



ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

Report 2018

A stairwell located in a shopping centre spray painted with antisemitic graffiti. The words 'F**k Jews', 'BNP' and two swastikas were painted on the inside and outside of the glass and brick work, London, January



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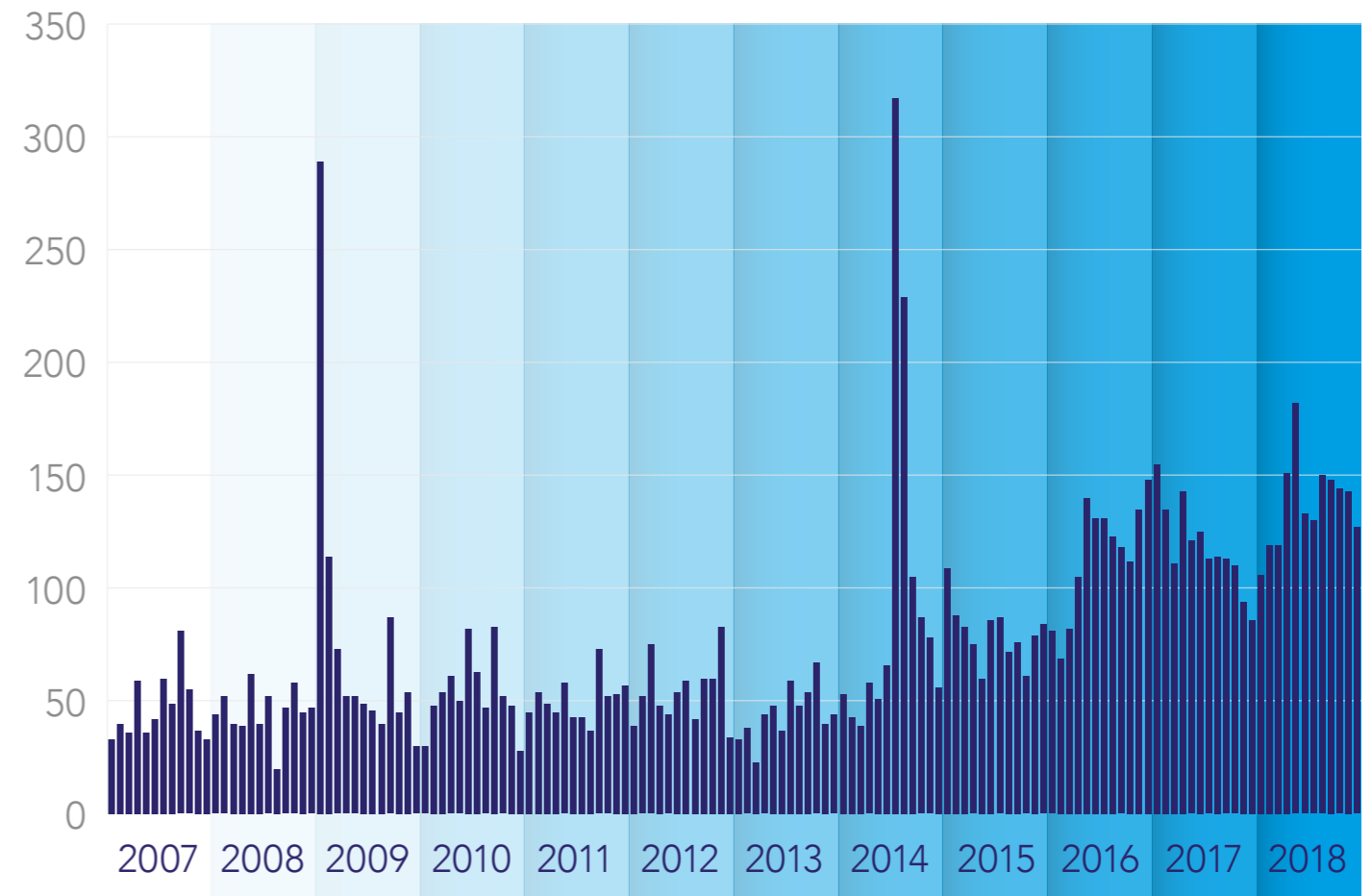
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- CST recorded **1,652 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2018**, the highest total that CST has ever recorded in a single calendar year. This is an **increase of 16 per cent** from the 1,420 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2017, which was itself a record annual total. CST also recorded a then-record annual high of 1,375 antisemitic incidents in 2016, making 2018 the third year in a row to see a record total; and there was also a record high of 1,182 antisemitic incidents in 2014.¹
- The record annual totals in 2016, 2017 and 2018 represent **a sustained pattern of historically high antisemitic incident totals**. Whereas previous high annual totals in 2014 and 2009 were associated with reactions to conflicts involving Israel, there has been no single trigger event to cause the high annual totals in recent years.
- CST recorded **over 100 antisemitic incidents in every month of 2018**, the first time this has ever happened in a single calendar year. The highest monthly total in 2018 came in May, with 182 incidents, followed by April with 151 incidents and August with 150 incidents. In the past three years there have only been five months where the monthly incident total has dropped below 100; in contrast, in the decade prior to 2016 there were only six months in which CST recorded more than 100 antisemitic incidents.
- The factors that influenced the general, sustained high level of antisemitic incidents in 2018 appear to be a continuation of those that similarly affected the level of incidents during 2017 and 2016. While there was no sudden trigger event to cause the record annual total in 2018, the months with the highest totals appear to correlate to periods when political and media debate over allegations of antisemitism in the Labour

Party were at their most intense and most public. These periods saw an increased number of incidents directly related to those debates, while the increased attention paid to the issue of antisemitism is likely to have emboldened offenders and encouraged victims to report more incidents. **CST recorded 148 incidents in 2018 that were examples of, or related to arguments over, alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party**, of which 49 were recorded in August 2018.

- It is likely that the high monthly totals in April and May 2018 were also partly influenced by reactions to violence on the border between Gaza and Israel during those months, in which several Palestinians were killed. This peaked on 14 May when 62 Palestinians, many of whom were later reported to have been Hamas members, were killed by the Israeli army. Overall, CST recorded **173 antisemitic incidents that showed evidence of being motivated by anti-Israel sentiments or ideology** (alongside the antisemitism), compared to 70 incidents of this type in 2017. Over a quarter of the 173 antisemitic incidents showing evidence of anti-Israel political motivation in 2018 occurred in the two months of April and May. The 182 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in May is the highest monthly total CST has recorded since August 2014, when Israel and Hamas last fought a sustained conflict over Gaza, and is the fourth-highest monthly total CST has ever recorded.
- In addition to the 1,652 antisemitic incidents that CST recorded in 2018, **a further 630 reports of potential incidents were received by CST but not included in the total number of antisemitic incidents**, as there was no evidence of antisemitic motivation, targeting or content.

NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, MONTH BY MONTH, 2007–2018



The above chart presents monthly totals of incidents over the past 12 years. The extreme peaks in the chart – found in 2009 and 2014 – occurred during specific conflicts including Israel. In contrast, since 2016, the chart shows consistently high monthly totals over a three-year period.

This is a 28 per cent decrease from the 872 potential incidents that were reported to CST in 2017 but not included in the antisemitic incident statistics for that year. Many of these potential incidents involve suspicious activity or possible hostile reconnaissance at Jewish locations. These potential incidents play an important role in CST's provision of security protection to the Jewish community, but they are not classified as antisemitic for the purposes of this report. In total, CST staff and volunteers recorded, processed and analysed 2,282 incidents and potential incidents in 2018, most of which required some element of victim support or security response.

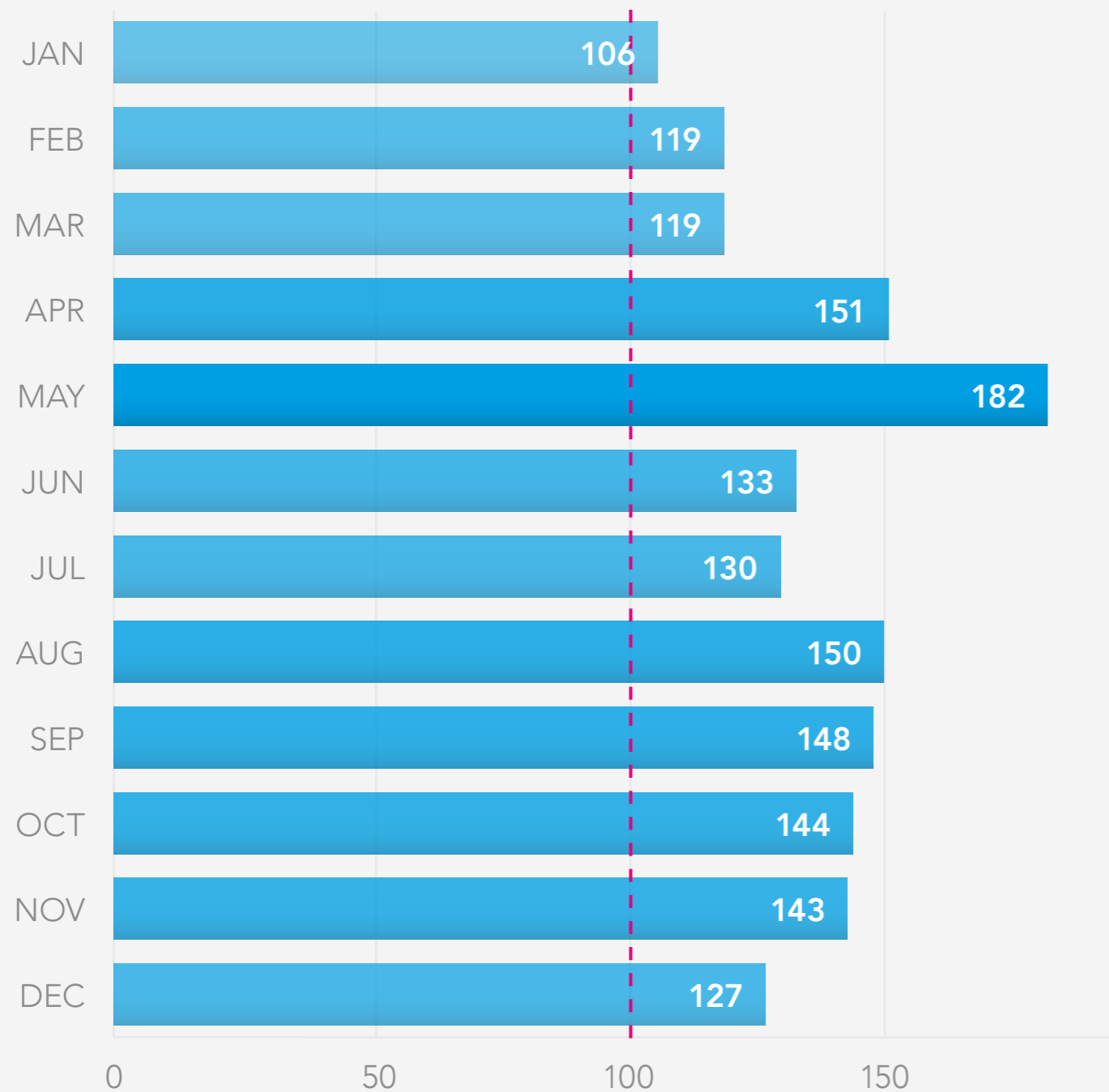
- **Almost three-quarters of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2018 took place in Greater London and Greater Manchester**, the two largest Jewish communities in the UK. CST recorded 950 antisemitic incidents in Greater London in 2018 compared to 784 during 2017, an increase of 21 per cent. In Greater Manchester, CST recorded 250 incidents in 2018 compared to 264 in 2017, a five per cent decrease. These different trends may reflect the fact that incidents involving political language or motivation are more likely to occur in Greater London than Greater Manchester. Beyond these two centres, CST received reports of 452 antisemitic

1. The numbers given in this report for previous years' incident totals may differ from those previously published as this report includes incidents reported to CST after the publication of previous reports, and reflects the re-categorisation of some incidents after publication due to the emergence of new information. As well as affecting the annual totals, these adjustments mean that some of the monthly, category and geographical totals for previous years cited in this report differ from previously published data. CST has been recording antisemitic incident statistics since 1984.

incidents from 40 of the 43 police forces in England and Wales, as well as the BTP, Scottish, and Northern Irish police forces, in 2018. This compares to 386 incidents outside of Greater London and Greater Manchester in 2017. There were 55 antisemitic incidents

in Hertfordshire (of which 31 were in Borehamwood and Elstree), compared to 40 in 2017; 34 in Gateshead (32 in 2017), 23 in Leeds (22 in 2017), 19 in Liverpool (12 in 2017), 16 in Sheffield (three in 2017) 12 in Glasgow (six in 2017) and 11 in Birmingham (12 in 2017).

MONTHLY INCIDENTS, 2018



- It is likely that there is **significant under-reporting of antisemitic incidents** to both CST and the Police, and that the number of antisemitic incidents that took place is significantly higher than the number recorded in this report. A 2018 survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights found that only 21 per cent of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic harassment over the previous five years had reported it to the Police or to any other organisation.² The Crime Survey for England and Wales estimates that around 53 per cent of all hate crimes come to the attention of the Police.³ It is likely, therefore, that the true figures for antisemitic hate incidents will be higher than those recorded in this report. No adjustments have been made to the figures to account for this.

- There was **one incident of Extreme Violence** in 2018, the first time CST has recorded an incident in this category since 2015. Extreme Violence is an attack with the potential to cause the loss of life, or that causes grievous bodily harm (GBH). Overall, CST recorded a fall of 17 per cent in violent incidents, from 149 in 2017 to 123 in 2018 (comprising one in the category of Extreme Violence and 122 incidents in the category of Assault).

- Incidents of **Damage and Desecration** to Jewish property fell by 16 per cent, from 93 incidents in 2017 to 78 incidents in 2018. Damage and Desecration is the only incident category for which 2018's total is not the highest or second-highest recorded in the past five years. CST recorded 81 incidents in this category in both 2014 and 2016, and 65 in 2015.

- There were 109 incidents reported to CST in the category of **Threats** in 2018, which includes direct threats to people or property, rather than more general abuse. This is an increase of 11 per cent from the 98 incidents of this type recorded in 2017.

CST recorded 107 incidents in 2016, which had been the largest number of threats ever recorded until 2018.

- There were 1,300 incidents of **Abusive Behaviour** recorded by CST in 2018, the highest number of incidents ever recorded in this category. The 1,300 incidents of Abusive Behaviour is an increase of 22 per cent from 2017's total of 1,065, which was itself the previous record high in this category. Incidents of Abusive Behaviour include verbal abuse, hate mail, antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property and antisemitic content on social media. 2018 is the third year in a row in which the number of antisemitic incidents in this category has risen.

- There were 42 incidents recorded in the category of **Literature** in 2018, which comprises mass-produced antisemitic mailings and emails, rather than individual hate mail. This is an increase of 180 per cent from the 15 incidents recorded in this category in 2017, a rise explained by a cluster of one particular leaflet that was distributed repeatedly across London during 2018. CST recorded 19 incidents in this category in 2016 and 12 in 2015.

