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THE JEWISH NEWS 10

The nightmare before Chanukah?

VOICE OF THE JEWISH NEWS

It's the moment we've hoped for and dreaded in equal measure: the end of Cor- chances look slim. Labour is on average 10 points behind the Tories in recent national snapshots

ANTISEMITIC DISCOURSE in Britain 2019

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Antisemitism continued to play a prominent role in British public life in 2019; it even **featured significantly in the 2019 General Election**, a fact that is without precedent in modern British politics. Antisemitism had already featured prominently in 2018, largely but not exclusively due to the ongoing controversy over antisemitism in the Labour Party.
- The national discussion on antisemitism in 2019 focused on the conduct of then Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn MP, with increased intensity during the General Election campaign in October-December. **Corbyn and the party leadership faced public criticism of its handling of the antisemitism controversies** from former Labour Prime Minister Gordon Brown and senior peers and party figures, past and present.
- In February 2019, **eight Labour MPs, including one of the most prominent Jewish Labour MPs, Luciana Berger, quit the party** and formed an independent group with three MPs who left the Conservative Party. The Labour MPs cited antisemitism and Jeremy Corbyn's leadership for main reasons for quitting the party, as well as both parties' Brexit policies. A ninth Labour MP also quit the same month but did not join this bloc.
- In May 2019, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) launched a **formal investigation to determine whether the Labour Party unlawfully discriminated** against, harassed or victimised individuals because they are Jewish. The investigation was launched after the EHRC received numerous complaints about allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party. **An EHRC investigation into a mainstream British political party is also unprecedented.** The only other EHRC investigation into a party was in 2010 when it ordered the far-right British National Party (BNP) to rewrite its constitution to comply with race relations laws.
- In July 2019, **BBC Panorama interviewed eight Labour whistleblowers** who made a range of allegations about the party leadership's handling of antisemitism complaints, including claims of consistent interference in the complaints process by key Corbyn aides and allies. Former Labour General Secretary Iain McNicol was among the whistleblowers.
- The 2019 General Election campaign saw prominent Jewish community leaders make **unprecedented public interventions.** Rabbi Jonathan Romain, a leading figure in the Movement for Reform Judaism, implored his community to vote tactically to defeat Labour due to a Corbyn-led government posing *"a danger to Jewish life as we know it"*. Two weeks before election day, Chief Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis published an extraordinary opinion piece on the front page of the Times, discussing the future of Jews and Judaism in Britain and stating that *"challenging racism is not a matter of politics"*.
- Social media was a particular focus of concern over antisemitism and extremism. In partnership with the data science company Signify, **CST published an empirical study of antisemitic social media posts** that were done in support of the Labour Party and its then leader, Jeremy Corbyn. Titled *Engine of Hate*, the report identified 36 key Twitter accounts, each with their own, overlapping online networks, that drove social media conversations about antisemitism and the Labour Party. The report dubbed these 36 accounts the eponymous *"Engine Room"* of hate.



Newspaper headlines when Chief Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis published an extraordinary opinion piece discussing the future of Jews and Judaism in Britain in the run up to the General Election, December 2019

- Antisemitic discourse was also present among Parliamentary candidates of other political parties in 2019. The Conservatives, Liberal Democrats and Scottish National Party all **investigated or suspended candidates suspected of engaging in antisemitic language**. One Brexit Party candidate reportedly expressed support for the 1930s British fascist leader Oswald Mosley.
- UK supporters of the Iranian government continued to disrupt cross communal Jewish-Muslim activities in 2019. In January, an **Islamic centre in Golders Green was forced to cancel a Holocaust remembrance event** commemorating Albanian Muslims who saved Jews. In March, rabbis participating at a mosque security event were verbally abused by members of the audience who shouted “*Zionist scum*” and other insults. In May, activists forced a mosque to cancel an event with a rabbi claiming that “*Zionists must be no-platformed in every mosque and Islamic Centre in this country.*”
- Jewish student life continues to flourish across UK university campuses, but campuses are not immune to antisemitism. In May 2019, the then **Universities Minister issued a call for all institutions to accept the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s definition** of antisemitism. He stated that, “*it is frankly appalling that the battle against antisemitism still exists*”.
- In January and June 2019, then Malaysian Prime Minister **Mahathir Bin Mohamad addressed both Oxford and Cambridge Unions, despite his open and unrepentant antisemitic views**. In Cambridge, when Mahathir was asked why he previously said Jewish people were “*inclined towards money*”, his reply – that his Jewish friends are not like the other Jews – was met with enthusiastic audience laughter.
- In February 2019, large numbers of **students voted to try to prevent a Jewish Society from being formed** at Essex University. The actions of the university leadership in response, however, offered a model of best practice in taking concrete steps to address and rectify the concerns of Jewish students and staff.
- The Association of British Scrabble Players updated its online dictionary after it was **alerted that the definition for “Jew” as a verb was “to haggle, get the better of”**. The Association’s chairman confirmed that the definition had now been labelled “*offensive*”.

INTRODUCTION

This CST Antisemitic Discourse in Britain report analyses written and verbal communication, discussion and rhetoric about antisemitism and related issues in Britain during 2019. It is published annually by CST.¹

'Discourse' is used in this report to mean 'communicative action': communication expressed in speech, written text, images and other forms of expression and propaganda.²

The report concentrates upon mainstream discourse. It cites numerous mainstream publications, groups and individuals who are by no means antisemitic, but whose behaviour may impact upon attitudes concerning Jews and antisemitism.

The report is not a survey of marginal or clandestine racist, extremist and radical circles, where antisemitism is much more common. Where such material is quoted within this report, it is usually for comparison with more mainstream sources, or because of the wider influence that such material may have.

CST distinguishes antisemitic discourse from actual antisemitic incidents and hate crimes against Jews or Jewish organisations and property.³

The 2006 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*⁴ noted the importance and complexity of antisemitic discourse and urged further study of it. By 2008, the parliamentary inquiry process had led to the issuing of the first progress report of the Government's task force against antisemitism. This stated of antisemitic discourse:

"Antisemitism in discourse is, by its nature, harder to identify and define than a physical attack on a person or place. It is more easily recognised by those who experience it than by those who engage in it.

"Antisemitic discourse is also hard to identify because the boundaries of acceptable discourse have become blurred to the point that individuals and organisations are not aware when these boundaries have been crossed, and because the language used is more subtle particularly in the contentious area of the dividing line between antisemitism and criticism of Israel or Zionism."⁵

The 2015 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*⁶ noted the earlier finding by MPs in the 2006 Report that: *"the significance of public discourse is that it influences attitudes which in turn influence actions."*

1 Previous reports are available on the CST website: www.cst.org.uk/publications

2 Paul Iganski & Abe Sweiry, *Understanding and Addressing the 'Nazi Card': Intervening Against Antisemitic Discourse*. London: European Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism (2009)

3 CST's annual Antisemitic Incidents Report, available at www.cst.org.uk/publications

4 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*. London: The All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism (September 2006)

5 *All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism: Government Response. One year on Progress Report*. London: The Stationery Office (12 May 2008), p. 12

6 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*. London: The All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism (February 2015)

ANTISEMITIC DISCOURSE AND ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitic discourse influences and reflects hostile attitudes to Jews and Jewish-related issues. Hostile attitudes can lead to hostile actions and damaging impacts.

Physically, antisemitic discourse may contribute to an atmosphere in which antisemitic hate crimes against Jews and Jewish institutions are more likely to occur. Psychologically, it can make Jews feel isolated, vulnerable and hurt.

The purpose of this report is to help reduce antisemitism, by furthering the understanding of antisemitic discourse and its negative impacts on Jews and society as a whole.

Antisemitic impacts of legitimate debate and media coverage

Antisemitic impacts may arise from entirely legitimate situations that have no antisemitic intention.

Statistics show that hate crimes against perceived members of any particular group can be triggered (or exacerbated) by public discourse or events related to that particular group. For example, antisemitic incident levels typically rise in relation to some public events and stories involving Jews, Jewish institutions, or Jewish-related subjects such as Israel.⁷

Negative media coverage of, or political comment on, Jewish-related events may be entirely legitimate, fair and in the public interest. Nevertheless, those debates can encourage antisemites or cause concern to Jews. This is more likely if such commentary involves inflammatory language or the use of traditional antisemitic imagery, or appears to single out one particular object or individual for scrutiny due to their being Jewish.

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the world's largest regional security organisation, explains the relation between antisemitic discourse and hostility as follows:

“Expressions of anti-Semitism in public discourse remain a serious issue of concern as they exacerbate hostile attitudes towards Jews. They have the potential to fuel anti-Semitic incidents, leading to greater insecurity in the Jewish communities and in societies across the OSCE region.”⁸

⁷ Shown repeatedly in CST's annual *Antisemitic Incidents Report*. Also, Paul Iganski, Vicky Kielinger & Susan Paterson, *Hate Crimes Against London's Jews*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research (2005)

⁸ www.osce.org/cio/75676?download=true

UK JEWISH LIFE: Putting antisemitism into context

Any overall assessment of the condition of British Jewry demands proper consideration of both positive and negative aspects. Britain's diverse Jewish communities have many examples of success, vibrancy and confidence. Nevertheless, antisemitic hate crimes, antisemitic discourse and wider antisemitic attitudes in society are issues of considerable importance for British Jews.

Overview

Jewish life in Britain today is diverse, and most Jews are well integrated into wider society. Government and others often cite the Jewish community as the benchmark of successful minority integration.

British Jews have full equal rights and protection in law, including against antisemitic incitement and bias. Jews who wish to live a Jewish life can do so in many ways, including pursuing educational, religious, cultural or political activities. Generally, overt antisemitism is deemed socially unacceptable and Jews have succeeded in many spheres of public and private life. Nevertheless, the long history of antisemitism, and its remaining manifestations, can cause significant concerns.

A 2014 report by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research noted that whilst "*most British Jews feel integrated into British society and that discrimination against Jews is largely a thing of the past*", it is also the case that "*most Jews feel that levels of antisemitism have increased in recent years, particularly online, in the media, in academia and certain political contexts*".⁹

History

Jews arrived in the British Isles in Roman times, but organised settlement followed the Norman Conquest of 1066. Massacres of Jews occurred in many cities in 1190, most notably in York. In

1290, all Jews were expelled by King Edward I, but some converts to Christianity and secret adherents to Judaism remained.

Following the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, a covert Jewish community became established in London. The present British Jewish community, however, has existed since 1656, when Oliver Cromwell formally invited Jews to return to this country.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Jews were largely emancipated politically but still suffered formal and informal exclusion from some professions and institutions, while prejudice towards Jews – especially those who were recent immigrants – remained common. From 1881 to 1914, the influx of Russian Jewish immigrants saw the Jewish community's population rise from approximately 60,000 to approximately 300,000. Many Jews can trace their arrival in Britain back to this wave of immigration. Others can trace their British identity back considerably further. Considerable numbers of Jews of other national origins have arrived in recent years and decades, from countries including South Africa, Israel and France.

Demography

A total of 263,346 people answered 'Jewish' to the voluntary question on religion in the 2011 UK Census. For the first time, the 2011 Census showed Jews living in every local authority in England and Wales.¹⁰

Just under two-thirds of British Jews live in Greater London. Other major Jewish centres are in Manchester, Leeds, Gateshead, Birmingham and Glasgow.

The religious composition of the Jewish community is highly diverse and ranges from the strictly Orthodox to non-practising.

⁹ Laura D Staetsky & Jonathan Boyd, *The Exceptional Case? Perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in the United Kingdom*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research (July 2014)

¹⁰ Simon Rocker, 'Census 2011: The Jewish breakdown', *Jewish Chronicle* (13 December 2012) <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/94111/census-2011-the-jewish-breakdown>

WHAT IS ANTISEMITISM? Background and concepts

In essence, antisemitism is discrimination, prejudice or hostility against Jews.

The word 'antisemitism' came into use in the late nineteenth century to describe pseudoscientific racial discrimination against Jews, but is now used more generally to describe all forms of discrimination, prejudice or hostility towards Jews throughout history, and has been called "*The Longest Hatred*".¹¹

It may be spelled as 'antisemitism' or as 'anti-Semitism'. CST uses 'antisemitism', as this spelling limits the notion that there is such a thing as 'Semitism' to which one may be 'anti' (i.e. in opposition to).

Antisemitism: Background

History shows that increases in anti-Jewish sentiment or actions often reflect growing extremism or divisions within society as a whole. Antisemitism is a subject that should concern not only Jews, but all of society.

The near-destruction of European Jewry in the Nazi Holocaust rendered open antisemitism taboo in public life. The strong association of antisemitism with the Nazi Holocaust can lead to the mistaken assumption that antisemitism is an exclusively far right, genocidal phenomenon that essentially ended after the Second World War.

Throughout history, anti-Jewish attitudes have taken many forms, including religious, nationalist, political, economic and racial-biological. Jews have been blamed for many phenomena, including the death of Jesus; the Black Death; the advent of liberalism, democracy, communism and capitalism; and for inciting numerous revolutions and wars.

A dominant antisemitic theme is the allegation that Jews are rich, powerful and cunning manipulators, set against the rest of society for their evil and timeless purpose. The notion of Jewish power (for example as codified within the notorious hoax¹² *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*) distinguishes antisemitism from other types of racism, which often depict their targets as ignorant and primitive.

Antisemitism – like any other form of prejudice – is not solely found in the conscious motivation or intention of an individual or group. Antisemitism can also reside in the resonance of a perpetrator's behaviour, where this echoes or repeats older antisemitic accusations and behaviours.

Antisemitism can also be the impact (whether intended or inadvertent) of a person's actions, or the consequence of the policies and practices of an organisation.

Types of antisemitism

Antisemitism is a global phenomenon, occurring even where there are no Jews. Its manifestation and expression may range from violent thuggery and murder to literary, philosophical and political discourse. Antisemitism has been described as an ideology in its own right, but others say it is undeserving of such status and should rather be regarded as a polluter of ideologies.¹³ Its persistence and adaptability are not doubted, yet precise definitions of antisemitism, its scale and the nature of its contemporary appearance can cause heated debate.

¹¹ For example, Robert S Wistrich, *Anti-Semitism: The Longest Hatred*. Methuen (1991) and Screen Guides for Thames Television, *The Longest Hatred*. (1991)

¹² See, Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*. London: Serif Books (1996), original publ. 1967

¹³ Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2010), p. xliv

Interpretations of antisemitism

Much has been written and discussed regarding what constitutes antisemitism. The definitions shown below are intended as a constructive guide to differing interpretations, but are the briefest of introductions to what is a very large topic.

Steve Cohen argued that antisemitism is defined by its ideological nature:

*"The peculiar and defining feature of anti-semitism is that it exists as an ideology. It provides its adherents with a universal and generalised interpretation of the world. This is the theory of the Jewish conspiracy, which depicts Jews as historically controlling and determining nature and human destiny. Anti-semitism is an ideology which has influenced millions of people precisely because it presents an explanation of the world by attributing such extreme powers to its motive force – the Jews."*¹⁴

Anthony Julius has argued that English antisemitism comprises "several kinds of anti-Semitism"; and he identifies four kinds that wholly or substantially "have an English provenance":

- "A radical anti-Semitism of defamation, expropriation, murder, and expulsion – that is, the anti-Semitism of medieval England, which completed itself in 1290, when there were no Jews left to torment."
- "A literary anti-Semitism – that is, an anti-Semitic account of Jews continuously present in the discourse of English literature...through to present times."

- "A modern, quotidian anti-Semitism of insult and partial exclusion, pervasive but contained...everyday anti-Semitism experienced by Jews...through to the late twentieth century."
- "A new configuration of anti-Zionisms, emerging in the late 1960s and the 1970s, which treats Zionism and the State of Israel as illegitimate Jewish enterprises. This perspective, heavily indebted to anti-Semitic tropes, now constitutes the greatest threat to Anglo-Jewish security and morale...By 'tropes' I mean those taken-for-granted utterances, those figures and metaphors through which more general positions are intimated, without ever being argued for."¹⁵

Brian Klug describes the importance of the imaginary 'Jew' (as distinct to the reality of Jews). He depicts the antisemitic caricature of this imaginary 'Jew' as follows:

*"The Jew belongs to a sinister people set apart from all others, not merely by its customs but by a collective character: arrogant yet obsequious; legalistic yet corrupt; flamboyant yet secretive. Always looking to turn a profit, Jews are as ruthless as they are tricky. Loyal only to their own, wherever they go they form a state within a state, preying upon the societies in whose midst they dwell. Their hidden hand controls the banks, the markets and the media. And when revolutions occur or nations go to war, it is the Jews – cohesive, powerful, clever and stubborn – who invariably pull the strings and reap the rewards."*¹⁶

¹⁴ Steve Cohen, *That's Funny, You Don't Look Anti-Semitic*. Leeds: Beyond the Pale Collective (1984), p. 11

¹⁵ Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii

¹⁶ Brian Klug, 'The Concept of Anti-Semitism', speech to Oxford University Chabad Society (7 June 2009) http://www.oxfordchabad.org/templates/articlecco_cdo/aid/922682/jewish/Anti-Semitism-Symposium.htm

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance working definition of antisemitism (2016)

In December 2016, the UK Government formally adopted the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism.¹⁷ This is a non-legally binding definition of antisemitism that evolved from a previous working definition, drawn up by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in 2005, primarily to aid law enforcement when deciding whether crimes are antisemitic or not. This was intended to enable cross-comparison and assessment of levels of antisemitism, and of European nations' policing and prosecuting of antisemitism.

The IHRA definition includes a list of examples of attitudes and language that *"could, taking into account the overall context"* indicate antisemitism, which includes some attitudes and language that relate to Israel as well as to Jews per se. Some anti-Israel and anti-Zionist activists claim this unfairly renders their behaviour antisemitic. Some pro-Israel activists claim that the working definition defines and outlaws certain anti-Israel attitudes and acts as antisemitic. At times, both are guilty of neglecting the working definition's core purpose and its caveat about *"overall context"*.

IHRA adoption plenary in Bucharest
Credit IHRA



Following the UK Government adoption of the IHRA definition of antisemitism, it has since been widely adopted, endorsed or used by authorities, agencies and institutions throughout British society, making it the standard non-legal definition that is used when trying to identify possible manifestations of antisemitism.

¹⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-leads-the-way-in-tackling-anti-semitism>

ANTISEMITISM: Legal definitions

Legal definitions of antisemitism are primarily intended for police and judicial use in identifying antisemitic incidents and crimes, rather than defining discourse. Nevertheless, these definitions can provide useful tools for helping consider what may, or may not, constitute antisemitic discourse.

Race Relations Act 1976

The 2006 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* summarised antisemitism with reference to the Race Relations Act 1976, which is the basis for legal definitions of racism and antisemitism. This was repeated in the updated 2015 Antisemitism Inquiry report:

“Broadly, it is our view that any remark, insult or act the purpose or effect of which is to violate a Jewish person’s dignity or create an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for him is antisemitic.

“This reflects the definition of harassment under the Race Relations Act 1976. This definition can be applied to individuals and to the Jewish community as a whole.”¹⁸

Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1999)

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry definition of a racist incident has significantly influenced societal interpretations of what does and does not constitute racism, strengthening the importance of the victim’s perception.

The 2006 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* and the updated 2015 report invoked the Lawrence Inquiry, stating:

“We take into account the view expressed in the Macpherson report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry that a racist act is defined by its victim. It is not acceptable for an individual to say ‘I am not a racist’ if his or her words or acts are perceived to be racist.

“We conclude that it is the Jewish community itself that is best qualified to determine what does and does not constitute antisemitism.”¹⁹

The UK Government command response to the Parliamentary inquiry concurred, stating:

“The Government currently uses the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry definition of a racist incident which is an incident that is perceived as racist by the victim or any other person, and this would include antisemitism. This is a very wide and powerful definition as it clearly includes the ‘perception’ of the victim and others.”²⁰

¹⁸ *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* (2006), p. 1

¹⁹ *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* (2006), p. 1

²⁰ *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism: Government Response*. London: The Stationery Office (29 March 2007), p. 3

BRITISH JEWS: Relationship with Zionism and Israel

Zionism and Israel are, in part, Jewish responses to the long and often tragic history of antisemitism. The complex dynamics between antisemitism, anti-Israel activity and anti-Zionism play an important role in debates over contemporary British antisemitism.

Overwhelmingly, British Jews do not come from Israel and their families have been British for at least two generations. Nevertheless, Israel plays an important role in the self-identity of many British Jews. This manifests in the practical sense of physical, emotional and family links that many Jews enjoy with Israel and Israeli citizens, as well as in the psychological sense of perceiving Israel as representing Jewish identity, refuge and rebirth in the post-Holocaust age.

A 2010 survey by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research found that 95% of British Jews said Israel plays some role in their Jewish identity, 82% said it plays a central or important role and 72% consider themselves 'Zionists'. The same survey found that 95% of British Jews have visited Israel.²¹ A similar survey by City University in 2015 found that 90% of British Jews support Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state and 93% said Israel plays some role in their Jewish identity.²²

In recent years, Israel has been subject to repeated criticism and outright hostility from relatively large sections of the liberal left, including parts of the media, campaigning groups, trade unions, politicians, churches and the NGO sector. British Jews hold varying perspectives on the legitimacy and motivation of this behaviour, ranging from those who play a leading part in anti-Israel activity, to those who regard these actions as antisemitic.

²¹ David Graham & Jonathan Boyd, *Committed, concerned and conciliatory: The attitudes of Jews in Britain towards Israel*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research (July 2010), p.9

²² Stephen Miller, Margaret Harris & Colin Shindler, *The Attitudes of British Jews Towards Israel*. London: City University, London (November 2015), p.15

Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism

LIKE RACISM, antisemitism can feed off criticism of Jews, Israel or Zionism, regardless of how fair or unfair, antisemitic or legitimate, that criticism may be.

ANTI-ZIONISM

THE TERM 'anti-Zionism' describes a wide range of hostile attitudes towards Jewish self-determination, and particularly towards Jewish peoplehood and the right of the Jewish people to have a nation state (now existing in Israel). Anti-Zionism that denies these beliefs, or seeks Israel's dissolution, should not be confused with criticism of Israel's actions.

Anti-Zionism is a complex and contested term, because definitions of Zionism itself mean different things to different people. In particular, mainstream Jewish definitions of Zionism differ markedly from far left, far right and Islamist definitions – all of which tend to use (and denigrate) Zionism as a term of political abuse.

Not all anti-Zionists are antisemites and anti-Zionism is not necessarily antisemitic. For example, a minority of Jews do not believe, either for religious or political reasons, that the existence of Israel is in the best interests of the Jewish people. However, much anti-Zionism today is expressed in ways that are actively hostile towards Jews and towards the Jewish people as a group, and that bear similarities to older antisemitic language and imagery.

The malicious denial or misrepresentation of Jewish peoplehood is fundamentally antisemitic, as is politically motivated denial of the Jewish people's historical and religious links with the land of Israel.

JEWS AND ANTI-ZIONISM

In the decades before the Second World War, anti-Zionism was a relatively widespread and respected position within mainstream Jewish

politics. Many Jewish anti-Zionists opposed the idea of creating a Jewish state because they feared it would threaten the political and civic status of Jews in Diaspora communities. Others opposed Zionism because they believed that revolutionary socialism would emancipate Jews alongside the rest of humanity. Many strictly Orthodox Jews opposed Zionism on theological grounds relating to the coming of the Messiah.

After the Holocaust and the creation (and survival) of Israel, Jewish opposition to Zionism declined markedly. Other than in some ultra-Orthodox or far left groups, Jews tend not to describe themselves as anti-Zionists.

ANTI-ZIONISM AND CRITICISM OF ISRAEL

Antisemitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israel criticism or hatred are not the same as each other. They can, however, be hard to untangle and distinguish from one another.

It is not necessarily antisemitic to criticise Israel or Zionism, even if the criticism is harsh or unfair. Gauging antisemitic motives and impacts largely depends upon the interaction of the following factors:

- **Target:** Are local Jews being singled out as recipients for criticism, bias or hatred that ostensibly derives from anti-Israel or anti-Zionist enmity?
- **Motivation:** To what extent is the criticism, or outright hatred, driven by the Jewish nature of Israel and/or Zionism?
- **Content:** Does the criticism, or hatred, use antisemitic or otherwise prejudiced language, themes or motifs?
- **Response** to concerns: Are local Jewish concerns about the above sincerely and equally heard? Or, are Jewish concerns viewed with hostility and singled out for scorn?

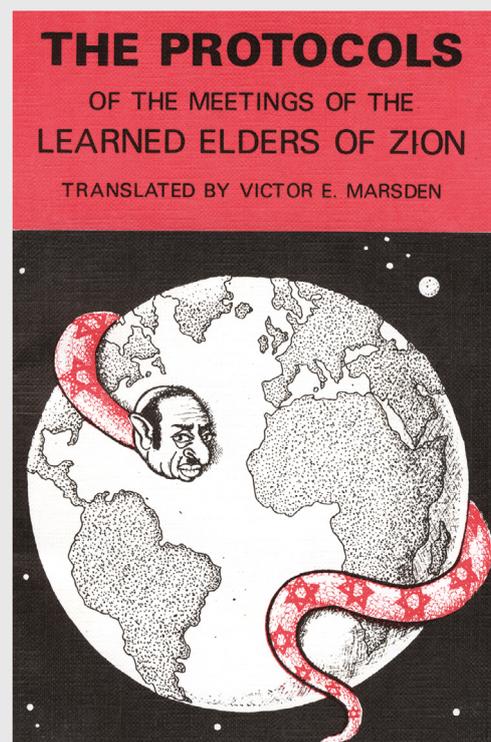
- **Repeat behaviour:** Does the offender repeat their behaviour, knowing the consequences and concerns that will be raised?

ANTISEMITIC ANTI-ZIONISM AND CONSPIRACY THEORY

Antisemitism has changed and adapted throughout history to reflect the condition of Jews and the society around them at any given time. Today there is an antisemitic form of anti-Zionism that treats Zionism as a global, malevolent conspiracy, much as antisemites have portrayed Jews in the past. This can be found within far right, far left and extreme Islamist and New Age circles.

The notorious antisemitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* claims to reveal a supposed secret Jewish conspiracy to take over the world, depicted in this British version by a Jewish snake encircling the globe.

Championed by both far right and Islamist extremists, it includes chapters on Jewish control of war, politicians, finance and media. *The Protocols* contains old antisemitic themes that still resonate, impact and evolve in modern politics, media and discourse.



These different ideologies all use 'Zionism' and 'Zionist' as pejorative labels for political opponents, often regardless of whether the targets of their hatred are Jewish or pro-Israel, or not. In each different setting, Zionism is commonly discussed and perceived in ways that are strikingly similar to older antisemitic conspiracy theories (for example, as in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*).

Employing the word 'Zionist' where the word 'Jew' would have previously appeared in open antisemitic discourse may, or may not, be deliberate obfuscation on the part of the user. Nevertheless, it essentially fulfils the same psychological and political purpose as open antisemitism once did.

This antisemitic anti-Zionism has, at its core, a construction of Zionism as a political, financial, military and media conspiracy that is centred in Washington and Jerusalem, and which opposes authentic local interests. It is commonly found in extremist discourse, and sometimes alluded to in more diluted forms in mainstream discourse.

Unlike pre-war Jewish anti-Zionism, these modern anti-Zionists are not motivated by a concern for Jewish political and civic rights.

The 2006 Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism noted:

"One of the most difficult and contentious issues about which we have received evidence is the dividing line between antisemitism and criticism of Israel or Zionism.

"...discourse has developed that is in effect antisemitic because it views Zionism itself as a global force of unlimited power and malevolence throughout history. This definition of Zionism bears no relation to the understanding that most Jews have of the concept; that is, a movement of Jewish national liberation, born in the late nineteenth century with a geographical focus limited to Israel. Having re-defined Zionism in this way, traditional

antisemitic notions of Jewish conspiratorial power, manipulation and subversion are then transferred from Jews (a racial and religious group) on to Zionism (a political movement). This is at the core of the 'New Antisemitism' on which so much has been written."²³

HISTORICAL CONTINUITIES BETWEEN ANTISEMITISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM

Other continuities between historical antisemitic themes and the type of modern anti-Zionism that is antisemitic can include the following:

- Alleging that Jewish holy books preach Jewish supremacy and that this is the basis for alleged Zionist racism.
- Dehumanising and demonising language comparing Jews to rats, cancer, plague and bacteria is now repeated in some depictions of Zionists and Israel. This reduces its target to a pest or disease to be cleansed.
- Scapegoating Jews as 'the Other'; blaming them for local and global problems; and demanding their destruction or conversion as a vital step in building a new, better world. This is echoed in the notion that Zionism is uniquely illegitimate, and that its destruction is required for the fulfilment of utopian ideological goals.
- The image of Jews as alien corrupters of traditional, authentic society and established morality endures in today's portrayals of Zionists as somehow hijacking other people's true will and nature, and thereby polluting domestic politics and society.

²³ Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism, pp. 16–17

LABOUR PARTY AND ANTISEMITISM

Formation of The Independent Group/Change UK

In February 2019, an unusual development rocked British politics when several MPs left both the Labour and Conservative parties to form The Independent Group, which later became Change UK. The main drivers for this were Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of Labour and its handling of antisemitism, as well as both parties' Brexit policies.

The group comprised of Labour MPs Luciana Berger, Chris Leslie, Angela Smith, Gavin Shuker, Mike Gapes, Ann Coffey, Joan Ryan and Chuka Umunna, along with Heidi Allen, Anna Soubry and Sarah Wollaston from the Conservative Party. Their group's mission statement was "to change our broken politics" and create a "different culture".

For the former Labour MPs, Corbyn's ostensible failure to curb antisemitism in the party was at the forefront of their decision to leave and join the breakaway group. Luciana Berger, then the MP for Liverpool Wavertree, had been vocal in her criticism of the Labour leadership's handling of antisemitism allegations. She faced trolling and death threats and needed a security guard when she attended the 2018 Labour party conference. Within her own constituency party, Berger faced a motion of no confidence that was later withdrawn after it emerged that one of her key opponents called her a "disruptive Zionist".²⁴

At the press conference announcing the formation of the new group on 18th February 2019, Berger stated that, "I cannot remain in a party that I have come to the sickening conclusion is institutionally antisemitic".²⁵ Speaking of the "mountain of evidence" of antisemitism, she said "we have only

Launch of The Independent Group
Credit @TheIndGroup/Twitter



seen the situation of racism against Jewish people get worse". She went on to say, "the leadership has wilfully and repeatedly failed to address hatred against Jewish people within its ranks... I am leaving behind a culture of bullying, bigotry and intimidation".

The other former Labour MPs echoed Berger's concerns. Mike Gapes, the MP for Ilford South and former chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said at the press conference that he was "sickened that the Labour Party is now a racist, antisemitic party".²⁶ Anne Coffey MP for Stockport described how "any criticism of the leadership is responded to with abuse and accusations of treachery. Antisemitism is rife and tolerated".²⁷ Chris Leslie, MP for Nottingham East and former shadow chancellor, spoke of "an appalling culture" that was "Intolerant, closing down of debate, abuse and hatred online as your seeing this morning, and offline in party meetings, and the anti-Semitism".²⁸ And, in a separate statement, Gavin Shuker, then MP for Luton South, stated that "the Labour party is riddled with anti-Semitism".²⁹

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ <https://www.lutontoday.co.uk/news/luton-south-mp-gavin-shuker-resigns-labour-party-109549>

²⁴ <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/luciana-berger-no-confidence-motion-dropped-after-outrage-1.479764>

²⁵ <https://www.politicshome.com/news/article/read-the-full-resignation-statements-as-labour-mps-quit-to-form-the-independent-group>

Joan Ryan, then MP for Enfield and Chair of Labour Friends of Israel, also left the Labour Party, joining The Independent Group on 20 February. In her resignation letter, Ryan charged that the party “has become infected with the scourge of anti-Jewish racism” and was “horrified, appalled and angered” by the party’s failure to tackle antisemitism.³⁰ She wrote that the party leadership allowed “Jews to be abused with impunity and the victims of such abuse to be ridiculed”.

In late February, Ian Austin, then Labour MP for Dudley North, announced he was leaving the party due to Corbyn’s leadership.³¹ He described it as “the hardest decision I have ever had to take”, emphasising that, “I am appalled at the offence and distress Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour Party have caused to Jewish people”. Austin did not join The Independent Group, remained an independent MP but lost his seat in the 2019 General Election. In 2020, he was ennobled as a non-affiliated peer and sits in the House of Lords as Lord Austin of Dudley.

The Independent Group/Change UK, however, had a short-lived political lifespan. Six quit the group, including Berger, in June 2019. It dissolved after the remaining members lost their seats in the 2019 election.

Jeremy Corbyn and J.A. Hobson’s *Imperialism*

In May 2019, it emerged that Jeremy Corbyn had written a foreword to the 2011 edition of J.A. Hobson’s *Imperialism: A Study*, first published in 1902. Hobson was an influential nineteenth-century political thinker, revered on the left. Hobson’s theory of imperialism, however, was replete with antisemitism; a point that Corbyn failed to acknowledge in his piece.

Anthony Julius, in his history of English antisemitism, described Hobson as the “most substantial” antisemitic polemicist of his time. Hobson’s *Imperialism* included the antisemitic stereotype of Jewish bankers manipulating every world calamity and enriching themselves from the suffering of others. He wrote that the finance houses that propelled European imperialism were “controlled... chiefly by men of a single and peculiar race, who have behind them many centuries of financial experience” and “are in a unique position to manipulate the policy of nations”.³² Hobson also asserted that no “great war” could occur if “the House of Rothschild” did not so desire. “There is not a war, a revolution, an anarchist assassination, or any other public shock,” Hobson wrote, for which these “harpies” cannot “suck their gains”.

Moreover, in an earlier book, *The War in South Africa*, Hobson wrote that the Boer War was fought to support Jewish interests:

“a small group of international financiers, chiefly German in origin and Jewish in race... The rich and powerful liquor trade...is entirely in the hands of Jews...the stock exchange is needless to say, mostly Jewish...the press of Johannesburg is chiefly their property...we are fighting in order to place a small international oligarchy of mine owners and speculators in power at Pretoria”.³³

Hobson’s opinions derived largely from his view that this war was being fought on behalf of Jewish financiers, a view that was widespread on the British left at that time. In 1900, the Trades Union Congress passed a resolution claiming the war was being fought “to secure the gold fields of South Africa for cosmopolitan Jews, most of whom had no patriotism and no country”.³⁴ Hobson also disliked poor Jewish

³⁰ <https://twitter.com/joanryanEnfield/status/1097980964163276803/photo/1>

³¹ <https://www.expressandstar.com/news/voices/opinions/2019/02/22/ian-austin-why-ive-become-ashamed-of-labour-under-jeremy-corbyn/>

³² <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2019/05/j-hobson-jeremy-corbyn-and-history-left-wing-anti-semitism>

³³ Quoted in <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/corbyn-s-praise-for-deeply-antisemitic-book-6jfcmh5fp>

³⁴ <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2019/05/j-hobson-jeremy-corbyn-and-history-left-wing-anti-semitism>

immigrants who had become increasingly numerous in the East End of London, believing that the economic competition they brought was based on the same lack of morality that drove their wealthier co-religionists.

Corbyn defended his foreword, criticising “*the mischievous representation*” of his contribution and “*ill-founded accusations of anti-Jewish racism*” against him. Corbyn wrote that he did not defend antisemitic components in Hobson’s book, stating that “*I totally deplore the language used in that book to describe Jews and people from colonised countries*”.³⁵

Launch of the EHRC inquiry into the Labour Party

On 28 May 2019, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) launched a formal investigation to determine whether The Labour Party unlawfully discriminated against, harassed or victimised people because they are Jewish.³⁶ The investigation, under section 20 of the Equality Act 2006, was launched after the EHRC received a number of complaints about allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party. The EHRC had conducted preliminary investigations since March. The Labour Party said it was committed to co-operate fully with the investigation.

The investigation sought to determine whether unlawful acts were committed by the Party, its employees or agents, whether the Party responded to complaints of unlawful acts in a lawful, efficient and effective manner and whether the rule book and the Party’s complaint handling processes have enabled it to deal with antisemitism complaints efficiently and effectively.

The only other time the EHRC investigated a political party was in 2010 when it ordered the far-right British National Party (BNP) to rewrite its constitution to comply with race relations laws.

³⁵ <https://www.bod.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Jeremy-Corbyn-letter-to-Marie-van-der-Zyl-02052019.pdf>

³⁶ <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/our-work/news/investigation-opened-labour-party-following-complaints-about-antisemitism>

In October 2020, the EHRC published its findings and concluded that the Labour Party was guilty of unlawful discrimination and harassment of its Jewish members (this finding will be examined in detail in CST’s *Antisemitic Discourse Report 2020*).

Panorama whistleblowers

In July 2019, the BBC investigative show Panorama broadcast an episode called, ‘Is Labour antisemitic?’ Reporter John Ware interviewed eight former Labour Party staff who acted as whistleblowers, and who told him they had felt undermined by senior Labour Party officials in their attempts to tackle antisemitism.³⁷ Four of the whistleblowers, including former Labour general secretary Iain McNicol, broke non-disclosure agreements to give their testimony to Ware.

The whistleblowers, who explained the mental toll that their experiences had exerted on them, made several allegations, including:

- The number of antisemitism complaints received by the Party’s compliance unit increased hugely after Jeremy Corbyn became leader in 2015;
- There was consistent interference in the complaints process by key aides, including Labour’s director of communications, Seumas Milne, and the then secretary general, Jennie Formby, who attempted to interfere in the process of the National Constitutional Committee (Labour’s highest disciplinary body);
- Senior aides contributed to major disagreements within the Party about what constituted antisemitism; on at least one occasion aides in the Leader’s office directly processed complaints;

³⁷ <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/10/labour-bosses-accused-of-undermining-fight-against-antisemitism-bbc-panorama>

- In a number of cases they were overruled and punishments were downgraded from a suspension to a reminder of conduct.

The Labour Party denied any attempt to intervene in the complaints process and complained about the programme to the BBC. A party spokesperson claimed those featured in the programme were “disaffected former officials” with an axe to grind:

*“We completely reject any claim that the Labour Party is anti-Semitic. It appears these disaffected former officials include those who have always opposed Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership, worked to actively undermine it, and have both personal and political axes to grind. This throws into doubt their credibility as sources”.*³⁸

The party’s statement was the basis of a libel action against the Labour Party by seven of the eight whistleblowers that was settled in the whistleblowers’ favour in July 2020.³⁹ Numerous complaints were also made about the Panorama programme to the BBC and to Ofcom, but Ofcom determined “the programme was duly impartial” and the complaints did not “raise issues warranting further investigation”.⁴⁰ Both these developments will be described fully in the forthcoming *Antisemitism Discourse in Britain 2020*.

Cover story on whistleblowers
Credit Jewish News



38 <https://inews.co.uk/news/labour-anti-semitism-bbc-panorama-party-whistleblower-dan-hogan-312586>

39 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/13/whistleblowers-to-sue-labour-as-antisemitism-row-deepens> and <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/labour-apologises-to-whistleblowers-and-ware-1.501788>

40 https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0013/190030/panorama-complaint.pdf

2019 General Election

Antisemitism in the Labour Party was a national issue in the 2019 General Election. This was an unprecedented development in British national politics; but it was perhaps the inevitable culmination of the already extraordinary role that antisemitism played in British public life for nearly four years. As was already the case in 2018, the national debate over antisemitism also focused on the past conduct of then Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn MP. According to a poll a week before the election, 39% of the public considered Corbyn to be antisemitic.⁴¹

As one political observer noted, Labour's antisemitism controversies *"did not erupt in mid-campaign out of the blue. It had been simmering for years, and with increasing ferocity in the early months of this year"*.⁴² In the months leading to the call for early election, Labour's leadership continued to be accused of failing to take proper action against antisemitism within the party. In July, Lord Triesman, the Jewish former Labour general-secretary (2001-03), resigned from Labour, explaining that, *"day by day the extent and depth of antisemitism becomes clearer in the top leadership and National Executive Committee"*.⁴³ Lord Turnbull and Lord Darzi also quit the Labour whip for reasons relating to antisemitism. The same month, former Labour Prime Minister Gordon Brown stated publicly that *"the Labour Party owes the Jewish community an unqualified apology"*.⁴⁴ This followed his earlier, equally unprecedented statement in April that *"in the last two years the Labour Party let the Jewish community and itself down"*.⁴⁵ At that time,

41 <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/antisemitism-mattered-but-it-probably-didn-t-affect-the-general-election-result-1.494441>

42 <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/antisemitism-mattered-but-it-probably-didn-t-affect-the-general-election-result-1.494441>

43 <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/jewish-former-labour-general-secretary-lord-triesman-quits-party-over-institutional-antisemitism-1.486278>

44 <https://gordonandsarahbrown.com/2019/07/britain-needs-to-overhaul-anti-racism-strategy-and-labour-must-be-tough-on-antisemitism-says-gordon-brown/>

45 <https://gordonandsarahbrown.com/2019/04/gordon-browns->

Brown had also announced that he was joining the Jewish Labour Movement (JLM) as an affiliate member in solidarity with the Jewish community.⁴⁶

In late October, the campaign period started with the JLM's historic announcement that it would *"not be campaigning unless in exceptional circumstances and for exceptional candidates"*.⁴⁷ In 2017, by contrast, JLM had organised over 50 campaign activities across the UK. JLM's election statement reiterated its commitment to the Labour Party's policies and values, but it despaired that *"a culture of antisemitism has been allowed to emerge and fester in the Party at all levels...there are too many shameful examples to list – itself damning evidence of the Party's moral slide"*. Months earlier, in fact, JLM's Annual General Meeting resolved unanimously that Corbyn was *"unfit to be Prime Minister as a result of his abject failure on antisemitism"*.⁴⁸

On 8 November, former Labour Home Secretary Lord David Blunkett wrote an opinion article titled *"I despair at the behaviour of Labour's hard Left"*. While the article addressed many ways in which Labour's policies and actions were likely to result in electoral defeat, Blunkett's *"despair"* sprang significantly from Labour's antisemitism problems: *"The behaviour of the hard-Left within the Labour Party – the anti-Semitism, the thuggery, the irrational views on security and international issues, and the lack of realisation that you have to embrace a big tent of people in order to win – certainly makes me despair"*.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, on 6 November, the Labour Party's National Executive Committee (NEC) blocked then Chris Williamson MP from running as

[plea-as-he-joins-jewish-labour-movement/](#)

46 <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/former-prime-minister-gordon-brown-joins-jlm-as-affiliate-member/>

47 https://www.jewishlabour.uk/general_election_statement_2019

48 https://www.jewishlabour.uk/general_election_statement_2019

49 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/11/08/despair-behaviour-labours-hard-left/>

Chris Williamson with Jeremy Corbyn



a Labour candidate. The decision followed several months of controversy, starting with Williamson's suspension in February 2019 (in relation to his remarks that the Labour leadership was "too apologetic" in its handling of antisemitism) and ongoing recriminations between him and the party's disciplinary bodies throughout the year.⁵⁰ Williamson resigned from the party and announced that he would stand as an independent candidate. Williamson's resignation letter, in fact, included discourse that typified the antisemitism controversies facing Labour.

Williamson blamed a "witch hunt against hundreds of socialists loyal to Jeremy Corbyn" whose victims include Jewish socialists "whose anti-Zionism is anathema to the apartheid apologists apparently influencing Labour foreign and domestic policy".⁵¹ He claimed that "this witch hunt primarily serves the objectives of the far-right activists – including members of Britain First and the Jewish Defence League – who led the campaign for the Labour Party to adopt the IHRA definition of antisemitism and its examples". Williamson charged that JLM's activities since 2015 coincided with Israel's "diplomatic strategy to delegitimise Palestinian activism on the Left and normalise Zionism in our movement". In response, JLM described Williamson's letter as "racist" for invoking "the antisemitic trope that the Israeli government is meddling in British politics

50 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-47393626>

51 <https://twitter.com/adamlangleben/status/1192196089644015618/photo/1>

to manufacture antisemitism through the Jewish Labour movement".⁵²

The general election also elicited unprecedented remarks from Jewish community groups and religious figures. In late October, Rabbi Jonathan Romain, a leading figure in the Movement for Reform Judaism, implored his community to vote tactically to defeat Labour. Writing that "never have I dreamt of suggesting which way one should vote", Rabbi Romain stated, "that normal political allegiances are superseded by the unprecedented situation we face".⁵³ He emphasised that his unusual intervention was necessary since, unlike any other Labour leader, "a Corbyn-led government would pose a danger to Jewish life as we know it".

On 25 November, two weeks before election day, Chief Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis published an extraordinary opinion piece in the *Times*. He openly discussed the question of the future of Jews and Judaism in Britain if Corbyn's Labour were to form the government. Rabbi Mirvis wrote that raising "concerns about anti-Jewish racism in the context of a general election ranks among the most painful moments I have experienced since taking office".⁵⁴ He affirmed that a chief rabbi should normally stay clear of party politics, but that "challenging racism is not a matter of politics". Rabbi Mirvis described the Labour leadership's claims that it was "doing everything" to address antisemitism as being a "mendacious fiction". He asserted that the "party leadership have never understood that their failure is not just one of procedure" but far more fundamental. "It is a failure of culture", the Chief Rabbi concluded: "It is a failure of leadership. A new poison – sanctioned from the top – has taken root in the Labour Party".

52 <https://twitter.com/JewishLabour/status/1192201852496105477/photo/1>

53 <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/senior-rabbi-takes-unprecedented-step-of-writing-to-urge-congregants-to-vote-tactically-against-labo-1.490891>

54 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ephrain-mirvis-what-will-become-of-jews-in-britain-if-labour-forms-the-next-government-gbpsdblijk>

The following day, Jeremy Corbyn spoke at the launch of Labour's 'Race & Faith Manifesto'. He publicly stated that, *"There is no place whatsoever for anti-Semitism in our society, our country or in my party"*. He also described the party's procedures for dealing with antisemitism.⁵⁵ But while appearing in a BBC interview with Andrew Neil later that evening, Corbyn was asked four times to apologise to the British Jewish community for antisemitism within Labour and the party leadership's handling of the issue. Corbyn explained that a Labour government would ensure that British society is safe for all faiths, and that he did not want anyone feeling insecure. Corbyn also condemned every form of racism as *"a total poison"*, but he did not apologise.

Following the interview, the BBC itself reported that Corbyn *"declined to apologise to the UK Jewish community after the chief rabbi criticised how the party deals with anti-Semitism claims"*.⁵⁶ By contrast, Lord Falconer, Labour's former Lord Chancellor, stated explicitly that, *"we deserved an attack that strong. We need to deal with antisemitism properly...I really hope that the chief rabbi's absolutely extraordinary, but justified, intervention will be listened to by my party"*.⁵⁷ Lord Falconer cited 130 cases of antisemitism, some of them pending for years, which Labour had not investigated, in addition to *"hundreds, maybe thousands of cases that need to be investigated."* Consequently, Lord Falconer described the situation as *"a failure of leadership on the part of the Labour Party to say this has to be dealt with properly"*.

Antisemitism as an electoral issue gained even greater exposure following media leaks of allegations from Labour officials. On 5 December, media sources obtained a leaked copy of the JLM's closing legal submission to

the EHRC on antisemitism in the Labour Party.⁵⁸ The document included sworn statements from seventy serving and former Labour officials, detailing numerous failures in the party's handling of antisemitism complaints. In the document, JLM concluded that Labour suffered from endemic, institutional antisemitism. Testimony included party members saying other members had called them *"child killers"*, *"cockroaches of the Jewish kind"* and other slurs. This led the Telegraph to publish a lead article stating that a *"vote for Labour on December 12 is a vote for an institutionally anti-Semitic party led by an anti-Semite"*.⁵⁹

A Labour spokesperson disputed the allegations⁶⁰, and Labour also claimed that procedures Corbyn introduced were *"proof of the robust action the party is taking to root out anti-semitism...No other party has introduced rapid expulsion processes"*.⁶¹ On the other hand, then Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell MP said *"I apologise to the Jewish community for the suffering we've inflicted on them, I say to them we're doing everything possible"*.⁶²

On 12 December, and during the early hours of 13 December, as the election outcome became clear, prominent Jewish MPs such as Dame Margaret Hodge, Ruth Smeeth and Luciana Berger received social media abuse relating to Labour's defeat. Hodge, for example, came under significant abuse after she tweeted that *"the utter failure of Corbyn & Corbynism"* was responsible for Labour's performance.⁶³ Hodge received nasty online abuse typical of the language directed at her, and others, in

58 https://www.jewishlabour.uk/jlm_reaction_to_ehrc_story
<https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/jlm-submits-bombshell-document-on-labour-hate-to-equality-watchdog-investigation-1.493993>

59 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2019/12/05/jeremy-corbyn-anti-semite/>

60 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/05/seventy-labour-staffers-give-statements-to-antisemitism-inquiry>

61 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/exposed-the-secret-labour-files-of-shame-mwhhfknv>

62 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/exposed-the-secret-labour-files-of-shame-mwhhfknv>

63 <https://twitter.com/margarethodge/status/1205253175319695361>

55 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2019-50562542>

56 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2019-50564965>

57 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2019-50562542>
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/labour-antisemitism-corbyn-chief-rabbi-lord-falconer-general-election-a9218886.html>

recent years. She was also blamed for Labour's performance due to her alleged smearing of the party leadership. One tweet, for example, replied to her: "F*ck off you fascist b*tch. We all saw precisely what you have done".

Ruth Smeeth attracted similar abuse after losing her Labour seat. In a scathing interview on election night, which received wide national and international coverage about the state of the Labour Party, Smeeth addressed the state of the party and its leadership:

"I think Jeremy Corbyn is a disgrace. I think he's nearly broken the Labour Party. And I think that he has no place being at the leadership of any party... He has no role in this transition. He should have gone with immediate effect. He should have done the decent thing. I have colleagues up and down the country who have lost their seats. Seats that we have held for 100 years are no longer going to be represented by the Labour Party... I think he has at best, he's been a bystander to antisemitism, at worst he's been culpable and directly involved with antisemites and said some disgusting and vile things. He should be looking at himself in the mirror and deciding whether he is a racist".⁶⁴

Writing nearly a week after the results, Peter Kellner, the former president of YouGov pollsters, argued that antisemitism certainly mattered in the election but probably did not affect the result. Antisemitism was not the only, or even most decisive, issue that contributed to Labour's defeat. "For millions of women and men, including a great many traditional Labour supporters", observed Kellner, antisemitism "was one of a range of factors that, together, made the party and its leader unbearably toxic".⁶⁵ Kellner argued that Labour and Corbyn's approach to antisemitism "appalled many traditional Labour voters; and it almost certainly reinforced the view of most of the electorate that Labour's

leader should never become Prime Minister". But the antisemitism controversies alone likely did not alter the election outcome. Thus, Kellner concluded, "stamping out antisemitism" will not be enough to revive Labour, "but it is certainly a necessary condition".

Salma Yaqoob Rothschild quote

In October 2019, it emerged that Salma Yaqoob, who was standing to be the Labour Party's candidate for West Midlands Metro Mayor, had allegedly made antisemitic statements. It was revealed⁶⁶ that in 2013 Yaqoob tweeted a link to an article from a far-right, conspiratorial website and claimed that "Iceland arrests 10 Rothschild bankers". Yaqoob also defended⁶⁷ Ken Livingstone, who said: "Hitler was supporting Zionism before he went mad". Yaqoob commented on Twitter that the accusation that Livingstone was antisemitic was "Zionist smears".

In May, Yaqoob spoke at an anti-Israel rally and said (she also tweeted the quote afterwards): "It is not an accident that they're holding the Eurovision Contest in Israel. The brutal regime is trying to consolidate this image of 'one of us', but no matter how much lipstick you put on a pig, a pig is still a pig".

Yaqoob wrote a statement in response to the allegations in which she admitted that she had made comments that have caused offence.⁶⁸ She wrote: "I am a socialist, and a lifelong activist against war, imperialism and racism. My opposition to antisemitism is central to this, as is my belief in justice for Palestinians. As a Muslim woman, I stand in unshakeable solidarity with the Jewish community against the racism we face."

⁶⁴ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2019-50772047>

⁶⁵ <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/antisemitism-mattered-but-it-probably-didn-t-affect-the-general-election-result-1.494441>

⁶⁶ <https://order-order.com/2019/10/23/salma-yaqoob-shared-rothschild-conspiracy-theory-website/>

⁶⁷ <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/calls-for-labour-to-expel-candidate-salma-yaqoob-who-shared-article-on-rothschild-bankers-1.490670>

⁶⁸ <https://labourlist.org/2019/10/salma-yaqoob-why-im-standing-and-my-apology-for-hurt-caused/>

ANTISEMITISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Engine of Hate: the online networks behind Labour Party antisemitism

The crisis of antisemitism in the Labour Party since 2015 was fuelled significantly by a flow of antisemitic tweets and posts on social media that were done in support of the Labour Party and its then leader, Jeremy Corbyn MP. To identify, quantify and expose this activity, CST, in collaboration with data science company Signify, published in August 2019 a detailed report titled *Engine of Hate: the online networks behind the Labour Party's antisemitism crisis*. The report's research was used by the Labour Party to identify and discipline party members behind some of the Engine Room accounts, while angry reactions from others highlighted the importance of publishing such research.⁶⁹

The report's findings were based on analysis of around 1.5m tweets from 2015-2019, and over 16,000 articles shared on social media that generated more than 10m social media engagements: tweets, retweets, likes, mentions and so on. Networks of Labour-supporting Twitter accounts promoted, endorsed or spread the idea that allegations of antisemitism against Labour are a fake smear campaign – with such allegations sometimes straying into wider conspiracy theories about a shadowy Israeli, Zionist or Jewish lobby.

The report identified 36 key pro-Corbyn Twitter accounts, each with their own, overlapping online networks that drove social media conversations about antisemitism and the Labour Party. These accounts were dubbed the 'Engine Room' of hate. They were among the most influential Twitter accounts engaging with online conversations about Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour Party and antisemitism. Some were accounts run by Labour Party members; others were run by people who were not party members – including some who

had been suspended or expelled from the party for alleged antisemitism – but who nevertheless form part of its online support system and thereby influence its internal culture and attitudes.

All 36 of the Engine Room accounts had, at some point, tweeted content arguing that allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party are exaggerated, weaponised, invented or blown out of proportion, or that Labour and Corbyn were victims of a smear campaign relating to antisemitism. While some accounts had changed their position on these issues over the four years covered by this report, they had all, at one time or another, helped construct this narrative through the sharing of online content, largely from alternative media sites, to influence wider online conversations. In fact, a third of these accounts (12 out of 36), had themselves tweeted antisemitic content.

CST's *Engine of Hate* report



⁶⁹ CST published a lengthy response to criticisms of the report on CST's blog: <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2019/08/15/reactions-to-engine-of-hate-report>

ANTISEMITISM AND UK POLITICAL PARTIES

Allegations of antisemitism in the Conservative Party

Prior to the General Election, the Conservative Party launched investigations into some of its candidates following allegations of antisemitism. Sally-Ann Hart, candidate for Hastings, was accused of sharing a video implying that George Soros controls the EU and liked a comment underneath the video that said the Nazi slogan “*Ein Reich*”.⁷¹

Lee Anderson, a candidate in Ashfield, was alleged to be an active member of a Facebook group for local Conservative activists where conspiracy theories about Soros have been promoted and includes supporters of the anti-Muslim extremist Stephen Lennon (Tommy Robinson).

Richard Short, the candidate for St Helens South and Whiston, allegedly sent a tweet in 2013 referring to the Jewish journalist Melanie Phillips, who was appearing on BBC’s Question Time, which said: “*Being a bit Zionist is her allegiance to UK of Israel*”.

Amjad Bashir, the candidate for Leeds North East, was suspended⁷² after comments he made to the European Parliament in 2014 came to light in which he claimed that British Jews were returning from Israel as “*extremists – as people that are brainwashed*.” In another speech to the European Parliament’s Foreign Affairs Committee, Bashir called the chair of the session an “*apologist*” for Israel.

Ryan Houghton, the Conservative candidate for Aberdeen North, was suspended⁷³ after a series of posts he wrote on a martial arts forum in 2013 were made public. Houghton wrote that he found some of the events of the Holocaust “*fabricated and exagared (sic) in some cases*.” He also referred to Holocaust denier David Irving and wrote: “*a lot of his research is interesting*.”

Jacqui Harris, a Conservative councillor in Stratford-on-Avon, was also suspended⁷⁴ for allegedly supporting the claim that “*agents of Israel*” are posing as Labour Party members to deliberately commit acts of antisemitism as part of a smear campaign.

⁷¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/07/tories-investigate-three-candidates-over-alleged-antisemitism>

⁷² <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/tories-suspended-election-candidate-after-jc-exposed-his-claim-british-jews-were-brainwashed-extrem-1.493384>

⁷³ <https://www.thenational.scot/news/18044656.aberdeen-tory-candidate-ryan-houghtons-sick-posts-uncovered/>

⁷⁴ <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/tory-councillor-suspended-for-suggesting-mossad-behind-labour-row/>

Allegations of antisemitism in the Liberal Democrat Party

Ahead of their General Election manifesto launch, the Liberal Democrats suspended Waheed Rafiq, the candidate in Birmingham Hodge Hill, after antisemitic comments were posted on Facebook.⁷⁵ In 2010, Rafiq wrote: *“shocking to see how the Jewish government call them self Jews when they are wiping out all the people of Gaza”*. In 2014, he called for a boycott of WhatsApp, claiming it was *“Zionist backed so all we do and say is monitored and can leave us vulnerable to be exploited later”*. In 2012, Rafiq posted a cartoon of a hook-nosed Jew wearing a helmet with a Star of David on it. When asked to comment on the posts, Rafiq stated: *“I can confirm that those comments are mind [sic] and I honestly don’t see them as anti-semitic because the public need to know the fully story”*.

Abjol Miah, the Liberal Democrat candidate for a council by-election in the Shadwell ward in East London, was suspended after he was discovered to have shared antisemitic material on social media, including a video from American white supremacist David Duke called *“CNN Goldman Sachs and the Zio Matrix”*.⁷⁶

Allegations of antisemitism in the Scottish National Party

Neal Hanvey, the Scottish National Party’s (SNP) candidate for Kirkcaldy and Cowdenbeath, was suspended from the party in November 2019 for sharing a post on Facebook in 2016 from the Russian state news agency Sputnik, which included an image of George Soros as a puppet master controlling world leaders.⁷⁷ In another post, Hanvey compared the treatment of Palestinians to the treatment of Jews in the Holocaust. Hanvey remained on the ballot and won the election as an independent MP with a majority of 1,243.

Denise Findlay, a prominent supporter of Hanvey, resigned from the SNP after she was challenged over a tweet in which she claimed that describing Israel as a Nazi state could not be defined as antisemitic.⁷⁸ Findlay had been elected to the SNP’s conduct committee, which was due to rule on whether Hanvey should continue to be a party member.

⁷⁵ <https://www.buzzfeed.com/alexwickham/lib-dems-candidate-antisemitism>

⁷⁶ <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/liberal-democrats-suspend-council-campaign-after-candidate-found-to-have-shared-antisemitic-video-1.479671>

⁷⁷ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2019-50586995>

⁷⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/05/ex-snp-candidate-still-contesting-seat-after-antisemitism-case>

Nigel Farage's language about George Soros

Nigel Farage, the leader of the Brexit Party, was criticised after repeatedly using themes associated with antisemitism to criticise George Soros. During an interview on the far-right conspiracist website Infowars, Farage called Soros *"the biggest danger to the entire western world"*.⁷⁹

It was reported in May 2019 that, in an interview with Tucker Carlson on Fox News the previous year, Farage claimed that Soros sought *"to undermine democracy and to fundamentally change the makeup, demographically, of the whole European continent"*. He said Soros *"wants to break down the fundamental values of our society and in the case of Europe, he doesn't want Europe to be based on Christianity...all of this is based on some kind of self-loathing, some sort of guilt trip about the past. And in Soros's case, it's a guilt trip of course about America's, about, sorry Germany's wartime actions. The way the Jews were treated...It's all based on guilt, but it's not based on reality."*⁸⁰

A Brexit party spokesman denied that Farage's remarks were in any way antisemitic.

Brexit Party activists exposed for antisemitism

In the run up to the General Election in December 2019, allegations of antisemitism and racism were made against several Brexit Party candidates. For example, James Edward Buckley, the Brexit Party candidate for Blackley and Broughton, was accused of being a far-right, antisemitic activist.⁸¹ On social media, Buckley made statements in support of Oswald Mosley, the leader of the British Union of Fascists. He claimed that:

"Zionist Jews have admitted inspiring/manipulating us to go to war with Europe in the 30's. Saying they're not a problem is naive. A people so influential and so worried about us trying to wipe them out is a problem for us. The less ethnocentric we are the safer they are so they promote miscegenation because they want to avoid us trying to wipe them out because they want to avoid another rise of antisemitism/fascism".

Andrew Garcarz, who stood for the Brexit Party in the Birmingham Ladywood constituency, made a number of anti-Muslim and racist comments online.⁸² He claimed that Europe was being deliberately flooded with immigrants. He also endorsed the antisemitic conspiracy theory, known as the 'Coudenhove-Kalergi plan', which claims that the real aim behind the European Union is the 'Genocide of the Peoples of Europe' through the active mixing of races.

Graham Cushway⁸³, the Brexit Party's candidate for Brighton Kemptown, co-founded a heavy-metal band called Stuka Squadron, whose members dress as *"vampire Luftwaffe pilots"*. Cushway was photographed wearing a tie featuring the SS skull and crossbones insignia.

79 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/12/farage-criticised-for-using-antisemitic-themes-to-criticise-soros>

80 <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/farage-under-fire-over-references-to-soros-which-capitalise-on-antisemitic-conspiracy-theor-1.484053>

81 <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/12/11/exposed-brexit-party-candidate-james-buckley-is-far-right-activist-and-antisemite/>

82 <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/12/03/why-wont-the-brexit-party-disown-andrew-garcarz/>

83 <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/11/08/exposed-brexit-party-candidates-nazi-inspired-band/>

PRO-IRANIAN PRESSURE AGAINST “ZIONIST” INFILTRATION OF MOSQUES

Disruption of Jewish-Muslim communal relations

For several years, a small number of activists have been campaigning against interfaith and cross-communal activities between Jews and Muslims. This campaign appears to be driven primarily by groups and individuals aligned with, or sympathetic to, the Iranian government. This includes the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC); Iranian state media outlet Press TV UK; the website 5 Pillars UK; and Roshan Salih, the editor of the 5Pillars website and a journalist with the Iranian media company Press TV/Press TV UK.

These disruptions have been done on the spurious grounds that “Zionists” are using interfaith to infiltrate mosques to convince Muslims to support Israel. For example, in November 2018, Salih denounced the

Mitzvah Day cookathon event at the East London Mosque, tweeting that it was evidence of “Zionists doing soft infiltration of Muslim community.” This episode was detailed in CST’s 2018 *Antisemitic Discourse report*.⁸⁴ In May 2019, a TED style talk that was to be given by Rabbi Lea Muhlstein at the Mahfil Ali Mosque in Harrow was cancelled after pressure was placed on the mosque that referred to her as “heavily involved in Zionist activities”. Roshan Salih tweeted for activists to campaign against her presence. After the event was cancelled, Salih posted that, “Mosques which host Zionists are finally coming under sustained pressure from their congregations not to give supporters of Apartheid Israel a platform” and “Zionists must be no-platformed in every mosque and Islamic Centre in this country.”

Roshan M Salih
@RmSalih

Mosques which host Zionists are finally coming under sustained pressure from their congregations not to give supporters of Apartheid Israel a platform. Let’s hope that Mahfil Ali in Harrow sees sense and cancels this event.

**CALLING ALL ACTIVISTS
PROTEST AGAINST ZIONISTS
SPEAKING AT MAHFIL ALI**

RABBI LEA MÜHLSTEIN IS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN ZIONIST ACTIVITIES AND HAS BEEN INVITED TO SPEAK BY MAHFIL ALI.

TUESDAY 28TH MAY 2019 - 8PM
SICM, 39 Gloucester Road, Harrow, HA14PT

Roshan M Salih
@RmSalih

I am informed that the Mahfil Ali Islamic centre in Harrow has cancelled this event and will no longer be hosting this Zionist speaker. Good news – Zionists must be no-platformed in every mosque and Islamic centre in this country.

**CALLING ALL ACTIVISTS
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⁸⁴ <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/5/5/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202018.1578648264.pdf>

Pro-Iranian pressure cancels Holocaust remembrance event in Golders Green

Holocaust remembrance events should be uncontroversial and non-political. But in January 2019, however, a cross-communal event celebrating Albanian Muslims who helped Jews during the Holocaust was cancelled due to pressure from UK-based pro-Iranian activists. The exhibit, titled 'Love Your Neighbour Exhibit', was organised by Faiths Forum for London and was scheduled to take place at the Hussainiyat Al-Rasool Al-Adham (also called the Centre for Islamic Enlightenment), a Shia Muslim community based in the Hippodrome in Golders Green, north west London. The three other groups involved were Yad Vashem UK Foundation, Barnet Multi Faith Forum and Strengthening Faith Institutions.



Yet in late December 2018, 5Pillars, Press TV UK and Roshan Salih started posting and tweeting about the event.^{85 86} Iranian media also reported about it on 1 January 2019.⁸⁷ On 29 December, for example, Press TV UK tweeted that the Holocaust event was "OUTRAGEOUS: Golders Green mosque set to hold an 'interfaith' event with #Zionists in London. What about Palestine? #FreePalestine #London".⁸⁸ On 30 December, 5Pillars published an article deriding the event for including Yad Vashem, the World Holocaust Remembrance Center based in

85 Rosa Doherty, 'Golders Green Mosque cancelled Shoah exhibition over Iran fears', *Jewish Chronicle*, 10 January 2019

86 Press TV UK tweet on 29 December 2018: <https://twitter.com/Presstvuk/status/1079014654398074880>

87 Article on event on Holocaust event at the 'Shirazi cult' centre (Farsi), *Mehr News Agency* (1 January 2019) and *Taghrib News* (1 January 2019)

88 <https://twitter.com/Presstvuk/status/1078998038901899266>

Israel: "Yad Vashem is a Holocaust museum based in Jerusalem which is partially financed by and supports the state of Israel. It is located near where the Deir Yasir [sic] massacre of Palestinians by Zionists took place. The exhibition, to be held under the auspices of the Faiths Forum for London, is part of the mosque's drive to open and maintain dialogue with its neighbours, in the wake of objections made to its opening. But it may prove controversial among the Muslim community given the animosity that is overwhelmingly felt towards Tel Aviv."⁸⁹

By 3 January, Roshan Salih tweeted several times, claiming some responsibility for the event being postponed and moved.⁹⁰ He posted that, "Alhamdulillah, the Al Rasool Al Adham centre in Golders Green has listened to voices in the community and cancelled the Israeli sponsored Yad Vashem event".⁹¹ He also tweeted that, while he approved of Holocaust commemorations in general, "these commemorations must never be done in conjunction with Israeli oppressors or their supporters".⁹² Additionally, on 4 January, 5Pillars published another article claiming that its reporting had helped put pressure on the Hussainiyat community to cancel the event: "5Pillars understands that pressure was put on the centre from both within the UK and abroad after one of our articles was translated into Arabic and Farsi. We also understand that the event was cancelled after the headquarters of the Shia sect that the mosque follows was contacted with complaints."⁹³

89 <https://5pillarsuk.com/2018/12/30/mosque-in-golders-green-to-host-israeli-holocaust-event/>

90 'Mosque in Golders Green to host Israeli Holocaust event', 5Pillars, 30 December 2018; Roshan Salih (@rmsalih) tweets on 3 January 2019: <https://twitter.com/Presstvuk/status/1078999891794382849> <https://twitter.com/RmSalih/status/1080924167300673536> and <https://twitter.com/RmSalih/status/1080919323185741830>

91 <https://twitter.com/RmSalih/status/1080919896026800128>

92 <https://twitter.com/RmSalih/status/1080919896026800128>

93 <https://5pillarsuk.com/2019/01/04/london-mosque-cancels-israeli-holocaust-event-after-complaints/>

While the mobile exhibit was eventually held at a later date and in a different venue in Essex, the original organisers lamented its cancellation in the Golders Green centre. Esmond Rosen, from the Barnet Multi Faith Forum, expressed that they were “*extremely saddened and disappointed that this peaceful project, of illuminating the best values of human dignity, has been caught up in the international politics of the extremist.*”⁹⁴



Objections to Jews helping with mosque security

A similar episode recurred a few months later, on 17 March 2019, when four members of South London Liberal Synagogue and a rabbi from a different congregation were invited to attend an event at the Hyderi Islamic Centre in Streatham, south London. The event was organised to discuss mosque safety following the far-right shooting attacks at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand earlier that month. During the event, however, pro-Iranian activists shouted abuse at the Jewish panel participants, such as “*Zionist scum*” and assertions about Zionist control of the media were made to the Jewish people present.⁹⁵

94 <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/mosque-scrapped-shoah-exhibit-over-security-threat-and-yad-vashem-link/>

95 Tweets by Mohammed Seedat (@moseeds), 17 March 2019; ‘The Scholars are the Heirs of The Prophets’, Ahlebait TV, YouTube, 20 March 2019



Councillor Mohammed Seedat pointed out the antisemitism in the wake of the event tweeting: “*Left Streatham Hyderi Mosque ashamed. A community meeting to stand with #NewZealand descended into anti-Israel/Zionist conspiracy, because our Jewish friends dared to show solidarity. Broke my heart to call out the anti-semitism so publicly tonight, but it’s my public duty. Credit to @HyderiCentre for not only organising but actively trying to stop the voices engaging in conspiracy. It was a tough audience but I hope you continue engaging as you have done so brilliantly over the years.*”⁹⁶

96 <https://twitter.com/moseeds/status/1107413276013576193>

On 20 March, Mohsin Abbas, the host of a television programme on Ahle Bayit TV, discussed the Hyderi Mosque event on an episode of his show. Abbas referred to the rabbis at the event as “Zionist rabbis” and denigrated the notion of rabbis assisting with the security of mosques: “Two rabbis, two Zionist rabbis were also present what is a rabbi doing blessing our security issues? Do we do we go to their synagogues to teach them how to do security? My point is that there’s a mindset and I want the panel to address this as a serious security issue as scholars who we turn to for leadership for political guidance as well.”

Also in March 2019, Roshan Salih published an article in IHRC’s magazine *The Long View*. Salih elaborated on his opposition to ‘normalisation’ between British Muslim communities and ostensibly pro-Israel Jewish groups.

Salih wrote that “this ‘soft normalisation’ process is happening right here in Britain between some of our biggest Muslim mosques and institutions under the guise of seemingly harmless interfaith activities.”⁹⁷ Salih also expressed his fears that Muslim community leaders are willing to engage with Jewish community groups in order to ingratiate themselves with the UK’s political and economic establishment: “I fear that our community leaders are selling this cause out for the sake of gaining entrance into the Establishment fold. And if we don’t stop them now from going down this shameless route it will be completely normal for Muslims to work alongside those who are directly or indirectly oppressing our Palestinian brothers and sisters.”⁹⁸

97 <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/The-Long-View-Magazine-01-FV-digital-edition.pdf> (p. 4)

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CAMPUS ANTISEMITISM

Malaysian PM addressed the Oxford and Cambridge Unions

On 18 January 2019, then Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Bin Mohamad addressed the Oxford Union. The Oxford Jewish Society expressed its concerns over Dr Mahathir's speech, citing his previous antisemitic remarks: *"Prime Minister Mohamad is an open and unrepentant antisemite, accusing Jews of 'Nazi cruelty' and seeking to wipe out all Muslims, has said 'Antisemitic' is 'an invented term to prevent criticizing Jews for doing wrong', as well as indulging in Holocaust denial. Given an opportunity to reframe his comments on a recent edition of BBC's 'Hardtalk', he instead chose to refer to Jews as 'hook-nosed'."*⁹⁹

Mohamad told the Oxford Union: *"We are free to say what we like, we can say something that can be regarded as antisemitic by the Jews. That is their right to hold such an opinion of me. It is my right to tell them they have been doing a lot of wrong things."*¹⁰⁰



Mahathir also addressed the Cambridge Union on 16 June 2019. Mohamad was asked why he previously said Jewish people were *"inclined towards money"*, to which he replied: *"I had some Jewish friends, very good friends. They are not like the other Jews, that's why they are my friends"*. This was met with enthusiastic laughter from some members of the audience.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/oxfordjsoc/posts/796606014022207>

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/cambridge-union-condemned-for-hosting-notorious-antisemite-malaysian-prime-minister-mahathir-mohamad-1.485510?highlight=Mahathir+Mohamad>

¹⁰¹ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/mahathir-mohamed-anti-semitic-cambridge-union-jewish-malaysia-a8962246.html>

After the event, the Cambridge Union released a statement claiming that Mahathir was scrutinised on his record by the moderator and the audience. In addition, the Union said that Cambridge Jewish Society was invited to attend, ask questions and hand out flyers.

University of Essex and the Jewish society: From campus antisemitism to overcoming discrimination

In February 2019, Essex University Student Union was holding a vote on the creation of a new Jewish student union society (Jsoc). According to the institution's procedures, new student societies must gain ratification by winning a vote on the Student Union's website. However, over 200 students – approximately 36% of votes cast – voted against the Jsoc's establishment.¹⁰²

The Union of Jewish Students (UJS) immediately intervened to raise its profound distress at the implication of significant students opposing a university Jewish society:

*"We are deeply disappointed by the significant proportion of students who have voted against the establishment of a Jewish society at the University of Essex. Jewish societies, of which over 60 exist on UK campuses up and down the country, provide a space for Jewish students to celebrate their culture and identity. The fact that some students at the University of Essex deem it fit to vote against that is quite simply shocking."*¹⁰³

Moreover, it transpired that Essex University's Amnesty International Society was among those who objected and tried to block the new Jsoc. In a closed Facebook page discussion, the group explained that, while they supported a Jewish society at Essex, they objected to the current Jsoc on the basis that it planned to celebrate Israel's independence day:

¹⁰² <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/should-there-be-a-jewish-society-over-200-university-of-essex-students-vote-no-1.480349>

¹⁰³ https://www.ujs.org.uk/ujs_response_to_essex_j_soc_vote

"The Jewish Society is seeking ratification in Essex, which is very important for Jewish representation in Essex, as we have not had a Jewish Society in Essex for many years. Unfortunately, there is something very problematic and upsetting written in their manifesto. The society has written it will celebrate Israel national day, which is nothing to do with Judaism. It is a day where 700,000 Palestinians were illegally expelled from their homes and ethnically cleansed from historic Palestine.

"Amnesty Essex is against this. Until the society is politically neutral like every other religious society we will take a stance on this. So we urge you to please vote no until they are politically neutral. We support a Jewish society that represents all Jews no matter where they lie on the political spectrum. Unfortunately this manifesto excludes a huge proportion of the Jewish community and implies that all Jews support the Israeli state. Judaism should not be conflated with Israel, as this is problematic with the rights of all in Palestine."¹⁰⁴

In response, UJS issued a separate statement, condemning the university's Amnesty group for suggesting that celebrating Israeli national days are antithetical to Judaism and thus a reason to vote down the formation of a Jewish society:

"[Amnesty International Society] refer to the Jewish society including education about Israel and Zionism as having "a political stance" and repeatedly suggest they know best how to define a Jewish society as a "religious society". They arrogantly deem fit to dictate that celebrating Israeli national festivals 'has nothing to do with Judaism' and 'Judaism should not be conflated with Israel'.

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/university-of-essex-vice-chancellor-says-jewish-society-will-be-created-irrespective-of-union-vote-1.480478>

"Judaism is a religion, culture, civilisation and yes, a nation...Israel has for 3000 years played a central and vital part in Jewish history and identity. The Jewish society did not say that it would have a narrow stance on Israel or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

"It is antisemitic to deny the Jewish people their national self-determination. Educational activity on Israel and Zionism is not "taking a political stance". Jewish students should not and will not change our identity to appease others' prejudices."¹⁰⁵

In addition to these developments, it was also revealed that Dr Maaruf Ali, a member of the university's academic staff, had himself posted a comment on Facebook opposing a new Jewish society. On 14 February, the University of Essex Palestinian Solidary Group shared a link to a news item about alleged Israeli plans to expel Palestinians from the Negev. In a comment to the post, Ali posted as follows:

"The Zionists next want to create a society here at our university!"¹⁰⁶

Ali's comment was in reference to the proposed creation of the new Jewish society. He was therefore transferring his objections to the purported actions of a foreign government (Israel) on to Jewish students at Essex University, suggesting that they are somehow responsible. This sentiment, along with Ali's language that "Zionists" (rather than Jewish students) were intending to create a new university society, conflates Jews with Zionists. This is especially offensive, given that the proposed Jewish society's objectives were to hold a variety of religious and cultural activities consistent with the activities of Jsocs at universities across the UK.

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/UnionOfJewishStudents/posts/10156632887510873>

¹⁰⁶ https://www.facebook.com/EssexPalestine/posts/1177586669076883?_tn=-R

This specific post was compounded by Ali's numerous Facebook posts that contained antisemitism, Holocaust denial, conspiracies about Zionist media and mafia and Israel-Nazi comparisons.¹⁰⁷ In August 2018, for example, he posted an image with a quotation that denied 6 million Jews were murdered during the Holocaust.¹⁰⁸ In January 2015, following the jihadi attack at the Charlie Hebdo office in Paris, Ali shared a photo from a far-right website claiming that one of the French policemen killed in the attack was really a crypto-Jew and Mossad agent.¹⁰⁹

In response to all these developments, the University of Essex's leadership reacted swiftly and admirably. On 22 February, two days after the Students' Union vote, the university declared unequivocally its "zero tolerance approach to harassment and hate crime".¹¹⁰ The university's vice-chancellor, Professor Anthony Forster, issued a commitment that the Jewish Society would be created regardless of the vote, and indeed the Jsoc was ratified on 22 February. Professor Forster explained that the experience of Essex University being associated with antisemitism was "deeply shocking" and filled him "with great sadness", further stating that:

*"Antisemitism is antithetical to the values of the University of Essex and has no place at our University. We have a zero tolerance approach to harassment and hate crime which is at the very core of our values and beliefs. We are proud to subscribe to the working definition of antisemitism produced by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)."*¹¹¹

107 <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/should-there-be-a-jewish-society-over-200-university-of-essex-students-vote-no-1.480349>
https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/feb/21/essex-university-lecturer-accused-antisemitic-facebook-posts?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other
<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/students-at-university-of-essex-attempt-to-block-jewish-society-6p5w0sp98>

108 <https://www.facebook.com/Dr.Maaruf.Ali/posts/10155472771082413>

109 https://www.facebook.com/Dr.Maaruf.Ali/posts/10152520478782413?_tn=-R

110 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/news/2019/02/22/statement-by-the-vice-chancellor>

111 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/news/2019/02/22/statement-by-the-vice-chancellor> and <http://blogs.essex.ac.uk/vc/2019/02/22/speaking-out-against-all-forms-of-antisemitism/>

At the same time, the university announced other specific actions, including a review of the experiences of Jewish staff and students and a commitment to ensure they receive "unequivocal support". The university subsequently took other immediate concrete actions to redress the situation even before the findings of the review process.¹¹² This included organising an on-campus solidarity event with Jewish students on 28 February with speeches from the Vice-Chancellor, the presidents of the Students' Union and the Jewish society, a UJS representative and the chair of the multi-faith chaplaincy centre.¹¹³ Around 500 students and staff attended the event.

Furthermore, the university also launched an independent review of the allegations against Dr Ali's social media postings (while not naming him) and announced his immediate suspension during the process. Following Dr Ali's tribunal on 10 May, he was dismissed as an academic staff member on 16 May.¹¹⁴

A month after being sacked, Ali gave an interview in which he said that he only opposed UJS's "zealous promotion of Zionism and the state of Israel" and "was not voting against Jews, Judaism or their culture... I would like to stress that I did not and would not vote against the formation of a Jewish Society that was not politically Zionist". He said that his other Facebook posts that contained antisemitic conspiracy theories were only posted "for discussion purposes"¹¹⁵.

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114 University of Essex Final Review p. 5

115 <http://stgeorgewest.blogspot.com/2019/06/an-electronic-engineer-in-orwells.html>

In July 2019, the university published its full review on the experiences of Jewish students and staff. The university's review report made 33 recommendations, and the university's council and senate endorsed the report unanimously and pledged to implement all the recommendations. While the review process included testimony from Jewish staff and students at the University of Essex who had never experienced antisemitism, others had "suffered from a variety of forms of direct and casual antisemitism". These had been both directed at individuals and more generally in public and on social media.¹¹⁶

As part of the review process, the university appointed an Independent External Group (IEG) that would receive testimony from students and staff and advise the university on the review's recommendations. Mark Gardner, CST's then deputy chief executive (and current chief executive), sat on the IEG, along with Baroness Neuberger, Baroness Royall and Simon Johnson (chief executive of the Jewish Leadership Council).

In response to the university's actions taken, the IEG released a statement praising the university's "exemplary process" of dealing with the manifestations of antisemitism at the university, and also stating that its approach "encapsulates best practice in addressing antisemitism and indeed any other form of discrimination".¹¹⁷ UJS also released a statement that praised the university's recommendations as "exemplary and cover basic steps universities should be taking to make sure their Jewish students feel welcome on campus".¹¹⁸

116 P. 12

117 <https://www.essex.ac.uk/-/media/documents/news/panel-statement.pdf?la=en>

118 https://www.ujs.org.uk/uniofessex_report_statement

David Miller, Bristol University and "Harms of the Powerful"

In February 2019, CST received complaints from two Jewish undergraduate students at the University of Bristol about a lecture given by Dr David Miller, a Professor of Sociology. That same month, Miller had delivered a lecture titled "Islamophobia" as part of his course on "Harms of the Powerful". Miller taught students that a wide range of British Jewish groups and individuals, including CST, are among the most important causes of contemporary Islamophobia.

In one of his lecture PowerPoint slides shows, the words "Israel government" featured at the top of a flowchart, under which was a vast 'web' of numerous Jewish and Israel-related organisations and individuals. This included CST, the Board of Deputies, the Jewish Leadership Council and others, including groups that focus on Israel, such as BICOM, UJIA, the Zionist Federation and JNF. Jewish individuals named included Lord Levy, the late Lord Janner and others. The slides did not identify these groups and individuals as Jewish community groups or leaders, but rather labelled them as "Israel lobby groups" or "key individuals".

