



✉ chairman@antisemitism.uk

☎ +44 (0)330 822 0321

🌐 www.antisemitism.uk

Rebecca Hilsenrath  
Chief Executive  
Equality and Human Rights Commission  
Fleetbank House  
2-6 Salisbury Square  
London EC4Y 8JX

*By post and e-mail*

31st July 2018

Dear Ms Hilsenrath,

We are writing to you regarding antisemitism in the Labour Party (“the Party”). The Party is established as an unincorporated association, governed by its rule book. It is therefore obliged by the provisions of the Equality Act 2010 (“the Act”) relating both to political parties and associations, as defined by section 107 of the Act.

We wish to refer the Party to the Equality and Human Rights Commission (“the Commission”) on this basis that the Party has discriminated against Jewish members and/or associates contrary to sections 101(2)(d) and/or 101(3)(d) of the Act, and victimised members and/or associates who have spoken out against antisemitism, contrary to sections 101(6)(d) and/or 101(7)(d) of the Act.

## **DISCRIMINATION**

The Party has become an association in which Jewish members and/or associates feel discriminated against to the extent that they feel compelled to leave it in significant numbers, both because the Party has discriminated against Jews by failing to act against antisemitic members and/or associates, and because the Party has failed to address complaints of antisemitism in a fair and efficient manner.

We charge that the Party has, through years of deliberate or reckless dereliction of its duty to enforce its own rules, created an atmosphere in which Jewish members and/or associates are discriminated against.

We wish to draw the Commission's attention to the broad and unprecedented consensus that the Party is institutionally antisemitic:

1. The principal Jewish charities in the UK concerned with antisemitism, all of which are legally obliged to remain apolitical, have stated that the Party is "institutionally antisemitic".<sup>1</sup>
2. Rabbis from across all Jewish denominations in the UK, who normally refuse to share a platform with each other, have felt compelled to unite to state that antisemitism within the Party is "severe and widespread".<sup>2</sup>
3. Three leading Jewish newspapers, which are normally fierce rivals, have felt compelled to unite by publishing a joint editorial on their front pages stating that antisemitism in the Party means that were the Party to form a government, it would pose an "existential threat" to British Jewry.<sup>3</sup>
4. Labour MPs, peers, councillors and donors have made statements that the Party is "unsafe for Jews"<sup>4</sup> or lead by a "racist and antisemite"<sup>5</sup> or even resigned from the Party.<sup>6</sup>
5. The Commission has issued a statement criticising the Party for its failure to address antisemitism.<sup>7</sup>

In order to deflect such criticism, a minuscule minority of Jews who publicly state that antisemitism in the Party is not a serious problem are promoted by the Party. An example is, Jewish Voice for Labour, a fringe organisation of Jewish members and/or associates of the Party, whose activities evidence the fact that the organisation was created, with the backing of the Party's leadership, to dismiss allegations of antisemitism and belittle the antisemitism problem within the Party.

From the Commission's aforementioned statement on 26th September 2017 about antisemitism in the Party, we infer that the Commission is aware of many allegations of antisemitism in the Party, and the Party's failure to address them.

We therefore will not attempt to recount every allegation of antisemitism in the Party, as by some accounts there have been several thousand allegations, however should the Commission request an extensive list of examples from us, we would be pleased to compile such evidence.

Instead, we wish to draw the Commission's attention to five particular matters.

1. See <https://antisemitism.uk/what-do-you-have-when-antisemitism-in-your-ranks-is-no-longer-surprising-and-complaints-from-jews-are-a-daily-nuisance/> and <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/jlc-chiefs-institutionally-anti-semitic-warning-over-labours-new-guidelines/>
2. See <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/16/labour-party-must-listen-to-the-jewish-community-on-defining-antisemitism>
3. See <https://www.pressgazette.co.uk/rival-jewish-newspapers-unite-in-unprecedented-front-page-collaboration-claiming-labour-party-under-corbyn-poses-threat-to-jewish-life/>
4. See [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/jeremy-corbyn-has-made-labour-unsafe-for-jews-says-mp-ruth-smeeth\\_uk\\_57751e83e4b0d18f7514b2f4](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/jeremy-corbyn-has-made-labour-unsafe-for-jews-says-mp-ruth-smeeth_uk_57751e83e4b0d18f7514b2f4)
5. See <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/23/hodge-stands-by-comments-accusing-corbyn-of-antisemitism>
6. See <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/labour-party/news/79286/jewish-labour-peer-lord-parry-mitchell-quits-party> and <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/mar/31/labour-jewish-donor-michael-garrard-quits-party-antisemitism>
7. See <https://twitter.com/EHRC/status/912611809613553665/photo/1>

## Refusal to adopt the Definition

The full International Definition of Antisemitism, including its examples (“the Definition”), has been adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, governments around the world including the British Government, and many British institutions including the College of Policing, the Crown Prosecution Service and local councils across the country.

In defiance of the Jewish community and its own MPs,<sup>8</sup> the Party has instead rejected the Definition, having previously said it accepted it,<sup>9</sup> and instead adopted its own code of conduct in relation to antisemitism which pointedly omits certain aspects of the Definition.<sup>10</sup>

We charge that by defying the overwhelming, united voice of the Jewish community and adopting its own definition of antisemitism, the Party has deepened discrimination against its Jewish members and/or associates by failing to adhere to the so-called Macpherson principle and attempting to move the goalposts so as to avoid taking action against many forms of antisemitism within the Party.

Should the Commission request it, we can compile a list of cases in which we say that antisemitism that does engage the Definition does not engage the Party’s code of conduct.

