

Antisemitic Discourse

in Britain 2022



Disgraced NUS president's award from ally of Hamas

Shaima Dallali was presented with prize for Palestine activism days before being sacked from student body



QC to lead inquiry into antisemitism claims at NUS

The students are revolting

- NUS quietly drops its commitment to IHRA
- Anti-Israel rapper chosen to front major campaign
- Vice president questions Jewish identity and can't even bring herself to write the word 'Israel'
- Prime Minister warns campuses are 'tolerant of systematic antisemitism'

Government nixes all contact with the NUS

The government has cut all contact with the National Union of Students (NUS) and its long-standing constituent organisations.

The decision comes after the Department for Education (DfE) announced that it would no longer fund the NUS or any of its constituent organisations.

The DfE said that the NUS had failed to meet its obligations as a constituent organisation and that it was no longer a suitable partner for the government.

The decision is expected to have a significant impact on the NUS and its constituent organisations, which have been relying on government funding for many years.

Nadhim Zahawi: NUS is antisemitic and not trusted by Jewish students



Boris Johnson urged to shun NUS over antisemitism concerns

NUS president dismissed as antisemitism claims upheld

Shaima Dallali is thought to be first leader removed in union's 100-year history

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The report, which was commissioned by the NUS, found that Dallali had made several antisemitic remarks during her tenure. It also found that she had failed to address antisemitism on the union's website.

The NUS said that it was "deeply disappointed" by the findings of the report and that it would be taking steps to ensure that such incidents do not happen again.

Government severs ties with NUS over 'antisemitic rot at its heart'



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Antisemitism continued to play a role in the national discourse in Britain during 2022.
- Serious concerns were raised about **systemic antisemitism within the National Union of Students (NUS)**, following the scheduled appearance of the rapper Lowkey at NUS national conference. The government temporarily disengaged from NUS and an independent investigation was established. It followed the election of Shaima Dallali as NUS President, despite reports of antisemitic and problematic social media posts. **Dallali was suspended and her contract was terminated.**
- Then Education Secretary Nadhim Zahawi led an **online summit to address the rise in antisemitism across UK universities** and then Prime Minister Boris Johnson announced that he was **establishing a taskforce "devoted to rooting out antisemitism in education at all levels"**.
- Allegations of antisemitism continued to be directed at the BBC. The appearance on a BBC discussion programme of controversial journalist Abdel Bari Atwan led to a letter of complaint to the Director-General. **An online petition to launch a parliamentary inquiry into the BBC's coverage of Jews and Israel led to the announcement of a cross-party inquiry.**
- Lord Mann, the government's Independent Advisor on Antisemitism, **published a report on tackling antisemitism in the UK.** The report was a **reaction to the record number of antisemitic incidents reported in 2021 and 2022**, the changed political landscape since 2015 and the growth of alternative social media platforms.
- **The Conservative and Labour Parties both took strong action against members and**

New NUS president praised Jew-hating cleric

BY KIRSTY BUCHANAN
CHIEF REPORTER

THE NEWLY elected president of the National Union of Students has publicly praised an antisemitic cleric and raised money for a Muslim advocacy group widely accused of having sympathised with terrorists.

In a 2018 article, Shaima Dallali gushed that "Hud al-Quradawi – who has called for Jews to be wiped out – was 'the moral compass for the community'". Ms Dallali has also labelled a critic of Hamas a "dirty Zionist" and posted a video of anti-Semitic protesters calling for an intifada.

The Union of Jewish Students (UJS) has called for an urgent meeting with Ms Dallali while campaign groups labour against Antisemitism (IAS) warned that "anti-Jewish racism in the NUS is spiralling out of control", adding that public funding should be cut unless there was profound change.

Ms Dallali will take over from outgoing president Larissa Kennedy, who is bested fact calls to quit her two-year term early over her suggestion that Jewish students could segregate themselves to avoid watching anti-Zionist performer Lowkey at a NUS concert.

Ms Dallali was elected by NUS delegates on Monday despite the revelation last week that she tweeted

in 2012: "Khaybar Khaybar O Jews... Mohammed's army will return to Gaza", in a reference to a massacre of Jews in the year 639CE.

She offered an unreserved apology for the 2012 post, which she said was an "unacceptable" reference made as a teenager.

However, since then Ms Dallali has continued to post incendiary messages.

In April 2020, Ms Dallali wrote that for Ramadan she was raising money for Cage, a Muslim advocacy group

that drew outrage in 2015 when its research director hailed notorious list terrorist jihadi John as a "beautiful young man" who was "extremely kind and gentle". Last year, the Commission for Countering Extremism last year urged the government to crack down on Cage.

On its website, Cage denies accusations that it is an apologist for terrorists, saying its goal is to "ensure that the pursuit of justice is carried out fairly".

On Twitter, Ms Dallali called Jordanian preacher Dr Wassem Bouassif a "dirty Zionist" after he wrote that Hamas was launching rockets from between residents' homes and was making "a graveyard" for children in Gaza.

And in a 2018 article she wrote that Muslim Brotherhood cleric "Hud al-Quradawi was the 'moral compass for the Muslim community at large'".

In a sermon on 9 January, 2019, Quradawi lashed out at Jews, calling on God to "kill them, down to the very last one".

Ms Dallali also has a YouTube account on which, in 2016, she posted two videos showing protesters calling for an intifada and a "hat" on Tel Aviv.

A spokeswoman for the UJS said: "Jewish students have spoken to us and raised their concerns over much of the messaging Dallali has put out on her social media in the past."

"We hope that she will come to the table work with the UJS and understand how to support Jewish students."

"We call on Shaima and her team to join us in rebuilding those bridges to ensure that the NUS becomes a space where Jewish students once more feel welcomed."

A spokesman for IAS said: "Ms Dallali's internet footprint features incitement against Jews, trolling of British Jewish organisations and repeated support for extremist organisations."

"At a time when antisemitism has risen, it is unacceptable that Ms Dallali is now responsible for the welfare of Jewish students in the UK."

"If the NUS won't act it should be made to face the consequences, including the withdrawal of any public funding."

Ms Dallali said she would "love" to meet UJC when she took up office and would "listen to the concerns of all students".

The NUS said it was sorry to Jewish students who have been hurt by what they've read" and would be reviewing what more it could do to "ensure Jewish students feel welcome in our spaces".

Abalarnu 'al'kum - This Ramadan I'm raising money for @UK_CAGE an organisation that has been at the forefront of defending the Muslim community from draconian government police and

Student leader: Shaima Dallali and two of her controversial Twitter posts

Feature from *The Jewish Chronicle*

candidates accused of antisemitic comments or social media posts. The continued existence of these complaints indicates that antisemitism retains a purchase in parts of mainstream politics, even while party leaderships are firmly committed to combating it.

- A report on 'Antisemitism in Schools' was published by the Henry Jackson Society, which **highlighted a 173.3 per cent rise in antisemitic incidents in schools over the last five years.**
- An internal report produced by the **Royal Court Theatre showed that it had inadequate measures in place to prevent the antisemitism controversy** over its production of the play *Rare Earth Mettle*. As part of its attempt to make amends, the Royal Court commissioned a new production called, "Jews. In Their Own Words." After the premier, the theatre received online abuse.
- Christian and Jewish representatives attended a service at Christ Church Cathedral in Oxford to **commemorate the 800th anniversary of the Synod of Oxford, which introduced a number of antisemitic measures in England.**
- **Ofcom issued strong rulings against two TV stations**, Islam Channel and Ahlebait TV, for broadcasting antisemitic content in their TV programmes.

INTRODUCTION

This CST *Antisemitic Discourse in Britain* report analyses written and verbal communication, discussion and rhetoric about antisemitism and related issues in Britain during 2022. 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* noted the importance and complexity of antisemitic discourse and urged further study of it.⁴ 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* 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.”⁶*

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 & 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 & 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

The total number of people self-identifying as Jews in England and Wales in 2021 was 271,327. This is a 2.4% increase on the previous decade. Jews comprise 0.46% of the population of England and Wales. 54% of the Jewish population lives in Greater London. Other major Jewish centres are in Hertfordshire, Manchester, Leeds, Gateshead and Birmingham.¹⁰

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 [Jews in Britain in 2021: First results from the Census of England and Wales](#)

WHAT IS ANTISEMITISM? Background & 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.

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

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 hoax *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*) distinguishes antisemitism from other types of racism, which often depict their targets as ignorant and primitive.¹²

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.

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*".

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.



IHRA adoption plenary in Bucharest Credit IHRA

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 & 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.

Antisemitism & 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.

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

Jews & 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 & criticism of Israel

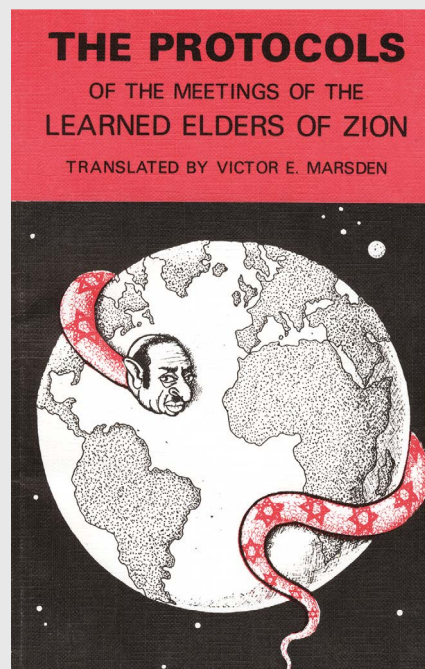
Antisemitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israel criticism or hatred are not the same as each other. They can, however, be hard to untangle and distinguish from one another. It is not necessarily antisemitic to criticise Israel or Zionism, even if the criticism is harsh or unfair. Gauging antisemitic motives 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 & 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 & 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

ANTISEMITISM ON CAMPUS

Campus antisemitism summit

On 26 January, ahead of Holocaust Memorial Day, Education Secretary Nadhim Zahawi led an online summit to address the rise in antisemitism across UK universities. In attendance were 40 people, including university vice chancellors, representatives from the Union of Jewish Students (UJS), Lord John Mann (the government's independent adviser on antisemitism) and sectional leaders such as Universities UK and the National Union of Students (NUS).

Ahead of the summit, Zahawi said: *"In November I visited Auschwitz and was humbled by the experience. Seeing first-hand the spectre of a concentration camp which bestowed so many horrors is something which will stay with me for the rest of my life. It also strengthened my resolve to fight the lingering plague of antisemitism still sadly present in our society. Ahead of Holocaust Memorial Day, today's summit marks a significant step towards that goal. Education is the vaccine against antisemitism. No Jewish students or staff members should be subjected to antisemitic abuse, and by working together we will send out a clear message that antisemitism – like other forms of racism – will never be tolerated in our classrooms or campuses."*²⁴

Minister of State for Higher and Further Education Michelle Donelan said: *"I am horrified by the very thought of even one incident of antisemitism on campus – it has no place within any of our world leading universities."*²⁵

The summit discussed measures to put an end to antisemitic incidents in higher education and set out actions, including spotting patterns of incidents, spreading good practice and adopting training from UJS.²⁶

Antisemitism taskforce established

On 23 March, Andrew Percy MP, co-chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism, asked the Prime Minister at PMQs about antisemitism on UK campuses.

Prime Minister Boris Johnson replied that: *"our universities have for far too long been tolerant of casual or indeed systematic antisemitism...I hope that everybody understands the need for rapid, and indeed irreversible change."* He announced that he was establishing a taskforce *"devoted to rooting out antisemitism in education at all levels"*.²⁷

The new taskforce was officially established at a parliamentary reception hosted by Lord Mann on 5 April. The cross-party group will be led by Andrew Percy MP and Lord Mann. The group would take evidence from Jewish students about their experiences on campus, review teaching materials and look into how the IHRA definition is being enforced.

Chair of the Office for Students & the CPAC conference in Hungary

In May, the Conservative peer, Lord Wharton, chair of the Office for Students, (OfS) sent a pre-recorded video message to the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Budapest, Hungary.²⁸ Another speaker on the same day was Zsolt Bayer, a Hungarian television host, who has made racist and

²⁶ <https://www.theyworkforyou.com/wrans/?id=2022-05-17.3741.h>

²⁴ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/education-secretary-leads-call-to-tackle-antisemitic-abuse-on-campus-2>

²⁷ <https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/new-antisemitism-taskforce-to-be-chaired-by-andrew-percy-mp-5wUHZrXUb8vGQBwDbw3lLd>

²⁵ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/education-secretary-leads-call-to-tackle-antisemitic-abuse-on-campus-2>

²⁸ <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/ujs-concerned-as-office-for-students-chair-speaks-at-event-featuring-antisemite/>

antisemitic comments, including calling Jews “stinking excrement”. Also speaking at the conference was Jack Posobiec, an American far-right activist, conspiracy theorist and white nationalist sympathizer.²⁹

During his speech, Wharton described CPAC as “a great chance to pick up new ideas” and a place to “fight for the values that we all hold dear.” In the light of this, UJS issued a statement saying: “We are concerned by this issue and have contacted Lord Wharton to seek urgent clarification due to the impact this could have on Jewish students.” In Parliament, opposition MPs called on the government to investigate why the peer was allowed to participate at all in such a conference, especially as the OfS, with a remit as the country’s university regulator, has a stated zero-tolerance policy on racism and antisemitism.³⁰ Wharton said he had no idea Bayer would be present.³¹ He apologised to UJS and wrote in a letter to OfS staff that: “It goes without saying that I have no time for racist or antisemitic views of any kind and whatever he (Bayer) might hold as his views certainly do not reflect mine.”

