



✉ [ceo@antisemitism.org](mailto:ceo@antisemitism.org)

☎ +44 (0)330 822 0321

🌐 [www.antisemitism.org](http://www.antisemitism.org)

The Rt Hon. Sir Keir Starmer KCB PC QC MP  
Leader of Her Majesty's Most Loyal Opposition

Mr David Evans  
General-Secretary of the Labour Party

*By e-mail only*

29th October 2020

Dear Sir Keir and Mr Evans,

## **ANTISEMITISM IN THE LABOUR PARTY**

Campaign Against Antisemitism was the originating complainant in the statutory investigation into antisemitism in the Labour Party by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the 'Commission'), whose report has been published this morning. You may be aware that we first contacted the Commission in 2017 and have worked with its investigators over the years since to make the case that has today been vindicated.

The Commission, in its report, has concluded that the Labour Party and a number of named officials and members committed unlawful acts in breach of the Equality Act 2010, in that they unlawfully discriminated against Jewish members of the Labour Party on the ground of their (or others) being Jewish. The Commission showed that the unlawful acts were of a systemic rather than an isolated character. It found that the disciplinary process lacked independence and was unfit for purpose. It found that the culture in the Labour Party and the acts and omissions of its leadership served to foster an environment within the Party that was hostile to Jewish people.

Institutional antisemitism is at the heart of the Commission's findings and conclusions.

That your Party became institutionally racist against Jews, causing more than two in five British Jews to consider leaving the country and necessitating the investigation that has now concluded, is an indelible stain on Labour and on those within your Party who stood by and let antisemitism take hold. The individuals responsible must at last be held to account.

A number of officers and members of the Labour Party were directly involved in antisemitic conduct. Some participated in creating a culture that was hostile to Jews. Others enabled

antisemitism through their own conduct or through their passivity or silent acquiescence. Many Jewish people, whose political home had been in Labour, often over generations, found themselves politically homeless. Many still do. It is shameful that antisemitism was allowed to take root so deeply, particularly in a party which had previously prided itself on its commitment to equality, anti-racism, and the protection of minorities.

CAA originally approached the Commission because our complaints about antisemitic conduct by members of the Labour Party, including its former leader, Jeremy Corbyn, were not treated seriously under the Party's existing disciplinary processes and, in some cases, were simply ignored.

It became clear to us that the Party's disciplinary processes were unfit for purpose and that its culture was inhospitable to Jews. For that reason, after the failure to take our initial complaints seriously, we held back making further complaints or pressing existing complaints to the Labour Party while the Commission's investigation took place.

Following publication of the Commission's report and its recommendations, including for a reformed disciplinary process that is independent and fit for purpose, there is a renewed opportunity to deal fairly and effectively with antisemitic conduct that has not been properly addressed so far.

In anticipation of establishment of an independent disciplinary process, we are submitting two types of complaint for consideration under that new process.

- First, we will be resubmitting our pre-existing complaints against Jeremy Corbyn. We request that this complaint should be dealt with under the new disciplinary process. The original complaint has been supplemented with further supporting evidence which was unavailable when the complaint was originally submitted, including Mr Corbyn's statement this morning and, in any event, the historic elements of the complaints were plainly not dealt with appropriately or objectively. The complaint and the evidence in support are set out in Appendix A to this letter.
- Second, we will be submitting a new set of complaints. The new complaints are against the following sitting and former Labour Party Members of Parliament, parliamentary candidates fielded at the last General Election, and peers, including Diane Abbott, Apsana Begum, Richard Burgon, Barry Gardiner, Afzal Khan and Zarah Sultana (the "Respondents"). CAA contends that each of the Respondents breached the Party's Conditions of Membership as set out in Chapter 2, Clause I (8) of the Party's Rule Book by committing acts that are grossly detrimental to the Party in that they repeatedly contended that complaints about antisemitism in the Labour Party were (and are) simply "a smear", victimised those making allegations of antisemitism within the Party, or engaged in antisemitic acts themselves. This conduct fostered a culture of discrimination, harassment and victimisation, contrary to Chapter I, Clause IV (2) (B) of the Party's Constitutional Rules contained in the Party's Rule Book. These complaints and the supporting evidence are set out in Appendix B to this letter.

We note that the Labour Party has formally adopted the International Definition of Antisemitism (“the Definition”). In addition to breaching the Labour Party’s Rules on the grounds of causing gross detriment to the Party, the conduct about which we complain also falls within that Definition. All of the incidents cited in the Appendix are followed by an analysis demonstrating why they constitute either a direct breach of — or active support for — a breach of the Definition by the respondents. We would be willing to provide further evidence or analysis, should it be required.

Further, we point out that it remains open to the Leader of the Labour Party to remove Shadow Ministers from the Shadow Cabinet or to withdraw the Labour whip from MPs, as a matter of discretion, independently of the Party’s disciplinary process, as was the case with Rebecca Long-Bailey.

While there are encouraging signs that the Labour Party under your leadership is now inclined to be less tolerant of the promotion of antisemitic tropes, the respondents against whom we have made complaints have, in our view, committed more serious breaches, yet no action has been taken against them so far, at least not to our knowledge.

Parties are judged by the conduct of those elected to high office and by how they respond when the conduct of those office holders falls so dismally short. In the eyes of the overwhelming majority of Britain’s Jews and all decent people in our country, Labour under Mr Corbyn was severely wanting. An independent statutory body whose very brief is to protect equality and human rights has now confirmed the correctness of that view.

Whether Labour under its new leadership has turned a corner will be judged by how it deals with complaints, including those we have made, going forward. In our view, action on our complaints is a necessary step for the Labour Party towards regaining the values that it lost and to begin restoring the trust of the Jewish community.

In light of the grim history of the past five years and in order to ensure that all complaints can now be properly investigated, we request confirmation that no prescriptive period will be applied in order to preclude complaints related to past incidents. We note that the Labour Party’s rules contain no such prescriptive period, despite the same being a recommendation in the Chakrabarti Report which did so much to whitewash antisemitism within the Party.

Further, in order to restore confidence in the disciplinary process, the secrecy in relation to disciplinary processes ushered in following the Charkrabarti Report must end. There must be transparency concerning the outcome of disciplinary complaints. In particular, we ask that the outcomes of disciplinary investigations and panel hearings be made known to us, as complainants and, unless there are exceptional and compelling reasons to the contrary in a particular case, that the outcomes be made known to the general public as well.

In conclusion, we request that you introduce the new independent disciplinary process, and ensure that the misconduct alleged in our complaints is investigated and decided only through that new independent process, no later than six months from the date of this letter, namely 29th April 2021.


CAA referred Labour to the Commission because the Party failed to deal with our disciplinary complaints over antisemitism within its ranks, culminating in the Party's refusal even to investigate our complaints against Mr Corbyn. Sir Keir, you have pledged to tear out antisemitism "by its roots", and in order to do so you must ensure that the complaints appended hereto are investigated fairly, efficiently and transparently.

Justice delayed is justice denied, and it has been delayed by too many years already.

Yours sincerely,



Gideon Falter  
**CHIEF EXECUTIVE**



Joe Glasman  
**HEAD OF POLITICAL AND  
GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS**

## APPENDIX A: COMPLAINT AGAINST JEREMY CORBYN

### Incidents

1. On January 28th 2009, an article by Jeremy Corbyn was published in the Morning Star, in which he wrote that a decision by the BBC not to broadcast an appeal to send money to Gaza demonstrated the “unbelievably high levels of influence that Israel’s government appears to have in the upper echelons of parts of the media.” He continued: “How far an Obama administration is prepared to stand up to Israel and limit its control of US foreign policy is unclear.”
2. On 3rd March 2009, at a Stop the War Coalition public meeting, Mr Corbyn made a speech in which, having begun by saying that it would be his “honour and pleasure” to host “our friends” from Hamas and Hezbollah in Parliament, he stated: “we are opposed to Zionism”, and went on to say: “What we’re in favour of is a Palestine where everyone can live; they can’t live if you’ve got Zionism...dominating it all.”
3. On Holocaust Memorial Day, 27th January 2010, Mr Corbyn reportedly hosted, chaired and gave the introductory speech at an event at Portcullis House on the parliamentary estate called “Never Again for Anyone–Auschwitz to Gaza”. The event was organised by the Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign (an organisation with a heavily evidenced problem with antisemitism) in conjunction with the so-called International Jewish anti-Zionist Network (IJAN), of which the lead speaker at the event, Hajo Meyer, was a member. The event was part of a tour, which had apparently included three dates in Scotland, including one in Glasgow several days earlier, and one at Goldsmiths, University of London, the day before. Mr Meyer’s theme was summarised thus by the Glasgow Herald: “Auschwitz survivor: ‘Israel acts like Nazis’”. Meyer’s presentation included the claim that “Judaism has been replaced by Holocaust religion”, whose “high priest” he claimed was the Nobel laureate, Holocaust survivor and author, Elie Wiesel. The speaker also claimed that Zionists were dehumanising Palestinians in the same way as the Nazis dehumanised Jews; for example, through the infamous Nuremberg laws. It was confirmed that antisemitic tropes were openly on display in presentations during the event. The Portcullis House event which Mr Corbyn hosted was also addressed by phone from Gaza by a Palestinian activist, Mr Haidar Eid, who stated: “The world was absolutely wrong to think that Nazism was defeated in 1945. Nazism has won because it has finally managed to Nazify the consciousness of its own victims.” On account of the antisemitic content of the toured event, a Jewish activist sent Mr Corbyn e-mails in advance, warning him. This correspondence has been made available to Campaign Against Antisemitism by the activist in question. In the exchange, the activist asked Mr Corbyn: “Why are you hosting a meeting on Wednesday in the Boothroyd Room (Portcullis House), which will be a farrago of lies about Israel, will demonise Israel and may well contain elements of antisemitism?” Then, pointing out the deliberate offence that would certainly be caused by staging the event on Holocaust Memorial Day itself, the activist continued: “You are hosting a meeting in Parliament on Holocaust Memorial Day which will contain antisemitic references. What a disgrace.” Despite the event’s having already been on tour, making the case for a direct comparison between Israel’s behaviour and that of Nazi Germany, and despite being familiar with Mr Meyer’s work, Mr Corbyn replied: “How on earth do you know what will be said at a meeting yet to be held?” It is clear that Mr

Corbyn, as Chair of the Palestine Solidarity Committee, and as someone who knew Mr Meyer already, will have understood the nature of the event in advance. It was also reported that Mr Corbyn, as chair of the event, told activists (including a Holocaust survivor), to be silent and listen to the antisemitic abuse, asking a police officer to remove those who protested at the meeting.

4. On Holocaust Memorial Day, 27th January 2011, John McDonnell and Mr Corbyn respectively proposed and seconded an Early Day Motion to the House of Commons calling for the word “Holocaust” in the name of Holocaust Memorial Day to be replaced with “Genocide”, thus removing its particular significance for Jews. The motion cites IJAN’s “Never Again for Anyone” initiative EDM#1360. The IJAN website reportedly claimed that their initiative is intended to challenge the “Zionist exploitation” of the Holocaust for “political purposes,” and stated: “The Zionist exploitation of this genocide to justify colonization, [sic] displacement and apartheid in Palestine is a dishonor [sic] to those who survived and those who did not.” It should be noted that Holocaust Memorial Day commemorates both the Holocaust and subsequent genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Darfur.

5. On an unknown date in 2011, Mr Corbyn wrote the foreword to a reissue of J.A. Hobson’s 1902 work, *Imperialism: A Study*, in which, in a chapter entitled “Economic Parasites of Imperialism”, the author described “international capitalism” as “controlled...by men of a single and peculiar race, who have behind them many centuries of financial experience”, before asking rhetorically: “Does anyone seriously suppose that a great war could be undertaken by any European state, or a great state loan subscribed, if the house of Rothschild and its connections set their face against it?” The author continues: “There is not a war, a revolution, an anarchist assassination, or any other public shock, which is not gainful to these men; they are harpies who suck their gains from every new forced expenditure and every sudden disturbance of public credit,” before describing how the direct influence supposedly exercised by these financial houses “is supported by the control which they exercise over the body of public opinion through the press”. In Mr Corbyn’s foreword, having already described the book as a “great tome” that was “brilliant, and very controversial at the time”, directly referencing Hobson’s discussion of what Mr Corbyn calls “the commercial interests that fuel the role of the popular press with tales of imperial might”, he goes on to call the analysis “correct and prescient.”

6. On an unknown date in May 2011, Mr Corbyn gave an interview on Press TV, the Iranian government’s principal English-language propaganda channel, which regularly promulgates antisemitic conspiracy theories. He said: “There is pressure on the BBC from probably Mark Thompson [then the Director-General of the BBC], who seems to me to have an agenda in this respect. There seems to be a great deal of pressure on the BBC from the Israeli government and the Israeli embassy, and they are very assertive towards all journalists and to the BBC itself — they challenge every single thing on reporting the whole time. I think there is a bias towards saying that Israel is a democracy in the Middle East, that Israel has a right to exist, that Israel has its security concerns.” It should be noted that, during the period of Mark Thompson’s directorship of the BBC, it was alleged by antisemitic conspiracy theorists that he and the BBC were involved in a pro-Israel

conspiracy, and his impartiality was apparently questioned, by virtue of his having a Jewish wife, by readers of the *Morning Star*.

7. On 1st July 2011, an article apparently written by Mr Corbyn was reportedly published in the *Morning Star*, defending the controversial cleric Raed Salah, who had been arrested for having entered Britain in spite of a travel ban. The article described British media coverage of the ban as “hysteria”, and continued: “It’s time that Western governments stood up to the Zionist lobby which seems to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism.” Raed Salah is the head of the northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel, a group outlawed by the Israeli government in 2015 for its alleged links to the terrorist group Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. He was convicted of raising money and organising for Hamas. In 2007, he reportedly gave a speech in which he accused Jews of using the blood of non-Jewish children to bake bread. He was charged with inciting violence and racism, and was initially acquitted, but later convicted on appeal in 2016. He also wrote shortly after the 9/11 terrorist attacks that Jews had been absent from the World Trade Centre on that day, invoking a conspiracy theory that Israel, rather than Al-Qaeda, had been responsible for the atrocity. He also published a poem describing Jews as “the germs in all time.” On 25th November 2019, it was reported that he had been convicted of incitement to violence.

8. On 5th April 2012, Mr Corbyn wrote to the then Bishop of Guildford in support of the Reverend Stephen Sizer, who had recently been accused of antisemitism in light of having promoted an article (which included an image by controversial Brazilian cartoonist Carlos Latuff, suggesting that the Holocaust was being exploited for political purposes) on social media from the virulently antisemitic site The Ugly Truth (whose tagline currently reads: “intelligent ‘anti-semitism’ [sic] for thinking gentiles”). Mr Corbyn wrote: “Reverend Stephen Sizer seems to have come under attack by certain individuals intent on discrediting the excellent work that Stephen does in highlighting the injustices of the Palestinian Israeli situation... Might I suggest that such criticism is part of a wider pattern of demonising those who dare to stand up and speak out against Zionism...” He continued by asserting his certainty that the Bishop would be aware of “how much distance exists between anti-Semitism [sic], anti Zionism [sic], and anti Israeli government actions for that matter,” adding that “Overzealous critics find it convenient to conflate them all. Active and well informed individuals such as Reverend Stephen Sizer, withstand a considerable amount of inappropriate criticism. Indeed many MPs and Peers are also attacked.” It should be noted that this was not the first time Revd Sizer had promoted material from antisemitic sites (nor, indeed, the first time he had publicly been accused of antisemitism), but rather represented part of a longstanding pattern of behaviour, as the result of which a Jewish community charity would later that year lodge a formal complaint against him. In 2015, Revd Sizer was investigated by the Church of England following his posting of an article which blamed Israel for the 9/11 attacks, and for which he was banned by the church from using social media. Mr Sizer breached this ban in November 2016 — posting about an event he had attended in the House of Lords, hosted by Baroness Tonge and organised by the Palestinian Return Centre, at which a questioner in the audience appeared to blame Jews for the Holocaust — and was issued with a final warning. Having breached his agreement again in early 2017, he was made to retire early from his parish. He has continued to promote antisemitic conspiracy theories, including the so-called ‘Khazar Myth’, and has appeared on Press TV, lending

credence to the proposition put forward by the programme's host that Labour's antisemitism crisis was "all cooked up, manufactured by the Israeli lobby in the UK, in conjunction with the Israeli embassy."