- The **most common single type of incident in 2018 involved verbal abuse** directed at random Jewish people in public, a form of antisemitism that is more commonly associated with anti-social behaviour or local patterns of street crime than with political activism or ideologies. In 483 incidents, the victims were Jewish people, male or female, attacked or abused while going about their daily business in public places. In at least 224 of these incidents, the victims were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing, school uniform or jewellery bearing Jewish symbols. A total of 724 antisemitic incidents out of the 1,652 incidents in 2018 involved verbal antisemitic abuse.

2. *Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism: Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018).

3. *Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2017/18*, Statistical Bulletin 20/18 (London: Home Office, 2018).

Antisemitic incident reported to CST via social media, March



- CST recorded 384 antisemitic incidents that involved the use of **social media** in 2018, comprising 23 per cent of the overall total of 1,652 antisemitic incidents. This is an increase of 54 per cent from the 249 antisemitic incidents CST recorded involving social media in 2017 (18 per cent of that year's overall total). CST does not proactively 'trawl' social media platforms to look for incidents of this type and will only record social media incidents that have been reported to CST by a member of the public, where the offender is based in the UK or the incident involves the direct antisemitic targeting of a UK-based victim. These figures are only indicative and the total number of antisemitic posts, comments and tweets in the United Kingdom in 2018 is certain to be far higher.
- Sixty-six antisemitic incidents in 2018 targeted **synagogues**, and a further 30 incidents targeted synagogue congregants on their way to or from prayers, compared to 76 and 45 incidents respectively in 2017.
- In 221 incidents, the victims were **Jewish community organisations**, communal events, commercial premises or high-profile individuals, compared to 141 such incidents in 2017.
- Ninety-six incidents targeted **Jewish schools, schoolchildren or staff** in 2018, compared to 88 incidents relating to schools and schoolchildren in 2017. Of the 96 incidents of this type recorded in 2018,

46 affected Jewish schoolchildren on their journeys to or from school; 40 took place at the premises of Jewish faith schools; and ten involved Jewish children or teachers at non-faith schools.

- There were 25 antisemitic incidents in which the victims were **Jewish students, academics or other student bodies**, compared to 21 campus-related antisemitic incidents in 2017. Of the 25 incidents recorded by CST in 2018, 17 took place on campus and eight off campus. Out of these 25 incidents involving universities, two were in the category of Damage and Desecration of Jewish property, all of which occurred on campus; there was one incident in the category of Threats and 22 in the category of Abusive Behaviour. There were no incidents involving students, academics or student bodies in the category of Assault or Literature.
- CST will ask incident victims or witnesses if they can describe the person, or people, who committed the incident they are reporting. Interactions between perpetrators and victims may be crude and brief, leaving little reliable information and while it is often possible to receive reports regarding the apparent appearance or motivation of incident offenders, **this is not absolute proof of the offenders' actual ethnic or religious identity**, nor of their motivation. In addition, many incidents do not involve face-to-face contact between offender and victim, so there is no physical description of the offender. With these caveats, CST does provide data regarding the ethnic appearance of incident offenders, and the discourse they use to abuse or threaten Jews.
- CST received a **physical description of the incident offender** in 502, or 30 per cent, of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded during 2018. Of these, 300

offenders (60 per cent) were described as 'White – North European'; 18 offenders (four per cent) were described as 'White – South European'; 73 offenders (15 per cent) were described as 'Black'; 64 offenders (13 per cent) were described as 'South Asian'; three offenders (0.5 per cent) were described as 'Far East or South East Asian'; and 44 offenders (nine per cent) were described as 'Arab or North African'.

- There were 270 antisemitic incidents which showed **far right, anti-Israel or Islamist beliefs or motivations alongside antisemitism** in 2018, making up 16 per cent of the overall total of 1,652 antisemitic incidents, compared to 226 politically motivated incidents in 2017 (16 per cent of the overall total for that year). Of the 270 antisemitic incidents in 2018 showing ideological motivation or beliefs as well as antisemitism, 84 showed far right motivation or beliefs; 173 showed anti-Israel motivation or beliefs; and 13 showed Islamist motivation or beliefs.
- There is not always a straightforward correlation between the motivation of incident offenders and the **antisemitic language** they use; contemporary antisemitic incident offenders will select from a range of Jewish-related subjects, particularly insults related to the Holocaust or Israel, for language or imagery with which to abuse, insult or threaten their Jewish victims. In 2018, 45 per cent of the incidents recorded by CST involved the use of political language or imagery, an increase from the 30 per cent of incidents involving similar language in 2017. Of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2018, 456 involved language or imagery related to the far right or the Nazi period; 254 incidents involved references to Israel and the Palestinians; and 29 involved references to Islam or Muslims. In 285 incidents, more than one type of political discourse was employed.

- CST receives reports of antisemitic incidents from a **range of sources**, including directly from victims or members of their family; from witnesses; from CST's own national volunteer structure; from security guards at Jewish buildings; and via incident data sharing programmes with Police forces around the UK. In 2015 CST signed a national information sharing agreement with the National Police Chiefs' Council (under its former name of the Association of Chief Police Officers), that allows for the systematic sharing of antisemitic incident reports between CST and the Police, so that both agencies have sight of incidents that had not otherwise been reported to them. The incident reports are fully anonymised to comply with data protection requirements. This national agreement follows bilateral agreements with Greater Manchester Police (since 2011), the Metropolitan Police (since 2012) and Nottinghamshire Police (2014).
- Six hundred and forty-three of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST nationally in 2018 came to CST via **information sharing agreements** with the Police, representing 39 per cent of the incidents included in this report. A total of 431 incidents, or 26 per cent of the total, were reported directly to CST by the victims of antisemitic incidents, or by a friend or family member of an incident victim. In addition, 349 antisemitic incidents (21 per cent of the total) were reported to CST by people who had witnessed the incident but were not the direct victims of it. One hundred and forty-nine antisemitic incidents were reported by CST staff or volunteers throughout the UK. CST received reports of 50 antisemitic incidents from security guards and security officers at Jewish buildings and organisations. Seventeen antisemitic incidents were recorded by CST during 2018 on the basis of media reports. The remaining incidents were reported to CST by other Jewish community or hate crime monitoring organisations.

INTRODUCTION

Community Security Trust

The Community Security Trust (CST) is a UK charity that advises and represents the Jewish community on matters of antisemitism, terrorism, policing and security. CST received charitable status in 1994 and is recognised by the Government and the Police as a best practice model of a minority-community security organisation.

CST provides security advice and training for Jewish schools, synagogues and Jewish communal organisations and gives assistance to those bodies that are affected by antisemitism. CST also assists and supports individual members of the Jewish community who have been affected by antisemitism and antisemitic incidents. All this work is provided at no charge.

An essential part of CST's work involves representing the Jewish community to Police, legislative and policy-making bodies and providing people inside and outside the Jewish community with information to combat antisemitism.

CST has recorded antisemitic incidents in the United Kingdom since 1984.

Definition of antisemitic incidents

The statistics in CST's annual *Antisemitic Incidents Report* include antisemitic hate crimes and antisemitic non-crime incidents. CST defines an antisemitic incident as any malicious act aimed at Jewish people, organisations or property, where there is evidence that the act has antisemitic motivation or content, or that the victim was targeted because they are (or are believed to be) Jewish. This is a narrower definition than that used by the criminal justice system, which defines an antisemitic hate incident as "Any non-crime incident which is perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a person's race/religion or perceived race/religion."⁴

Antisemitic incidents can take several forms, including physical attacks on people or property, verbal or written abuse, hate mail (including antisemitic emails), antisemitic leaflets and posters or abuse on social media. CST does not include the general activities of antisemitic organisations in its statistics. CST does not record as incidents antisemitic material that is permanently hosted on

internet websites or that is generated by mainstream media, nor does CST 'trawl' social media platforms to look for antisemitic comments. CST will, however, record antisemitic comments posted on internet forums or blog talkbacks, or transmitted via social media, if they have been reported to CST by a member of the public who is a victim or witness; if the comment shows evidence of antisemitic content, motivation or targeting; and if the offender is based in the United Kingdom or has directly targeted a UK-based victim. Examples of antisemitic expressions that fall outside this definition of an antisemitic incident can be found in CST's annual *Antisemitic Discourse Reports*, available on the CST website.

Reporting antisemitic incidents

Antisemitic incidents are reported to CST in a number of ways, most commonly by telephone, email, via the CST website, via CST's social media platforms, by post or in person to CST staff and volunteers. CST staff have undergone specialist training, in order to provide the best possible response to incident victims and witnesses who contact CST.

Incidents can be reported to CST by the victim, a witness, or by someone acting on their behalf. In 2001, CST was accorded 'Third Party Reporting' status by the Police, which allows CST to report antisemitic incidents to the Police and to act as a go-between for victims who are unable or unwilling to report to the Police directly. CST works closely with Police services and specialist units in monitoring and investigating antisemitic incidents. CST regularly exchanges anonymised antisemitic incidents reports with Police forces around the United Kingdom and compares antisemitic incident trends with analysts from the National Community Tension Team, which is part of the National Police Chiefs' Council.

It is likely that many, and perhaps even most, antisemitic incidents are not reported either to CST or to the Police. A 2018 survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights found that only 21 per cent of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic harassment over the previous five years had reported it to the Police or to any other organisation.⁵ The Crime Survey for England and Wales estimates that around 53 per cent of all hate crimes come to the attention of the Police.⁶ It is likely, therefore, that the true figures for antisemitic hate incidents will be higher than those recorded in this report. No adjustments have been made to the figures to account for this.

If an incident is reported to CST but shows no evidence of antisemitic motivation, language or targeting, then it will not be recorded as antisemitic and will not be included in CST's annual antisemitic incident total. In 2018, CST received 630 reports of potential incidents that were rejected for this reason, and are not included in the total number of antisemitic incidents. These incidents involved criminal damage to, or theft from, Jewish property; criminal assaults on, or theft from, Jewish people that do not show antisemitic motivation; suspicious activity or potential

A Jewish student found graffiti reading "All Jews must die" on the wall of their hall of accommodation, London, May



information-gathering around Jewish locations; or anti-Israel activity which did not involve the use of antisemitic language or imagery and was directed at pro-Israel campaigners, rather than being directed at Jewish people, buildings or organisations chosen solely because they were Jewish. This is a 28 per cent decrease from the 872 potential incidents of this nature that were reported to CST in 2017, but not included in the antisemitic incident statistics for that year.

CST always prioritises the wishes and needs of incident victims, both individuals and the heads of Jewish organisations or communal buildings. In particular, CST treats the issue of victim confidentiality as a top priority. If an incident victim chooses to remain anonymous, or wishes there to be no publicity about an incident, CST will respect their request whenever possible.

5. *Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism: Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018).

6. *Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2017/18*, Statistical Bulletin 20/18 (London: Home Office, 2018).

4. *The Agreed Definition of 'Monitored Hate Crime' for England, Wales and Northern Ireland* www.report-it.org.uk/files/hate_crime_definitions_-_v3_0.pdf

ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 2018

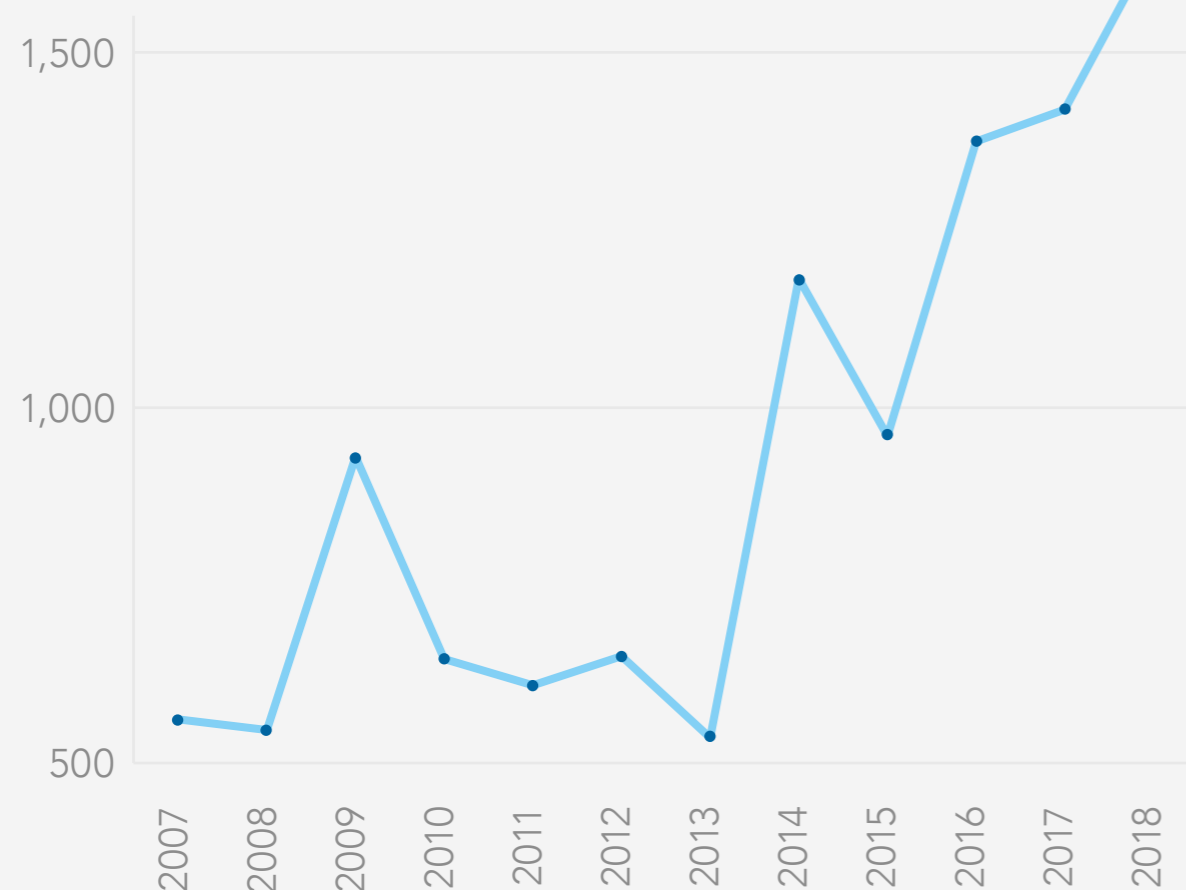
CST recorded 1,652 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2018, the highest total that CST has ever recorded in a single calendar year. This is an increase of 16 per cent from the 1,420 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2017, which was itself a record annual total. CST also recorded a record annual high of 1,375 antisemitic incidents in 2016, making 2018 the third year in a row to see a then-record total; and there was also a record high of 1,182 antisemitic incidents in 2014.

Contexts and patterns

The 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2018 were spread throughout the year and continued the previous pattern of 2016 and 2017 by reflecting a general, sustained high level of recorded antisemitic incidents, rather than a temporary 'spike' in incidents fuelled by a specific trigger event. CST recorded over 100 antisemitic incidents

in every month of 2018, the first time this has happened in a single calendar year. This extends a trend of historically high incident totals, best illustrated by the fact that CST recorded over 100 antisemitic incidents in all but five months during the three years from January 2016 to December 2018; whereas this only happened six times in the decade before 2016. In assessing the impact of these

NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, 2007–2018



incident totals on Jewish life in this country, it should be noted that according to the 2011 census there were 263,346 Jewish people in the United Kingdom (although the real number is likely to be slightly higher). May was the individual month of 2018 in which the highest number of incidents were recorded, with 182 antisemitic incidents. Other months that saw high monthly totals were April, with 151 incidents and August, with 150 incidents. The possible reasons for these smaller peaks within the year may help to explain why the number of antisemitic incidents has remained at such a sustained high level.

