

# Submission to the Chakrabarti Inquiry into Anti-Semitism and other forms of Racism

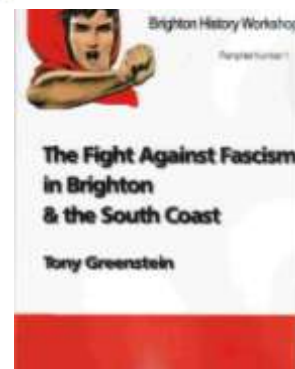
## Introduction

1. I am a Jewish member of the Labour Party. I rejoined the Labour Party in November 2015 after an absence of 22 years. On March 18<sup>th</sup> I was suspended by the Compliance Unit. No reason was given for my suspension other than that it was for remarks I was alleged to have made. No indication was given as to the nature of these alleged remarks.
2. I learnt what the reasons for my suspension were on April 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016 when I read two articles in the Daily Telegraph [Activist who derides critics as 'Zionist scum' admitted to Labour in latest anti-Semitism scandal to hit Party](#) and The Times ['Labour welcomes back blogger who compares Israelis to Nazi'](#). Both articles made it clear that I had been suspended as a result of the 'anti-Semitism' controversy within the Labour Party. The Compliance Unit, which refused to inform me of the details of my suspension, had no hesitation in leaking the same to the Tory press.
3. Following the issue of Letters before Action, both The Times and Telegraph retracted any suggestion that they had been implying that I was anti-Semitic.
4. Not until I was given a date for an investigation meeting, over two months after my suspension, did the Labour Party agree to provide me with some of the alleged statements or reasons that had led to my suspension. Many of these statements occurred after I had been suspended. A number of tweets and things I was alleged to have said were only produced on the day of my investigation hearing.
5. I have been active in the fight against fascism and racism all my life. I am a founder member of the Brighton and Hove Anti-Fascist Committee, former Secretary of Brighton Anti-Nazi League and ex-member of the Executive of Anti-fascist Action. I am the author of a book published by Brighton History Workshop 'Fighting Fascism in Brighton and the South Coast'.
6. I am a Jewish anti-Zionist and a supporter of the Palestinians. The lesson I drew from the holocaust was that if racism and genocide was wrong when perpetrated against people because they were Jewish, then the same principle applied to other peoples. It is particularly abhorrent that the holocaust is used to justify Israel's dispossession and discrimination against the Palestinians. Millions of Jews did not die at the hands of the Nazis in order that mobs in Israel can chant 'death to the Arabs.'
7. If the present concern about 'anti-Semitism' in the Labour Party was genuine or had any factual basis, then I would be the last person to have been suspended.

## Corrections and clarifications

● In our article ("Labour welcomes back blogger who compares Israelis to Nazis", News, April 2), we had no intention to accuse Tony Greenstein of being antisemitic. As Mr Greenstein has told us, he is Jewish and is an anti-Zionist. We are happy to put this on record.

CLARIFICATION: Since this article was published, we have been asked to make clear that we had not intended to imply that Tony Greenstein is anti-Semitic. We are happy to do so.



## The context in which the Chakrabarti Inquiry operates

8. This Inquiry does not take place in a vacuum but as a result of a concerted campaign to suggest that the Labour Party is witnessing a spontaneous upsurge in anti-Semitism. Conveniently this began with the election of Jeremy Corbyn. Those leading the campaign include the media – in particular the BBC, Guardian and Jewish Chronicle - the Zionist movement, Progress and what John Prescott has called the 'bitterites' in the Labour Party.

9. This Inquiry has been put under considerable pressure to conform to the received wisdom that the Labour Party is riddled with anti-Semitism. In [Another shameful episode](#), Jewish Chronicle editor Stephen Pollard wrote of *'the unsuitability of the inquiry's vice-chair, David Feldman' because he was 'a signatory to Independent Jewish Voices whose evidence to last year's All Party Inquiry Into Antisemitism insouciantly dismissed almost all accepted definitions of antisemitism.'* The only member of the Inquiry not to have been criticised by the Zionist lobby and right-wing media has been Baroness Royall who has been welcomed by Joan Ryan, Chair of Labour Friends of Israel [LFI].
10. *'All accepted definitions of anti-Semitism'* revolve around the discredited Working Definition of anti-Semitism of the European Union Monitoring Committee. The Jewish Chronicle [concluded](#) that *'it is difficult to see how Ms Chakrabarti's inquiry is not tarnished before it has even begun.'*
11. Joan Ryan is explicit that what she calls 'virulently anti-israel discourse... cannot be separated from the issue of anti-semitism.' To Ryan, 'anti-Semitism' is not hatred of Jews as Jews or a belief in anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, rather it is opposition to Israel as an apartheid state. Ryan is [quoted](#) as saying that: *"We will judge the success of this inquiry on its willingness to make the case that while there is nothing illegitimate about criticising the actions of the Israeli government, this must not be allowed to cross the red line into denying the Jewish people's right to self-determination and thus the existence of the state of Israel."* <sup>1</sup>
12. What Ryan is saying is that the idea that Israel should be a state of all its citizens, rather than a Jewish state representing Jews throughout the world, is anti-Semitic. By the same logic, support for a unitary state in South Africa was an example of anti-White racism.
13. Anyone wishing to understand the contrived and co-ordinated nature of reports of the alleged incidents of 'anti-Semitism' in the past six months should read Asa Winstanley's articles on Electronic Intifada [How Israel lobby manufactured UK Labour Party's anti-Semitism crisis](#) and [Instigator of anti-Semitism scam kicked out of Labour](#).
14. What is remarkable about the present hysteria is how little evidence there is to support the media reports that the Labour Party is riddled with anti-Semitism.
15. The Jewish Chronicle under its editor, Stephen Pollard, a former editor of the virulently racist *Daily Express* and member of the cold-war Henry Jackson Society, has been the most prominent of those campaigning around 'anti-Semitism' in the Labour Party. It was Pollard and the *Daily Mail* who first targeted Corbyn as an associate of holocaust denier Paul Eisen in [The key questions Jeremy Corbyn must answer](#) It was the Jewish Chronicle which targeted Jacqueline Walker for suspension. [Labour suspends Momentum supporter who claimed Jews caused 'an African holocaust'](#).
16. **It would appear that this Inquiry is bending over backwards to meet the Jewish Chronicle's concerns and in the process is discrediting itself.**
17. Academics, priests and intellectuals do not have a good track record historically for standing out against the received wisdom of their age. Pariahs such as Baruch Spinoza, Bernhard Lichtenberg and Hannah Arendt are the exception rather than the rule. The example of Martin Heidegger, who became Nazi rector of Freiburg University, is the norm. Just as German academia rushed to conform to the Nazis' racial thinking, with Jewish benches and the caricature of Einstein's 'Jewish physics', so today opposition to Zionism is portrayed as 'anti-Semitism'.

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<sup>1</sup> Jewish Chronicle 16.5.16.

18. In response to the criticism of Professor Feldman by the Jewish Chronicle, there has been an attempt to dissociate him from the submission by Independent Jewish Voices to the Parliamentary Committee on anti-Semitism. There has been no criticism of Janet Royall's ties with Labour Friends of Israel or her failure to dissociate herself from them.