## Failure to investigate allegations against Jeremy Corbyn

We have made two disciplinary complaints to the Party against Jeremy Corbyn, and we submitted a third today, alleging that through his actions or statements in relation to Jews and antisemitism, he has brought the Party into disrepute contrary to its rules. We recognise that the Commission only investigates matters relating to equality and human rights, and so we should point out that under the Party’s rule book, action against members and/or associates for discrimination are brought on the basis that discrimination brings the Party into disrepute, and not under a specific Party rule against discrimination.

The Party refused to investigate our first two complaints, which were backed by over one thousand members of the Jewish community, who separately wrote to the Party endorsing our complaints.<sup>11</sup> We have enclosed both our complaints and the Party’s response, which stated that the complaints did not meet the “threshold for investigation”. We have also enclosed our third complaint, submitted today.

It is indisputable that the Party has been brought into disrepute by Mr Corbyn’s handling of antisemitism in the Party and by his own statements about both antisemitism and Jews. Failure to investigate such allegations is a discriminatory attempt to dismiss the problem.

8. See <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/labour-mps-back-ihra-antisemitism-definition-plp-1.467263>

9. See <https://antisemitism.uk/its-not-easy-to-keep-track-of-what-the-labour-party-and-momentum-say-constitutes-antisemitism/>

10. See <https://www.jewishvoiceforlabour.org.uk/app/uploads/2018/07/ASdoc3.pdf>

11. See <https://antisemitism.uk/caas-head-of-political-investigations-delivers-over-a-thousand-disciplinary-complaint-letters-against-jeremy-corbyn-to-labour-head-office/>

## Unreasonable delay and secrecy

In the cases that the Party has chosen to investigate, it has often delayed proceedings for reasons which appear to be motivated by a desire not to address the case, for example the disciplinary case against Party member Jackie Walker, which is now in its second year, with scant evidence of progress.

Additionally, the Party has, at the recommendation of Baroness Chakrabarti, instituted a secret disciplinary process, such that complainants and the public are not informed of the outcomes of disciplinary processes, except in unusual circumstances when either the Party comments publicly, or the respondent chooses to disclose the outcome. This level of secrecy means that Jewish members and/or associates have no means of knowing whether their complaints have been addressed. Furthermore, the secrecy means that 83% of British Jews now believe that one of the country's two main political parties harbours antisemites.<sup>12</sup>

## Bias

Some of the individuals appointed to oversee the Party's disciplinary process are manifestly biased. For example, Christine Shawcroft, the former General Secretary of the Party, was forced to resign after it was revealed that she had criticised a decision to discipline a Party member for appalling social media posts about the Holocaust.<sup>13</sup> Current officials have also made deeply inappropriate comments, for example the Chair of the Party's Disciplinary Panel defended Ken Livingstone when he likened a Jewish journalist to a concentration camp guard,<sup>14</sup> and the lawyer hired to advise on the Party's backlog of antisemitism complaints has called Campaign Against Antisemitism "revolting" and has been revealed to have links with some of the Party members and/or associates under investigation.<sup>15</sup>

## Disproportionality

Despite claims that the Party does not have a particular problem with antisemitism,<sup>16</sup> Campaign Against Antisemitism has conducted research showing that antisemitism amongst office holders in the Party is several times worse than amongst office holders in all other political parties combined. Though we have not yet released the research publicly (we intend to do so in due course) we would be willing to share it privately with the Commission.

The foregoing matters – the refusal to adopt the Definition, the failure to investigate allegations, unreasonable delay and secrecy, and bias – are all contributory factors to discrimination against Jews in the Party, the disproportionate number of cases in the Party is a major result of that discrimination and evidence of the scale of the problem.

12. See <https://antisemitism.uk/barometer/>

13. See <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/christine-shawcroft-resigns-labour-nec-jeremy-corbyn-antisemitism-row-a8283291.html>

14. See <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/livingstone-ally-given-labour-antiracism-role-f6z9vnx5d>

15. See <http://david-collier.com/labour-party-gordon-nardell/>

16. See <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/24/labour-no-worse-parties-anti-semitism-shami-chakrabarti-claims/>

## VICTIMISATION

Despite superficial initiatives to investigate antisemitism in the Party, such as the Chakrabarti Report, which was widely discredited as a whitewash, the leadership of the Party has, for years, dismissed allegations of antisemitism as smears. A number of such instances are detailed in our first disciplinary complaint appended hereto.

In addition to discriminating against Jewish members and/or associates by failing to put in place adequate rules processes to address antisemitism and by dismissing complaints, we charge that the Party has gone further by victimising those in the Party who do stand up to antisemitism.

For example two of the Party's MPs, Dame Margaret Hodge and Ian Austin, both of whom are Honorary Patrons of our charity, have in the past two weeks been subjected to disciplinary proceedings simply saying, albeit in forthright terms that the Party was a "disgrace" and that Mr Corbyn is "an antisemite".<sup>16</sup>

By contrast, in the same period, a member of the Party's National Executive Committee, Peter Willsman, did not face disciplinary action over an enraged tirade in which he called Jews "Trump fanatics" and claimed that allegations of antisemitism had been "falsified".<sup>17</sup>

We charge that this double standard lays bare the Party's abuse of its disciplinary processes to victimise members and/or associates who have spoken out against antisemitism in the Party.

We are grateful to the Commission for considering this matter and, as already stated, we would be very willing to compile and provide any evidence that the Commission requires.

