

***"This is integral to both my moral worldview and my scholarship. Pass it on."***

**Loyalty Tests and the  
Construction of a Hostile  
Environment for Jews in  
Academic Spaces**

**David Hirsh**





**Dr. Bonnie Honig** @bonnie\_honig · 6m



I am an academic and I call for a free Palestine and an end to the Israeli state's apartheid. This is integral to both my moral world view and my scholarship. Pass it on.



**Elizabeth Shakman Hurd** @eshurd · 1h

I am an academic and I call for a free Palestine and an end to the Israeli state's apartheid. This is integral to both my moral world view and my scholarship. Pass it on. [twitter.com/wendy\\_pearlman...](https://twitter.com/wendy_pearlman...)



Steve Cohen:

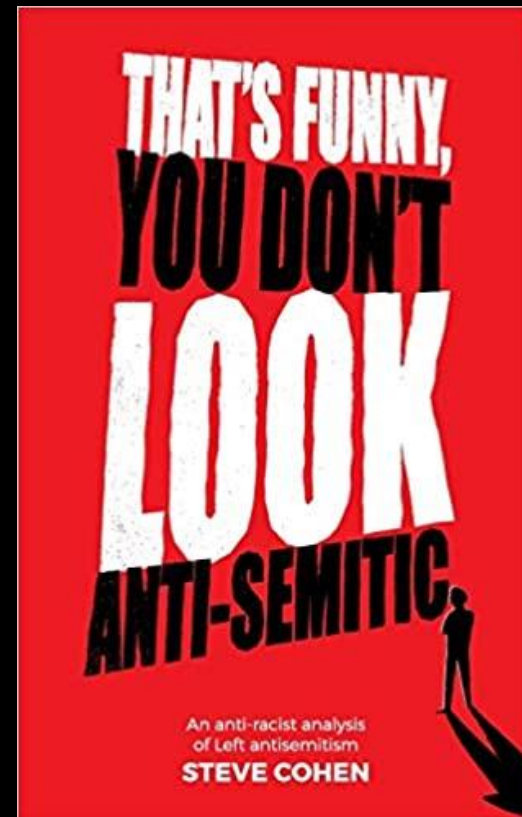
Before the House Unamerican Activities Committee, Ring Lardner Jr:

The question of course was whether he was or had ever been a member of the Communist Party. To which he replied:

“I could answer the question exactly the way you want , but if I did I would hate myself in the morning”.

*I would hate myself in the morning*

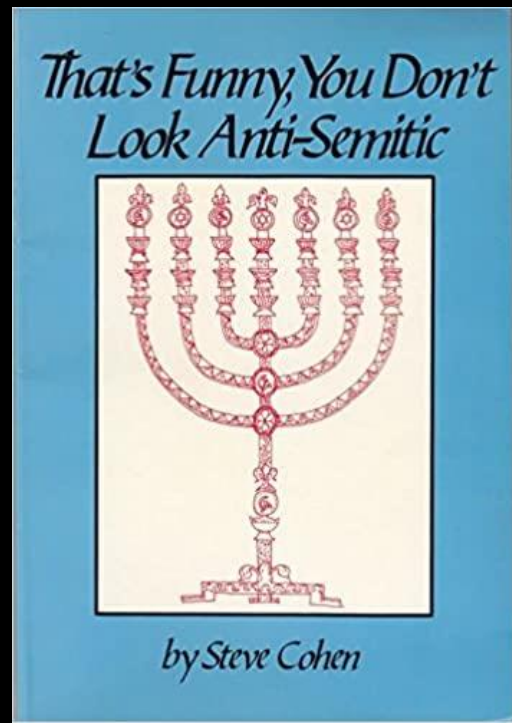
<https://engageonline.wordpress.com/2006/05/29/i-would-hate-myself-in-the-morning-steve-cohen-may-29-2006/>



“...I am sure Lardner... would have responded in exactly the same way to the resolution passed at the NATFHE conference which calls for a “a boycott of those that do not publicly dissociate themselves from” Israeli governmental policies towards Palestinians.”

“Loyalty tests have a particular significance when forced on Jews. The significance is the assumption of collective responsibility, of collective guilt. Intrinsic to this is the requirement to grovel. Groveling, the humiliation of Jews, is fundamental to all anti-semitism...”

Steve Cohen 2006



[the abstract for this talk]

“Antizionism often appears in the complex and inter-linked realities of social life as a worldview or as an ideology.”



Start with empirical study of that to be defined.

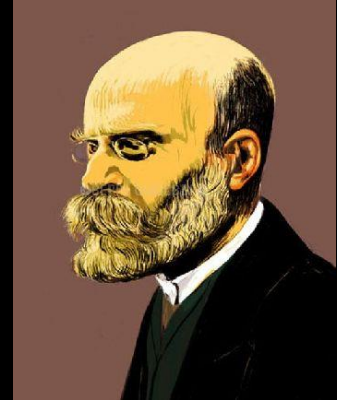
Definition of Gold: “the element with atomic no. 79”

To define antisemitism you need to begin with an empirical study of the antisemitism – as it exists, in its social context.

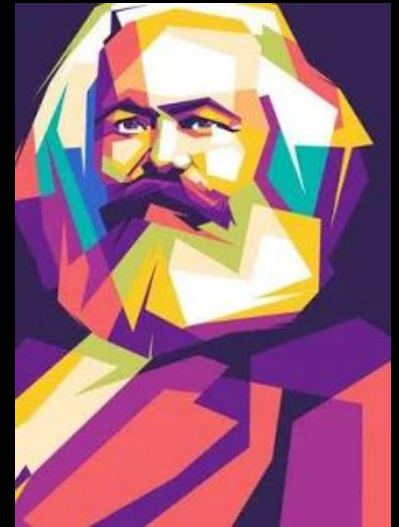


# Antisemitism as a social phenomenon

**Durkheim:** “...social facts must be treated as things...”



**Marx:** “Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please... but under circumstances existing already...”



Althuser: "Pascal says more or less: 'Kneel down, move your lips in prayer, and you will believe'" **Counterintuitive**




Antisemitic practices are not always caused by antisemitic belief.



Practice can cause belief.

 **Chris Williamson**   
@DerbyChrisW

This thread is essential reading for anyone interested in creating a better society that isn't run in the interests of wealthy elites.

 **The summers we shared**  
@Picss3o

How new is Modern Money Theory?  
Let me tell you a story...

In the US Civil War Abraham Lincoln was running out of money to pay the troops. He went to the Rothschilds and other bankers who would happily lend him the money at an interest rate of 24% to 34% ...

 **Chris Williamson**   
@DerbyChrisW

This is what happens when leading figures choose to appease rather than challenge bogus anti-Semitism allegations.

People's lives and careers are being destroyed. Where will it end?

It's time to stand up and be counted. Remember Pastor Niemöller's poem!



The key rhetorical elements of antizionist antisemitism, as it appears in the actual world, are:

- BDS
- Israel eliminationism
- unreasonable, disproportionate and intemperate speech
- Singling out Israel / double standards
- Analogies: apartheid, Nazism, settler-colonialism

The “Jerusalem Declaration” - elements of discourse, in the abstract.

These are not “in and of themselves” antisemitic.

Things appear in the world, in context, in social complexity

IHRA starts by looking at antisemitism – after Durban

The “Jerusalem Declaration” starts by looking at (Jewish) efforts to oppose antisemitism – JQ – Livingstone Formulation

IHRA gives examples of things which we know are often antisemitic. They should ring alarm bells and trigger a closer look.

“Jerusalem Declaration” starts with the elements of rhetoric which it seeks to legitimize.

“Allow us to remain in the political and scholarly community of the good and we’ll protect you against allegations of antisemitism”

“Antizionism has significant continuities and similarities with antisemitic ideologies and movements of earlier eras. Antisemitisms constructed their own caricatures of Jews that functioned as emotionally expressive ways of representing or visualising what was considered evil in a society. Antizionism defines itself in relation to caricatures of Israel that it has itself constructed out of elements of truth, exaggeration and invention, and which it has glued together and made plausible with fragments of antisemitic ideology borrowed from the past. Antizionism presents itself as the only legitimate way of thinking, not only about Israel, or about those with whom Israel directly interacts, but about the world as a whole. Antizionism positions Israel as symbolic of, and central to, global systems of oppression, racism and imperialism. This is revealed most explicitly by the slogan 'Globalize the Intifada!’”



“Zionism is and always has been a racist, violent, imperialist ideology premised on ethnic cleansing. It is an endemically anti-Arab and Islamophobic ideology. It has no place in any society. Bristol’s JSoc, like all JSocs, operates under the auspices of the Union of Jewish Students (UJS), an Israel lobby group. The UJS is constitutionally bound to promoting Israel and campaigns to silence critics of Zionism or the State of Israel on British campuses. This campaign of censorship renders Arab and Muslim students, as well as anti-Zionist Jewish students, particularly unsafe.”

– Professor David Miller



Quoted in David Hirsh: The Meaning of David Miller

<https://fathomjournal.org/fathom-long-read-the-meaning-of-david-miller/>

Anthony Julius talked about self-definition – a left principle

Antisemites self-define as not-antisemitic

But antisemitism does not afford self-definition to Jews

Anthony Julius, Indiana Webinar

<https://isca.indiana.edu/conferences/webinars/Anthony-Julius.html>



## BDS campaign lobbies against David Unterhalter being appointed to the Constitution Court

- he's has been on SAJBD
- SAJBD is Zionist
- Therefore SAJBD is pro-apartheid

Jews are not allowed to define their own Zionism or their own Jewishness

The Jew is defined as having values profoundly in violation of those of his country.

Isie Maisels – former Chairman of SAJBD - represented Mandela in the treason trial 1961

David Hirsh and Charisse Zeifert: David Unterhalter and BDS: Not the first campaign against Jews being judges,  
<https://www.news24.com/news24/columnists/guestcolumn/opinion-david-unterhalter-and-bds-not-the-first-campaign-against-jews-being-judges-20210416>



*Triumphantly held aloft by some of the treason trial accused and their colleagues, Isie is carried from the court after the not guilty verdict was announced on 29 March 1961. Note that he has emerged from the 'Non-European Only' entrance.*



Antizionism ... tends to legitimize or to nurture a hostile environment for Jews.



UK Government policy to create a hostile environment for 'illegal' migrants

In reality there was a hostile environment created for anyone who might be assumed to be, or constructed, as 'illegal'.



Antizionism sets out to create a hostile environment for 'Zionists'

In reality, it creates a hostile environment for anyone who might be assumed to be or constructed as, a Zionist





Hostile Environment as unjust exclusion:

‘me too’

Black Lives Matter

Safe workplaces – free from sexual harassment, racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia...

“Bring your whole self to work”

Anthony Julius on hostile environment:

Circulation of common sense beliefs and views that have the effect of excluding or diminishing Jews.

“what everyone knows” – the creation of agreed narrative -  
Impossible to refute – for identity construction

A suspicion of Jewish motives “The Jews are up to something” (Dave Rich)

There are major admired figures who are antisemites – who deny it - and whose denial is taken at face value.

Anthony Julius, Indiana Webinar

<https://isca.indiana.edu/conferences/webinars/Anthony-Julius.html>



## Dave Rich on Ken Loach and antisemitism:

<https://www.thejc.com/comment/opinion/loach-livingstone-and-the-holocaust-a-study-in-slander-1.445044>



However when I tried to air some of these problems in conversation with UCU activists I encountered a sense of honest bewilderment that I could possibly have any objection to Ken Loach. The idea was unthinkable...

Sarah Annes Brown<sup>10</sup>



Anthony Julius (more on hostile environment):

There is a critical number of these antisemites, free circulation of admired antisemitic texts

activities/undertakings that have the effect of excluding Jews or diminishing Jews imposing conditions on Jews that are not imposed on other groups

anything goes in the condemnation of Jewish commitments / Jewish projects – incriminatory quotations

Hostile behaviour towards Jews goes unpunished

Impact: Jews are unable to exist on equal terms

“When people on campuses or in social movements set up elements of antizionist thinking as compulsory articles of faith, and when they formally insist that everybody endorses them, then Jews are impacted in specific and hostile ways. Jews can ignore loyalty tests, or they can refuse them, or they can go along with them. But when the tests define the boundaries of the community of the good, they are in significant danger of being excluded by them.”



# Gender Studies Departments In Solidarity With Palestinian Feminist Collective



We do not subscribe to a “both sides”

rhetoric that erases the military, economic, media, and global power that Israel has over Palestine. This is not a “conflict” that is too **“controversial and complex”** to assess.

From Angela Davis we understand that justice is indivisible; we learn this lesson time and again from Black, Indigenous, Arab, and most crucially, Palestinian feminists, who know that **“Palestine is a Feminist Issue.”**

<https://wgss.yale.edu/news/gender-studies-departments-solidarity-palestinian-feminist-collective>

Privileging the values of anti-imperialism, anti-racism and post colonialism...

Over anti-Stalinism, anti-Nazism, democracy, freedom of speech, association, rule of law, equality for women, LGBT+ ...



# Endorsed By 170 departments or centres for gender studies:

- Department of Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Rutgers University New Brunswick
- Department of Women's and Gender Studies, Rutgers University Newark
- Department of Gender, Women, and Sexuality Studies, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
- Department of Feminist Studies, University of California Santa Cruz
- Department of Gender and Women's Studies, University of California Berkeley
- Department of Feminist Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara
- Department of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, Stony Brook University
- Gender and Women's Studies Program, University of Illinois Chicago
- Department of Gender and Sexuality Studies, University of California, Irvine
- Program in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, Winona State University
- Program in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, University of Connecticut
- Department of Gender Studies, University of California, Los Angeles
- Women's, Gender, & Sexuality Studies Program, Yale University
- Department of Gender and Women's Studies, University of Arizona
- ...
- Women's and Gender Studies Program, Mount Royal University (Calgary, Treaty 7, Canada)
- Women's and Gender Studies, University of Regina, Canada
- Women's and Gender Studies Program, University of Toronto/Mississauga
- Centre for Gender Studies at SOAS, University of London
- Instituto de Investigaciones de Estudios de Género, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina
- Gender Studies Programme, University of Iceland
- Centre for Feminist Research, Goldsmiths, University of London... etc



## Example 1: David Miller – Bristol University

“Of course the Israelis have sent people in to target that, to deal with that. Particularly through interfaith work... pretending Jews and Muslims working together will be an apolitical way of countering racism. No, it’s a trojan horse for normalising Zionism in the Muslim community. We saw it in East London Mosque for example, where East London Mosque unknowingly held this project of making chicken soup with Jewish and Muslim communities coming together. This is an Israeli-backed project to normalise Zionism within the Muslim community and they were doing that at the *same time* they were doing the attack on Corbyn.”

– *David Miller speaking to the Labour Left Alliance, June 2020.*

Syrian refugees have also been targeted by Miller as dupes of imperialism because they opposed the Assad regime.

Miller has been part of campaigns to support Assad, and his Russian and Iranian backers. They have demonized the genuinely heroic 'White Helmets' as 'al-Qaeda affiliates'.

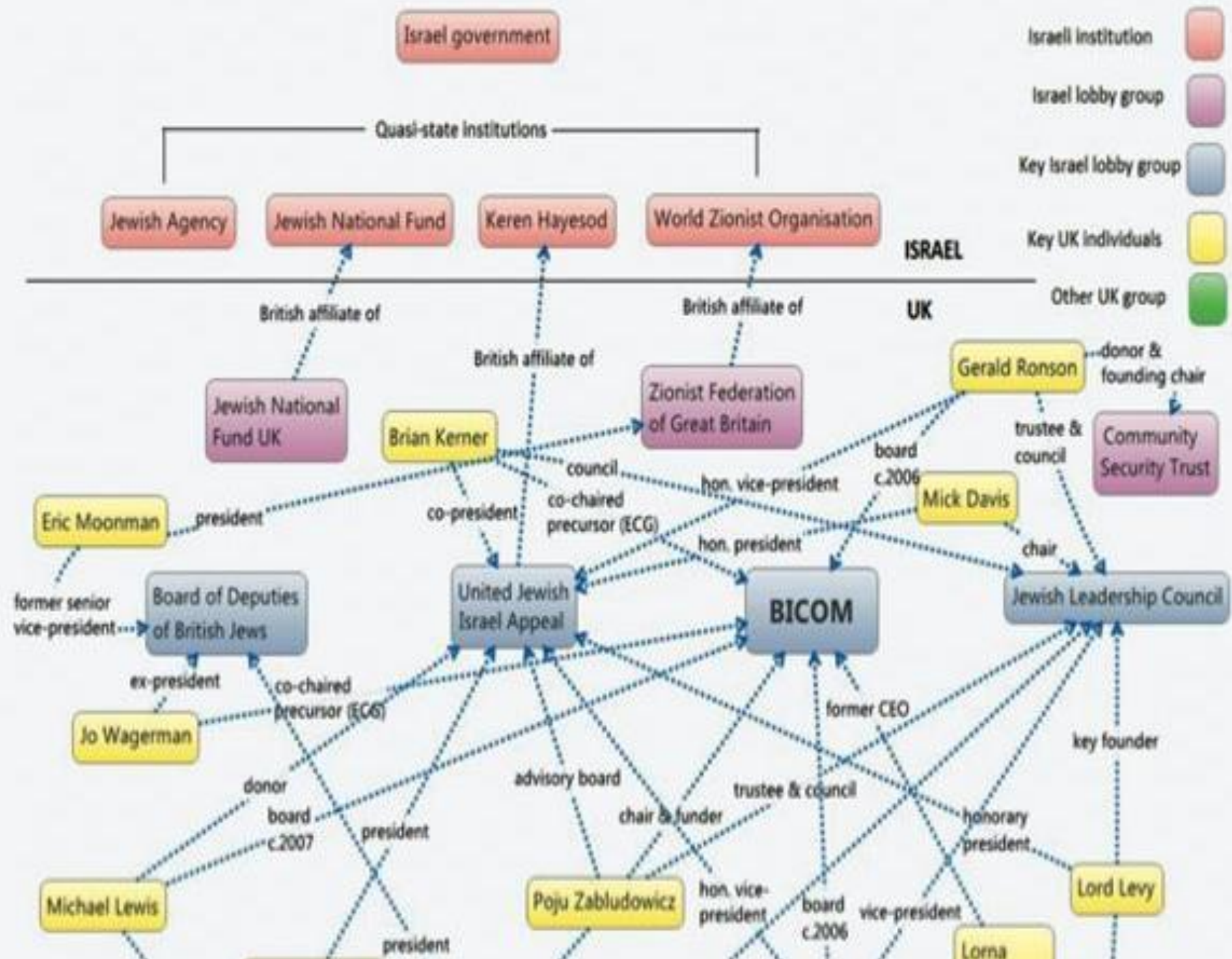
<https://fathomjournal.org/fathom-long-read-the-meaning-of-david-miller/>



This is an account by a student at Bristol of how David Miller teaches sociology:

I was one of the only Jewish students in David Miller's class. Honestly it was scary because he is a teacher so people believed the anti-Semitism he was spreading. I was scared because I am one voice and felt I couldn't stand up to him or tell him what he was saying was wrong.

In Miller's 'Harms of the Powerful' module he claimed the 'Zionist movement (parts of)' were pillars of islamophobia. He also attempted to link various British Jewish organisations to the state of Israel. As a Jewish student, this conspiratorial spider's web of arrows and organisations was grimly reminiscent of antisemitic tropes where Jews are accused of having unique power and influence over political affairs. <sup>[xiii]</sup>



# Livingstone Formulation

“For far too long the accusation of anti-semitism, has been used against anyone who is critical of the policies of the Israeli government, as I have been.”



<https://engageonline.wordpress.com/2016/04/29/the-livingstone-formulation-david-hirsh-2/>

[www.engageonline.org.uk](http://www.engageonline.org.uk)

Antisemitism is not the cry of  
the oppressed.

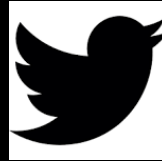
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# David Hirsh

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Goldsmiths, University of  
London homepage

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Engage



Contemporary  
Left Antisemitism

David Hirsh