## What is Anti-Semitism?

19. Dr Brian Klug of Oxford University is one of the foremost experts on anti-Semitism. In a paper that he gave at the Jewish Museum in Berlin, Klug observed that *'a label can turn into a libel when it is pinned on the wrong lapel. Antisemitism has rightly been called a 'monster'. But false accusations of antisemitism are monstrous too. For all these reasons and more, the word matters a great deal.'*<sup>2</sup>
20. What then is anti-Semitism? The definition that Klug suggests is *'hostility to Jews as Jews, where Jews are perceived as something other than what they are.'*<sup>3</sup> What this hostility results in is anti-Semitic behaviour which can be hatred, discrimination or even violence towards Jews as Jews.
21. Of course not all violence against someone Jewish is anti-Semitic. A robber who attacks someone in the street may not even know their victim is Jewish. Someone who is dressed in traditional hasidic costume may be mistaken for a Muslim and be a victim of associative Islamophobia rather than anti-Semitism!
22. Today we are witnessing the instrumentalisation of anti-Semitism by the supporters of Israel and the Zionist lobby. If there were any doubt about this they were confirmed with the grotesque debarment and refusal to nominate Rhea Wolfson, the only Jewish candidate for Labour's National Executive Committee, by her own CLP Glasgow Eastwood. The former leader of the Scottish Labour Party, Jim Murphy, claimed that she was a supporter of Momentum, which he insinuated was an anti-Semitic organisation.<sup>4</sup> Ironically Rhea Wolfson is a Zionist and supported by the very same Jewish Labour Movement [JLM] which has wielded the sword of 'anti-Semitism' against others.
23. In a Guardian Comment article in which I criticised the anti-Semitism of Gilad Atzmon, I wrote that: *'Like the boy who cried wolf, the charge of "anti-semitism" has been made so often against critics of Zionism and the Israeli state that people now have difficulty recognising the genuine article.'*<sup>5</sup> An example of this scattergun use of anti-Semitism is the business spat between Lord Myners and Sir Philip Green, when the latter called Myners, who is Jewish, an 'anti-Semitic left-winger.'<sup>6</sup>
24. This pernicious and poisonous use of 'anti-Semitism' has been encouraged by the present witch-hunting atmosphere in the Labour Party. **As with the McCarthy era, when you start pointing the finger at those you define as heretics then anyone suspected of heresy is targeted as a Communist or Anti-Semitic witch.**



<sup>2</sup> What Do We Mean When We Say 'Antisemitism'? Echoes of shattering glass, "Antisemitism in Europe Today: the Phenomena, the Conflicts" 8–9 November 2014

<sup>3</sup> [What Do We Mean When We Say 'Antisemitism'? Echoes of shattering glass](#)

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/rhea-wolfson-blocked-from-nec-election-momentum-jeremy-corbyn-ken-livingstone\\_uk\\_574eb210e4b096898c8db3af](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/rhea-wolfson-blocked-from-nec-election-momentum-jeremy-corbyn-ken-livingstone_uk_574eb210e4b096898c8db3af)

<sup>5</sup> The Seamy Side of Solidarity, Guardian 19.2.07.  
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/feb/19/greenstein>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/former-bhs-boss-sir-philip-greens-rival-lord-myners-joins-probe-into-failed-store-chain-1558905> 8.5.06.

25. We are seeing the defamatory scarecrow of ‘anti-Semitism’ rear its head today in the Labour Party. People who are active anti-racists like Jackie Taylor, the Black and Jewish Vice-Chair of Momentum, are being falsely labelled as anti-Semites. It is the responsible of this Inquiry to call for a halt. False accusations of anti-Semitism only helps genuine anti-Semites hide their racism behind the cloak of anti-Zionism.
26. As a Jewish anti-Zionist, I played a prominent role in politically isolating Gilad Atzmon, an ex-Israeli jazz player who won the BBC jazz record of the year in 2003. Even Jonathan Freedland, a Zionist who has played a prominent role in making false allegations of anti-Semitism, spoke of my ‘*admirable stance on Gilad Atzmon*’. Jamie Slavin of the Board of Deputies of British Jews made similar comments yet this has not stopped the Labour Party suspending me for ‘anti-Semitism’.
27. One of the major difficulties that I had in the Palestine solidarity movement in persuading people that Atzmon was anti-Semitic, not anti-Zionist, was **the experience of Zionists and supporters of Israel, as a matter of routine, attacking Palestinian supporters as anti-Semites**. It is a standing joke that to tell the truth about Palestine is to be anti-Semitic. When genuine anti-racists, like Jackie Walker, Marlene Ellis or myself are accused of anti-Semitism, then the term anti-Semitism loses all meaning.
28. A question that arises out of this is ‘Who is a Jew’ and what is their image in the popular mind? How has the perception of ‘the Jew’ changed and how is this popularised in the media? Despite their pro-Zionism and philo-Semitism, sections of the British press have no difficulty in reverting back to a previous era when the Jew and the Bolshevik were combined in the minds of reactionary establishment figures such as Winston Churchill.<sup>7</sup> A good example of this was the *Daily Mail*’s treatment of Ed Miliband. He was portrayed as the son of an alien Jewish Marxist who ‘hated Britain’ and couldn’t even eat a bacon sandwich properly!<sup>8</sup>
29. **What anti-Semitism is not however is anti-Zionism.** The two are distinct and separate phenomenon. They are as different as chalk from cheese. Anti-Zionism is not hatred of Jews but opposition to a political movement, Zionism. It expresses itself in hostility to the actions of the Israeli state and the Jewish nature of that state. Many if not most Zionists are not Jewish just as many Jews are not Zionists. Christian fundamentalists manage to combine both Zionism and anti-Semitism.<sup>9</sup> It is therefore disappointing that Janet Royall, in her investigation into Oxford University Labour Club, seems incapable of recognising such distinctions. What started off the allegations of anti-Semitism at Oxford were the comments of the non-Jewish co-Chair of the Labour Club, Alex Chalmers, that some people had a problem with Jewish students. He provided no evidence but openly admitted on his [blog](#) that his resignation had been triggered by the club’s support for Oxford’s Israel Apartheid Week. He has now come out as a supporter of disaffiliation of Oxford student union from the National Union of Students. This proposal was defeated by a majority of a thousand. The question should have been why Chalmers was ever in the Labour Party.

<sup>7</sup> See for example [Zionism versus Bolshevism](#)

<sup>8</sup> [See for example Is criticism of Ed Miliband a coded form of anti-Semitism](#) and [UK's powerful Daily Mail faces a political storm](#)

<sup>9</sup> For example the depiction by Pastor John Hagee, President of Christians United for Israel, of Hitler as a ‘hunter’ sent by god to drive the Jews to Israel. This did not prevent the Zionist Anti-Defamation League in the United States from exonerating Hagee of anti-Semitism. [Pastor Hagee Still Sells Controversial 2005 ‘God Sent Hitler’ Sermon, Apologizes To ADL For Wrong Sermon](#). This did not prevent the Zionist Anti-Defamation League in the United States from exonerating Hagee of anti-Semitism.