We look forward to hearing from you,

Yours sincerely,

Gideon Falter  
**CHAIRMAN**

Joseph D. Glasman  
**HEAD OF POLITICAL AND  
GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS**

16. See <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jul/18/jeremy-corbyn-labour-antisemitism-margaret-hodge> and <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jul/29/angry-labour-antisemitism-ian-austin>

17. See <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/bombshell-recording-proves-corbyn-ally-blamed-jewish-trump-fantatics-for-false-antisemitism-clai-1.467802>



✉ [info@antisemitism.uk](mailto:info@antisemitism.uk)  
☎ +44 (0)330 822 0321  
🌐 [www.antisemitism.uk](http://www.antisemitism.uk)

Tom Watson MP  
Deputy Leader  
Labour Party

*By e-mail only*

23rd September 2016

Dear Mr Watson,

We are writing to you pursuant to Chapter 1, Clause IX (2) (B) of the Labour Party's Rule Book regarding the conduct of Jeremy Corbyn. We request that you present our disciplinary complaint to the Party's National Executive Committee, for consideration by the Party's National Constitutional Committee.

We charge that Mr Corbyn has breached the Party's Conditions of Membership as set out in Chapter 2, Clause I (8) of the Party's Rule Book by committing an act grossly detrimental to the Party in characterising Jewish people as dissembling and dishonest in their reporting of antisemitism, and by using the influence and prestige of his office to disseminate and normalise the same, contrary to Chapter I, Clause IV (2) (B) of the Party's Constitutional Rules, as contained in the Party's Rule Book.

The allegation that Jews lie and deceive in order to further hidden agendas is an age-old antisemitic trope. It has now been manifestly deployed by Mr Corbyn in his leadership campaign video. It falls under the definition of antisemitism used by decent nations around the world — including our own — by “making mendacious...allegations about Jews”. The definition can be found on our website at [www.antisemitism.uk/definition](http://www.antisemitism.uk/definition).

Although Mr Corbyn and his allies have a long history of association with antisemites, it was not until April 5th this year that he crossed the line and made an antisemitic statement. At that point, when his brother, Piers Corbyn, characterised the antisemitic abuse complained of by Jewish MP Louise Ellman as a politically motivated “absurd” attack on his brother, Jeremy Corbyn agreed, saying his brother “was not wrong”. This, at a time when Campaign Against Antisemitism, the Chief Rabbi and others concerned with the welfare of British Jews had all called for firm action to excise the antisemitism in Labour's ranks.

What followed over the following months was an institutionalising of the trope by senior Party figures under Mr Corbyn's leadership. On May 1st, Diane Abbott MP stated on the Andrew Marr Show that any accusations of antisemitism in Labour were "a smear", while Len McCluskey declared that the row had been "got up" by Mr Corbyn's enemies. Ken Livingstone and Rupa Huq MP averred. The message was heeded: in a YouGov Poll a few days later, 49% of Labour members were in agreement.

On the 30th of June, 2016 Ruth Smeeth MP suffered antisemitic abuse at the launch of Baroness Chakrabarti's whitewash report into antisemitism in the Party. Mr Corbyn was unmoved, failed to intervene and moreover was filmed talking in very familiar terms with the perpetrator after the incident. Again, the signal sent to the public was clear; Ms Smeeth subsequently received 20,000 mostly antisemitic abusive messages in the next twenty-four hours, including death threats. She now requires police protection and a bodyguard to attend the Labour Party conference.

The recent leadership hustings were characterised by Mr Corbyn's supporters' groans of ennui whenever Owen Smith raised the subject of antisemitism. Any person truly opposed to racism would have taken action to counter this chilling normalisation of antisemitism by discrediting its victims, but instead Mr Corbyn has compounded it.

This week, Mr Corbyn's personal Facebook and Twitter accounts released a video featuring supporters declaring they were "tired of hearing" about antisemitism, characterising the Jewish community's complaints as 'rubbish' — physically and metaphorically — to be tossed onto the floor. In an admission of guilt, the video has been withdrawn, but by then it had been viewed and endorsed over 200,000 times, and there has been no rebuttal by Mr Corbyn.

These accumulated acts committed by Mr Corbyn himself or under his direct leadership form the basis of our complaint under the clauses stated above, that Mr Corbyn has committed acts grossly detrimental to the Party in characterising Jewish people as dissembling and dishonest in their reporting of antisemitism, and by using the influence and prestige of his office to disseminate and normalise the same.

Our system of justice depends on our institutions having adequate rules, which must be enforced, and seen to be enforced. Under Mr Corbyn, the Labour Party that was once a pioneer in the fight against racism, has made itself deaf to Jews.

Labour's institutions have failed to act decisively against Sir Gerald Kaufman MP, Ken Livingstone and countless others. It is now high time that the Party acted to preserve its values, and to defend the much-abused Jewish community against the antisemitic lie promoted by Mr Corbyn that our complaints of antisemitism are hollow and motivated by hidden agendas.

Yours sincerely,

Gideon Falter  
**CHAIRMAN**

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

COPIES





✉ chairman@antisemitism.uk

☎ +44 (0)330 822 0321

🌐 www.antisemitism.uk

Jennie Formby  
General Secretary  
Labour Party  
C/O Labour Party Compliance Unit  
One Brewer's Green  
London SW1H 0RH

*By post and e-mail*

24th March 2018

Dear Ms Formby,

### **FIRST COMPLAINT AGAINST JEREMY CORBYN MP**

We wish to restate our complaint of 23rd September 2016 ("the first complaint"), a copy of which is appended hereto.

Our complaint amounts to charges that Jeremy Corbyn MP breached the Party's Conditions of Membership as set out in Chapter 2, Clause I (8) of the 2016 edition of the Party's Rule Book, by committing an act grossly detrimental to the Party in characterising Jewish people as dissembling and dishonest in their reporting of antisemitism, and by using the influence and prestige of his office to disseminate and normalise the same, contrary to Chapter I, Clause IV (2) (B) of the Party's Constitutional Rules, as contained in the 2016 edition of the Party's Rule Book.

