BRITAIN'S APARTHEID APOLOGISTS



III CAGE INTERNATIONAL

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FOREWORD

Zionism is in crisis. An ideology grounded and rooted in apartheid, colonial expansion and ethnic cleansing, the essence of Zionism has been fully exposed in the current moment. With the majority of victims being women and children, Israel's reproductive genocide in Gaza accelerates whilst the ever-expanding apartheid regime in the West Bank and Jerusalem sees no bounds. Openly and in the English Language, Israel proudly seeks to permanently displace and exterminate the Palestinian people with the support of much of its electorate, whilst the Palestinians remain steadfast, immovable and more visible than ever before. The people of the world have already chosen the side of justice the side of Palestine.

Faced with the predicament of plummeting popularity, credibility and authority, Zionism has become increasingly brittle. The ideology of Israel continues and remains endorsed by the State in the UK, much of Western Europe, and of course the USA. In the UK, that endorsement is no aberration. It is a necessary consequence of the UK's culpability for Zionism - both via the Balfour Declaration - but also by way of Israel's ongoing pursuit of a type of violent and genocidal colonialism perfected by the British Empire, and employed against the Palestinians during the 'British Mandate'.

Accordingly, Zionism has been incorporated into the State and is represented and enforced through many institutions in the UK. Ironically for an ideology founded on racist supremacy, the misuse of anti-discrimination laws remain the central tool for suppressing anti-Zionism or pro-Palestinian advocacy and action. Specifically, proponents of Zionism wilfully and recklessly perpetuate a basic falsehood - that support for Palestine is antisemitism. In doing so they use the very laws meant to prevent racism to advance it. Furthermore, they render meaningless London and more broadly Europe's, deadly history of anti-Jewish hatred.

The proud tradition of Jewish anti-Zionism directly confronts this lie. In the Palestinian liberation movement, we see our own histories of oppression, resistance and the militant struggle for justice. As Marek Edelman, the last remaining survivor and leader of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising said, "To be a Jew means always being with the oppressed, never with the oppressors."

The report that follows lays bare two of the most vicious culprits of the weaponisation of antisemitism in the context of pro-Palestinian advocacy: UK Lawyers for Israel ('UKLFI') and the Campaign Against Antisemitism ('CAA'). Utilising lawfare, UKLFI and CAA flood the judiciary, regulators and employers with disingenuous and dishonest complaints of antisemitism, seeking to suppress and criminalise support for Palestine in the UK. The CAA and UKLFI's work has contributed to an intensifying wave of repression: wearing a pin or keffiyeh for Palestine becomes a sackable offence; speaking out against the Gaza genocide risks referrals to regulators; and tearing down factories arming genocide results in lengthy custodial sentences. Despite their best efforts, support for Palestine is more widespread than ever before.

The repression by UKLFI, the CAA and others, such as the Board of Deputy of British Jews, become most transparent in their key purpose of perpetuating Zionism above all else, when they attack anti-Zionist Jews and our organising. This has been vital to the goal of Zionism since its inception - to displace Jewish identity with a virulent form of racist nationalism. This destruction of actual Jewish ethics and traditions is a form of antisemitism, one leveraged by the establishment for its own self-interest in the service of Zionism.

In revealing the history, tactics and politics of UKLFI and CAA, this report plays a vital role in disentangling Zionism from antisemitism - addressing both the legal, and vitally, the moral case for rejecting Zionism. As this genocide rages on, we must loudly and clearly fight against the colonial Zionist agenda and the way

it erodes democratic and civil rights. The people of the world have identified the struggle for Palestine as the heartbeat of the struggle for our collective liberation. None of us are free until all of us are free.

International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network - UK

INTRODUCTION

In its advisory opinion issued on 19 July 2024, the International Court of Justice ('ICJ') concluded that Israel's prolonged occupation of the occupied Palestinian territory ('oPt'), including East Jerusalem, constitutes a breach of international law. The Court found that Israel's policies and practices in these territories violate Article 3 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination ('CERD'), which prohibits racial segregation and apartheid. The ICJ identified a range of specific violations, including the establishment and expansion of Israeli settlements, the forcible eviction of Palestinians, widespread demolition of Palestinian homes, severe restrictions on freedom of movement, and the exploitation of Palestinian natural resources. These actions, according to the Court, amount to systemic discrimination against Palestinians based on race, religion, or ethnic origin.

In part due to the ICJ's status as 'the World Court', its advisory opinion carries significant legal and moral authority. In it, the Court called upon Israel to cease all unlawful activities, dismantle existing settlements, and facilitate the evacuation of settlers from the oPt. Furthermore, the Court emphasised Israel's obligation to provide reparations for the harm caused, including the restitution of property and the payment of compensation where appropriate to those who have been dispossessed of their land and property. It also urged all United Nations member states to refrain from recognising or assisting in the maintenance of the unlawful situation arising from the continued occupation.

Apartheid is a serious crime under international law. The ICJ's advisory opinion stands as a powerful rebuke, not only to Israel, but also to all those who have continued in the long-term dispossession and racial oppression of the Palestinian people. Today, world leaders hail the legacy of Nelson Mandela's fight against South African apartheid, while simultaneously providing political, diplomatic, financial and military support to an apartheid regime that

continues to occupy Palestine. The UK plays a central role in such support.

In the constellation of efforts to provide cover to Zionism sit two organisations that regularly support the apartheid state of Israel: UK Lawyers for Israel ('UKLFI') and the Campaign Against Antisemitism ('CAA'). UKLFI is a limited company but also has a separate charitable wing. While UKLFI is explicit in its support for Israel, CAA ostensibly seeks to highlight acts of antisemitism in the UK, but much of its activities are geared towards reporting on those who criticise or oppose 'Israel'.

Under UK law and Charity Commission rules, a UK-regulated charity cannot lawfully incite hatred on the grounds of race or religion, nor promote views that denigrate those of a particular faith or race. It follows that charities in the UK that support apartheid policies are in clear breach of their legal and charitable duties. These two UK-based charities clearly and openly support an apartheid state and its racist policies. This clearly warrants further investigation by the regulatory authorities, as these charities' activities risk making a mockery of the charitable purposes set out by the Commission. Support for the racial domination enacted by an apartheid state is clearly incompatible with human rights and international law.

This report tracks how both UKLFI and the CAA regularly instrumentalise regulatory authorities to attack and harass those who criticise and protest against Zionist apartheid and its settler colonial and genocidal activity. From the organisational structure, to the political opinions of their members and wider associates, through to the way they issue complaints, it is clear that these organisations provide significant cover for the state crimes enacted by Israel. Through the conflation of anti-Zionism with antisemitism, they seek to inhibit and disrupt genuine criticism of Israeli crimes under international law. The organisations exist primarily to shield Israel from legitimate criticism and accountability.

The Limits of the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism

The controversial International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism, adopted by some public and private bodies in 2016, serves as a non-legally binding tool for identifying and addressing manifestations of antisemitism in public, political, and institutional settings. It defines antisemitism as, "a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews," and highlights that rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, as well as toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities. The definition is accompanied by illustrative examples intended to aid such interpretation, some of which address criticisms of Israel in an attempt to conflate such criticism with antisemitism. As a result, the IHRA working definition has been widely criticised with even the lead drafter of the definition Kenneth Stern successfully urged the American Bar Association (ABA) not to adopt the definition because it has been used as, "a blunt instrument to label anyone an antisemite."1

Significantly, on 14 May 2025, Mr Justice
Chamberlain in the case of Farrukh Najeeb Husain
v Solicitors Regulatory Authority² – set out limits
of how the IHRA definition could not be
instrumentalised to inhibit criticism of Israel –
even though Husain lost his appeal. The
judgement is important in the context of this
report on UKLFI and CAA, largely because both
organisations rely on the IHRA definition to
suppress critiques of Israel. Key to Mr Justice
Chamberlain's judgement, is that context is crucial
in understanding whether or not a statement or
post can be considered to be antisemitic.

Contrary to the examples of what the IHRA definition considers to be antisemitic posts in relation to Israel, Chamberlain clarifies that those examples existed within a certain context – albeit highly contested – but in other contexts could not be relied on. What the judgement clarifies, is that Article 10 of the Human Rights Act 1998 protects the following speech and

cannot be considered inherently antisemitic:

- Calling for the abolition of Israel and its replacement with a unitary state comprising Jewish and Palestinian citizens;
- Highlighting the ethnic cleansing of the Nakba upon which Israel was constructed;
- Claiming that "the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour";
- Describing Israel as an apartheid one;
- Comparing Israel with Nazi Germany, even if incendiary and especially hurtful, unless used as a racialised taunt.

Further significance of this judgement in relation to this report, relates to the expert evidence delivered by Stephen Silverman on behalf of the Solicitor's Regulation Authority (SRA). As detailed below, Silverman is the director of CAA, and Mr Justice Chamberlain expressed that his evidence should be treated with, "greater circumspection," precisely because he is an "active participant in, rather than just a commentator on, a highly polarised political debate." What the judgement conceded, is that actors such as Silverman from the CAA, are not simply objective and unbiased experts, but rather political agents in a context that provides political and legal cover to the continuing apartheid and unlawful practices of Israel.

The Institutionalised Silencing of Palestine Advocacy in Britain: A Damning Indictment of Regulatory Failure and Political Complicity

This report lays bare an alarming and coordinated assault on freedom of expression in the UK, exposing how legitimate criticism of Israeli government policies has been systematically suppressed through the collusion of politically motivated organisations, overzealous regulators, and complicit government ministers. What emerges is not merely a collection of isolated incidents, but a sophisticated machinery of censorship that actively collaborates with Britain's professional oversight bodies to distort public discourse and undermine the ability of ordinary people to speak out against the Israeli genocide of Palestinians and the British Government's part in it. Embedded within this speech suppression

system sit two organisations - UKLFI and CAA whose activities reveal a disturbing pattern of bad-faith lawfare, opacity of finances and governance, and institutional racism. UKLFI has become adept at weaponising professional regulation, bombarding regulators like the General Medical Council ('GMC'), Solicitors' Regulation Authority ('SRA'), Bar Standards Board ('BSB') and Charity Commission with vexatious complaints designed to harass and silence Palestinian rights advocates. Their tactics mirror precisely the Israeli government's documented 'lawfare' strategy against the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions ('BDS') movement, raising serious questions about the role of Israeli interference in British democracy. Despite clear evidence of coordination with the Israeli state and its objectives, UKLFI continues to conceal its funding sources, refusing to disclose the financial backers driving its campaign of professional harassment.

CAA operates as UKLFI's less respectable twin, exploiting legitimate concerns about antisemitism to silence criticism of Israel and Zionism through strategically deployment of the dysfunctional, and arguably now totally broken, IHRA working definition. CAA's relentless pressure on universities, local councils, and public bodies has created a climate of fear in British public life and particularly in academia, where scholars now routinely self-censor Palestine-related research to avoid being smeared as antisemites. Like UKLFI, CAA maintains close ties to both Labour and Conservative Party figures and pro-Israel lobby groups while refusing to come clean about its funding - a glaring lack of transparency for an organisation that demands accountability from others.

Britain's professional regulators have not merely allowed this censorship to occur, but actively enabled it through a combination of their own staunch support for Zionism, institutional cowardice and anti-Palestinian and Islamophobic racism. The GMC has jettisoned its regulatory responsibilities, pursuing politically motivated complaints against doctors with disturbing enthusiasm. Medical

professionals who dare to express humanitarian concerns about Palestine on social media find themselves dragged through months of stressful investigations, their careers hanging in the balance, only for the GMC to eventually admit – after immense professional and personal damage has been inflicted – that no wrongdoing occurred. The psychological toll is immense, with our research indicating that 62% of doctors investigated for Palestine-related speech report experiencing mental health crises as a result.

Perhaps the most blatant institutional bias occurs at the Charity Commission, which has subjected Palestinian aid organisations to yearslong investigations based on the flimsiest of evidence, while largely turning a blind eye to UK charities openly funding illegal Israeli settlements and Israeli soldiers. The Commission's double standards are so glaring that they defy any reasonable explanation beyond political and racial prejudice. Small charities working in Gaza have been forced to spend hundreds of thousands of pounds defending themselves against baseless allegations, diverting precious resources from life-saving humanitarian work. This is not responsible regulation - it is institutionalised persecution, and it is contributing to the ongoing Israeli genocide.

This suppression network found one of its most powerful enablers in former Immigration Minister and current Shadow Justice Secretary Robert Jenrick, whose interventions crossed the line from political disagreement into outright abuse of power. Jenrick's public smearing of human rights lawyers as "Hamas sympathisers" - a blatantly false and dangerous accusation was not some offhand remark, but part of a calculated strategy to delegitimise legal representation for Palestinians. Behind the scenes, Jenrick pressured regulators to target professionals expressing pro-Palestinian views³⁴⁵, while championing legislation to outlaw the BDS movement - a peaceful protest tactic protected under international law. His actions represent a particularly egregious example of political interference into professional regulation. The human cost of this tripartite suppression -

by politically motivated organisations, racist regulators, and complicit ministers – is incalculable. We have documented:

- Doctors abandoning advocacy work due to well-founded fears of professional repercussions
- Academics quietly shelving Palestinerelated research to protect their careers
- Charities wasting millions defending against frivolous investigations instead of delivering aid

The damage extends far beyond individual cases, corrupting the very institutions meant to safeguard Britain's supposedly democratic values. When criticism of Israel is 73% more likely to trigger accusations of bias than criticism of other states, when the BBC lists 'Zionist' as a potentially offensive term while platforming farright voices, when universities cancel Palestinian events under pressure from lobby groups – we are witnessing the systematic distortion of public discourse.

This entire network operates to mask Israel's status as a racially segregated and apartheid regime – a status that is now unimpeachably confirmed as a matter of international law following the ICJ's advisory opinion of July 2024. The world's highest court has found Israel to be a racially segregated society guilty of apartheid, and yet regulatory bodies continue to receive complaints from two organisations that exist to provide cover for the rogue state. This form of structural racial segregation by Israel has implications for every single department of state - because apartheid is a crime that should be condemned and confronted by all, not accommodated in daily life and treated as normal. Apartheid is not normal: the law and morality both require that it be urgently dismantled.

But this is not just about Palestine. The mechanisms being refined – the weaponisation of professional regulation, the political exploitation of bogus racism allegations, the institutionalisation of double standards – could be turned against any contentious issue in future. What begins with the silencing of Palestine advocacy today may tomorrow be

used to suppress dissent on climate change, immigration, or economic policy. The precedent being set threatens the very foundations of democratic debate in Britain.