30. Fascists and anti-Semites use the terms ‘Zionist’ and ‘Jew’ interchangeably. To them, the word ‘Zionist’ is a disguise for their anti-Semitism. A disguise however is not the same as the real thing. If it were it would not be a disguise. What helps anti-Semites maintain the disguise is when anti-racists are falsely accused of ‘anti-Semitism’.
31. Racism is not simply a set of attitudes and prejudices but a system of power relations in a society where race and class overlap. British Jews are not economically oppressed or discriminated against. Nor are they the object of state or police racism or the victim of racist immigration controls. Jewish youth, unlike their Black and Muslim counterparts, are not subject to disproportionate Stop and Search. The press is Islamophobic not anti-Semitic. That is not to say anti-Semitism has completely disappeared, as the treatment of Ed Miliband and his father by the *Daily Mail* demonstrated. Violent attacks on British Jews are rare compared to physical attacks on Black and Muslim people. Jews in British society are White and mostly indistinguishable from other White people. Anti-Semitism is more a marginal prejudice than a form of racism today which is why it has become the false anti-racism of the Right, including the Zionist and Labour Right.

### What is Zionism?

32. Zionism was the political movement formed by Theodor Herzl at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its aim was to found a Jewish state as a solution to the Jewish Question. From the start Zionism had a symbiotic relationship with anti-Semitism. In his pamphlet, *Der Judenstaat*, (the Jewish State), Herzl wrote that ‘*Great exertions will hardly be necessary to spur on the movement. Anti-Semites will provide the requisite impetus.*’<sup>10</sup> It was but a short step from this to seeing anti-Semitism as possessing the ‘*divine will to good*’.<sup>11</sup> Zionism saw ‘assimilationism’ not anti-Semitism as its main enemy.
33. Far from being a movement of the Jewish people, Zionism was regarded with hostility by most Jews. Zion was a spiritual and religious concept, not a political creed. Orthodox Jewry in particular was hostile to Zionism. The first Zionist Congress was held in Basel, Switzerland in 1897 because the Jewish community in Munich rose up in arms at the prospect of it being held in their city.
34. Zionism was a settler colonial movement, not unlike similar movements of the time. Herzl admired Cecil Rhodes and wrote to him on 11<sup>th</sup> January 1902 asking for the ‘*stamp of his authority... because it [Zionism] is something colonial.*’<sup>12</sup> Zionism has not disappeared. To this very day the World Zionist Organisation and the Jewish National Fund, which owns and controls 93% of the land in Israel, is responsible, for the practical implementation of Israeli apartheid. JNF land is barred to Israel’s Arab population. The WZO is established as a non-governmental agency through the 1952 WZO-Jewish Agency (Status) Law. The WZO’s Settlement Division funds and builds settlements in the West Bank.
35. When the Supreme Court ruled in 2000, in the *Kadan* case, that the JNF and Israeli Lands Administration could not refuse to lease property to Israeli Arabs, they protested bitterly. On its web site the JNF stated that ‘*over 70% of the Jewish population in Israel opposes allocating KKL-JNF land to non-Jews, while over 80% prefer the definition of Israel as a Jewish state rather than as the state of all its citizens.*’<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, p.57, H Pordes, London, 1972.

<sup>11</sup> *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, p.231.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1194.

<sup>13</sup> [KKL-JNF – Trustee for the Jewish People on its land](#)

36. In 2011 the Israeli government reverse *Kadan* with the Admissions Committees Law which allowed existing Jewish villages ‘to refuse residency based on any “undesired” identity, such as Palestinian, Sephardic, African, gay, religious, single-parent, non-Zionist or others.’<sup>14</sup>
37. When Janet Royall, who is a member of the Chakrabarti Inquiry panel, states that the use of the word ‘Zio’ is ‘obviously anti-Semitic’, without even attempting to justify her assertion, my response is no, it is not obvious.<sup>15</sup> ‘Zio’ is short for Zionist. If Royall believes ‘Zionist’ and ‘Jew’ are synonymous then she is herself guilty of the very anti-Semitic trope she accuses others of.
38. Zionist definitions of anti-Semitism are both deceptive and elastic. They promote a definition of anti-Semitism that is based on the EU Monitoring Committee’s Working Definition of Anti-Semitism. The Working Definition defines as a manifestation of anti-Semitism ‘Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel’.<sup>16</sup>
39. The Working Definition, which has now been removed from the EU’s website by the EUMC’s successor body, the Fundamental Rights Agency<sup>17</sup> also states that ‘*Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor*’ is an example of anti-Semitism. If Israel is the fulfillment of the right of the ‘Jewish People’ to national self-determination, then logically all Jews bear a responsibility for Israel’s actions, since Israel is their nation state. This definition is doubly anti-Semitic because it suggests that Diaspora Jews have a loyalty to Israel that supersedes their attachment to the nations amongst whom they live.
40. Even more absurdly this same Working Definition then gives as an example of anti-Semitism ‘*Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel... than to the interests of their own nations.*’
41. The frequent assertion by Zionists that anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are one and the same can logically only mean that Israel, Zionism and the Jews are one and the same. When the Chief Rabbi, Ephraim Mirvis, states that ‘*One can no more separate it [Zionism] from Judaism than separate the City of London from Great Britain*’ no other conclusion can be drawn other than that Jews are synonymous with the Israeli state.<sup>18</sup>
42. The JLM has proposed, in a rule change to Labour’s constitution, that the MacPherson principle whereby the victim defines a racial incident, be adopted by the Labour Party. This is an attempt to piggy back on Black anti-racist struggles. There is no Jewish Stephen Lawrence. Jews do not suffer from police racism. The MacPherson principle is often misunderstood, not least by the Police. It was never intended to be applicable to organisations outside the Police force. Its purpose was to deal with the problem whereby

KKL-JNF – Trustee for the Jewish People on its land

For the first time since the State of Israel was founded, the High Court of Justice has been required to consider petitions that de-legitimize the Jewish People’s continued ownership of KKL-JNF lands. These petitions are, in fact, directed against the fundamental principles on which KKL-JNF was founded and in accordance with which it has acquired land and managed it for the past hundred years, up to the present day. The petitions constitute a demand to deprive KKL-JNF – which serves as trustee for the lands of the Jewish People – of the right to make use of these lands for the continuation of the Zionist enterprise in the Land of Israel.

A survey commissioned by KKL-JNF reveals that over 70% of the Jewish population in Israel opposes allocating KKL-JNF land to non-Jews, while over 80% prefer the definition of Israel as a Jewish state, rather than as the state of all its citizens.

<sup>14</sup> [Israeli Supreme Court Made Unjust Decision in Upholding ‘Segregation Law’](#)

<sup>15</sup> Blog: Baroness Royall on her report: "There is too often a culture of intolerance where Jews are concerned and there are clear incidents of antisemitism", 17 May 2016, [http://www.jlm.org.uk/blog\\_baroness\\_royal\\_on\\_her\\_report\\_there\\_is\\_too\\_often\\_a\\_culture\\_of\\_intolerance\\_where\\_jews\\_are\\_concerned\\_and\\_there\\_are\\_clear\\_incidents\\_of\\_antisemitism](http://www.jlm.org.uk/blog_baroness_royal_on_her_report_there_is_too_often_a_culture_of_intolerance_where_jews_are_concerned_and_there_are_clear_incidents_of_antisemitism)

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.antisem.eu/projects/eumc-working-definition-of-antisemitism/>

<sup>17</sup> [EU drops its ‘working definition’ of anti-Semitism](#)

<sup>18</sup> Ken Livingstone and the hard Left are spreading the insidious virus of anti-Semitism <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/03/ken-livingstone-and-the-hard-left-are-spreading-the-insidious-vi/>

the Police were refusing to classifying attacks as racial incidents despite them being perceived as such by the victims.