We have no objection to your investigating the first complaint in conjunction with the further complaint against Mr Corbyn and the complaints against other parties which we set out below ("the second complaint").

### **SECOND COMPLAINT AGAINST JEREMY CORBYN MP**

Further to the first complaint, we charge that Mr Corbyn has breached the Party's Conditions of Membership as set out in Chapter 2, Clause I (8) of the current edition of the Party's Rule Book by committing acts grossly detrimental to the Party, as set out below.

## Palestine Live Facebook Group

Mr Corbyn breached the National Executive Committee's Code of Conduct: Social Media Policy ("the Code of Conduct") which forms part of the current edition of the Party's Rule Book. The Code of Conduct requires that those who spread hatred on social media should be "shunned" and "challenge[d]", as well as specifically requiring that Party members report such conduct in the following terms:

"We encourage the reporting of abusive behaviour to the Labour Party, administrators of the relevant website or social media platform, and where appropriate, to the police. This is a collective responsibility and should not be limited to those who have been subjected to abuse."

A two-part report<sup>1</sup> issued on 7th March contains screenshots showing that Mr Corbyn was a member of a secret Facebook group called "Palestine Live" in which egregious antisemitic material was posted.

Furthermore, Mr Corbyn participated in the group, even posting comments on antisemitic material, and remained a member until a number of weeks after he was first elected as Leader of the Labour Party.

The screenshots, gathered by blogger David Collier, catalogue exchanges which took place within the Facebook group, including discussion of conspiracy myths about the Rothschild family and supposed Israeli involvement in the 9/11 terrorist attacks, as well as links to material produced by neo-Nazi groups and antisemites such as antisemitic conspiracy theorist David Icke, and the former grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, David Duke. The Facebook group's membership includes numerous individuals previously found to have been antisemites, Holocaust deniers or Jew-baiters, such as Paul Eisen, Baroness Jenny Tonge and Gilad Atzmon. It should be noted in particular that Mr Atzmon's antisemitism is so extreme that he has been publicly shunned by prominent pro-Palestinian activists. Mr Eisen, a former colleague and friend of Mr Corbyn's, uses the group to express the view that "You'll continue feeling depressed, dismal and let down until you start standing up to the Jews – not the Israelis, not the Zionists, the Jews".

Among a number of antisemitic posts, the screenshots show members of the group discussing whether they prefer the term "ZioNazi" to "JewNazi". One member is shown commenting: "am reading Mein Kampf [by Adolf Hitler]...everybody should be forced to read it, especially Jews who have their own agenda as to why they were not liked".

The reports show Mr Corbyn's participation in the group, including the following examples:

1. See [http://david-collier.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/180305\\_livereport\\_part1\\_FINAL.pdf](http://david-collier.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/180305_livereport_part1_FINAL.pdf) and [http://david-collier.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/180305\\_livereport\\_part2\\_FINAL.pdf](http://david-collier.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/180305_livereport_part2_FINAL.pdf).

- Report part 2, page 22: Mr Corbyn participated in a thread with Chaz Labrock, Ms Green and Lynn Falkner. His friendly response to them all is directly below theirs, in relation to organising an event in his offices on 3rd October 2014. All three individuals are well known for disseminating antisemitic discourse, variously Holocaust denial, conspiracy myths about the Rothschild family, and conspiracy myths blaming Mossad for various ‘false flag’ acts of terrorism, as evidenced in the report elsewhere.
- Report part 2, page 34: Mr Corbyn posted a supportive comment in a thread that starts with a post asserting that “Israel is illegitimate”, followed by another comment citing a book called “The Invention of the Jewish People” followed by another that refers to “wayward Jews”.
- Report part 2, page 29: Mr Corbyn commented in a thread where the first visible comment utilises the racist term “Zio” which Baroness Chakrabarti’s report<sup>2</sup> into antisemitism in the Labour Party, and the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee’s report<sup>3</sup> into the rise of antisemitism in Britain both condemned as an unacceptable term of abuse.

Further information indicates that Mr Corbyn’s claims, as published by *The Guardian* on 8th March, that his relationship with the founder and administrator of the “Palestine Live” Facebook group, Elleanne Green, was merely one of “acquaintance”, were untrue. Evidence in the reports, which we have published on our website,<sup>4</sup> indicates firstly, that Ms Green was well-known to Mr Corbyn, was friendly with him, and interacted with him on multiple occasions within and outside the Facebook group, on one occasion organising an event with her and sharing a thread in relation to the event; and secondly that she is a prolific disseminator of antisemitic material, including extreme antisemitic material, who invited Holocaust deniers and other far-right antisemites into the group, where she positively engaged with them. By lying about their relationship, and in continuing to stretch credulity in saying that he had no knowledge of her views when he shared her taste in poetry, jokes and opinions in relation to wider causes, he has further brought the Party into disrepute. It is additionally clear that Mr Corbyn also lied by telling the *Daily Mirror* on 8th March that “I was joined on to that group without knowing it” as at various points he clearly must have known.

In considering this part of our complaint, we wish to draw your attention to the following:

- The antisemitism in the Facebook group is obvious and graphic, and would be plain to any member of the group, especially members who participated in discussions.
- As well as participating in the group, Mr Corbyn is clearly an associate of Ms Green, the founder and administrator of the group, with whom he organised the meeting referred to above.
- The group used the Party’s logo and group members exhorted others to join the Party. In such circumstances, Messrs Corbyn’s and Lewis’ membership of the group would likely have been seen as endorsement of the group.