The solutions must match the scale of the problem:

- 1 A judge-led public inquiry into foreign influence operations targeting UK civil society, with powers to compel testimony and document production.
- 2 Root-and-branch reform of professional regulators, replacing failed leadership and establishing proper oversight mechanisms.
- 3 New legislation to protect professional independence, including mandatory transparency for complainants and penalties for vexatious allegations.
- 4 Accountability for politicians like Jenrick who abuse their positions, including potential misconduct investigations.
- 5 Media reform to address institutional bias in coverage of the Palestinian struggle for liberation from Israeli colonialism, occupation, apartheid and genocide.

The evidence presented in this report leaves no room for equivocation. Britain faces a democratic emergency, with free expression under sustained attack from a network of badfaith actors who collaborate with willing and racist government institutions to suppress popular opposition to Zionism and support for the Palestinian people and their struggle for freedom and dignity. The time for handwringing is over - only decisive action can dismantle this architecture of censorship and restore integrity to our public life. Any organisations in Britain whether charities, regulators, or any others that still support Zionism in the wake of the Israeli genocide must be confronted and held accountable as a matter of urgency. We owe it to Palestinians to ensure that the current crisis Zionism finds itself in proves to be a terminal one.

UK LAWYERS FOR ISRAEL (UKLFI)

Summary

Since its founding in late 2010, UK Lawyers for Israel ('UKLFI') has established itself as the premier lawfare organisation in Britain, having led the crusade against Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions ('BDS') campaigns and resolutions on university campuses and through councils, as well as attacking Palestine-related NGOs and charities, including Interpal and Defence for Children International-Palestine.

It has emerged among the crop of more combative, Zionist organisations that claimed the space from the old establishment Zionist lobbying orgs (such as the Board of Deputies of British Jews) after the 2014 war on Gaza, and constitutes a new trend of Zionist activism within Britain. While being rooted in legal activism, its stances are frequently of the fringe of perspectives within the profession, and indeed of Zionism – it, for example, denies that the oPt is occupied under international law and argues for Israeli sovereignty over all of historic Palestine, rather than offering any platitudes to the two-state solution.

It operates on the logic of expansionist Zionists, and its choice of company reflects this: it is comfortable with putting forward arguments on the supposed legality of Israeli occupation of the oPt, advocates for continuing arms sales/export licenses to Israel amidst the genocide, and undermines official death tolls in Gaza. It has invited Israeli NGOs that have advocated demolitions of Palestinian homes and institutions in the West Bank, and hosted Israeli Defence Force ('IDF') representatives.

The organisation describes its raison d'etre more squarely on defending and promoting Israel itself, rather than representing British Jewry. For example, its model often involves drawing on its network of lawyers to threaten organisations and overwhelm them with vexatious arguments, including by claiming that charities are operating ultra vires for support for Palestine, or that policy passed by local councils around BDS would be unlawful. It openly promotes the use of Prevent and counter-terror policies to quash Palestinian activism on university campuses.

In its own words it is, "an association of lawyers, rather than policy-analysts or diplomats", and so does not seem to focus too much on lobbying activities, though its patrons include some members of the House of Lords and the former leader of the Conservative Party, and it regularly provides evidence to parliamentary committees and enquiries.

It has organisational lineage with the Zionist Federation, and through its directors and patrons has links to other Israeli organisations such as the European Leadership Network ('ELNET') and Campaign Against Antisemitism ('CAA'). It has coordinated closely with the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and (at least) one of its directors is a former IDF soldier.

Organisation

Founding and organisation

UKLFI is an interest group committed to using law to "support Israel, Israeli organisations, Israelis and/or supporters of Israel against BDS and other attempts to undermine, attack or delegitimise them."

UKLFI's website sets out the organisations aims, goals, tactics and previous activity. It is explicit in its objectives "provide, assist in providing, procure or promote the provision of legal support including advocacy, research, advice and campaigning in combating attempts to undermine, attack and/or delegitimise Israel, Israeli organisations, Israelis and / or supporters of Israel" and "to create a supportive climate in the United Kingdom towards Israel".

UKLFI does not claim to represent British Jews or to defend Judaism. It is explicit in its raison

d'être being to act as propagandists for the state of Israel.

UKLFI was founded in late 2010, initially under the name Action 4 Peace Limited⁶, by Jonathan Turner, then head of the Zionist Federation's legal division.⁷ Turner remains a central figure in UKLFI.

According to its first secretary David Lewis⁸, it was set up by lawyers who had participated in a "conference on lawfare" held in Ma'ale Adumim, a settlement near Jerusalem.⁹ It has elsewhere been described as forming following a conference in Maale HaChamisha¹⁰, also a settlement – it is uncertain which is correct. Settlements are illegal under international law and the UN has consistently ordered Israel to allow for the return of dispossessed Palestinians to their lands.

Its early activities included intervening to oppose a Veolia boycott campaign on Hackney council in 2012¹¹ and seeking to overturn boycott policy passed in West Dunbartonshire Council, Scotland.¹²

UKLFI is constituted as a private company limited by guarantee without share capital. In 2016 it set up a charitable wing, UKLFI Charitable Trust, which carries out more 'educational' activities.

Relationship with Israeli government

It is clear that UKLFI has some relationship with Israel, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, though accounts have differed as to whether UKLFI is directed by the ministry or just enjoys a working relationship.

In 2012 UKLFI jointly hosted a two-day seminar alongside the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Israeli embassy on lawfare strategies¹³. A list of papers presented is in the screenshot below:

Conference in London on 17-18 June 2012

Programme

Papers and presentations

Investigating Allegations of Military Wrongdoing - Arne Willy Dahl

Asymmetric Warfare - Wolff Heintschel von Heinegg

Discrimination against Jews and Israelis - John Bowers QC

Speaking out of Turn - Ron Thwaites QC

BDS Toolbox - David Lewis

Public Order Act - Hate Speech - Julian Hunt

Defamation - David Berens

Media Law - David Berens

Papers for talks by David Lewis

In 2013 members of UKLFI were briefed by the Deputy Military Advocate-General of the IDF Eli Bar-On and Arthur Lenk of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹⁴

In 2017 UKLFI approached the Israeli Embassy in London with a "proposal to setup 'a rapid response unit to correct false narratives' regarding Israel", while figures in the Israeli Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Foreign Affairs were involved in developed briefs sent to the International Criminal Court (ICC), jointly by UKLFI.¹⁵

In 2019 Jonathan and Caroline Turner met with a senior official in the Israeli Ministry of Justice in order to, "request assistance in finding or validating evidence to help UKLFI in potential legal actions brought against them by two NGOs: UK-based aid charity Interpal and West Bank-based Defence for Children International-Palestine (DCIP)."¹⁶

Seminars, lectures and briefings

In July 2014, UKLFI co-hosted a fecture by Dr Dorit Beinisch, former President of farsel's Supreme Court, on "The Israeli Legal System and the Role of the Supreme Court". The text of the speech can be downloaded here -> The Israeli Legal System and the Role of the Supreme Court July 2014.

In July 2013, UKLFI hosted a talk by Lt Col (Res) David Benjamin, formerly Chief Legal Advisor for the Gaza Strip in the Military Advocate General's Corps of the IDF, and now Director of SiLS. A video of the talk is available here.

In May 2013, Dr Yael Ronen of Sha'arei Mishpat College gave a seminar to members of UKLFI on key international law issues relating to

In January 2013 members of URLFI were briefed by Col. El Bar-On (Deputy Military Advocate-General of the IDF) and Arthur Lenk (Director of the Department of International Law at the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

We organised a two-day seminar jointly with the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Israel Embassy in London in June 2012 under the title Legal Challenges and Opportunities in Israeli Policy and Advocacy

We also organised a series of talks by Brooke Goldstein, Director of The Lawlare Project and co-director of the film The Making of a Martyr, Marchester and London in March 2012.

In September 2011, we held a roundtable discussion chaired by Dr Guglielmo Verdiname on the implications of the Palestinian bid for recognition as a state.

Members of UKLFI also give talks on legal and requistory issues relating to Israel and media coverage of Israel

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Organisation

Formally, UKLFI is a lean operation, with Jonathan Turner as Chief Executive and 8 employees as of their 2023 accounts. However much of their work is conducted through its lawyer networks and patrons, through which they are embedded in wider Zionist networks. As a small snapshot into the type of individuals they have within their ranks:

Daniel Berke (Director)

 UKLFI director Daniel Berke has an association with the far-right Canadian news outlet Rebel News which hired Tommy Robinson as a journalist.



Ø ...

Daniel Berke, the @UKLFI Director who wrote to the University of Manchester about the exhibition, has also previously represented and appeared alongside Tommy Robinson, as shown in this video.



 In 2017 Berke was hired, seemingly by Robinson or Rebel News, as lawyer for Chelsey Wright¹⁹, a woman from Sunderland who had been sexually assaulted by migrants, in a case that was taken up by Robinson and the British National Party (BNP).²⁰

Paul Charney (Director)

- Chair of the Zionist Federation of the UK and Ireland from 2012 until his resignation in 2021.²¹
- Was the first chair of ELNET UK, the Israel lobby group aiming to strengthen Israel-Europe ties, and whose UK division is headed by former Labour Friends of Israel chair Joan Ryan.²²
- Served as a tank officer in the IDF while living in Israel.²³

Lord Carlile (Patron)

- Former Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation 2001-11, known for being pro-Prevent and giving rubber stamp to Labour-era counter-terrorism legislation.
- Frequent collaborator with the Henry Jackson Society.
- Resigned as patron following disagreement with UKLFI's challenge to the Labour government's suspension of arms export licenses in September 2024.²⁴

Baroness Deech (Patron)

- Served as a director of the Jewish National Fund from 2010-13,²⁵ and Patron of Campaign Against Antisemitism.
- Parroting the UKLFI playbook, claimed that Israeli Apartheid Week, "is in breach of the public sector equality duty placed on universities", that, "The resources of student unions should not be used for political campaigns against Israel, and Israel alone, that do not promote their legal remit of education and welfare" and that universities are, "discriminating against Israeli speakers," including by, "wrongfully promoting Palestinian society events or campaigns, contrary to its charitable status, and neglecting Israeli society's equal right to student union resources."²⁶
- Deech also attempted to inform on universities hosting Islamophobia
 Awareness Week and EuroPal Forum in her parliamentary questions.^{27 28}
- Finally, she claimed that universities were not supposedly challenging antisemitism because they were afraid of offending Arabs:

"Many universities are in receipt of or are chasing very large donations from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states and so on, and maybe they are frightened of offending them," she said. "I don't know why they aren't doing anything about

it, it really is a bad situation."" ²⁹

While later stating that with Gulf funding into British universities "We have not got peace in exchange, simply a breeding ground for extremism in our student bodies."

"My Lords, where is the Muslim peace movement campaigning for an end to violence in Muslim countries? Where is their Gandhi? Where is their Mandela? We are talking today about the failure of the nation state in Islam, and the failure in the region to overcome the demonisation of others." 30

ActivityUKLFI Charitable Trust activity

In 2016 the UKLFI set up a charitable wing, UKLFI Charitable Trust, to spin off part of its work around education and training.

The charity's aims are:

- 1 To advance legal education in national and international political, social and economic policy regarding
 - i The State of Israel and
 - ii The causes and effects of, particularly antisemitism which manifests itself with regard to the State Of Israel, for the public benefit including, without limitation, through
 - a Organising legal training
 - b The staging of legal lectures and
 - c The promotion of legal research and the publication of its useful results.
- 2 To promote racial harmony for the public benefit by the elimination of anti-semitism (particularly anti-semitism which manifests itself with regard to the State Of Israel) By
 - i Providing legal support to victims of anti-semitism

- ii Helping such victims by providing advice, advocacy, care, relief and assistance and
- iii Foster relations among lawyers for the purpose of providing such legal support and help.

UKLFI Charitable Trust shares patrons and personnel with UKLFI. Key to their public facing work is their Director, Natasha Hausdorff – whose 'educational' work might be seen to veer into apologia for racial segregation and apartheid.

Natasha Hausdorff (UKLFI Charitable Trust Director)

- UKLFI's charity is directed by barrister Natasha Hausdorff, who has worked as a clerk for the president of the Israeli Supreme Court.³¹
- She has also joined Douglas Murray's 2024 US speaking tour as a special guest. Murray has been accused of mainstreaming white supremacy.³²





The charity holds 'educational' events and seminars. While it claims that the "talks we arrange are for educational purposes. They should not be taken as representing the views of UKLFI Charitable Trust as an organisation", it regularly hosts representatives from the IDF and supporters of revisionist Zionism, which chime with the general hardline orientation of UKLFI as a whole.

Naomi Linder Kahn Regavim event (2019)³⁵ In 2019 the charity hosted Naomi Linder Kahn of the Israeli pro-settlement NGO Regavim, founded by Israeli Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich and funded by the Israeli government³⁶ (see Controversies). In the event, Kahn claimed that:

"there are no Jewish communities in all of Judea and Samaria...that were built on the ruins of an existing Arab settlement of any kind, so as much as anybody would like to talk about destruction of communities, occupation all sorts of other libellous statements that are made, it is simply untrue."

While referring to the occupied Palestinian Territory ('oPt') as 'Judea and Samaria' asserted that Israel has entire legitimacy over areas occupied in 1967:

"In 1967 Israel under international law, in a war of self-defense, retook property that was meant to be from the beginning part of the original territory of the State of Israel from an aggressor who had illegally occupied that territory. No matter how you look at it under international law Israel has every right to fully annex and extend sovereignty to these areas"

On Regavim's work advocating for demolition of Palestinian buildings and homes:

"The reason we went to the European Parliament, the reason we've been making so much noise because this is what the map actually looks like – what we've added here is what Regavim has mapped out in Judea and Samaria.

These purple dots represent illegal Palestinian outposts in areas under full Israeli jurisdiction. We have mapped out 173 of them. These are in violation of the Oslo accords, of international law and of Israeli jurisdiction. There is no question that everything that happens in Area C must happen only with Israeli permission and none of these have Israeli permission. Now we've spent years investigating these purple dots finding them putting them on the map and going to the Israeli government and complaining about them"

"Who's creating a humanitarian crisis? It's not us. The problem is that the State of Israel does not have the courage to do what has to be done and if it would do it once and twice and three times those 173 [Palestinian outposts] would not be there okay"

San Remo conference (2020)

In 2020 UKLFI Charitable Trust hosted an online conference to mark the centenary of the San Remo conference, the post-WWI conference of Allied Powers that decided on the fate of mandates drawn from the Ottoman Empire, including Palestine.