43. There is no equivalence to the situation in the Labour Party. If someone believes they have been the victim of a racial incident in the Labour Party they have recourse to the Police. We are not talking about racial crimes but political debate and false victimhood. A situation whereby someone who is politically offended can define themselves as a victim of racial abuse, in the course of the cut and thrust of vigorous debate, is unacceptable. A racial incident has to have an objective basis and constitute more than taking offence at someone else's opinion on the question of Palestine. It is absurd if someone who is defending the Israeli state can turn around and pretend that they are the victim of racism simply because they object to Israel or Zionism being described as racist. Racism is not in the eye of the beholder. It has to have an objective, not subjective, basis. The MacPherson principle only applies to the initial assessment by the Police. The subsequent decision as to what has taken place is in the hands of the CPS, which applies a test of reasonableness as to what has occurred.
44. If the definition of an anti-Semitic incident is left to the 'victim' then false accusations of anti-Semitism can and will be made for reasons of political convenience. If someone loses a vote they can claim that racism was the reason. Indeed this is exactly what happened when Alex Chalmers lost the vote over whether to support Israel Apartheid Week.
45. The Employment Tribunal case of *Fraser v University College Union* highlighted how false accusations of anti-Semitism are made. Many of the actors in that case are today prominent in the anti-Semitism controversy in the Labour Party. The case was brought by a lecturer Ronnie Fraser, who argued that the adoption of a Boycott of Israeli universities by the Universities College Union amounted to racial discrimination because his own Jewish identity was bound up with his support for Israel. The Tribunal disagreed that Zionism was integral to Jewish identity and they were particular critical of the behaviour of the two MPs who gave evidence, John Mann and Dennis MacShane. John Mann is today a strong proponent of the idea that the Labour Party is riddled with anti-Semitism:
46. The Employment Tribunal found that:

Mr Mann led for them and the more conciliatory tone of Dr MacShane gave way to a somewhat hostile display in which Mr Mann made no bones about his view that the union was operating in an anti-Semitic way and that those at its head must address the problem. He did not explain what the anti-Semitic behaviour was supposed to have consisted of besides referring to the boycott debate and characterising any boycott of Israel or Israeli institutions as itself anti-Semitic.<sup>19</sup> (para. 84)

We did not derive assistance from the two Members of Parliament who appeared before us. Both gave glib evidence, appearing supremely confident of the rightness of their positions. For Dr MacShane, it seemed that all answers lay in the MacPherson Report (the effect of which he appeared to misunderstand). Mr Mann could manage without even that assistance. He told us that the leaders of the Respondents were at fault for the way in which they conducted debates but did not enlighten us as to what they were doing wrong or what they should be doing differently. He did not claim ever to have witnessed any Congress or other UCU meeting. And when it came to anti-Semitism in the context of debate about the Middle East, he announced, "It's clear to me where the line is ..." but unfortunately eschewed the opportunity to locate it for us. Both parliamentarians clearly enjoyed making speeches. Neither seemed at ease with the idea of being required to answer a question not to his liking. (para. 148)
47. The Tribunal also called the current leader of the JLM, Jeremy Newmark, a liar:

He then tried to push his way in, but was not allowed to do so. Mr Waddup... spoke to Mr Newmark and told him that he would not be allowed in. We reject the allegation that Mr Waddup said, "You're not wanted here". We also reject as utterly unfounded the emotive allegation of Ms

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<sup>19</sup> [\*Fraser v University College Union\*](#) Case Number: 2203290/2011,

Ashworth that Mr Newmark was “Jew-baited”. He was not baited at all. Neither Ms Ashworth nor Mr Newmark was a member of the Respondents. (para. 131)

We regret to say that we have rejected as untrue the evidence of Ms Ashworth and Mr Newmark concerning the incident at the 2008 Congress... Evidence given to us about booing, jeering and harassing of Jewish speakers at Congress debates was also false, as truthful witnesses on the Claimant’s side accepted. One painfully ill-judged example of playing to the gallery was Mr Newmark’s preposterous claim, in answer to the suggestion in cross-examination that he had attempted to push his way into the 2008 meeting, that a ‘pushy Jew’ stereotype was being applied to him. The opinions of witnesses were not, of course, our concern... One exception was a remark of Mr Newmark in the context of the academic boycott controversy in 2007 that the union was “no longer a fit arena for free speech” (para 148)

## **Janet Royall and the Chakrabarti Inquiry**

48. Janet Royall’s membership of this Inquiry gives little cause for hope that this Inquiry will be able to look at the issue of anti-Semitism objectively and with an open mind.
49. Janet Royall’s Report into Oxford University Labour Club is meretricious and superficial. It displays an open Zionist bias and prefers to ignore facts in favour of rhetoric and opinion. There is no supporting argument for her recommendations and the Report proceeds by assertion and assumption. It is to be hoped that this style is not emulated by the Chakrabarti Inquiry.
50. Despite Royall visiting Israel in 2007 as part of a Labour Friends of Israel delegation, she saw nothing of the daily racism that Israeli Palestinians experience, let alone those who live in Gaza or the West Bank. The ‘unrecognised’ Israeli Arab villages, the segregated education, the disparity of funding for Arab local authorities and Arab education, the Judaisation programmes for the Galilee, Jerusalem and Negev, the Police violence against Arab (and Black Jewish) Israelis. She saw nothing of the annual pogrom against East Jerusalem Arabs on Jerusalem day. She saw nothing of the pogroms against African refugees in South Tel Aviv or the Holot concentration camp in the harsh Negev desert, the world’s largest detention centre, which can hold up to 8,000 refugees.<sup>20</sup>
51. There is no petty apartheid in Israel, no signs saying that Arabs cannot live in a Jewish area or go to a Jewish school. But the segregation is just as real as it was in South Africa. Royall saw what her minders wanted her to see. She was unaware that ‘unrecognised’ Arab villages can be demolished at any time and lack basic infrastructure services such as running water and electricity that most people take for granted.
52. Royall’s behaviour was no different to visitors of an earlier generation to Apartheid South Africa. Indeed it was no different from that of visitors to Nazi Germany like Lord Rothermere, the Daily Mail’s proprietor, who wrote that:

Since the Nazis came to power seven months ago, Germany's political structure has been revolutionised, her Constitution remodelled, and her people inspired with the courage of a crusade.... They have started a clamorous campaign of denunciation against what they call 'Nazi atrocities,' which, as anyone who visits Germany quickly discovers for himself, consists merely of a few isolated acts of violence.<sup>21</sup>

As Paul Simon wrote: ‘A man sees what he wants to see and disregards the rest.’