2. See <https://antisemitism.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Chakrabarti-Inquiry-Report-CAA-Highlighting.pdf>.

3. See <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmhaff/136/136.pdf>.

4. See <https://antisemitism.uk/administrator-of-antisemitic-palestine-live-facebook-group-was-not-an-acquaintance-of-jeremy-corbyn-but-a-close-friend-who-repeatedly-propagated-extreme-antisemitism>.

- According to a study conducted by Mr Collier between 1st and 15th February 2018, the intensity of antisemitic posting in the group was so high that it was nearly impossible to be a participating member of the group and avoid seeing it. A statement<sup>5</sup> by a former member of the group attests to the level of antisemitism a member would have been subjected to during the summer of 2014, when Mr Corbyn was an actively posting member of the group.

### History of Palestine Facebook Group

Mr Corbyn may have further breached the Code of Conduct through his alleged membership of the “History of Palestine” Facebook group in which he is likely to have seen extreme antisemitic material which it appears he failed to challenge. It has been reported<sup>6</sup> that as of 22nd March he was still a member of the Facebook group.

### Inquiry into Ken Livingstone

On 5th April 2017, Mr Corbyn announced a new inquiry by the National Executive Committee into fresh “offensive remarks” Ken Livingstone made after the outcome of his hearing before the National Constitutional Committee became known in April 2016. Mr Corbyn said: “Since initiating the disciplinary process, I have not interfered with it and respect the independence of the Party’s disciplinary bodies. But Ken’s subsequent comments and actions will now be considered by the National Executive Committee.”<sup>7</sup> Ten months later, it is clear either that no such inquiry took place, or at the very most, it was started and then halted, with senior journalists notified that Mr Livingstone was to return to the Party when his suspension from office was due to expire on 27th April 2018. Mr Corbyn misled the public and the 107 Labour MPs who signed a statement<sup>8</sup> declaring that “the Labour Party have betrayed our values” and that “this insidious racism” would not “go unchecked”. In doing so, particularly in a matter regarding an allegation of racism in an avowedly anti-racist Party, we assert that Mr Corbyn has further brought the Party into disrepute.

### Brick Lane Mural

In late 2012, Mr Corbyn posted on Facebook, in relation to the work “Freedom for Humanity” by artist Kalen Ockerman (also known as “Mear One”). There was a clamour for the mural to be removed, as its offensive nature was self-evident to local residents and the Labour Mayor of Tower Hamlets. The artist himself complained: “Some of the older white Jewish folk in the local community had an issue with me portraying their beloved #Rothschild or #Warburg etc as the demons they are” and reported that the mural was to be removed. Mr Corbyn responded in a Facebook post, asking: “Why? You are in good company. Rockerfeller

5. See <https://shirazsocialism.wordpress.com/2018/03/11/palestine-live-nazi-grade-unequivocal-racism-and-reader-i-wanted-no-part-of-it/>

6. See <https://order-order.com/2018/03/22/corbyn-was-member-of-second-anti-semitic-facebook-group/>

7. See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-39499640>.

8. See <http://archive.is/w88K1>.

destroyed Diego Viera's mural because it includes a picture of Lenin." In doing so, Mr Corbyn demonstrated that he had examined the mural and what it represented and what it signified, and found it appropriate for public display.

On the afternoon of 23rd March, Mr Corbyn responded by claiming his post was purely in defence of free speech. In terms of the standards expected of Labour Party members in relation to witnessing hateful imagery, this is a wholly inadequate response, as was pointed out by several of his own MPs. Essentially, he made clear that he considered that it was acceptable for the Leader of the Labour Party to defend such material.

Forced to issue a further statement, he said: "I sincerely regret that I did not look more closely at the image". However, the image consisted of little other than antisemitic caricatures and tropes, painted twenty feet high on a wall. It is impossible for anyone with even the slightest awareness of antisemitism not to understand what it meant, and Mr Corbyn's Facebook post evinces that he saw it clearly, and felt so moved as to comment in public in its defence.

In defending an antisemitic mural, claiming that he had not looked at it closely enough to see the antisemitism in it, and further, in refusing to answer questions about it that had been posed in the press over two years earlier, Mr Corbyn has lied.

In doing so he has brought the Party into yet further disrepute, and failed to observe the Code of Conduct.

### **COMPLAINT AGAINST TOM WATSON MP**

We previously wrote to Tom Watson MP on 23rd September 2016 to lodge the first complaint. That complaint was ignored by Mr Watson and we therefore wish to complain about Mr Watson's conduct in failing to act upon a complaint. The complaint was sent to Mr Watson by e-mail and it was widely reported upon by the national media.

### **COMPLAINT AGAINST CLIVE LEWIS MP, SEBASTIAN CORBYN, PAUL MASON AND JACK BOND**

Clive Lewis MP, Sebastian Corbyn, the journalist Paul Mason, and Jack Bond, are all alleged to have been members of the Palestine Live Facebook group, and our complaint against Jeremy Corbyn's membership of the group is therefore repeated in respect of Messrs Lewis, Sebastian Corbyn, Mason and Bond.

### **COMPLAINT HANDLING**

Due to the Party's failure to properly process the first complaint, please acknowledge receipt of this letter and confirm how our complaints will be investigated and handled.

We also particularly ask that these complaints be considered by a person or panel which is independent of the Labour Party, entirely uncompromised by allegations of antisemitism, and not the subject of inducements such as the offer of a peerage.

Yours sincerely,

Gideon Falter  
**CHAIRMAN**

Joseph D. Glasman  
**HEAD OF POLITICAL AND  
GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS**

COPY

# The Labour Party

Head Office

Southside, 105 Victoria Street, London SW1E 6QT Labour  
Central, Kings Manor,  
Newcastle Upon Tyne NE1 6PA  
0345 092 2299 | [labour.org.uk/contact](http://labour.org.uk/contact)

Campaign Against Antisemitism  
Po Box 2647  
London  
W1A 3RB

5<sup>th</sup> April 2018

Dear Gideon Falter and Joe Glasman,

I am writing in response to both complaints you have submitted about Jeremy Corbyn MP, the first on the 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2016 and the second on 24<sup>th</sup> March 2018.

## Response to 'First Complaint'

You requested that this disciplinary complaint be sent to the Party's National Executive Committee, for consideration by the Party's National Constitutional Committee. However, your complaint did not present a breach of the Labour Party Rulebook and therefore did not meet the threshold for suspension and/ or investigation.

Your charge that Mr Corbyn committed an act grossly detrimental to the Party, breaking Chapter I, Clause IV (2) (B) of the Party's Constitutional Rules, was found not to be true.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2016 – prior to the date your complaint was made – Jeremy Corbyn spoke at the launch of the Chakrabarti Report, and said:

*The Jewish community has made an enormous contribution to our Party and our country – Jewish people have been at the heart of progressive and radical politics in Britain, as elsewhere, for well over a century.*

*But they are also a minority amongst minorities and have had good cause to feel vulnerable and even threatened throughout history. This should never happen by accident or design in our Labour Party. Modern antisemitism may not always be about overt violence and persecution, though there is too much of that even to this day. We must also be vigilant against subtler and invidious manifestations of this nasty ancient hatred and avoid slipping into its traps by accident or intent.*

Jeremy Corbyn clearly acknowledged that Jewish people have “had good cause to feel vulnerable and even threatened” and that “modern antisemitism may not always be about overt violence and persecution... (there are also) subtler and invidious manifestations of this nasty ancient hatred”. He clearly was not perpetuating “the allegation that Jews lie and deceive in order to further hidden agendas”.

The references you make to Piers Corbyn, Diane Abbott MP, Len McCluskey, Ken Livingstone, Rupa Huq MP and Sir Gerald Kaufman are not attributable to Jeremy Corbyn. The incident you refer to on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, 2016 regarding Ruth Smeeth MP and Marc Wadsworth is part of an ongoing NCC Disciplinary Case which we would not comment on.

## **Response to 'Second Complaint':**

The 'Second Complaint' against Jeremy Corbyn refers to three major parts - his membership of two Facebook groups, the investigation into Ken Livingstone and the Brick Lane mural.

### *'Palestine Live' and 'History of Palestine' Facebook Groups*

The first part of this complaint refers in the main to allegations centred around the Palestine Live and History of Palestine Facebook Groups, of which Mr Corbyn was a member.

This complaint quite rightly cites the Labour Party's code of conduct incorporating the social media policy and members' pledge, which states: "Abusing someone online is just as serious as doing so face to face. We stand against all forms of abuse and will take action against those who commit it. Harassment, intimidation, hateful language and bullying are never acceptable, nor is any form of discrimination on the basis of gender, race, religion, age, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability."

There can be no doubt that these groups contained material and comments which are deeply antisemitic, purvey antisemitic tropes and memes including conspiracy myths regarding 'Israel's' involvement in the 9/11 terrorist atrocities, control of global banking and media, as well as Holocaust denial.

Jeremy Corbyn did not follow the content in the groups, and he did not know that some individuals had made antisemitic comments in the groups. Individuals can be added to Facebook groups without their knowledge or consent. Anyone can join these Facebook groups, not all members of the groups are Labour Party members. These groups include posts on a wide range of issues regarding Palestine. There is no reason that someone who has been added to or joined one of these groups would expect – or know of – any individual Facebook users posting anti-Semitic content in the groups.

Abusive comments and individual acts within these groups reported to the Labour Party are being dealt with through the Labour Party's complaints process and disciplinary procedures. Any antisemitic comments on social media that are reported to the Party will be fully investigated if the person who has made the comment is a Labour Party member.

It would be false and misleading to allege that Jeremy Corbyn was aware of the antisemitic posts in the groups. No evidence of this has been provided. It is a misrepresentation of the way Facebook groups work and the way users engage with Facebook. Being a member of a group is not evidence of having regularly checked the group and trawled through comments in the group.

On 8 March 2018, referring to the Palestine Live group, Jeremy Corbyn told the Daily Mirror that "I was joined on to that group without knowing it".

On the same day, he told Press Association "Had I seen it, of course, I would have challenged it straight away, but I actually don't spend all my time reading social media. I have never trawled through the whole group. I have never read all the messages on it. I have removed myself from it. Obviously, any antisemitic comment is wrong. Any antisemitism in any form is wrong."

Responding to further questions regarding this group and the mural, Jeremy Corbyn on 25 March said in a public statement "[I] recognise that anti-Semitism has occurred in pockets within the Labour Party, causing pain and hurt to our Jewish community in the Labour Party and the rest of the country. I am sincerely sorry for the pain which has been caused."

No evidence has been submitted that Jeremy Corbyn has ever made any abusive comments of any kind in these groups or in any other context.

In light of his explanation contained in his letter of 25 March, I do not consider that this meets the threshold



to investigate as a breach of the Party's rules. His explanation that he had not seen antisemitic posts, his apology for the pain caused to Jewish people and subsequent public comments demonstrate a commitment to calling out this wrongful behaviour in the future, and ensuring that antisemitism or abuse of those who challenge antisemitism is not conducted in his name.