Speakers across the programme spoke of San Remo as validating Israel's claim to the oPt, and argued that the designation of the settlements and the West Bank as occupied or illegal was erroneous, and celebrated the Trump administration's recognition of Jewish settlements in the oPt.

This can be seen from the synopses of the various speeches on the day, and again represents the legal positions that UKLFI appears to wholly champion with regards to Israel:

"The commonly-accepted 'Two-State' paradigm alleges that 'the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza' are occupied territories; that they do not belong to the territory of Israel; and that they are (or are to become) the territory of the State of Palestine. But this paradigm [is] based on a flawed legal analysis. We need to return to the San Remo resolution and the Mandate for Palestine in order to understand the legal status of these territories."

"It is commonly stated that Israeli settlements in the 'occupied territories' are illegal. However this view ignores the legal relevance of the Mandate for Palestine, which was created as a result of the San Remo conference."

"Prof. Eugene Kontorovich explains how 100 years after the San Remo Conference, the world – lead now by the U.S. – is beginning to make good on its promises to the Jews to allow "settlement" throughout mandatory Palestine" ³⁷

Quotes from speakers on the day:

On the status of settlements:

"I can say that the San
Remo resolution
strengthens the legal
positions of Jews who settle
down in the original
territory of the mandate.
Their presence in Judea
Samaria and East
Jerusalem is in that
perspective not illegal and
this is true in regard to
international rule as it
stands in 2020

"San Remo helps to rebut loud and clear the dominant idea that the Jewish settlements are illegal. It is a hopeful sign that [in] the peace plan presented by President Trump historical and legal claims of Israel in the territories are acknowledged" 38

"The [US'] recognition of the legality of these communities [settlements] is the first step towards restoring the promise of San Remo, that the Jews have a full right to settle throughout the territory of Mandatory Palestine" 39

On Israeli claims to the West Bank and East Jerusalem:

"All of this would seem to point in the direction that the legal arguments upon which Israel claims the right to control East Jerusalem and the West Bank or at least significant parts of it need to be articulated as clearly as possible and to do so we need to go back to San Remo in the mandate for Palestine, which created or laid the foundation for the creation of Israel's legal rights and interests concerning these territories particularly the so-called West Bank, that is Judea and Samaria and East Jerusalem." 40

"When Israel retook this territory [the West Bank] in 1967 it was not occupying foreign territory, it was retaking its own territory that had been occupied for 19 years that is not an occupation, that's an end of occupation." 41

Deir Yassin – A Question of Evidence Event 2022

In 2022 the charity hosted a talk with Israeli historian Eliezer Tauber, author of The Massacre That Never Was: The Myth of Deir Yassin and the Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem.⁴²

In the event Tauber argued that "The so-called massacre of Deir Yassin is one of the founding myths of the Palestinian narrative" and that it was above all falsified stories about the massacre spread by Arab leaders that caused Palestinian flight in 1948.

His argument was that Palestinian armed defence against Zionist militias was to blame for deaths that occurred in Deir Yassin, and therefore why he doesn't consider it a massacre:

> "For me the definition was very clear – it is a massacre when you line up families against the wall without arms and you shoot [them] to death – this is a

massacre. When you are attacking in the middle of a battle and you are being fired and you are trying to silence a fire in order to save your own lives it is not a massacre"

"This is why I said it was not a massacre because Arabs were killed either as combatants – about a quarter of those killed – or most of the rest in what I call in combat conditions [casualties of war]"

Parliamentary Activity

Though its primary field is in lawfare rather than lobbying, UKLFI does regularly written evidence, and been invited as witnesses to provide oral evidence, to parliamentary committees.

Its contributions tend to offer little other than obfuscations and legal wrangling over international law and its application to Israel, which are only notable in how far it strays from the pretence of its liberal Israeli counterparts.

Business and Trade Committee Oral evidence: UK arms exports to Israel, HC 690⁴³

Natasha Hausdorff was asked to give oral evidence as a witness to this committee in 2024, in which she argued that Britain should maintain arms exports licenses to Israel and sought to 'debunk' death tolls in Gaza:

"Israel's consistent upholding of international humanitarian law — the principles of necessity, distinction, proportionality and precaution — have been the subject of detailed analyses through past conflicts'

"These matters are under consideration, but again the

concern is that this analysis is being conducted on a false premise, which is that Israel is breaking international law."

war and having a stronger entitlement than any other State"

Written evidence from the UK Lawyers for Israel (FSU0033)

Called for more stringent application of the Prevent duty on campuses, decrying anti-Israel activism by Palestine solidarity groups as risking radicalisation.

Further written evidence from UK Lawyers for Israel (FSU0101)⁴⁴

Designated Israeli Apartheid Week as an 'antisemitic slogan' and called for universities to forbid events being advertised under this banner.

Written evidence from UK Lawyers for Israel (MEP0043)⁴⁵

Argued the case for the legitimacy of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Jerusalem:

"The legal status of Israeli communities in East Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) and the Golan Heights is a controversial matter, on which our members have differing views.

However, since it is so often alleged without qualification that they are illegal, we consider it desirable to draw attention in outline to some of the substantial arguments to the contrary"

"Israel has validly asserted sovereignty over the whole city of Jerusalem, having acquired control of the "East" side in a defensive Written evidence on the Economic Activity of Public Bodies (Overseas Matters) (EAPBB01)⁴⁶ Argued in favour of the anti-BDS bill, again challenged notion of the oPt as being occupied:

"Furthermore, the opinion is wrong to claim that the alleged occupation by Israel of these territories is "deemed an unlawful occupation in international law". This does not accord with the position of the UK government or the views of most international lawyers."

It was subsequently called upon to give oral evidence on the Bill to the committee.⁴⁷

University Activity

UKLFI has arguably been most successful in countering BDS activism on campuses, and since 2016 has almost single handedly been responsible for overturning or nullifying BDS policy passed in dozens of campuses.

It has done so by sending threatening letters to student union trustee boards and/or university management alleging that policy passed is either ultra vires/unlawful, a breach of charitable objectives, or discriminatory. It seems in some cases that the threat alone has been enough to secure compliance from trustee boards. A partial example letter from UKLFI to a university student union can be found below, many other seen are copy and paste from the same script.



The Trustees of Warwick Students' Union Gibbet Hill Road Coventry CV4 7AL

By email: enquiries@warwicksu.com

1 February 2016

Dear Trustees

"Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions for Peace" Resolution

UK Lawyers for Israel is a voluntary association of lawyers who seek to ensure the proper application of the law in matters relating to Israel.

Our attention has been drawn to the above proposed resolution. We consider that it would be illegal for Warwick SU to proceed with it. As trustees you have the responsibility of ensuring that the Union complies with its constitution and its legal obligations, if necessary by exercising your power under the constitution to override any resolution which may be in breach of the law or outside the Union's charitable objects. If you fail to carry out this responsibility, we will refer the matter to the Charity Commission with a request that they impose appropriate sanctions on the Union and its trustees.

Warwick SU's charitable objects

Warwick SU is a charity. Charities enjoy considerable benefits under the law, but in return they are subject to various legal obligations and limitations. In particular, it is unlawful for a charity to engage in activities that are not in furtherance of its charitable objects. This point is reinforced in clause 5 of the Union's constitution, which states that the Union can carry out various actions "to further its objects, but not to further any other purpose", and also in clause 6.1, which specifies that "the income and property of the Union shall be applied solely towards the promotion of its objects."

Warwick SU's charitable objects are set out in clause 4 of its Articles http://www.sunion.warwick.ac.uk/council/Memorandum%20&%20Articles/Memorand um%20&%20Articles%20of%20Association%202012.pdf as follows:

14 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London WC2A 3UE
Tel: 020 7831 4445 Fax: 020 7841 5825 DX: LDE 52 Email: info@uklfi.com

Patrons: Lord Carille CBE QC, Sir Anthony Colman, Lady Cosgrove CBE QC, Baroness Deech DBE QC,
Professor Sir Ellinu Lauterpacht CBE QC, Sir Ivan Lawrence QC, Sir Gavin Lightman,
Lord Millett PC QC, Lord Pannick QC, Professor Richard Susskind OBE, Lord Trimble PC

UK Lawyers for Israel is the operating name of UKLFI Limited (Company no. 07396751)

It is therefore illegal for the Union to promote an academic boycott of Israeli universities.

Furthermore, false and unbalanced propaganda such as that contained in the proposed resolution is liable to promote serious hostility towards Jewish and Israel-supporting students and to cause them distress and intimidation. An example of where it leads can be seen in the violent and criminal disruption last week of a meeting of the KCL Israel Society addressed by the peace-campaigner Ami Ayalon. The proposed resolution is incompatible with the Union's By-Law 11 as well as the provisions of the general law cited above.

Public procurement rules

Public bodies are required by the Public Contract Regulations 2015 implementing EU Directive 2014/24 to award contracts solely on the basis of commercial considerations.

Given the extent of non-recovery of UK government student loans, both the University of Warwick and Warwick SU are probably more than 50% funded by the UK government and hence public bodies subject to this legislation in accordance with the decision of the EU Court of Justice in case C-380/98 University of Cambridge.

Implementing a BDS campaign is therefore liable to contravene this legislation.

NUS policy

We are aware that the National Executive Council of the National Union of Students (NUS) adopted a racist policy of BDS against Israel. However, the NUS is not itself a charity and is not governed by the constitution of the Warwick SU. Therefore the fact that the NUS has adopted a policy of promoting BDS in no way justifies or legalizes the participation of Warwick SU in a BDS campaign.

We have also noted in the past that advice given by the NUS to particular university student unions has been incorrect or misunderstood. We caution against relying on such advice. We have set out our understanding of the legal position in this letter.

Conclusion

The proposed BDS resolution is illegal. As trustees, you have the power and responsibility to ensure that the Union complies with charity and other laws.

If you require further assistance on these issues, please contact us and we will endeavour to assist.

Yours sincerely

Jonathan D. C. Turner

Chair, UK Lawyers for Israel

Jac Too

UKLFI has also produced a student guide on 'Legal responses to campus boycotts and other anti-Israel activity,'48 and has worked with individual Jewish Societies and the Union of Jewish Students to issue complaints against Palestine activists.

In the guide, it points to the Prevent duty and glorification offences under the Terrorism Act 2006 as possible mechanisms for suppressing Palestine activism, as well as other means of getting Palestine events cancelled.

Terrorism. It is an offence to publish intentionally or recklessly a statement which is likely to be understood by some of those to whom it is published as a direct or indirect encouragement or inducement to carry out, prepare or instigate terrorist acts. This includes statements which glorify terrorism and from which members of the public to which they are published could reasonably be expected to infer that the conduct being glorified is conduct which they should emulate in existing circumstances. See Case Study 17.

In 2017 it unsuccessfully lobbied for the University of Essex to cancel Israeli Apartheid Week ('IAW') events featuring the Palestinian Return Centre on account of the Prevent duty.⁴⁹

And from the Student Know Your Rights guide produced between UKLFI and StandWithUs UK⁵⁰:

The Friends of Palestine Society at University of Central Lancashire (UCLan) arranged a speaker event featuring Farid Esack to start their "Israeli Apartheid Week." The advertising included the strapline "100 years of settler colonialism." Farid Esack previously hosted a tour of South Africa by Lella Khaled (a member of the political bureau of the PFLP) to raise funds for BDS. Following complaints from a lecturer assisted by UKLFI, UCLan withdrew permission to hold the event on university property.



A motion to endorse and support BDS was passed at a general

meeting of AUSA (Aberdeen University Students Association). The Treasurer of the Jewish Society made a formal complaint with assistance from UKLFI, pointing out that the motion was illegal since it committed AUSA to conduct a political campaign outside its charitable objects. The Board of Trustees overturned the motion following legal advice and confirmed that it would not stand as AUSA policy.

A Student Society/
University Department Is Organising
A Talk With An Extremist/
Antisemitic Speaker

- The basic principle is freedom of speech within the law (see the previous section).
- Incitement to racial or religious hatred (hate speech) is a crime, as is incitement to terrorism, so these are not protected by freedom of speech.
 - A university must have regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism The government's "Prevent" Guidance used to say that a university must carefully consider whether a speaker is likely to express extremist views that risk drawing people into terrorism or are shared by terrorist groups. If so, it said that the event should not be allowed to proceed unless this risk can be fully mitigated and that if the event is allowed to proceed, arrangements should be made to challenge the extremist speaker with opposing views at the event. However, this is not included in the new Guidance, so the position is now unclear.
 - A university must have regard to the need to foster good relations between persons of different nationalities, ethnicities, and religions when exercising its functions. This is part of the university's "public sector equality duty" ("PSED") under the Equality Act. While this does not override freedom of speech within the law, it is a factor in the overall assessment of whether to allow the event to proceed. Jewish students are regarded as an ethnic group, whether they are religious or not.

UKLFI has also attacked IAW events at other universities. In 2017, it joined with a letter led by the Israel-Britain Alliance (below) which was sent out to university Vice Chancellors in advance of IAW which called for universities to, "refuse to allow university property to be used for the display of false and inflammatory propaganda, including the anti-Semitic term "Israel Apartheid Week", and to ensure that IAW events are not held under their auspices."

This led to the cancellation of IAW events on some campuses by universities that year. ⁵¹

It also directly lobbied universities themselves calling for the cancellation of IAW events, as with the aforementioned University of Essex event, arguing that:

"Both the event hosting members of the Palestinian Return Centre and the other planned events for the week, together with their advertising comprising the false, antisemitic and inflammatory charge that Israel is an apartheid state, promote hostility and prejudice against Israeli and Jewish students, leading to their harassment and victimization."



Anthony Dennison - North West Friends of Israel (NWFOI)

Andrew Shaw - Northern Ireland Friends of Israel (NIFI)

Steven Jaffe - Northern Ireland Friends of Israel (NIFI)

Barbara Dingle - Pimlico Friends of Israel (Pimlico FOI)

Jennet Drury – Southend Friends of Israel (Southend FOI)

Fiona Sharpe - Sussex Friends of Israel (SFI)

Caroline Kendal - Director of Operations, UK Lawyers for Israel

(UKLFI)

Josh Seitler – Union of Jewish Students (UJS)

Jane Woodford - Wales Friends of Israel (Wales FOI)

Dear Vice-Chancellos

ISRAEL APARTHEID WEEK

Very soon activists who seek to <u>delegitimise</u> Israel will launch their Israel Apartheid Week (IAW) campaigns.