53. An example of Royall’s afactual approach is her statement that ‘*For many years, Jews of all ages have strongly supported Labour, sharing our values and vision for society.*’ She is simply wrong and the facts belie her rhetoric. Geoffrey Alderman, the Jewish Chronicle columnist proved that British Jews had by the 1960’s moved decisively into the Conservative camp. This was not surprising since, by 1961, more than 40% of Jews

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<sup>20</sup> [The World’s Largest Detention Center Is For Black Jews Seeking Asylum In Israel](#)

<sup>21</sup> The Daily News (Perth, WA : 1882 - 1950), Monday 4 September 1933, page 4, National Library of Australia <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83404381>

were located in the upper two social classes compared to less than 20% of the general population.<sup>22</sup> William Rubinstein, the former President of the Jewish Historical Society, wrote of: *'the rise of Western Jewry to unparalleled affluence and high status' which 'has led to the near-disappearance of a Jewish proletariat of any size; indeed, the Jews may become the first ethnic group in history without a working-class of any size.'*<sup>23</sup>

54. The fact that Royall posted on the JLM site undermines any pretence that her inquiry was unbiased.<sup>24</sup> The JLM is a highly partisan group. It is the British branch of the Israeli Labour Party. It is affiliated to the World Zionist Organisation, the Jerusalem Program of which speaks of *'the centrality of the State of Israel and Jerusalem, its capital, in the life of the [Jewish] nation.'*<sup>25</sup> If British Jews constitute a separate nation owing a loyalty to the Israeli state then this means they have dual loyalties. The dual loyalty concept is one of those anti-Semitic tropes that the good Baroness was supposed to root out.

55. The Israeli Labour Party is as racist as Likud. It was the party of the Nakba, military rule over Israel's Arabs until 1966, the settlements on the West Bank and Golan Heights and establishing the framework for a state based on systematic discrimination. It is a party whose election campaigns play to the Jewish demographic fear of an Arab majority. As its leader, Yitzhak Herzog explained at a conference in Herzliya last Sunday:

In about a decade, the Arabs between the Jordan and the Mediterranean will be a majority and the Jews a minority. The Jewish national home will become the Palestinian national home. We will be again, for the first time since 1948, a Jewish minority in an Arab state. I want to separate from the Palestinians. I want to keep a Jewish state with a Jewish majority. **I don't want 61 Palestinian MKs in Israel's Knesset. I don't want a Palestinian prime minister in Israel. I don't want them to change my flag and my national anthem.** I don't want them to change the name of my country to Isra-stine.<sup>26</sup> [ my emphasis]

56. It was the claim that Jews form a separate nation, that was responsible for the opposition of Sir Edwin Montagu, the only Jewish member of the Lloyd George war cabinet, to the 1917 Balfour Declaration: Montagu wrote to Lloyd George that:

If you make a statement about Palestine as the National Home for Jews, every anti-Semitic organisation and newspaper will ask what right a Jewish Englishman... has to take a foremost part in the government of the British Empire... England, the country for which my family have fought, tells me that my national home, if I desire to go there, therefore my natural home, is Palestine...<sup>27</sup>

57. Lucien Wolf, who was the *de facto* foreign minister for the Board of Deputies of British Jews wrote regarding the Zionist idea that Jews formed a separate nationality:

I have spent most of my life in combating these very doctrines, when presented to me in the form of anti-Semitism, and I can only regard them as the more dangerous when they come to me in the guise of Zionism. They constitute a capitulation to our enemies...<sup>28</sup>

58. In what was an astounding remark in her JLM post, Royall stated that *'I know that you will share my disappointment and frustration that the main headline coming out of my inquiry is that there is no institutional Antisemitism in Oxford University Labour Club.'* Most people would welcome the fact that there was no institutional anti-Semitism, whatever that means, in Oxford University Labour Club. Why should anyone be frustrated and disappointed? Would she have welcomed it if it had existed?

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<sup>22</sup> The Jewish Population in British Politics, p. 137, G Alderman, Clarendon Press, 1983.

<sup>23</sup> W.D. Rubinstein, 'The Left, the Right and the Jews', p.51, Croom Helm, London 1982.

<sup>24</sup> [Blog: Baroness Royall on her report: "There is too often a culture of intolerance where Jews are concerned and there are clear incidents of antisemitism"](#)

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.wzo.org.il/The-Jerusalem-Program>

<sup>26</sup> Who needs the Right when we have Isaac Herzog?, Edo Konrad, +972 Magazine, <http://972mag.com/who-needs-the-right-when-we-have-isaac-herzog/107550/>

<sup>27</sup> Leonard Stein, The Balfour Declaration, p. 500, London 1961.

<sup>28</sup> B Destani (ed) *The Zionist movement and the foundation of Israel 1839-1972* Cambridge 2004, Vol 1, p727.

59. Royall observed that ‘*Many students reported that should a Jewish student preface a remark “as a Jew ...” they are likely to face ridicule and behaviour that would not be acceptable for someone saying “as a woman ...” or “as an Afro-Caribbean”.* This should not be tolerated.’ Leaving aside that she is not comparing like with like, perhaps the Baroness might care to take a glance at the Jewish Chronicle of 5<sup>th</sup> May 2016 where David Aaronovitch remarked, in an article ‘Have I Got Jews For You’, that <sup>29</sup>

‘my online world was invaded by the Asajews.... I heard quite a few of them on Any Answers last week. "As a Jew myself, I want to tell you that..." And there followed something that would say that the contributor believed that Labour had no antisemitism problem and that the real problem was those who kept on going on about antisemitism when what they were truly objecting to was any criticism of the state of Israel.... The Asajews used in this way are just a stage army and their deployment, frankly borders on the disgraceful.’

60. As the targets of Aaronovitch’s wrath were anti-Zionist and non-Zionist Jews, with a conscience about what Israel does in their name, Royall will ignore or excuse it. It does however highlight that the Jews who are the recipients of non-stop abuse are not Zionist Jews but Jews who are not Zionists.



61. If Royall or her co-thinkers were seriously concerned about anti-Semitism, then they would turn their attention to the regular abuse that anti-Zionist and non-Zionist Jews, inside and outside the Labour Party experience at the hands of Zionists.



62. This abuse consists of accusations of being a ‘traitor’ a ‘self-hating Jew’ a ‘kapos’ and as in the tweet displayed here extends even to wishing that Jewish critics of Zionism had perished in the holocaust.

63. I will deconstruct these terms because Royall in her Report gives sustenance and support to them. The accusation of being a ‘self hater’ echoes what the Nazis called anti-fascist Germans. They literally hated their race and nation. Fascist ideology holds that a person exists to serve the state and the nation, hence they were therefore self-haters.

64. Likewise the accusation that an anti-Zionist Jew is a ‘traitor’ only makes sense if you believe that the first loyalty of a British Jew is to the Israeli state.

65. The term ‘kapos’ refers to the Jewish inmates of the concentration and extermination camps who collaborated with the Nazis. It is clearly abusive.