Whereas previous high annual totals in 2014 and 2009 were almost entirely due to reactions to conflicts involving Israel, there has been no single trigger event to cause any of the high annual totals in recent years. As was the case in 2017, there was no single, specific event in 2018 to cause a sudden and temporary spike in the number of incidents reported; rather, there were ongoing factors throughout the year related to politics in the UK and overseas that appear to have contributed to the record total. This can be seen in two periods during the year – April to May and August to September – that saw smaller surges in the number of incidents recorded by CST. These periods appear to correlate either with those periods during 2018 when arguments over allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party were particularly intense and attracted significant media attention, or with violence on the border between Israel and Gaza. For example, the last week of March 2018 saw renewed focus on Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn's past support for a graffiti artist called Mear One, who had painted an allegedly antisemitic mural in Tower Hamlets in 2012 (Corbyn objected to the removal of the mural by Tower Hamlets council). This led to a demonstration held outside Parliament and an open letter to Corbyn from Jewish community leadership bodies in late March. Representatives of those same Jewish organisations (including CST)

Antisemitic graffiti on and around a bus stop stating "f**k all Jewish", London, October



subsequently met Corbyn and his leadership team in late April 2018. This period saw sustained and prominent media and political debate about the question of antisemitism in the Labour Party, and about the broader issue of antisemitism in British society. CST recorded the highest and second-highest monthly antisemitic incident totals for the year in May and April respectively.

Similarly, in August a series of allegations of antisemitic behaviour by Labour Party members and by Jeremy Corbyn himself attracted widespread media coverage. There was also an ongoing dispute during the summer of 2018 over whether the party would adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Association (IHRA) definition of antisemitism (this continued into early September, when the party decided to adopt the definition). These factors may help to explain why the number of antisemitic incidents reported to CST rose from 130 in July 2018 to 150 incidents in August. Of the 150 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in August 2018, 49 incidents were related to antisemitism in the Labour Party, or to arguments about allegations of antisemitism in Labour, either due to the language used or

the context in which the incidents occurred. Overall, CST recorded 148 incidents in 2018 – around nine per cent of the year’s total – that were examples of, or related to arguments over, alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party.

This does not mean that all Labour Party members, or supporters of Jeremy Corbyn, are antisemitic, any more than the increase in all types of hate crime following the 2016 vote to leave the European Union meant that everyone who voted to leave the EU has racist attitudes. Rather, it is that an atmosphere of heightened public discussion of antisemitism, racism, hate crime and related issues can excite activity amongst those people who are already predisposed to carry out hate crimes, while also causing heightened concern about antisemitism amongst potential victims and witnesses of hate incidents (which can lead to higher levels of reporting). Another, less tangible, factor is that the prevalence of antisemitism in public debate can encourage more antisemitism, if people perceive that the taboo against expressing hostility or prejudice towards or about Jews is weakening. The more people hear and read antisemitic comments and views, the more likely they are to have the confidence to express such views if they hold similar attitudes themselves.

It is likely that the high monthly totals in April and May 2018 were also partly influenced by reactions to violence on the border between Gaza and Israel during those months, in which several Palestinians were killed. Repeated violent clashes in that area peaked on 14th May when 62 Palestinians, many of whom were later reported to have been Hamas members, were killed by the Israeli army. This attracted widespread media coverage and political reaction in the United Kingdom, particularly from supporters of the Palestinian cause, and CST also saw a temporary increase in those months in the number of antisemitic incidents displaying evidence of anti-Israel motivation (alongside evidence of antisemitism). CST recorded 47 such incidents in April and May,

over a quarter of the 173 antisemitic incidents that showed evidence of being motivated by anti-Israel sentiments or ideology in the whole of 2018. For comparison, CST recorded just 14 incidents of this type in January, February and March 2018 combined. The 182 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in May is the highest monthly total CST has recorded since August 2014, when Israel and Hamas last fought a sustained conflict over Gaza, and is the fourth-highest monthly total CST has ever recorded.

The average number of incidents per month climbed to 138 in 2018, compared to 118 per month in 2017. For a longer-term comparison, CST recorded 54 incidents per month in 2012 and 45 per month in 2013. Winter remained the season in which the fewest incidents were recorded, with 352 incidents over the months of January, February and December. The 127 incidents recorded in December 2018 is the second highest number on record for that month, behind only 2016, in which there were 145 incidents.

CST recorded 123 violent incidents in the categories of Extreme Violence and Assault during 2018, a decline of 17 per cent from the 149 violent incidents recorded in 2017. Despite this fall, 2018 saw the third-highest number of violent incidents CST has recorded in a calendar year. Violent incidents occurred at a disproportionately high rate in Greater Manchester: the city was the location of 31 per cent of the violent incidents recorded by CST, compared to 15 per cent of all incident types. This is similar to 2017, when the number of assaults recorded in Manchester comprised 36 per cent of the UK’s total, compared to 19 per cent for all incidents. Assaults also made up a disproportionately high amount of the incidents that took place in Greater Manchester: 15 per cent of the area’s incidents were from this category compared with assaults making up six per cent of London’s total.

Social media is a significant forum for the dissemination and reporting of antisemitism.

In 2018, not only were a record number of social media incidents recorded, but there was also an increase as a percentage of the total number of incidents. Three hundred and eighty four of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2018 took place on social media, compared to 249 social media incidents in 2017. This was an increase of 135 incidents, or 54 per cent from 2017 to 2018. The number of social media incidents as a percentage of the overall total also increased, from 18 per cent in 2017 to 23 per cent in 2018. In 2016 social media incidents comprised 21 per cent of the overall total. There was seemingly a link between Labour Party-related incidents and those from social media, with record numbers for each recorded in August. In August 2018, CST recorded 69 social media incidents, more than any other month and over 17 per cent of all the social media incidents recorded in 2018 (CST also recorded 84 incidents in August that involved the use of extremist language or imagery). These numbers are only indicative, rather than being a guide to the actual number of antisemitic tweets, comments and posts, which is likely to be far higher. Nevertheless, CST still recorded more antisemitic incidents in public places in 2018 (483 incidents) than on social media, and many more incidents involved verbal abuse (724 incidents) than digital abuse. CST never trawls social media in order to find antisemitic incidents: all are either reported directly to CST by a victim or witness, or CST are tagged in the offending tweet. CST also continues its efforts to identify where offenders are based (if neither offender nor victim is based in the UK, CST will not include antisemitic social media content in its statistics).

It is always necessary, when analysing an increase in recorded antisemitic incidents, to investigate whether this increase reflects an improvement in the reporting of incidents as well as an increase in the actual number of incidents taking place. As stated above, the sustained public profile given to antisemitism in the media and politics in 2018 may have

played a role in increasing the motivation and awareness of incident victims to report their experiences. It is also possible that an increased security presence at Jewish buildings since the middle of 2015 has contributed to the higher levels of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST. This increased security presence is partly a result of high Jewish communal concern about terrorism, and partly due to government funding for security guards at Jewish communal buildings that was made available from April 2015 and continued throughout 2016, 2017 and 2018.⁷ It is likely that incident reporting is higher when there is an increased visible presence, as people can report incidents directly to police officers, security guards or CST security volunteers. Indirectly, it may well serve to remind or motivate people to report incidents to CST or the Police. However, the number of incidents reported to CST by security guards at Jewish communal locations decreased since 2017. Fifty of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2018 were reported by security guards or security officers at Jewish locations, compared to 89 in 2017, 59 in 2016 and 33 in 2015.

CST has a national information sharing agreement with the National Police Chief’s Council that allows for the exchange of anonymised antisemitic incident reports between CST and police forces. This agreement was signed in 2015 (with the NPCC’s predecessor organisation, the Association of Chief Police Officers) and built on bilateral agreements CST had

Antisemitic tweet, London, July



7. Government funding has been provided for security guards at voluntary aided faith schools since 2010 and was extended to other Jewish buildings in 2015. In 2018/19, government funding for security guards across the Jewish community amounted to £13.4m. The fund is administered by CST and the guards are supplied by commercial guarding companies.

signed with Greater Manchester Police in 2011, the Metropolitan Police in 2012 and Nottinghamshire Police in 2014. These agreements allow for the systematic sharing of individual incident reports between CST and the Police to give both agencies sight of incidents that had not previously been reported to them. The reports are fully anonymised to comply with data protection requirements, and any duplicates – incidents that had been reported to both CST and the Police – are eliminated to ensure that there can be no ‘double counting’. Prior to the introduction of these information sharing agreements, antisemitic incidents had been shared by the Police with CST on an ad hoc basis, for operational or community engagement purposes; but most incidents reported to the Police would not have been shared with CST and therefore were not counted in CST’s antisemitic incident statistics. Consequently, these new and significant sources of antisemitic incident reports must be taken into consideration when comparing CST’s antisemitic incident totals since 2011 with those from 2010 and earlier, and in particular when assessing whether increases in recorded incidents reflect improvements in recording by CST or the Police rather than an increase in the number of incidents. For example, in 2018 CST received 78 antisemitic incidents via information sharing with British Transport Police, that had not been reported to CST previously and that covered the whole year. In contrast, in 2017 British Transport Police had only been able to provide anonymised incident reports for the period of January to June, rather than across the whole year (a total of 43 incidents for that six-monthly period). Therefore, it is likely that approximately 30-40 incidents recorded by CST in 2018 are the result of this increase in reporting from British Transport Police.

In 2018, 643 antisemitic incidents were reported to CST via information sharing with the Police that had not been reported directly to CST

from any other source, comprising 39 per cent of the overall total. This is the highest number of incidents recorded by CST via this route, compared to 527 in 2017 (37 per cent), 482 in 2016 (35 per cent) and 307 in 2015 (32 per cent). The number of incidents reported to CST by the Police therefore increased by 22 per cent in 2018. This may reflect the fact that CST continued to strengthen its relationship with the Police and extended its information sharing with different police forces in 2018, or it may reflect an improvement in reporting of antisemitic incidents to the Police, which has then filtered through to CST’s antisemitic incident statistics via the information sharing agreement.

In addition to the incidents reported to CST via the Police or from security guards at Jewish communal locations, a total of 431 incidents were reported directly to CST by the victims of antisemitic incidents, or by a friend or family member of an incident victim, while 349 antisemitic incidents were reported to CST by people who had witnessed the incident but were not the direct victims of it. One hundred and forty-nine antisemitic incidents were reported by CST staff or volunteers throughout the UK. Seventeen antisemitic incidents were recorded by CST during 2018 on the basis of media reports. The remaining incidents were reported to CST by other Jewish community or hate crime monitoring organisations.

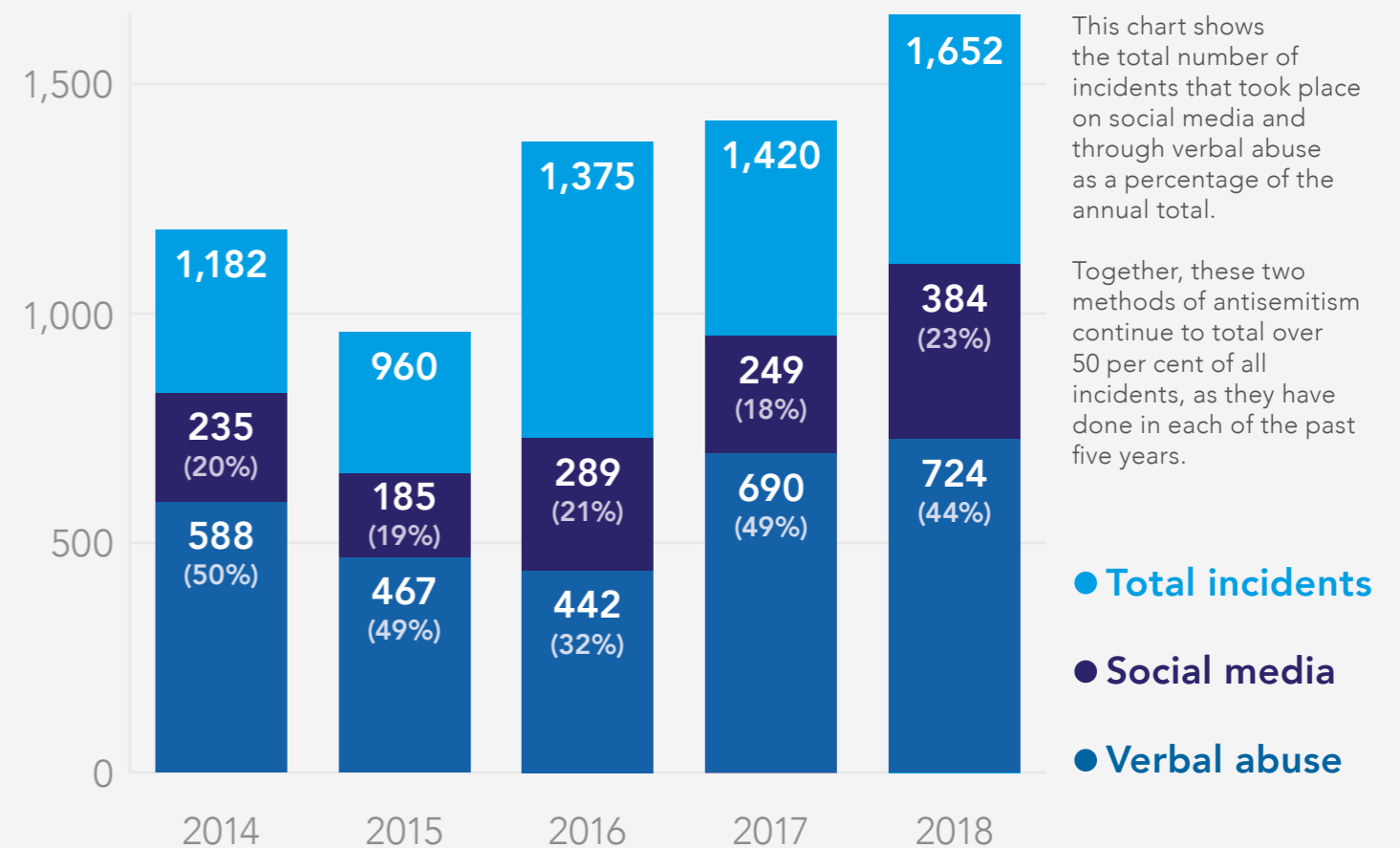
The figure of 1,420 antisemitic incidents given for 2017 in this report differs from the 1,382 incidents previously published in the 2017 report. There is always the possibility of incident figures for a particular year changing after the report for that year is published, due to the late reporting of some incidents to CST by incident victims, witnesses or other sources. The reason the 2017 incident figure has increased is because CST received reports on a number of incidents which had taken place in that year after the *Antisemitic Incidents Report 2017* was published.

Despite improvements in reporting, it is to be expected that antisemitic hate crime and hate incidents, like other forms of hate crime, are significantly under-reported. This is particularly the case where the victims are minors; where the incident is considered of ‘lesser’ impact by the victim; and for incidents that take place on social media. Consequently, the statistics contained in this report should be taken as being indicative of general trends, rather than absolute measures of the number of incidents that actually took place.