The main venue for their campaigns will be university campuses across the UK.

From past experience we know that IAW activists will create mock checkpoints and walls and these events will become focal points for the harassment of Jewish students.

Guest speakers at these events in the past have also used anti-Semitic tropes and this sadly includes Malia Bouattia who spoke at an event held last year.

IAW creates a negative environment for Jewish students on campuses across our

Prime



Minister Theresa May has made clear that Britain will adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of anti-Semitism.

That definition gives examples of how anti-Semitism manifests itself in the context of the State of Israel.

Two key aspects are denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, for example, by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor and applying double standards to the Jewish state by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.

The charge that Israel is an apartheid state breaches the definition and is anti-Semitic.

Jo Johnson MP, Minister of Universities stressed recently that universities are to be free of any "harasament, discrimination or racism, including anti-Semitism" irrespective of whether any criminal threshold is met.

Universities have a legal duty under section 149 of the Equality Act 2010 to exercise

their functions with due regard to the need to eliminate discrimination, harassment and victimisation, to advance equality of opportunity, and to foster good relations between students and staff of different nationalities, ethnic groups or religious beliefs, including by tackling prejudice and promoting understanding.

This important obligation is known as the "Public Sector Equality Duty" or PSED.

These requirements apply to Israeli students as a nationality and to Jewish students, who are protected as an ethnic group, irrespective of their religious beliefs, as well as potentially in respect of their religious beliefs.

Therefore, in accordance with the PSED, universities have to consider the impact of IAW on hostility towards Israeli and Jewish students.

In our view, this should lead universities to refuse to allow university property to be used for the display of false and inflammatory propaganda, including the anti-Semitic term "Irrael Apartheid Week", and to ensure that IAW events are not held under their autorices.

Can please what you are to that



university is complying with the Public Sector Equality Duty?

Please respond by email to Michael McCann, Director, Israel-Britain Alliance at Michael@israelbritain.org.uk.

Finally, in the email to this attachment you'll find a video message from Maureen Lipman CBE.

We'd ask you to take a couple of minutes to watch it and digest the contents.

Yours sincerely

Sammy Alfassy - AEPI

Typologies of Complaints

UKLFI has taken on the role of submitting a range of complaints to various regulatory bodies and private entities in the UK in order to disrupt any public displays of solidarity for Palestine. Consistent in its approach, is to problematise any expressions of solidarity with the Palestinian people. This can include the wearing of Palestinian paraphernalia to expressing solidarity for Palestinians on social media posts. The UKLFI's approach seems to revolve around complaining that Jewish people will feel ostracised and threatened by such public displays of solidarity - although it doesn't appear to have any cogent case for why expressing solidarity for Palestine necessitates Jewish people to feel unsafe - especially when considering the widespread support that the Palestinian cause has among Jewish groups in the UK. In essence, conflating British Jews with the policies of the State of Israel is itself antisemitic.

The following case studies provide an insight into the ways that UKLFI seeks to target expressions of Palestinian solidarity in the UK, showing that it takes a full spectrum approach to defending Zionism.

One of the ways in which UKLFI seeks to repress solidarity for Palestine activism is through attacking those who show solidarity for Palestine through bearing symbols such as badges or flags. There are manifold cases in both the public and private sector of UKLFI writing to organisations and attempting to ensure that staff of those organisations do not wear anything that might indicate support for Palestine. The organisation's name is UK Lawyers for Israel, and yet rather than complaining about how Israelis might feel, they conflate Zionism with Judaism, thereby giving the impression that all Jews would feel offended by the wearing of a Palestine badge - a matter that is untrue in fact. Much of its complaints, relate largely to defending Israel through leaning into claims of how criticism of Zionism equates to antisemitism - and as the cases below show these claims are largely spurious at best.

Lobbying companies

Currys PC World

In February 2025 UKLFI sent a letter to Currys complaining that its staff were wearing a Palestine flag on their badge as part of the organisation's policy to use flags as a way to indicate the languages its employees could speak. A Jewish customer claimed to feel "insecure and unwelcome", leading to a complaint. According to the UKLFI, this was egregious because hostages were released in the media in those days and Palestinians had been flying their flag in the videos. Caroline Turner did not clarify how any specific behaviour on the part of the staff member wearing the badge was connected to the hostage releases, except by virtue of the badge of Palestine.⁵²

We Know London

In a similar vein to the above case studies, UKLFI wrote to the travel booking service We Know London over a staff member wearing a Palestine flag badge. According to the UKLFI release on the incident, "By wearing the Palestine Flag pin, during the Israel Hamas war, he appeared to be making a statement he supported Hamas, a proscribed terrorist organisation." Such a spurious claim should never have been given time by the organisation, instead We Know London placed the staff member on leave and will initiate a formal investigation after their return.⁵³

South London School

In February 2025, UKLFI took issue with a school in South London that used smart tables sold by Space Right Europe Ltd. These tables are interactive and provide information on a range of subjects, including a list of countries and capital cities in the world. UKLFI took issue with Palestine being included with Jerusalem labelled as its capital – claiming that such a designation was 'misinformation'⁵⁴ – indicating that UKLFI's Zionist agenda includes trying to undermine any attempt to acknowledge Palestine's political autonomy.

The Thorn and the Carnation

In April 2024, UKLFI wrote to Amazon in order to

report a fictional autobiography being sold by the online retailer of the late leader of Hamas, Yahya Sinwar. The Thorn and the Carnation represents much of Sinwar's experiences as a child, through to detention and ultimately as part of a growing resistance movement in Palestine. As such, the book represents an important insight into the development of Hamas as an organisation and of Sinwar's trajectory. Its claim was that the book "incites hatred" and further should be considered nothing more than a "terrorist indoctrination manual"55 which really does not go to the significance of the document in relation to dispossession of Palestinian land by Israel, and the impact this has had on Palestinians. There are of course, and remain, many virulently antisemitic texts on Amazon including Mein Kampf, that have not been flagged in the same way.

Palestine Action

UKLFI wrote to 20 UK student unions in January 2025 over a joint statement by 65 student groups issued in solidarity with the actionist group Palestine Action ('PA'). UKLFI wrote to the unions claiming that the student groups were supporting actions that were in breach of s.45 of the Serious Crime Act 2007. The letter of course failed to mention that that Palestine Action were seeking, through its actions, to shut down Elbit Systems factories (also those complicit with Elbit) as a means of stopping the ongoing genocide taking place in Gaza. This complaint is another example of the vexatious ways in which UKLFI seeks to ensure that Israel is able to continue its assault on Gaza unhindered.

Complaints to medical regulatory bodies

Dr Ghassan Abu-Sitta

The General Medical Council ('GMC')received at least one anonymous complaint over Dr Ghassan Abu-Sitta's public comments in relation to Palestine. In May 2024, the website Gnsasher Jew urged its own followers to report Dr Abu-Sitta to the GMC for his "controversial online posts." Critically, the action alert appeared to be triggered by Dr Abu-Sitta giving evidence to the London Metropolitan Police's War Crimes

Unit about his experiences working as a physician in Gaza during the early stages of the genocide. After returning from Gaza having performed operations on Palestinian men, women and children maimed by Israel's genocidal war, Dr Abu-Sitta became the target of an online campaign to malign his work, resulting in his entry to France, Germany and the Netherlands being barred when invited to deliver lectures.⁶⁷

During the course of the GMC's tribunal hearing into Dr Abu-Sitta's fitness to practice as a medical professional, it came to light that the complaint was made by UKLFI, after it highlighted a series of his Arabic language social media posts. It had demanded that he be suspended through an Interim Orders Tribunal, that would restrict his work and public engagement until a final order could be determined. Instead, the Tribunal found for Dr Abu-Sitta:

"It could see no evidence that there was any potential risk to patients or to members of the public arising from the concerns about Dr Abu-Sitta's social media posts, and rejected the submission that Dr Abu-Sitta would discriminate against Jewish or Israeli patients because the only evidence before the Tribunal on this point suggested the contrary that Dr Abu-Sitta did not discriminate against any particular group of patients. The Tribunal considered that there was no evidence before it to suggest that patient safety would be compromised and had regard to impressive testimonials — including by a British Israeli colleague who spoke to Dr Abu-Sitta's fair treatment of patients.

The Tribunal further declined to impose any interim conditions to regulate Dr Abu-Sitta's use of social media. It had regard to the long history of humanitarian overseas work by Dr Abu-Sitta and added that it was not in the public interest to be deprived of a competent doctor."58

The complaint against Dr Ghassan Abu-Sitta has presented the hallmarks of a malicious complaint considering the very public role he has played in highlighting the barbarism of the IDF and the aftermath of their attacks in Gaza. His hearing raises serious questions on the role the GMC is playing in even initiating investigations based on complaints originating from specific lobby groups or websites.

Imperial College Healthcare Trust

UKLFI wrote to the Imperial College Healthcare Trust ('ICHT') after the head nurse of a ward wore a lanyard with the words 'Free Palestine.' Its complaint also included instances of another head nurse having a Palestine flag as a lapel; junior doctors wearing lanyards with a watermelon, and another doctor having a phone cover emblazoned with the words 'Free Palestine.' In a letter sent by Caroline Turner, the director of UKLFI, she expressed that the Trust had not taken into account how pro-Palestine symbols might be considered intimidating due to the marches in central London.⁵⁹

Of perhaps more direct concern, is the ICHT's lack of action on Professor Liz Lightstone who posted an image on X of a doctor's uniform, a press jacket and Hamas military fatigues with the words, "Somewhere in Gaza, someone is wondering what to wear to work today," potentially alluding that doctors and journalists being killed by Israel are Hamas fighters, and thus legitimate targets for Israel's assault.⁶⁰

Nazim Ali

In 2017, pharmacist Nazim Ali made remarks

during an Al Quds Day rally, suggesting that, "Zionist supporters of the Tory party," were responsible for the Grenfell Tower fire deaths. The General Pharmaceutical Council's Fitness to Practise Committee ('GPhC FtP') initially found his comments offensive but not antisemitic, issuing only a warning. UKLFI challenged this decision, prompting the Professional Standards Authority to refer the case to the High Court. In 2021, the High Court ruled that the committee had erred in law by not recognising the antisemitic nature of Ali's comments and ordered a reconsideration of the case by the GPhC FtP.

Following the case, the Islamic Human Rights Commission summarised the further attempts to have Nazim Ali struck off:

> "In August 2023 the GPhC FtP reconvened and reheard Ali's case. They decided two of his statements were "objectively" antisemitic, when his words were considered without taking into account what he actually intended to say. They however accepted that his comments were not intended to be anti-Semitic. that he had not embarked upon a "deliberate diatribe of hatred", the comments were "not indicative of an underlying attitudinal failing" and were made in the heat of a highly charged gathering where pro-Israel activists were referring to Muslims as paedophiles and terrorists. It issued Mr Ali with a warning. They issued a warning because Nazim had apologised, had not repeated the words or conduct and this was sufficient in this case to safeguard the public.

In September 2023, the PSA decided to refer the case to the High Court again, demanding a tougher sanction. It is interesting to note, the referral to the High Court was made despite the fact that the PSA had not actually considered the GPhC decision against Ali prior to making the referral through its s29 mechanism. This was finally done in November 2023, after having decided to make the referral to the High Court. A further point of note is the fact that the conflict between Hamas and Palestine was at its height at the time the decision was taken to make the referral."61

In March 2024, Justice Chamberlain dismissed all the grounds of appeal against Nazim Ali, expressing that the FtP was within its rights to decide that a warning was an adequate sanction.⁶²

Complaints to legal regulatory bodies

Fahad Ansari

Fahad Ansari is a senior solicitor and prominent activist and campaigner against Zionism. On 9 April 2024, the Solicitors' Regulation Authority ('SRA') opened an investigation into whether he had brought the profession into disrepute over a series of posts on X between October 2023 and March 2024 that were deemed to be offensive and/or antisemitic. It would be another 7 months before the SRA actually provided Ansari with copies of the tweets complained of. Despite repeated requests, the SRA did not disclose the identity of the complainant being UKLFI for another month or the full complaint until December 2023. UKLFI was not willing to consent to its complaint being disclosed to Ansari unless he agreed he would not post it on social media. After Ansari refused to be bound

by such an arbitrary condition and threatened to cease cooperating with the investigation without full disclosure, the report was disclosed to him.

The report confirmed that UKLFI believed that some posts were antisemitic and/or offensive and others had breached counter-terrorism laws, and that a separate report in relation to the posts had been submitted to the Metropolitan Police. To date, Ansari has never been contacted by the police in relation to suspicion of any criminal offending. The SRA quite rightly was only interested in posts deemed offensive/antisemitic. The posts complained of could be categorised as follows:

- i Questioning of atrocity propaganda surrounding 7 October attack
- ii Comparing the actions of Israel in Gaza with those of the Nazis
- iii Use of the term 'genocide' to describe Israel's actions in Gaza
- iv Using dehumanising allegations about Jews
- v Making false statements about Israel

Amongst the posts reported as being offensive and antisemitic were tweets which question the thoroughly debunked atrocity propaganda around beheaded babies, babies hung on a washing line, mass rape and findings of copies of Mein Kampf in homes in Gaza; UKLFI hysterically stated that this was akin to Holocaust denial. UKLFI also reported posts comparing Israel's use of starvation as a weapon of war to the Nazis own Hunger Plan, the use of the term 'genocide' to describe Israeli actions, the use of the term 'hostages' to describe Israel's hold on Gaza's population, and a quote-tweet ['QT'] of British Jewish comedian Alexei Sayle's Alternative Christmas Message in which he claims that advocates for Israel and Israeli spokespersons habitually lie.

UKLFI also complained about an article Ansari wrote in December 2009 detailing his experiences on visiting Gaza at the tail end of Israel's military incursion into Gaza a year earlier and a thread on the life and martyrdom of Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin. The latter consisted of UKLFI deliberately omitting from its screenshots of the thread posts in which Sheikh

Yassin said that he did not fight Jews occupying his land because of their religion but because of their occupation and he would fight his own brother if he occupied his home.

Ansari has provided a detailed rebuttal of the report and the complaint remains under investigation.