66. Royall’s assertion that ‘*We should not rest until we can be confident that Jews once more feel comfortable in all parts of our Party and Movement.*’ begs the question which Jews is she talking about. If Jews or indeed non-Jews who defend the Israeli state, a state whose Culture Minister, Miri Regev describes refugees as a ‘cancer’, <sup>30</sup> whose Defence Minister Eli Dahan describes Arabs as ‘animals’<sup>31</sup> and whose Prime Minister Netanyahu goes on Facebook to complain about ‘droves’ of Arabs voting, feel uncomfortable when Israel is criticised, maybe that is a good thing. Free speech often offends people. That is the lesson of the Charlie Hebdo murders. That is in what democracy is all about. Perhaps we should not say anything that offends white supremacists either? If someone,

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/columnists/157816/have-i-got-jews-you>

<sup>30</sup> [52% of Israeli Jews agree: African migrants are ‘a cancer’](#)

<sup>31</sup> [New deputy defense minister called Palestinians ‘animals’](#)

regardless of religion, feels uncomfortable when Israel or Zionism is criticised, maybe they shouldn't be a member of a political party?

67. I and many other Jews feel uncomfortable about the fact that if we criticise the racist nature of the Israeli state we may be subject to arbitrary bureaucratic measures, suspended and threatened with expulsion for extending solidarity to the Palestinians. Royall seems blind to penalising people for exercising the right of free speech.
68. I particularly object to Royall's description of the '*virus of antisemitism*' in her report. It is an example of the racism she purportedly opposes. Perhaps it was unintentional but it is racist nonetheless. Anti-Semitism is not a virus. This is the language of the Nazis, for whom the Jews were a bacillus. Anti-Semitism is not a pathology but a product of economic, political and social forces. Contrary to the Zionist myth of eternal anti-Semitism, which was a reflection of the anti-Semitic myth of the eternal Jew, anti-Semitism has changed its contours and shape over the centuries. Medieval and religious anti-Semitism gave way in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to racial anti-Semitism. Racism was put on a 'scientific' racial footing by people like Francis Galton and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, as a means of justifying colonisation and explaining the moral degeneration of the working-classes. To suggest that anti-Semitism is a virus is to suggest that it is an incurable disease that can never be eliminated. It is quintessentially a Zionist idea. It suggests that anti-Semitism is inherent in non-Jews and cannot be fought. The answer therefore is for Jews to leave the countries they are born in and emigrate to Israel.
69. Royall states in her blog article for JLM that she will be wedded to the principles of the 2009 London Declaration on anti-semitism. This is a further reason for having no confidence in either her impartiality or judgement. The London Declaration states that:

'We are alarmed at the resurrection of the old language of prejudice and its modern manifestations in rhetoric and political action - against Jews, Jewish belief and practice and the State of Israel.'
70. This worthless and self-important declaration, noticed by nobody, conflates anti-Semitism and Jewish belief, whatever that is, with opposition to the Israeli state. It justifies this through the use of the anti-Semitic canard that Israel is 'a Jewish collectivity.' Israel is nothing of the sort. It is a settler colonial state where hundreds of businesses and shops now display a 'kosher' certificate certifying that they do not employ Arabs.
71. Israel is a state where the Ministry of Education recently banned a book, *Borderlife*, from the high school syllabus because it depicts a relationship between Jewish and Arab teenagers. The reason given for this decision was that the book was a threat to Jewish national identity.<sup>32</sup> Israel is a state where an openly racist and fascist organisation, Lehava, which campaigns to prevent the 'evil' of Jewish-Arab relationships through the use of street violence, is nonetheless funded by the Israeli state.<sup>33</sup> This was done on the initiative of the current Deputy Foreign Minister Tzipi Hotoveli. The head of Lehava, Benzi Gopstein, has openly called for the razing to the ground of mosques and churches, yet unlike Israeli Palestinians who are arrested for a single tweet or Facebook post, he remains at liberty.<sup>34</sup>
72. Royall clearly thinks that this racism is merely a manifestation of the Jewish collectivity and identity. What do Shami Chakrabarti and Professor Feldman think?

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<sup>32</sup> [Novel about Jewish-Palestinian love affair is barred from Israeli curriculum](#), Guardian 1.1.16.

<sup>33</sup> [Lehava: State-Sponsored Incitement](#), 10.9.12. and [A Strange Kind of Mercy](#) Ha'aretz 27.5.11.

<sup>34</sup> [Burning of Christian churches in Israel justified, far-Right Jewish leader says](#)

73. The London Declaration also complains about ‘singling out’ Israel for condemnation. Israel is not singled out. It is the only Apartheid state in the world. The Jewish state of Israel is Jewish only in so far as Jews have privileges.

### **Anti-Semitism as a Political Weapon**

74. The suspension this week of Marlene Ellis of Black Connexions for referring to Zionist criminals and defending Ken Livingstone, is a good example of Labour’s new McCarthyism.<sup>35</sup> How else do you describe Israel’s practice of shackling Palestinian (but never Jewish) children as young as 12 in the West Bank, bringing them to a court whose language they cannot speak, preventing them seeing their parents or a lawyer and remanding them indefinitely in detention? How else do you describe the beating and torture of young children? Is it not criminal? Are the perpetrators not criminals? Are they not Zionists?
75. The use of ‘anti-Semitism’ as a means of curtailing criticism of Israel is an outrage and I would expect a committee chaired by Shami Chakrabarti, who led Liberty for over 12 years, to be the first to condemn a system whereby the accused are systematically leaked against by the Compliance Unit to the press, whilst those suspended are kept in the dark.
76. Part of the evidence against me is that I stated that Zionism is a Jewish form of anti-Semitism. Apparently this is anti-Semitic. This is an example of how allegations of ‘anti-Semitism’ are having a chilling effect on free speech in the Labour Party. People are being suspended, not for ‘anti-Semitism’ but for expressing their opinion.
77. The reaction of Jews to Zionism when it first manifested itself was that it was a form of Jewish anti-Semitism. Herzl himself remarked that *‘the anti-Semites will become our most dependable friends, the anti-Semitic countries our allies.’*<sup>36</sup> Zionism and anti-Semitism were seen as two sides of the same coin.
78. Stephen Pollard has played the part of Torquemada in Labour’s anti-Semitism witch-hunt. He is a good example of Zionist anti-Semitism. Pollard has no quarrel with anti-Semites who are pro-Zionist and pro-Israeli. When a controversy arose in 2009 over the invitation to Michal Kaminski, MEP for Poland’s Law & Justice Party, a former member of the neo-Nazi National Rebirth of Poland, to address a Conservative Friends of Israel meeting at the Tory Party conference, Pollard was prominent in defending him against the criticism of Labour’s then Foreign Secretary, David Miliband.
79. Kaminski, was MP for Jedwabne which prior to the holocaust had a large number of Jewish residents. In 1941, under the eye of the SS, Polish fascists rounded up Jews in the village and herded them into a barn which was then set alight. Up to 900 Jews were burnt alive. The story is told by Thomasz Gross in “Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland” and Anna Bikont in ‘The Crime and the Silence’. Kaminski not only opposed the proposal of the President of Poland in 2001 to establish a memorial to the Jews of Jedwabne and to issue a national apology but he argued that it was the Jews, those few that weren’t murdered in the final solution, who should apologise to the Polish people.
80. Pollard [wrote](#) that *‘Kaminski is... one of the greatest friends to the Jews in a town [Brussels] where antisemitism and a visceral loathing of Israel are rife.’*<sup>37</sup> Support for Israel cancelled out Kaminski’s anti-Semitism. . Pollard wasn’t alone.