David Hirsh & the president of the student union at Goldsmiths, University of London

On 26 March, David Hirsh, a senior sociology lecturer at Goldsmiths, University of London and a campaigner against antisemitism, posted the following tweet: “There is an antisemitic edge to official, institutional, university campaigns to ‘decolonise’ education.”

In reply, Sara Bafo, the president of Goldsmiths’ Students’ Union (SU), tweeted: “D*vid H*rsh is a far right white supremacist. All you need to do is read his work and tweets and that’s all the confirmation needed.”

On 10 May, the university asked the student union to “investigate messages on Twitter after concerns were raised that these could be antisemitic in nature.”³²

Ed Nedjari, the chief executive of Goldsmiths Student Union, insisted that the SU would not be investigating the allegations: “Goldsmiths Student Union is an independent charity that believes in justice and inclusivity, as well as freedom of expression. In her tweets, Sara was expressing her opinion about David Hirsh, formed via the experience of attending his lectures as a Black Muslim student. Sara’s term as SU President has ended. For that reason – but most importantly, because her comments are protected as free speech – we won’t be investigating this matter retrospectively.”³³

In response, the university reaffirmed its position and urged the SU to reconsider and conduct an investigation.³⁴

Larissa Kennedy, the outgoing NUS president, expressed solidarity with Bafo and called the decision by the university “concerted suppression”.³⁵

29 <https://extremismterms.adl.org/glossary/jack-posobiec>

30 <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2022/may/23/office-for-students-chair-james-wharton-same-event-as-denounced-racist-zsolt-bayer>

31 <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2022/may/26/office-for-students-chair-james-wharton-pleads-ignorance-over-sharing-platform-with-notorious-racist>

32 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/university-opens-antisemitism-probe-as-jewish-academic-called-far-right-supremacist/>

33 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/goldsmiths-student-union-say-they-wont-investigate-hirsh-antisemitism-allegation/>

34 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/goldsmiths-urges-student-union-to-reconsider-position-on-hirsh-antisemitism-probe/>

35 https://twitter.com/Larissa_Ken/status/1524814424019808258

On 23 June, Goldsmiths University and College Union (UCU) released a statement in which they also expressed solidarity with Sara Bafo: *“We know Sara to be a committed, serious, and compassionate campaigner, who is always ready to stand up for others...Student activists should not be targeted for standing in solidarity with a people living under a system of apartheid and dispossession. We reiterate our support for Sara and call for any investigations to be dropped.”*³⁶

The Board of Deputies of British Jews and CST³⁷ sent messages of support to Hirsh.

On 24 June, Goldsmiths announced that: *“as part of efforts to tackle racism in all its forms”,* it had adopted two definitions of antisemitism, the IHRA definition *“without case studies”* and the Jerusalem Declaration, as well as the All-Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims’ definition of Islamophobia. The Council also decided that the university will hold an independent review into antisemitism at the College *“to ensure that Goldsmiths’ processes and protocols are able to address reports of such behaviours appropriately.”*

The Warden of Goldsmiths, Professor Frances Corner, offered public support for David Hirsh: *“We are supporting Dr Hirsh after unwarranted messages about him were posted on social media which I believe are utterly without foundation. These kinds of behaviours are completely unacceptable and will always be challenged. As Warden I want to make it clear that this kind of conduct is not in line with the College’s values and that it brings harm to individuals as well as our good reputation as a place of learning.”*³⁸

On 26 June, Hirsh released a statement in which he wrote: *“The tweets are antisemitic because they impose upon me the identity “Zionist”, a word that*

*means, in this context, “racist”. This understanding constructs the overwhelming majority of ordinary Jews and Jewish institutions as evil. The tweets are antisemitic further, because “far right white supremacist” means “Nazi”. Denouncing Jews as Nazis is antisemitic...But there is a lot of fear. It is very difficult for people to speak out either internally or publicly against antisemitism. Colleagues are not wrong if they feel that doing so could seriously endanger their professional reputations and their careers.”*³⁹

Establishment of the London Centre for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism

At the end of August, David Hirsh announced the establishment of the London Centre for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism (LCSCA) to lead academic research into contemporary antisemitism.⁴⁰

The LCSCA’s objectives are to challenge the intellectual underpinnings of antisemitism in public life; to understand contemporary antisemitism; to identify and critique antisemitism in contemporary scholarship; to inspire, equip and enable universities, academics and students to confront the hostile environment on campus; and to arm the wider opposition to antisemitism with facts, ideas and arguments.⁴¹

The Centre was launched in September with a two-day academic conference on 21st century antisemitism involving scholars from around the world. A planned first day public celebration launch event was cancelled due to the death of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Antisemitism at Scottish universities

UJS wrote to Jamie Hepburn, the higher education minister, to complain about a rise in antisemitism on Scottish university campuses. This was followed by a

³⁶ <https://goldsmithsucu.org/2022/06/23/goldsmiths-ucu-stands-in-solidarity-with-outgoing-students-union-president-sara-bafo/>

³⁷ https://twitter.com/CST_UK/status/1527670362313474050

³⁸ <https://www.gold.ac.uk/news/new-definitions-adopted/>

³⁹ https://drive.google.com/file/d/1lvTs-7A_MTAAS_U29qeewy_Ex_QhHBCf/view

⁴⁰ <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/opinion-how-you-can-help-oppose-antisemitism-in-academia/>

⁴¹ <https://londonantisemitism.com/about/>

meeting in February between Hepburn, members of the Jewish community and university representatives.⁴² The complaints included Jewish students being abused with Nazi insults, branded terrorists for expressing support for Israel and subjected to antisemitic jokes.

Dr Jim McGeorge, secretary of Dundee University and a representative for the higher education umbrella body Universities Scotland, said “antisemitism is unacceptable” and reiterated the higher education sector’s commitment to engage with students and staff to tackle it.

The Scottish government said: “The minister made clear that there is no place in Scotland for any form of antisemitism or religious hatred that makes our communities feel insecure or threatened.”⁴³

NUS & antisemitism

On 30 March, controversial rapper Lowkey was due to headline an NUS centenary concert (Liberation Conference). Lowkey, whose real name is Kareem Dennis, had previously expressed support for David Miller, former professor at Bristol University, and former Labour MP Chris Williamson. He also claimed that the mainstream media had “weaponised the Jewish heritage” of President Zelenskyy to “stave off” inquiries about neo-Nazi groups in Ukraine.⁴⁴

UJS president Nina Freedman brought up the issue of Lowkey’s appearance with the outgoing NUS president, Larissa Kennedy, who reportedly told her that during his performance Jewish students could remain in a separate quiet area designed for neurodivergent students.⁴⁵ At a later appearance before a parliamentary committee, Kennedy denied

making that suggestion.⁴⁶ In the end, Lowkey stood down from appearing at the event.

Robert Halfon MP, chair of the Education Select Committee, was also critical of NUS after they failed to send a representative to the committee to answer questions. In a radio interview, Halfon said: “I really worry about what is going on with the National Union of Students. There appears to be almost institutional antisemitism.”⁴⁷

Ahead of the annual NUS Conference in March, where the new president is elected, it was reported that the leading candidate to succeed Larissa Kennedy had posted problematic social media posts in the past.

Shaima Dallali, the City, University of London Students’ Union President, had tweeted in 2012: “Khaybar Khaybar O Jews ... Muhammed’s army will return #Gaza”, in a reference to a massacre of Jews in the year 628CE. Contacted about the post, Dallali apologised: “This is a tweet I posted 10 years ago during Israel’s assault on Gaza in 2012. This reference made as a teenager was unacceptable and I unreservedly apologise.”⁴⁸

Twice in 2021, Dallali posted the contentious phrase: “From the river to the sea”, which is often interpreted as a call for Israel to be replaced by a Palestinian state. During the 2021 Gaza conflict, in response to a post from UJS urging dialogue to pursue peace, Dallali tweeted: “‘Dialogue’ with a Zionist settler colonial project will result in nothing.”⁴⁹

In November 2020, Dallali posted that Jeremy Corbyn should never have been suspended by the Labour Party.

⁴² <https://www.gov.scot/publications/antisemitism-within-higher-education-roundtable-discussion/>

⁴³ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/antisemitic-abuse-is-rising-on-scottish-campuses-say-jewish-students-vqgchq86>

⁴⁴ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-63246005>

⁴⁵ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/call-for-antisemitism-probe-into-nus-over-%27self-segregate%27-plan-for-jews-at-rapper-lowkey-gig-3tCYkoHVvKujlkCyg7vFaP?reloadTime=1652692298850>

⁴⁶ <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/nus-head-denies-claims-jewish-students-were-told-to-self-segregate-at-lowkey-gig/>

⁴⁷ <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/halfon-slams-nus-over-incomprehensible-no-show-at-education-select-committee/>

⁴⁸ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/two-out-of-four-of-the-candidates-for-the-national-union-of-students-president-post-have-made-anti-israel-posts-3Z3wR9b7CdRZYnhdqyIXSG>

⁴⁹ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/two-out-of-four-of-the-candidates-for-the-national-union-of-students-president-post-have-made-anti-israel-posts-3Z3wR9b7CdRZYnhdqyIXSG>

She also reportedly used Twitter to call a Jordanian preacher, who was critical of Hamas's tactic of launching rockets at Israel from between residents' homes, a "dirty Zionist".⁵⁰

Dallali also described the cleric Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi as "the moral compass for the Muslim community at large" in an article published in November 2018. Al-Qaradawi was previously barred from entering the UK and is notorious for his views on the Holocaust and other antisemitic outbursts.⁵¹

On 28 March, Dallali was confirmed as the new president of the NUS following a vote at the annual conference in Liverpool. After her election, Dallali said: "I am immensely proud and humbled to have been elected NUS National President. I am committed to representing all students in this role. My hands are outstretched to all students that work in our movement, including Jewish students, and I have already expressed my willingness to arrange a meeting once I take office. I stand ready to listen to the concerns of all students on how we can make our movement inclusive and open to all."⁵²

In response to Dallali's election, UJS released a statement: "The NUS delegates have voted in Shaima Dallali as the next NUS president. Jewish students have spoken to us and raised their concerns over much of the messaging Dallali has put out on her social media in the past – attacking the Jewish community, attacking UJS, and supporting speakers with extremely challenging views. We hope that she will come to the table, work with UJS and understand how to support Jewish students. There have been many bridges broken between NUS and Jewish students over the past few weeks, and we call on Shaima and her team to join us in rebuilding those bridges to ensure that NUS becomes a space where Jewish students once more feel welcomed in

rather than sidelined and excluded."⁵³

In April, John Mann, the government's antisemitism adviser, called on the Prime Minister to refuse to recognise NUS as the "legitimate voice of students" in response to the "escalating revelations about the continuing poor treatment of Jewish students and the lack of leadership on anti-Jewish racism from the union".⁵⁴ Mann called on NUS to hold an urgent summit with UJS, agree to appear before the Commons education select committee and reaffirm its priority to use the IHRA definition of antisemitism.

Lancaster Students' Union wrote an open letter critical of NUS treatment of Jewish students: "Antisemitism is a major issue within the student movement, and we need serious action to stamp it out. We want the NUS leadership to take antisemitism seriously and set an example. You have set the wrong example... The Jewish community has been let down time and time again. The Lancaster University Students' Union Full Time Officer team will not sit back and watch the community go through endless trauma caused by NUS. We hope this will be the end of the issue and will be looking forward to see changes."⁵⁵

On 11 April, a letter signed by 21 former presidents of NUS was sent to the organisation's trustees urging them to address the concerns of Jewish students. The letter stated: "This is not just a matter of protecting NUS's reputation, but honouring NUS's proud anti-racist principles." The letter called on NUS to issue a full and unreserved apology, resolve to rebuild relationships with UJS and Jewish students and launch an independent investigation into antisemitism within NUS.⁵⁶

⁵³ https://twitter.com/UJS_UK/status/1508503639979143169

⁵⁴ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ministers-should-boycott-national-union-of-students-over-rising-antisemitism-on-campus-txzz2mp3p>

⁵⁵ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/lancaster-students-union-slam-endless-trauma-caused-by-the-nus-to-jewish-students-1RWGyUfJYaw6aDBxPW6KQD>

⁵⁶ https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/apr/11/ex-presidents-of-nus-warn-student-body-it-must-address-antisemitism-concerns?utm_source=dvyr.it&utm_medium=twitter

⁵⁰ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/nus-president-elect-commended-jew-hating-cleric-6naUgeQp3F2e2T0xQf7H6>

⁵¹ https://www.ujs.org.uk/ujs_response_to_nus_president_dismissal

⁵² <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/03/29/nus-fresh-anti-semitism-row-contentious-tweets-new-president/>

Around the same time, Robert Halfon MP referred NUS to the Charity Commission and accused it of fostering a culture of discrimination against Jewish students. In his letter, Halfon wrote: *“The NUS and its trustees past and present have consistently failed to protect Jewish students from discrimination and harassment and indeed sometimes have been the cause of such discrimination and harassment.”*⁵⁷

Hundreds of Jewish students also signed a letter ahead of an emergency meeting of the NUS board, which said that NUS had left them *“scared, distressed and upset and feeling that NUS is not a safe place for them”*. It called on NUS to launch an independent investigation into whether the new president was fit for office and to appoint an external-led review into *“antisemitism within the NUS and their continued failings of Jewish students.”*⁵⁸

In a statement released on 13 April, following the emergency meeting of the NUS board, the organisation called for an independent investigation into allegations of antisemitism within NUS and the President Elect. The statement included:

*“There can be no place for antisemitism within the student movement. We are listening to the concerns being raised and we’re very concerned about the pain and hurt being expressed. We will take any and all actions that are needed to remedy any wrongdoing and rebuild trust with Jewish students as well as our Members, partners and stakeholders.”*⁵⁹

On 20 April, Education Secretary Nadhim Zahawi MP gave evidence to the House of Commons Education Committee and said: *“I am deeply concerned about the NUS. It feels to me that there is systemic antisemitism, because this is the second time, I think, that they have elected a leader who has a history of antisemitic comments and statements.*

⁵⁷ <https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/mp-halfon-refers-nus-to-the-charity-commission-ZGJJGtOitSR88Pw8iX9b>

⁵⁸ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/hundreds-of-jewish-students-call-out-nus-for-creating-climate-of-fear-7Hf16OlhaWmg8hp8wFJb6E>

⁵⁹ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/nus-to-launch-independent-investigation-into-antisemitism-allegations-4fcpICfnNh9XEmBWcPJbJf>

*That does concern me. I think the majority of students would never tolerate any form of antisemitism, and many student representative organisations and unions do the right thing. I am worried about the NUS. Michelle Donelan is looking at how we deal with this issue. It is not acceptable in my view that anyone in a leadership position in that organisation holds or propagates these views in any way. They need to regain the trust of Jewish students, because at the moment that trust has collapsed completely, and rightly so. There is a lot of work that the NUS needs to do to get itself back into—I wouldn’t even say “a good place”—being a proper functioning representative organisation... We are looking at everything, obviously, including charitable status, which I know you have also asked the Charity Commission to look at. No option is off the table, including our relationship with the NUS.”*⁶⁰

On 13 May, the Minister for Higher and Further Education, Michelle Donelan, released a statement explaining that: *“The Government will temporarily disengage with the National Union of Students (NUS) following recent antisemitism allegations... The allegations of antisemitism, which have been well-documented and span several years, have prompted a feeling of insecurity amongst Jewish students across the country and a worry systemic antisemitism within the organisation is not being properly addressed.”* As a consequence, NUS were removed from all Department of Education groups and replaced with alternative student representation and did not receive government funding.⁶¹

The following week, it was announced that Rebecca Tuck KC, a specialist in employment and discrimination law, had been appointed to lead an independent inquiry into allegations of antisemitism in NUS. Tuck was asked to investigate recent and historical allegations and its broader culture.

⁶⁰ <https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/10106/pdf/>

⁶¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-suspends-engagement-with-the-nus-over-antisemitism>

The appointment and the investigation's terms of reference were agreed after NUS consulted with UJS.⁶²

In September, Shaima Dallali was suspended while the independent investigation into allegations of antisemitism within NUS continued.⁶³

On 1 November, NUS announced that, following the independent investigation, Shaima Dallali had been dismissed as its president.

According to an NUS statement: *"Following the independent-led investigation into allegations of antisemitism, specifically into the then president-elect under the NUS code of conduct, an independent panel has found that significant breaches of NUS policies have taken place. As per this finding, we have terminated the president's contract."*⁶⁴

Dallali responded that she had found out about the decision on Twitter, which she described as "unacceptable".

UJS released a statement in which it said: *"UJS respects the decision of the National Union of Students to dismiss their President. Antisemitism in the student movement goes beyond the actions of any one individual and this case is a symptom of a wider problem. Jewish students across the country will be asking how an individual deemed unfit for office by NUS was elected in the first place. We await the findings of the substantive inquiry into NUS' treatment of Jewish students."*⁶⁵

As a result of Dallali's dismissal, Chloe Field, NUS vice-president of higher education, was made acting chair of the NUS UK board.

On 2 November, a press release from Carter-Ruck Solicitors on behalf of Dallali stated: *"Shaima Dallali has today announced that she is considering all available legal remedies following her summary dismissal from her role as President of the NUS... Ms Dallali rejects the findings of the disciplinary panel, as she rejected the allegations about her that were investigated in the context of those investigations. She considers the process to have constituted – and that it continues to constitute – discriminatory treatment of her as a black Muslim woman and her beliefs concerning the plight of the Palestinian people. Ms Dallali had already apologised fully for an inappropriate Tweet which she had published in 2012 (that is, a decade before becoming President). She had also made clear her position that the other tweets for which she had been criticised (and all of which pre-dated her election to her NUS role) were not antisemitic. Both before and during her tenure as President, Ms Dallali has repeatedly made clear her opposition to all forms of racism, including antisemitism, while continuing to campaign to denounce the plight of the Palestinian people."*⁶⁶

In the aftermath of the decision to dismiss Dallali as NUS president, students at Queen Mary University, London voted to disaffiliate from NUS. According to the motion: *"Recently the NUS, for the first time in its entire history, removed its democratically elected President. The removal of an elected leader is an affront to the democratic nature that the NUS purports to obtain."*⁶⁷

Rebecca Tuck's full report into antisemitism in the NUS, which was released in January 2023, will be covered in next year's report.

⁶² <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/qc-to-lead-inquiry-into-antisemitism-claims-at-nus-f39mb3w5q>

⁶³ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/national-union-of-students-president-suspended-as-probe-into-alleged-antisemitism-within-nus-continues-6NrQgTCrKgjzQey6jcZO>

⁶⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2022/nov/01/nus-president-ousted-over-antisemitism-allegations>

⁶⁵ https://www.ujs.org.uk/ujs_response_to_nus_president_dismissal

⁶⁶ <https://www.carter-ruck.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Shaima-Dallali-Press-Release-02.11.2022.pdf>

⁶⁷ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/queen-mary-su-votes-to-disaffiliate-from-nus-after-shaima-dallalis-sacking-5g3wMONEK6JMsoP22YqMGe>

ANTISEMITISM & UK POLITICAL PARTIES

Allegations of antisemitism relating to the Conservative Party

In April, two Conservative candidates for the local elections in Bury, Greater Manchester, had their endorsements removed by the party after allegations were made of antisemitic social media posts.⁶⁸ Shaf Mahmood, selected to stand in the Redvales ward, had allegedly posted a tweet in 2017 referring to an item about an Israeli national saying “*Jews r at it again*”. Sham Raja, who was selected to stand in the Sedgley ward, allegedly accused Israeli soldiers of being responsible for “*unborn children being ripped out of pregnant women*” and claimed “*the media makes the Zionists look like the victim*”. Despite the investigation, Raja was reportedly appointed as the Deputy Chairman Membership of Manchester Conservatives.⁶⁹

Colin Davis, chair of the Enfield Southgate Conservative Association and prospective candidate for the Oakwood ward, was suspended pending an investigation after a photograph emerged of him wearing a Nazi military uniform in the 1980s. In response, Davis claimed: “*I have no recollection of this at all. Yes, there were various wild parties, very perverse themes expressed...I can't absolutely rule it out.*”⁷⁰ He subsequently resigned after a statement by the Association announcing that “*Colin Davis is no longer a member of the Conservative Party and is not a candidate in the May local elections.*”⁷¹

An investigation by Conservative Party Central Office found that five Tory councillors in Hertsmere had been involved in a smear campaign against a Jewish Labour Party candidate, Dr Dan Ozarow,

during the 2020 Borehamwood Kenilworth ward by-election.⁷² (See Antisemitic Discourse Report 2020). The five councillors, four of whom were Jewish, received formal reprimands and were ordered to attend training seminars. They all launched appeals against the investigation’s findings. In October, one of the five councillors, Paul Morris, representing Bushey Heath, decided to quit the party citing the lengthy appeals process.⁷³ The appeal by the remaining four councillors was dismissed in November.⁷⁴

In November, an investigation by the anti-fascist organisation Hope not Hate revealed that a Conservative councillor in Kent had a hidden far right past.⁷⁵ Andy Weatherhead, who represented Hythe West on Kent County Council, had held senior positions in the New British Union (NBU), a group which modelled itself on Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists. Weatherhead appeared in a group picture taken at the inaugural conference of NBU in October 2013.⁷⁶ A month later he was pictured at a rally in support of the Greek neo-Nazi group Golden Dawn outside the Greek embassy in London. He also wrote blogs for the NBU website under a different surname, one of which lambasted the government for “*appeasing the British and International Jewish lobby, whilst allowing the British people to be feed [sic] lie after lie through the Jewish controlled Press and Media.*” Weatherhead left the NBU in 2014, and after a spell in UKIP, joined the Conservatives in 2018.⁷⁷ When the expose came

68 <https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/second-bury-conservative-candidate-dropped-23684981>

69 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/tories-give-senior-role-to-election-candidate-suspended-over-zionists-posts/>

70 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/exclusive-enfield-conservatives-chair-suspended-after-nazi-uniform-photo-emerges/>

71 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-61112219>

72 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/five-hertsmere-tory-councillors-rebuked-over-antisemitic-abuse-at-jewish-candidate/>

73 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/hertsmere-tory-councillor-quits-party-over-reprimand/>

74 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/tory-hq-dismisses-appeal-by-hertsmere-councillors-over-negative-campaigning-sanction/>

75 <https://hopenothate.org.uk/2022/11/15/exposed-tory-county-councillor-was-key-member-of-fascist-group/>

76 <https://www.kentonline.co.uk/hythe/news/kent-tory-councillor-suspended-after-blackshirt-pictures-e-277187/>

77 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/nov/20/kent-tory-councillor-pictured-in-blackshirt-at-far-right-event>

to light, Weatherhead was suspended by the Conservative party pending an investigation. He initially denied the links to the NBU, but an interview he gave in 2014 was unearthed in which he said: *"I've always been an admirer of fascism."*⁷⁸ He resigned from Kent County Council where he had briefly been sitting as an independent.

Allegations of antisemitism relating to the Labour Party

In January, Ron Cooper, a Labour councillor in West Lancashire was suspended from the Labour Party pending an investigation into a tweet claiming: *"If Corbyn was Labour Leader again then hundreds of thousands of members would rejoin the party. @Keir Starmer stands for nothing but #Purge of socialists and following commands from Israel"*.⁷⁹

In March, Zafar Islam, a Labour councillor in Dudley and deputy chair of Dudley North CLP was suspended for six months following an internal disciplinary investigation into several online posts. They included defending those claiming antisemitism allegations in the Labour Party were a smear. For example, in February 2019 Islam wrote: *"Witch hunt continues. What next? Thou shall not support Palestine?"*⁸⁰

The Labour Party's national executive committee proscribed three organisations, Labour Left Alliance (LLA), Socialist Labour Network (SLN) and the Alliance for Workers' Liberty (AWL), which were *"not compatible with Labour's rules, or our aims and values."*⁸¹ LLA and SLN are closely linked to organisations banned by the NEC in 2021 and believed there was a *"witch-hunt"* against the Left, especially concerning accusations of antisemitism in the party.

78 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-kent-63708086>

79 <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/labour-councillor-who-claimed-starmer-follows-'commands-from-israel'-is-suspended-2tzFh3pd3HtVAldZkHRVLH>

80 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/exclusive-labour-suspend-councillor-who-tweeted-about-witchhunt-of-israel-critics/>

81 <https://labourlist.org/2022/03/labour-nec-bans-three-more-groups-not-compatible-with-party-rules-or-values/>

In May, Belgica Guaña, a Newham Labour councillor, who was standing for re-election, was suspended pending an investigation after sharing an article on Facebook in February 2016 that denied the Holocaust and claimed Adolf Hitler was *"completely justified"* in persecuting the Jews.⁸² She was subsequently re-elected to represent Newham's Canning Town South ward in the local council elections.⁸³

Ansar Hussain, a councillor for the Wolverton ward in Milton Keynes, was suspended by the party pending an investigation after it was revealed that he had shared conspiracy theories about Israel, Jews and Zionists.⁸⁴

In June, Labina Basit, elected in May as a Labour councillor in the Belmore ward in Hillingdon, was suspended from the party pending an investigation into allegations around social media posts and claims she took part in a demonstration in 2018 against Haringey Council's adoption of the IHRA definition of antisemitism. Basit had been briefly suspended and then reinstated by the party previously, in 2016, after allegations that she retweeted a post featuring the term *"Zio"*.⁸⁵

Mohammed Iqbal, the leader of the Labour group on Pendle council, was suspended from the party after remarks he made at a speech in Pendle were revealed. Iqbal reportedly said: *"The fact is that what's going on in Ukraine, Palestine, and other areas I've mentioned, reminds me, I barely passed my GCSE history at school, but many people in this room will remember what justification Hitler had for what he did to the Jews in the Second World War."*⁸⁶

82 <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/labour-council-candidate-suspended-after-holocaust-hoax-article-she-shared-is-exposed-5ATeBOzigGEEsv9jGzB1JT>

83 <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/newham-councillor-who-shared-holocaust-hoax-article-re-elected-51Ki0oWhvVCptafn44RP3?reloadTime=1652087020242>

84 <https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/labour-councillor-suspended-after-antisemitic-social-media-posts-revealed-2yhKy7lx0w1Yt1ITjsSWIQ>

85 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/labour-hillingdon-councillor-suspended-in-antisemitism-probe/>

86 <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/labour-council-group-leader-suspended-over-incendiary-comments-j4DOa6RQRsKdMF66OCNJP>

In July, David Owen, a councillor in Blackpool and vice chairman of the council's Labour group, was suspended from the party following an investigation into allegations of antisemitism. The allegations were connected to eight Facebook postings by Owen between September 2016 and July 2020.⁸⁷

In August, Anne Pissaridou, a councillor representing North Portslade on Brighton and Hove City Council, who was previously suspended twice from the Labour Party, was expelled. She was suspended in 2020 for posting antisemitic tropes on social media before being re-admitted,⁸⁸ and then was suspended for the second time in April 2022.⁸⁹ She was reportedly expelled for belonging to a proscribed organisation.⁹⁰

In September, Naomi Wimborne-Idrissi, the co-founder of the pro-Jeremy Corbyn group Jewish Voice for Labour (JVL), was elected to Labour's ruling body, the National Executive Committee. Wimborne-Idrissi was suspended from the party in December 2020, before being re-admitted. In a joint statement, the Board of Deputies, the Jewish Leadership Council and CST called Wimborne-Idrissi's election "a backwards step in tackling the toxic legacy of anti-Jewish racism from Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party."⁹¹ Wimborne-Idrissi was then suspended after speaking at an event held by the group Resist, run by former Labour MP Chris Williamson, which was proscribed by the party in July 2021.⁹²

She was then expelled from the party in December due to her support for three proscribed groups.⁹³

In November, Labour launched an investigation into allegations of antisemitism during the parliamentary selection contest in Kensington. The selection committee was dissolved following allegations of antisemitic and anti-Muslim slurs made against one of the candidates.⁹⁴

Pete Willsman, a former NEC member, was expelled from the party, having been suspended since 2019. In a leaked recording from 2018, in reference to a statement about Labour antisemitism from a number of UK rabbis, Willsman said: "We should ask the 70 rabbis 'where is your evidence of severe and widespread antisemitism in this Party?' And some of these people in the Jewish community support Trump – they are Trump fanatics and all the rest of it."⁹⁵

In December, Joy Wallace, a Labour councillor in the Fortis Green ward on Haringey council, who was suspended in June, was expelled from the party following an investigation into allegations of antisemitism and racism in social media posts. In one of the posts, she reportedly wrote that a rabbi was "paid and rewarded handsomely" for criticising former Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn. Since the decision Wallace has sat as an independent councillor.⁹⁶

87 <https://www.blackpoolgazette.co.uk/news/politics/blackpool-councillor-devastated-after-suspension-over-allegations-of-antisemitism-3786591>

88 <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/fury-with-brighton-labour-party-over-readmission-of-conspiracy-post-councillor-4mard9ppcSYemH6e2D7ZyQ>

89 <https://www.theargus.co.uk/news/20094690.brighton-labour-councillor-suspended-second-time/>

90 <https://www.brightonandhove.news.org/2022/08/04/labour-party-expels-two-brighton-and-hove-councillors/>

91 <https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/'a-backwards-step'-anger-as-jvl's-wimborne-idrissi-elected-to-top-labour-party-committee-27F84Y9NcW2ASLa7TsZ0Xm?reloadTime=1670803200011>

92 <https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/naomi-wimborne-idrissi-suspended-by-labour-again-for-speaking-at-event-of-proscribed-group-5i4O0Lzmr6eKLCYH2ajeKJ>

93 <https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/jvl-co-founder-naomi-wimborne-idrissi-expelled-from-labour-party-11ObhCRzQcVqD7sATOWAFI>

94 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/labour-launch-probe-into-claims-of-serious-antisemitism-during-selection-contest/>

95 <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/veteran-labour-activist-recorded-attacking-jewish-trump-fanatics-is-expelled/>

96 <https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/haringey-council-leader-demands-joy-wallace-resign-after-labour-expulsion-1ORFhWctvx1dNyeLLPdo6i>

Heather Mendick, a former Hackney South constituency Labour party secretary who was appointed by Jeremy Corbyn as a “Jewish liaison officer”, was expelled from the party after a 15-month investigation. She was alleged to have broken party rules in several tweets, one of which claimed: “The weaponisation of antisemitism against the Left and how it is used to silence criticism of Israel are well-rehearsed”.⁹⁷

The Forde Report

In April 2020, a report titled ‘The work of the Labour Party’s Governance and Legal Unit in relation to antisemitism, 2014-2019’ was leaked to the media. This report was written towards the end of Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership of the Labour Party and was intended to put across his team’s version of how they dealt with antisemitism in the party. It was leaked unredacted and included the names and details of dozens of complainants to the party. After the leak was made public, Keir Starmer commissioned Martin Forde KC to lead an inquiry into various aspects of the leaked report, which culminated in the Forde Report.

The Forde Report was finally published in July, and it examined the commissioning and drafting of the leaked report; the most significant allegations within the leaked report; disciplinary processes within the Labour Party; and the culture, structure and practices of the Labour Party itself.

Amongst other things, the Forde Report found: “The evidence clearly demonstrated that a vociferous faction in the Party sees any issues regarding antisemitism as exaggerated by the Right to embarrass the Left. The authors of the Leaked Report were supportive of Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership, enthusiastic and fully committed. Nevertheless, in explaining, in the Leaked Report, the involvement of the EHRC they stated clearly:

This report thoroughly disproves any suggestion that antisemitism is not a problem in the Party, or that it is all a ‘smear’ or a ‘witch hunt’.

This represented a mature acknowledgement of the problem. Sadly, though, some still deny the existence and seriousness of the problem, or the need to take action to combat it, as the Party has now begun to do. It was of course also true that some opponents of Jeremy Corbyn saw the issue of antisemitism as a means of attacking him. Thus, rather than confront the paramount need to deal with the profoundly serious issue of antisemitism in the Party, both factions treated it as a factional weapon.”⁹⁸

Online antisemitism directed at Sir Keir Starmer

In early February, during a session of Prime Minister’s Question Time, Prime Minister Boris Johnson accused Labour leader Sir Keir Starmer of failing to prosecute the notorious child sex offender Jimmy Savile while Starmer was Director of Public Prosecutions. Some people reacted to this by posting online antisemitic comments to, or about, Starmer. One post on Twitter claimed that Starmer “is married to an Israeli, his children are being raised as Jews and he has been saying he is ‘a Zionist without qualification’ and that “the elephant in the room” is “that both Sir Jimmy Savile and Sir Keir Starmer are Zionists, this is the real reason why Starmer did nothing and why we don’t even know the name of the alleged reviewing lawyer. It’s a cover up.” Soon after, Starmer and David Lammy, the shadow Foreign Secretary, were surrounded outside Parliament by a group of conspiracy theorists and anti-vaccination activists, who accused Starmer of being a “paedophile protector”, “freemason” and “traitor.” This led to further comments on Twitter with one user posting that what happened was “mostly brought on by Starmer, Lammy and their smearing cabal, paid for by their Zionist masters.” The Board of Deputies of British Jews commenting on the situation remarked: “This antisemitic abuse is disgusting. We call on online platforms to remove

⁹⁷ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/labour-expels-jeremy-corbyns-jewish-liaison-officer-kmtz7jv9k>

⁹⁸ <https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/The-Forde-Report.pdf>

the offending accounts.”⁹⁹ This is an example of how an issue that, on the surface, is completely unrelated to antisemitism or the Jewish community, can still stir up antisemitic reactions from people who view every topic through the lens of antisemitic conspiracy beliefs.

Online reaction after a tweet from Keir Starmer about meeting with Jewish community representatives



On 1 December, Keir Starmer met with representatives from the Jewish community. In a tweet after the meeting, Starmer stated: “My Labour government will stand up for the Jewish community and work to eradicate antisemitic hate crime.”¹⁰⁰

The comments afterwards were, in large part, negative towards Starmer and the meeting. They are an indication of the difficult task of changing the culture relating to antisemitism amongst parts of the wider political Left.

⁹⁹ <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/revealed-boris-johnsons-jimmy-savile-slur-sparked-antisemitic-hate-at-keir-starmer/>

¹⁰⁰ https://twitter.com/Keir_Starmer/status/1598247954107994115

For example, one person replied with this image:



There was also this comment:

Sir Keir Starmer is still purging left-wing Jews from the Labour Party for opposing Zionism and condemning Israel's apartheid regime

Starmer has purged more Jews than all Labour leaders combined

He only associates with hard-right Zionists - the apologists of Israeli apartheid

And:

Bunch of Zionist racists all in the same room - admired by white supremacists world wide.

Some of the replies included the hashtag #ItWasAScam, which is used by those who believe that the accusations of antisemitism within the Labour Party under the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn were a “scam” to force him out as leader.

Allegations of antisemitism relating to the Liberal Democrat Party

In May, Little Brighthouse, newly elected as a Liberal Democrat councillor on Powys County Council in Wales, was suspended by the party after allegations of antisemitism in a video Brighthouse posted online.¹⁰¹ The Guido Fawkes¹⁰² website revealed that in May 2021 Brighthouse posted a TikTok that included a burning Israeli flag and captions that read “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free”, “We Stand for Palestine” and “#endapartheid”. While their party conducted an investigation, Brighthouse sat as a non-aligned councillor.

¹⁰¹ <https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/lib-dem-councillor-suspended-after-posting-anti-semitic-tiktok-video-2WZ4qoiq8flcmWrH1Yqa5?reloadTime=1652262360659>

¹⁰² <https://order-order.com/2022/05/06/libdem-porno-candidate-elected-then-suspended-for-antisemitism/>

In June, Helen Burton, an Eastbourne Liberal Democrat councillor, tweeted: *“Tories now want to electronically tag migrants. Anyone else reminded of the (yellow star emoji) the Jewish Community was forced to wear by the Nazis?”* The comment was condemned by the Holocaust Education Trust and Caroline Ansell, the Conservative MP for Eastbourne. Burton apologised for any offence caused. Ed Davey, the Liberal Democrat leader, commented: *“It was unhelpful, offensive and wrong. She has apologised, strongly apologised, and she has agreed to take some specialist training so she is aware that those sorts of comments are wrong and she wants to understand how shocking anti-Semitism is. I think she will learn. She has acted fast and rightly so.”*¹⁰³

Allegations of antisemitism relating to the Scottish National Party (SNP)

In March, complaints were made to the SNP about Wullie Graham, who was standing as a candidate in the Pollok ward in Glasgow in the council elections.¹⁰⁴ It was revealed that in 2015, Graham had shared on Facebook an image of an Orthodox Jewish weapons dealer from Nashville, along with his daughter. They are both holding guns and a caption reads: *“Bloody sickening that Israeli Jews bring up their kids to hate and kill.”* A spokesperson for the SNP responded: *“Mr Graham has apologised for a post in 2015 that he readily admits was stupid and indefensible. He has taken steps to reach out to the Scottish Council of Jewish Communities as he seeks to make amends and learn from this.”*¹⁰⁵

In April, more than two hundred Jewish community members signed a letter to Nicola Sturgeon, then Scotland’s First Minister, over concerns that two members of her government from the Green Party had not yet signed up to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s (IHRA) definition of

antisemitism.¹⁰⁶ Patrick Harvie and Lorna Slater, co-leaders of the Scottish Green Party, had become ministers in August 2021. In 2015, the Green Party had branded Zionism a *“a racist ideology based on Jewish supremacy in Palestine”*. In February, the Scottish Council of Jewish Communities had organised a call between students and Sturgeon.¹⁰⁷ When asked about the two ministers, she replied: *“I don’t make decisions for the Green Party. My party has signed the IHRA definition, my government has signed up to the IHRA definition, I would encourage all parties and organisations and institutions to do so. There is not an exemption for the Green ministers. All ministers in my government, without exception, are expected to comply with that.”* In response to the letter, a government spokesman said: *“Antisemitism is utterly unacceptable and there is no place for it in Scotland. The Scottish Government has adopted the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s definition of antisemitism. This means all ministers in the Scottish Government, including those from the Green Party, sign up and adhere to the IHRA definition of antisemitism.”*

Allegation of antisemitism relating to trade unions

In February, Nick West, communications officer for the Unite union, was suspended pending an investigation after posting a message on Facebook on Holocaust Memorial Day about Margaret Hodge MP. West described Hodge as *“a woman who weaponises both her faith and the holocaust to forward her own petty and Zionist aims. While memorialising the awful stain on humanity that was the slaughter of millions of Jews, Romany and gays, those like Hodge who wield the bloodshed as a political weapon are beyond redemption. Humanity would not miss her.”* In 2016, West wrote on Twitter: *“Criticism of the state of Israel isn’t antisemitism. The Jews suffered great tragedy and now inflict it on others.”*¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³<https://www.sussexpress.co.uk/news/politics/eastbourne-lib-dem-accused-of-holocaust-distortion-party-leader-admits-it-was-unhelpful-offensive-and-wrong-3762049>

¹⁰⁴<https://www.heraldsotland.com/politics/20006669.snps-wullie-graham-disgusting-anti-semitic-comment-row/>

¹⁰⁵<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/snp-told-to-fire-candidate-over-'disgusting-antisemitic'-social-media-post-5VpbGeFKkZ7WAeJNDXjuA6>

¹⁰⁶<https://www.thejc.com/news/community/scottish-jews-seek-reassurance-from-sturgeon-over-ihra-6bcg6D49tNAJiQPnRBF8gl>

¹⁰⁷<https://www.scottishdailyexpress.co.uk/news/politics/nicola-sturgeon-told-green-ministers-26212055>

¹⁰⁸<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/unite-suspends-official-who-accused-hodge-of-%27weaponising-the-holocaust%27-to-push-her>

Political support in the fight against antisemitism

In September, Keir Starmer addressed the annual Labour Party Conference and said: *“We had to change our party and prepare for power all in one go. Not change for change sake, change with a purpose – to make our party fit to serve our country. That’s why we had to rip out antisemitism by its roots.”*¹⁰⁹

In November, Rachel Reeves MP (Labour) said at the Labour Friends of Israel (LFI) annual lunch: *“We will not tolerate the downplaying of antisemitism and that is why Jeremy Corbyn is no longer a member of the parliamentary party”.*¹¹⁰

In April, the government announced it was continuing with the protective security grant for the Jewish community for the next financial year to provide security at synagogues and Jewish schools. In announcing the renewal of the grant, Priti Patel, then Home Secretary, said: *“Antisemitic incidents are not just an attack on the Jewish community, but on everyone who believes in a free and open society – and won’t be tolerated in this country...British Jews, like all communities, must be able to live their lives without fear of verbal or physical attack. Only by working together can we ensure that hateful behaviour like antisemitism can be fully eliminated from our society.”*¹¹¹

In a speech in December to the Conservative Friends of Israel’s (CFI) annual business lunch, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak said: *“The last few years have been particularly challenging for the UK’s Jewish community. It has been painful to see the hurt caused by the very public resurgence of antisemitism and I am determined to ensure this scourge is eradicated.”*¹¹²

[%27zionist-agenda%27-53b4fC1lbov35wofbYfRtd](#)

¹⁰⁹<https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/starmer-we-ripped-out-antisemitism-to-make-our-party-fit-to-serve-our-country/>

¹¹⁰<https://www.thejc.com/news/politics/rachel-reeves-labour-party-wont-tolerate-corbyn-downplaying-antisemitism-1BE7DuCVWmJF0ZwbNKH8Qt>

¹¹¹<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/protective-security-grant-funding-for-jewish-institutions-to-continue>

¹¹²<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/pm-pledges-uk-support-to-israel-in-key-un-vote-4hEq6boYxMwtPsywuiuAUN>

In June, GMB, one of the biggest trade unions, unanimously passed a motion at its congress committing itself to a zero-tolerance policy on antisemitism.

The motion stated: *“This congress strongly challenges the disturbing rise in antisemitism across the UK. This unacceptable behaviour and the perpetrators should be subjected to the full force of the law. Where such behaviour may be present from any member of GMB Union, including social media posts, our Union should take immediate action to investigate and apply appropriate measures to address this within rule.”*¹¹³

According to Gary Smith, the General Secretary of the GMB: *“It means taking measures – beginning with backing motions from the floor – to ensure that there will be no safe spaces for antisemites, whether inside or outside the ranks of our union...We have to recognise antisemitism within our own ranks, and not be afraid to call it what it is. It flies in the face of our historic ties to the Jewish community – and in the face of what is right.”*¹¹⁴

¹¹³<https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/gmb-trade-union-backs-calls-for-antisemites-to-face-full-force-of-the-law/>

¹¹⁴<https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/opinion-like-our-earliest-trailblazers-we-must-never-fear-calling-out-antisemitism-gmb-gary-smith/>

ANTISEMITISM IN THE MEDIA/SOCIAL MEDIA

Allegations of antisemitism directed at the BBC

In 2022, the already troubled relations between the BBC and the Jewish community became even more strained (see *Antisemitic Discourse in Britain 2021* report).

In early January, Rabbi YY Rubinstein, who for 30 years had been a prolific broadcaster at the BBC, declared that he would no longer appear on the BBC in protest. In his resignation letter, he described their coverage of the attack on a bus of Jewish teenagers on Oxford Steet in December 2021 as “inexcusable” and remarked that “I simply don’t see how I, or in fact any Jew who has any pride in that name, can be associated with the corporation anymore.” He further commented that “the current crisis over antisemitism at the corporation and its attempts to turn the victims of the recent antisemitic attack on Jewish children in London and claim that the victims were actually the perpetrators, was and is inexcusable. The obfuscation, denial, that followed, was and is utterly damning.”¹¹⁵

A new front in the deepening rift opened up with the regular appearance of controversial journalist, Abdel Bari Atwan, on the BBC’s current affairs discussion programme, Dateline London (broadcast on the BBC News and BBC World channels).¹¹⁶ He described the killing of three Israelis in a Tel Aviv bar in April by a Palestinian as a ‘miracle’ and openly supported Mahmoud Abbas’ use of the term ‘holocausts’ when talking about the Israeli army’s treatment of Palestinians. He also expressed support for Hadi Matar, who attempted to kill the novelist Salman Rushdie in New York in August. Prompted by Atwan’s pronouncements, 36 members of the Jewish community as well as peers, MPs and other public figures sent a letter in September to Tim Davie, the

BBC’s Director-General, castigating the BBC’s consistent impartiality regarding the reporting of Israel and Jewish affairs.¹¹⁷ The letter stated that, “Mr Atwan is not a right and proper person to be given a BBC platform, and it is shocking that the corporation continues to invite him to appear on its flagship programmes, despite your being well aware of his history and the concerns about it.” A BBC spokesman said it was “editorially justified for Abdel to appear.”

Davie’s reply to the letter stated: “We do not ban contributors, for good reason, but nor do we give them ‘a BBC platform’ as your letter suggests. We question them, and when they hold or express controversial views we should always aim to challenge them... The alternative, I am afraid, would lead us down a dangerous path, which is one that would allow others to decide, however fine their motives, and in whatever area of coverage, who is and who is not ‘a fit and proper person’ to appear on our output. As our editorial guidelines state, this means we will sometimes include in our output people whose views may cause serious offence to many in our audiences, but where we do so the potential for offence must be weighed against the public interest.”¹¹⁸

A leader column in the Jewish Chronicle addressed this issue:¹¹⁹ “The BBC has certainly made more than its fair share of mistakes in its coverage of Israel and Jews. But what is most striking about those mistakes is the corporation’s repeated refusal to make any meaningful attempt to rectify its errors... Its coverage of the attack on a bus of Jewish children last Chanukah and response to complaints were

¹¹⁵ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/rabbi-yy-rubinstein-quits-bbc-over-inexcusable-reporting-of-antisemitism-7ptlr978>

¹¹⁶ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/politicians-and-stars-write-incendiary-open-letter-to-‘biased’-bbc-4ocVapD6a75DvfQ0dLUDyf?reloadTime=166271500900>

¹¹⁷ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/in-full-communitys-letter-to-tim-davie-3RluzvNFr02ytd3RVllUWA>

¹¹⁸ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/inviting-islamist-who-praised-terror-onto-bbc-was-‘in-public-interest’-director-general-insists-in-‘vacuous’-letter-Xbc0qzU9FbRBey2oElegd?reloadTime=1666346232031>

¹¹⁹ <https://www.thejc.com/lets-talk/all/bbc-cannot-simply-ignore-concerns-of-anglo-jewry%20-1xp6h5Fo2VLD1Y5GqgbHJ>

grotesque. What has exacerbated all of this has been the contempt with which the BBC has treated the concerns of the Jewish community. An unprecedented open letter from many respected British Jews last month has been — outrageously — simply ignored. And the BBC has refused to admit there is anything at all wrong with its pundits praising terrorism.” The newspaper decided to launch an online petition demanding “a comprehensive Parliamentary inquiry into the BBC’s coverage of Jews and Israel.”¹²⁰

At the end of October, the BBC cancelled Dateline London, in which Atwan had made regular appearances.¹²¹ The programme’s editor, Nick Guthrie, reportedly said of the decision: “Just because a particular group, government, lobby groups, whatever, object to views expressed by others does not mean the BBC has to kow-tow.”

In early December, Ofcom finally released its report on the BBC coverage of the Oxford Street incident. It said that the “BBC failed to observe its Editorial Guidelines on due impartiality and due accuracy.”¹²² In a statement, Ofcom said: “the BBC made a serious editorial misjudgement by not reporting on air, at any point, that the claim it had made about anti-Muslim slurs was disputed, once new evidence emerged” and its “failure to respond promptly and transparently created an impression of defensiveness by the BBC among the Jewish community”.¹²³ It did though concede that in respect of a BBC One London news broadcast covering the incident, the broadcaster had not breached its code.¹²⁴ In response to the report, a BBC spokesman said: “While Ofcom has found that our reporting

was not in breach of the Broadcasting Code, the BBC’s Executive Complaints Unit ruled in January this year that more could have been done sooner to acknowledge the differing views about what could be heard on the recording of the attack. The BBC apologised at the time for not acting sooner to highlight that the content of the recording was contested.”

By December, the online petition to launch a parliamentary inquiry into the BBC’s coverage of Jews and Israel had amassed over 10,000 signatures.¹²⁵ It led to the announcement of an intention to hold a cross-party inquiry, led by Lord Carlile of Berriew KC, formerly a Liberal Democrat MP and the government’s former independent reviewer of terrorism legislation, with Baron Austin of Dudley as secretary. Panellists included Baroness Deech, the former BBC governor, Lord Triesman, former Labour Minister in charge of the World Service and Jacob Rees-Mogg, the North East Somerset MP.¹²⁶ Austin wrote: “Our inquiry will be wholly impartial and will aim to offer expert guidance and recommendations for the corporation to address when it comes to antisemitism and Israel, the handling of complaints and the ‘culture of defensiveness’ identified by Ofcom. The BBC is one of the most important institutions in British life and is part of our heritage. It is our hope that this inquiry will help the BBC uphold its core values of accuracy and impartiality.”¹²⁷

¹²⁰<https://www.change.org/p/parliament-must-set-up-an-inquiry-into-bbc-impartiality-on-jews-and-israel?redirect=false>

¹²¹<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/editor-blames-‘lobby’-as-bbc-show-that-hosted-abdel-bari-atwan-dropped-5lpH0fFofnFSlewFUP6bi?reloadTime=1667212632366>

¹²²https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0023/247163/BBC-News-Online-and-BBC-London-News-2-December-2021.pdf

¹²³<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/bbc-ofcom-jewish-board-of-deputies-of-british-jews-ecu-b2219393.html>

¹²⁴<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/ofcom-slam-bbc’s-serious-editorial-failures-over-channukah-bus-attack-complaints-pbXhPhADoKsklx40j4Nkp?reloadTime=1667824956321>

¹²⁵<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/bbc-faces-parliamentary-probe-over-its-coverage-of-jews-and-israel-4UH8ydDdoHK23dNIL7X0vt>

¹²⁶<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/jacob-rees-mogg-to-join-parliamentary-probe-into-bbc-53vBC6egpsC88nmpDKs444>

¹²⁷<https://www.thejc.com/lets-talk/all/the-aim-of-our-inquiry-is-to-help-the-bbc-uphold-its-own-core-values-4jRbwZlwoRHItQUIQZI4T2>

Allegations of antisemitism on BBC's social media pages

Antisemitic and Holocaust denial comments in Arabic were reportedly allowed to remain on the BBC's social media pages unmoderated for several months. The BBC regularly shares Arabic content on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. Some of the responses to this content were found to contain antisemitism.

For example, a BBC video on YouTube about a terrorist attack by a Palestinian man in Israel prompted comments including: *"killing Jews is one of the most desirable offerings for Allah"*.

Also, a BBC Arabic video was published on its YouTube channel after the Russian Foreign Minister suggested that Hitler had Jewish ancestry. Some of the comments included: *"The real Holocaust has not happened yet, it will soon with Allah almighty's will"* and *"the lie of the Holocaust is the excuse used to create the usurper Zionist entity on Palestine's land"*.¹²⁸

GB News & the use of the term 'Globalist'

In October, two GB News presenters used the term 'globalist', which has antisemitic connotations.¹²⁹ The appointment of Grant Shapps, who is Jewish, as Home Secretary by then Prime Minister Liz Truss was greeted by presenter Dan Wootton's tweet: *"The globalist remoaner coup continues."* His colleague, Nigel Farage, also described the new appointee as a *"Remainer and Globalist."* Although the term "globalist" is not always antisemitic, it is sometimes used as a codeword in conspiracist discourse to refer to a world order run by Jews. Catherine McKinnell, MP for Newcastle Upon Tyne North and Co-Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism, remarked: *"Calling a Jewish man a 'globalist' plays into age-old antisemitic conspiracism. Some people will know this and do so deliberately, others may be naive, but there is no*

*excuse for it whatsoever. No one in public life should be using language that perpetuates racist anti-Jewish tropes. It's as simple as that."*¹³⁰

GB News responded by saying it *"abhors anti-Semitism and all other forms of hate and racism. Nigel and Dan were referring to the Oxford English Dictionary definition of the term globalist, meaning 'advocating the operation or planning of economic and foreign policy on a global basis'."*

When Rishi Sunak became Prime Minister, he too was alleged in social media posts to be part of a "globalist" conspiracy. Research by the Centre for Countering Digital Hate showed he had been included in 16,935 tweets where the term "globalist" was used.¹³¹ The abiding theme was that he had participated in a "globalist coup" to oust those loyal to Liz Truss and had "zero loyalty" to the UK. The fact that Sunak, unlike Shapps, wasn't Jewish showed how the term was becoming even more pervasive and widespread in online conspiracist discourse, in contexts that were not necessarily directed at, or about, Jewish people. A Jewish News reporter also claimed he had overheard a conversation between two Westminster insiders outside Whitehall where they talked about how the downfall of Liz Truss had been orchestrated by the influence of the *"IMF and the Rothschilds."*¹³²

Ofcom ruling against Islam Channel documentary

In December, Ofcom ruled against the Islam Channel for the broadcast, back in February 2021, of a documentary called 'The Andinia Plan' which had promulgated an antisemitic thesis.¹³³ The so-called plan was to set up a Jewish state in Patagonia, an area of land in South America now governed by Argentina and Chile. Theodor Herzl writing in 'The Jewish State' (1896) had referenced the possibility of

¹³⁰<https://www.parallelparliament.co.uk/APPG/antisemitism>

¹³¹<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/nov/01/sharp-rise-in-globalist-plot-claims-online-against-rishi-sunak>

¹³²<https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/spike-in-globalist-plot-slur-online-attacks-directed-at-pm-sunak/>

¹³³https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0030/248682/The-Andinia-Plan,-Islam-Channel,-22-February-2021,-2100.pdf

¹²⁸<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/bbc-failed-to-act-on-'hate'-comments-on-its-social-media-channels-1WgLjy8pzCs7K4giprLgod>

¹²⁹<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/jewish-leaders-slam-gb-news-stars-for-calling-grant-shapps-a-'globalist'-f79fKlRhmXjrbBMkFtAg>

locating a Jewish homeland in the region and this had become a springboard for a conspiracy theory first taken up by Argentinian neo-Nazis and then popularized by a far-right professor in the 1970s: the underlying belief that Israel was encouraging Jewish immigration to the region and taking over Argentina's economy as a precursor for the setting up of such a state.

The programme posited that the plan was not something that was just a thing of the past but something that was very much a live project. As one contributor put it: *"I have no doubt that imperialism and Zionism are working together on something for Latin America."* To carry this out there was much discussion of Israeli backpackers and tourists carrying out reconnaissance in Patagonia for the *"specific objective of collecting information for the Israeli intelligence service and the State of Israel."* Prominent Jewish businessmen were alleged to be buying up land in preparation, and where non-Jewish businessmen were involved, they allegedly had links to *"International Zionism."* Another contributor referred to the *"Zionist movement"* as part of those *"who rule the world."*

Ofcom received one complaint that the programme contained antisemitic content and *"views that amounted to hate speech against Jewish people."* It ultimately ruled the programme had breached two rules of the Broadcasting Code over hate speech and discriminatory language which were *"serious"* and *"potentially very harmful."* Its ruling stated that the programme *"made stereotypical allegations about the power of Jewish people as a collective, in particular the myth of Jewish people controlling the media and financial institutions; suggested that Jewish people are more loyal to the state of Israel than to the interests of their own nations; held Jewish people or Israel collectively responsible for the real or imagined wrongdoings of individual Jews, non-Jews and non-Israelis; and attributed motives to conduct by Israelis that were not attributed to people from other nations displaying the same conduct."* It concluded that this was *"likely*

to spread, incite, promote or justify hatred based on intolerance on the grounds of nationality, race, religion or belief." Islam Channel was *"put on notice that we will consider these breaches for the imposition of a statutory sanction."*

The channel itself apologised *"unreservedly"* and broadcast an apology on two occasions. It blamed the inclusion of the documentary on a scheduler who, suffering a recent family bereavement, had placed *"inappropriate programmes in the schedule for that week, which were never intended for broadcast."* The person in question resigned from Islam Channel shortly afterwards.

Ofcom ruling against Ahlebait TV

In July, Ofcom ruled against Ahlebait TV, a channel aimed at the Muslim Shi'a community, over a programme containing antisemitic content it had broadcast the year before.¹³⁴ In March 2021, the *"20th Hour"*, a live current affairs discussion programme, released an edition entitled: *"Money Power, Islam and a Just Order."* The host Mohsin Abbas was joined by two guests: the late David Musa Pidcock and Clive Menzies.¹³⁵

During the episode, both guests made a series of antisemitic statements which went unchallenged by the host. Referring to the topic of usury, Pidcock said: *"This is why the Jews have been expelled from 47 different countries and city-states in the last 1,000 years and as they recognise ... their antisemitism comes from their actions of impoverishing people and they then respond and then they call it antisemitism but we know that it's because they do and they get punished and as Allah says, you know, he will expel [sentence incomplete] – send them to all corners of the world to be an excoriation and a hissing and a booing to wherever he had sent them. So antisemitism comes from debt, not cancelling the debt, and usury."* At another point, Menzies remarked: *"Antisemitism was created by Theodor*

¹³⁴<https://www.jns.org/british-tv-channel-put-on-notice-for-airing-antisemitic-content-violating-broadcasting-rules/>

¹³⁵https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0013/242023/20th-Hour-Money-Power-Islam-and-a-Just-Order-Ahlebeit-TV.pdf

Herzl at the back end of the 19th century in order to frighten and create the circumstances that would encourage Jews to migrate to Israel, so antisemitism is actually a Jewish creation.” In the light of such comments, the Community Security Trust filed a complaint with Ofcom.

Ofcom ruled that the programme had breached three rules of the Broadcasting Code regarding hate speech, abusive and derogatory treatment as well as generally accepted broadcasting standards. “Our decision”, the ruling went, “is that this content was clearly antisemitic and an expression of hatred based on intolerance of Jewish people, the broadcast of which had the potential to promote, encourage and incite such intolerance among viewers.” Furthermore, it “considered these breaches to be serious and therefore we are putting the Licensee on notice that we will consider them for the imposition of a statutory sanction.”

Ahlebeit TV conceded that the comments made by Pidcock and Menzies were antisemitic but initially told Ofcom that it didn’t regard them as constituting hate speech “based on intolerance on the grounds of ethnicity, race, religion or belief.” But during the course of the investigation agreed this point as well. It said that an intervention by the Programme Controller during the live broadcast had been prevented by a technical issue. It suspended “until further notice” the programme strand and neither Abbas nor his two guests had since featured in other broadcasts. A few months later, an apology to viewers was broadcast on three separate occasions. It also adopted the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism which was “now included in its broadcast guidelines provided to all presenters and guests ahead of every programme.”

Ofcom ruling on comments on LBC

On 15 May 2021, covering the anti-Israel protests in London over the Gaza war, an LBC reporter had referred to the Israeli embassy as the “Jewish embassy” nine times in three different reports.¹³⁶ In one instance he said: “About 40 metres down the road from me is the gates to the Jewish Embassy but between me and them is a sea of protestors.” This led to Ofcom receiving two complaints alleging that such a mis-definition could contribute to antisemitic activity in the UK.

In June 2022, Ofcom ruled that LBC “broke our rules on due accuracy in news and offence.” They further commented: “Given these reports aired at a time of increasing antisemitic attacks against Jewish communities in London, we considered it was particularly important that these reports were accurate. We also recognised the clear offence this conflation was likely to cause to listeners.”

LBC responded by saying that the reporter had been affected by “the high-stress and tense environment” and “had tripped over his words in error during the heat of the moment.” Further, the error was “in no way malicious or purposefully intended to offend the Jewish community.”

Charity that supported antisemitic TV channel ordered to close

The Islamic Research Foundation International, a charity that financially supported the television station Peace TV, was ordered to dissolve by the Charity Commission.¹³⁷ Peace TV has been repeatedly condemned by Ofcom for broadcasting hate speech and encouraging “violence and dangerous or seriously anti-social behaviour”. Its content included descriptions of Jews as “like a cancer”, “evil genius” and “cursed race”.

¹³⁶ <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/ofcom-finds-lbc-broke-broadcast-rules-with-jewish-embassy-reports/>

¹³⁷ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/axe-falls-on-charity-which-gave-millions-to-tv-channel-that-called-jews-'cursed'-and-'a-cancer'-5d1OGfJyWm7pfXr4jJuNWz?reloadTime=1654122115894>

After a two-year investigation, the Charity Commission announced that Zakir Naik, who leads the channel and the charity, and the other trustees, were responsible for “repeated incidents of misconduct and/or mismanagement” and “fundamental failure in governance”. Naik was banned from entering the UK in 2010, although he continued to broadcast from the UAE and use his UK-based charity to fund Peace TV. According to the Charity Commission’s report, Naik is prohibited from holding office in any charity in England and Wales.

Antisemitism on YouTube

In a series of articles, the Jewish Chronicle accused YouTube of ignoring reports from a whistleblower, a former moderator, flagging up antisemitism and antisemitic incitement on its platform.

The whistleblower, named as Khalad Hassan, submitted reports on two individuals, Wagdy Ghoneim and Israr Ahmed (who died in 2010), who reportedly posted antisemitic material on their YouTube channels.¹³⁸

Hassan alleged that YouTube routinely ignored warnings from its own moderators to remove antisemitic videos, including some that inspired Malik Faisal Akram, who took four people hostage in a synagogue in Texas in January 2022.

According to Hassan: *“YouTube’s policy is a sham. They claim they will remove content that glorifies terrorism and contains racist hate speech, but what they do behind the veil of company secrecy is very different. They are shirking their legal and moral responsibilities. They tell users that their platform is safe. In fact, they are allowing people to be radicalised and reinforcing claims that Jews are evil and rule the world.”*¹³⁹

YouTube eventually removed the two channels allegedly containing antisemitic content.¹⁴⁰

Antisemitism on Google

Teachers warned that school children researching information on the Holocaust for homework using Google are being directed to Holocaust denial and far-right material.

One teacher from North Tyneside told the NASUWT conference that teachers need to educate students about “online infiltration of far-right messages” and how to avoid them.

According to Danny Stone, chief executive of the Antisemitism Policy Trust: *“We know from our research that Google’s Safesearch does not work when it comes to filtering online antisemitism”*.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/revealed-the-incendiary-reports-ignored-by-youtube-6Ld2uDyvPfucQHStYlZWKd>

¹³⁹<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/youtube-whistleblower-my-warnings-over-terror-videos-were-ignored-4VlKq2VbvkvSoeNoByrcvz>

¹⁴⁰<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/youtube-finally-removes-channel-that-inspired-texas-gunman-in-victory-for-jc-tUz1BBj8mwiUTQN8OsTnJ>

¹⁴¹<https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/teachers-warn-pupils-are-being-exposed-to-holocaust-denial-online/>

ANTISEMITISM IN THE ARTS

The Royal Court Theatre & the Jewish community

In March, an internal report produced by the Royal Court Theatre showed that it had inadequate measures in place to prevent the antisemitism controversy over its production of the play *Rare Earth Mettle*, which had featured a Jewish-named villainous lead character who had stereotypically antisemitic characteristics¹⁴² (see Antisemitic Discourse in Britain 2021 report).

The report was the result of extensive interviews and research carried out by the theatre's board. It stated: "Systems should have been in place to ensure that any individual error would not prevent the identification and correction of the issue by the theatre. The artistic leadership recognise and deeply regret this and apologise." The long development of the play, commissioned in 2015, and exacerbated by the Covid epidemic, was seen as a contributing factor: "The choice of the name *Hershel Fink* was originally underpinned with explanatory narrative context. This context was ultimately excised during the prolonged editing process." What they were left with was the creation of "an antisemitic stereotype," a product of their admittedly "unconscious bias."

When the play had premiered the immediate action of the theatre had been to change the name of the main character to the more innocuous sounding 'Henry Finn'. Now in the wake of the report, specialist training on antisemitism was to be brought in, and staff were to be given more opportunities to question artistic decisions.

Interviewed about the report, Vicky Featherstone, the Royal Court's artistic director, said: "The big learning for me has been about how few Jewish artists have felt that they can be out about their Jewishness with their work at the Royal Court, and in

other areas of culture."¹⁴³ The controversy had led her to speak to Jews who worked in her world and find that "people in theatre often feel uncomfortable in disclosing that they are Jewish" and had been "absolutely humbled by the generosity that Jewish artists who we've harmed with this failure have bought, to have been really open holding us to account." The time was now right for the theatre to carry out a form of "teshuvah" (repentance).

In June, the 'teshuvah' of the Royal Court manifested itself in the announcement of a new production: "*Jews. In Their Own Words*."¹⁴⁴ Based on an idea by the actress and activist, Tracy-Anne Oberman, the play was written by the author and journalist Jonathan Freedland. It was described by the theatre as "a theatrical inquiry into an ancient prejudice" which would look "at the roots and damning legacy of antisemitism in Britain – especially in those places where you'd least expect it." The script was drawn from interviews Freedland conducted with some of the leading figures of the Jewish community, who in recent years had been on the sharp end of antisemitism. This included the ex-Labour MP Luciana Berger, the writer Howard Jacobson and Oberman herself (CST's Director of Policy Dr Dave Rich was also one of the interviewees).¹⁴⁵ Featherstone hoped that it would reach a "complex, detailed understanding of where antisemitism sits in our culture, in a way that we choose not to see if we're not Jewish".

As soon as '*Jews. In Their Own Words*' premiered in late September, staff at the Royal Court's box office were harassed with abuse.¹⁴⁶ In the words of

¹⁴³ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/the-royal-court-apologises-unreservedly-to-british-jews-for-herschel-fink-character-3JwQCB0KfTc4eUf99VC032>

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/royal-court-to-stage-jews-in-their-own-words-show-by-jonathan-freedland-2e6NQXUq9VHbPEb8G7G226?reloadTime=1655195976544>

¹⁴⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2022/oct/02/jews-in-their-own-words-royal-court-review-jonathan-freedland-vicky-featherstone>

¹⁴⁶ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/royal-court-theatre-bombarded->

¹⁴² <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2022/mar/01/royal-court-theatre-apologises-to-jewish-community-over-characters-name>

Freedland, “the trolls were out in force”, especially on Twitter where the theatre was accused of betrayal for allowing Jewish voices to be heard. Both Freedland and Oberman faced antisemitic abuse.¹⁴⁷ A friend of Louisa Clein, one of the actresses performing in the play, was also targeted by trolls after tweeting about going to see the play.

In the face of all the vitriol faced, Freedland commented that “the team at the Royal Court were resilient in the face of that abuse, but some said that, horrible as it was, it was also very validating, confirming much of what the play was saying and indeed the necessity of staging it”. He added: “I think this is a moment the community can celebrate... The Royal Court has taken responsibility, and not just by issuing a statement, which would have been easy, but in the most powerful way it knows: by putting its full weight and prestige behind a play that puts the British Jewish experience front and centre.”

Icarus Theatre Collective’s Romeo & Juliet production

In October, London’s Icarus Theatre Collective’s announcement of their production of Romeo and Juliet caused controversy.¹⁴⁸ In the first instance this was because the play was proposed to be set in Germany in the 1930s. Romeo was to be a member of the Hitler Youth and Juliet was to come from a Jewish family. Moreover, there was the problem posed by the very first line of the play: “Two households, both alike in dignity.” This appeared to imply a moral equivalence between Jewish Capulets and Nazi Montagues, but was strenuously denied by the company, founder and artistic director.

Furthermore, the casting call released by the company on social media included “non-binary artists, and/or those of Global Majority [sic], black or

Asian heritage”. There was no mention, however, of a desire for Jewish actors to audition for any of the Jewish roles in the play. The company’s artistic director claimed that this had been removed from a first draft, apologised and acknowledged “that we’ve made mistakes that have resulted in the Jewish community and Jewish artists feeling excluded and being hurt”. By November, Icarus had pulled the entire production.¹⁴⁹

Jewface in acting

The issue of ‘Jewface’ – casting non-Jews in conspicuously Jewish roles – came to the fore in 2022, having been simmering for a few years. In 2019, a few Jewish actors and playwrights had signed an open letter protesting about the casting of the West End Falsettos where non-Jewish actors were predominantly used in a story about a Jewish family.¹⁵⁰ Then in late 2021, the actress Tamsin Greig had remarked that “given our sensitivity about these issues”, she “probably shouldn’t” have portrayed a Jewish mother in the hit Channel 4 sitcom, Friday Night Dinner.¹⁵¹ Things came to a head at the start of 2022 when the actress Maureen Lipman, speaking to the Jewish Chronicle, criticised the casting of a non-Jew, Helen Mirren, as Golda Meir in a new biopic of her life. She argued that with regards to Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel between 1969 and 1974, “the Jewishness of the character is so integral... I’m sure she [Mirren] will be marvellous, but it would never be allowed for Ben Kingsley to play Nelson Mandela. You just couldn’t even go there.”

Lipman then attracted a flurry of opprobrium on Twitter in response to her remarks.¹⁵² Some remarked that this was all “sour grapes” and “political correctness versus artistic creativity.” The playwright and director, Patrick Marber, felt that the concept of ‘lived experience’ involved the denial of creativity as

with-abuse-over-play-about-jews-2zhLX0rMwCGuYLRQ1XHus

¹⁴⁷ <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/10/08/royal-court-theatre-bombarded-anti-semitic-abuse-jewish-play/>

¹⁴⁸ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/london-theatre-producing-a-nazi-jewish-version-of-romeo-and-juliet-70DWwlOaVhki5Zz5Hw6ATH>

¹⁴⁹ <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/theatre-cancels-nazi-jewish-production-of-romeo-and-juliet/>

¹⁵⁰ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/dame-helen-mirren-criticised-by-dame-maureen-lipman-for-jewface-role-in-golda-82t37jb7x>

¹⁵¹ <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/news/tamsin-greig-friday-night-dinner-jewish-b1971291.html>

¹⁵² <https://twitter.com/unionlib/status/1478802745314398213>

it took from *“the actor the fundamental challenge and right to become someone else to impersonate another human being from another time, from another culture from another religion and another sexuality and other gender.”*¹⁵³ He added that he did not want Jews *“to be exclusive and excluding”* by restricting how Jewish roles are portrayed.

The writer and comedian David Baddiel made the case that the ‘Jewface’ controversy shows that Jews are never quite regarded in the same light as other ethnic minorities (as argued in his 2021 book *Jews Don’t Count*).¹⁵⁴ As he put it, *“Jewish is the minority that you can cast with actors not of that minority...”*. Baddiel puts this down to Jews not really seen as an ethnicity and Jewishness not regarded as deserving the complexity of being portrayed by those with lived experience of it. As he sees it, *“it’s about Jews being assumed, antisemitically, to be successful and privileged and powerful, and therefore not in need of the protections that identity politics affords other minorities.”*

In an appearance on ITV’s *Good Morning Britain*, Lipman argued that the casting directors for the Golda Meir biopic should really have looked elsewhere first before Helen Mirren, considering Jewish actresses like Bette Midler, Barbra Streisand or Tracey Ullman. But she felt *“maybe they wouldn’t green-light a film and maybe they considered that Helen has Russian in her background and therefore she could play this Jewish woman from Milwaukee.”*

¹⁵³<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/%27it%27s-a-disaster%27-theatre-giants-draw-battle-lines-over-%27jewface%27-75paYgP4ZvrPf4toRIhyyU>

¹⁵⁴<https://www.theguardian.com/film/2022/jan/12/helen-mirren-golda-meir-maureen-lipman-david-baddiel-row-jews-bojack-horseman>

ANTISEMITISM IN SPORT

Antisemitism in cricket

In August, the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) charged Andrew Gale, cricketer at Yorkshire CCC, with a breach of a directive which states: *“No such person may conduct himself in a manner or do any act or omission which may [sic] prejudicial to the interests of cricket or which may bring the game of cricket or any Cricketer or group of Cricketers into disrepute.”*

Gale had used the word ‘Yid’ in a Tweet to his friend, then Head of Media Relations at Leeds United FC: *“@dewysleeds thought you might up! Button it Yid!”* [sic] The Tweet was published in a Jewish News article on 5 November 2021.

Gale admitted the breach, and in October the Adjudicator for the Cricket Discipline Committee ruled: *“This, I find, was racist and discriminatory conduct.”*

The Adjudicator accepted that Gale intended the tweet to be *“humorous rather than offensive... Was unaware at the time of the meaning of the word, or how a certain proportion of the population might consider it offensive.”* It was taken into account that Gale entered into dialogue with Jewish News and released a press release apologising for any offence caused.

The Adjudicator saw the breach as being at the lower end of the spectrum of discriminatory language and Gale was reprimanded.¹⁵⁵

In December, Azeem Akhtar, who had just taken over as chairman of Essex County Cricket Club, was revealed to have endorsed social media posts with antisemitic conspiratorial language. One post stated: *“It is not offensive to say that the pro-Israel and Zionist lobby have deep pockets and oversized influence/control over the media.”* Another claimed: *“Comparing Israel with Nazis is not antisemitic. In fact, many Jewish people have done so themselves.”*¹⁵⁶

Akhtar voluntarily stepped aside after only three days as chairman, to allow an independent review to be carried out into his social media activity.¹⁵⁷ In February 2023, Akhtar stood down as chairman of Essex CCC.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵<https://resources.ecb.co.uk/ecb/document/2022/10/10/20313012-1007-43b3-b2d0-bab8b0aa6644/CDC-Andrew-Gale.pdf>

¹⁵⁶<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/cricket-world-in-new-row-after-zionist-lobby-tweet-6FSjvmH6dr7zXgNOJ1vqJ4>

¹⁵⁷<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2022/dec/02/essex-chairman-azeem-akhtar-steps-down-for-review-into-his-social-media>

¹⁵⁸<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2023/feb/20/azeem-akhtar-departs-as-essex-cricket-chair-despite-no-findings-of-antisemitism>

Antisemitism in football

On 22 June, a parliamentary debate took place in Westminster Hall titled: “Antisemitism and other racism in football”.

The debate was chaired by Graham Stringer (Labour) and moved by Theresa Villiers (Conservative), who said: “I want to focus today on anti-Jewish racism. I feel that does not get the attention it deserves, and that the gravity of the harm that it causes is not fully recognised... Let the message go out from this House today that antisemitism has no place in English football. It will not be tolerated and those responsible for it will be brought to justice.”

Christian Wakeford MP (Labour) said: “We see examples of antisemitism in football everywhere... Even at grassroot and junior football, I have heard local reports from Maccabi of their Jewish players—some only seven years of age—being hissed at by players on the opposite side, replicating the noise of the gas chambers. I am sure that we can all agree that is truly shameful, shocking and abhorrent.”

Villiers closed the debate by echoing Wakeford’s sentiments: “The idea of people making hissing noises at seven-year-old Jewish footballers is just revolting. It is profoundly disturbing and is a real illustration of how antisemitism remains a serious problem in football in our society. I am pleased to have had the chance to table this debate to ensure that we as a House make it clear that this kind of conduct is utterly and completely unacceptable.”¹⁵⁹

In September, following an under-14s football match between Potters Bar United and Maccabi London FC, one of the Potters Bar players uploaded an antisemitic post on Snapchat. The post said: “4-3 win over some random Jews. Hitler would be proud” accompanied by a petrol tank emoji.

Hertfordshire FA and Hertfordshire Police both launched investigations. A teenage boy was interviewed under caution. He admitted the offence and was dealt with by a community resolution. The family of the boy agreed to undertake a course on Holocaust education and Judaism with a rabbi. The team received a nine-month ban, with two of the months suspended for one year, and the club was fined. Two players were also suspended and ordered to attend an FA online education programme.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹<https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2022-06-22/debates/38A9C59A-455F-4DDA-B24E-6615E26582BA/AntisemitismAndOtherRacismInFootball>

¹⁶⁰<https://antisemitism.org/hertfordshire-under-fourteens-receives-nine-month-ban-following-hitler-would-be-proud-snapchat-post/>

ANTISEMITISM – REPORTS & PUBLICATIONS

Tackling Antisemitism in the UK 2023
by Lord Mann



In December, Lord Mann, the government's Independent Advisor on Antisemitism, published a report titled 'Anti-Jewish Hatred. Tackling Antisemitism in the UK 2023 – Renewing the Commitment'.¹⁶¹

The report builds on two previous reports by the UK All-Party Parliamentary Group against Antisemitism in 2006 and 2015. The report is also a reaction to the record number of antisemitic incidents reported in 2021 and 2022, the changed political landscape since 2015 and the growth of alternative social media platforms.

The report's main recommendations included: Secondary schools across the UK should teach about contemporary antisemitism in addition to pupils learning about the Holocaust. The report notes the rise in schools-based antisemitic incidents and

the importance of educating young people about antisemitism.

The mainstream political parties must unite to stop the spread of antisemitism and race hate especially to young people, including countering the increase from neo-Nazi groups.

The UK Government must work with online platforms to eradicate antisemitism online and hold those accountable who knowingly fail to block their systems from promoting it.

The governments for the UK and the devolved nations should establish why so few prosecutions of antisemitic hate crime take place and should work with the prosecuting authorities and the Community Security Trust to address the issue.

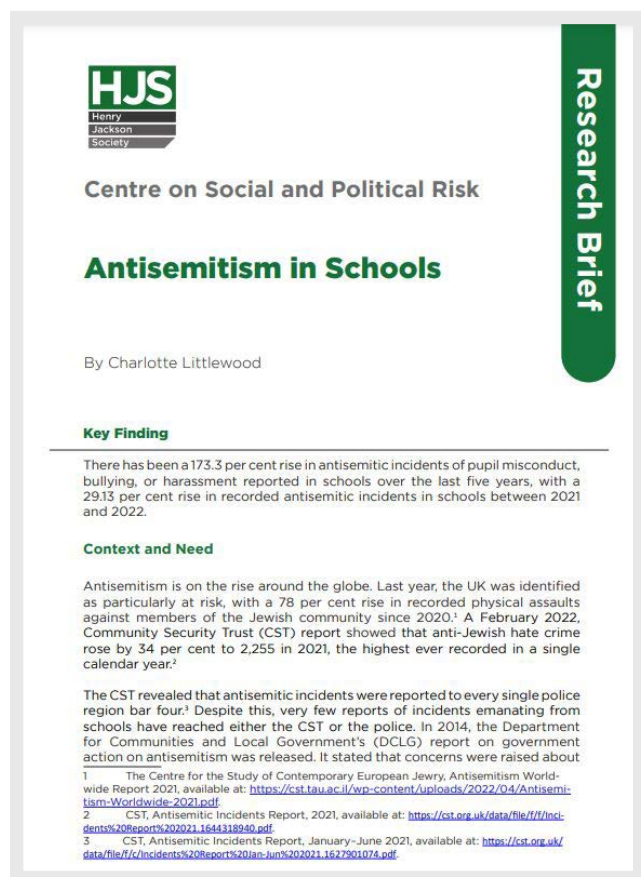
A renewed and concerted effort is required across all UK universities and colleges to make Jewish students safe and feel safe on campus.

New research is needed on extent of correlation between Middle East conflict, attitudes towards Israel, the explosion in conspiracy theories, harmful social media and antisemitic hate in the UK, especially among young people.

A review is needed on what barriers are preventing more reporting of antisemitic and other hate crime incidents, how these barriers can be overcome and whether enough police investigations into reported incidents are taking place.

Data submitted by all police forces for national collation and analysis should be disaggregated to help address the underreporting of antisemitic hate crime and a review should be undertaken on data on antisemitism being classified as both racial and religious.

¹⁶¹ <https://antisemitism.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/PDF-Antisemitism-Report-2023.pdf>

Henry Jackson Society: *Antisemitism in Schools*

In July, a report on 'Antisemitism in Schools', written by Charlotte Littlewood, was published by the Henry Jackson Society.¹⁶²

The key finding of the report is that: *"There has been a 173.3 per cent rise in antisemitic incidents of pupil misconduct, bullying, or harassment reported in schools over the last five years, with a 29.13 per cent rise in recorded antisemitic incidents in schools between 2021 and 2022."*

The report's recommendations to *"address the need to better monitor and tackle antisemitism within education"* include: The Secretary of State for Education should encourage schools to adopt the IHRA definition of antisemitism and embed this in their anti-bullying behaviour policy and their Prevent safeguarding policy.

¹⁶² <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Antisemitism.pdf>

The Independent Advisor for Social Cohesion and Resilience should ensure her work involves understanding the harm antisemitism is causing local communities, build resilience against it, and provide better support for victims, local authorities, and civil society to counter antisemitism.

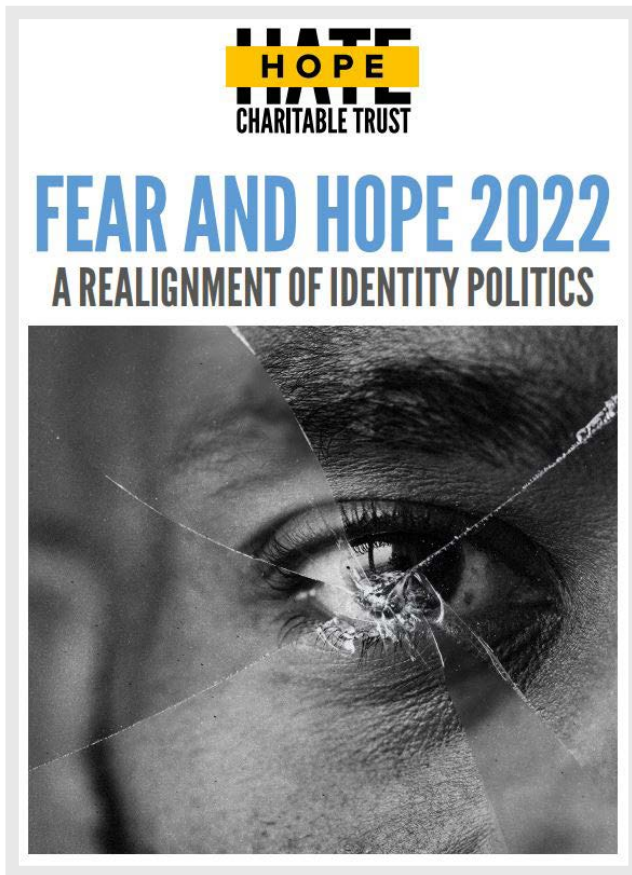
Raising awareness of antisemitism in schools should move from being under the current requirement within KS3 history to also be included within the personal, social, health and economic (PSHE)/ citizenship classes.

The report findings were published in the Jewish Chronicle,¹⁶³ which included the following antisemitic incidents at schools:

- Hissing at Jewish students to emulate the sound of the Nazi gas chambers, sometimes immediately after Holocaust education classes.
- At one school in east London, a student threw a drink over a Jewish classmate whilst using antisemitic abuse.
- At a school in Lancashire, a swastika was drawn on a classroom wall and a student was heard making antisemitic comments in relation to the conflict between Israel and Hamas.

¹⁶³ <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/hate-soars-at-uk-schools-classroom-antisemitism-triples-in-five-years-report-says-1h2QsuudjOgHvdDiMiDoK>, <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/my-daughter-was-driven-out-of-her-school-by-antisemitic-bullying-1CoG92MWgPRL9mmL31aI9X> & <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/jewish-children-targeting-by-gas-chamber-in-classrooms-5oFlgzl2sBLwW1IYcK5K8d>

**Hope not Hate: Fear and Hope 2022 –
A realignment of identity politics**



In July, Hope not Hate published its latest Fear and Hope report. As in previous years, the report uses a system of 'identity tribes' to better understand dividing lines and what brings people together. The report's context was the recovery from a global pandemic, heading towards a recession, with culture wars, fallouts from Brexit and fracturing across the political spectrum. The report finds "a new alignment of identity politics and the emergence of a new reactionary threat."¹⁶⁴

The report highlights the growth of conspiracy theories through the Covid-19 pandemic: "Conspiracy theories tend to rise in volatile and uncertain times, as people look for answers in complex situations. Although conspiracy theories are often an outlet for people to question the status quo, some conspiracy theories are particularly divisive and corrosive to democracy, and can fuel

racism, the far right and violence. Our poll finds that although overall, the majority of people reject conspiracy theories as being true, a significant minority remain open to believing myths about everything from climate change being exaggerated to 'great replacement' and 'new world order' conspiracies as well as those explicitly rooted in prejudice towards Jews and Muslims."¹⁶⁵

The report includes polling data which shows that 34% of 18–24-year-olds agree that Jewish people have an unhealthy control over the world's banking system.

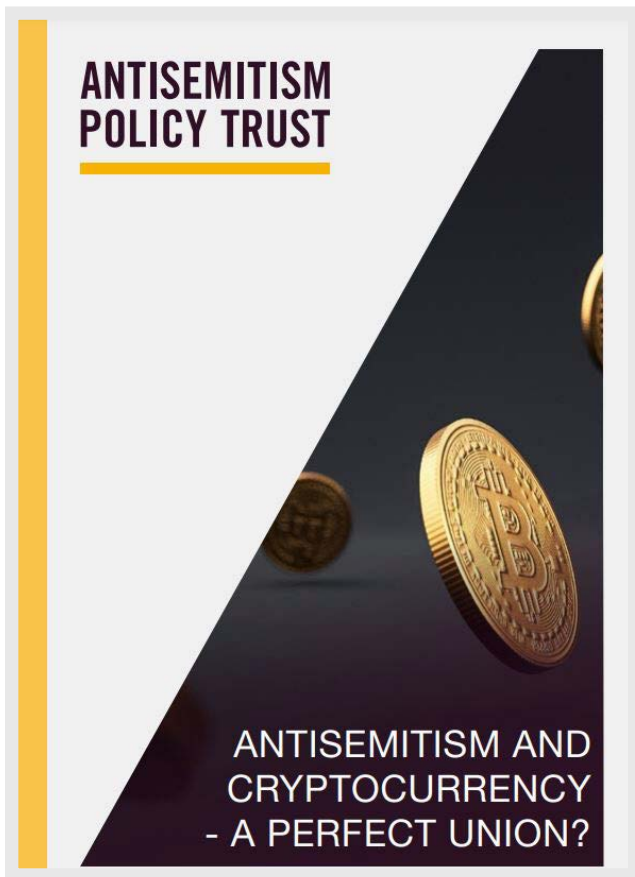
Commenting on the data, Dave Rich, Director of Policy at the CST, said: "The indication that younger people are more susceptible to antisemitic beliefs than older age groups goes against everything we thought we knew about decreasing levels of racism, and greater acceptance of diversity, amongst younger generations. It suggests that the growing popularity of conspiracy theories, especially online, has helped to revive conspiratorial views about Jews, money, and power that ought to be consigned to history. This is an alarm call and we urgently need educational solutions to prevent the further spread of these antisemitic views."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴<https://hopenothate.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Fear-HOPE-2022-FINAL-1.pdf>

¹⁶⁵<https://hopenothate.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Fear-HOPE-2022-FINAL-1.pdf>

¹⁶⁶<https://www.thejc.com/news/news/one-third-of-young-brits-believe-antisemitic-conspiracies-survey-claims-3otaldaw2kPeYOnYzqBaX4>

Antisemitism Policy Trust: *Antisemitism & Cryptocurrency – A Perfect Union?*



In April, the Antisemitism Policy Trust published a report titled 'Antisemitism and Cryptocurrency – A Perfect Union?'.¹⁶⁷

This report looks at how cryptocurrencies are attractive to those on the far right and far left, who are distrustful of financial and political institutions. Those who are deeply antisemitic, incorporate this distrust with their antisemitism, along with the belief that they are controlled and manipulated by Jews.

The report recommends the regulation of cryptocurrency exchanges and platforms, as well as pressure to add to their terms and conditions that their funds cannot be used for inciting violence or spreading hate, and naming and shaming companies who refuse.

¹⁶⁷ <https://antisemitism.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Crypto-Report.pdf>

Service to commemorate the 800th anniversary of Synod of Oxford

On Sunday 8 May, a service took place at Christ Church Cathedral in Oxford to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the Synod of Oxford. It was at that synod in 1222 that the Church introduced a number of antisemitic measures in England. They included introducing tithes on the Jewish community, prohibiting social interaction between Christians and Jews, forcing Jews to wear identifying badges, banning Jews from certain professions and forbidding Jews from building new synagogues.¹⁶⁸

The synod took place in the context of rising prejudice and violence against the small Jewish community. This included the first blood libel accusation, that Jews killed non-Jewish children to use their blood for religious rituals, in Norwich in 1144 and the massacre of Jews at Clifford's Tower in York in 1190. This was followed in 1275 by the statute issued by Edward I that prohibited Jews from lending money at interest and requiring all Jews over the age of seven to wear a badge. Finally, the community was expelled in 1290.

The service was attended by Christian and Jewish representatives and consisted of an apology by the Church of England. One bishop spoke of the painful and shameful history of persecuting Jews. Chief Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis said the service was "*deeply appreciated by our Jewish community*" and hoped it would lead to a strengthening of the friendship between Christians and Jews.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ <https://www.oxford.anglican.org/synod-of-oxford-commemoration-service.php>

¹⁶⁹ <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/chief-rabbi-says-we-are-on-a-journey-as-church-apologies-for-anti-jewish-laws/>

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CST'S MISSION

- **Promote good relations** between British Jews and the rest of British society by working towards the elimination of racism, and antisemitism in particular.
- **Represent British Jews** on issues of racism, antisemitism, extremism, policing and security.
- **Facilitate Jewish life** by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.
- **Help those who are victims** of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- **Promote research** into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
- **Speak responsibly** at all times, without exaggeration or political favour, on antisemitism and associated issues.



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