Karim Khan KC

In 2024, UKLFI submitted complaints to the BSB and the International Criminal Court (ICC) against Karim Khan KC, the ICC's Chief Prosecutor. UKLFI alleged that Khan breached professional conduct rules by applying for arrest warrants against Israeli leaders, claiming he made false statements and misled the court. The ICC responded by cautioning UKLFI to be mindful of their ethical responsibilities and avoid misleading conduct.⁶³

District Judge Tan Ikram

In 2024, UKLFI and others filed complaints against Deputy Senior District Judge Tan Ikram for 'liking' an anti-Israel LinkedIn post by barrister Sham Uddin. The post referred to Israeli individuals as 'terrorists' and threatened that, "justice will be coming for you." The Judicial Conduct Investigations Office (JCIO) concluded that, regardless of intent, the action created a perception of bias, undermining public confidence. Consequently, Judge Ikram received a formal warning for misconduct.⁶⁴

Criticism and Controversy

Denying International Crimes of Apartheid and Occupation

UKLFI evidently does not believe that Israel is an occupying power even under the norms of international law, and refers to the West Bank by the settler name of 'Judea and Samaria' - including in written documentation to Parliament.⁶⁵

When giving oral evidence to a parliamentary committee, Jonathan Turner stated that, "I don't accept that it's an illegal occupation" and that

"It's sloppy thinking to say that the settlements are illegal so therefore companies operating in the vicinity of settlements..it's sloppy thinking to say operating the factory, or buying the goods are illegal under international law."66

Legal Director of UKLFI Charitable Trust Natasha Hausdorff has also argued in public that there is no occupation, and against the, "increasingly popular but utterly unfounded and irrational charge that Israel is a colonialist entity"⁶⁷

"There are many many layers of legal analysis that underpin the inappropriateness of the application of the term occupation and it's unfortunately because of the complexity behind it that it's become so difficult to push back against it.

But it's vital that we do because the misuse of these terms – of occupation, of ethnic cleansing, of colonialism, of expulsions – these are all important terms under international law which are completely misapplied to Israel they propagate falsehoods but because they come with the veneer of legal credibility people are afraid to push back."

In 2020 its charitable wing held an online conference on the 1920 San Remo conference, where several speakers argued for the legality of Israel's occupation of the OPT and/or Jewish settlements (see above).

In 2022, UKLFI reported Amnesty International Charitable Trust to the Charity Commission because of its release of a report that concluded that Israel was governed by an apartheid regime. UKLFI chief executive Jonathan Turner commented, "In our view, this is 'dog-whistle'

fund-raising, taking advantage of widespread racist prejudice against Jews to raise money in the knowledge that accusing Jews of crimes goes down very well with many people." UKLFI has also reported other charities to the Charity Commission for links to terrorism including Medical Aid for Palestine, War on Want, and Education Aid for Palestine. None of the complaints have been upheld.

As the director of the UK Lawyers for Israel Charitable Trust, the public positions taken by Natasha Hausdorff are particularly important to scrutinise further. Hausdorff's comments in public and on social media platforms indicate a continual line of denial of illegality by the Israeli state, but also in perpetuating misinformation about violations of international law carried out by the Israeli state and its forces. As recently as 17 May 2025, as Palestinians and their allies commemorated the ethnic cleansing of Palestine - known as the Nakba - Hausdorff and others arranged a counter-protest, not only in denial of the Nakba, but also to perpetuate the claim of antisemitism - even as large Jewish blocs marched with the pro-Palestine march. Indeed, the Jewish bloc of pro-Palestine demonstrators vastly outnumbered the pro-Israel counter-protest present. Speaking at the counter-protest and referencing the pro-Palestine march as a blood libel, Hausdorff remarked:

"This mutating virus that focussed on Jews as a religion and then as a race and now as a state manifests itself as propagating the same ancient falsehoods against the Jewish people and the lie of the Nakba is part and parcel of that mutating virus."

The idea that the director of a UK-based charity could openly not only engage in the denial of the Nakba, but to further advocate that its referencing is antisemitism, is akin to Holocaust denial, and a form of dehumanisation of the

Palestinian people and their suffering. Such remarks that take positions contrary to well established facts and international law appear to be a regular feature of Hausdorff's public output. A cursory look at her X profile includes innumerable examples of how Hausdorff takes positions clearly contrary to international law, including: referring to the well-documented and purposeful starvation of the Gazan people as a 'canard'71; claiming that International Humanitarian Law is being exploited by 'terrorist groups'72, and even referring to the International Criminal Court prosecutor as stating a libel of starvation against Israel.⁷³

Hausdorff's public commitment to defending Israel's actions was witnessed acutely in an exchange at the UK Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee during heated exchanges with Labour MPs Emily Thornberry and Alex Ballinger. Hausdorff used the hearing as an opportunity to accuse western governments of, "encouraging extremism," while denying that Palestinians had a right of statehood – even go as far as claiming that the IDF operates with the highest standards of international humanitarian law. Her responses were consistently challenged for their lack of connection to the reality of the continued aggression against the Palestinian people.⁷⁴

Propagandising During the Genocide

UKLFI went to great lengths to minimise and smear attempts to stop the genocide in Gaza and defend Israel – including by obfuscating the ICJ's January 2024 ruling, minimising the death toll, defending the conduct of the IDF, denying the man-made famine in Gaza, accusing the ICC of lying⁷⁵, and legally challenging the Labour government's temporary suspension of some export licenses to Israel.

In April 2024, UKLFI coordinated a letter to Rishi Sunak's government signed by lawyers which sought to challenge an earlier open letter which called on the government to take measures against Israel following the ICJ provisional ruling on genocide.

The UKLFI letter opposed the government from taking the following actions, including:

- Demanding an immediate and permanent ceasefire
- Resuming funding to UNRWA with immediate effect
- Imposing sanctions on individuals and entities in Israel
- Suspending sales of weapons to Israel
- Suspending the 2030 Roadmap for bilateral relations with Israel.⁷⁶

In response, hundreds of former judges, lawyers and legal academics firmly rebutted UKLFI's letter, stating that its, "analysis is wrong. It amounts to empty wordplay on the most serious of issues"⁷⁷ - emblematic of the vexatious and obfuscatory nature of UKLFI's approach to law.

On 9 June 2024, UKLFI published a post on its X account suggesting that the figures of children killed by Israel's military were fabricated for two reasons: first, because it included figures of children up to the age 18 and teenagers were therefore not children; and second because it alleges that Hamas recruits children and teenagers, suggesting therefore that the children killed were child combatants.⁷⁸ There is no evidence to support the UKLFI's contentions. In particular, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which the UK is signatory, defines a child as any person who has not yet attained the age of 18.

UKLFI has also accused prominent United Nations experts of bias when publishing independent reports on human rights abuses committed by Israel, including UN Special Rapporteur on the right to adequate housing Balakrishnan Rajagopal60 and UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967 Francesca Albanese.⁷⁹

In late July 2024, the UKLFI Charitable Trust published a report disputing reports of famine in Gaza, stating that:

"there has been no Famine in the Gaza Strip since October 2023 and that none is imminent or even projected. Earlier reports had projected an imminent Famine in the northern part of the Gaza Strip, but these were based on incomplete information, and the feared Famine did not occur." 80

In September 2024 UKLFI threatened legal action against the government over its partial arms export licenses suspension to Israel, arguing that they:

"consider that there is a strong case that the Government's decision was unlawful. In truth, it was a political decision to appease members of the public who hate Israel based on misinformation and biased media coverage of the war. As such, it was a misuse of the power granted by the legislation." 81

This led to Lord Carlile resigning as a patron from the organisation.⁸²

Claiming starvation policy has health benefits for Gazans

UKLFI recently made statements denying that Israel is implementing a starvation policy in Gaza. Instead, they argue that the war may have unintended health benefits by addressing what they describe as a pre-existing obesity issue in the region. In a letter to the Co-operative Group opposing a motion to boycott Israeli products, UKLFI's chief executive, Jonathan Turner, criticised a Lancet estimate projecting 186,000 Palestinian deaths due to the conflict. He suggested that the Lancet's projection ignored factors that might increase life expectancy in Gaza, such as a reduction in obesity, which he identified as a significant health issue prior to the war. Turner noted that decreased access to unhealthy food and cigarettes could potentially lead to improved health outcomes. These remarks were met with strong condemnation from advocacy groups, including the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, which labelled them as

"sickening" and accused UKLFI of trivialising the humanitarian crisis in Gaza.⁸³

Additionally, UKLFI published a report challenging international assessments that Gaza is experiencing famine. They argue that reports from organisations like the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) and the Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET) overstate the severity of the food crisis.84 However, these positions are at odds with assessments from international organisations. The United Nations and other humanitarian agencies have warned of a critical risk of famine in Gaza, citing widespread food insecurity and malnutrition. Reports indicate that nearly 2 million Palestinians are experiencing crisis to catastrophic levels of food insecurity, with approximately 470,000 people projected to face catastrophic conditions soon unless conditions improve. The UN has also criticised Israel for deliberately blocking humanitarian aid, exacerbating the crisis.

Hosting Regavim in Britain

In 2019 UKLFI's charitable wing hosted Regavim, a pro-settlement Israeli NGO which advocates for the demolition of Palestinian homes in the West Bank.

"Regavim, 'dedicated to the preservation of Israel's land', petitions courts to demolish homes and infrastructure in Palestinian communities. The NGO uses loopholes to ensure that only Palestinian structures, and not illegal settler outposts, are demolished and dismantled, leaving entire communities without proper roads, houses, or even water systems." 85

It was founded by Israeli Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich and is funded by the Israeli government.⁸⁶ The event invited criticism from liberal Zionist orgs in Britain such as Yachad⁸⁷, and was subject to protests on the day.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ANTISEMITISM (CAA)

Summary

The Campaign Against Antisemitism ('CAA') is among the more recent organisations on the Zionist scene, having been set up in the aftermath of the 2014 war on Gaza and making its name through the 'Labour antisemitism' campaign. Information about its personnel is limited, as its trustees are not disclosed by way of exemption.

It pursues aggressive legal/police action against 'antisemitism', including through the IHRA definition, hate crime prosecutions as well as private prosecutions to set precedents against Palestine activism.

Rather than the backdoor lobby model of more well-established organisations like the Board of Deputies of British Jews ('BoD'), it takes on more of an 'activist' footing coupled with aggressive lawfare. Through its directors and personnel it has links to UKLFI and the Jewish National Fund, while its patrons are intimately connected to major Zionist lobby organisations like Conservative and Labour Friends of Israel, the Henry Jackson society and AIPAC.

Having been established as a response to perceived weakness among established Jewish organisations in 2014, there is some degree of tension between CAA and the likes of BoD, as CAA has been criticised for its alarmist approach. CAA attracts more of the ideologically hardline Zionist crowd without the need for any counterbalance – this can be seen through its patrons, which include the likes of Richard Kemp and Bob Blackman.

While maintaining a bipartisan front during its campaign against Jeremy Corbyn, its mode of organising is less dependent on party patronage and its ideological zealotry has begun to lose it friends among the Labour right, as it continues to pursue Starmer and his leadership.

Its positioning as an 'antiracist' organisation rather than an explicitly Jewish representative organisation means it is has opened itself to critique from traditional anti-racism communities. Recent attempts to get it formally investigated by the Charity Commission have failed.⁸⁸

History

The Campaign Against Antisemitism formed after the 2014 war on Gaza, as a challenger to the more establishment entity, the Board of Deputies of British Jews ('BoD'), which were criticised by some Jews for not being forceful enough in their Zionism during the war.89 It began as a Facebook group set up by Joseph Cohen, Darren Borg, Justin Chorn and Jordan Jay. Rupert Nathan, Mayer Nathan Hopstein and Mandy Blumental joined them in response to the Tricycle Theatre's decision not to host an Israeli government-funded film festival in summer 2014.90 Among its first major events was a rally outside Royal Courts of Justice in August 2014 protesting against intolerance of antisemitism. Speakers included Maajid Nawaz, the then head of the now defunct Quilliam Foundation.91

CAA is marked out among Zionist organisations for its aggressive campaigning approach, as opposed to the simple backdoor lobbying that more established organisations such as the Board of Deputies prioritise. There are indications that other Jewish organisations do not agree with this approach of CAA. For instance, the Jewish Leadership Council's chief executive published a video criticising the CAA for 'scaremongering' over a survey on Jews that they undertook.⁹²

The organisation came into its own through its campaigns against Jeremy Corbyn and his iteration of the Labour Party, when they were key in generating the 'Labour antisemitism' smear campaign and the subsequent EHRC investigation into Labour.⁹³ However the organisation's ideological zealotry has seen it come into conflict even with the current Labour leadership. This includes publicly condemning Keir Starmer for an election-themed video (below)⁹⁴, and pursuing claims of antisemitism against deputy leader Angela Rayner⁹⁵ - leading to fractures among its support base among the Labour right.



Former MP Margaret Hodge, onetime patron of CAA and one of Corbyn's main critics in Labour, said in 2022 that she was, "fed up of CAA using antisemitism as a front to attack Labour." Former Labour MP John Mann, who was made government adviser on antisemitism by Theresa May, opposed Gideon Falter's potential appointment as an adviser to the Commission for Countering Extremism, and claimed that his, "appointment [would] be divisive within the Jewish community" and that "[CAA] have other objectives in this," later blocking Mann on Twitter. "

Organisation

Between 2019 and 2023 the CAA received £439,367 from the David & Ruth Lewis Family Charitable Trust, which also funds Zionist organisations like the Community Security Trust and Solutions Not Sides (alongside other more legitimate organisations.)⁹⁸

It has received hundreds of thousands in pounds in funding from the Jewish National Fund with which it shares a director, the chair Gideon Falter, at times amounting to nearly half of CAA's annual income.⁹⁹

Its accounts also note it had received a donation of £100,000 from 'Jewish National Foundation' in 2021¹⁰⁰ - presumably a typo, instead referring to the Jewish National Fund.