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<sup>35</sup> Momentum activist suspended by Labour over 'Zionist criminals' blog supporting Ken Livingstone, Jewish Chronicle 6.6.16. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/159017/momentum-activist-suspended-labour-over-zionist-criminals-blog-supporting-ken-li>

<sup>36</sup> Complete D i a r i e s , p p . 83/84.

<sup>37</sup> Guardian, 9 October 2009, Poland's Kaminski is not an antisemite: he's a friend to Jews, Times of Israel,

81. When the then President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, Vivian Wineman, wrote to David Cameron querying whether the Tories had checked out Kaminski's political record,<sup>38</sup> Kaminski's Zionist allies rushed to his defence.<sup>39</sup> Wineman's innocuous letter caused a rift with the Jewish Leadership Council [JLC], an organisation of the Zionist bourgeoisie in Britain. One JLC member [described](#) colleagues as "livid" at the timing of the letter. Another was "incandescent".<sup>40</sup>
82. The Israeli state is happy to entertain visiting fascists and neo-Nazis. Herr Strache, leader of Austria's far-Right Freedom Party, a party founded by neo-Nazis, was recently invited to Israel by the Likud Party.<sup>41</sup> He also [paid a visit](#) to the Yad Vashem holocaust memorial museum. He was following in the footsteps of John Vorster, the Prime Minister of white South Africa, who was interned during the war for Nazi sympathies.
83. Despite the absurd belief in sections of the Labour Party that Israel is a progressive cause, support for Israel is greatest amongst the parties of the Right and the far-Right in Europe. Anti-Semitism is entirely compatible with support for the Israeli state. In Britain, both the British National Party and the English Defence League are avidly pro-Zionist. As Ruth Smeed of the Board of Deputies [noted](#): "*The BNP website is now one of the most Zionist on the web – it goes further than any of the mainstream parties in its support of Israel*".<sup>42</sup> Israel is rightly seen by Islamophobic fascists as a state which shares their bigotry. That is why the parties of Gert Wilders, Marine Le Pen and Heinz Christian-Strache are all ardently pro-Israel.
47. Anti-Semitic support for Zionism is not a new phenomenon. Arthur Balfour, after whom the Balfour Declaration is named, was a confirmed anti-Semite. In 1905 as Prime Minister he introduced the Aliens Act, which was designed to keep Jewish refugees from the Russian pogroms out of Britain. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Zionist Organisation, described a conversation with Balfour.
- 'He told me how he had once had a long talk with Cosima Wagner at Bayreuth and that he shared many of her anti-Semitic postulates. I pointed out that we... had drawn attention to the fact that Germans of the Mosaic persuasion were an undesirable and demoralising phenomenon...'<sup>43</sup>
84. Adolph Eichmann was one of a number of Nazis who were pro-Zionist. Eichmann [declared](#) that if he was a Jew *'I would have been a fanatical Zionist'*<sup>44</sup>

## Mine and Others Suspension

85. This is an Inquiry into allegations of anti-Semitism in the Labour Party. These allegations are being driven by an ongoing series of suspension of Party members, without any democratic safeguards for those suspended. I would expect that an Inquiry headed by Shami Chakrabarti, formerly of Liberty, will be keen to inquire into the mechanics of a witch hunt of those whose views are inimical to the Compliance Unit of the Labour Party. Under the pretext of anti-Semitism, the democratic rights of Labour Party members are being trampled upon. The very name Compliance Unit is indicative of its mentality.

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12.4.16.

<sup>38</sup> Is Michal Kaminski fit to lead the Tories in Europe?

<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2009/oct/11/michal-kaminski-europe-conservatives>

<sup>39</sup> 15 October 2009, see Howard Cooper on how the JC has defended this tie up with Kaminski.

<http://howardcoopersblog.blogspot.co.uk/2009/10/small-scandal-at-jewish-chronicle.html>

<sup>40</sup> 'Leaders split over David Cameron's Euro allies' 8.10.09.,

<sup>41</sup> Far-right Austrian party chief visits Israel, tours Yad Vashem

<sup>42</sup> BNP seeks to bury antisemitism and gain Jewish votes in Islamophobic campaign, The Guardian, April 10th 2008

<sup>43</sup> Leonard Stein, p. 154, 14.12.14.

<sup>44</sup> Interview Life Magazine, 28.11.60. 'I Transported them to the Butcher' Eichmann's Own Story.'

86. To suspend people without them being immediately informed as to what their alleged offence(s) consist(s) of is an outrage in a party that considers itself democratic. To then leak those very same details to the national press merely compounds the original iniquity. If the Labour Party is serious about increasing democracy in society it can hardly run a series of Stalinist show trials internally.
87. There is no transparency to what is happening. No one knows who is taking the decision to suspend, what the process is, what right unelected members of staff have to suspend members, what are the criterion for suspension, what level of evidence is required, why suspended members are routinely barred from attending all meetings of the Party and why no time limit is given as to how long the process will take.
88. There is a strong suspicion that the suspension of members is not only arbitrary but driven by a right-wing civil service intent on getting its revenge on those they see as responsible for the election of Jeremy Corbyn. It is a process whereby right-wing newspapers, bloggers like Guido Fawkes and Israel Advocacy groups go searching for tweets and Facebook messages, often years old and and stripped of context and then hand these to the Compliance Unit for a rubber stamped suspension. Ms Royall may be satisfied with this process but Ms Chakrabarti and Professor Feldman should not go along with it.
89. My investigation hearing (transcript attached) was based on a random selection of tweets and articles. Many of these were made subsequent to my suspension. Having decided to suspend me the Compliance Unit then went around looking for evidence. What occurred was an interrogation of my political views not any anti-Semitic or racist behaviour.
90. I and many others are being targeted for our beliefs. Ken Livingstone's comments about Hitler's support for Zionism may or may not be correct but they weren't anti-Semitic. In fact Livingstone was essentially correct. To give but one example. The late Lucy Dawidowicz, a right-wing Zionist historian and Francis Nicosia, the Raul Hilberg Professor of Holocaust Studies at Vermont University, described how on 28<sup>th</sup> January 1935 Heydrich, the "real engineer of the final solution"<sup>45</sup> issued a directive stating:
- ‘the activity of the Zionist-oriented youth organizations that are engaged in the occupational restructuring of the Jews for agriculture and manual trades prior to their emigration to Palestine lies in the interest of the National Socialist state's leadership.’ These organisations therefore ‘are not to be treated with that strictness that it is necessary to apply to the members of the so-called German-Jewish organizations (assimilationists)’.<sup>46</sup>
91. One of the reasons given in The Times and Telegraph for my suspension was that I compared Israel's marriage laws to those of the Nazis' Nuremberg Laws. After having pointed out in a letter to the Telegraph that I was quoting the greatest political philosopher of the last century, Hannah Arendt, who was herself a refugee from Nazi Germany, this particular crime disappeared from my charge sheet.<sup>47</sup>
92. Among the reasons given for my suspension was:
- i. That I support the argument that there was collaboration between the Nazis and the Zionists between 1933 and 1945.
  - ii. That I stated that 'Zionism is a Jewish version of anti-Semitism'
  - iii. That I described Israeli Policy as one of waiting for the remaining Holocaust survivors to die
  - iv. That I referred to the Royall investigation as 'racist'
  - v. That I used the term 'Zio' on twitter
  - vi. That I evoked the Final Solution in a letter to the Labour Party.