9. On 12th August 2012, Jeremy Corbyn appeared in an interview on Press TV. Asked about an Islamist attack in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, in which a number of Egyptian soldiers had been killed, he stated: [a] "I'm very concerned about it [the violence], and you have to look at the big picture. In whose interests is it to destabilise the new government in Egypt; in whose interests is it to kill Egyptians other than Israel, concerned at the growing relationship between Palestine and the new Egyptian government." Prompted by the interviewer to comment on the idea that jihadists might attack fellow Muslims during Ramadan, he replied: "It seems a bit unlikely that that would happen during Ramadan — to put it mildly — and I suspect the hand of Israel in this whole process of destabilisation." Later in the same programme, an interview was conducted via satellite link with Abdulaziz Amr, who received seven life sentences for helping to organise a Hamas suicide bombing in Jerusalem in 2003 which killed seven people, including Dr David Applebaum, head of the emergency room at a Jerusalem hospital, and his daughter Nava, who was due to be married the next day. However, Mr Amr was released in a 2011 prisoner exchange, in which over 1,000 Palestinian prisoners were exchanged for an Israeli soldier, Corporal Gilad Shalit, who had been held hostage by Hamas for 5 years. Questioned about the experiences of prisoners, as claimed by Abdulaziz Amr, Mr Corbyn said: [b] "You have to ask the question why they are in prison in the first place...I met many of the brothers including the brother who's been speaking here [Mr Amr] when they came out of prison, when I was in Doha earlier this year...if there was a serious case against the individual prisoners that Israel claims there would be then they wouldn't win an appeal [sic], they wouldn't get out, they wouldn't be released...Corporal Shalit apparently equals the lives of a very, very large number of Palestinian people. Well, I'm glad that those who were released were released, I hope they're now in safe places." It should be noted that this interview took place over six months after Press TV had been banned from broadcasting in the UK, following repeated infractions of the broadcasting code. The most serious of these was its airing of an interview with a journalist which had been conducted under duress. We note further that Mr Corbyn was reportedly paid around £20,000 for appearances on Press TV between 2009 and 2012, according to the House of Commons register of interests. Press TV is widely considered to be a propaganda channel for the theocratic Iranian regime, which is profoundly antisemitic and which has promoted Holocaust denial.

10. On 2nd October 2012, in response to learning from the artist Mear One that his mural near Brick Lane would be removed, Mr Corbyn wrote on Facebook: "Why? You are in good company. Rockefeller [sic] destroyed Diego Viera's [sic] mural because it includes a picture of Lenin." The mural portrayed a number of businessmen — some of whom represented specific Jewish individuals and whose stereotypical portrayal evoked the antisemitic caricatures of Nazi-era Germany — playing Monopoly on the backs of the poor. Diego Rivera had been commissioned by Nelson Rockefeller to create a mural, but the latter had halted work and ultimately destroyed it on account of the inclusion of the figure of Vladimir Lenin, the Communist leader of Russia. Patrick Viera was a footballer at Arsenal FC, Mr Corbyn's favoured club.



11. On an unknown date in 2013, Mr Corbyn addressed a meeting convened by the Palestinian Return Centre. Referring to a previous speech given by Manuel Hassassian, the Palestinian Authority's representative in Britain, Mr Corbyn suggested that "the progressive Jewish element" in Britain at the time of the Balfour agreement had been against it, and that these same Jewish progressives had been the leaders of the London trade unions and the Labour Party at the time. He continued: "It was Zionism that rose up and Zionism that drove them [Jewish progressive Trades Union and Labour Party leaders] into this sort of ludicrous position they have at the present time." He gave as an example of this supposedly "ludicrous position" the meeting in Parliament, at which, he said, the Palestinian envoy's words had been "dutifully recorded by the thankfully silent Zionists who were in the audience on that occasion and then came up and berated him afterwards for what he'd said. So clearly two problems. One is that they don't want to study history and secondly, having lived in this country for a very long time, probably all their lives, they don't understand English irony either. Manuel does understand English irony and uses it very, very effectively so I think they need two lessons which we can help them with." Mr Corbyn's comments above were reportedly immediately followed by a speech given by the Revd Stephen Sizer (see [9]).

12. On 3rd April 2016, Merseyside MP Louise Ellman reportedly said: "The leader [Mr Corbyn, who had been elected on 12th September 2015] has spoken out clearly that he is against antisemitism, but it is not just about words, there has got to be some action, and we haven't seen enough of that." Ms Ellman had witnessed and experienced antisemitic abuse in her constituency Labour Party, which led, ultimately, to her resigning her membership of the Party, citing the rise of antisemitism under Mr Corbyn's leadership. Her 2016 comments prompted Mr Corbyn's brother Piers — who has a history of antisemitic social media posts — to tweet: "Absurd! JC and all #Corbyns are committed #AntiNazi. #Zionists cant cope with anyone supporting rights for #Palestine." When prompted by a reporter to clarify his interpretation of his brother's comments, Mr Corbyn is reported to have said on 5th April 2016: "No, my brother isn't wrong". He went on to say: "My brother has his point of view, I have mine and we actually fundamentally agree."

13. On 18th March 2016, the senior Guardian journalist Jonathan Freedland, who is Jewish, published an article attempting to explain the phenomenon of antisemitism in the Labour Party. The language he used was not polemic, nor the argument partisan. However, at that time Jeremy Corbyn was being filmed as part of a documentary, and, on camera, was shown describing Mr Freedland's writing as "Utterly disgusting subliminal nastiness," adding "he's not a good guy."

14. On 19th September 2016, a video was posted on Mr Corbyn's Facebook and Twitter accounts, in which pairs of activists were shown discussing questions his supporters were "tired of hearing" in relation to the Labour leader. The final responses to the question "Do you promote antisemitism?" characterised the Jewish community's complaints as coming from people who were "losing the political argument and [had] nothing to fight back with other than these accusations," before finally dismissing the written question as rubbish, which the presenters of the video screwed into a ball and tossed onto the floor.

15. On 4th September 2018, it was reported that the Labour Party's ruling body, the National Executive Committee (NEC) had adopted the International Definition of Antisemitism in full, but that an accompanying clarification proposed by Mr Corbyn immediately beforehand had not been accepted. One passage of this statement asserted: "It cannot be considered racist to treat Israel like any other state or assess its conduct against the standards of international law. Nor should it be regarded as antisemitic to describe Israel, its policies or the circumstances around its foundation as racist because of their discriminatory impact, or to support another settlement of the Israel-Palestine conflict."

16. On 2nd May 2019, responding to a letter from the head of a Jewish charity prompted by the revelation of the incident detailed in [6], Mr Corbyn wrote: "I am deeply saddened that the mischievous representation of my foreword to the book will have caused real stress within the Jewish community." He continued: "This accusation is the latest in a series of equally ill-founded accusations of anti-Jewish racism that Labour's political opponents have made against me. I note that the Hobson story was written by a Conservative Party peer in a newspaper whose editorial policy, and owner, have long been hostile to Labour. At a time when Jewish communities in the UK, and indeed throughout Europe, feel under attack, it is a matter of great regret that the issue of antisemitism is often politicised in this way."

17. From 30th June 2016 to 27th February 2019, Mr Corbyn lent explicit support to, and in some cases reportedly interfered or intervened in the Party's disciplinary processes regarding some of the most prominent and controversial individuals suspended and expelled from the Labour Party for actions and statements subsequently determined by the Labour Party to have brought the Party into disrepute as a result of their antisemitic content. These include Jackie Walker (expelled); Marc Wadsworth (expelled); Chris Williamson (suspended three times and resigned); Glyn Secker (suspended and reinstated) and Moshé Machover (a Labour Party member).

[a] On 30th June 2016, it was reported that the Jewish MP Ruth Smeeth had left the launch of the Chakrabarti report on antisemitism in tears after having been accused by Labour activist Marc Wadsworth of colluding with right-wing media. It was reported that Ms Smeeth had called for Mr Corbyn to resign after he stood by while the accusations against Ms Smeeth were made and failed to intervene. Mr Corbyn was also reported as having appeared to compare the Israeli government with terrorist groups such as ISIS, having said: "Our Jewish friends are no more responsible for the actions of Israel or the Netanyahu government than our Muslim friends are for those of various self-styled Islamic states or organisations." On 1st July 2016, it was reported that video footage had emerged of Mr Corbyn laughing and joking with Mr Wadsworth following the heckling of Ms Smeeth. Mr Corbyn can be seen, having become separated from Mr Wadsworth, making efforts to push through the crowd to rejoin their clearly convivial conversation. Mr Wadsworth is heard saying to Mr Corbyn: "I outed her [Ms Smeeth], bloody talking to the Torygraph [a reference to the pro-Conservative leanings of the Telegraph] this morning." As a consequence of his actions and statements above, Mr Wadsworth was subsequently expelled from the Party.

[b] On 12th March 2019, it was reported that, in October 2017, Mr Corbyn had intervened in the expulsion from Labour of Moshé Machover, reportedly complaining to the Party's then General

Secretary Iain McNicol. Mr Machover, who is currently Political Officer of Hampstead and Kilburn Constituency Labour Party, and was listed alongside Mr Corbyn as one of the speakers for the 1984 Labour Movement Conference on Palestine, which Mr Corbyn reportedly chaired and sponsored, had written an article which was widely distributed to activists at the 2017 Labour Party Conference in Brighton, arguing that in Labour, a “campaign of equating opposition to Zionism with antisemitism has, in fact, been carefully orchestrated with the help of the Israeli government”. The essay, “Anti-Zionism does not equal antisemitism”, quoted Reinhard Heydrich, the architect of the Final Solution, to support the notion that the Nazis supported Zionists before the Holocaust. The article appeared in a magazine produced by the Labour Party Marxists group, which is closely linked to the Communist Party of Great Britain. At the time, then Labour MP John Mann and Holocaust Educational Trust Chief Executive Karen Pollock had both attacked the publication of the article and called for those linked to the group to be expelled from the Party. Indeed, it appears that Mr Machover’s expulsion was, in fact, as a result of Labour’s policy of auto-exclusion, on the grounds of his membership of another political party; namely, both Labour Party Marxists and the Communist Party of Great Britain. At the 2019 Labour Party conference, an article by Mr Machover was distributed to members in which Israel was compared to Nazi Germany.

[c] On 10th March 2019, it was reported that, in March 2018, Mr Corbyn’s Director of Strategy and Communications, Seumas Milne, had told Party officials to lift the suspension of Glyn Secker (following the discovery of his membership of the Palestine Live Facebook group), overruling their recommendation to expel him, after Andrew Murray, another aide to Mr Corbyn (and the Unite union’s chief of staff), stated that Mr Corbyn himself was “interested in this one.”

Mr Corbyn has shown support for Mr Secker in the past. For example, on 26th July 2014, during a pro-Palestine march in London, Mr Corbyn spoke in praise of Mr Secker, saying: “...we’ve just heard a brilliant speech from Glyn Secker from Jews for Justice for Palestinians, who read out a letter from Dr Mads Gilbert, working in the Shifa hospital in Gaza. That’s the Jewish tradition that I’m interested in; that’s the Jewish tradition I understand.”

Mr Secker is now Secretary of two organisations with a record of antisemitism denial, Jewish Voice for Labour (JVL) and Free Speech on Israel. Mr Secker was briefly suspended from the Labour Party in March 2018 when it was discovered that he was a member of the Palestine Live Facebook Group. On 11th May 2019, Mr Secker was recorded saying in a speech that “Jews” are “in the gutter” and “part of the problem,” apparently in relation to Jewish organisations and their leaders; he has nevertheless been chosen by the Labour Party to provide training on antisemitism.

[d] On 31st January 2019, it was reported by Derbyshire Live that Mr Corbyn had said of then Labour MP for Derby North, Chris Williamson: “Chris Williamson is a very good, very effective Labour MP. He’s a very strong anti-racist campaigner. He is not antisemitic in any way.” Mr Williamson had repeatedly been accused of extreme insensitivity towards the Jewish community because of his support for high-profile members suspended or expelled for antisemitism, and just the previous month had been the subject of a statement issued by 30 University Labour Clubs, in which he was condemned for his “complete lack of respect for the Jewish community,” and in which the Party was urged to withdraw the whip “until he listens to the concerns of the Jewish

community and properly educates himself about antisemitism.” Mr Williamson was suspended from the Party on 27th February 2019.

On 27th February 2019, it was reported that Mr Corbyn’s office had seemingly intervened to prevent Mr Williamson’s suspension.

On 28th February 2019, it was reported in The Telegraph that Mr Corbyn had let it be known that he did not want Mr Williamson suspended; it was reportedly only when it became clear that this was a “PR disaster” that the whip was removed from the MP.

On 6th November 2019, Mr Williamson resigned from the Labour Party and wrote a resignation letter described as “a manifesto against Jews.”

[e] On 4th July 2016, Mr Corbyn gave evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee on antisemitism, and was questioned about Jackie Walker, who was, at the time, the Vice-Chair of Momentum, the campaign group set up to support Mr Corbyn in his leadership bid the previous year, and has been described as a “key ally” of Mr Corbyn. Ms Walker had been readmitted to the Party a few months previously, following her suspension for stating that “many Jews” were amongst the “the chief financiers” of the transatlantic slave trade, in spite of having refused to apologise for her comments. Asked to comment on why Ms Walker had been reinstated, whilst Ken Livingstone remained suspended, Mr Corbyn replied: “Jackie Walker is a woman of black Jamaican heritage and European Jewish heritage, and as I understand it, she became involved in an online discussion about the history of the slave trade and the financing of the slave trade, and unfortunately she then became involved in a discussion about the gradations of horror that go with that. She was indeed suspended. She made strong representations to the Compliance Unit of the Party — I wasn’t a party to any of that — and she was subsequently reinstated on this. I think she is somebody that does have a deep understanding of issues of racism that have affected her and her family in her life...”

Further pressed to say whether he was “happy to have someone in the Party who [had] made those comments,” Mr Corbyn responded: “...I am content that she has now been reinstated in the Party and that she will make a positive contribution to our Party and not in any way indulge in any activities that would be damaging to the Party.”

Mr Corbyn was later asked to comment on Ken Livingstone’s submission to the enquiry on the matter of Ms Walker’s statements. Chuka Umunna MP said : “I am just asking whether you think, as Ken Livingstone said to us, that to state that Jewish people were important in financing the slave trade is antisemitic because, as he said, it was not true. Do you think that what she said is antisemitic?” Mr Corbyn responded: “True or not, it is the wrong comparison to draw” and, pressed further, stated: “I think if you condemn people for their faith and funding of something, yes, that does become antisemitic, because what you are doing then — as I think you would probably agree — is calling them out because of their faith or their ethnicity, rather than the fact of what they were doing, which was apparently funding the slave trade.”

On 6th September 2016, Mr Corbyn was reported as having been criticised for having shared a platform with Jackie Walker, having been photographed smiling and standing alongside her at a Momentum event in Kent.

On 30th September 2016, it was reported that Ms Walker had been suspended for a second time for saying that Holocaust Memorial Day should be “open to all peoples who’ve experienced Holocaust” and questioning the need for the Jewish community to have extra security for its buildings.

On 27th March 2019, it was reported that Ms Walker had been expelled from the Labour Party for “prejudicial and grossly detrimental behaviour against the party.”

On 10th July 2019, it was reported that a key ally of Mr Corbyn, Labour’s General Secretary Jennie Formby, had been accused of attempting to influence the selection of the disciplinary panel which would hear Jackie Walker’s case. It was reported that an e-mail from her, stating “The National Constitutional Committee cannot be allowed to continue in the way that they are at the moment and I will also be challenging the panel for the Jackie Walker case” had been sent by her to Mr Corbyn’s personal e-mail address, as well as to Mr Corbyn’s chief advisors.

On 19th July 2019, it was reported that Sky News had obtained e-mails showing that Mr Corbyn had been party to the correspondence between Jennie Formby and his Chief of Staff, Karie Murphy, in which Ms Walker’s case was discussed. Ms Formby apparently expressed the desire to ensure that Ms Walker’s panel did not include members who had been involved in the cases of Tony Greenstein and Marc Wadsworth, both of whom had been expelled.