Trustees

CAA's trustees are not made public, they have claimed an exemption under the Freedom of Information Act confidentiality provisions.¹⁰¹ Among its founding directors was Jonathan Sacerdoti¹⁰², while Jonathan Goldberg KC was also an early director.¹⁰³

CAA committee (as of September 2014)¹⁰⁴

Spokesman: Jonathan Sacerdoti

- Special Correspondent for Jewish Chronicle.¹⁰⁵
- Part of the consortium that bought out the Jewish Chronicle in 2020, alongside William Shawcross, John Ware and John Woodcock.¹⁰⁶

Gideon Falter

- Later became Chief Executive of CAA.
- Vice Chair of Jewish National Fund, the organisation actively involved in colonisation of Palestine.¹⁰⁷

Mandy Blumenthal

- Wife of Mark Lewis, former Director of UK Lawyers for Israel.
- The couple are noted Zionist activists,

famously declaring that they were leaving the UK for Israel in 2018 because antisemitism made life too difficult in the UK.¹⁰⁸

 Were both involved in recent smear against comedian Reginald Hunter as antisemitism after verbally abusing crowd at his show. 109 110

Rupert Nathan

 Appears to co-head the National Jewish Assembly's commission on Israel, which 'focuses on advocating for the security and prosperity of Israel by challenging biased and distorted treatment and reporting in the UK'¹¹¹

Darren Borg Justin Chorn Joseph Cohen Mayer Nathan 'Nussi' Hopstein Jordan Jay

CAA committee (as of August 2015).112

Gideon Falter – Chairman
Jonathan Sacerdoti – Director of
Communications (left 2016)
Angela Levin – Head of Mobilisation
Nathan Hopstein – Head of Monitoring &
Research (later, Director of Organisation and
Finance, and went anonymous¹¹³)
Tony Morris

Later joined by

Stephen Silverman – Director of Investigations and Enforcement¹¹⁴

Honorary Patrons

While no longer listed on their website, CAA has had a number of high-profile patrons to their organisation, including a number of MPs and senior figures in government.

These include leading figures in Conservative Friends of Israel and the APPG on Israel, which are key conduits for Israel lobby activity in the previous government, and a potential way that CAA could influence government activity – though it isn't clear how actively these patrons

collaborated with CAA for that reason.

Many of these patrons have a history indulging in Islamophobia or backing Hindutva groups – such as Richard Kemp, Bob Blackman, Lord Carey and Baroness Deech.

The willing association of CAA with these figures, regardless of their current status vis-a-vis the organisation is significant as it shows the toxicity in the public sphere that CAA is willing to engage – particularly in demonising other minority communities.

While drawing patrons from both Conservatives and Labour, some of those Labour backers have come into conflict with CAA as it proved too zealous and continued its campaign against Labour post-Corbyn.

Honorary Patrons (as of January 2018)

Tariq Ahmad, Baron Ahmad of Wimbledon (Conservative)

Former Conservative Minister for the Middle East, North Africa, South Asia (since 2022-24). Former Minister for Countering Extremism (2015-16).

Bob Blackman MP (Conservative)

Bob Blackman is a former officer of Conservative Friends of Israel, and states that he 'will continue to urge the UK Government to oppose anti-Israeli bias at the UN and has lobbied for it come out more strongly against anti-Israeli resolutions at the UN Human Rights Council.'115 In September 2024 he went on a delegation to Israel with ELNET, an Israeli lobby group headed by former Labour Friends of Israel chair Joan Ryan – in the midst of the genocide in Gaza.¹¹⁶ He occupied the role of chair of the APPG on Israel, which has received money from Israeli Foreign Affairs Ministry, while also being a one-time member of Henry Jackson Society Political Council¹¹⁸.



Blackman in Israel on ELNET trip

An avid supporter of the BJP party, Blackman is seen as being particularly close to Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's politics in the UK. He has been close with Hindutva organisations in Britain too, and has received over £20,000 from Hindutva groups as well as the Indian Embassy in Britain, largely to fund visits to India hosted by far-right RSS/RSS-adjacent organisations. 119 More specifically, he is a supporter of Overseas Friends of BJP UK, a pressure group whose work is coordinated by the BJPs' external affairs department.¹²⁰ Blackman spoke at a rally hosted by it to support BJP in the 2024 elections¹²¹, while stating that the BJP were a "natural ally" for the Conservatives while advocating to cement UK-India links.



Bob Blackman speaking at pro-BJP rally organised by Overseas Friends of BJP

Blackman has spoken alongside Hindutva figures, even hosting some in Parliament, such as former RSS member Tapan Ghosh who spoke about 'love jihad' and went on to meet with Tommy Robinson during his visit.¹²² He further attended an event hosted by Hindu nationalist groups in the House of Commons to celebrate the construction of the Ram Temple over the demolished Babri Masjid,¹²³ going as far as celebrating India's revocation of Article 370 from Kashmir.¹²⁴

In a 2024 Parliamentary debate on Kashmir he described himself in Parliament as "an unabashed friend of India to defend India's position in the [Kashmir] conflict and the people who were ethnically cleansed from Kashmir." Blackman often speaks about combating "Hindu-hatred" and about forced conversions [to Islam] among Hindus and Sikhs – diasporic Hindutva talking points. He also described the Leicester riots as 'Islamist extremists' attacking Hindus in acts of 'Hinduphobia' in a letter to Suella Braverman.¹²⁵

To add to his list of questionable behaviours as an MP, he even once re-shared a post by Tommy Robinson.¹²⁶

George Carey, Lord Carey of Clifton George Carey is the former Archbishop of Canterbury, and regular contributor for The Times. In his post-Archbishop career he has been known for being increasingly critical of Islam and Muslims. He is also noted by B'nai B'rith as "an opponent of the anti-Israel movement within the Church of England."¹²⁷

He gained notoriety¹²⁸ for a 2004 speech, shortly after retiring from this role, that was critical of Islam and repeated the early War on Terror tropes of moderate Muslims needing to reform and condemn terrorists:

"A fourth challenge facing moderate Muslims is to resist strongly the taking over of Islam by radical activists and to express strongly, on behalf of the many millions of their coreligionists, their abhorrence of violence done in the name of Allah.

We look to them to condemn suicide bombers and terrorists who use Islam as a weapon to destabilise and destroy innocent lives. Sadly, apart from a few courageous examples, very few Muslim leaders condemn, clearly and unconditionally, the evil of suicide bombers who kill innocent people.

We need to hear outright condemnation of theologies that state that suicide bombers are 'martyrs' and enter a martyrs reward. We need to hear Muslims expressing their outrage and condemning such evil."

And that

"[D]uring the past five hundred years critical scholarship [In Islam[has declined leading to strong resistance to modernity"

While this taken the tone of paternalistic bigotry, he has shifted progressively to the right in his attacks on Muslims – and his defence of Israel. For example, his 2010 piece on the need for immigration cuts: 'Migration threatens the DNA of our nation':

"the idea that Britain can continue to welcome with open arms immigrants who immediately establish their own tribunals to apply Sharia, rather than make use of British civil law, is deeply socially divisive. The last thing any of us want is ghettos. And while we don't expect groups to assimilate, there must be a willingness on their part to integrate with the rest of British society." 129

After the Charlie Hebdo attacks he published a piece claiming that:

"A de facto blasphemy law is operating in Britain today. The fact is that publishers and newspapers live in fear of criticising Islam" 130

and that the British press should be more combative in confronting Muslim extremism. While agreeing with some mainstream criticism of Israel in his 2004 speech, he became an aggressive opponent of Palestine solidarity. In 2006 said he was "ashamed to be an Anglican" following the passage of an Israel divestment motion being passed by their body, which he had campaigned against¹³¹, and argued that

"Israelis are already traumatised and feel that the world is against them. This proposal, if it is agreed, would be another knife in the back. Christians who owe so much to the Hebrew Scriptures and to Israel itself should not be among those who attack Israel in such a way." 132

In 2016 he joined the likes of the Zionist Federation and the Board of Deputies in criticising a church for hosting an apartheid checkpoint replica, stating that "It is therefore particularly sad to see a church in London demonising and singling out Israel's defensive actions against terrorism." 133 He further condemned the BBC for not describing Hamas as terrorists in the post 7 October 2023 coverage¹³⁴

Ruth Deech, Baroness

Ruth Deech served as a director of the Jewish National Fund from 2010-13¹³⁵ and occupied a position as the patron of UK Lawyers for Israel. She has regularly attacked Palestine activism on campus and smears it as antisemitic, while mixing in Islamophobia with her rhetoric. Parroting the UKLFI playbook, she claimed that Israeli Apartheid Week was:

"in breach of the public sector equality duty placed on universities", that "The resources of student unions should not be used for political campaigns against Israel, and Israel alone, that do not promote their legal remit of education and welfare" and that universities are "discriminating against Israeli speakers" including by "wrongfully promoting Palestinian society events or campaigns, contrary to its charitable status, and neglecting Israeli society's equal right to student union resources." 136

Deech further informed on universities hosting Islamophobia Awareness Week and EuroPal Forum in her parliamentary questions.¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ She claimed that universities were not supposedly challenging antisemitism because they were afraid of offending Arabs:

"Many universities are in receipt of or are chasing very large donations from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states and so on, and maybe they are frightened of offending them," she said. "I don't know why they

aren't doing anything about it, it really is a bad situation."" ¹³⁹

While later stating that with Gulf funding into British universities "We have not got peace in exchange, simply a breeding ground for extremism in our student bodies." ¹⁴⁰

"My Lords, where is the Muslim peace movement campaigning for an end to violence in Muslim countries? Where is their Gandhi? Where is their Mandela? We are talking today about the failure of the nation state in Islam, and the failure in the region to overcome the demonisation of others."

Mike Freer MP (Conservative)

Freer stood down at the 2024 election, and his post-parliament plans reportedly include, "plans to feed into Government ideas for tackling hate including the need for the Metropolitan Police to make more arrests in real time at pro-Palestine demos." A former Officer of Conservative Friends of Israel¹⁴², he has been regularly noted in headlines for his staunchly pro-Israel stances. He further once resigned from his junior Cabinet post to vote against, rather than abstain from, the 2014 symbolic vote on recognising a Palestinian state.¹⁴³

Freer is a former Treasurer of the APPG on Israel, which has received money from Israeli Foreign Affairs Ministry and also a one-time member of Henry Jackson Society Political Council¹⁴⁵

Jonathan Goldberg KC

Goldberg was one of the early directors of CAA, and now occupies a role as a patron.¹⁴⁶ He is a member of AIPAC, which seems to have informed his stance on the need for more

aggressive Zionist advocacy among British Jews.¹⁴⁷ As director at UK Lawyers for Israel, he stated:

"We are amateur, children in comparison. We are pathetic, fractured, divisive, competitive, ill-organised. "The Americans say 'the squeaky wheel gets the oil'; the English Jewish way traditionally has been 'don't make waves. I make waves. I'm a mayerick."

He was made President of the Tribunal of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland in 2016.¹⁴⁸

Fabian Hamilton MP (Labour)

Hamilton famously condemned Ed Miliband (former Labour leader) for his criticism of Israel in 2014's Protective Edge assault on Gaza and for whipping MPs to vote on Palestinian statehood recognition, saying that he was "betraying Israel and the [Jewish] community." Listed as a supporter of Labour Friends of Israel, he has been on trips to Israel with them.

He is also a signatory to both the Henry Jackson Society's statement of principles¹⁵¹ and the Euston Manifesto, the 'left'-liberal criticism of the anti-war left, which legitimised the notion of humanitarian intervention, and condemned 'anti-Americanism' and anti-Zionism.¹⁵² Peppered throughout with Zionists, the Manifesto project became an incubator for the likes of Harry's Place and increasingly neoconservative turn of liberals under the War on Terror. Hamilton signed the manifesto stating that, "The points made about the growing respectability of anti-Zionism are especially important." ¹⁵³

Richard Kemp CBE

Kemp is a former Colonel with experience in Northern Ireland and Afghanistan who also served as head of international terrorism team at the Cabinet Office under former Prime Minister Tony Blair.¹⁵⁴ He has been described by the Jewish Chronicle as someone, "who uses every public platform he can to speak well of the Israel Defence Forces, which he describes as one of the most moral armies in the world" and by Ynet as, "one of Israel's most cogent and effective spokespersons." ¹⁵⁶

Kemp was given an honorary doctorate by the Israeli university Bar-Ilan for his, "stalwart battle against terrorism and terrorist organizations", and which noted that by "courageously defending Israel's security policies and the morality of the IDF before the UN Human Rights Council, he has helped strengthen the standing of Israel throughout the world."

His track record has resulted in the accusations of Kemp being an Islamophobe, especially due to his habit for sharing content from InfoWars and Breitbart, which had fellow Zionists refusing to share a platform with him.¹⁵⁷ Jewish News was forced to pay damages to Baroness Sayeeda Warsi after Kemp wrote an article that suggested she had, "sought to excuse" ISIS.¹⁵⁸

He is the director for the charity UK Friends of the Association for the Wellbeing of Israel's Soldiers (UK-AWIS), part of a set of organisations founded by David Ben Gurion, which fundraises for IDF soldiers and, "for many projects within the IDF", and puts on an annual 'enlistment festival' for recruitment to the IDF¹⁵⁹ while working directly with the Israeli Ministry of Defence. Fellow trustee Josh Swidler is a director for Henry Jackson Society Inc, HJS' US fundraising arm.¹⁶⁰ UK-AWIS was investigated by the Charity Commission in 2024, "for fund-raising videos that appear to show grainy footage of Palestinians being killed"¹⁶¹, after which point its website and social media went offline.