#### *Inquiry into Ken Livingstone*

On 5th April 2017, Mr Corbyn announced a new inquiry by the National Executive Committee into fresh "offensive remarks" Ken Livingstone made after the outcome of his hearing before the National Constitutional Committee became known in April 2017. The suspension of Mr Livingstone imposed by the NCC in 2017 was due to conclude on 27th April 2018.

The subsequent investigation is partially completed and all that is required to complete that investigation is for Mr Livingstone to be interviewed about allegations of behaviour which may be in breach of the Party's rules, and it is then for the NEC Disputes Panel to decide whether or not this investigation has demonstrated evidence of a prima facie breach of the Party's rules.

Mr Livingstone has further been placed under a continuing administrative suspension by the General Secretary until the NEC Disputes Panel has had the opportunity to review this matter.

The application of administrative suspensions and the conduct of Party investigations are the responsibility of the General Secretary, not the Leader of the Labour Party, and it is not the case that Mr Corbyn misled MPs or brought the Party into disrepute in this matter. However this investigation must be brought to a conclusion as soon as possible with a report made to the Disputes Panel at the first available opportunity.

#### *Brick Lane Mural*

Jeremy Corbyn's public statement on this matter, and subsequent public statements, make clear that "*I sincerely regret that I did not look more closely at the image I was commenting on, the contents of which are deeply disturbing and anti-Semitic.*" These matters do not represent a prima facie breach of rule 2.1.8 (in the opinion of the NEC, prejudicial or grossly detrimental to the Party) and therefore does not meet the threshold required for formal disciplinary action.

Yours sincerely,



General Secretary  
The Labour Party



✉ [chairman@antisemitism.uk](mailto:chairman@antisemitism.uk)

☎ +44 (0)330 822 0321

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

Jennie Formby  
General Secretary  
The Labour Party  
105 Victoria Street  
London SW1E 6QT

*By post and e-mail*

5th April 2018

Dear Ms Formby,

We regret to say that we find your response today to our complaints to be nothing more than an egregious whitewash and a predetermined outcome designed to protect Jeremy Corbyn at all costs from his own indiscretions, without even the formality of an investigation.

We will demonstrate on Sunday, calling on you to fulfil your duty to hold Mr Corbyn to account, and we reserve all our legal rights.

Yours sincerely,

Gideon Falter  
**CHAIRMAN**

Joseph D. Glasman  
**HEAD OF POLITICAL AND  
GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS**



✉ chairman@antisemitism.uk

☎ +44 (0)330 822 0321

🌐 www.antisemitism.uk

Jennie Formby  
General Secretary  
Labour Party  
C/O Labour Party Compliance Unit  
One Brewer's Green  
London SW1H 0RH

*By post and e-mail*

31st July 2018

Dear Ms Formby,

## **FIRST AND SECOND COMPLAINTS AGAINST JEREMY CORBYN MP AND OTHERS**

We wish to restate our complaints of 23rd September 2016 and 24th March 2018, copies of which are appended hereto.

Your response of 5th April 2018 was nothing more than a whitewash and a predetermined outcome designed to protect Jeremy Corbyn at all costs from his own indiscretions, without even the formality of an investigation.

We have therefore referred your refusal to investigate our complaints to the Equality and Human Rights Commission. We reserve all our legal rights.

## **THIRD COMPLAINT AGAINST JEREMY CORBYN MP**

### Press TV Interview

On 12th August 2012, Mr Corbyn appeared as a guest interviewee on Press TV, a propaganda television station operated by the Islamic Republic of Iran.<sup>1</sup> The interview took place almost six months after Press TV's broadcasting licence was revoked by Ofcom.<sup>2</sup>

1. See [https://www.themuslimtv.net/view\\_video.php?viewkey=f0d135d0025202ea237e&page=&viewtype=&category](https://www.themuslimtv.net/view_video.php?viewkey=f0d135d0025202ea237e&page=&viewtype=&category)

2. See [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0031/67198/press-tv-revocation.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0031/67198/press-tv-revocation.pdf)

The interview was conducted by Lauren Booth, who has previously said that Gaza is “the largest concentration camp in the world today”.<sup>3</sup>

According to newspaper reports, Mr Corbyn was paid £20,000 for a series of appearances on Press TV, including that appearance in question.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of the interview, Mr Corbyn was asked his opinion about a terrorist attack that had taken place against Egyptian border police officers. According to Egyptian officials, the attack, which was carried out by masked gunmen dressed as Bedouin nomads, resulted in the deaths of sixteen border guards and the injury of seven others.<sup>5</sup>

Although no group claimed responsibility for the attack,<sup>6</sup> the vehicle involved headed towards Israel where it was destroyed by the Israeli airforce. A remnant of the attackers were captured by the Egyptian army.<sup>7</sup> The incident was condemned by both the Israeli and Egyptian governments. Egyptian officials blamed Hamas, although Hamas itself called the attack “an ugly crime”.<sup>8</sup> The Palestinian authority called for Hamas tunnels to be shut, thus also implicating Hamas, although other sources blamed jihadist groups.<sup>9</sup>

No government, credible institution or reputable news agency at the time of the attack or subsequently has accused Israel of being responsible, or produced evidence to that effect.

However, when asked during the interview about the attack, Mr Corbyn said: “I’m very concerned about it and you have to look at the big picture. In whose interests is it to destabilise the new government in Egypt? In whose interest is it to kill Egyptians, other than Israel, concerned at the growing closeness of relationship between Palestine and the new Egyptian government?”

Ms Booth then asked: “Would a Muslim go against his Egyptian brother and open fire?”

Mr Corbyn responded: “It seems a bit unlikely that would happen during Ramadan, to put it mildly, and I suspect the hand of Israel in this whole process of destabilisation.”

Mr Corbyn’s answers constitute a conspiracy theory, as they cast Israel as a malign and subversive murderous force, without any evidence. Mr Corbyn’s statements blaming Israel were unprompted, other than that Ms Booth had asked him for his thoughts about the attack. When asked a follow-up question by Ms Booth, Mr Corbyn reacted by explicitly saying that “I suspect the hand of Israel”, language which, in this context, evokes images of

3. See <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3595097,00.html>

4. See <http://uk.businessinsider.com/jeremy-corbyn-paid-iran-press-tv-tortured-journalist-2016-6>

5. See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August\\_2012\\_Sinai\\_attack](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August_2012_Sinai_attack)

6. See <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/06/world/middleeast/gunmen-storm-egyptian-base-killing-15-soldiers.html>

7. See <https://www.jpost.com/Defense/The-Sinai-attack-Blow-by-blow>

8. See [https://web.archive.org/web/20120812202329/http://articles.cnn.com/2012-08-05/africa/world\\_africa\\_egypt-violence\\_1\\_egyptian-soldiers-north-sinai-security-rafah-border](https://web.archive.org/web/20120812202329/http://articles.cnn.com/2012-08-05/africa/world_africa_egypt-violence_1_egyptian-soldiers-north-sinai-security-rafah-border)

9. See <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Abbas-urges-Egypt-to-destroy-underground-tunnels>

an invisible, subversive actor.

Mr Corbyn appears to partly base his conspiracy theory on the notion introduced by Ms Booth that a non-Muslim must have carried out the attack because no Muslim would have committed a terrorist attack during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. This is manifest nonsense: jihadists, despite Muslim religious convention, encourage and often increase terrorist attacks during Ramadan.<sup>10</sup>

Mr Corbyn's unsubstantiated and unprompted remarks correspond with conspiracy theories about "false flag" operations by Israel and Jewish institutions so commonly invoked in far-left antisemitic conspiracy theories.

According to the International Definition of Antisemitism, as adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance ("the Definition"): "Manifestations [of antisemitism] might include the targeting of the State of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that levelled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic. Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for 'why things go wrong'."

The Definition also states that "Making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective" is antisemitic.

In breaching the Definition above, we charge that Mr Corbyn has breached the Party's Conditions of Membership as set out in Chapter 2, Clause I (8) of the the Labour Party's Rule Book by committing acts grossly detrimental to the Party.

In the course of the interview, Mr Corbyn also conversed over a broadcast link with a Hamas terrorist, Dr Abdul Aziz Umar, who had been convicted for the murders of seven Israeli civilians, including a bride to be and her father.

Mr Corbyn referred to Dr Umar as a "brother". He made statements of support for Dr Umar's safety, expressed doubt that Dr Umar had been rightfully imprisoned and expressed pleasure in his release from prison, additionally mentioning that he had met him. Dr Umar had been released from prison, not because he had served his sentence or been acquitted of his crimes, for which he received seven life sentences, but he had instead been released in a prisoner exchange.<sup>11</sup>

By openly supporting a member of a proscribed terrorist organisation convicted of murder, Mr Corbyn further brought the Party into disrepute.

10. See <https://www.datagraver.com/case/relation-terrorism-attacks-and-ramadan>

11. See [https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/Data/pdf/PDF\\_12\\_053\\_2.pdf](https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/Data/pdf/PDF_12_053_2.pdf)

## Holocaust Memorial Day Event

On 27th January 2010, on Holocaust Memorial Day, Mr Corbyn hosted an event in Parliament comparing Israeli actions in Gaza to the slaughter of Jews during the Holocaust.

The event's title, "Never again – for anyone", appropriates the slogan "Never again", which became the rallying cry of post-Holocaust Jewry. According to contemporaneous reports,<sup>11</sup> and <sup>12</sup> one of the speakers said: "Judaism in Israel has been substituted by the Holocaust Religion whose high priest is Elie Wiesel, Elie Wiesel having literally said that 'Auschwitz is comparable only to the Sinai experience' [when Moses received the ten commandments]. Its content [Holocaust Religion] is that we Jews have the monopoly on suffering, nobody has suffered or ever will suffer like the Jews have, therefore whatever we do to the Palestinians is less than what we suffered, and can be done without feeling guilty."

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.

The speaker was Hajo Meyer, an Auschwitz survivor who turned to abusing the memory of the Holocaust in the way most offensive to Jews, by simultaneously belittling the Holocaust by comparing it to the experience of the Palestinians, which is a form of 'softcore' Holocaust denial, and claiming that "Zionists" are the successors to the Nazis.

The Definition states that "Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis" is antisemitic. The fact that a Holocaust survivor engaged in such conduct for his own perverse reasons does not excuse Mr Corbyn. By hosting the event on Holocaust Memorial Day and failing to intervene, Mr Corbyn further brought the Party into disrepute.

We ask that this complaint and the two preceding complaints referred to above be considered by a person or panel which is independent of the Labour Party, entirely uncompromised by allegations of antisemitism, and not the subject of inducements such as the offer of a peerage.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter and confirm how our complaints will be investigated and handled.

Yours sincerely,

Gideon Falter  
**CHAIRMAN**

Joseph D. Glasman  
**HEAD OF POLITICAL AND  
GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS**

11. See <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/gaza-still-an-issue-over-mcb-memorial-attendance-1.13741>

12. See <http://inminds.com/never-again.php>