Answering the questions of why antisemitic incidents take place, who carries them out and who suffers from them is not always straightforward. Sometimes the evidence of victims or witnesses concerning what may

have been a shocking, traumatic and brief experience can be vague and disjointed. Many antisemitic incidents, particularly those that take place on social media or via graffiti in public places, do not have a specific victim and the offender is often unknown. While allowing for all these caveats, it is still possible to analyse the data contained in the individual incident reports received by CST during 2018, and the picture they show is one of complexity. In short, there is no single profile of an antisemitic incident victim, nor of an antisemitic incident offender, nor is there a single explanation as to why antisemitic incidents take place. This is explained in more detail in the sections “Incident victims”, p.27; “Incident offenders”, p.28; and “Discourse and motives”, p.30.

SOCIAL MEDIA AND VERBAL ABUSE INCIDENTS



INCIDENT CATEGORIES

CST classifies antisemitic incidents by six distinct categories: Extreme Violence; Assault; Damage and Desecration of Property; Threats; Abusive Behaviour; and Antisemitic Literature. The definitions of these categories, and examples of incidents recorded in each one during 2018, are given below.⁸

Extreme Violence

Incidents of Extreme Violence include any attack potentially causing loss of life or grievous bodily harm (GBH). GBH is the most serious form of assault that anyone can commit. For the first time since 2015, an incident of Extreme Violence was recorded in 2018, compared with none in 2017 and 2016, four in 2015 and one in 2014.

- **London, December.** Following a dispute surrounding a sale, the victim was attacked and cut with a knife, punched and kicked while the offender stated "I'm going to kill you, you f***ing Jew".

Assault

Incidents of Assault include any physical attack against a person or people, which does not pose a threat to their life or cause GBH but instead may be considered actual bodily harm (ABH) or common assault. This includes attempted assault, even if it fails; and throwing objects at Jews, including where the object misses the target.

CST recorded 122 incidents of Assault in 2018, compared to 149 in 2017. Taken together with Extreme Violence, this means CST recorded a total of 123 violent incidents in 2018, a decrease of 17 per cent from 2017. This is the third highest number of violent incidents that CST has ever recorded, surpassed only by 149 violent incidents in 2017 and 124 in 2009. It should be noted that a wide spectrum of incidents are categorised as Assault.

One hundred and one of the 122 incidents of Assault recorded in 2018 were random attacks on Jewish people in public places, of which 57

targeted people who were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing. Six assaults took place either at synagogues or affected congregants on their way to or from prayers. Twenty targeted Jewish schoolchildren, of which five occurred at their school and 15 on their journeys to or from school. CST received a description of the gender of the victims in 109 of the incidents of Assault. Of these, the victims were male in 80 incidents; in 21 incidents they were female; and in eight they were mixed couples or groups of males and females. CST received a description of the age of the victims in 87 of the incidents of Assault. Of these, in 54 incidents the victims were adults; in 28 incidents the victims were minors; and in five incidents they were mixed groups of adults and minors.

CST received a description of the gender of the offenders in 82 of the incidents of Assault, of which 69 involved male offenders, ten involved female offenders and three involved male and female offenders acting together. CST received a description of the age of the offenders in 65 of the incidents of Assault. Of these, the offenders were adults in 42 incidents

and in 23 incidents they were minors. Thirty-two of the incidents involved objects being thrown intentionally at Jewish people — in 14 of these incidents the object was thrown from a vehicle. Particular targets for this kind of incident are the strictly orthodox communities in Salford and Bury in north Manchester; Golders Green, Hendon and Stamford Hill in north London; and in Gateshead.

Other incidents in the category of Assault in 2018 included:

- **London, March.** A teenage boy approached a man on a bus and began making antisemitic comments to him before using a lighter to burn strands of his hair.
- **Sussex, May.** An 11-year-old boy was verbally abused by fellow pupils from his school, before being assaulted. The children made statements such as "Burn all Jews" and "Hitler was the f***king greatest". This abuse was ongoing over a number of months, and culminated into a physical assault on a school field in May.

CASE STUDY

Knife attack on the Sabbath, April, Gateshead

As two visibly Jewish males were walking along a public street on the Sabbath, they were approached by three people described as youths. One of these youths stated that he had just been released from prison, and the group threatened to take the hats from the two Jewish men. One of the youths proceeded to knock the skullcap from a victim, and the incident became more violent.

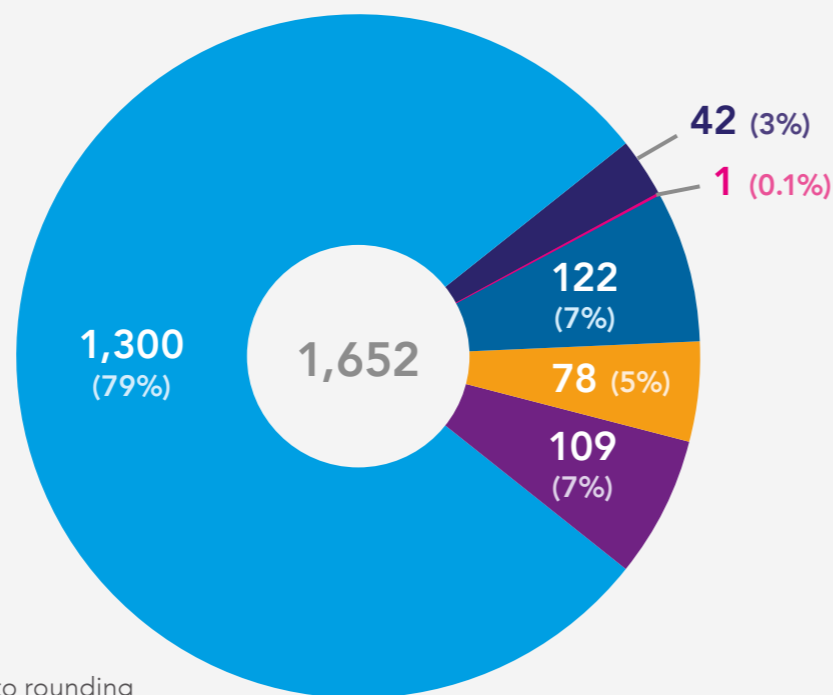
The incident continued to escalate and an offender withdrew a knife, and slashed one of the victims in the face, under his eye. The victim was then punched in the eye, before an ambulance, the Police and CST were called. The victim who had suffered the knife attack was hospitalised, before being released the following day.

Police enquiries failed to find the individual or make any arrests. A statement by Northumbria Police stated that:

"We have a very positive relationship with our Jewish communities in Gateshead and regularly meet with them to speak about any community tensions. An investigation into the incident in question has been conducted but so far our enquiries have not resulted in the identification of an offender [...] Nobody should be targeted because of who they are and we would encourage anyone who feels they have suffered anti-Semitic abuse to get in touch".

INCIDENT CATEGORIES

- Abusive Behaviour
- Literature
- Extreme Violence
- Assault
- Damage & Desecration
- Threats



NB Percentages may add up to over 100% due to rounding

8. A more detailed explanation of the six antisemitic incident categories can be found in the CST leaflet *Categories of Antisemitic Incidents*, available on the CST website: <http://www.cst.org.uk>

- **London, May.** A man was walking to synagogue for a Sabbath service when somebody began shouting abuse at him from a car. He then proceeded to throw his McDonalds food out of his window at the victim, covering him in food and drink to the extent where he had to walk home and get changed.
- **Hertfordshire, May.** A group of girls from a Jewish school were verbally and physically attacked by girls from another local school, who shouted slurs such as “you Jewish c***s” and pulled one of the girl’s hair.
- **Scotland, August.** A woman converting to Judaism was spat at in the face whilst being called a “Jew” on a bus in Edinburgh.
- **London, October.** A man was approached and called a “f***ing Jew” by another man. Upon confronting the offender, the victim was attacked with a tennis racket. The man then continued swearing at Jews as he walked along the street. Police apprehended and arrested the offender.

Damage and Desecration to Jewish Property

This category includes any physical attack directed against Jewish-owned property, or property that is perceived to be connected to Jews, which is not life-threatening. This includes the daubing of antisemitic slogans or symbols (such as swastikas) – including fixing stickers and posters – on Jewish property; and damage caused to property where it appears that the property has been specifically targeted because of its perceived Jewish connection, or where antisemitic expressions are made by the offender while causing the damage.

There were 78 incidents of Damage and Desecration in 2018, a decrease of 16 per cent from the 2017 record total of 93 incidents in this category. There were 81 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2016. Damage and Desecration is the only category whereby

2018’s figure is not the highest or second highest recorded in the past five years, below the 81 incidents recorded in both 2014 and 2016, but above the 65 recorded in 2015. Of the 78 incidents recorded in 2018, 33 affected the homes of Jewish people or vehicles parked at their homes, and 39 involved the daubing of graffiti on Jewish property. Ten incidents involved desecration of, or antisemitic damage to, synagogues. There were five incidents in 2018 that involved antisemitic damage to, or desecration of, a Jewish cemetery, and 14 that involved stones, bricks or bottles being thrown at Jewish property. One incident involved the antisemitic hacking of a Jewish public figure’s website. Four incidents in this category involved the use of arson.

CASE STUDY

Spate of cemetery desecrations

In 2018, CST recorded five incidents of desecrations to Jewish cemeteries in the UK. One cemetery in Manchester was desecrated on multiple occasions over May 2018. The graveyard was broken into and headstones were pushed over and smashed. In total, dozens of gravestones were damaged. CST provided assistance through security consultations with the managers of the cemetery, where ideas such as movement alarms, more CCTV and anti-climb paint were discussed.



Other incidents of Damage and Desecration in 2018 included:

- **London, January.** Graffiti was found on a poster commemorating Holocaust Memorial Day, entitled, “Lessons of the Holocaust today”. The graffiti read “Use electric, not gas”.
- **London, February.** A Jewish family came home from having spent the Sabbath at synagogue and with their friends, to find that the tyres of their car had been slashed and the mezuzah (a prayer scroll affixed to the doorpost of Jewish homes) was ripped off the front door.
- **Scotland, April.** A brick was thrown at a glass door at the front of a synagogue. Thanks to the non-smash coating on the glass, the door did not shatter.
- **London, October.** A Jewish bakery was vandalised with antisemitic graffiti. This was quickly cleaned off, but the bakery was attacked ten days later with the words “Ashkenazi Nazi”.
- **Hertfordshire, September.** A Jewish man found that someone had etched a swastika into the wall by the front door of his home, beside his mezuzah.

Threats

This category includes only direct antisemitic threats, whether verbal or written. This includes potential Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) that were designed to be hoaxes, for example if they do not contain any explosive material.

There were 109 incidents reported to CST in the category of Threats in 2018, an 11 per cent increase from the 98 incidents of this type recorded in 2017. The 109 incidents recorded in this category in 2018 is the highest total ever recorded by CST. There were 107 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2016, and 79 in 2015. Thirty one of the 109 threats recorded in 2018 took place in

The poster for a Kristallnacht exhibition hosted by a Holocaust research centre was damaged on multiple occasions with graffiti reading “free Palestine” and similar wording. The targeting of an exhibition about the Holocaust to make an anti-Israel statement is antisemitic



public and nine threats took place at victims’ homes. Eleven threats targeted synagogues and five targeted Jewish organisations and events. Seventy-two incidents in this category involved verbal abuse, nine were on social media, nine involved a vehicle being used as a weapon and six included hate mail. Two of the incidents in this category in 2018 involved bomb threats.

Incidents in the category of Threats in 2018 included:

- **London, May.** A woman on a train said: “Dirty Jews [...] think you run this place [...] This isn’t Jerusalem this is London. You Jews think you can take over the world. I will kill you and go to prison I wouldn’t care”.

- **Leeds, June.** A Jewish person found a note on his vehicle that read: "We know where you live Jew boy, you cost, watch your back".
- **London, October.** A Jewish man was returning to his house and his neighbour shouted at him: "I'll get you f***ing Jewish c***s [...] one day I'm going to kill you".

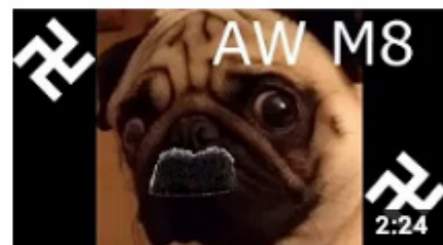
CASE STUDY

Backlash in Scotland relating to a dog taught the Hitler salute

A Jewish organisation in Scotland received an abusive and threatening email. The email read, "I'm going to kill every single one of you ugly rat-faced kikes. I think I'll use a knife. Then after I've cut you, I'll shut that dirty, filthy, lying Jew mouth of yours once and for all. Make sure you have a good hiding place ready. I'm gonna stick your children into an oven and then I'm gonna serve roasted kike to my dog. Good luck finding me you worthless piece of sh*t."

This email was sent to the organisation in the aftermath of the prosecution of a Scottish man who filmed and put on YouTube a video of his pet dog performing Nazi salutes in response to its owner calling out antisemitic slogans such as "Gas the Jews". The man was found guilty of the charge under the Communications Act. This prosecution, which was publicised in the media, was followed by a spate of antisemitic incidents from members of the public who felt that the offender should not have been prosecuted.

See below the thumbnail of the original video posted on YouTube.



M8 Yer Dugs A Nazi

Abusive Behaviour

This category includes verbal and written antisemitic abuse. The verbal abuse can be face to face or via telephone calls and voicemail messages. The category also includes antisemitic emails, text messages, tweets and social media comments, as well as targeted antisemitic letters (that is, one-off letters aimed at and sent to a specific individual), irrespective of whether or not the recipient is Jewish. This is different from a mass mailing of antisemitic leaflets, pamphlets or group emails, which is dealt with by the separate Literature category. Antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property is also included in this category.

There were 1,300 incidents of Abusive Behaviour reported to CST in 2018, the highest total CST has ever recorded in this category. This is a 22 per cent increase from the 1,065 incidents of Abusive Behaviour that CST recorded in 2017, which was previously the record high in this category. There were 1,059 antisemitic incidents recorded in this category in 2016 and 717 in 2015. In 346 of the incidents of Abusive Behaviour recorded in 2018, the victims were random Jewish people in public places; in at least 146 of these, the victims were visibly Jewish. Verbal antisemitic abuse was used in 562 incidents in this category, 32 of which were by phone. There were 375 incidents of Abusive Behaviour recorded that took place on social media, an increase of 52 per cent. Forty-two incidents of Abusive Behaviour involved the use of paper hate mail and 45 occurred via email. One hundred and ninety-one incidents in this category involved antisemitic daubing, graffiti or stickers on non-Jewish property.

Incidents of Abusive Behaviour in 2018 included:

- **London, May.** An elderly Jewish man who was also a Holocaust survivor was walking near his home when he saw that someone had daubed a swastika and written "Hitler was right" on the side of a bridge.

CASE STUDY

Holocaust denial graffiti

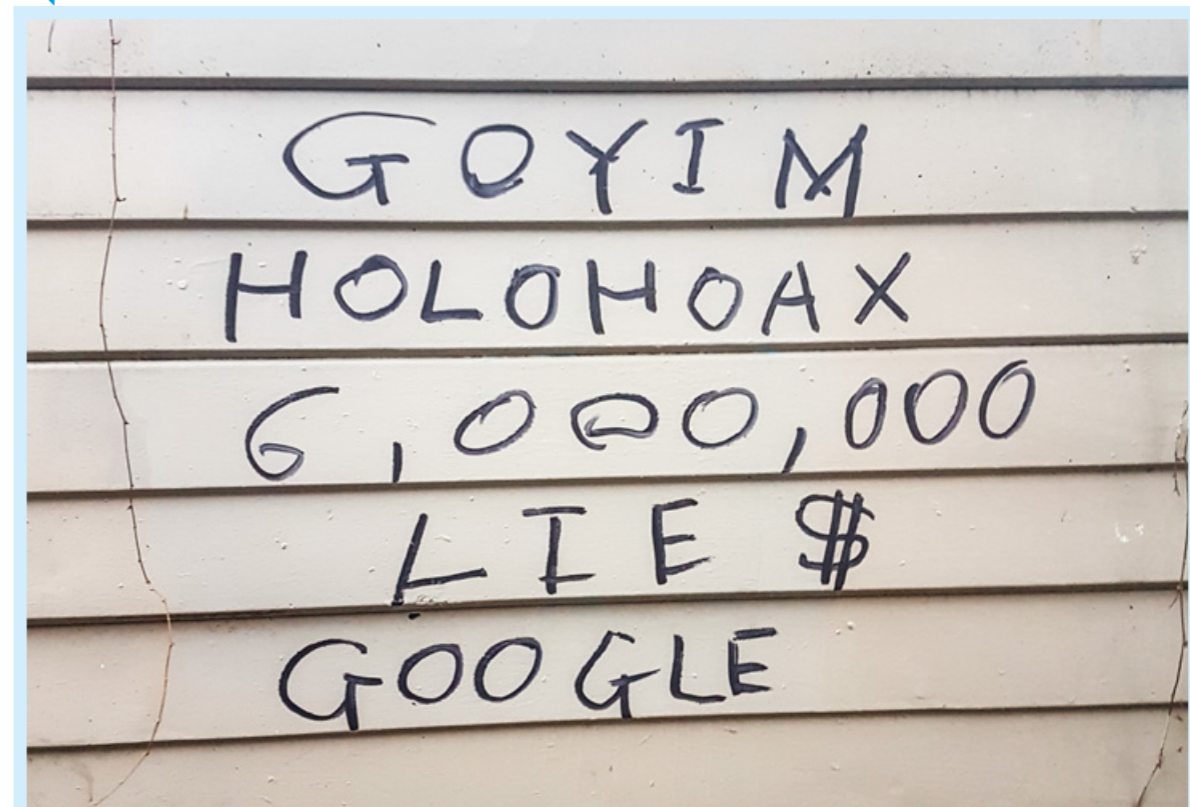
Holocaust denial graffiti, which had previously appeared throughout 2017 across neighbouring London boroughs, reappeared in early 2018 in the Borough of Ealing. The graffiti read: "GOYIM / HOLOHOAX / 6,000,000 / LIE\$ / GOOGLE."

This graffiti had the same handwriting and antisemitic language as previous graffiti incidents reported to CST throughout 2017. Previous examples included "The Holocaust is a lie" and "Holofoax" as well as swastikas, a Star of David, and the words "Banks", "media" and "9/11."

Each time the graffiti resurfaces, CST ensures that it is removed by the relevant council. CST has also informed the Police of the connection between these graffiti incidents and provided the Police with locations, documentation and images to help them with their investigation.

- **Hertfordshire, April.** Two girls from a Jewish school witnessed girls from another school fighting while on a public bus service. Upon spotting the Jewish girls, the offending individuals shouted at them "what are you f***ing looking at you Jewish c***s?"
- **Kent, January.** Graffiti which reads "F**k Jews" and "14/88 WPWW" was found alongside a swastika. (14 is a reference to a white power slogan using 14 different words; 88 is a neo-Nazi numerical code for the slogan "Heil Hitler" with the 8 referring to "H" - the eighth letter of the alphabet). This occurred two days after Holocaust Memorial Day.
- **London, October.** Driving past a synagogue on a Sabbath, the driver of a car shouted "f***ing Jews" and made a derisive gesture towards the synagogue.

Antisemitic graffiti, London, February



Literature

This category covers mass-produced antisemitic literature which is distributed in multiple quantities. This can involve a single mass mailing or repeated individual mailings, but it must involve the multiple use of the same piece of literature in order to fall into this category. This is different from one-off cases of hate mail targeted at individual people or organisations, which would come under the category of either Abusive Behaviour or Threats (depending on the hate mail's content). This category includes literature that is antisemitic in itself, irrespective of whether or not the recipient is Jewish, and cases where Jews are specifically targeted for malicious distribution, even if the material itself is not antisemitic. This would include, for instance, the mass mailing of neo-Nazi literature to targeted Jewish organisations or homes, even if the literature did not mention Jews. This category also includes antisemitic emails that are sent to groups of recipients.

The statistics for this category give no indication of the extent of distribution. A single mass mailing of antisemitic literature is only counted as one incident, although it could involve material being sent to dozens of recipients. Thus the number of incidents reflects the number of offenders, rather than the number of victims.

There were 42 incidents recorded in the category of antisemitic Literature in 2018, a 180 per cent increase from the 15 incidents recorded in this category in 2017. There were 19 incidents recorded in this category in 2016 and 12 in 2015. The large increase in incidents of this type in 2018 was due to the repeated distribution of a single example of antisemitic literature throughout the year, which amounted to 26 of the 42 recorded incidents (this is explained in more detail in the case study below). Thirty-six of the Literature incidents recorded in 2018 involved the distribution of paper leaflets or pamphlets, and four involved a mass email. Out of the

CASE STUDY

"Tip of the Iceberg" leaflet, throughout the year

A leaflet filled with antisemitic tropes entitled "Tip of the Iceberg" was the most prominent item within the Literature category throughout the year, making up 26 separate incidents. This leaflet was hand delivered to individuals' homes — and one Jewish organisation — across London, in eight different boroughs including Barnet, Ealing and Waltham Forest.

This letter, handwritten and typed, contains conspiracy theories and references the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (an antisemitic text detailing an alleged Jewish plan for world domination), the Rothschild Family (often characterised as controlling the world's financial institutions), the New World Order (often characterised as a secretive powerful elite group with a global agenda to rule the world), and the supposed Jewish and Zionist infiltration of Parliament.

Some statements hark to Christian antisemitism, reading that "They have taken the *Thirty Pieces of Silver* [sic] and are using our taxes for war and destruction!" Some, meanwhile, do not appear based in traditional conspiracy theories, such as the claim that "Bob Dylan said he sold his soul to the devil – they gave him (and Obama) the Nobel Prize".

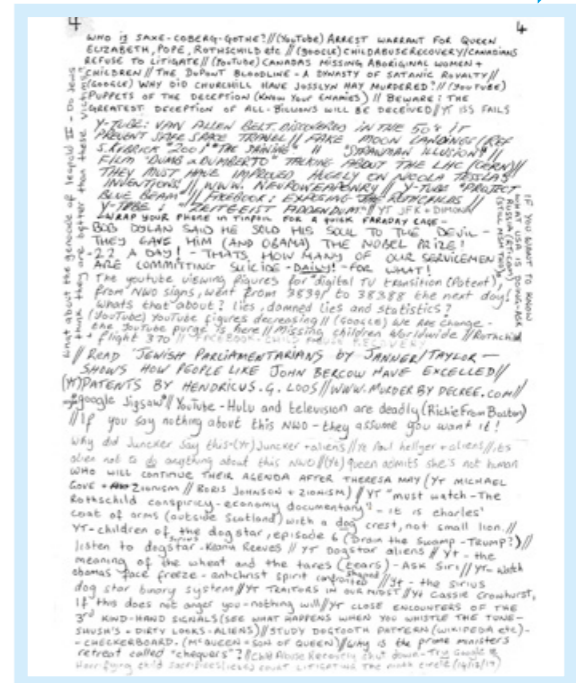
It appears that a group of people have been hand-delivering this hate mail. CST tracked where these incidents took place and collected CCTV footage from residents to whom the literature was delivered.

42 antisemitic incidents recorded in the category of Literature, four incidents targeted synagogues and three incidents involved Jewish organisations or events. Twenty-five of the incidents took place at people's homes.

Other examples of Literature incidents in 2018 included:

- London, February. Members of staff at a Jewish organisation received hundreds of hateful or antisemitic emails following an event that they completed in Poland regarding Holocaust-related legislation in that country. These emails were only sent to the Jewish members of staff.
- London, October. A DVD was posted to a school featuring hateful racist content, including antisemitism.

These excerpts are from a four-page pamphlet, titled 'Tip of the Iceberg' that was the most prolific item of Literature in 2018 - making up over half of the year's incidents in this category. The pamphlet is filled with hateful antisemitic tropes and conspiracies



TIP OF THE ICEBERG

Dear Neighbour,

My name is not important, nor race, creed, colour, sex, age or religion. I am writing this because I would like my opinion heard, in my local area and beyond. **We are at war!** (Economic, Information, Financial, Cyber etc.) and soon, maybe the real thing. The problem is a movement, or ideology, called the "**New World Order**" (NWO), which is run by the extremely rich and powerful. They are usually involved with the Banking System, Military Industrial Complex, Intelligence Agencies, and other powerful institutions eg: Rothschild-who allegedly financed **both** sides in wars.

By infiltrating the legitimate power structure, they have succeeded in their primary mission. *Preserving* and increasing their own ill-gotten wealth and power, whilst subverting the democratic will of the people. It is a system based on design, not accident. These various *Deep State* networks have interlocking connections through secret societies and family ties, often over many generations. The hereditary principle applies.

I first heard the NWO when George Bush Senior said it would be implemented, could not be stopped, and so, as he did not give a manifesto or time line, conspiracy theories have sprung up. But if you look at what is happening in the world today globally, and compare it to certain theories like The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the dots seem to connect, revealing a pretty bad picture. All of these new laws, regulations and cutbacks etc. which infringe on our civil liberties and freedoms such as the Snoopers Charter, Patriot Act and so on, are a part of the NWO Agenda. They tend to take on new meanings when the confusing *legalese* jargon, is interpreted into plain English.

Thankfully, *for the moment*, the internet still allows us to access information easily, and have it presented to us in a way that has never been done before. Those who have perpetrated Crimes Against Humanity must have thought they had escaped justice and, not banked on a tool like the internet being invented for citizens, so that these Crimes of the Famous are never forgotten.

Life is moving in ever decreasing circles, and the same things keep happening time and time again. If we can learn from history, and from **our** mistakes, we can break these cycles, and these chains of enslavement of the Mind Control Debt Enslavers. We can hold those who instigate, uphold and hide these crimes against humanity to account, and stop the evil that is NOW taking this world over!

I'm fed up being lied to from politicians, the news media, and other "trusted" institutions and people. I no longer know who to listen to and trust. Donald Trump and Theresa May say that they want to control or suppress the internet to combat so called *fake news*. Information that we can access now, may not be as easily available in the future. Remember book burning-The Spanish Inquisition! It may be good practice to make copies.

Those we employ and trust to safeguard and protect us have been paid off. They have taken the *Thirty Pieces of Silver*, and are using our taxes for war and destruction! I think it's time for ALL of us to be aware of the dangers of allowing

INFORMATION COLLECTION AND SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOUR

One of the most important jobs CST does is to record and analyse incidents of potential hostile reconnaissance (categorised by CST as 'Information Collection') and Suspicious Behaviour around Jewish locations. Although these potential incidents are not included in CST's antisemitic incident statistics, they still form a vital part of CST's work.

The recent tragic history of antisemitic terrorism against Jewish schools, synagogues, shops, museums and other buildings in Pittsburgh, Copenhagen, Paris, Brussels, Toulouse, Kansas City, Mumbai and elsewhere attests to the importance of this work. Jewish communities have long been the targets of terrorists of different and varied political and religious motivations. Since the late 1960s, there have been over 400 terrorist attacks, attempted attacks and foiled terrorist plots against Diaspora Jewish communities and Israeli targets outside Israel.⁹ In the UK, several terrorist plots targeting Jewish communities came to trial or were publicised via the media in recent years. It is well known that terrorist actors often collect information about their targets before launching an attack. Identifying and preventing the gathering of this kind of information is an integral part of CST's work in protecting the UK Jewish community from terrorism. In order to be effective in keeping the public safe, CST relies on information from the public and encourages the Jewish community to continue reporting suspicious activity to CST, as well as to the Police.

The UK terrorist threat level remained at 'Severe' throughout 2018. It was twice raised to 'Critical' (meaning an attack was considered imminent) in 2017: after the Manchester Arena bombing and again following the bombing at Parsons Green. CST works in consultation with the Police to gather, record and investigate

incidents of Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour. CST does this in order to keep the Jewish community safe and allow it to carry on as normal.

Cases of potential Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour are not included in CST's antisemitic incident statistics, as the motivation for many of them is not possible to determine and many may have innocent explanations. The vague and uncertain nature of many of these incidents means that they are easier to analyse if the two categories are combined, rather than treated separately. Taken together, there were 265 such incidents reported to CST in 2018, compared to the 424 incidents of this type reported to CST in 2017. Of the 265 incidents of potential Information Collection and Suspicious Behaviour reported to CST in 2018, 42 involved the photography or videoing of Jewish buildings, while in 26 cases suspicious people tried to gain entry to Jewish premises. Neither CST nor the Police underestimate the threat posed to Jewish communities by various terrorist organisations and networks. Identifying and preventing the potential hostile reconnaissance of Jewish buildings or other potential terrorist targets is an important part of reducing the possibility of future terrorist attacks and is integral to the work of CST.

INCIDENT VICTIMS

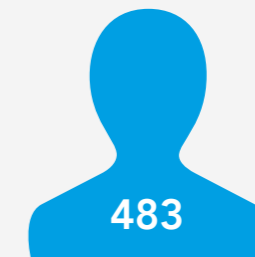
The victims of antisemitic incidents come from the whole spectrum of the Jewish community: from strictly orthodox to liberal, reform and secular Jews; from the largest Jewish communities of London and Manchester to small, isolated communities all over the United Kingdom; and from Jewish schoolchildren to Members of Parliament.

The most common single type of incident involved verbal abuse randomly directed at Jewish people in public, predominantly in areas with a high concentration of Jews. Such incidents are more commonly associated with anti-social behaviour or local patterns of street crime rather than with political activism or ideologies. In 483 incidents, the victims were ordinary Jewish people, male or female, attacked or abused while going about their daily business in public places. In at least 224 of these, the victims were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing, school uniform or jewellery bearing Jewish symbols. Sixty-six incidents targeted synagogue property and staff in 2018, compared to 76 in 2017, and a further 30 incidents targeted congregants on their way to or from prayers, compared to 45 in 2017. There were 139 incidents that targeted Jewish community organisations, communal events or commercial premises, compared to 123 in 2017, while 130 incidents happened at people's private homes (93 in 2017). Twenty-two antisemitic incidents took place in the workplace or were work-related, compared to 16 in 2017. Eighty-two antisemitic incidents in 2018 targeted high-profile Jewish individuals, including politicians, journalists and communal leaders, compared to just 18 incidents of this type in 2017.

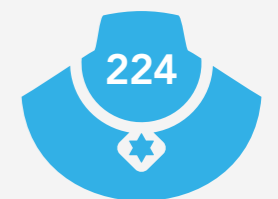
A total of 96 antisemitic incidents took place at schools or involved Jewish schoolchildren or teaching staff, compared to 88 in 2017. Of the 96 incidents of this type in 2018,

40 took place at Jewish schools, ten at non-faith schools and 46 affected Jewish schoolchildren on their journeys to and from school. Twenty of the 96 school-related incidents were in the category of Assault; three involved Damage and Desecration of Jewish property; eight were in the category of Threats; 63 were in the category of Abusive Behaviour and there were two in the category of Literature.

WHO AND WHAT IS BEING TARGETED



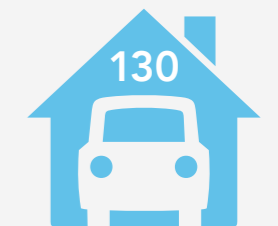
Individuals in public



Visibly Jewish individuals



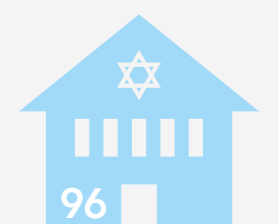
Jewish community organisations, events and public figures



Homes, inc. people and vehicles at their homes



Education-related



Synagogues

⁹ For a full chronology and analysis of this history of modern anti-Jewish terrorism, see the CST publication "Terrorist Incidents against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad 1968-2010", available at <http://www.cst.org.uk>

There were 25 antisemitic incidents in which the victims were Jewish students, academics or other student bodies, compared to 21 campus-related antisemitic incidents in 2017. Of the 25 incidents of this type reported to CST in 2018, 17 took place on campus and eight off campus. Out of these 25 incidents involving universities and students, two were in the category of Damage and Desecration of Jewish property, both of which occurred on campus; there was one incident in the category of Threats; and 22 in the category of Abusive Behaviour. There were no incidents involving students, academics or student bodies in the category of Assault or Literature.

CST received a description of the gender of the victim or victims in 860 (52 per cent) of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents reported to CST during 2018. Of these, the victims were

male in 513 incidents (60 per cent of incidents where the victim's gender was known), female in 291 incidents (34 per cent) and groups of males and females together in 56 incidents (seven per cent).

CST received a description of the age of the victim or victims of 726 (44 per cent) of the 1,652 incidents recorded during 2018. Breaking this down into adults and minors (while acknowledging the difficulty in accurately categorising incident victims who may be merely described by witnesses as "youths" or "teenagers") shows that in 590 incidents, the victims were described to CST as adults (81 per cent of incidents where the victim's age was described), in 91 incidents they were described as minors (13 per cent) and in 45 cases (six per cent) the victims were described as adults and minors together.

INCIDENT OFFENDERS

CST is often asked by journalists and members of the public to identify the ethnic or religious background of incident offenders. This can be a difficult and imprecise task. CST will ask incident victims or witnesses if they can describe the person, or people, who committed the incident they are reporting, but many antisemitic incidents involve public encounters where the antisemitic abuse may be generic, brief and sometimes non-verbal.

The evidence of victims of, and witnesses to, these antisemitic incidents may rely on their interpretation of the offender's physical appearance, language or other indicators. Many other incidents do not involve face-to-face contact between offender and victim, such as graffiti or hate mail incidents, so it is not always possible to obtain a physical description of the offender.

While it is possible to collect data regarding the ethnic appearance of incident offenders, this data is not direct evidence of the offenders' religious affiliations. The content of an antisemitic letter may reveal the motivation of the offender, but it would be a mistake to assume to know the ethnicity or religion of a hate mail sender on the basis of the discourse they employ. Social media platforms afford a level of anonymity to offenders, should they wish to hide their identity, but can

Where the gender was known



also provide some personal details of offenders, such as their name, photograph or approximate location.

Bearing in mind all these limitations regarding the availability and reliability of this data, a description of the ethnic appearance of the offenders was obtained in 502, or 30 per cent, of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2018.¹⁰ Of these, 300 offenders were described as 'White – North European' (60 per cent); 18 offenders were described as 'White – South European' (four per cent); 73 offenders were described as 'Black' (15 per cent); 64 offenders were described as 'South Asian' (13 per cent); three offenders were described as 'Far East or South East Asian' (0.5 per cent); and 44 offenders were described as being 'Arab or North African' (nine per cent). These figures partly reflect the fact that Britain's Jewish communities tend to live in relatively diverse urban areas, and that street crime offenders (where the most common type of antisemitic incident takes place) make up a younger, and more diverse, demographic profile than the population as a whole.

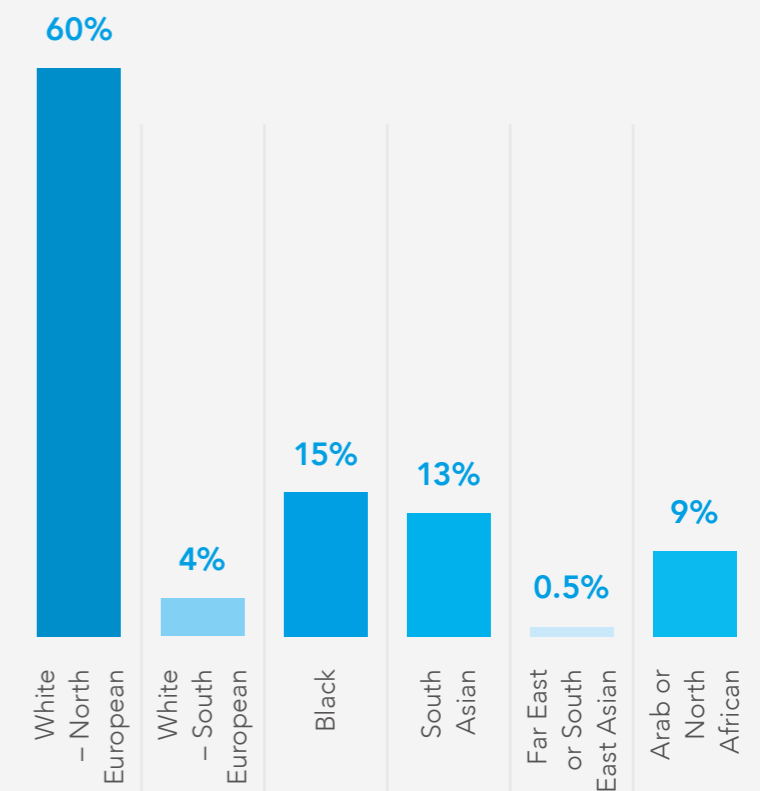
CST received a description of the gender of the offender or offenders in 840 (51 per cent) of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2018. Of these, the offenders were described as male in 706 incidents (84 per cent of incidents where the offender's gender was known), female in 115 incidents (14 per cent) and mixed groups of males and females in 19 incidents (two per cent).

CST received a description of the approximate age of the offender or offenders in 648 of the 1,652 incidents reported during the year (39 per cent). Of these 648 incidents, and allowing for the same caveats as when attempting to analyse the ages of incident victims, the offenders were described as adults in 545 antisemitic incidents (84 per cent of incidents where the offender's age was estimated), minors in 101 incidents (16

per cent) and one incident included adults and minors together (0.1 per cent). Younger antisemitic incident offenders appear to be more likely than adults to be involved in violent incidents (albeit usually using relatively limited violence) or those involving damage to property: minors were responsible for 35 per cent of the incidents recorded by CST in the category of Assault in 2018, and 58 per cent of incidents of Damage & Desecration, where an age description of the offender was provided, but for only 12 per cent of the incidents in the categories of Abusive Behaviour (where an age description of the offender was provided). Similarly, minors were the victims of 39 per cent of Assault incidents recorded by CST where the age of the victim was obtained, but they were the victims of only 12 per cent of incidents of Abusive Behaviour (where the age of the victim was obtained).

10. CST uses the 'IC1-6' system, used by the UK Police services, for categorising the ethnic appearance of offenders. This uses the codes IC1, IC2, IC3, etc for 'White – North European'; 'White – South European'; 'Black'; 'South Asian'; 'Far East or South East Asian'; and 'Arab or North African'. This is obviously not a foolproof system and can only be used as a rough guide.

Where the description of ethnic appearance was obtained



DISCOURSE AND MOTIVES

Rather than being limited to prejudice rooted in traditional, far right beliefs, or fuelled exclusively by more contemporary extremisms or anti-Israel sentiment, the antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2018 represent the multifaceted nature of contemporary antisemitism. Analysing the content of incidents can help to identify the motives of incident offenders, although the link between the discourse used in an incident and the motivation of the offender or offenders is not always obvious. For example, consider these two incidents:

- **Kent, November.** On the morning of the anniversary of Kristallnacht, a swastika and the letters “KKK” were daubed on the side of student halls at a university.
- **London, August.** Two Jewish men on a bus were having a conversation about Israel. After some time, the male behind them said “I have been listening to your conversation and you are child killers”. He then aggressively took the skullcap from one of the victims’ head and threw it on the floor.

In the first case, the use of the swastika coupled with the initials of an infamous white supremacist organisation, on the anniversary of a significant date in the Nazi antisemitic campaign against German Jews, make it clear that the graffiti was motivated by far right ideology. In the second incident, the offender appears to have been motivated by hatred of Israel, but proceeded to target the religious headgear of one of the Jewish men while expressing extreme anti-Zionist discourse that had resonance in the antisemitic trope of the blood libel (a false medieval charge that Jews murdered Christian children for religious purposes).

However, in other incidents the connection between the discourse used and any political

motivation is not so clear. For example, consider this incident:

- **London, September.** A journalist for a Jewish newspaper received a letter which read:

STINKING , NASTY, RACIST JEW
THE OVENS ARE COMING BACK FOR YOU!
BE ON TIME AND DON'T BE LATE
MURDERERS OF PALISTINIAN BABIES WE HATE!

In this incident, the offender used far right language by threatening the victim with “the ovens” – a reference to the Holocaust – and also uses anti-Zionist language with the reference to Palestinian babies. It is hard to tell whether the offender is motivated by any particular political ideology, or whether their primary motivation was hatred of Jews, and they then chose a range of insults for the content of their hate mail. This is typical of many contemporary antisemitic incident offenders, who will often select from a range of Jewish-related discourses or imagery with which to abuse, insult or threaten their Jewish victims. Sometimes the specific language used is of secondary importance, compared to the desire to insult or abuse Jews.

In other incidents, discourses relating to Jews are more indicative of a general conspiracist mindset than of a coherent political ideology. For example:

- **Scotland, May.** An email reading “Friends of Israel? Israel is a terrorist regime. Far worse than Iraq, Lybia, Syria or Iran. You control the West through the central banking system. You murder innocent women & children. You have created an illusion of persecution & a feel sorry for yourself agenda, which has created a PC anti Semitism, removal of freedom of speech. Israel & its agents were involved in 9/11. Mossad agents celebrated the event in New York & Silverstein made a fortune. You

are a race which is destroying humanity & if you want to charge me of ridiculous hate speech, whilst you kill innocents. Then fire on, many truths will come to light” [sic].

- **London, January.** Social media post stating “But Jews r who run isis and did 9/11, also in judaism it’s legal for a jew to kill a non jew. How do u not be anti that?” [sic]

In these incidents, fragments of political discourse are present, but do not add up to a coherent, identifiable political outlook that would indicate the offender subscribes to one political viewpoint or another. Rather, both incidents reflect a belief in conspiracy theories on different parts of the political spectrum.

Sometimes, political references are just the hook on which an offender hangs their antisemitism, rather than being its driving force:

- **London, August.** A man sent emails which read that “The Labour Party does not exist to be a second voice of Zionist Israel nor the Jewish mafia in NY”, “After 9/11 when Americans stood behind Wall St, how did the Jews (Goldman Sacks) thank them? With the subprime crisis and repossession of millions of poor workers’ homes”, “Your behaviour does nothing but to convince millions of people that Hitler was right”, “They are unfortunately just like they are caricatured -money grabbing parasites who are like a cancer”, “Jews are like a f***ing cancer. Shouldn’t be allowed to occupy any keys positions in a country” [sic].

This particular incident begins with a reference to the Labour Party – which may indicate the offender’s political leanings – but then spirals into a catalogue of antisemitic motifs and insults that have no particular political attachment.

In 456 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2018, the offenders employed discourse based on the Nazi period, including swastikas and references to the Holocaust.

Of these, only 84 showed clear evidence of far right motivation or beliefs. In comparison, 288 of the 1,420 antisemitic incidents reported to CST in 2017 involved the use of far right discourse including references to Nazism and the Holocaust, with 142 showing evidence of far right motivation. This could be indicative of the fact that Nazi-related language and imagery is increasingly used as a general symbol of hatred towards the Jewish community, including by those who do not themselves have far right beliefs. In 2018, discourse relating to Israel or the Middle East was used in 254 antisemitic incidents, of which 173 showed evidence of anti-Israel motivation or beliefs; compared to 108 incidents using Israel-related discourse in 2017, of which 70 showed evidence of anti-Israel motivation or beliefs. In addition, language or images relating to Islam or Muslims was present in 29 antisemitic incidents in 2018, one more than in 2017, while 13 incidents showed evidence of Islamist motivation or beliefs in 2018 (14 in 2017). In 285 incidents, more than one type of political discourse was employed.

Discourse can be intersectional, with antisemitism present in comments disparaging to other groups based on perceived protected characteristics. For instance, in January 2018, it was reported to CST that a family was travelling on the London Underground system, when an individual began making racist remarks towards them including “I suppose you’re a Muslim loving c**t”, and similar remarks referring to black people, Jews and Asians.

Overall, 45 per cent of incidents recorded in 2018 involved the use of political language or imagery alongside antisemitism, while 16 per cent of incidents in 2018 showed evidence of a particular ideological motivation or belief. This compares to 30 per cent of incidents in 2017 that used political language, and 16 per cent that showed political motivation. For incidents to be recorded as antisemitic, it was necessary for there to be evidence of antisemitic language, targeting or motivation, as well as any political or ideological motivation.

ANTISEMITIC OR ANTI-ISRAEL?

CST is often asked about the difference between antisemitic incidents and anti-Israel activity, and how this distinction is made in the categorisation of incidents. The distinction between the two can be subtle and the subject of much debate. Clearly, it would not be acceptable to define all anti-Israel activity as antisemitic; but it cannot be ignored that contemporary antisemitism can occur in the context of, or be accompanied by, extreme feelings over the Israel/Palestine conflict, and that criticisms of Israel may draw upon antisemitic rhetoric and conspiracy theories. Discourse relating to the conflict is used by antisemitic incident offenders to abuse Jews; and anti-Israel discourse can sometimes repeat, or echo, antisemitic language and imagery. Drawing out these distinctions, and deciding on where the dividing lines lie, is one of the most difficult areas of CST's work in recording and analysing hate crime.

CST received reports of 630 potential incidents during 2018 that, after investigation, did not appear to be antisemitic and were therefore not included in the total of 1,652 antisemitic incidents. These 630 potential incidents included examples of anti-Israel activity directed at organisations involved in pro-Israel work, which did not involve explicitly antisemitic language or imagery and were therefore not classified by CST as antisemitic. Examples of anti-Israel incidents during 2018 that were reported to CST but were not recorded as antisemitic include the following:

- **Lancashire, April.** "Free Palestine" was written on the side of an envelope being delivered to Israel, while the word "F**k" was written next to the country designation (Israel) on the address lines.
- **London, September.** An anti-Israel poster was attached to a bus stop that was close to a central London synagogue, but did not

appear to be targeted at the building or its congregants.

Sometimes the targeting of a particular incident can suggest an intention to intimidate or offend Jews on the part of the offender. For example, if anti-Israel posters or graffiti appear to have been deliberately placed in close proximity to a synagogue or other Jewish building, or in an area with a large Jewish population, then they are more likely to be classified as an antisemitic incident. In the above example of an anti-Israel poster, it was not counted as antisemitic because it was part of a set of posters that appeared to have been targeted towards the general public in the vicinity of a particular Israel-related event and not deliberately at Jews.

If anti-Israel material is sent unsolicited to a synagogue or other clearly Jewish venue at random then it may well be recorded as an antisemitic incident (because the synagogue was targeted on the basis of it being Jewish and the offender has failed to distinguish between a place of worship and pro-Israel political activity). Similarly, if a synagogue receives hostile anti-Israel verbal abuse this may well be recorded as an antisemitic incident because the offender has intentionally targeted a Jewish place of worship. For example:

- **London, January.** An anti-Israel sticker (Boycott Israel Apartheid sticker) was found on the grounds of a synagogue. It was stuck to the handrail bannister of the synagogue, in direct view of the front entrance.

If, however, anti-Israel material (containing no antisemitic language) is sent unsolicited to specifically pro-Israel organisations then this incident would not be classified as antisemitic. Similarly, if a Jewish individual or group is engaging in public pro-Israel

advocacy and subsequently receives anti-Israel material, this would most likely not be classified as antisemitic (again, unless it contains antisemitic language).

The political discourse used in an incident may also be the reason why the incident is accepted or rejected as antisemitic. In particular, incidents that equate Israel to Nazi Germany would normally be recorded as antisemitic because the comparison is so deeply hurtful and abusive, and because it uses Israel's Jewish character as the basis for the insult. However, incidents that compare Israel to, for example, apartheid South Africa, normally would not be recorded as antisemitic incidents. While the charge that Israel practises apartheid upsets many Jews, it does not contain the same visceral capacity to offend Jews on the basis of their Jewishness as does the comparison with Nazism, which carries particular meaning for Jews because of the Holocaust. CST recorded 49 incidents (all in the category of Abusive Behaviour) where a comparison was made between Israel and Nazis. For example:

- **Twitter, February.** A man tweeted: "The Nazis just moved to Palestine and called themselves Zionists. The Holocaust is in Gaza."

Irrespective of whether or not these incidents are classified as antisemitic by CST, they are still relevant to CST's security work as they often involve threats and abuse directed at Jewish people or organisations who work with, or in support of, Israel, and therefore have an impact on the security of the UK Jewish community.

Antisemitic tweet with an anti-Israel motivation, June



Antisemitic tweet with an anti-Israel motivation, Hertfordshire, January



GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS AND DIFFERENCES

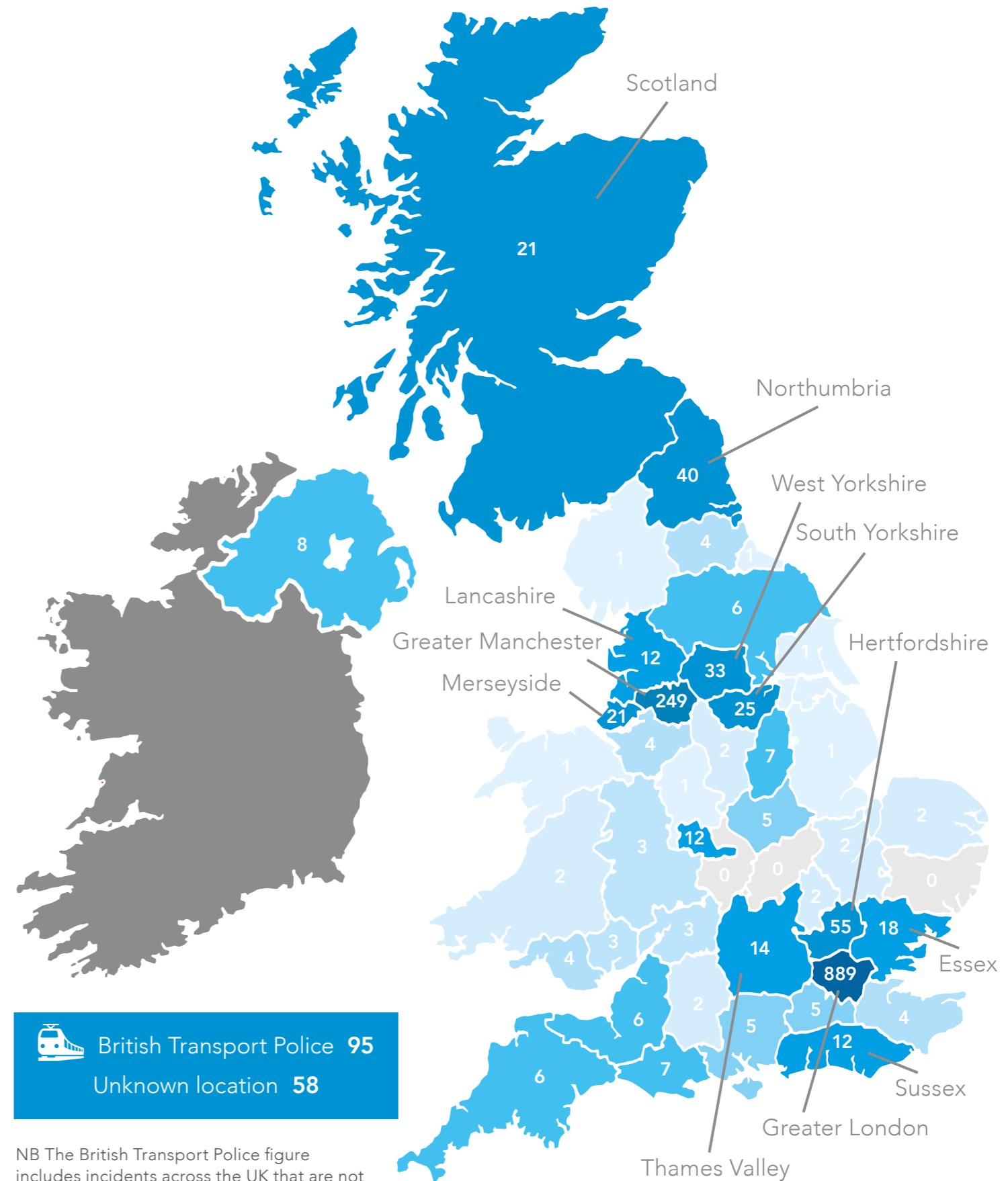
Seventy-three per cent of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in 2018 took place in Greater London and Greater Manchester, the two largest Jewish communities in the UK. In Greater London, CST recorded 950 antisemitic incidents in 2018 compared to 784 during 2017, an increase of 21 per cent. In Greater Manchester, CST recorded 250 antisemitic incidents during 2018, a decrease of five per cent compared to the 264 incidents recorded there during 2017. Both of these figures include incidents recorded in Greater London and Greater Manchester in locations that fell under the jurisdiction of British Transport Police. CST recorded at least one antisemitic incident in every London borough. A total of 354 antisemitic incidents, 37 per cent of all incidents recorded in Greater London, were recorded in the borough of Barnet, which has the largest Jewish community of any local authority in the UK. There were 89 antisemitic incidents recorded in Westminster, 75 recorded in Camden, 66 in Hackney, 27 in Haringey, 26 in Islington, 23 in Brent, 20 in Harrow, 15 each in Enfield and Redbridge, 12 in Southwark, 11 each in Ealing and the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea, ten each in Hammersmith and Tower Hamlets, and fewer than ten in every other London borough. In Greater Manchester, 87 antisemitic incidents (35 per cent of the Greater Manchester total) were recorded in the Metropolitan Borough of Salford. There were 70 antisemitic incidents recorded in the Borough of Bury and 46 in the Borough of Manchester, 11 in Oldham, ten in Stockport and Trafford, seven in Bolton and three in Rochdale.


Outside Greater London and Greater Manchester, CST recorded 452 antisemitic incidents in 32 of the 34 police force areas around England, as well as in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, in 2018. This compares to 386 incidents outside of Greater London

and Greater Manchester in 2017. There were 55 antisemitic incidents in Hertfordshire (of which 31 were in Borehamwood and Elstree), compared to 40 in 2017; 34 in Gateshead (31 in 2017), 23 in Leeds (22 in 2017), 19 in Liverpool (13 in 2017), 16 in Sheffield (three in 2017), 12 in Glasgow (six in 2017) and 11 in Birmingham (12 in 2017). Going by Police region rather than specific locations, and in addition to the figures already given for London, Manchester and Hertfordshire, CST recorded 40 antisemitic incidents in Northumbria (39 in 2017), 33 in West Yorkshire (25 in 2017), 25 in South Yorkshire (nine in 2017), 21 each in Scotland and Merseyside (16 and 13 respectively in 2017), 18 in Essex (11 in 2017), 14 in Thames Valley (eight in 2017) and 12 each in Lancashire, Sussex and the West Midlands (ten, 22, and seven respectively in 2017). CST also recorded 95 incidents in places that fall under the jurisdiction of British Transport Police (61 of which were in London, and 78 of which came via the information sharing agreement with BTP), which includes the national rail network, the London Underground, Docklands Light Railway, the Midland Metro tram system, Croydon Tramlink, Sunderland Metro, Glasgow Subway and the Emirates Air Line cable car (compared to 67 such incidents in 2017).

Further differences between incident types in Greater London and Greater Manchester can be drawn out of the statistics. Taken broadly, and allowing for rough generalisations, the statistics show that antisemitic incidents in Greater Manchester are more likely to involve random street racism – what might be called antisemitic hooliganism – against individual Jews; while ideologically motivated antisemitism – which normally takes the form of hate mail, abusive phone calls or antisemitic graffiti – tends to be concentrated in Greater London where most of the Jewish

INCIDENT LOCATIONS



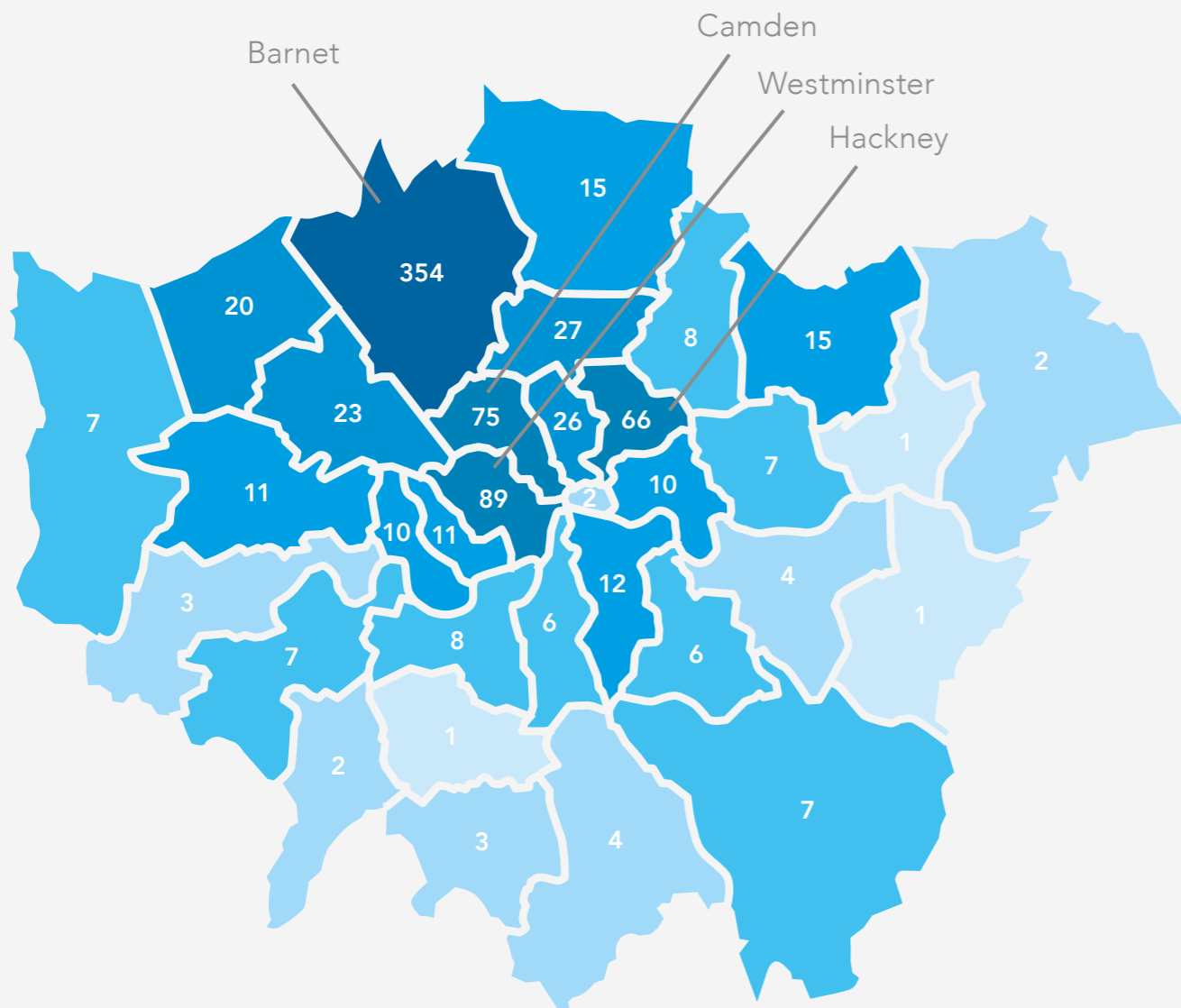
 British Transport Police 95
Unknown location 58


NB The British Transport Police figure includes incidents across the UK that are not included in the regional totals on the map

community's leadership bodies and public figures are based. For example, 52 per cent of antisemitic incidents recorded by CST in Greater Manchester targeted individual Jews in public, compared to 27 per cent of the incidents recorded in Greater London; whereas 19 per cent of incidents recorded in Greater London targeted Jewish organisations, events or communal leaders, compared to three per cent of the incidents in Greater Manchester. Incidents in Greater London are more likely

to involve hate mail, abusive emails or online antisemitism: there were 333 such incidents in Greater London in 2018 (35 per cent of incidents in Greater London), compared to 32 such incidents in Greater Manchester (13 per cent of incidents in Greater Manchester). One hundred and seventy antisemitic incidents (18 per cent) recorded in Greater London showed some form of political motivation, compared to 25 incidents recorded in Greater Manchester (ten per cent).

950 INCIDENTS IN LONDON



 British Transport Police 61
Unknown borough 46

TPOLOGY OF INCIDENTS: MISSION, OPPORTUNISTIC OR AGGRAVATED?

Antisemitic incidents take place in a range of contexts and for a variety of reasons. Sometimes the offender's actions are premeditated; sometimes they are spontaneous; and sometimes they arise out of day-to-day conflicts that initially have nothing to do with antisemitism. Using a typology set out in a study of antisemitic hate crimes recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service from 2001 to 2004,¹¹ it is possible to separate these into 'mission' incidents, 'opportunistic' incidents, and 'aggravated' incidents. CST received sufficient information to categorise 1,490 of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2018 by one of these three types.

The Metropolitan Police Service study referred to above defined 'mission' incidents as those in which "the offender takes some premeditated action to instigate the incident by engineering their interaction with the victim. In addition, antisemitism seemingly

drives the offender's actions – as manifest by their language or symbols they use". Applying this definition to the 1,490 antisemitic incidents categorised by CST in 2018 reveals that 1,193 incidents, or 80 per cent of those incidents that CST was able to categorise, showed evidence of being mission incidents. This does not mean that in every case the offender embarked on a lengthy and planned course of action in order to find a Jewish person or building to attack, although this did happen in several cases. Rather, it relates to incident offenders who, in the moments preceding an antisemitic incident, take some action to make contact with a person, organisation or property they believe to be Jewish, in order to express their bigotry. Examples of mission incidents recorded in 2018 include:

- **Essex, April.** A Jewish girl was on her way home from school when a group of older boys approached her and said "You go to that Jewish school [...] We're the Nazis"
- **Scotland, January.** A pro-Israel group had a stall in the centre of Glasgow. A group of people walked past the stall and stated "You've all got big noses [...] Hitler didn't kill enough of you".

The 1,193 mission incidents recorded by CST in 2018 can be further broken down by type of incident. The three examples given above are all what can be referred to as 'mission-direct', which involves direct, face-to-face contact between offender and victim. Other incidents, which do not involve this face-to-face contact, can be classified as 'mission-indirect', of which these are examples:

- **London, January.** A Jewish phone-line counselling service received the following phone-call from an unknown suspect, "Heil

Antisemitic graffiti near a London Underground station. The graffiti reads "dirty f***ing Jew" beside an image of a swastika



11. Paul Iganski, Vicky Keilinger & Susan Paterson, *Hate Crimes against London's Jews* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2005).

Hitler. Gas all the Jews” whilst mimicking the Nazi gas chambers by making hissing noises.

- **Leicester, January.** A Rabbi’s daughter received an antisemitic phone call in their home, whereby the caller made an antisemitic joke and then hung up.
- **London, September.** A Jewish woman received a letter in which someone had drawn a swastika and written the words “stinking poo”.
- **London, October.** On two separate occasions the posters for a Jewish organisation’s Kristallnacht exhibition were vandalised in a tube station with the graffiti “Free Palestine”.

Other mission incidents do not target a specific victim, but rather take place in a public area – where the victims can be any members of the public who happen to pass by – or on social media where the offending comments are publicly visible to many people. Examples of these ‘mission-indiscriminate’ incidents include:

- **London, February.** Signs were left on a bench that stated “All Jewz belong inda ovenz no exceptionz” and “God (picture of love heart) Hitler”.
- **London, April.** Graffiti in London was found with swastikas and SS runes.
- **London, May.** A tweet was posted denying the Holocaust, calling it the “#holohoax”, further claiming that “It was a sweatshop work factory not a f***ing mass extermination camp”.
- **London, September.** The word “Jew” was graffitied onto the side of a bus stop.
- **London, December.** A swastika was found carved into the arm of a chair on a Northern Line train on the London Underground.

The final type of mission incident that made up the 1,193 mission incidents in 2018 was ‘mission-inadvertent’, whereby the offender’s expression of antisemitism is inadvertently overheard or seen by somebody who the offender did not intend to directly abuse. Examples of this from 2018 include:

- **Manchester, April.** A visitor to the psychiatric ward of a hospital overheard two unknown young males disparage Jews in the ward.
- **London, September.** A Jewish woman was in a taxi when a news report about Brexit aired over the radio. The driver then began to express antisemitic invective, beginning by stating that “Brexit is as bad as the Jews”.

In contrast to these ‘mission’ incidents, 183 incidents, or 12 per cent of the 1,490 antisemitic incidents categorised in this way by CST in 2018, appeared to be ‘opportunistic’, whereby “the offender takes immediate advantage of an opportunity that presents itself to vent their antisemitism, rather than engineering the incident in a premeditated way” (Iganski, Keilinger & Paterson, 2005). Examples of opportunistic incidents from 2018 include:

- **Hertfordshire, March.** A visibly Jewish man was walking to work having left a talk by a Holocaust survivor when a stranger on the street called him a “Jewish c**t”.
- **Manchester, February.** A mother was walking with her young son and two daughters. They were passed by four teenagers, one of whom threw the young son’s skullcap onto the floor.
- **London, May.** A student was in a taxi, having a conversation with the driver. The driver asked the female student whether she was Jewish and if she was a Zionist. The female replied that she was Jewish, to which the driver replied “I’m going to have to stop my cab and beat you up”.

- **London, December.** A Rabbi was loading his car when the passengers of a passing vehicle shouted “F***ing Jew” at him.

One hundred and fourteen, or eight per cent of the 1,490 incidents CST was able to categorise by type, were what may be called ‘aggravated’ incidents, whereby “the offender and victim are caught up in a conflict situation that initially does not involve antisemitism. However, in the course of the conflict the offender’s bigotry emerges.”¹² Examples of aggravated incidents recorded by CST in 2018 include:

- **Manchester, May.** A woman returned to her car in a car park to find an offensive note on her windscreen. The typed leaflet read

“Thanks for parking so close. Next time leave a fucking gap so I can get my car out. Assholes like you should take the bus.” The offender also wrote on the leaflet in his own hand writing. “You arrogant t**t Jew” along with the word “c**t”.

- **Manchester, February.** The offender asked for the keys to a box and the victim refused. The offender then grabbed the victim and stated “I don’t like you, you’re a money grabbing yid”.
- **London, November.** The driver of a van was asked to move by a visibly Jewish man, as he was blocking an entrance. This led to him swearing at the victim, calling him “an old Jewish c**t”.

ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media users, sometimes protected by the anonymity of social media platforms, are able to directly threaten, abuse, harass and target Jews on social media, or post antisemitic content indiscriminately.

CST recorded 384 incidents during 2018 on social media, which represent 23 per cent of the overall total of 1,652 antisemitic incidents in 2018. This is an increase from 2017 when CST recorded 249 antisemitic incidents on social media, representing 18 per cent of the overall total of antisemitic incidents that year. In 2016, CST recorded 289 antisemitic incidents on social media (21 per cent of 2016’s overall total). In 2015, CST recorded 185 antisemitic incidents on social media (19 per cent of the overall total of 960 antisemitic incidents recorded that year) and in 2014, CST recorded 235 antisemitic incidents on social media (20 per cent of that year’s overall total of 1,182 incidents).

CST does not proactively trawl for antisemitic incidents on social media, but only records them if they are reported to CST by a victim or witness, and if it can be shown that either the victim or the offender is based in the United Kingdom. In addition, if, for example, a high-profile Jewish individual is subjected to a concentrated campaign of antisemitic abuse and harassment involving hundreds or thousands of antisemitic tweets, CST will record this campaign as a single incident, rather than logging each individual tweet as a separate incident; to do otherwise would be impractical and would render CST’s overall incident statistics unintelligible. This all means that the number of social media incidents recorded in this report is only indicative, rather than being a guide to the actual number of antisemitic tweets, comments and posts in the United Kingdom in 2018, which is certain to be far higher.

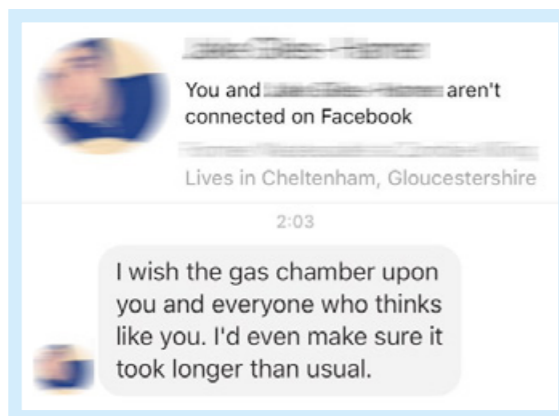
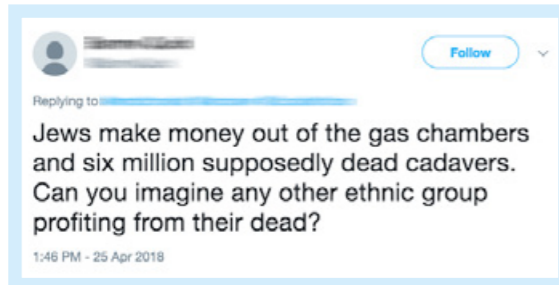
¹² Paul Iganski, Vicky Keilinger & Susan Paterson, *Hate Crimes against London’s Jews* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2005).

Types of antisemitic language online

Just as with other forms of antisemitic behaviour, antisemitic incidents online include a variety of antisemitic language themes.

These include:

- Holocaust-related language such as Holocaust denial



- Conspiracy theories such as the notion that Jews run the world



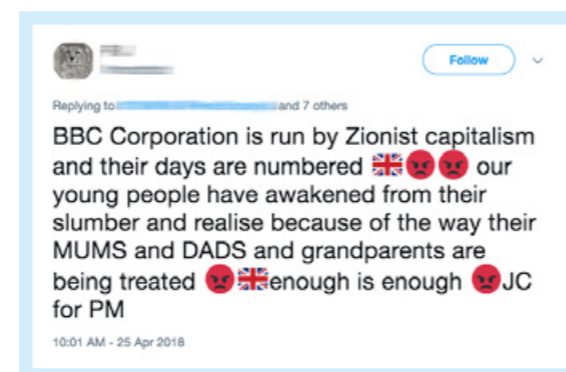
- Comparisons between Nazis and Jews



- The 'blood libel', a medieval accusation that Jewish people kidnap and murder Christian children for Jewish practice and ritual



- Language including mentions of Zionism



CASE STUDY: LABOUR PARTY-RELATED ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

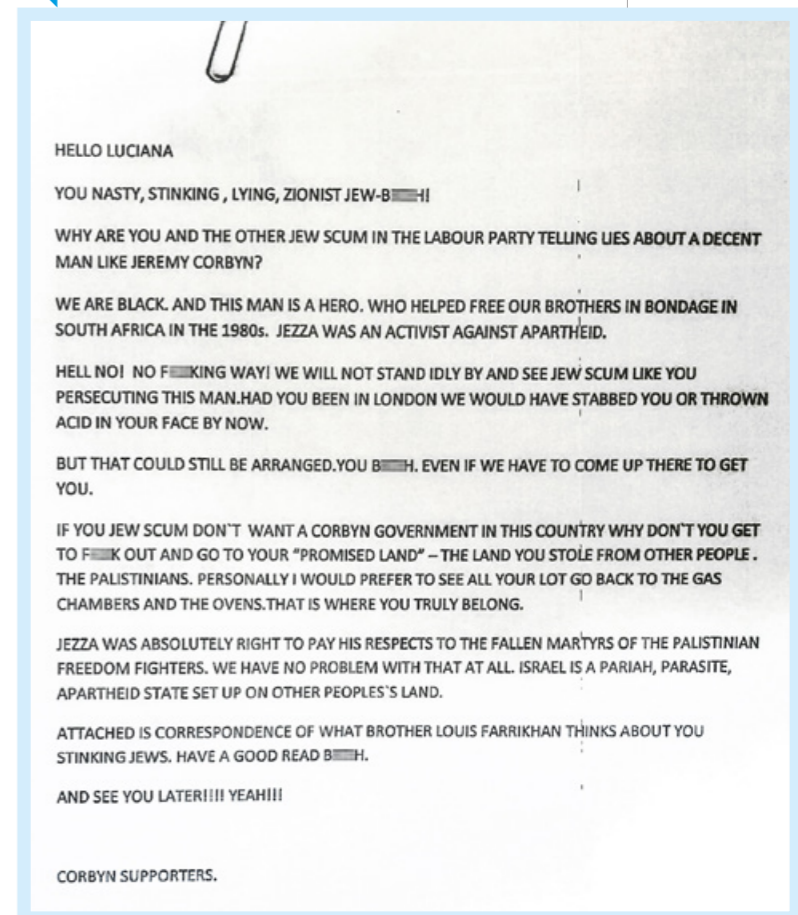
CST recorded 148 incidents in 2018 that were examples of, or occurred in the context of discussions about, antisemitism in the Labour Party. While no Labour-related incidents were recorded in January or February, nine were recorded in March and 15 in April. This coincided with high-profile stories related to allegations of antisemitism in Labour, including that Jeremy Corbyn had supported a graffiti artist in 2012 who painted an antisemitic mural in London; a Jewish community demonstration outside Parliament; and a meeting between Jewish leaders and Corbyn. A second spike of Labour-related incidents occurred in August and September, when 49 and 16 incidents of that type were recorded respectively. Those two months saw repeated allegations of antisemitic statements and behaviour by Labour Party figures, including Corbyn himself; and an ongoing dispute over whether the Party would adopt the IHRA definition of antisemitism.

Both periods saw sustained debate over the question of antisemitism and the Labour Party, including on social media, where many of the Labour-related incidents recorded by CST took place. In addition, some prominent MPs and peers who were either Jewish or who had spoken out against antisemitism received direct, targeted threats and hate mail. The threatening letter pictured on this page was hand-delivered to the constituency office of Luciana Berger MP in Liverpool in the first week of September.

A Labour peer received a letter that read:

"I see that you dare to criticise Labour Leader. Who the hell are you to comment on J.C. ? You are just another jewish pig bloodsucker living on tax payers money. What are you doing in this country any way ? Why don't you piss off to Israel ? We don't need jewish bastards like you in this country".

This letter to Luciana Berger MP was hand-delivered to her constituency office. The letter was written by perpetrators who described themselves as "Corbyn supporters". Liverpool, September



CST'S SUPPORT SERVICES

- Third-party report to the Police
- Keep victims updated with the Police investigations
- Advise on legal rights
- Facilitate the removal of graffiti
- Liaise with other agencies, including housing authorities, universities, schools, the Charity Commission, and Ofsted
- Support victims with Victim Impact Statements and Community Impact Statements
- Support victims navigation of the Criminal Justice System, including attending court and explaining legislation
- Facilitate the suspension of online accounts and removal of hate speech
- Provide security and safety planning
- Facilitate Restorative Justice services (volunteer practitioner with Restore: London)
- Provide emotional and practical support
- Provide referrals and signposting
- Support victims who suffer multiple forms of hate crime through multi-agency meeting
- Advocacy help to London-based victims via CATCH (Community Alliance to Combat Hate); working with other community organisations across all the hate crime strands

 WEBSITE www.cst.org.uk

 FACEBOOK **Community Security Trust**

 TWITTER **@CST_UK**  YOUTUBE **CSTmedia**

 NATIONAL EMERGENCY NUMBER (24-hour) **0800 032 3263**
LONDON (Head Office) **020 8457 9999**
MANCHESTER (Northern Regional Office) **0161 792 6666**