The inference from Miller's slides was that British Jews, acting under the guidance, leadership or control of the Israeli government, encourage a hatred of Muslims. In the context of a lecture about Islamophobia, such claims echo antisemitic conspiracies and dual loyalty tropes by impugning British Jewish organisations as being controlled and guided by a foreign government (Israel). Similarly, in another slide, CST was identified as a "Zionist" "pro-Israel" organisation. Miller's slide did not provide a definition of "Zionist" or "pro-Israel"; rather, these terms were used pejoratively within the context of the lecture. CST was also presented as part of a "Pillar of Islamophobia" in a wider network that also includes extreme right-wing groups.

In March 2019, CST wrote to Bristol University's vice-chancellor and president to issue a complaint on behalf of both CST and the two Jewish students who attended Miller's lecture. In the letter, CST detailed these facts and explaining that Miller's imputation that CST condones, encourages or creates Islamophobia or anti-Muslim prejudice of any kind is false and misleading. CST has worked – and continues to work – extensively with Muslim organisations, police and government to combat anti-Muslim hate crime. CST often offers security advice to mosques, as well as to other places of worship, as part of an initiative to share CST's security experience with other faiths and minority communities.

Regrettably, Bristol University refused to accept CST's complaint. The university has said that CST is a third party, and that the university therefore has no "formal process" for CST to intervene. The university also refused to allow CST to act on behalf of the two student complainants who wish to remain anonymous, despite this being common practice in the hate crime field. Bristol University Jewish Society, supported by the Union of Jewish Students, filed a separate complaint about Miller's lecture. This complaint was initially rejected, and then (in 2020) reopened and at the time of writing remains unresolved.

In a lengthy Twitter thread in September 2019, Miller denied his claims were antisemitic or mischaracterised the groups enumerated in his slides. He tweeted that nothing in his slides suggests that he said that "the CST or the Zionist movement more broadly was fostering Islamophobia".¹¹⁹ Additionally, Miller tweeted that "the slide does not list 'Jewish' organisations. Rather it portrays the 'British Zionist scene'. It was taken from our 2013 report on BICOM, the pro Israel lobby group".

Call from Universities Minister to stamp out antisemitism

On 17 May, Chris Skidmore MP, then Universities Minister, issued a call, welcomed by CST, for all institutions to accept the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of antisemitism.¹²⁰ Skidmore said:

"There is no place in our society for hatred or any form of harassment and it is frankly appalling that the battle against antisemitism still exists.

Free speech is vital to the independence and innovation that embodies the higher education sector and it must be protected...In this context, it is unacceptable to oblige certain groups of students to incur additional costs because of their race or religion, just to counteract the actions of others.

Institutions like King's College London are already displaying leadership in this area but I expect our universities, as vehicles of change, to show moral leadership and accept the IHRA definition of antisemitism which shows that an institution and its senior leaders are serious about ensuring their campuses are tolerant environments where ideas and debate can flourish but persecution can never take hold".¹²¹

For a more in-depth study of campus-related antisemitism, see CST's report [Campus Antisemitism In Britain 2018-2020](#)

¹¹⁹ https://twitter.com/Tracking_Power/status/1172537063264149504

¹²⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/universities-told-to-stamp-out-antisemitism-on-campus>

¹²¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/universities-told-to-stamp-out-antisemitism-on-campus>

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON ANTISEMITISM

House of Commons debate: Antisemitism in Modern Society

On 20 February 2019, there was a general debate in parliament on antisemitism in modern society¹²². This section contains extracts from some of the speeches made in the debate.

James Brokenshire MP, Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government (Conservative)

"For the third year running, the number of antisemitic incidents in the UK is sadly at an all-time high, according to the figures released this month by the Community Security Trust. This equates to 1,652 incidents last year, with over 100 incidents reported in each month for the first time in a single calendar year. The surge of antisemitism online, up 54% on 2017, is a particular area of concern, with the CST finding that almost a quarter of all reported incidents had an online association—a development that echoes the experiences of other organisations such as Tell MAMA that work to combat Islamophobia.

"...Some of the increase in the number of antisemitic incidents will be down to increased reporting, which we encourage through our hate crime action plan. Similarly, however, a survey carried out by the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights in December found that 89% of respondents felt that antisemitism had increased in their countries over the past five years. When asked how big a problem antisemitism was, three quarters of respondents from the UK answered that it was either a "very big" or a "fairly big" problem. I say that with a very heavy heart. It troubles me deeply that some Jewish communities are concerned about their future. It should trouble us all."

Barry Gardiner MP (Labour)

"Antisemitism has led to some of the worst crimes in human history: pogroms, massacres, oppression, dispossession and of course the holocaust—the systematic and bureaucratic attempt to erase European Jewry from existence. Thirty years ago, in the summer of 1989, I travelled through the Berlin wall into what was then East Germany and on into Poland, where I visited Auschwitz-Birkenau. It is one day in my life I will never forget as the full scale—the industrial scale—of the atrocities and mass murders that were committed there etched themselves into my consciousness. Never before and never since has the world seen such a cold, calculated and industrialised plan for the murder of an entire people.

"That Jew hatred—for that is what antisemitism is—still exists should shock us; that it is on the rise should appal us. Antisemitism is a cancer that finds new ways, as the Secretary of State said, to mutate and to infect our political discourse, and it is not enough to be shocked and appalled; we have to act to stop this disease poisoning our society."

Theresa Villiers MP (Conservative)

"Like everyone in this debate, I want to emphasise that antisemitism is completely unacceptable—whether it comes from the hard right or the radical left—and it is utterly unforgivable if it permeates a mainstream political party. I also want to say that I rise with regret to make this speech, which is not one I ever thought I would have to make. It is deeply regrettable that we are all here to talk about this issue once again, but I feel I have to speak out about the current situation.

¹²² <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2019-02-20/debates/993F895E-D215-4773-A464-1A6320523B0E/AntisemitismInModernSociety>

"It is deeply disturbing that concern about problems with antisemitism in Labour are now so disturbing to the Jewish community that they felt the need to come to Parliament Square to protest about it. In many conversations I have had on the doorstep in my constituency of Chipping Barnet about this issue, a significant number of constituents have told me that they are making active preparations to leave the country if Labour wins the next general election. That is an appalling and unacceptable state of affairs."

Dame Margaret Hodge MP (Labour)

"I rise to speak feeling a mixture of anger and anguish: anger at the shocking increase in antisemitic incidents in our country, and anger at the abject failure of the Labour leadership to root out the cancer of antisemitism within our party; anguish because of the stuff of antisemitism, whether online, verbal or physical, constitutes an unspeakably dreadful stain on our society, and anguish because my colleagues, the hon. Member for Liverpool, Wavertree (Luciana Berger) and the right hon. Member for Enfield North (Joan Ryan), both of whom have dedicated themselves to fighting antisemitism, feel that they can no longer stay in the Labour party and work with Labour MPs, both Jews and non-Jews, to eradicate antisemitism from our party."

Luciana Berger MP (Independent)

"Why are we joined here for this debate? It was almost a year ago that I shared with the House my family's history and experience of antisemitism through the centuries. My mother's family were expelled from Spain in the 15th century. I spoke about the more than 100 members of my family aged from four to 83 who were murdered by the Nazis in the gas chambers of Treblinka, Sobibór, Mauthausen, Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz."

"What has happened since that last debate? It pains me to say this and share with the House that we have gone backwards, as we have heard from hon. Members' contributions. We have

not seen the progress we should have seen over the course of the past 11 months. On a personal level, I have in the past year alone seen a further two people convicted: one from the far-right, imprisoned after he threatened to kill me, convicted under counter-terrorism legislation, and another just before Christmas, a former member of the Labour party convicted of harassment. That takes my tally to six or seven individuals, depending on how you interpret it, convicted of antisemitic-inspired hate crimes and threats."

"And there is a significant amount of antisemitism that might not reach the criminal threshold but that has surfaced. I have been subjected to thousands of messages of antisemitic abuse and hate, and I want to reflect on what I have seen in just the past week and share with the House the range of terms I have seen; they range from the ridiculous to the truly disturbing. There might be a small minority who think I am a "Zionist lizard" or that I am responsible for Eurovision taking place in Israel. It is sadly all too common to be addressed as "an evil little witch" or a "murderous Zionist.""

Ivan Lewis MP (Independent)

"This debate comes at a time of unprecedented anxiety among the Jewish community in this country. A significant majority increasingly worry about their safety and security here, and they question whether their children and grandchildren have a future in the country they love. Yes, this is partially the result of a record number of antisemitic incidents, as reported by the Community Security Trust, and it is also because of the eternal threat from the far right and fundamentalist terrorism, which means that Jewish schools require permanent security guards and security fences, but it is mainly provoked by the fear that the Leader of the Opposition could become Prime Minister of this country."

Fiona Bruce MP (Conservative)

"I am sure that I represent all Members of this House in saying that the Jewish community is and has been a real blessing to our nation throughout its history; both inside and outside this House, Jewish individuals have contributed in extraordinary ways to the culture and prosperity we all share. We should take this opportunity to honour and thank their community for the contribution they make to our common good. In recognising and celebrating the Jewish community, we should condemn unequivocally all antisemitic behaviour suffered by our Jewish brothers and sisters. One antisemite is one too many, and there is much work to be done to tackle this."

Dame Louise Ellman MP (Labour)

"This is a traumatic time. In the past three days, eight highly respected hon. Members have left the Labour party, citing the Labour party's antisemitism as the key reason. The antisemitic abuse that I receive includes claims that I do not have human blood, that I am a racist supporter of child abuse, that I am a Zio, a Zionist shill and the Jewish Labour Movement's bitch, that I accept the Israeli shilling, that I am prepared to sacrifice the Labour party in support of a foreign power, and much more."

"That could never have taken place in the Labour party that I joined, but today's Labour party is dominated by a hard-left faction that too easily embraces centuries-old antisemitic conspiracy theories couched in left-wing terminology. It struggles to recognise that it has a problem. Perhaps it is the problem. That is why the party finds it so difficult to deal with the deluge of antisemitism it has unleashed. If the term "Jew" is replaced by "Zionist", today's Labour party is perfectly at ease with anti-Jewish conspiracy theories. Even as the eight hon. Members left, they were accused of being manipulated and funded by Israel."

Joan Ryan MP (Independent)

"It is a great sorrow that we are once again debating the rise of antisemitism. As a Labour party member for 40 years, now a former member, I am sickened and ashamed that we have seen antisemitism rear its ugly head in British society—and at the core of British politics: in Her Majesty's official Opposition."

Yesterday, I made the terribly painful decision to resign as a member of the Labour party. I could not remain a member of a political party whose leadership allows Jews to be abused with impunity and the victims of such abuse to be ridiculed and have their motives questioned and integrity called into doubt."

SCRABBLE DICTIONARY

The Association of British Scrabble Players (ABSP) updated its online dictionary after it was pointed out that the definition for “Jew” as a verb was “to haggle, get the better of”. The Association’s chairman confirmed that the definition had now been labelled “offensive”.¹²³

The APSB claimed that the words and definitions are taken from the HarperCollins dictionary. However, HarperCollins responded that the phrase ‘to jew’ had been “obsolete” and “offensive” in their products for more than a decade.

In the early 1990s, Scrabble maker Hasbro updated its dictionary after a Jewish woman discovered that the Scrabble dictionary defined “jew” as a verb meaning to con, cheat or swindle.

jadery	the tricks of a jade.
jew	to haggle, get the better of.
jimcrack	cheap and showy; (noun) some
jookery	(Scots) trickery, roguery.

¹²³<https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/scrabble-association-labels-jew-verb-as-offensive-after-requests-from-uk-jews-1.488685>

CST'S MISSION

- To work at all times for the physical protection and defence of British Jews.
- To represent British Jews on issues of racism, antisemitism, extremism, policing and security.
- To promote good relations between British Jews and the rest of British society by working towards the elimination of racism, and antisemitism in particular.
- To facilitate Jewish life by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.
- To help those who are victims of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- To promote research into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
- To speak responsibly at all times, without exaggeration or political favour, on antisemitism and associated issues.



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