18. On 29th October 2020, following the release of the EHRC’s report on antisemitism in the Labour Party, Mr Corbyn wrote: “Anyone claiming there is no antisemitism in the Labour Party is wrong. Of course there is, as there is throughout society, and sometimes it is voiced by people who think of themselves as on the left. Jewish members of our party and the wider community were right to expect us to deal with it, and I regret that it took longer to deliver that change than it should. One antisemite is one too many, but the scale of the problem was also dramatically overstated for political reasons by our opponents inside and outside the party, as well as by much of the media. That combination hurt Jewish people and must never be repeated.”

## Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Mr Corbyn’s actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By suggesting that British Jews (characterised as “Zionists”) were incapable of understanding “English irony” despite “having lived in this country for a very long time, probably all their lives” (thereby promoting the stereotypical notion of Jewish ‘foreignness’) [11]; by wholeheartedly endorsing a book which promotes an early incarnation of contemporary conspiracy theories about the Rothschild family and alleges Jewish control over the press, without drawing attention to the antisemitic nature of its analysis [5]; by defending the continued existence of a mural which

promoted antisemitic tropes (after having analysed and absorbed its contents sufficiently to have drawn a sophisticated comparison to the fate of a mural by Diego Rivera) [10]; and by suggesting that his foreword to J.A. Hobson's book had been mischievously misrepresented by a Jewish journalist for partisan political reasons, thereby presenting the journalist as deceitful and untrustworthy [16], he was "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions."

Zionism is an expression of national self-determination for Jews, and, since the establishment of the State of Israel, of support for the maintenance of that state. However, the allegation that Zionism is an inherently far-right and racist ideology was promoted by the Soviet Union in the post-war era until 1989, as part of a deliberate and explicitly antisemitic campaign to persecute Jewish citizens who wished to practise their religion and/or leave the Soviet Union — especially to emigrate to Israel — as well as to demonise and undermine Israel on the foreign stage for global strategic gain. A singular purpose of this propaganda was to drive a false distinction between "Jews" and "Zionists", in which the latter are portrayed as the enemy of the former, and the embodiment of many older antisemitic tropes, especially those in which Jews are characterised as disloyal citizens controlling the world's finances at the expense of the poor. In this context, "Zionist" could then be substituted for "Jew" in antisemitic discourse; and Israel, the embodiment of Zionism, became the "Jew among nations": a vessel for many older antisemitic ideas, characterised as a malign presence that mediates its power over foreign countries via the "Zionist" population they host.

By referring to supposed control of the British media by the "Zionist lobby" [7]; by stating that British "Zionists" "don't understand English irony" [9]; by alleging that the British media is manipulated by Israel [1] [6]; by suggesting that Israel controls US foreign policy [1]; by alleging, without evidence, that Israel had perpetrated a so-called "false flag" attack in Egypt [9a]; and by asserting unambiguous opposition to Zionism and seeming to suggest that the existence of Zionism makes life in Israel/Palestine impossible [2]; he was, therefore "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions" where Israel is "conceived as a Jewish collectivity."

We further note that, on 26th November 2019, Mr Corbyn was interviewed by the BBC's Andrew Neil, and was questioned as to whether it was antisemitic to use the phrase "Rothschild's Zionists run Israel and world governments" (a claim made by the former Labour council candidate Liam Moore), Mr Corbyn seemed reluctant to admit that it was, and had to be pressed on the matter a number of times before he appeared to agree.

We also note the words of the Labour Party's own guidance issued on the use of the term 'Zionism', particularly where it states that: "...for many Jews, Zionism represents national liberation. The concepts of Israel, Zion and Jerusalem run deeply in Jewish religion, identity and culture, and...are

symbolic of a homeland, refuge, or place of safety. The sensitivities around these concepts should be considered before using them.”

By apparently endorsing his brother’s view that accusations of antisemitism in the Labour Party, as highlighted by a Jewish MP, were the work of “Zionists [who] can’t cope with anyone supporting rights for...Palestine” [12]; by suggesting that accusations of antisemitism levelled against the Revd Stephen Sizer were simply part of an effort to demonise “those daring to stand up and speak out against Zionism” [8]; by claiming that a Jewish journalist’s analysis of antisemitism in the Labour Party was a work of “utterly disgusting subliminal nastiness” [13]; by promoting a video which characterises those making accusations of antisemitism within the Labour Party as doing so because they were “losing the political argument” [14]; and by suggesting that, in relation to his foreword to J.A. Hobson’s book, the issue of antisemitism in general was being “politicised” (suggesting, moreover, that those making such accusations were responsible for promoting anxiety within the Jewish community) [16]; and by claiming that the problem of antisemitism in Labour had been “dramatically overstated for political reasons by our opponents inside and outside the party, as well as by much of the media” [18], he was deploying the so-called ‘Livingstone Formulation’, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This further constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

By suggesting that the BBC was biased towards saying “that Israel has a right to exist” (in the context of an interview given to a propaganda channel for the Islamic Republic of Iran — a country whose leaders have repeatedly made clear their desire to eliminate the Jewish state — and in which pro-Israeli bias is understood to be negative), thereby tacitly condoning the view that Israel’s right to exist is a matter of debate [6]; by asserting unambiguous opposition to Zionism and seeming to suggest that the existence of Zionism makes life in Israel/Palestine impossible [2]; and by proposing a clarification to Labour’s adoption of the IHRA definition which stated that it could not be regarded as antisemitic to describe the circumstances around the foundation of Israel as racist [16], he was “denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination (e.g. by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour).”

By hosting, chairing and speaking at an event which explicitly drew a direct comparison between the actions of the Israeli government and those of Nazi Germany, when the evidence demonstrates that Mr Corbyn must have known that such an argument was to be advanced [3]; Mr Corbyn was both directly “drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis,” and enabling the drawing of such comparisons.

By choosing to stage the above event at Parliament on Holocaust Memorial Day itself, when Jews actively mourn those slain in the Holocaust, having been warned that such timing would be deeply upsetting to the Jewish community [3]; and, further, by supporting a motion introduced in the

House of Commons on the following year's Holocaust Memorial Day, calling for the word "Holocaust" to be dropped from the title of the commemoration, and citing as its inspiration an organisation whose reported aim is to challenge the "Zionist exploitation of [this] genocide..." [4], Mr Corbyn took a deliberate and premeditated course of action in the knowledge that it would cause deep offence to the Jewish community. As such, this represents a manifestation of antisemitism expressed as an action.

The assertion that Jews exploit the Holocaust politically and financially is an antisemitic trope based on the perception of negative Jewish character traits; namely notions of dishonesty and greed. This trope is now so widespread that, in a 2018 CNN survey, one third of Europeans expressed the opinion that Jews exploit the Holocaust. By hosting, chairing and speaking at an event in which Jews — particularly, but not exclusively, in Israel — were accused of "misuse of [the] Holocaust" and of believing that "Because we Jews have a monopoly [sic] on suffering, we can do what we want to anybody" [3], he was enabling the dissemination of "mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews."

By hosting an event which promoted the notion of a "Holocaust religion" [3], Mr Corbyn was attempting to diminish the significance of the Holocaust.

By using a television interview to question why a terrorist convicted for the slaughter of innocent Jewish Israelis should be "in prison in the first place"; by calling that terrorist "brother"; and by expressing pleasure in his release from prison as a result of a prisoner-swap, despite his not having served his full jail term [9b], Mr Corbyn was signalling his endorsement of Mr Amr's actions as an organiser of the terrorist murder of Jewish Israeli civilians. Given that, according to our records, Mr Corbyn has never apologised or distanced himself from these statements since becoming leader of the UK Labour Party, his actions and statements have therefore validated and spread within the Labour Party the view that such profoundly violent actions against Jews are, in his eyes, legitimate. As such, this represents an expression of hatred of Jews, disseminated by both speech and action.

By having lent regular and explicit support for, and reportedly interfered or intervened in the Party's disciplinary processes regarding, some of the most prominent individuals suspended and expelled from the Labour Party for actions and statements subsequently determined by the Labour Party to have been antisemitic and/or to have brought the Party into disrepute as a result of their antisemitic content [17 a-e], Mr Corbyn consistently and deliberately enabled and supported the dissemination of antisemitic discourse in the Labour Party. In doing so, he promoted discrimination against Jews within the Labour Party such as Ruth Smeeth, Luciana Berger, Margaret Hodge, members of the Jewish Labour Movement and others, who were the specific targets of these individuals' comments, as well as supporting a wider demonisation of Jews objecting to antisemitism in the Labour Party. As such, he was responsible for "mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as a collective."



## **APPENDIX B: NEW COMPLAINTS**

Diane Abbott MP  
Tahir Ali MP  
Mike Amesbury MP  
Alana Bates  
Apsana Begum MP  
Richard Burgon MP  
Ronnie Campbell  
Maria Carroll  
Pamela Fitzpatrick  
Lisa Forbes  
Barry Gardiner MP  
Ruth George  
Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt  
Dan Greef  
Adrian Heald  
Kate Hollern MP  
Rebecca Jenkins  
Afzal Khan MP  
Kate Linnegar  
Rebecca Long Bailey MP  
Mark McDonald  
Ali Milani  
Ed Murphy  
Jann Oliver  
Baroness Osamor  
Jenny Rathbone WAM  
Angela Rayner MP  
Steve Reed MP  
Lloyd Russell-Moyle MP  
Barry Sheerman MP  
Jim Sheridan  
Zarah Sultana MP

## DIANE ABBOTT, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR HACKNEY NORTH AND STOKE NEWINGTON

### Incidents

1. On 1st May 2016, when interviewed by Andrew Marr on his Sunday morning show, Ms Abbott said: “It’s a smear to say that Labour has a problem with antisemitism. It is something like a smear against ordinary party members.”
2. On 6th April 2017, Ms Abbott appeared on BBC’s Question Time. When fellow panellist Gerard Coyne, a candidate to lead the Unite union, said that Ken Livingstone should have been expelled because “his comments are an affront to the six million Jews who lost their lives — and their families — in the Holocaust”, and that Labour has a general problem with antisemitism, Ms Abbott retorted: “When Gerard says that the Labour Party has an institutional problem with racism, or institutional antisemitism, because they’re one and the same, when you say that the Labour Party has a problem with institutional antisemitism and racism, I’m sorry you feel the need to attack your Party. I’m proud of the Labour Party’s record on fighting racism and antisemitism.” She also refused to answer directly a question about whether Ken Livingstone should be expelled from the Party for his comments about Hitler supposedly supporting Zionism.
3. On 26th March 2018, Ms Abbott reportedly “ranted” about what she said was an orchestrated attack on Jeremy Corbyn, in a meeting of her shadow Home Office team.
4. On 27th March 2018, Ms Abbott reportedly promoted a tweet by @Rachael\_Swindon (a prominent pro-Jeremy Corbyn Twitter account whose operator has not only persistently dismissed claims of antisemitism, but has also promoted antisemitic discourse and conspiracy theories) which claimed that thousands of people had joined the Labour Party in the wake of the previous day’s protest against antisemitism because they were “so disgusted by the constant smearing of Jeremy Corbyn” (a claim which was confirmed to be entirely untrue).

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Abbott’s actions and statements qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By characterising those who allege antisemitism in the Labour Party as politically motivated, by describing allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party as “smears” and tantamount to an unfounded “attack” on the Party [1], [2], [4]; and by suggesting that those involved in protesting against antisemitism were engaged in an orchestrated attack on Jeremy Corbyn [3], Ms Abbott necessarily includes those Jewish groups and individuals who have publicly and repeatedly done so. In doing so, she is deploying the so-called Livingstone Formulation, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. As such, she was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the

myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

Furthermore, we note that on 26th March 2018, in a published response to complaints of antisemitism by Jewish community charities, Jeremy Corbyn MP stated: “I recognise that anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced within the Labour Party, and has too often been dismissed as simply a matter of a few bad apples.” On 24th April 2018, in an article published in the Evening Standard, Mr Corbyn stated: “We must strive to understand why anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced in our party...”, and “when members of Jewish communities express genuine anxieties we must recognise them as we would those of any other community. Their concerns are not ‘smears’.”

## TAHIR ALI, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR BIRMINGHAM, HALL GREEN

### Incidents

1. On 27th November 2019, at a pre-election constituency hustings meeting, Mr Ali said [circa 12:10]: “There is no place for racism of any kind in any party...earlier this week, the Lib Dem candidate in Hodge Hill — it was last week — has been suspended because of antisemitic [sic] remarks. Two Conservative candidates this week have been suspended because of antisemite [sic] remarks. You will not see them in the national media. And it's the Labour Party that's always been driven by mainstream media, whether it's the Lehman Brothers, or Murdoch-backed media institutions...” Responding to an interjection from an audience member in which the questioner appears to ask “Why is the Labour party being led by a racist?” Mr Ali replied: “If you read the Daily Mail, that is exactly the sort of things you're going to see. You need to look at everything in context. There'll be a lot of allegations at Jeremy Corbyn because of the kind of person he is, because the direction of the Party is changed, because of the direction of politics that this country is changing...We need to be totally clear: the attack on Corbyn is for one and one reason only — to make sure Boris [Johnson] ends up in Number Ten...”

It should be noted that the suspensions of a Liberal Democrat (Waheed Rafiq) and Conservative candidates (Amjad Bashir and Ryan Houghton) over alleged antisemitism, as referred to by Mr Ali, had been widely reported in the national media. Lehman Brothers was an investment bank, originally founded and run by a Jewish family from the mid-19th Century until 1969.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Mr Ali's statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By suggesting that accusations of antisemitism in the Labour Party and against Jeremy Corbyn personally [1] are disproportionate and made for political reasons, namely as part of a right-wing media-driven conspiracy to ensure a Conservative government, his comments necessarily include the Jewish groups and individuals who have been prominent among those who have claimed there is antisemitism in the Labour Party. In making this statement, therefore, he was deploying the so-called 'Livingstone Formulation', by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews...”

## MIKE AMESBURY, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR WEAVER VALE

### Incidents

1. On 18th November 2013, Mike Amesbury shared an image on Facebook (originally from an account whose output consists principally of conspiracist material) which showed a grinning, hook-nosed man with curling side-locks rubbing his hands together. The figure sported a Father Christmas outfit, but where the hat was emblazoned with the symbol known as the 'Eye of providence' which features in numerous conspiracy theories, but is particularly associated with the so-called 'Illuminati'. The text accompanying the image urged its viewers to "Remember to support the banks and corporations this Christmas in their continued efforts to enslave mankind, by spending money you haven't got on things you don't need." The image originally accompanied an article from a site called "Illuminati Agenda".

2. On 4th July 2020, Mr Amesbury retweeted (and shortly afterwards deleted) a tweet originally posted by fellow MP Steve Reed in which the latter had written: "Is millionaire former porn-baron Desmond the puppet-master for the entire Tory cabinet?@Robert Jenrick @PritiPatel". It had been reported that day that, before becoming Home Secretary, Priti Patel MP had been lobbied by Richard Desmond, who is Jewish, over the matter of relaxing lottery regulations. It had previously been reported that the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government, Robert Jenrick, had been lobbied by Mr Desmond over a matter of property development.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Mr Amesbury's actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

Whilst the term "Illuminati" originally referred to a short-lived Enlightenment-era fraternal organisation, it has become associated with a variety of conspiracy theories, all of which allege that the "Illuminati" infiltrated the ranks of European Jewish bankers in the nineteenth century. These theories variously assert that the bankers, Jews and Illuminati were behind the Bolshevik Revolution and the creation of the Federal Reserve system in the United States, later forming the influential American think tank Council on Foreign Relations and subsequently what the far-right refers to as the New World Order, under whose control institutions such as the United Nations and the European Union are imagined to be.

By sharing an image which suggested that global banks and corporations were involved in "efforts to enslave mankind", linked to the so-called "Illuminati", and which additionally displayed a stereotypically antisemitic caricature, in which Jews are depicted as quasi-demonic, with long, hooked noses [1]; and by retweeting the suggestion that a Jewish businessman was the "puppet-master" of the Conservative cabinet, thereby employing an antisemitic trope with a long history, having been, for example, deployed by the Nazis and more recently being frequently evoked to demonise Jewish financiers [2], he was disseminating material which was "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews

as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

## **ALANA BATES, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, ST IVES, CORNWALL**

### Incidents

1. On 31st March 2018, Alana Bates was reported to have written on Facebook: “Any friends in London please go along to support this – being in favour of Palestinian rights does not make you anti-semitic [sic] and we need to stand up for Jeremy against these manipulative smears.” The context indicates that Ms Bates was referring to an event that took place a few days previously, on Monday 26th March, when Jewish groups had organised a protest in Parliament Square against antisemitism in the Labour Party. A counter-demonstration, organised by the antisemitism denial group, Jewish Voice for Labour, had also taken place.

The account which had highlighted her post a few days later commented: “‘Manipulative smears’ — nice way for a Labour councillor to describe protests about anti-semitism [sic].” In the discussion thread which followed — in which what was described as her attempt “to link the plight of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories to anti-semitism [sic] in the hard left” was described as “shameful” — Ms Bates defended her position and suggested that an attempt was being made to “intimidate” her.

2. On 11th November 2019, it was reported that a video (originally posted in 2015) had been discovered, showing Ms Bates playing in a band (The Tribunes) which was performing a song called “From the River to the Sea”. The song included the lyrics: “With no justice, there’s no peace / troops out of the Middle East / with no justice, there’s no peace / get out of the Middle East / Justice should not have to wait / Israel’s an apartheid state / Justice should not have to wait / Israel is a racist state / Justice should not have to wait / Palestine should be one state! / From the River to the Sea / Palestine will be free.”

The phrase “from the [Jordan] river to the [Mediterranean] sea, Palestine will be free” has come to be described as “calling for an end to the State of Israel”, and has been quoted by leaders of the proscribed terror group Hamas, as well as being included in its stated aims.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Bates’ actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By characterising complaints of antisemitism against the Labour Party — embodied by a protest organised by mainstream Jewish community groups and largely attended by ordinary British Jews — as “manipulative smears” which were being politically directed against “Jeremy” Corbyn and those who wished to “support the rights of Palestinians against brutal occupation” [1], Ms Bates was deploying the so-called Livingstone Formulation, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so in cases where there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. In so

doing, she was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews...”

We note that on 24th April 2018, in an article published in the Evening Standard, Mr Corbyn stated: “We must strive to understand why anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced in our party...” and “when members of Jewish communities express genuine anxieties we must recognise them as we would those of any other community. Their concerns are not ‘smears’.”

By performing a song in which the phrase “from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free” — generally interpreted as a call for the destruction of Israel — is employed [2], she was “denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination”.



## **APSANA BEGUM, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR POPLAR AND LIMEHOUSE**

### Incident

1. On 11th June 2017, Apsana Begum shared a post on Facebook which linked to an article relating to the harassment of Qatari pilgrims in Mecca and which was accompanied by the comment: “House of Saud are crossing the red line, inspired by their zionist masters !”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Begum’s actions amount to a breach of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By sharing a post in which it was suggested that the House of Saud is somehow subservient to “Zionist masters” — that is, alleging that they were somehow under the control of Israel or Jews — she was disseminating material which was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

## **RICHARD BURGON, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR LEEDS EAST**

### Incidents

1. On an unknown date in 2014, addressing a public meeting discussing the war in Gaza, Richard Burgon reportedly said: “The enemy of the Palestinian people, is not the Jewish people. The enemy of the Palestinian people are Zionists, and Zionism is the enemy of peace, and the enemy of the Palestinian people. And we need to be loud, we need to be proud in support of a free Palestine. I make no apologies. I am proud to say, not only wouldn’t I be a member of Labour Friends of Israel, I’ve never been a member of Labour Friends of Israel. And I’m all for everyone’s opinions being out there and everyone having their opinion treated with respect. But, look up on the internet, because it’s there to see on the Labour Friends of Israel website which MPs are members of Labour Friends of Israel. Which Labour MPs are officers of Labour Friends of Israel. And ask them, in support of the Palestinian people, in protest of what’s happening in Gaza now, to resign from Labour Friends of Israel, to show support for all humanity.”

2. On an unknown date in 2016, in another speech, Mr Burgon reportedly said: “False accusations fly as soon as you support the people of Palestine, and I myself in some small way was attacked, and I was accused of a false and outrageous slander by a supporter of the Israeli government, by a very well-connected supporter of the Israeli government.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Mr Burgon’s actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

Zionism is an expression of national self-determination for Jews, and since the establishment of the State of Israel, of support for the continued existence of that state. However, the allegation that Zionism is an inherently far-right and racist ideology was promulgated by the Soviet Union in the post-war era until 1989, as part of a deliberate and explicitly antisemitic campaign to persecute Jewish citizens who wished to practise their religion and/or leave the Soviet Union — especially to emigrate to Israel — as well as to demonise and undermine Israel on the foreign stage for global strategic gain. A singular purpose of this propaganda was to drive a false distinction between “Jews” and “Zionists”, in which the latter is the enemy of the former, and the embodiment of many older antisemitic tropes. By stating that “The enemy of the Palestinian people, is not the Jewish people. The enemy of the Palestinian people are Zionists, and Zionism is the enemy of peace and the enemy of the Palestinian people.” [1] Mr Burgon was demonising Zionist Jews, and as such was “denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination.”

We note the words of the Labour Party’s own guidance issued on the use of the term ‘Zionism’, particularly where it states that: “...for many Jews, Zionism represents national liberation. The concepts of Israel, Zion and Jerusalem run deeply in Jewish religion, identity and culture, and...are symbolic of a homeland, refuge, or place of safety. The sensitivities around these concepts should be considered before using them.”

By stating that “false accusations fly as soon as you support the people of Palestine” [2], which will necessarily include accusations of antisemitism made by Jewish individuals or groups, Mr Burgon was deploying the so-called ‘Livingstone Formulation’, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there may have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism.

## **RONNIE CAMPBELL, FORMER LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR BLYTH VALLEY**

### Incidents

1. On 5th April 2018, it was reported that Mr Campbell had issued a statement in which he said: [a] “Let us be clear – Adolf Hitler was a very bad person, and there is not an anti-Semitic [sic] bone in Jeremy Corbyn’s body...The latest row over the bizarre allegation that Jeremy is in any way anti-Jewish has been got up by the Right-wing media. It is getting so bad that you cannot criticise Israel in its dealings with Palestine without being accused of racism or fascism. They are using it as a big stick to hit Jeremy with...I do understand that people have to be careful what they say in any social media, and I will never condone some of the juvenile nonsense put about by social media on all sides, on Brexit and a host of other issues as well as racial slurs. However, the row is not as big as the Daily Mail and other Establishment toilet papers making it out to be.[b] Any critic of Israel who has had dealings with Palestine is seen as anti-Semitic [sic] and that is just plain wrong.”

2. On 14th April 2019, Mr Campbell was interviewed on BBC Radio 4, and reportedly said: “The people in the Parliamentary Labour Party are using the Jewish issue, the antisemitic issue, as a big stick to beat Corbyn and get rid of him. It’s as simple as that as far as I can see. I’ve been in the Labour Party nearly — more than — 50 years and I’ve never heard anything like this before...nobody wanted [Jeremy Corbyn] in the first place, remember. The Parliamentary Labour Party put a no confidence vote in. When they didn’t get that, they started to say what issue can we get them on? Ah the Jewish issue. This is a good one. I feel sorry for the Jewish people...You’re being used by these people. Just to get rid of Corbyn that is.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Mr Campbell’s statements and actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By alleging that accusations of antisemitism (or, as he phrased it, “the Jewish issue”) were being “got up by the right-wing media” [1a]; that they were automatically being levelled at anyone who was simply a “critic of Israel” [1b]; that they were being used as a “big stick” to beat Jeremy Corbyn with [1a], and specifically in order to “get rid of [him]” [2], his comments necessarily include the Jewish groups and individuals who have been prominent among those who have made fully evidenced allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party. In making this statement, therefore, he was deploying the so-called ‘Livingstone Formulation’, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews.”

## MARIA CARROLL, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, CARMARTHEN EAST & DINEFWR

### Incidents

1. On 26th April 2017, Maria Carroll posted in the closed Facebook group 'Labour Party Compliance – Expulsions Suspensions Rejections Co-op', which offered support and advice to Labour members facing disciplinary charges, including antisemitism, and of which she was reportedly an administrator. She wrote: [a] "It appears the Campaign Against Antisemitism is continuing its campaign. It has succeeded in ridding the Lib Dems of a couple of their candidates today and continues to attack any Labour candidate who has ever dared to support Palestine. Using the 'definition' it is having major successes. Here is their latest target. [b] They post. Labour suspends. Lib Dems suspend. Has anyone seen a Tory suspended yet? Odd that."

She shared an image taken from an article published by Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA) on 24th April 2017, relating to the case of Mike Sivier, a Labour council candidate suspended from the Party for disseminating antisemitic discourse, and who was then permanently excluded from the Labour Party because he refused to take an educational study programme in antisemitism.

2. On 27th April 2017, responding to a comment in the exchange which followed her post, she wrote: [a] "I posted this to show that Mike is being targeted. The fact that a lib dem has been targeted too shows imo [in my opinion] that anyone who supports Palestine is now at risk because of the way that the definition is being used. This is now wider than just Corbyn supporters being targeted and smacks of a bigger agenda, a wider network etc."

The Liberal Democrat candidates to whom Ms Carroll was referring were Councillor David Ward, who had been suspended on 26th April 2017, and Ashuk Ahmed, who had been suspended on 25th April 2017.

One commenter responded: [b] "CAA as has become their usual practice, bend the truth or just outright lie, Mike appears to be a genuine, honest, caring prospective MP [sic]", to which another replied: "The UK has a problem, free speech is being targeted behind false anti-Semitic claims. The adopted definition for anti-Semitism in the UK has to be challenged as it is not fit for purpose." Ms Carroll endorsed this, saying: [c] "It is most certainly being used to prevent any form of criticism in any shape or form of the Israeli government and its actions even when they are criticised by the United Nations."

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Ms Carroll's actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By alleging that the true motive of CAA, a charity combatting antisemitism, is simply to "attack" those who "dared to support Palestine", rather than fighting against anti-Jewish racism [1a] [2a]; by endorsing the assertion that "free speech is being targeted by false anti-Semitic [sic]"

claims” [2b]; and by endorsing the assertion that CAA uses “outright lie(s)” and that their accusations of antisemitism were being made in order to “prevent any form of criticism in any shape or form of the Israeli government and its actions” [2c], she was was deploying the so-called Livingstone Formulation, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so in cases where there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. As such, she was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

Moreover, by positing the existence of a conspiracy between the Campaign Against Antisemitism involving “a bigger agenda, [and] a wider network” [2a], as well as implying that CAA, for hidden reasons, fails to tackle equivalent allegations of antisemitism in the Conservative Party [1b], she was further “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about...Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

Additionally, by asserting that the aim of Campaign Against Antisemitism is to “attack” those who “dared to support Palestine” [1a] in order to “prevent any form of criticism in any shape or form of the Israeli government and its actions” [2c], she was “accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.”

## PAMELA FITZPATRICK, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, HARROW EAST

### Incident

1. On or around 26th March 2018, Councillor Pamela Fitzpatrick retweeted a post from the @SocialistVoice Twitter account (which is run by Scott Nelson, a pro-Jeremy Corbyn activist who was suspended and reportedly eventually expelled from the Labour Party following complaints of disseminating antisemitic discourse and abuse) which included a link to a statement by the so-called Jewish Voice for Labour (JVL), whose purpose is to provide an ostensibly Jewish voice in support of the most extreme elements on the Labour left, which camouflage themselves as 'anti-Zionists'.

The statement objected to the organisation of a rally by the Board of Deputies of British Jews in protest against antisemitism in the Labour Party, claiming: "The Board of Deputies and those supporting them must be aware that this is an attempt to influence local elections and has nothing to do with the real and necessary task of challenging racism and anti-semitism [sic] at all levels of political life."

2. On or around 2nd April 2018, Cllr Fitzpatrick retweeted a link to a letter published in The Guardian entitled: "Stop Jeremy Corbyn's trial by media over antisemitism." The letter's signatories asserted that media coverage of the antisemitism crisis within the Labour Party had been biased, reporting it in such a way as to suggest that "antisemitism is a problem mostly to do with Labour and that Corbyn is personally responsible for failing to deal with it." They suggested that the coverage had relied on only "a handful" of sources, including Jewish charities described as "well-known opponents of Jeremy Corbyn himself." Having gone on to suggest that the real threat to Jews in both Britain and Europe came from the right, the signatories concluded: "It is not 'whataboutery' to suggest that the debate on antisemitism has been framed in such a way as to mystify the real sources of anti-Jewish bigotry and instead to weaponise it against a single political figure just ahead of important elections."

3. On or around 4th March 2019, Cllr Fitzpatrick reportedly retweeted a post which stated: "I resigned this evening. Cannot take incessant [antisemitism] battering, lies, deceit, and sheer hatred of some Labour MPs towards their own members and good and faithful Labour MPs. Started to affect my health, Felt like I was in the middle of a witch hunt. I will always support [Jeremy Corbyn]."

The tweet had originally been posted in response to an appeal for calm amongst Labour members from Dawn Butler MP, following revelations about alleged interference by senior Labour Party officials in disciplinary cases involving antisemitism.

The account in question — @xpressanny — had, less than a month earlier, been condemned by Wes Streeting MP, a vice-chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Antisemitism (after the account had attacked former Labour councillor Emily Benn and Luciana Berger MP over antisemitism), as having apparently endorsed a notorious antisemitic image and shared numerous

conspiracy theories involving the Rothschilds. It appears that the account's owner was expecting to be disciplined by the Labour Party and resigned before action could be taken against her.

Cllr Fitzpatrick had interacted with the account previously.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Cllr Fitzpatrick's actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

Given that the comments by @xpressanny necessarily include the Jewish groups and individuals who have been prominent among those who have complained about antisemitism in the Labour Party, by retweeting a post in which allegations of antisemitism were characterised as “lies”, “deceit” and a “witch hunt” [3]; by sharing a statement by JVL in which the Board of Deputies of British Jews were accused of protesting against antisemitism in order to try to influence the outcome of an election [1]; and by sharing a letter which suggested that the debate on antisemitism was being manipulated in order to “weaponise it against a single political figure [Jeremy Corbyn] just ahead of important elections”[2], Cllr Fitzpatrick was endorsing and disseminating material deploying the so-called ‘Livingstone Formulation’, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”



## LISA FORBES, FORMER LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR PETERBOROUGH

### Incidents

1. On 14th September 2014, Lisa Forbes commented on a Facebook post that she had “enjoyed reading” a thread which claimed that Islamic extremism was created “by the CIA and Mosad [sic]”.
2. On or around 11th August 2018, Ms Forbes signed a letter to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party opposing the adoption of all eleven examples of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of antisemitism into the Labour Party’s code of conduct. The letter states that “To endorse the BDS movement or to suggest that the State of Israel in its historic and current form is a racist endeavour are not expressions of antisemitism.”
3. On or around 15th April 2019, Ms Forbes, who was by then Labour’s candidate in the Peterborough by election, ‘liked’ a Facebook post which stated that Theresa May had a “Zionist Slave Masters agenda.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Forbes’ actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By ‘liking’ a Facebook post which stated that Theresa May had a “Zionist Slave Masters agenda” [3], she was deploying a trope regarding the supposed hidden power of diaspora Jews or Israel which originated in the antisemitic propaganda of 1970s Soviet Russia. In doing so, she was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

The claim that ISIS was created or is controlled by Israel has become a common antisemitic trope on social media. By commenting that she had “enjoyed reading” a post which claimed that Islamic extremism was created “by the CIA and Mosad [sic]” [1], she was supporting “mendacious... allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective”, where the State of Israel is “conceived as a Jewish collectivity”; and which also “[accuses] Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.”

By signing a letter which states that “To endorse the BDS movement or to suggest that the State of Israel in its historic and current form is a racist endeavour are not expressions of antisemitism” [2], Ms Forbes was effectively “denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination...by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour”.

## **BARRY GARDINER, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR BRENT NORTH**

### Incident

1. On 6th December 2019, during an interview on the BBC's Newsnight, Barry Gardiner was asked to respond to details revealed in a dossier submitted to the Equality and Human Rights Commission by the Party's Jewish affiliate, described as "a damning indictment of both the [Labour] Party and Jeremy Corbyn", which alleged a number of instances in which Mr Corbyn had "signalled that antisemitic views were acceptable." Mr Gardiner responded: "I want to take issue with that because what Jeremy has always done is he has been critical of the politics of Israel, and the way in which Israel has dealt with the Palestinian question...but he has not, in my view, and the Party certainly has not, in my view, been antisemitic, and it is important that we have clarity on that. Now I wrote to the [Crown] Prosecution Service after the Al Quds [Day] march, in London a year or so ago, and asked them 'why didn't you prosecute these people who were making antisemitic slogans'...and they said because of this: they complained about 'Zionism' they...weren't antisemitic...If the Crown Prosecution Service makes a distinction between being anti-Zionist and being antisemitic, then I think it's understandable that the Labour Party has in the past made that distinction as well..."

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Mr Gardiner's actions and statements qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By suggesting that claims of antisemitism against Jeremy Corbyn are simply made on the basis of his criticism of Israel, rather than Mr Corbyn's clear history of antisemitism; likewise, by stating that the Labour Party "has not...been antisemitic", thereby implying that the many experiences of discrimination within the Party documented in the dossier were fabricated, Mr Gardiner was deploying the so-called 'Livingstone Formulation', by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This constitutes "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews..."

The "antisemitic slogans" Mr Gardiner referred to, which were referred to the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) by Campaign Against Antisemitism, were those made through a megaphone by the leader of the so-called 'Al Quds Day' march in 2018, who declared: "Some of the biggest corporations who are supporting the Conservative Party are Zionists. They are responsible for the murder of the people in Grenfell, in those towers in Grenfell. The Zionist supporters of the Tory Party." The decision not to carry forward the prosecution was made by the High Court on the basis that those comments were not "threatening, either explicitly or implicitly" and were not a judgement on whether those comments were antisemitic or not. Indeed the Judges, in their conclusion, stated: "...nothing in this judgment should be taken as condoning anything Mr Ali, or others at the rally whose words are recorded in the transcript, said. Clearly some things that were said were intemperate and deeply offensive and distressing to others, and not simply to those in whose

direction they were aimed.” The CPS’s decision to halt the CAA’s private prosecution in the first instance was similarly based on a legal argument regarding freedom of speech, irrespective of the offence caused. The comments, claiming a British Jewish charity was responsible for the Grenfell Tower fire, were clearly antisemitic, and notwithstanding Mr Gardiner’s claims regarding his private correspondence with the CPS, the contents of which were never made public, or the CPS’s claimed position, Mr Gardiner was being mendacious in misleading the BBC audience and the public just before a general election into believing that complaints of genuine antisemitism were being falsely levelled by British Jews in order to attack the Labour Party. In this comment, therefore, Mr Gardiner was also deploying the so-called ‘Livingstone Formulation’, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews...”

## RUTH GEORGE, FORMER LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, HIGH PEAK

### Incidents

1. On 19th February 2019, it was reported that Ruth George MP had been asked on Facebook for her views on local Labour Councillor Nick Longos having 'loved' a comment made on a Facebook post he had shared, which had been interpreted as calling the new Independent Group of MPs (Labour MPs who had resigned citing Labour's failure to deal with antisemitism) "Israelis". Asked whether she endorsed this or thought it an appropriate way for a Labour Councillor to behave, Ms George replied: "I would condemn the calling of anyone as an Israeli when it's not the case. The comment appears not to refer to the independent MPs but to their financial backers. Support from the State of Israel, which supports both Conservative and Labour 'Friends of Israel' of which Luciana was chair is possible and I would not condemn those who suggest it, especially when the group's financial backers are not being revealed. It's important for democracy to know the financial backers for any political group or policy."

2. On 8th May 2019, it was reported in the Jewish Chronicle that newly elected High Peak Labour Councillor Rachel Abbotts had, in 2016, shared an article on Facebook, originally published by the virulently antisemitic Barnes Review website, entitled: "The Jewish declaration of war on Nazi Germany." It was reported that the material had been referred to Ms George in February 2019; in an e-mail to one complainant, she had insisted that both she and the Constituency Labour Party (CLP) had been unaware of the post, and of previous complaints about it, and that it had been passed on to the local and national party for investigation. However, it was further reported that the Party's complaints unit claimed to have no record of receiving the material and was investigating "urgently" after the Jewish Chronicle's enquiries. It was noted that, notwithstanding the complaint against her, the CLP had continued to support Cllr Abbotts' candidacy, having decided that there was "no evidence of antisemitism on [her] part."

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Ms George's actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By lending credence to the notion that the Independent Group of MPs could be secretly financially backed by Israel (making specific reference to Jewish MP Luciana Berger) and implying that this would be harmful to British democracy [1], Ms George was "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions."

By implying that Luciana Berger, as a British MP, indirectly received money in order to serve the purposes of a foreign power [1], Ms George was also invoking the notion of "dual loyalty" by "accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations."

By claiming that she had reported evidence of the dissemination of antisemitic discourse by Rachel Abbotts, a Labour activist, in her local constituency party [2] when she reportedly had not done so, failing to publicly call out Ms Abbotts' statements, and, in the absence of any clear disciplinary process apparently taking place against her, allowing her by default to be promoted to the position of councillor, Ms George may have been enabling the dissemination of antisemitic discourse in the Labour Party.

## REBECCA GORDON-NESBITT, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, THANET SOUTH

### Incidents

1. On 28th April 2016, responding to the news that Ken Livingstone had been suspended by the Labour Party over his remarks asserting that Hitler supported Zionism, a Twitter account using the handle @CambiarCultura, for which Dr Gordon-Nesbitt has taken responsibility, tweeted: “suspension of [Ken Livingstone] result of a campaign to smear [Jeremy Corbyn] as antisemitic orchestrated by #Israel lobby.”
2. On 29th April 2019, responding to the Labour List Twitter account (which had shared an article reporting the demand by a number of Labour MPs that Ken Livingstone be expelled from the Party), @CambiarCultura tweeted: [a] “Has anyone looked into Hitler’s policy on Zionism? Might not be mutually exclusive with his later actions. [b] #Scapegoating #Corbyn”
3. On 29th December 2016, in a tweet apparently defending Jeremy Corbyn’s affiliations, suggesting that they were consistent with his “fight for underdogs/against imperialism”, @CambiarCultura tweeted: “...Are John Bercow’s Zionist sympathies any more justifiable within Parliament?” The former Speaker of the House of Commons, John Bercow, is Jewish.
4. On 9th January 2017, responding to a tweet by the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (in which it shared an article relating to former Speaker John Bercow’s ruling that further investigation into the case of the Israeli diplomat Shai Masot would be unnecessary after the Foreign Office had declared the matter “closed”), @CambiarCultura tweeted: “Would this be the same speaker who invited the Speaker of Israel’s Knesset, Yuli Edelstein, to visit the Houses of Parliament? Hmmm.”
5. On 24th September 2017, objecting to another Twitter user having shared a tweet which laid out the reasons for Jackie Walker being accused of antisemitism, @CambiarCultura tweeted: [a] “Accusations of antisemitism levelled against Jackie Walker are politically motivated.” When another Twitter user replied that the accusations were, rather, “motivated by the absurd and anti-semitic [sic] nature of what she says and does,” @CambiarCultura replied: [b] “Anti-semitism [sic] has been weaponised by those who seek to silence anti-Zionist voices.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that the statements by @CambiarCultura amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By alleging that former Speaker of the House of Commons, John Bercow, has “Zionist sympathies” which might be incompatible with his parliamentary role [3], and by implying that he might be colluding with the Israeli government [4], @CambiarCultura was questioning his loyalty, and thereby implicitly “accusing [a] Jewish [citizen] of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.”

By suggesting that Adolf Hitler's "policy on Zionism [might] not be inconsistent with his later actions" [2a], thereby suggesting that Ken Livingstone's assertion that "Hitler was supporting Zionism" might be accurate, @CambiarCultura was supporting a perversion of the historical account of the Holocaust which had been formulated in order to demonise an identifiably Jewish movement.

By alleging that Ken Livingstone was being unjustly accused of antisemitism, and was the victim of "scapegoating" [2b], as part of a campaign "orchestrated" by an "Israel Lobby" against Jeremy Corbyn [1]; by alleging that accusations of antisemitism against Jackie Walker were "politically motivated" [5a] and that antisemitism had been "weaponised by those who seek to silence anti-Zionist voices" [5b]; and by implying that the former Speaker John Bercow might be colluding with the Israeli government in a supposed attempt to quash investigation into the activities of an Israeli diplomat [4], @CambiarCultura was "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions."

Additionally, by alleging that accusations of antisemitism against Ken Livingstone and Jackie Walker specifically (in [1], [2] and [5a]), as well as more generally (in [5b]), were politically motivated, @CambiarCultura was deploying the so-called Livingstone Formulation, by accusing Jews who make claims of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives, despite there being clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism.

Furthermore, we note that, on 26th March 2018, in a published response to complaints of antisemitism by Jewish community charities, Jeremy Corbyn MP stated: "I recognise that anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced within the Labour Party, and has too often been dismissed as simply a matter of a few bad apples." On 24th April 2018, in an article published in the Evening Standard, Mr Corbyn stated: "We must strive to understand why anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced in our party...", and "when members of Jewish communities express genuine anxieties we must recognise them as we would those of any other community. Their concerns are not 'smears'."

## DAN GREEF, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, SOUTH CAMBRIDGESHIRE

### Incidents

1. On 26th January 2013, on the eve of Holocaust Memorial Day, Dan Greef tweeted: “Good man David Ward. Remembering only part of History condemns us to repeat it, however Israeli policy is not the same as Judaism!” The previous day, in advance of Holocaust Memorial Day, Councillor David Ward (who at that time was a Liberal Democrat MP) had reportedly written: “Having visited Auschwitz twice – once with my family and once with local schools – I am saddened that the Jews, who suffered unbelievable levels of persecution during the Holocaust, could within a few years of liberation from the death camps be inflicting atrocities on Palestinians in the new State of Israel and continue to do so on a daily basis in the West Bank and Gaza.” In a later statement, he added: “When faced with examples of atrocious behaviour, we must learn from them. It appears that the suffering by the Jews has not transformed their views on how others should be treated.” Two days later, Mr Ward received a formal warning from the Liberal Democrats, and after a number of other allegations of antisemitism, was expelled by his Party.

2. On 18th January 2015, the Twitter account @batrag57 tweeted: “We know 80% of Conservatives members of conservstive [sic] friends of Isreal [sic]. Cameron finest PM Israel can buy.” Mr Greef retweeted this. It should be noted that, on 13th October 2014, Mr Greef had tweeted: “Is it right that many of our MPs are also members of different ‘Friends of Israel’ pressure groups? Discuss.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Mr Greef’s actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

In his comments on 25th January 2013, Councillor David Ward stated that the victims of the Holocaust are required to learn the lessons of their persecution by the Nazis, thereby making his support for the victims of genocide conditional upon their adopting his own views (in order for him to consider them worthy of his respect), which constitutes a clear rhetorical manifestation of antisemitism. In addition, he was holding British Jews collectively responsible for the perceived actions of Israel, which, by implication, he was comparing to the actions of the Nazis. By endorsing Cllr Ward’s statements [1], Mr Greef was also “holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel” and “drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.”

By sharing a post in which it was alleged that Israel had ‘bought’ former Prime Minister David Cameron through the Conservative Friends of Israel, giving substance to the suspicions he expressed in his tweet of 13th October 2014 [2], he was voicing a common antisemitic trope about world leaders being directly controlled by Israel, aided by local political organisations close to the Jewish community. In doing so, he was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the



media, economy, government or other societal institutions,” where “the State of Israel [is] conceived as a Jewish collectivity.”

## ADRIAN HEALD, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, MID NORFOLK

### Incidents

1. On 6th August 2019, Dr Adrian Heald tweeted: [a] “Odd how people who are screaming about [antisemitism] in Labour are totally fine with blatant Islamophobia, if you are against discrimination and you are serious about it, you have to tackle ALL discrimination and not just ‘select’ ones that fit your agenda”. Another Twitter account responded to Dr Heald by saying: [b] “Adrian you know me I detest Labour with every fibre of my being for the way they ruined Scotland for so many decades, but for the life of me I’ve yet to see any evidence of institutional antisemitism in them...it’s just b\*ll\*cks!” Dr Heald ‘liked’ this. Having conceded that it might not be “absurd to say that there might be the odd member” who expressed antisemitic views, Dr Heald went on to say: “If one or two individual members hold those views, we need to tackle the members.” His interlocutor replied: [c] “Exactly! Tackle the actual problem (i.e. individual members) and not the fake made-up problem (institution itself)”. Dr Heald ‘liked’ this.

2. On 11th November 2019, Dr Heald engaged in an extended Twitter exchange with an account called @EnglandYankin, whose operator claims to be Jewish, but who had, since the creation of their account a few weeks previously, engaged in a significant quantity of antisemitic discourse, including asserting that the Jewish Chronicle is “owned by Isreal” [sic], as well as claiming that allegations of antisemitism were “smears” “paid [for] by the Tories” or instigated by Israel. During the course of the exchange, Dr Heald stated: [a] “...even a single incident [of antisemitism] is too much, but I do not think it is really such a big problem as the media tries to make out, or else my Jewish friends would have mentioned it”, to which @EnglandYankin replied: “It’s a smear. A huge smear. [b] That right wing jewish [sic] rag is under Tory control. Being pro Palestine anti Isreali [sic], which I am, is the Hard right Jewish agenda. To smear. I’m left. It’s a political tool to discord division.” Dr Heald ‘liked’ this. It seems likely that the “right wing jewish [sic] rag” to which @EnglandYankin referred in [2b] was the Jewish Chronicle, given that the account had displayed particular animosity towards it a few days previously and endorsed its being compared with the Nazi newspaper Der Stürmer. When Dr Heald responded: [c] “I’m not saying we do not have the problem, we address it, but I am a bit tired of it being weaponized”, @EnglandYankin replied: [d] “The weaponisation of anti-semitism has become commonplace, for reasons that have very little to do with serious concern for the welfare of all Jews. I am a Jew. I am NOT THE RIGHT WING’S MOUTHPIECE. FOR THE MANY NOT THE FEW. I AM NOT THEIR TOKEN JEW. #JewsForJeremy”. Dr Heald ‘liked’ this.

Dr Heald continued: [e] “Not to sound weird, but I think the weaponising of it, it diminishes real cases”, to which @EnglandYankin responded: [f] “Agreed. It’s calling wolf. So when it DOES happen, with swastikas and jews go home, and nazis on the door, people turn a blind eye.” Dr Heald ‘liked’ this.

@EnglandYankin continued: [g] “The powers at [sic] be are afraid of giving power to the people. Of fair distribution of wealth. Hence, the smears. Anyone who does research knows that Corbyn is a huge champion and activist for change.” Dr Heald ‘liked’ this.

## Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Dr Heald's actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By claiming that those complaining about antisemitism, which necessarily includes Jews, are doing so because they have an "agenda" [1a]; by endorsing the assertion that allegations of Labour having a problem with institutional antisemitism are "just b\*ll\*cks" [1b] and a "fake made-up problem" [1c]; by endorsing the assertion that allegations of antisemitism in Labour are "a huge smear" [2a]; by claiming and endorsing claims that antisemitism is being "weaponised" [2c][2d] [2e]; and by endorsing the notion that such claims are "calling wolf" [2f], he was both deploying and endorsing the deployment of the so-called 'Livingstone Formulation', by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. In so doing, he was "Making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews."

We note that on 24th April 2018, in an article published in the Evening Standard, Mr Corbyn stated: "We must strive to understand why anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced in our party..." and "when members of Jewish communities express genuine anxieties we must recognise them as we would those of any other community. Their concerns are not 'smears'."

By 'liking' the assertion that a Jewish newspaper was "under Tory control" and that to "smear" was part of a "Hard right Jewish agenda" [2b], Dr Heald was endorsing an antisemitic trope common in left-wing discourse, which allows the views and concerns of Jewish people not only to be dismissed, but which also seeks to demonise them by association with political groups already demonised on the left, either by employing the generalised term 'right wing', or by explicitly linking them with the Conservative Party, which is often associated with the notion of 'evil' in left-wing discourse. As such, and by 'liking' the assertion that allegations of antisemitism, characterised as "smears", were being made as part of a shadowy plot by "powers [that] be" in order to prevent "giving power to the people...[and] fair distribution of wealth" [2g], he was further endorsing "mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews."

## KATE HOLLERN, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR BLACKBURN

### Incidents

1. On or around 18th November 2019, Kate Hollern reportedly retweeted a comment originally tweeted by an account which regularly alleges that accusations of antisemitism are made in bad faith for political motives, which said: “99.94% of Labour members have never been accused of antisemitism. Jeremy Corbyn has done more to tackle antisemitism than every previous Labour leader combined. Corbyn is a Palestinian rights campaigner who criticises Israel. Labour’s ‘antisemitism crisis’ is about Israel.”
2. On or around 26th November 2019, Ms Hollern ‘liked’ a tweet which contained images of two Conservative candidates who had been suspended over alleged antisemitism the previous week beneath the words: “Two Parliamentary Tory candidates suspended in a week for antisemitism. [a] Barely covered in mainstream media. Chief Rabbi says nothing.” A further image below showed the Chief Rabbi, Ephraim Mirvis, who had, the previous day, published an article in the Sunday Times in which he expressed the fears of the mainstream Jewish community at the prospect of a Corbyn-led government. Alongside the image were the words: [b] “Labour catching Tories in the polls. Chief Rabbi launches hyper-partisan attacks on Labour. Attacks massively amplified by mainstream media.”

It should be noted that the Chief Rabbi’s publication of a response to the antisemitism crisis in Labour was recognised as an exceptional intervention, not least by Rabbi Mirvis himself, as Rabbis do not usually comment on political matters. It should also be noted that the cases of the Conservative candidates (Ryan Houghton and Amjad Bashir) had, in fact, been covered by all the main newspapers, as well as by the BBC, ITV and Sky News.

3. On an unknown date, Ms Hollern reportedly ‘liked’ a post on Facebook whose author (Labour Councillor Andy Kay) had commented on a 2014 article from The Guardian entitled ‘Gaza’s only power plant destroyed in Israel’s most intense airstrike yet’, saying: “The Jewish state has learnt nothing from the Nazis and the Jewish leaders are worse than the Nazis.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Hollern’s actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By ‘liking’ a comment on Facebook which stated that “The Jewish state has learnt nothing from the Nazis and the Jewish leaders are worse than the Nazis” [3], she was endorsing a statement which was “drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.”

By ‘liking’ a tweet in which it was implied that the Chief Rabbi ignored instances of antisemitism in the Conservative Party [2a], she was endorsing an antisemitic trope which has gained currency in left-wing discourse which allows the views and concerns of Jewish people not only to be dismissed, but which also seeks to demonise them by association with political groups already

demonised on the left, either by employing the generalised term ‘right wing’, or by explicitly linking them with the Conservative Party, which is often associated with the notion of ‘evil’ in left-wing discourse. This constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

By endorsing the above tweet, which further alleged that the Chief Rabbi was supposedly just attacking the Labour Party for antisemitism when they were “catching [the] Tories in [the] polls” [2b], and by retweeting the assertion that allegations of antisemitism against the Labour Party and Jeremy Corbyn are “about Israel” [1], she was deploying the so-called ‘Livingstone Formulation’, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This further constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

## REBECCA JENKINS, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, REDDITCH

### Incidents

1. On 29th March 2018, Rebecca Jenkins reportedly shared a post on Facebook which included an image of the antisemitic Mear One mural, accompanied by the comment: "Where in this picture is it antisemitism?" Ms Jenkins added the comment: "Hear hear!"
2. On 20th July 2019, Ms Jenkins shared a video on Facebook featuring an interview with the co-chair of antisemitism denial group Jewish Voice for Labour (JVL), Jenny Manson, following the publication of an advertisement signed by 60 members of the House of Lords, attacking Jeremy Corby over his handling of antisemitism within Labour.

Asked by her interviewer about antisemitism within Labour, Ms Manson commented: [a] "there have been so many criticisms, none of which have been well founded. There is no evidence that the Labour Party harbours antisemitism any more than other parties; in fact, it harbours it less than some other political parties." She continued: "This has been a story that was being considered if you repeat it enough times it gets some sort of truth; well, there isn't any fundamental truth."

On the question of the peers who had signed the advertisement, Ms Manson said: [b] "These 60... peers are peers who have opposed Jeremy Corbyn's leadership from the start, and therefore I feel doubtful about their motivations of them signing this advert today."

Questioned about notable defections from the Labour Party by peers and MPs, Ms Manson claimed that they had cited a variety of reasons for leaving, but highlighted the case of Luciana Berger, claiming: [c] "One of the MPs who left saying that she'd been hounded by antisemites, and it turned out they were from the far-right, and they went to prison for doing it. She never mentioned that these were from the far-right and not Labour Party members."

It should be noted that six individuals have been convicted of making antisemitic threats against Ms Berger, two of whom were from the political left-wing. It has been a regular refrain in groups seeking to minimise the scale of antisemitism within Labour, such as JVL and the Labour Representation Committee, that Ms Berger was not hounded from the Party, but left of her own accord.

When her interviewer cited the high-profile suspensions of Naz Shah MP, former London Mayor Ken Livingstone, and Chris Williamson MP, Ms Manson stated: [d] "None of those three have said anything or done anything antisemitic at all...there have been false allegations against particular individuals."

It should be noted that Naz Shah MP admitted that the comments for which she was suspended had been antisemitic.

3. On 11th November 2019, Ms Jenkins shared a post on Facebook which linked to an article entitled: "Jeremy Corbyn is the most smeared politician in history" about allegations of antisemitism and other matters. Claiming that the Labour leader was the victim of near-universal media bias

against him, the article's author dismissed the BBC's 2019 Panorama documentary on antisemitism in Labour as being a "hatchet job", and went on to add: [a] "Whilst anti-Semitism [sic], racism and Islamophobia exists in almost every political party (and undoubtedly needs to be challenged at every level), if you take the care to look at Corbyn's constituency work and history, even to suggest that he is in any way personally hostile to or prejudiced against Jews is almost laughable. In a political period where we have leaders and high profile politicians like Trump and Boris overtly making racist comments and failing to condemn racist actions, it makes the whole Corbyn smear seem even more absurd. Yet the mud sticks, and it keeps coming."

The post's original author had commented: [b] "This is what happens when you threaten to make billionaires pay their fair share of tax from profits made from the UK people into the UK economy instead of hiding their billions in off shore [sic] accounts...The billionaires who own the media – attack with lies at every opportunity.. however the truth always stands tall in the end... & liars will go down and take their co-conspirators with them."

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Ms Jenkins' actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By sharing and supporting a post alleging that the Mear One mural (which is recognised as having used antisemitic caricatures) was not antisemitic [1], and by sharing a post in which Jeremy Corbyn was supposedly being "smeared" as antisemitic as part of a conspiracy involving "billionaires who own the media" determined to avoid paying "their fair share of tax" [3], in which Jews are necessarily implicated as "co-conspirators", having been prominent amongst those making accusations of antisemitism against him, she was "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions."

Jewish individuals and groups have been prominent amongst those claiming that there is a problem of antisemitism in the Labour Party, and in doing so have made complaints about the actions and statements of individuals such as Ken Livingstone and Chris Williamson. Therefore, by sharing a video in which it is claimed that "none" of the criticisms made against the Labour Party with regard to its record on dealing with antisemitism are "well founded", and that "there isn't any fundamental truth" to accusations that it harbours antisemitism more than other parties [2a]; in which 60 peers condemning Jeremy Corbyn's record on dealing with antisemitism (amongst whom were a number of Jewish peers) were dismissed as having political motivations [2b]; in which the Jewish MP Luciana Berger was accused of having been dishonest in claiming that she had left the Labour Party principally owing to antisemitic abuse [2c]; and in which Chris Williamson, Naz Shah and Ken Livingstone are all defended as never having "said anything or done anything antisemitic at all" [2d], she was deploying the so-called 'Livingstone Formulation', by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is

clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. In so doing, she was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews...”



## **AFZAL KHAN, LABOUR PARTY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR MANCHESTER GORTON**

### Incidents

1. On 2nd August 2014, whilst serving as an MEP, Afzal Khan tweeted a link to an article entitled, “The Israeli Government are acting like Nazi’s [sic] in Gaza.” Mr Khan quoted the headline of the article in his tweet.

2. On 23rd August 2015, Mr Khan reportedly shared a video on Facebook (apparently originally posted by the virulently antisemitic Philip E. Taylor), the prominent text beneath which referred to “Israel-British-Swiss-Rothschilds crime syndicate” and “mass murdering Rothschilds Israeli mafia criminal liars”.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Mr Khan’s actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By endorsing an article entitled “The Israeli Government are acting like Nazi’s [sic] in Gaza.” [1], he was “drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.” We note that on 26th March 2018, in a published response to complaints of antisemitism by Jewish community groups, Jeremy Corbyn stated: “...comparing Israel or the actions of Israeli governments to the Nazis...constitute[s an] aspect of contemporary anti-Semitism [sic].”

By sharing a video accompanied by text citing conspiracy theories about the Rothschild family, which promote the trope that a Jewish family dynasty secretly controls governments and banks [2], Mr Khan’s post constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

## KATE LINNEGAR, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE FOR SWINDON NORTH

### Incidents

1. On 28th April 2016, Kate Linnegar shared a link on the Swindon Peoples Assembly Facebook page to an article entitled “Stop this cynical attack: Corbyn, anti-semitism [sic] and the right,” which stated: “accusations of antisemitism are currently being weaponised to attack the Jeremy Corbyn-led Labour party with claims that Labour has a “problem” of antisemitism.”
2. On 1st May 2016, Ms Linnegar shared a link on the Swindon Peoples Assembly Facebook page to an article about tax dodging, accompanied by the comment: “with the distraction of the anti semite [sic] fiasco let’s not allow this to be buried.”
3. On 6th May 2016, Ms Linnegar shared a link on her Facebook page to an article by Norman Finkelstein entitled “Finkelstein Breaks His Silence. Tells Holocaust-Mongers, ‘It is time to crawl back into your sewer!’” in which he states that MPs calling out antisemitism are “dragging the Nazi Holocaust through the mud for the sake of their petty jostling for power and position.”  
  
Norman Finkelstein is an anti-Zionist author who argues that the American Jewish establishment exploits the Holocaust for political and financial gain. Mr Finkelstein’s position (as revealed both in his book *The Holocaust Industry* and more widely) is regarded as hostile to Jews and Israel and, according to eminent academics, to be based in part on fabrications.
4. On 26th March 2018, Ms Linnegar shared a link on her Facebook page to a statement by the so-called Jewish Voice for Labour (whose purpose is to provide an ostensibly Jewish voice in support of the most extreme elements on the Labour left, which camouflage themselves as anti-Zionists’) in which it is argued that concerns raised by the Jewish community about antisemitism were an attempt to influence the local elections in May 2018.
5. On 4th April 2018, Ms Linnegar shared a link on her Facebook page to an article on the Canary site entitled “The media is probably wishing it hadn’t launched its latest Corbyn smear”, regarding the reporting of Jeremy Corbyn’s attendance at a Seder service organised by a controversial Jewish group.
6. On 4th April 2019, it was reported that, on 29th April 2016, a Facebook user called Aziz Aghabi wrote a post on the ‘Unity News’ Facebook page, which was subsequently shared on the Swindon Peoples Assembly Facebook page. Ms Aghabi made a direct comparison between the actions of the Israeli State towards Muslims and those of Adolf Hitler towards Jews. Ms Linnegar ‘liked’ the post.
7. On 4th April 2019, it was reported that, on 30th April 2016, an article from the Electronic Intifada website by Asa Winstanley entitled: “How Israel lobby manufactured UK Labour Party’s anti-Semitism crisis” was posted on the Swindon Peoples Assembly Facebook page. At an unknown date after the posting, Ms Linnegar ‘liked’ this post.

Asa Winstanley is a London-based journalist primarily associated with [Electronic Intifada](#) who regularly promotes antisemitic conspiracy theories (particularly the suggestion that British MPs and Jewish groups are working for Israel) and asserts that accusations of antisemitism are “fabrication” and “smears”. He was suspended from the Labour Party for alleged antisemitism in March 2019, when it emerged he was a member.

## Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Linnegar’s action and statements amount to breaches of the [International Definition of Antisemitism](#) and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our [methodology](#).

By ‘liking’ a post that compares the actions of Israel to those of Nazi Germany [6], Ms Linnegar was endorsing “...comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.”

In sharing posts characterising accusations of antisemitism brought by Jewish groups or individuals as “smear[s]”, “cynical attack[s]”, a “distraction[s]” and in other ways characterising them as having a hidden motive, particularly to attack Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour Party, in [1], [2], [3], [4] and [5]; and by ‘liking’ a post in which it is alleged that an “Israel Lobby” had “fabricated” an “antisemitism crisis” — a trope regarding the hidden power of diaspora Jews or Israel — Ms Linnegar was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions”.

She was further deploying the so-called [Livingstone Formulation](#) in [1], [2], [3], [4], [5] and [7], by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring, or having deceitful motives in doing so, in cases where there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the [International Definition of Antisemitism](#). Furthermore, we note that on 26th March 2018, in a published response to complaints of antisemitism by Jewish community charities, Jeremy Corbyn MP stated: “I recognise that anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced within the Labour Party, and has too often been dismissed as simply a matter of a few bad apples.” On 24th April, 2018, in an article published in the Evening standard, Mr Corbyn stated: “We must strive to understand why anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced in our party”...and “when members of Jewish communities express genuine anxieties we must recognise them as we would those of any other community. Their concerns are not “smears”.

## REBECCA LONG BAILEY, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR SALFORD AND ECCLES

### Incidents

1. On 25th June 2020, Rebecca Long Bailey shared an article on Twitter which featured an interview with the actress Maxine Peake, during the course of which Ms Peake was reported to have said: “Systemic racism is a global issue. The tactics used by the police in America, kneeling on George Floyd’s neck, that was learnt from seminars with Israeli secret services.” Ms Long Bailey commented: “Maxine Peake is an absolute diamond.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Long Bailey’s actions qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

The claim that Israel is ultimately responsible for the racist killing of George Floyd by American police has been promulgated in both the US and the UK despite having been debunked and extensively scrutinised by journalists. It is reminiscent of repeated libels against the Jewish people, who have been blamed throughout history for contemporaneous atrocities. By sharing an article in which it was explicitly stated that the Israeli intelligence service had taught the American police the technique used to kill George Floyd [1], therefore, Ms Long Bailey was disseminating material which was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective...”, where Israel is “conceived as a Jewish collectivity.”

## MARK MCDONALD, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, STOKE-ON-TRENT SOUTH

### Incidents

1. On 26th April 2016, Mark McDonald wrote an article for Tribune, in which he stated: [a] “In the last year, there has been mounting and heavily publicised criticism against the Labour Party of anti-Semitism[sic] or failure to sanction anti-Semitism [sic] within the party. It is, however clear, with only the slightest scrutiny, that any allegation of anti-Semitism [sic] is wholly without foundation. The Labour Party does not have a problem with anti-Semitism [sic]. But it is a sad truth that when any person or organisation is accused of anti-Semitism [sic], it sticks. The allegation may be without evidence, unproven or, indeed as we find here, politically motivated.”

Going on to claim that “in today’s politics, if you want to lead, if you want to get to the top of that pole, you can’t be outspoken, you can’t defend unpopular causes and you cannot, whatever you do, ever criticise Israel”, Mr McDonald continued: [b] “So after Jeremy’s election, there was an unholy alliance between Conservative Central Office and a small group of Labour MPs. Working closely with the Daily Telegraph and the political blogger Guido Fawkes, they began scrutinising every meeting he had attended, every platform he had shared, and the Twitter feeds and Facebook posts of the 400,000 new members. It is not surprising that they found one or two anti-Semitic bad eggs. This is not to diminish the seriousness of anti-Semitism, but to say that the Labour Party has a problem with anti-Semitism is simply not true.”

Mr McDonald went on to criticise former Chief Rabbi Lord Sacks for writing in an article entitled: “Anti-Zionism Is The New Anti-Semitism [sic]”. Noting that Lord Sacks stated, “Today [justification for antisemitism] is human rights. It is why Israel...is regularly accused of the five crimes against human rights: racism, apartheid, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and attempted genocide. This is the blood libel of our time,” Mr McDonald wrote: [c] “And here Jonathan Sacks, evoking the most heinous of anti-Semitic [sic] tropes, gets to the root of the issue. This has never been about anti-Semitism [sic]. This has always been about protecting Israel.” It should be noted that, early on in the article, Lord Sacks stated explicitly: “Here one must state the obvious. Criticism of the Israeli government is not anti-Semitic [sic].”

2. On or around 16th November 2019, Mr McDonald ‘liked’ a tweet which shared an article dealing with an open letter signed by a number of prominent figures. The letter stated: “we are outraged that Jeremy Corbyn, a life-long committed anti-racist, is being smeared as an anti-semite [sic] by people who should know better. Antisemitism is a problem within society and is present within all political parties and movements, including Labour. It must be confronted and rooted out at every turn. No political party or political leader has done more to address this problem than Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour Party. In the last two years, the speed of investigations has increased fourfold, staffing committed to dealing with the issue has doubled, legal experts have been drafted, and rules changed to expedite sanctions. But the prevailing evidence speaks for itself: Labour’s political opponents and much of the media have trivialised and weaponised this issue for ideological ends.” The letter was published just weeks before the 2019 General Election, at a time when the Labour Party was forced to answer repeated allegations of antisemitism against it.

## Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Mr McDonald's actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

Given that Jewish groups and individuals have been prominent among those who have claimed there is antisemitism in the Labour Party, by claiming that allegations of antisemitism in Labour are "wholly without foundation" and "politically motivated" [1a]; that to suggest the Labour Party has a problem with antisemitism is "not true" [1b]; and that allegations against the Labour Party have "never been about anti-Semitism [sic]" but, rather, have "always been about protecting Israel" [1c]; and by 'liking' a tweet sharing a letter in which allegations of antisemitism against Jeremy Corbyn were characterised as "smears" and it was alleged that "Labour's political opponents and much of the media have trivialised and weaponised the issue [of antisemitism] for ideological ends" [2], Mr McDonald was deploying the so-called 'Livingstone Formulation', by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. In so doing he was "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions."

## ALI MILANI, LABOUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE FOR UXBRIDGE AND RUISLIP

### Incidents

1. On 9th November 2011, in an exchange on Twitter with journalist Piers Morgan, unrelated to the subject of Jews or Israel, Councillor Ali Milani replied: “U are a zionist and a corperate [sic] jackass.”
2. On 29th May 2012, in an exchange on Twitter in which he reportedly criticised another twitter user for being stingy, Cllr Milani tweeted: “Nah u won’t mate. It’ll cost u a pound #jew.”
3. On 22nd February 2013, Cllr Milani tweeted: “Israel has no right to exist.”
4. On 27th October 2013, in another exchange Cllr Milani tweeted: “I want to be the President of Israel. They have a self-destruct button right?”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Mr Milani’s actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By tweeting “Nah u won’t mate. It’ll cost you a pound #jew” [2], he was making “mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews” by invoking the stereotype of Jews being mean with money.

By tweeting that Israel does not have a right to exist [3], and by expressing the desire to destroy Israel [4], Cllr Milani was “denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination.”

Zionism is an expression of national self-determination for Jews, and since the establishment of the State of Israel, of support for the maintenance of that state. We note the words of the Labour Party’s own guidance, particularly where it states that: “...for many Jews, Zionism represents national liberation. The concepts of Israel, Zion and Jerusalem run deeply in Jewish religion, identity and culture, and...are symbolic of a homeland, refuge, or place of safety. By using the term “Zionist” in a context unrelated to Jews or Israel where the term was not political in its intent [1], he was therefore deploying it as a term of abuse, suggesting that any person who supports the rights of Jews to self-determination is contemptible.

## **ED MURPHY, LABOUR AND CO-OPERATIVE PARTY PROSPECTIVE PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE FOR NORTH-WEST CAMBRIDGESHIRE (DESELECTED)**

### Incident

1. On 9th November 2017, Councillor Murphy, who was then leader of the Labour group on Peterborough City Council, reportedly proposed Alan Bull as a candidate for the local elections despite having been shown evidence of his alleged social media activity which included a post calling the Holocaust a “hoax”.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Cllr Murphy’s action qualifies as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By reportedly proposing a candidate for public office, despite having seen evidence of their antisemitic discourse, he was sustaining the dissemination of antisemitic discourse in the Labour Party and promoting discrimination against Jews both within the Labour Party and the wider community.



## JANN OLIVER, LABOUR PROSPECTIVE PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE, BROMLEY AND CHISLEHURST (DESELECTED)

### Incidents:

1. On or around July 12th 2019, Jann Oliver retweeted a post from an account calling itself “Zionism Research Center,” which included a video of a speech given by the late Labour MP Gerald Kaufman, in which he [a] likened Israel’s behaviour in Gaza to that of the Nazis, and [b] alleged that the Holocaust was being exploited for political ends. The “Zionism Research Center” account has now been suspended by Twitter, and the tweet shared by Ms Oliver is no longer available; however, videos of the same speech have been shared on YouTube. The output of the “Zionism Research Center” account consisted almost entirely of pro-Iranian content and antisemitic conspiracy theories, including that Israeli Jews are “fake” Jews (the so-called ‘Khazar myth’); that Israel was involved in the 9/11 attacks; and that Jews are “parasites” who are prone to “avarice”. On or around 12th July 2019, Ms Oliver retweeted a post which stated: “so much to think about with the concerted attack on the Labour leadership using false, and contrived accusations of antisemitism...”

2. On or around 17th July 2019, Ms Oliver retweeted a post which included a video of Jeremy Corbyn and a claim that the media were ignoring statements he had made expressing opposition to antisemitism in favour of “giving airtime to people who smear him with NO EVIDENCE”.

3. On or around 29th July 2019, Ms Oliver retweeted a post from the former Derby North MP Chris Williamson, who was suspended for alleged antisemitism, in which he thanked the rapper Lowkey (who has a history of problematic discourse) for his support, and shared an image of the rapper with a quotation attributed to him: “A great injustice has been done against Williamson with this suspension, and be sure the real target here is Jeremy Corbyn.”

4. On or around 5th August 2019, Ms Oliver retweeted a post from an account claiming to be that of a young Jewish supporter of Mr Corbyn who was “opposed to Zionism and the State of Israel”, in which they claimed: “One of the main reasons I joined Twitter was to as a Jew [sic] who is proud of his jewishness [sic] help fight the FALSE anti-Semitic [sic] accusations against [Jeremy Corbyn] and [Chris Williamson].”

It should be noted that this account was suspected of being a fake — part of a phenomenon whereby social media users claim Jewish heritage in order to defend the Labour Party against accusations of antisemitism, or to spread antisemitic content.

5. On or around 5th August 2019, Ms Oliver retweeted a post from the Twitter account of the Dorset Eye site (which has repeatedly hosted antisemitic content) asserting that accusations of antisemitism against Mr Corbyn were part of an effort by “the establishment media and Zionists across all political parties” to “serially” undermine the Labour leader, and that those making such accusations had been “convinced by shady characters” and were “bogged down in hate and the incapacity to think analytically”. The article also spoke of “dark forces at play” and reproduced part of an article by the antisemitism-denial group and sham Jewish representative organisation, Jewish

Voice for Labour, which stated in relation to the antisemitism crisis in Labour that “attacks on Jeremy Corbyn and Labour have been grossly exaggerated, and in some cases fabricated.”

Ms Oliver’s Twitter account, from which she followed @SocialistVoice, an account run by expelled Labour activist Scott Nelson, has now been deleted.

## Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Oliver’s actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By sharing a video of a speech in which Israel’s behaviour in Gaza was compared to that of the Nazis [1a], she was “drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.”

The assertion that Jews exploit the Holocaust politically and financially is an antisemitic trope based on the perception of negative Jewish character traits; namely the classic antisemitic stereotypical portrayal of Jews as dishonest and greedy. This trope is now so widespread that, in a 2018 CNN survey, a third of Europeans expressed the opinion that Jews exploit the Holocaust. By sharing a video of a speech alleging that the Holocaust is being exploited for political ends [1b], therefore, she was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

By retweeting posts in which it was alleged that those who have claimed there is antisemitism in the Labour Party (which necessarily includes Jewish groups and individuals) are doing so for ulterior political motives — that accusations of antisemitism within Labour, or against Jeremy Corbyn and Chris Williamson were “false”, “contrived”, “[smears]...with no evidence”, “grossly exaggerated, and in some cases fabricated” [2][3][5][6]; or that such accusations were part of a conspiracy by “the establishment media and Zionists across all political parties” to “serially” undermine the Labour leader” and in which “dark forces” were at play [6]; or that the accusations against Chris Williamson were, in reality, a conspiracy to undermine Jeremy Corbyn [4] — she was disseminating material which was deploying the so-called ‘Livingstone Formulation’, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This further constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews.”

## **BARONESS OSAMOR, LABOUR PEER**

### Incidents

On 2nd May 2016, Baroness Osamor shared a letter from The Guardian on her Facebook page entitled, “A Palestinian view on the antisemitism row.” The letter appeared in response to an article by Jonathan Freedland (written in the immediate aftermath of Ken Livingstone’s suspension) in which the journalist had expressed the wish for Israel not to be unfairly singled out as having no right to exist and for Jews to have the same right as other minorities to define what they consider to be discriminatory against them. The letter’s author, however, chose to characterise Israel as an essentially illegitimate entity, and its inhabitants as colonisers, asserting that “Balfour had more right to promise Wales to the Zionists than Palestine”.

On 14th June 2016, Baroness Osamor was a signatory to a letter presented to Iain McNicol (the then General Secretary of the Labour Party) in which the signatories declared themselves “concerned about the recent suspensions of committed Labour Party members for alleged anti-Semitism [sic] which undermines serious discussion and thinking.” Amongst those whose suspensions caused them particular concern were Marlene Ellis (who had defended Naz Shah MP’s suggestion that Israeli Jews should be “transported” to the USA, by asserting that her statement was “not so outrageous within the historical context and involvement of Zionists with Nazis”), Ken Livingstone (suspended for having asserted that Hitler supported Zionism), Tony Greenstein and David White. It described the suspensions as having parallels with the McCarthy era in the United States and with the Salem witch trials. It also suggested that Jackie Walker’s first suspension (for having asserted that Jews were among the “chief financiers of the...slave trade”, then only recently lifted) had been “applied and publicised in haste, without due consideration.” The letter continued: “It appears allegations of anti-Semitism [sic] are being used to stifle the sharing of information on some of the uncomfortable events that took place during the Shoah, the Maangamizi (African Holocaust) and free speech. Allegations are also being made to silence criticisms of Israel, hamper the work of Momentum activists, and undermine Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn.”

On 17th October 2016, Baroness Osamor shared an article on Facebook from the Electronic Intifada website entitled, “UK lawmakers push to outlaw criticism of Zionism”, in which the report by the Home Affairs Select Committee, following its investigation into antisemitism, was criticised for its conclusion that the Labour Leader Jeremy Corbyn was heading a political party with “institutionally anti-Semitic [sic] elements”. The committee itself was characterised as “Conservative-dominated”; the IHRA definition of antisemitism was described as “false, ahistorical and politicized [sic]” and “designed to protect Israel’s human rights violations from censure and accountability”; and many of the allegations of antisemitism investigated by Baroness Chakrabarti for her report were described as having been “fabricated or exaggerated”.

On 2nd April 2018, Baroness Osamor shared a letter to The Guardian on her Facebook page entitled: “Stop Jeremy Corbyn’s trial by media over antisemitism.” The letter’s signatories asserted that media coverage of the antisemitism crisis within the Labour Party had been biased, reporting it

in such a way as to suggest that “antisemitism is a problem mostly to do with Labour and that Corbyn is personally responsible for failing to deal with it.” They suggested that the coverage had relied on only “a handful” of sources, including Jewish charities described as “well-known opponents of Jeremy Corbyn himself.” Having gone on to suggest that the real threat to Jews in both Britain and Europe came from the right, the signatories concluded: “It is not ‘whataboutery’ to suggest that the debate on antisemitism has been framed in such a way as to mystify the real sources of anti-Jewish bigotry and instead to weaponise it against a single political figure just ahead of important elections.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Baroness Osamor’s actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By sharing a letter which characterises Israel as a state whose establishment was essentially an act of racism [1], Baroness Osamor was disseminating material which was “Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination (e.g. by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour).”

In becoming a signatory to a letter which supported Ken Livingstone (whose suspension for stating that Hitler supported Zionism was characterised as stifling “the sharing of information on some of the uncomfortable events that took place during the Shoah”), in [2], she was supporting a perversion of the historical account of the Holocaust which had been formulated in order to demonise an identifiably Jewish movement.

In becoming a signatory to a letter which supported Jackie Walker, whose suspension for stating that Jews were among the “chief financiers of the...slave trade” was characterised as stifling “the sharing of information on some of the uncomfortable events that took place during...the Maangamizi (African Holocaust)”, in [2], she was endorsing a proven antisemitic myth. In doing so, she was “Making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

In becoming a signatory to a letter which stated that allegations of antisemitism were being made “to silence criticisms of Israel, hamper the work of Momentum activists, and undermine Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn,” in [2]; by sharing an article in which allegations of antisemitism are described as “fabricated” and “exaggerated”, and the IHRA definition of antisemitism is described as “false, ahistorical and politicized, [sic]” and “designed to protect Israel’s human rights violations from censure and accountability”, in [3]; and by sharing a letter which suggested that the debate on antisemitism was being manipulated in order to “weaponise it against a single political figure [Jeremy Corbyn] just ahead of important elections,” in [4], she was disseminating material which was characterising those who allege antisemitism in the Labour Party to be politically motivated. This would inevitably include those Jewish groups and individuals who have publicly and

repeatedly stood up to and reported antisemitism within the Labour Party. In doing so, she was deploying the so-called 'Livingstone Formulation', by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism.

We note that on 26th March 2018, in a published response to complaints of antisemitism by Jewish community charities, Jeremy Corbyn MP stated: "I recognise that anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced within the Labour Party, and has too often been dismissed as simply a matter of a few bad apples." Furthermore, we note that on 24th April, 2018, in an article published in the Evening Standard, Mr Corbyn stated: "We must strive to understand why anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced in our party...", and "when members of Jewish communities express genuine anxieties we must recognise them as we would those of any other community. Their concerns are not 'smears'."

## JENNY RATHBONE, WELSH LABOUR ASSEMBLY MEMBER FOR CARDIFF CENTRAL

### Incidents

On 28th August 2018, Ms Rathbone tweeted, “Israeli Govt [sic] continues its relentless campaign against Jeremy Corbyn”, and asked: “Why are our media not investigating this level of foreign interference in UK politics?”

On 13th November 2018, a recording thought to date from the beginning of November 2017 was published, in which Ms Rathbone stated: [a] “I think that the Israeli government’s behaviour in occupying part of the land, and in generally behaving like a conqueror is not conducive to peace. And I think that’s what drives people to be hostile to the Jewish community in this country. And I think that the Jewish community has a responsibility to promote peace in the Middle East, because this is one of the main drivers of intolerance.” She further stated: [b] “The fact that the Jewish synagogue in Cyncoed [Cyncoed Gardens in Cardiff] is behind this fortress is really uncomfortable and...how much of it is for real, and how much of it is in their own head is hard to judge, but siege mentality is also part of it.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Rathbone’s actions and statements amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By asserting that the Israeli government was behind allegations of antisemitism within the Labour Party, and accusing the UK media of not reporting it as such [1], Ms Rathbone was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions” where “the State of Israel [is] conceived as a Jewish collectivity”.

By stating that antisemitism is a product of Israel’s behaviour and that Jews in Britain who do not act to “promote peace” are responsible for the resulting “hostility” towards them [2a], Ms. Rathbone was “holding Jews collectively responsible for the actions of the State of Israel.”

There has been a history of terrorist and other kinds of violence against Jewish community buildings and property in the UK, as well as recent murderous violence against European Jews at their community buildings in Brussels, Copenhagen, Halle, Paris, and Toulouse. There has also been a long history of violent antisemitic incidents in the United States, including the murderous attacks in Pittsburgh and Poway. In the face of growing violence against Jews, Ms Rathbone’s suggestion that the Cardiff Jewish community’s taking steps to protect the security of the synagogue (by making it a “fortress”) might be due to an irrational perception of danger [2b] suggests that the community is paranoid and irrational, whilst encouraging others to believe that the protection of Jewish institutions is unnecessary.