<sup>45</sup> Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, p.13.

<sup>46</sup> Lucy Dawidowicz, *War Against the Jews*, pp.118 and Francis Nicosia, *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, p.119.

<sup>47</sup> Hannah Arendt, p.7 Eichmann in Jerusalem – The Banality of Evil, Penguin Books, London 1994.

- vii. That I referred to the Brighton Labour Party as acting in a racist way.
- viii. That I advocated the de-selection of Labour MP Peter Kyle on twitter.

93. The above amounts to an interrogation of history. What is being constructed is an accepted and authorised version of history beyond which Party member may not go. Under the guise of ‘anti-Semitism’ there will be installed a police state regime of intolerance and McCarthyism in the Party. It will be a regime of political terror whereby people think twice before opening their mouths. **This is the political equivalent of book burning.** It is incumbent upon the Chair and Professor Feldman to stand up for a democratic Labour Party, regardless of any criticism from the yellow and Zionist press. I doubt that Ms Royall even understands what a democratic internal regime consists of.

94. My interrogator, Harry Gregson, was clearly affronted by my statement that Israel’s policy was one of waiting for the remaining holocaust survivors to die in order that it could save money on the paltry benefits that they receive. Unfortunately for Harry I produced an article from Ha’aretz entitled ‘Israel is waiting for its holocaust survivors to die.’ If Labour’s witch-hunters had their way then Israel’s already heavy military censorship would be stepped up a few notches!



95. What is being outlawed is the expression of opinion. We have an absurd situation where the supporters of racism are the ones who are driving the witch hunt of anti-racists. The supporters of Labour Zionism, the so-called Opposition in the Israeli state, who portray Israel’s Arabs as a demographic threat to the Jewish nature of the Israeli state, are to the fore in this attack on free speech.

96. The open espousal of racist views in the Labour Party should, of course, be subject to disciplinary penalties including, as a last resort, expulsion. Racist views however must be defined narrowly. If someone argues that certain ‘races’ are inherently superior to other ones or that some people are inferior because of their religious or ethnic background, then that is without a doubt racist. If someone argues that people of a certain nationality or ethnic origin have fixed attitudes and behavioural patterns then that too should be grounds for disciplinary action. We should however bear in mind that a mass membership party is bound to attract people who are not politically correct. People who will have backward political attitudes. The job of the Labour Party is to educate its membership not expel them. If we are to seriously attract converts from UKIP, which we should do, we cannot expect them to jettison all of their previously held views overnight.

97. If it is a matter of support for racism, then it is the JLM that should be the subject of proscription and disaffiliation. Its parent party, the Israeli Labour Party, is openly racist. Ha’aretz, Israel’s liberal newspaper observed regarding the ILP’s last election campaign:

‘Much has been written about Netanyahu’s “droves” comment about Israeli Arab voters, but Herzog’s own quasi-racist campaign has been all but forgotten. In one ad, his army buddies hailed him as someone who “understands the Arab mentality” and “has seen Arabs in the crosshairs.”’<sup>48</sup>

98. The present constitutional status of the JLM is indefensible. It is affiliated to the WZO, an openly racist body involved in the expansion of the settlements. The JLM is not the Jewish section of the Labour Party but the Zionist section. Large numbers of Jewish Labour Party supporters, quite probably a majority, are not Zionists.

99. The quinquennial survey of British Jewry,<sup>49</sup> notes that the percentage of respondents who call themselves ‘Zionists’ *‘appears to have declined – 59% compared with 72% in the*

<sup>48</sup> [Netanyahu's victory is forcing the world to face reality - and that's a good thing](#), 25.3.15.

<sup>49</sup> The Attitudes of British Jews Towards Israel, Department of Sociology, City University, 2015

*2010 JPR survey. 31% do not define themselves as Zionist. This apparently rapid change in the use of the term merits further examination.* Being a Zionist is getting a bad name amongst British Jews too. Only those who are conducting Labour's Inquisition seem to regard Zionism as non-toxic. Increasing numbers of Jews in both Britain and the United States are beginning to turn away from Israel's openly racist militarised society which is Jewish only insofar as it discriminates against its non-Jewish citizens.

100. We expect that the suggestion in Royall's 'Inquiry' into Oxford University Labour Club, that the JLM will be responsible for anti-racist training with Labour clubs, will be revisited. It is wholly unacceptable that a group whose main purpose is the defence of the racist State of Israel, will be in charge of anti-racism in Labour clubs. It would be like putting the late Dr Harold Shipman in charge of a course in medical ethics.
101. The JLM's name is also deceptive. It changed its name in 2004 from Poalei Zion, the Workers of Zion. The JLM is not a Jewish group inside the Labour Party but a group of Zionist Jews and non-Jews. It is a political, not an ethnic or religious group. Non-Zionist or anti-Zionist Jews cannot join the group. I am unconvinced that there is any need for a Jewish section of the Labour Party but if it is felt that such a group is required, then it should not be a partisan political Zionist group that excludes Jewish anti-racists.
102. I note that this Inquiry has taken evidence from a junior war criminal Ivor Caplin, who was a Defence Minister at the time of the Iraq War. I will be more than happy to give oral evidence to the Inquiry to counterbalance this and no doubt other pro-Israeli testimony.

## **Proposals**

1. That the Inquiry make it explicit that anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism.
2. That the characterisation of criticism of the Israeli state or its actions as anti-Semitic only plays into the hands of the anti-Semites by rendering the term anti-Semitism meaningless. Deliberate attempts to smear critics of Israel or Zionism as anti-Semitic should be considered as bringing the Labour Party into disrepute and as such a disciplinary offence.
3. That free speech on Israel and Palestine is to be encouraged.
4. That the affiliation of the Jewish Labour Movement to the Labour Party is an anachronism. The affiliation of the JLM to the World Zionist Organisation and the Israeli Labour Party not only excludes Jews who are not Zionists but is contrary to the Labour Party's values of solidarity with oppressed peoples. The Inquiry therefore recommends that the JLM be disaffiliated from the Labour Party and consideration be given to the formation of a new Jewish socialist society whose membership is open to all those who self-identify as Jewish.
5. That the recommendation of the Royall 'Inquiry' that anti-racist training for Labour Clubs by the JLM is rescinded as an unfortunate concession to racism.
6. That all those who are suspended on the basis of allegations of anti-Semitism are immediately reinstated with an apology. Furthermore that all suspensions in the Party be withdrawn unless there is a clear prima facie case that the individual concerned is guilty of overt racism, unconnected with criticism of the Israeli state or Zionism.
7. That the Royall Report and recommendations not be pursued. In particular that the use of the term 'Zio' is not anti-Semitic. Zionism is not an ethnic or national category but a political movement.
8. That a definition of anti-Semitism be drawn up which has no connection with Zionism and/or the State of Israel.

Tony Greenstein 9<sup>th</sup> June 2016