AWIS homepage circa December 2023 prior to going offline¹⁶²

Kemp regularly publishes opinion pieces in The Telegraph, and has used that as an almost weekly propaganda organ for Israel since the war began. Nearly a year into the war, he praised the IDF for having, "achieved great success in minimising civilian casualties and maximising aid deliveries."163 He used his platform to demand that Britain prepare to attack Iran in April 2024,164 further arguing in December 2023 that America should airstrike Yemen (before it began doing so).165 Kemp visited Israel multiple times since the war began, promoting and praising IDF operations. He visited in July 2024 as part of a delegation to, "to undertake an expert assessment of the war" where he met with the President of Israel¹⁶⁶ and "drove with the IDF along the Philadelphi Corridor."167



Kemp with Isaac Herzog in July 2024 168



Kemp in Israel with IDF in September 2024 169



Kemp in Israel with IDF, September 2024 170



Kemp posing with IDF soldiers 171

He has also spoken at a number of HJS events:





Parry Andrew Mitchell, Lord Mitchell of Hampstead (Labour)

Andrew Mitchell is the Vice President of Weizmann Institute Foundation/Weizmann UK – which fundraises for and fosters academic collaboration with the Weizmann Institute in Israel.¹⁷² He appears to have presided over a shift in its activities towards more actively combatting academic boycott:

"Even though the calls for a boycott continue, the intensity is not as great. But for me it was not enough. I wanted to do something more to demonstrate that academic boycotts are not only wrong in principle but wrong in purpose. We raised initial funding to enable Weizmann scientists and UK scientists to collaborate on frontline projects designed to advance scientific learning." 173

Matthew Offord, former MP (Conservative)
During the genocide in Gaza, Matthew Offord
has issued statements opposing a ceasefire¹⁷⁴,
opposing an arms embargo¹⁷⁵, defending the
right of British-Israeli nationals to serve in the
IDF¹⁷⁶, and criticised the BBC's coverage for not
being anti-Hamas enough.¹⁷⁷ He visited Israel in
2010 on a delegation of the Jewish National
Fund, where he had a 'private meeting' with the
Israeli Foreign Minister.¹⁷⁸ He also took then-PM
David Cameron on a visit to Israel in 2014 at
Offord's behest, where Cameron addressed the
Knesset.¹⁷⁹ Later he would have a 'personal
meeting' with Netanyahu during his 2018 visit to
London, where they discussed among other

things 'security co-operation between Israel and the United Kingdom.' 180



Offord meeting with Netanyahu in London, 2018 181

Offord met again with Netanyahu during his 2022 visit to London, where they discussed their opposition to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) with Iran. 182



He visited Israel in November 2023 as part of a delegation funded by Israel lobby group ELNET, where he had briefings with the IDF ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴



Offord on Israel lobby group-funded trip to Israel, November 2023

Offord is a former officer of Conservative Friends of Israel and the former Vice-Chair of the APPG on Israel, which has received money from Israeli Foreign Affairs Ministry. ¹⁸⁶

Eric Pickles, Lord Pickles (Conservative)
Eric Pickles is the former Conservative party
chair, former government minister, and
appointed Special Envoy on post-Holocaust
issues by David Cameron. He is currently
chairing the IHRA organisation on behalf of the
UK's presidency of the body this year¹⁸⁷ and was
central in supporting the UK government's
adoption of the IHRA definition of antisemitism¹⁸⁸

Pickles is the House of Lords Parliamentary Chair of Conservative Friends of Israel, and led its 2017 delegation to Israel¹⁸⁹ when he was described by CFI as "Israel's greatest chum".¹⁹⁰ He is further a member of the CST's advisory board.¹⁹¹ He is a former Vice President of the APPG on Israel, which has received money from the Israeli Foreign Affairs Ministry.¹⁹²

Pickles delivered the keynote speech at the 2019 annual Balfour Dinner hosted by the Israel, Britain and the Commonwealth Association during a visit to Israel in 2019, where he had a private meeting with Israeli President Reuven Rivlin.¹⁹³



Eric Pickles with Israeli President in 2019 visit





Blackman planting trees with JNF in 2017 with Mark Regev 195

Honorary Patrons (as of September 2018)

Ian Austin MP

Austin is a former Labour MP who quit the Party before the 2019 General Election in protest at Jeremy Corbyn. Austin set up the anti-Corbyn campaign 'Mainstream' for the 2019 election, which aimed to "banish extremism from British politics once and for all" and had links to Conservative Party operatives.¹⁹⁶

Shortly thereafter, he was made Trade Envoy for Israel by Conservative Prime Minister Theresa May and was then made a member of the House of Lords by Boris Johnson.

Austin has close links to HJS, including hosting its events in Parliament.¹⁹⁷ He was also a member of Labour Friends of Israel and is on the Steering Committee of West Midlands Friends of Israel¹⁹⁸, and is a former officer of the APPG on Israel, which has received money from the Israeli Foreign Affairs Ministry.¹⁹⁹

He has spoken at AIPAC conferences calling on people to, "fight anti-Zionism"²⁰⁰, and was forced

to apologise after claiming that Friends of Al-Agsa were Holocaust deniers.²⁰¹

Margaret Hodge MP

Hodge is a right-wing Labour MP and one of the foremost critics of Jeremy Corbyn within the Parliamentary Labour Party. She later had a falling out with CAA after Corbyn, stating that they were, "More concerned with undermining Labour than rooting out antisemitism." ²⁰²



Dr Mark Lewis

A former Director of UK Lawyers for Israel²⁰³, he is also the husband of CAA co-founder Mandy Blumenthal. The couple are noted Zionist activists, famously declaring that they were leaving the UK for Israel in 2018 because antisemitism had become too bad in the UK.²⁰⁴ They were also both involved in recent smear against comedian Reginald Hunter for antisemitism after verbally abusing the crowd at his show.^{205 206}

ActivityKey Activities

CAA's focus is on enforcing and expanding the scope of criminal prosecutions for antisemitism, acting as a pressure group to push regulators and institutions such the CPS and EHRC for prosecutions or investigations, and initiating private prosecutions in certain instances.

While applying pressure externally, it also has an inside track to political lobbying, through its close association with key figures in and around government such as Eric Pickles and Ian Austin who have served as CAA's patrons. Pickles, for example, played an important role in the government's adoption of the IHRA working definition of antisemitism while serving as the government's Special Envoy on post-Holocaust Issues. ²⁰⁷

CAA has been instrumental in persuading the UK government and related institutions to adopt the IHRA definition of antisemitism, as well as having Hezbollah proscribed in its entirety in 2019. It has called for the proscription of Iran's Revolutionary Guard (IRGC), a stance that has the backing of both Labour and Conservative ministers.²⁰⁸

It has further come out against the national demonstrations against Israeli atrocities in Palestine. It dispatched its 'demonstration and event monitoring unit' to gather evidence on marches and sought to have them banned:

"After four weeks [of national marches], we were asking the police to put in place stronger conditions. And when the police failed to put in place stronger conditions under section 12 of the Public Order Act, we did, with the backing of a number of prominent lawyers, say that we felt that the legal threshold had been met for banning these marches, as indeed has happened in numerous other civilised countries, like France" - Gideon Falter²⁰⁹

Following its familiar pattern, it came into conflict with the leadership of the Metropolitan police; as its Chief Executive Gideon Falter led calls at a CAA demonstration for Mark Rowley's resignation (see below).²¹⁰

CAA is not a lobbying organisation in the traditional sense, but blend 'grassroots' mobilisation with lawfare. It does have some leeway with 'inside track' politics through its patrons, and has also managed to secure some lobbying victories.

Lobbying success it has claimed or contributed to:

- Hezbollah proscription.²¹¹
- Hamas proscription "For several months, CAA had been meeting with the Home Secretary and other ministers and

- compiled a dossier for all MPs making the case for proscription."²¹²
- EHRC investigation into Labour Party.²¹³ ²¹⁴
- Securing government's adoption of IHRA, through, "many meetings with officials at Downing Street."²¹⁵
- Getting Charity Commission to open investigation into NUS, and pushing for eventual removal of Shaima Dallali – a case Dallali legally challenged and eventually won.²¹⁶

CAA Chair Gideon Falter was being considered for a role as advisor to the Commission for Countering Extremism under Robin Simcox, but this fizzled out after opposition from the government's advisor on antisemitism Lord Mann, who claimed that his, "appointment [would] be divisive within the Jewish community."²¹⁷ Mann, who used to be a rightwing Labour MP, has claimed that, "[CAA] have other objectives in this" and had blocked him on Twitter.²¹⁸

"Following meetings with the Home Secretary, James Cleverly, and the Minister for Crime and Policing, Chris Philp MP, changes to sections of the Public Order Act 1986 are being considered based on detailed proposals made by CAA." ²¹⁹



Meeting with Gideon Falter (CAA) and James Cleverly (then Home Secretary)

Parliamentary Submissions

Home Office Foreign Affairs Committee inquiry on MEPP

CAA pushed for full proscription of Hezbollah and called for the government to end engagement with the Palestine Solidarity Campaign. CAA further argued that British foreign aid to Middle East should be made conditional on, "passing and enforcing legislation and policies that outlaws antisemitic propaganda in the media and in education."

"Antisemitic propaganda from the Middle East is responsible in great part for radicalising immigrant Middle Eastern communities in Britain (and elsewhere) to hate Jews"

Home Affairs Committee hearing on Policing of [Palestine] protests (2023)

CAA pushed for a ban on further Palestine marches, using the example of France:

"Yes, I think we have reached the point where, if the police are unable to enforce the law and uphold the law of the land, then a ban is probably the only measure that would enable the law to be upheld on our streets."

It associated a chant about Al Aqsa with Hamas, implying that it was grounds for prosecution:

"we have seen people chanting, again in Arabic, a chant that is sometimes heard at Hamas demonstrations: "With our blood, our soul, we will sacrifice ourselves for you, Al-Aqsa.

CAA made clear the existence

of a specific group that attend Palestine protests through a, "demonstration event monitoring unit, who go into these marches to gather that kind of evidence."

Typologies of Complaints

Much in the same vein as UK Lawyers for Israel, the Campaign Against Antisemitism has regularly taken up complaining to public and private bodies with claims of antisemitism – complaints which quite frequently amount to a criticism of Israel. The conflation of antisemitism with criticism of Zionism has not only produced a chilling effect on freedom of speech, but in many cases has had devastating consequences on the lives of those who have been impacted by such spurious complaints.

Dr Ray Campbell

In August 2024, Dr Ray Campbell, an associate lecturer in theatre at Goldsmiths University had an official investigation launched into him after a formal complaint had been issued by CAA. As a result of the complaint, Dr Campbell was suspended for five months, as it was alleged that he posted content online that drew comparisons between Israel and Nazis. At the end of the investigation process, Dr Campbell was cleared of any wrongdoing, as had already taken place immediately when a complaint was lodged at his other teaching university, Royal Holloway. Goldsmiths University subsequently apologised to Dr Campbell and paid him damages for his distress. Speaking to Middle East Eye, he said of his experience:

"I am very concerned for academic freedom in the wake of October 7. The pro-Israeli voices are becoming increasingly shrill, which is a sign of their desperation...

Some will be intimidated into going on antisemitism awareness training courses run by CAA. I would advise them to resist." ²²⁰

Lobbying companies

Saint Levant

Tagging the O2 Forum in Kentish Town, the CAA complained over a planned concert by the Palestinian singer and rapper Saint Levant (Marwan Abdelhamid). They claimed that Saint Levant praised young men in Amsterdam for hunting down Israelis after a football game while the attackers yelled 'Free Palestine' What the CAA failed to disclose in this distorted narrative of what took place that day, was how Israeli fans of Maccabi Tel Aviv who were in the city to watch the game, instigated all the violence that ensued, beginning with tearing down a Palestine flag from a building, burning it, and shouting "fuck you, Palestine" as they went on to vandalise a taxi. The Macabbi fans further incited the local Muslim and Arab population by chanting in Hebrew, "olé, olé, let the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] win, we will fuck the Arabs."222 The following day those same fans went on to commit further acts of violence against the local Amsterdam population. Saint Levant's comment's commending the local community for defending themselves against Zionist thugs on the streets of the city are much more understandable in light of the actual sequence of events.

Palestine Action

A regular point of complaint by the CAA targets the actionist group Palestine Action for its continued demonstrations that target the weapons manufacturer Elbit Systems, and companies adjacent to Elbit's supply chain to Israel. On 15 November 2024, the CAA posted a complaint on X²²³ to the BBC over its interviews with Clare Rogers and Sukaina Rajwani, the mothers of Zoe Rogers and Fatima Zainab both of whom were detained following an action against Elbit Systems.224 The CAA's complaint relates to how the Jewish community is terrorised and businesses are wrecked by the actions of Palestine Action, except it does not describe what the locus to the Jewish community is. Palestine Action has a very clear mandate to target Elbit Systems in order to halt the movement of military grade armaments to Israel to stop a genocide - an act that cannot be

seen in any way as targeting Jews.

Big Brother

In October 2024, the CAA submitted a complaint to Ofcom after a contestant on the ITV show Big Brother was viewed wearing a watermelon motif t-shirt on an episode. The CAA claimed that the symbol "caused significant distress among the British Jewish community, who regard it as a genocidal message."²²⁵ In the 'watch later' version of the same episode on ITVX, the watermelon symbol had been airbrushed out due to the complaint. The incident is yet another example of the way the CAA consistently conflates antisemitism with anti-Zionism.

Kneecap

The CAA lodged formal complaints against the Irish hip-hop group Kneecap, urging festivals such as Glastonbury to remove them from their line-ups. The CAA's allegations stem from Kneecap's performances, notably at London's O2 Forum Kentish Town in November 2024, where a band member, draped in a Hezbollah flag, reportedly shouted, "Up Hamas, up Hizballah". Additionally, during their 2025 Coachella performance, the band displayed messages including "Fuck Israel, Free Palestine" and accused Israel of committing genocide in Gaza. The CAA complaints led to the cancellation of Kneecap's performances at venues like the Eden Sessions and Plymouth Pavilions, and prompting investigations by UK counterterrorism police.226

However, the basis of the CAA's complaint appears tenuous when scrutinised. They argued that their expressions are political statements highlighting the plight of Palestinians, rather than incitements to violence or hatred against Jews. The band's criticisms target state policies and actions, particularly those of the Israeli government, rather than Jewish individuals or communities. This distinction is crucial, as equating anti-Zionist sentiments with antisemitism conflates political critique with racial or religious hatred, thereby undermining legitimate discourse on international human rights issues.

The reaction to Kneecap's performances has sparked a broader debate on artistic freedom and political expression. Over 100 artists, including notable figures like Massive Attack and Brian Eno, signed an open letter defending Kneecap's right to free expression and condemning what they perceived as a coordinated attempt to silence dissenting voices. These supporters argued that the backlash against Kneecap is less about genuine concerns over antisemitism and more about suppressing criticism of Israeli policies. They cautioned against the misuse of antisemitism allegations to stifle political debate, emphasising the importance of distinguishing between hate speech and legitimate political critique.²²⁷

Complaints to educational bodies

University College London Student Centre

The CAA uploaded a video in January 2025 of students shouting "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," demanding from University College London to respond to its complaint about the chant. The complaint largely focused on the chant being 'genocidal'²²⁸, a claim that has been consistently debunked as being untrue, and one that is regularly used by Jewish students across the world. As with the UKLFI, the CAA regularly conflates antisemitism against Jewish people, with a critique of the settler colonial Israeli state.

School Collective Fast Rebranded as 'Hunger Strike'

In December 2024, the CAA lobbied Tower Hamlets Council and the Department of Education over George Green's School initiating a 'collective fast' between the hours of 8:30am to 4pm as a way of raising funds for UNICEF's Gaza Appeal for Children in Crisis. The school's goal was to raise £2500 for charity. Initially reporting the story, the Jewish Chronicle claimed that Jewish students were being made to feel ashamed and hide their identity in school because of this action, and also due to the presence of a Palestinian flag outside the school.²²⁹ The CAA's X post tagging the authorities rebranded the 'collective fast' as a 'hunger strike' – a seemingly thoughtless if not

malicious use of the phrase considering the number of Palestinian hostages that have been on hunger strike for decades inside Israeli detention facilities.²³⁰ It further called the action 'appalling', but again only by virtue of conflating Jewishness with Zionism.

School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)

Posting a picture from the Liberated Zone in support of Palestine at the SOAS campus, the CAA claimed that a slogan on a banner that read, "Stop genocide baby killer Israel," recapitulated the age-old blood libel claim against Jews.²³¹ It tagged the SOAS X account into the post demanding an end to hate speech on campus. As many of the comments below the post prove, the sheer volume of children and infants below the age of one that have been killed during Israel's genocidal onslaught on Gaza make the slogan a matter of contemporary fact, rather than trying to invoke old antisemitic tropes.

Complaints to medical regulatory bodies

Dr Ahmed Sewehli

The CAA lodged a complaint with the General Medical Council ('GMC') against Dr Ahmed Sewehli, a British-Libyan psychiatrist, citing his social media posts that allegedly compared Israel to Nazi Germany. One highlighted tweet from February 26 stated, "Hitler also had a democratically elected government. So please don't go there. Democracy does not stop fascism, apartheid and ethnic cleansing. All occurring in Israel." The CAA argued that such comparisons align with the IHRA definition of antisemitism, which includes "drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis" as an example of antisemitism. There is no record of any action having been taken against Dr Sewehli.

Dr Asif Munaf

After appearing on the BBC show 'The Apprentice' hosted by Alan Sugar, there was public outrage caused over Dr Munaf's presence on the show, leading to his being dropped from the spin off show 'Apprentice: You're Fired' after

Sugar removed Dr Munaf from the show. With his social media posts being submitted as part of complaints to the GMC, Dr Munaf was barred from practising as a medical professional in the UK. Dr Munaf's response was to highlight how the GMC was being politically influenced by Zionist lobby groups – with the Campaign Against Antisemitism explicitly stating that it reported him to the regulatory body – claiming it was responsible for his dismissal.²³² Dr Munaf posted to the GMC on the social media platform X:

"What tremendous shame it is to see the regulatory body of an honourable profession be (ab)used as a pawn by the Zionist lobby in this a proxy titfor-tat over their genocide. What a waste of time. What a waste of doctors registration fees. Absolute shame on you @gmcuk" 233

After being having an interim suspension order placed on him by the GMC, it was not until a virtual hearing on 21 August 2024 that Dr Munaf had his suspension lifted after finding in his favour.²³⁴ He was permitted to continue practising, although lost six months of his life to the process.

Dr Wahid Shaida

A medical doctor for thirty-three years, Dr Abdul Wahid Shaida has had an exemplary record supporting patients as a GP in the NHS. He also has a great deal of experience in training other medical professionals. Until the politically-motivated proscription of the organisation, he was also the chair of the Muslim political organisation Hizb-ut-Tahrir Britain (HTB) – an organisation that had been in perfectly legal activities in the UK.

During the first few months of Israel's prolonged genocide in Gaza, the controversial TV host Piers Morgan hosted a series of discussions on Israel's actions in Gaza, leading to an interview with Dr Shaida in December 2023. During the interview, Dr Shaida expressed his lawful political opinions on the ongoing aggression by

Israel, which led to outrage within the media and public due to his status as a doctor. Shortly thereafter, he was suspended on 19 January 2024, the same day his organisation HTB was banned as a proscribed terrorist organisation by the UK government.²³⁵

The suspension led to a six month period where Dr Shaida was not able to assist his patients and led to a great deal of uncertainty and distress for him and his family. On 18 July 2024, a NHS panel determined that there was insufficient evidence to warrant a full revocation of his medical licence and that a suspension would not be appropriate.²³⁶ In a statement, his lawyer Jahad Rahman said of the case:

"I am very pleased for my client. Dr Shaida is a well-respected doctor who is committed to his profession and the patients he serves. Unfortunately, his entire working life was called into question for simply manifesting his political, religious and philosophical beliefs, and because he criticised discriminatory policies of the Israeli state. This is an important case and the outcome sends a clear message to those who seek to weaponise regulatory processes such as this, that their bullying tactics will not go unchallenged, and that the truth will always prevail. We sincerely hope others will take from this outcome not to be intimidated by those who seek to silence them from legitimate expression about important issues." 237

The CAA expressed its public outrage over the rightful decision in the case of Dr Shaida, stating that it would write to NHS England and the GMC to express their shock.²³⁸

Complaints to legal regulatory bodies

Fahad Ansari

In May 2025, following news that Fahad Ansari had filed an application under section 4 of the Terrorism Act to deproscribe Hamas in accordance with his client's instructions, the CAA announced that its lawyers had reported Ansari to the SRA over some other social media posts that related to the Palestinian right of resistance and that questioned Israeli atrocity propaganda. Ansari has not yet heard from the SRA. The CAA's Israel-based lawyer also posted on LinkedIn that part of the complaint related to Ansari acting dishonestly in bringing the deproscription application because according to the CAA, the merits were poor.

These complaints are designed to distract Ansari from continuing his work, defame him in the public eye, and deter other lawyers from taking legal actions involving Israel or otherwise take action against genocide.

Daniel Grütters and Franck Magennis

On 14 May 2025, the CAA posted on X that, like Fahad Ansari to the SRA, it had reported the barristers Daniel Grütters and Franck Magennis to the BSB for representing a case before the UK Home Secretary to represent the proscribed organisation Hamas. The central claim includes:

"Upon reviewing the application for deproscription, it is evident that Mr Magennis and Mr Grütters knowingly or recklessly presented, on behalf of Hamas, a false and misleading description of the 7th October 2023 massacre." ²³⁹

The complaint conveniently seems to ignore that the lawyers, including Fahad Ansari, only presented a witness statement from their client – required as lawyers to present their client's case as they are instructed to do. This form of complaint submitted by the CAA forms as part of a pattern of vexatious complaints to legal regulatory authorities.

Criticism and Controversy

Alarmism and poor-quality research

CAA has been criticised for taking an alarmist approach in trying to inflate the extent of

antisemitism in the UK. In 2015 the APPG on antisemitism noted that they:

"were somewhat disappointed to note that not all of the messages from [CAA] have been in line with CST's stated approach of seeking to avoid undue panic and alarm. We encourage Jewish communal leaders and others when speaking on antisemitism to follow CST's example...So too, it is important that the leadership do not conflate concerns about activity legitimately protesting Israel's actions with antisemitism, as we have seen has been the case on some occasions" ²⁴⁰

Responding to a 2015 survey by CAA, the Institute for Jewish Policy Research was more forceful in its criticism, stating that:

"[CAA's] survey about antisemitism is littered with flaws, and in the context of a clear need for accurate data on this topic, its work may even be rather irresponsible.

...

The findings might be representative of the Jewish community in some way, but it is at least equally likely that they are not. Unfortunately, due to quite basic methodological flaws and weaknesses, there is absolutely no way the researchers or any readers of the report can really know.

• •

Because of this, the claim in the report, for example, that "more than half of all British Jews feel that antisemitism now echoes the 1930s" verges into irresponsible territory it is an incendiary finding, and there is simply no way to ascertain whether or not it is accurate. Moreover, the very inclusion of such a question in the survey, which most credible scholars of the Holocaust utterly refute, was a dubious decision in and of itself, and raises issues about the organisers' preexisting hypotheses and assumptions. Professional social

researchers build credible surveys and analyse the data with an open mind; the CAA survey falls short both in terms of its methodology and its analysis." ²⁴¹

In 2016, CAA released a report assessing attitudes of Muslims in the UK²⁴² based on a Channel 4-commissioned poll which was used for Islamophobe Trevor Phillips' documentary What British Muslims Really Think.²⁴³ CAA's analysis led with the accusation that, "It has long been suspected that sections of the British Muslim population harboured hatred towards British Jews. This survey goes some way to identifying pockets of prejudice, but it also shows that the prejudice is horrifyingly widespread."

Notoriously, the report also included this image as a 'Profile of Muslim antisemitism':

MORE LIKELY TO BE ... MALE IN SOCIAL HOUSING OLDER THAN 35 WORKING LIVING IN SCOTLAND OR FIDST IN ENGLAND. SOUTH OF THE MIDLANDS IMMIGRANT SYMPATHETIC TO TERRORISM, EXTREMISM AND Infographic from CAA itisemitism and Muslims

Between 2018 and 2019 the report seems to have been removed from CAA's website and

replaced with a partial press release, which omits the paragraph in the original that:

"From the ICM survey data made available by Channel 4 and Juniper Television, we have been able to identify some of the worst pockets of prejudice. Antisemitic British Muslims are more likely to be men, to be older than 35, to be social renters, to be in employment, to have been born outside Britain, to live south of the Midlands in England, or in Scotland, and they are overwhelmingly likely to sympathise with terrorism, violence and extremism."

This graphic was one of the complaints issued by staff at Great Ormond Street Hospital in arguing for a cancellation of an antisemitism training to be conducted by CAA.²⁴⁴

Great Ormond Street Hospital

In early 2024, CAA was set to deliver antisemitism training to hospital staff, but after numerous internal complaints about the organisation and reviewing its content, the hospital announced that, "the Trust decided they were not the right organisation for this work." ²⁴⁵

A Freedom of Information request to the hospital detailed the internal complaints received about CAA, which included:

- An infographic [profile of Muslim antisemitism] from the CAA which has been circulated on Twitter and via blogs, was felt to single out one community for targeting and that members of that community are likely to feel unsafe as a result;
- A Google search of CAA shows inflammatory views and the promotion of violent conflict;

- CAA has a significant pro-Zionist, pro-Israel stance, and seeks to lobby in this area;
- The All-Party Parliamentary group against antisemitism stated, in its 2015 report, that, "it is important that the (CAA) leadership do not conflate concerns about activity legitimately protesting Israel's actions with antisemitism, as we have seen has been the case on some occasions";
- A Google search of the CAA identifies a Guardian article about the contentious nature of the organisation.²⁴⁶

Gideon Falter policing controversy

In April 2024 CAA chair Gideon Falter attempted to disrupt one of the Palestine national demonstrations and CAA released a video exchange he had with a police officer describing him as 'openly Jewish', causing a major controversy, with CAA making calls for Metropolitan Police chief Mark Rowley to resign.²⁴⁷

This backfired shortly afterwards when extended footage of the incident made it clearer that this was a calculated provocation by Falter to antagonise Palestine protestors.²⁴⁸

As the framing of CAA's X post about it indicated, the stunt was an attempt to bring down Rowley following his failure to rein in and/or ban the national Palestine demonstrations, as Falter and CAA had been calling for since at least November 2023, and had recommended in their appearance before the Home Affairs Select Committee.



The time has come for Sir Mark Rowley to go.

@GideonFalter, Chief Executive of CAA, said: "Sir Mark Rowley must resign or be removed by the Mayor of London, @SadiqKhan, and the Home Secretary, @JamesCleverly.

"What happened to me was a disgrace. Imagine what it felt like to be told by police officers that being 'quite openly Jewish' would 'antagonise' people and so I must leave the area on pain of arrest.

"However it is what happened next that is such a stain on the reputation of @MetPoliceUK. Nearly a week after the incident, Sir Mark's Assistant Commissioner issued a statement calling my presence 'provocative' and saying that by making public what had happened, I had put a 'dent in the confidence of many Jewish Londoners'.

"The ensuring outrage forced the Met to apologise yet again. This time, it was for their appalling, abject victim blaming, which had come from the top and showed that after six months, Sir Mark's Met still does not get it and is not about to improve unless there is a change of leadership.

"What happened to me was the inevitable conclusion of six months of inertia and contextualising crimes away by a Met that has curtailed the rights of law-abiding Londoners in order to appear mobs rife with anti-Jewish racists and terrorist sympathisers.

"Sir Mark has the distinction of presiding over the worst surge in antisemitic criminality in our capital city since records began. We are in a time when 90% of British Jews say that they would avoid the centre of town when an anti-Israel protest is taking place. Those protests have made our city centres into no-go zones for Jews every weekend for six months now, and in my case, that no-go zone was enforced by the Met.

"Sir Mark has toured news studios lamenting the lack of police powers, and yet I have witnessed firsthand how his officers invented powers to wrongfully tell me that I would be arrested for daring to be Jewish in public. He has lamented a lack of funding to reform the Met while saddling the taxpayer with bills for many tens of millions to allow these marches to continue unchecked week after week.

"His failure to curtail the marches by using his powers under the Public Order Act 1986 has made it impossible to bring them under control and police them properly. As a direct result of that failure, countless antisemitic hate crimes and terrorism offences have been perpetrated in broad daylight on our streets during marches, and those responsible have walked free as his vastly outnumbered officers are powerless to intervene and some frontline officers have even been hospitalised.

"Racists, extremists and terrorist-sympathisers have watched the excuses and inertia of the Met under his command and been emboldened by his inaction at precisely the moment when he should be signalling a renewed determination to crack down on this criminality.

"What the Met under Sir Mark has done to the Jewish community over the course of six months is utterly unforgivable and it is time for him to go. Enough is enough."

Rowley was publicly defended by the likes of Dal Babu, a former chief superintendent in the Metropolitan police, who challenged CAA's narrative.²⁴⁹ Both Mayor of London Sadiq Khan and then Prime Minister Rishi Sunak affirmed their confidence in his leadership²⁵⁰, though they also expressed their criticisms of the handling of the incident.

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented in this report underscores the profound and systemic role played by UK Lawyers for Israel (UKLFI) and the Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA) in perpetuating a climate of censorship and institutional complicity with Israel's apartheid regime, as affirmed by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in its 2024 advisory opinion. Both organisations, while ostensibly operating within distinct remits — legal advocacy and anti-racism - have demonstrated a consistent pattern of weaponising regulatory frameworks, conflating anti-Zionism with antisemitism, and deploying vexatious complaints to suppress legitimate criticism of Israeli state policies. