastikas.
9. In 2004, 532 anti-Semitic incidents were recorded, of which in 28 of the incidents Jewish schools and schoolchildren were the victims, in 21 of the incidents the targets were Jewish students and academics⁴. In Liverpool in 2003, it was reported that at a

¹ A Very Light Sleeper: The Persistence and Dangers of Anti-Semitism, The Runnymede Trust, 1994

² Community Security Trust Report, 2004

³ Searchlight, Feb 2003, pg 6

⁴ Community Security Trust Report, 2004

Jewish school the head of a pig had been left on the doorstep and a burning cross had been placed in a goalmouth on a sports field⁵.

10. The NUT has issued ongoing advice and guidance to members about dealing with racism, including on anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, which has been well received by members⁶. This has been increasingly important with the ongoing situation in the Middle East.
11. The NUT has a good relationship with the Board of Deputies of British Jews and consulted with them prior to the publication of guidelines for schools on dealing with anti-Semitism.⁷
12. The National Union of Teachers has undertaken work with both the General Union of Palestinian Teachers (GUPT) and the Israeli Teachers' Union (ITU) for many years. This work has informed the Union's production of guidelines for teachers and schools in dealing with anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, which aimed to address hostile behaviour.
13. The NUT is a very strong supporter of, and has a close working relationship with the Holocaust Education Trust (HET) and has been engaged in several joint projects. Projects include, for example, support for the HET's initiative of organising educational visits to Auschwitz. The NUT is engaged in the development of materials for schools on the dangers of the far right.

Issues for Schools

14. The challenge for schools in dealing with racism has never been greater. Anti-Semitism is an issue for all schools regardless of the number of Jewish pupils or staff within the school.
15. The views of some parents or people in the community can affect pupils and pose problems within the school. Schools have a crucial role in helping to dispel myths and promote social justice for all pupils. Under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act schools have a duty to promote good race relations, equality of opportunity and to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination. All schools are required therefore to have a Race Equality Policy in place, which should address the issue of anti-Semitism as part of that policy. To be effective, action against anti-Semitism should be integrated with action against other forms of racism.
16. Independent evidence from a report commissioned by the Commission for Racial Equality on the implementation of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act in schools shows, however, that schools have been relatively slow in implementing the requirements of the legislation⁸. The reasons for this are complex, but include principally the lack of resources and appropriate expertise to fully comply.
17. In terms of particular issues around anti-Semitism schools may need to address prejudice against students or staff which could take the form of:
 - Racist insults, by pupils and adults, both within and outside the school;
 - Intimidation

⁵ Anti-Semitism: Still Sleeping Lightly?, Steve Sinnott, Race Equality Teaching, Autumn 2003

⁶ ... do not tolerate intolerance: Racism, Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia – Issues for Teachers and Schools, National Union of Teachers, 2004

⁷ Racism and Anti-Semitism: Issues for Teachers and Schools, National Union of Teachers, 2003

⁸ Towards Racial Equality: Schneider-Ross, 2003

- Physical attacks
 - Graffiti
 - Exclusion by peers.
18. There is a need for schools to recognise the differences between religion, culture and ethnicity when meeting the needs of pupils. Jewish pupils may, for example, engage in Jewish events such as Passover without following Judaism, in the same way that students may participate in Christmas without identifying themselves as Christians. Pupils who do not follow Judaism or take part in Jewish cultural events may self identify as Jewish. Conversely, others who do not identify themselves as Jewish or take part in Jewish events may be identified by others and face hostility on another basis, such as their name. Jewish identity is complex.
 19. There is a need for all school staff to respond to any anti-Semitic language they hear even if there are no Jewish pupils directly involved, indeed staff may not be aware that there are Jewish pupils in the school. Allowing racist language to go unchallenged, whichever group it is directed against, gives racism a degree of legitimacy to other pupils.
 20. In France the Government has been prompted to take action to deal with racism in schools as a result of the volume of anti-Semitic incidents. According to the press teaching about the Holocaust in some classrooms had become impossible because of hostility by students of Arab origin towards the subject.
 21. Teachers have a responsibility to help pupils understand the scope and seriousness of discrimination. There is a need to develop pupils' views and skills to resolve conflict throughout their school life.
 22. Schools have a responsibility to support teachers that may be personally affected by racist incidents and the personal demands this may place on them. Teachers may face pressure from parents as well as from pupils. Jewish teachers in particular may be vulnerable in schools.
 23. Anti-Semitism has connections and similarities with other forms of racism, in particular Islamophobia. It is therefore important that action at school level against anti-Semitism is integrated with action against other forms of racism. The NUT believes that the struggle against racism, to be effective, cannot be selective about the forms of racism to be tackled. An attack on one minority group is an attack on all.
 24. The National Union of Teachers encourages members to take a whole-school approach to dealing with anti-Semitism and racism in general, by developing an understanding of fairness and social justice; the nature of prejudice; anti-social behaviour; and skills to address unacceptable behaviour in an appropriate way.

Recommendations

25. First and foremost it is vital that the DfES integrates the issue of anti-Semitism as part of its overall strategy to promote race equality. The NUT is concerned that the DfES' work on tackling racist bullying in schools, as yet, fails to cover anti-Semitic behaviour. It is of crucial importance, as stated above, that action against anti-Semitism is incorporated in action against all forms of racism and that the DfES provides a lead on this issue.
26. The NUT's education statement 'Bringing Down the Barriers' affirms that education is a fundamental human right and as such education promotes rights and

responsibilities⁹. The NUT believes that education is a powerful force in securing equal life chances.

27. The NUT strongly recommends that all teachers have professional development opportunities which aim to provide them with the tools to tackle anti-Semitism in schools. Opportunities should recognise that schools need to reiterate policies for tackling racist behaviour; professional development should therefore be seen as ongoing. Anti-Semitism and the promotion of race equality should be included as part of the Training and Development Agency for Schools' professional development strategy.
28. The National Curriculum should enable sufficient capacity for schools to improve pupils' factual knowledge of Judaism and an understanding of the nature of anti-Semitism. This could be through religious education about world faiths or through the study of art, literature and history.
29. It is vital that there should be sufficient flexibility in the curriculum to enable teachers to develop innovative approaches to addressing anti-Semitism. This would accommodate teaching and learning which acknowledges the potential for a wide variation of situations.
30. The importance of providing support to schools at an early stage in pupils' education cannot be underestimated. Foundation Stage education provides the basis on which appropriate behaviour can be built and should be seen as the optimum stage in which to communicate tolerant attitudes. Teaching young people about racism and anti-Semitism will have a profound effect on their understanding and attitudes.
31. There needs to be recognition at the later stages of pupils' education of the conflict between freedom of speech and freedom from intimidation. Examples of best practice which guide the teaching and learning should be available to schools in order that anti-racist work is supported in combating anti-Semitism in the context of a whole school approach
32. In order that the different views and beliefs among young people contribute to discussion and learning in a constructive way, teachers should have the means to:
 - organise classroom discussion in ways which enable every pupil to have an input into that discussion;
 - ensure that the views of everyone in the class are properly heard;
 - moderate negative opinions and strong emotions;
 - focus on evidence and valid information;
 - represent the different points of view as accurately and fairly as possible;
 - where possible, use a variety of outside and community sources; and
 - demonstrate respect for different opinions.
33. A strong professional framework, a framework which has the support of the wider school community, is vital to ensure a robust education system which offers every opportunity to pupils and which does not tolerate intolerance.

⁹ Bringing Down the Barriers, National Union of Teachers, 2004

Memorandum submitted by the Rt Hon the Lord Goldsmith QC, the Attorney General

Thank you for your letter inviting me to provide a submission for the purposes of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism .

I understand that you have also written to my Home Office ministerial colleagues and Paul Goggins will be providing a full submission dealing with Government policy and action on antisemitism.

I am the minister with responsibility for the Crown Prosecution Service, who prosecute all cases of antisemitic crime. I am aware from the Crown Prosecution Service that they are providing you directly with a detailed submission on the work that they are doing to tackle antisemitic crime.

I would like to begin by emphasising that I consider antisemitism and indeed all forms of racism to be particularly pernicious. You will already be aware from Paul Goggins' submission of the measures that we have put in place as a Government to tackle racist crime, including creating specific racially and religiously aggravated criminal offences and legislating to ensure that racial or religious aggravation is treated as an aggravating feature of any offence, leading to an increase in sentence.

I believe that it is of the utmost importance that we have effective prosecutions of hate crime offences and I take a particular interest in ensuring that this is achieved. The Crown Prosecution Service will already have detailed to you some of the key initiatives that they have taken in this area in recent years, particularly the publication of a public policy statement and guidance on the prosecution of racist and religious crime, the programme of training accompanying that policy and guidance, the publication of an annual racist incident monitoring report and the inclusion of a hate crime performance measure in the CPS Area review criteria. As part of my role in superintending the CPS, I have strongly encouraged and supported this stream of work through consultation on specific issues and regular meetings with the Director of the CPS' Equality and Diversity Unit.

I have also undertaken a number of specific steps in relation to ensuring the effective prosecution of hate crimes, including:

1. Establishing a taskforce with representation from across the criminal justice system to look particularly at establishing a holistic approach to the handling of racist and religious crime by the police, the CPS and the courts. This was in response to a recommendation made in a report commissioned by the CPS. I will provide you with a copy of the taskforce's final report upon its publication;
2. Encouraging effective and strategic joint working between police and prosecutors, leading to joint CPS/ACPO national seminars on hate crime in November and December 2002.
3. Seeking to ensure that the new hate crime laws are as effective as possible before the courts by using my powers to refer cases to the Court of Appeal. Under section 36 of the Criminal Justice Act 1972, I have the power to refer points of law to the Court of Appeal that arise during Crown Court cases that result in acquittal. In April of this year the Court of Appeal gave judgement in a case that I referred to them on the question of whether the use of the word 'immigrant' at the time of an assault was capable of amounting to racial aggravation. The trial judge had decided that the offence could not be racially aggravated but the Court of Appeal accepted my

argument that the use of the word ‘immigrant’ was capable of amounting to racial aggravation. I have also used my power under section 36 of the Criminal Justice Act 1988 to refer appropriate cases brought to my attention to the Court of Appeal where I consider that the sentencing of a person in the Crown Court for a racially or religiously aggravated offence was unduly lenient. Sentences passed in the Crown Court in relation to the racially and religiously aggravated offences are capable of referral to the Court of Appeal because of a Statutory Instrument that we enacted to specifically provide for this.

Finally, I should also explain that I have a specific role in relation to prosecutions for the offence of incitement to racial hatred. Prosecution for such offences, under Part 3 of the Public Order Act 1986, require my consent. Complaints are investigated by the police and, where the Crown Prosecution Service decides that there should be a prosecution, they seek my consent. When considering whether to grant my consent, I am concerned with whether there is sufficient evidence to provide a realistic prospect of conviction and whether prosecution is in the public interest.

21 December 2006

Memorandum submitted by the Office of the Chief Rabbi

1 Introduction

1.1. The Office of the Chief Rabbi (OCR) welcomes the opportunity to make a written submission to the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism. The OCR is the religious authority of the United Synagogue, and various other communities around the country. In total, it is responsible for over 140 synagogue communities in the UK. The United Synagogue alone is the largest synagogal membership body in the UK. This submission reflects the views of the Chief Rabbi, Sir Jonathan Sacks, and also the “corporate” position of his Office.

1.2. Much of this response is based on a speech given by the Chief Rabbi to the Inter-Parliamentary Committee against Antisemitism on 28th February 2002, and was republished as a chapter in “A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st Century Britain” (Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin).

1.3. The subject of antisemitism has been a common theme of the Chief Rabbi’s writing and broadcasting over the last four years. When he gave his landmark speech on the subject in February 2002, he said that it was the first time he had spoken publicly about the issue, since the circumstances demanded an intervention. Unfortunately he has felt it necessary to refer to the theme on several occasions since then.

1.4. There is a good selection of the Chief Rabbi’s speeches and other pronouncements on antisemitism in the Appendix. Some of the material may overlap, but it is important to view the range of documents encompassing national broadcasting and public speeches, as well as more tailored messages to the Jewish community.

1.5 The Office of the Chief Rabbi works cooperatively with other leading organizations in the Jewish community, such as the Board of Deputies and the Community Security Trust, involved in combating antisemitism and other forms of prejudice.

2. Nature and Sources of Antisemitism

Growing Climate of Antisemitism

2.1. The OCR has noted with alarm the empirical evidence showing growing levels of antisemitism in the UK. There has been a noticeable and disturbing increase in the number of antisemitic incidents recorded by the authorities. The Community Security Trust’s (CST) figures show a 42% rise between 2003 and 2004. This has occurred alongside a proliferation in desecrations of Jewish cemeteries, and attacks on Jewish property. In addition, there has been a change in the political climate, leading to a rise in discursive/ rhetorical antisemitism and exaggerated criticism of Israel.

2.2. The Chief Rabbi referred in a Jewish new year’s message to his community, in October 2005, to the fact “there have been times – the first in my memory – when it has been uncomfortable to be a Jew in Britain.” He has pointed to various episodes from the proposed academic boycott against Israeli universities, Churches debating divestment from Israel, the attacks on Holocaust Memorial Day and the effect of remarks made by public figures.

The Concept of Antisemitism

2.3. The Chief Rabbi has stated on many occasions that antisemitism should be viewed not so much as a belief system or a coherent set of ideas, but as a virus. In the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries, Jews were hated because they were rich and because they were poor; because they were capitalists and because they were communists; because they kept to themselves and because they got everywhere; because they were superstitious believers and because they were rootless cosmopolitans who believed nothing.

2.4. He has argued that like a virus, antisemitism mutates. The human body has the most sophisticated of mechanisms - the immune system - to defend itself against viruses. It develops antibodies. Viruses defeat the immune system because they mutate. They are then able to get past the body's defences, in effect by persuading them that they are friends, not foes. The immune system, alert to last year's virus, fails to recognize this year's.

Sources of Antisemitism

2.5. The word "antisemitism" itself was coined in 1879. What made racial antisemitism so much worse than its religious precursors was that now Jews were hated not because of what they believed, or not because of how they lived, but because of who they were. In the present era, we are witnessing the second great mutation of antisemitism in modern times, from racial antisemitism to religious anti-Zionism (with the added premise that all Jews are Zionists). It uses all the mediaeval myths - the Blood Libel, poisoning of wells, killers of the Lord's anointed, incarnation of evil - transposed into a new key and context.

2.6. The new antisemitism is political rather than racial, focused on Jews as a nation rather than Jews as individuals. The mutation is this: that the worst crimes of antisemites in the past - racism, ethnic cleansing, attempted genocide, crimes against humanity - are *now attributed to Jews and the State of Israel*, so that if you are against Nazism, you must *ipso facto* be utterly opposed to Jews. This is one of the most blasphemous inversions in the history of the world's oldest hate.

2.7. Modern anti-Semitism is coming simultaneously from three different directions: first, a radicalized Islamic youth inflamed by extremist rhetoric; second, a left-wing anti-American cognitive elite with strong representation in the European media; third, a resurgent far right, as anti-Muslim as it is anti-Jewish. It is being fed by the instability of globalization, the insecurity of the post-Cold War international arena, and the still-undischarged trauma of 11 September.

3. Current Efforts and Further Measures

3.1. As can be seen from the selection of the Chief Rabbi's writings and broadcasts, the Chief Rabbi has taken the opportunity to issue unequivocal condemnations of antisemitism usually in the aftermath of an incident, and to send a warning to the rest of society. In the course of his comments, he has often made reference to other forms of prejudice, such as homophobia and Islamophobia. Moreover, many of the Rabbis whom come under our umbrella, likewise speak about the threat of antisemitism to their communities, when the occasion demands it.

3.2. The OCR has a collaborative relationship with various bodies in the Jewish community who are working to combat attack on Jews and communal buildings, most notably the CST. The Chief Rabbi has paid tribute to the efforts of the CST in helping the Jewish community feel more secure and helping other faith communities with their autonomous security arrangements. The centrality of the CST's work to the Jewish community is an important sign of the circumstances we face.

3.3. The OCR recognises the effectiveness of Holocaust Memorial Day as an educational tool. It has enabled many people to learn about the horrors of the Holocaust and other genocides, and the dangers of antisemitism and other forms of prejudice.

3.4. The OCR works extensively and intensively in the field of inter-faith relations, and views this as another important tool in combating antisemitism and extremism. The Chief Rabbi has written and spoken widely about the subject of “The Dignity of Difference”, and many of the Rabbis are involved in inter-faith work at the local level. In addition, two of the Chief Rabbi’s Cabinet members are responsible for inter-faith portfolios. This whole terrain is very significant in the work of the OCR, and has been reflected in the wider priorities of the Jewish community. Beyond the Jewish community, there has been a marked growth in the number of organisations promoting an inter-faith agenda, and this is to be welcomed.

3.5. As has been described above, much of the new anti-Semitism relates to exaggerated criticism of Israel. It is important to state that anti-Zionism is not necessarily antisemitism, but the slope from one to the other is slippery and short. It is important that as many people as possible should be aware of this, before contributing to the public debate.

3.6. The year 2006 marks the 350th anniversary of Anglo-Jewish life in the UK. In the Middle Ages there were several examples of persecutions (most famously perhaps the massacre at York in 1190) and even after the readmission in 1656 there were many obstacles and barriers that Jews had to face with regard to their role in public life. However, over the course of time the Jewish community was able to integrate into British life, and gradually overcome most of the formal barriers which existed to its advancement. For some further reflections about the significance of the history of the Jewish community in the UK, see the Chief Rabbi’s article in the Times, 1 October 2005 (Appendix 4, iii).

3.7 In combating prejudice, the Chief Rabbi has expressed his view that condemnation of anti-Semitism should not be confined to the Jewish community. In February 2004, he delivered the following message to an EU conference: “We will fight Islamophobia. But you as Muslims must fight Judeophobia. We will fight for the right of Christians throughout the world to live without fear. But we ask you, the Christian churches, to fight for the right of Jews to live as Jews without fear.” (See Appendix 4, ii).

3.8. In recent years, there have been heartening expressions of concern following antisemitic incidents from politicians, Church leaders and others, but this needs to continue and be strengthened. For instance, in January 2004, various Christian leaders issued a statement denouncing antisemitism. By the same token, the Chief Rabbi and others in the Jewish community have conveyed their horror when other communities such as Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims have been attacked. The more that various faith communities can display solidarity with each other when they are under attack, the more likely it is that a harmonious society will result.

Memorandum submitted by the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Crown Prosecution Service

Introduction

1. The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) welcomes the work of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Anti-Semitism (the Inquiry). The CPS also welcomes the opportunity to make a written submission for the purposes of the investigation. This submission has been prepared specifically for the Inquiry.

CPS Role, Structure and Overall Vision

2. The CPS prosecutes criminal cases investigated by the police in England and Wales. In undertaking this role we:
 - advise the police on cases for possible prosecution;
 - where the decision is to prosecute, determine the charge in all but minor cases;
 - prepare cases for court; and
 - present those cases in court.
3. Before proceeding with a prosecution, Crown Prosecutors review each case in accordance with the Code for Crown Prosecutors. No prosecution must proceed unless the Crown Prosecutor is satisfied that there is sufficient evidence to provide a realistic prospect of conviction and, if so, that prosecution is in the public interest.
4. The CPS is headed by the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP). The DPP is superintended by the Attorney General, who is accountable to Parliament for the Service.
5. The CPS is organised on the basis of 42 Areas coterminous with police forces (with just one CPS Area for London). Each Area is headed by a Chief Crown Prosecutor (CCP) who is responsible for the delivery of a high quality prosecution service to his or her local community and reports directly to the DPP on Area performance. A new 43rd Area, CPS Direct, is providing out-of-hours charging advice to the police. The Counter Terrorism Division, Organised Crime Division and Special Crime Division, all based in CPS Headquarters, deal with prosecution of the most serious, sensitive and complex crime.
6. Whilst independent, the CPS works in partnership with the police, courts, the Home Office, Department for Constitutional Affairs and other agencies throughout the Criminal Justice System (CJS).
7. The CPS's overall aim, which reflects the Government's priorities for the CJS, is to deliver a high quality prosecution service that brings offenders to justice, helps reduce both crime and the fear of crime and thereby promote public confidence in the rule of law through consistent fair and independent review of cases and through their fair, thorough and firm presentation at court.
8. The CPS has developed a new vision which is strongly supported in implementation by the Attorney General. The CPS is working to become a world-class independent prosecuting authority that delivers a valued public service by:
 - strengthening the prosecution process to bring offenders to justice;
 - championing justice and the rights of victims;
 - inspiring the confidence of the communities it serves;
 - driving change and delivery in the CJS;

- being renowned for fairness, excellent career opportunities and the commitment and skills of all its people; and
- having a strong capability to deliver

Delivery of this vision is underwritten by incorporating the core values of fairness, impartiality and integrity into everything we do. It is also underwritten by an absolute attachment to issues of equality and diversity.

CPS Commitment to Equality and Diversity

9. The CPS is committed to equality and diversity and has made significant progress on community engagement with diverse groups to inform prosecution policies and on developing a diverse workforce. The CPS intends to build on those successes and make further substantive progress.
10. The CPS wants to increase public confidence in the Service. That means prosecutors having a much greater awareness of community issues in order to make more fully informed prosecution decisions and to ensure that claims of bias in prosecution decisions do not have any foundation.
11. As an employer, the CPS wants to maintain a workforce that is representative of the communities it serves and to gain a reputation as a beacon employer with regard to equality and diversity issues so that it can attract and retain able staff, improve staff morale and make claims of discrimination unnecessary. Currently, approximately 14% of the workforce is from Black, Minority and Ethnic backgrounds.
12. In framing our first Race Equality Scheme (for 2002-2005) we engaged with key critical stakeholders – a first for Whitehall and an initiative commended by the Commission for Racial Equality. Our second Race Equality Scheme (for 2005-2008) was launched in May 2005
13. The CPS also participates in the cross-Departmental work of the Domestic Violence Virtual Unit and the new Race Equality and Community Cohesion Strategy and contributes to the delivery of two cross-Government public service agreement (PSA) targets, namely:
 - to increase voluntary and community engagement especially amongst those at risk of social exclusion; and
 - to reduce race inequalities and build community cohesion.

Prosecution Decisions

The Code for Crown Prosecutors and the Director's Guidance

14. A copy of the Code for Crown Prosecutors (the Code) is attached. The Code is designed to make sure that everyone knows the principles that the CPS applies when carrying out its work. Where the tests set out in the Code cannot be passed, a case must not proceed.
15. Under the new statutory charging scheme the DPP has issued The Director's Guidance on Charging (also attached). That guidance is clear. Cases involving racial or religious aggravation, once they have met "the threshold test", that is to say the police have a reasonable suspicion that the suspect has committed an offence, must be referred to a Crown Prosecutor, who will make the decision whether or not to charge.

16. Crown Prosecutors do not make these charging decisions remotely (except when giving advice over the telephone as part of CPS Direct's out-of-hours service). Prosecutors are working in police stations, side by side with investigators, giving advice and counsel where it is necessary. In working closely with the police we operate as a prosecution team to improve joint case management and build robust cases to put before the courts as well as to weed out cases that have no chance of success.
17. As of 19 December 2005 the statutory charging scheme is in place across 29 of the CPS Areas. It will be in place across all 42 Areas by April 2006.

CPS Policy and Guidance on Prosecuting Racist and Religious Crime

18. The CPS produced its Public Policy Statement on Prosecuting Racist & Religious Crime (the Policy) and Guidance on Prosecuting Cases of Racist & Religious Crime in July 2003 (the Guidance). The Policy makes clear our commitment to dealing effectively with this type of offending and tells the community what they can expect from us. It was published with the intention of promoting confidence in the CJS. The Guidance gives more detail about some of the key areas of the Policy and assists prosecutors when they are dealing with this type of crime. Because these documents are attached to this submission their contents will not be reproduced in the body of the submission.
19. A national focus event to consult widely on the Policy took place in London in March 2003 and there were regional focus events led by CPS regional Equality & Diversity Officers. Internally CPS staff networks were amongst those who contributed to the documents. Externally, 121 community, voluntary and faith groups were consulted. In addition, the Jewish Board of Deputies, the Muslim Research Council, Lemos & Crane and the Black Racial Attacks Independent Network were represented around the table in the development of these documents. The Policy was also produced in 12 community languages.
20. The Guidance is supplemented by regular updates from CPS Policy Directorate on the prosecution of significant cases. In addition, a summary of the Policy has been produced.
21. CCPs and other local CPS staff are encouraged by the DPP to either join with local CJS and other partners or directly themselves communicate our Policy to local communities and the seriousness of our intent to prosecute such cases robustly.
22. The Policy and Guidance are designed to be read in conjunction with the Code. They support and underpin the Code by providing further guidance on the Code tests. They should be referred to during the assessment of what evidence may and should be available to provide a realistic prospect of conviction. They do not absolve the case reviewer from the need to apply those tests to every case, be it racist or religious crime or any other for which a policy statement has been published. Where the tests set out in the Code cannot be passed, a case must not proceed. Our Policy and supporting Guidance must not be interpreted in such a way that these tests are diluted. There is no case, however serious or important it is perceived to be, that is exempt from this principle.

Prosecuting Racially and Religiously Aggravated Crime

Anti-Semitic offences – racially or religiously aggravated?

23. Because Jews are recognised as a racial group (as confirmed in the case of *Mandla v Dowell-Lee* [1983] 2 AC 548) prosecution of anti-Semitic offences has always been possible under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Offences committed since 14 December 2001 could have been prosecuted as either religiously aggravated or racially

aggravated. The CPS has issued no guidance (and there is no statutory guidance) on how to decide whether an anti-Semitic offence, which passes the Code tests and falls within the definition in section 28 of the 1998 Act, should be prosecuted as a racially or religiously aggravated offence. This is a matter for the Crown Prosecutor reviewing the case to decide. A decision must be made either way as a charge alleging that an offence was “racially and religiously aggravated” would be rejected by the court on the grounds of duplicity.

The gap between “anti-Semitic incidents” and racially or religiously aggravated offences prosecuted

24. Incidents that are known to the community and/or reported in the media may not necessarily be reported to the police. They may not necessarily be crimes. After investigating an alleged crime the police may be unable to gather sufficient evidence to support a prosecution. It is probably the case that only a minority of the incidents reported to the police will meet the Code’s threshold test. Also, an incident identified by the police as a “racist” or “religious” incident (according to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry definition), whilst it may give rise to sufficient evidence of a crime, may not give rise to sufficient evidence of a racially or religiously aggravated crime, according to the definition in section 28 of the 1998 Act.

25. We recognise that victims may sometimes be reluctant to report matters to the police. We published our Policy because we want victims, witnesses and their families as well as the general public, to be confident that the CPS understands the serious nature of this type of crime and the serious and lasting effects it can have, not just on individuals and their families, but also upon communities and society as a whole. Although the reporting of an incident may not necessarily lead to the prosecution of a racist crime we want people to know what they can expect from us when we deal with these cases and how decisions are made.

The CPS Racist Incident Monitoring Scheme (RIMS)

26. All CPS Areas and Headquarters Divisions monitor prosecution decisions and outcomes in all racist and religious incident cases that are referred to them by the police. A case is monitored if it meets the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry definition of a racist incident (extended to cover religious incidents). In respect of each defendant charged, a racist incident data sheet (RIDS) is completed. The RIDS captures no information about the victim and nothing more than the name of the defendant; the form is focused upon the charging decision and the outcome of the case. This information is collated by Business Development Directorate (BDD) and forms the basis of the statistical information contained in the Annual Racist Incident Monitoring Scheme (RIMS) Report. The most recent report, for the year 1 April 2004 to 31 March 2005, is attached.

27. In addition to the commitment to monitor incidents through the CPS RIMS, the DPP has requested that all cases identified as religiously aggravated crimes are referred to his Principal Legal Advisor so he can express his own view about the prosecution decision. The reports also allow the Principal Legal Advisor to gain an insight into the frequency with which this legislation is used, the consistency of decision-making and any problems and issues that the legislation may give rise to for prosecutors and investigators. Because these reports contain a summary of the facts of the case it may be possible to record from them additional information, such as the religion of the victim and the perpetrator, which is not captured by the RIDS. From December 2001 to 20 December 2005 131 cases have been reported. Some of those cases are still ongoing.

28. Last year 5 of the 44 cases reported involved a victim whose actual or perceived faith was Jewish. This year there were none. It may be (for the reasons explained at paragraph 23)

that some of the 5788 racist incident cases recorded under RIMS involved a victim whose actual or perceived faith was Jewish but such data is not currently captured.

29. Any future RIMS report based on the current recording system will include any information received in case reports to the Principal Legal Advisor about religion of defendant and perpetrator.
30. The CPS transferred responsibility for compilation of the RIMS Annual Report from Policy Directorate to BDD on 30 June 2005. Since then the existing paper-based recording system has not been altered. However, consideration will be given, in the longer term, to moving to a computer-based system. This will result in a review of the information required from CPS Areas and the police. The future format of the annual report will also be reviewed.
31. Although there is a monitoring code for cases that are racist or religious incidents, no facility currently exists on the CPS computerised case management system, CMS, to record religious belief of defendant or victim.
32. Recording by the CPS of information about race and religion of defendants and victims relies on provision of such information by the police, who have direct contact with defendants and victims. The police are required to adhere to the Home Office Code of Practice on Reporting and Recording of Racist Incidents. That Code does require the ethnicity and religion of the offender to be recorded. Ethnicity is recorded on the basis of self-classification using Census 2001 classification of 16+1; recording of religion will certainly rely upon the defendant's willingness to disclose such information. The Code states that the ethnicity and religion of the victim should not be recorded without the explicit consent of the victim. It is recognised that victims may in fact be reluctant to reveal their religion or beliefs, or to reveal that they are being targeted because of their religion or beliefs, for fear of further victimisation or for various other reasons.

CPS records of "religious incidents" involving victims whose religion or perceived religion was Jewish

33. Because the RIDS captures no information about the victim and there is no facility on CMS to record religious belief of defendant or victim, the only information that has been formally recorded about Jewish victims is that taken from case reports of religiously aggravated offences sent to the DPP.
34. Since recording began in 2002, the DPP has seen 7 cases involving a victim whose religion or perceived religion was Jewish.

Prosecuting Offences of Incitement to Racial Hatred

Prosecution decisions

35. The CPS Counter Terrorism Division deals with all cases of incitement to racial hatred (as well as terrorism, war crimes, crimes against humanity, official secrets, hijacking and any other state crime). This reflects the seriousness with which the CPS considers such cases. In such cases, all charging decisions must be made by the CPS rather than the police. As explained at paragraph 13, all prosecution decisions are made in accordance with the Code. In addition, in cases of incitement to racial hatred, the Attorney General must give his consent to prosecution; most cases will also be considered by the DPP. It is clear, therefore, that a prosecution cannot proceed without heavily scrutinised justification.
36. The threshold at which an offence of this kind is committed is high. The offence requires a person's conduct to be abusive, threatening or insulting and for that person to intend to stir up racial hatred or, in all the circumstances, such hatred is likely to be stirred up. "Hatred" is a strong term and the offence does not therefore encompass material that just stirs up ridicule or prejudice or causes offence. Eighty-six cases were referred to the CPS

by the police between 2001 and 2004. Of those, 7 cases resulted in prosecution with a total of 16 defendants facing charges. To date, 10 of those defendants have been convicted, 2 cases were dropped by the prosecution and 3 cases are ongoing. 1 defendant died before the conclusion of proceedings.

37. Dealing with complaints of the publication of racially and religiously inflammatory material internet often has an extraterritorial aspect to it that can give rise to complex jurisdictional issues involving people and the commission of acts in many different countries. Once jurisdiction is established, there may be other legal and technical difficulties to address. However, the difficulties are not surmountable. The CPS has trained over 110 specialist high-tec crime prosecutors, who are based across the CPS Areas. They are able to advise colleagues dealing with computer or internet related cases.
38. Because Jews are recognised as a race they protected from incited hatred under the existing law. The policy behind the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill, which is currently before the Lords, is to extend protection from incited hatred to all faith groups.

Implementation of CPS Policy and Guidance on Prosecuting Racist and Religious Crime

39. We recognise that a policy is of little use without a will to implement it and mechanisms for testing whether the policy is applied and, if so, whether it is applied consistently. We strive to achieve this in a number of ways.

Training

40. In addition to general diversity training we provide specific training to our prosecutors and caseworkers. Representatives from community and faith groups contributed to the training course which was devised to promote the Policy and Guidance. The course, which has so far been attended by over 1600 members of staff, aims to help improve their knowledge and understanding of racist and religious crime and to help them make the right casework decisions. In addition, because police officers and members of local voluntary and community groups are often invited to attend, the training courses can be a forum for the sharing of knowledge, experience and good practice.

Inspection

41. Our handling of sensitive cases, including racist and religious crime, is something that is analysed regularly by Her Majesty's CPS Inspectorate (HMCPSI). The inspection process focuses heavily on the quality of casework decision-making and casework handling. Reports identify strengths and aspects for improvement, draw attention to good practice and make recommendations in respect of those aspects of the performance which need to be improved. Inconsistent application of the Policy and inappropriate decisions to reduce charges have sometimes been identified through this process. We are pleased to note significant improvements in this area between two inspections, the first in May 2001 and more recently in 2004. Inappropriate decisions to reduce charges have significantly improved but are not yet eliminated. It remains a challenge and priority.

Monitoring

42. The CPS RIMS is an important aspect of our commitment to combating racially and religiously aggravated crime. RIMS statistics can be used to identify trends and gather information about specific casework decisions. We share the information with other agencies who work to tackle racial violence and harassment. Over the next year, with continuing improvements in our computerised case management system, we shall look towards improving and extending our system of data capture in these cases.

43. We are now using CMS to track hate crimes. In April 2005 we put in place a system for checking our prosecution performance on all hate crimes, including racist and religious crime. Each Area has a target to reduce its unsuccessful cases. Each quarter, not only do Areas report their outcomes, but on a rolling programme the DPP and the Chief Executive meet with CCPs to raise any concerns. They will address the success of the Area's prosecutions, of its flagging of cases, of its file endorsements, and consider whether more detailed analysis of cases is needed.

CPS Equality and Diversity Unit (EDU)

44. Our EDU and its regional project and performance officers continue to support CPS Areas and CPS Policy Directorate in the handling of cases, provide advice about communicating decisions and provide a strategic steer in relation to the organisation's community engagement, which must continue and deepen if we are to know whether we are making the right decisions.

Support for Victims and Witnesses

45. We know that victims and witnesses are less likely to put themselves to the trouble of reporting crime, making statements and attending court if they are not confident that the prosecutor has taken into account their interests in the case. The 2004 HMCPSI follow-up review of casework with a minority ethnic dimension (mentioned at paragraph 47) found that the CPS had made real progress, since the original review, in its handling of cases involving racist incidents. It praised the Policy and Guidance documents. It said that the overall standard of decisions at initial review was good. However, it also said that improvements to the standard of victim and witness care in these cases were still needed.
46. We have recently done much to improve our service to victims and witnesses. Our work includes the following:
- The creation of joint police/CPS witness care units, under the No Witness No Justice Project. Units provide a single point of contact for victims and witnesses throughout the prosecution. Units identify possible barriers that may prevent a witness giving evidence or attending court, such as transport, language issues, disabilities or particular concerns such as intimidation. By giving support, information and protection we can empower witnesses to give their best evidence. That will bring more offenders to justice. It will also give other victims the confidence to report crime.
 - Increased use of victim personal statements. We are now working with the Home Office to improve the VPS scheme and we have emphasised the need to capture the effect of crime on communities as well as individuals and families.
 - Full implementation of our Direct Communication with Victims Scheme. We have now become accustomed to writing to all victims in cases where a charge is dropped or substantially altered. We also meet the families in all cases involving a death and victims of racially or religiously aggravated offences so that we can explain our decisions face-to-face.
47. Despite all these positive moves we recognise that there is still much work to do. Last year 31% of all the racist incident cases dropped were dropped because witnesses either failed or refused to testify. We shall strive to reduce this figure by working with our CJS partners to give witnesses the confidence to see the process through.

Community Engagement

48. The CPS has a duty to be publicly accountable. We have a positive duty to engage with the public, to take into consideration developing social concerns. Community

engagement is one of the top 15 indicators by which we measure our performance as a Service, and on which each of our Areas is assessed each quarter.

49. Between June and September 2004 the DPP and the Chief Executive met with representatives of diverse community organisations in a series of face-to-face meetings. The purpose was to share the newly developed vision for the CPS (see paragraph 8) and also to establish a foundation for continuous dialogue. These community engagement meetings, co-ordinated by the Equality and Diversity Unit, were set up in the context of new challenges facing the CPS and the wider CJS, which serve an increasingly diverse society, where crime is a major concern for all communities. One of these meetings was with various faith groups and leaders and included representatives from the British Board of Jewish Deputies, the Jewish Council for Racial Equality and the Institute for Jewish Policy Research.
50. As stated previously the CPS takes its responsibilities in protecting diversity and prosecuting hate crimes very seriously. We expect to be judged against what we say in our Policy and what we do in prosecuting such crimes.