Ms Rathbone's comments in [2] echo those of Labour staffer Tim Lezard, who stated that funding for the UK's synagogues' security should be cut because of Israel's military actions. It has also been reported that members of Momentum have claimed that security for synagogues is the product of a conspiracy by 'Zionists' to make 'Jews' feel unjustifiably fearful. Furthermore, the former Momentum vice-chair Jackie Walker's suspension and subsequent expulsion from the Labour Party was partly due to her assertion that security for Jewish institutions is unnecessary and a product of unjustifiable Jewish pleading. It has further been reported that the Shadow Chancellor, John McDonnell, refused, when asked, to confirm that he would maintain budgets for security for Jewish institutions.

## ANGELA RAYNER, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE

### Incidents

1. On 27th January 2015, Angela Rayner MP published an article both in the Morning Star and on the official website of Unison North West entitled: “Inside the Factory of Genocide.” In the article, describing a visit to Auschwitz, she referenced Norman Finkelstein’s controversial work The Holocaust Industry — in which the author argues that the American Jewish establishment exploits the Holocaust for political and financial gain — calling it “a seminal book”.
2. On 28th November 2018, it was discovered by Twitter users that Ms Rayner had re-posted her 2015 article on Facebook in January 2018, on Holocaust Memorial Day.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Ms Rayner’s actions and statements qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

The Holocaust Industry is a work in which Jews are accused of exploiting the Holocaust politically and financially. Whereas many issues concerning the memorialising of the Holocaust have been legitimately aired, Mr Finkelstein’s position, as revealed both in this book and more widely, is regarded as hostile to Jews and Israel and, in the opinion of eminent academics, to be based in part on fabrications. Professor Peter Novick, a man who himself questioned the centrality of the Holocaust in American Jewish life, and whose work Mr Finkelstein cited as his “initial stimulus” for writing the book, stated: “No facts alleged by Finkelstein should be assumed to be really facts, no quotation in his book should be assumed to be accurate, without taking the time to carefully compare his claims with the sources he cites...Such an examination reveals that many of those assertions are pure invention.” For Ms Rayner to refer to his book as “seminal”, therefore, is to abuse the Holocaust to promote the perception of negative Jewish character traits; namely notions of dishonesty and greed. This trope is now so widespread that, in a recent survey, a third of Europeans expressed the opinion that Jews exploit the Holocaust. By describing this book as “seminal” in [1] and [2], therefore, Ms Rayner was endorsing a work which was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews.”



## STEVE REED, LABOUR AND CO-OPERATIVE PARTY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR CROYDON NORTH

### Incidents

On 4th July 2020, Steve Reed MP tweeted: “Is millionaire former porn-baron Desmond the puppet-master for the entire Tory cabinet? @RobertJenrick @PritiPatel”.

It had been reported that day that, before becoming Home Secretary, Priti Patel MP had been lobbied by the Jewish businessman Richard Desmond, over the matter of relaxing lottery regulations. It had previously been reported that the Housing Secretary Robert Jenrick MP had been lobbied by Mr Desmond over a matter of property development.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Mr Reed’s action constitutes a breach of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualifies as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By tweeting the suggestion that a Jewish businessman was the “puppet-master” of the Conservative cabinet, thereby employing an antisemitic trope with a long history, having been deployed during the Nazi era and more recently being frequently evoked to demonise Jewish businesspeople [1], he was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

## LLOYD RUSSELL-MOYLE, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR BRIGHTON, KEMPTOWN AND PEACEHAVEN

### Incidents

1. On 10th January 2009, Lloyd Russell-Moyle wrote on Facebook: "...most of the Jews and Socialist [sic] that I know are anti-Zionist as they feel as do many people in the UK and around the world that Zionism is a very dangerous nationalist idea."

2. On an unknown date prior to 2017, Mr Russell-Moyle reportedly wrote on Facebook: "The point is people who are form [sic] Jewish decent [sic]/Jewish but are not Zionist is that the two are not automatic that you can be proud of being Jewish but realise that idea of inheriting/claim a land that you may have never visited or seen but have a 'heritage' claim for is not progressive in its very nature."

3. On 30th June 2017, Mr Russell-Moyle MP reportedly wrote to Labour's then General Secretary Ian McNichol to recommend the reinstatement of Melanie Melvin (who had tweeted that a Syrian gas attack had been "filmed by the BBC at Pinewood on the orders of Mrs May and the Israeli lobby").

Prior to Mr Russell-Moyle's intervention on her behalf, Ms Melvin had previously claimed that allegations of antisemitism in the Labour Party (which she described elsewhere as a "witch hunt" in which one could be targeted simply for mentioning Israel) were a "storm in the teacup" used as an "excuse to bash Corbyn"; attributed criticism of Jeremy Corbyn's perceived failure to hold the government to account over problems within the NHS to "the strong arm of the Israel Lobby"; and suggested that the Parliamentary Labour Party prioritised antisemitism over other forms of racism.

Following his intervention, as well as dismissing claims of antisemitism as a "smear campaign against Corbyn made in bad faith", Ms Melvin went on to articulate further conspiracies involving British Jews and Israel, such as claiming that UK "foreign policy [is] run by Israel"; that the "Israel Lobby" was part of the "deep state" and had been "given a free hand to trash UK democracy and shape foreign policy from the shadows"; and more recently, that Labour has become a "Zionist Party", whilst defining the term "Zionist" as "an increasingly powerful white supremacist, colonialist ideology."

4. On 11th June 2019, Mr Russell-Moyle attacked Jewish MP Dame Margaret Hodge for having criticised the Labour leadership over its choice of candidate for the Peterborough by-election, Lisa Forbes. Ms Forbes had been revealed as having endorsed antisemitic material on social media. In a series of tweets (the first of which originally included a video shared from the notorious @SocialistVoice account operated by expelled Labour activist Scott Nelson), Mr Russell-Moyle defended Ms Forbes and wrote: "Let's remember Hodge in 1983 was lined up by the right of party to be the MP for Islington North and as leader of the council was considered a shoe in [sic]. [Jeremy Corbyn] stood as a rank a [sic] file member and won. She has never forgiven him and has dedicated her time to undermine him."

It should be noted that Mr Russell-Moyle's assertion regarding the 1983 selection process appears to be at odds with reports that Mr Corbyn's closest rival for the candidacy was Paul Boateng.

Mr Russell-Moyle subsequently replaced the video in his first tweet with the same clip shared from a different account, claiming he was unaware of Mr Nelson's reputation and apologising for having shared content from his account. He ultimately deleted all the tweets in question.

5. On 12th July 2020, it was reported that in June 2020 Mr Russell-Moyle had written to the Labour Party to intercede on behalf of the suspended local Labour activist (and former Chair of the Central Hove, Brunswick and Adelaide constituency Labour Party) Rebecca Massey. Although Ms Massey had apparently been suspended (and was subsequently expelled) for having supported the former Derby North MP Chris Williamson in his bid for election as an independent candidate in the 2019 election, her history of antisemitic discourse had been in the public domain for over three years. It was reported that Mr Russell-Moyle's letter only referred to Ms Massey's history of support for the Labour Party.

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Mr Russell-Moyle's statements and actions qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By dismissing Dame Margaret Hodge's concerns over antisemitism in the Labour Party as being motivated by a decades-long vendetta against Mr Corbyn [4], he was deploying the so-called 'Livingstone Formulation', by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so, when there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This constitutes "making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions."

By allegedly suggesting in a letter to the General Secretary of the Party that a suspended Labour Party member such as Ms Melvin should be re-admitted to the Party on account of her "record" as a "stalwart" campaigner — where that individual already had a public history of having made antisemitic statements for over a year — and by attempting to claim that a conspiracy theory, consistent with her previous statements, was disseminated by her as a parody [3]; and by reportedly writing to the Labour Party to intercede on behalf of Rebecca Massey in spite of her public history of antisemitic discourse [5], Mr Russell-Moyle was attempting to use his status as an MP to seek the reinstatement of known antisemites as Labour members. As such, Mr Russell-Moyle was demonstrating a determination to sustain the dissemination of antisemitic discourse in the Labour Party as well as the denial of its existence. In doing so, he was promoting discrimination against Jews within the Labour Party, as well as supporting a wider demonisation of Jews objecting to antisemitism in the Labour Party.

Zionism is an expression of national self-determination for Jews, and, since the establishment of the State of Israel, of support for the maintenance of that State. The allegation that Zionism is an

inherently racist or “dangerous” ideology was promulgated by the Soviet Union as part of a deliberate and explicitly antisemitic campaign to persecute Jewish citizens who wished to practise their religion and/or leave the Soviet Union — especially to emigrate to Israel — as well as to demonise and undermine Israel on the foreign stage. A singular purpose of this propaganda was to drive a false distinction between “Jews” and “Zionists”, in which the latter is presented as the enemy of the former. By claiming that “Zionism is a very dangerous nationalist idea” [1]; by stating that Jews can only retain their pride in being Jewish if they “realise” that they must relinquish their right to the same self-determination afforded to other peoples [2]; and by writing that Zionism “Is not progressive in its very nature”, thereby implying that the right to self-determination for Jews cannot be “progressive” but is a negative right, when the right to self-determination for other peoples is invariably considered a positive one [2], Mr Russell-Moyle was demonising Jews who assert their universal right to self-determination, and as such was “Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination”.

We note the words of the Labour Party’s own guidance, particularly where it states that “...for many Jews, Zionism represents national liberation. The concepts of Israel, Zion and Jerusalem run deeply in Jewish religion, identity and culture, and...are symbolic of a homeland, refuge, or place of safety. The sensitivities around these concepts should be considered before using them.”

## **BARRY SHEERMAN, LABOUR AND CO-OPERATIVE PARTY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR HUDDERSFIELD**

### Incidents

On 1st August 2020, following the publication of the 2019 Dissolution Honours list the previous day, Barry Sheerman MP tweeted: [a] “Apparently there’s been a bit of a run on silver shekels!” Shortly afterwards, seemingly by way of explanation for his previous comment, he tweeted: [b] “Apparently Richard Desmond & Philip Green were on the original list for seats in the House of Lords!”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Mr Sheerman’s actions and comments constitute a breach of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

By using language that linked British Jews to the ancient antisemitic slander of Judas’s betrayal of Jesus for ‘Thirty pieces of silver’, as Mr Sheerman himself admitted [1a], he was disseminating a classic antisemitic trope.

By apparently suggesting that two prominent Jewish businessmen might have attempted bribery to secure seats in the House of Lords, thereby invoking antisemitic tropes involving both dishonesty and venality [1a], he was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

By associating British Jews with “silver shekels”, thereby linking them with Israeli currency [1b], and by implication influencing British politics on behalf of the State of Israel, he was evoking the so-called “dual-loyalty” trope: “accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.”

## **JIM SHERIDAN, FORMER LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR PAISLEY AND RENFREWSHIRE NORTH**

### Incident

On 18th August 2018, it was reported that, on 17th August 2018, Councillor Jim Sheridan had posted on his Facebook page, but subsequently deleted: “For almost all my adult life I have had the utmost respect and empathy for the Jewish community and their historic suffering. No longer due to what they and their blairite [sic] plotters are doing to my party and the long suffering people of Britain who need a radical Labour government.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism’s analysis is that Cllr Sheridan’s statement amounts to a breach of the International Definition of Antisemitism, and qualifies as antisemitic according to our methodology.

In his statement [1], in reference to the antisemitism crisis in the Labour Party which became particularly intense during the summer of 2018, Cllr Sheridan directly accused the “Jewish community” of wilfully causing harm to both the Labour Party and the “long-suffering people of Britain”. Rather than accept that their complaints about antisemitism were made in good faith, he alleged a political motive, explicitly accusing them of being involved in a conspiracy with unnamed “blairite [sic] plotters” in which he determined British Jews to be so guilty that he felt compelled to withdraw his support from the entire community. In doing so, he was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”

He was also employing the so-called ‘Livingstone Formulation’ in [1], by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so where there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. This further constitutes “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews...”

Furthermore, we note that on 26th March 2018, in a published response to complaints of antisemitism by Jewish community charities, Jeremy Corbyn MP stated: “I recognise that anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced within the Labour Party, and has too often been dismissed as simply a matter of a few bad apples.” On 24th April, 2018, in an article published in the Evening Standard, Mr Corbyn stated: “We must strive to understand why anti-Semitism [sic] has surfaced in our party”...and “when members of Jewish communities express genuine anxieties we must recognise them as we would those of any other community. Their concerns are not ‘smears’”.

## ZARAH SULTANA, LABOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR COVENTRY SOUTH

### Incidents

1. On an unknown date in March 2015, Zarah Sultana reportedly wrote on social media regarding a Jewish student who was attempting to stand as a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) student leader: “Everyone sees how problematic it is for white people to run for positions representing BME students. Except white people.”
  2. On an unknown date in 2016, Ms Sultana reportedly wrote on Facebook: “The Labour Right are scum and genuinely make me sick. Is there any form of discrimination that they won't weaponise to politically point score like they've done in the past with antisemitism and now with homophobia?”
  3. On an unknown date, Ms Sultana reportedly wrote on Facebook, regarding a Jewish student who appears to have been standing as an Ethnic Minorities Officer in an NUS election: “I can't believe this YT thinks she can represent us.” She subsequently reportedly wrote: “Yay, the white woman didn't win the Ethnic Minorities Officer Election!”
- “YT” (phonetically ‘whitey’) is a slang expression for a white person often used in a pejorative manner by people who wish to stress their own non-white heritage.
4. On an unknown date, Ms Sultana reportedly wrote: “Those within the student movement who go to Zionist conferences and trips should be ashamed of themselves. You're advocating racist ideology.”
  5. On 14th November 2019, further comments made by Ms Sultana were exposed: in one tweet she wrote: “Speaking of history repeating itself, Jewish Holocaust 1939-1945 & Muslim Holocaust (Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, Chechnya etc) now? Mhm.”

### Analysis

Campaign Against Antisemitism's analysis is that Ms Sultana's actions amount to breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism and qualify as antisemitic discourse according to our methodology.

A modern formulation of anti-Jewish discrimination, in particular on university campuses, designates Jews as ‘white’, according to the hierarchical understanding of disadvantage conceived within the framework of intersectional or identity politics. In addressing Jews using the derogatory slur “YT” (‘whitey’) [1] [3], Ms Sultana was therefore casting Jews as a group who do not suffer discrimination, but are, rather, more likely to occupy a privileged role, or the role of oppressors. By promoting this claim, therefore, she was “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews...”

Additionally, by using the term “YT” as a derogatory slur [3], she was “expressing hatred towards Jews”.

By alleging that accusations of antisemitism had been “weaponised” by the “Labour right” (amongst which Jewish MPs will necessarily be included, as they have been prominent among those who have claimed there is antisemitism in the Labour Party) for the purpose of “political point [scoring]” [2], she was deploying the so-called Livingstone Formulation, by accusing Jews who cite evidence of antisemitism of lying, conspiring or having deceitful motives in doing so in cases where there is clear evidence that there have been breaches of the International Definition of Antisemitism. In doing so, she was further “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews...”

Zionism is an expression of national self-determination for Jews, and since the establishment of the State of Israel, of support for the maintenance of that State. We note the words of the Labour Party's own guidance, particularly where it states that: “...for many Jews, Zionism represents national liberation. The concepts of Israel, Zion and Jerusalem run deeply in Jewish religion, identity and culture, and...are symbolic of a homeland, refuge, or place of safety. The sensitivities around these concepts should be considered before using them.”

The allegation that Zionism is an inherently racist ideology was promulgated by the Soviet Union as part of a deliberate and explicitly antisemitic campaign to persecute Jewish citizens who wished to practise their religion and/or leave the Soviet Union (especially to emigrate to Israel), as well as to demonise and undermine Israel on the foreign stage. A singular purpose of this propaganda was to drive a false distinction between “Jews” and “Zionists”, in which the latter is the enemy of the former. By having asserted that Zionism is a racist ideology [4], therefore, Ms Sultana was further “making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews...”

By describing Zionism as a “racist ideology” [4], she was casting the State of Israel as illegitimate, thus “denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination (e.g. by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour).”

By making a direct comparison between between the Holocaust and Muslim Palestinian deaths [5], she was “Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.”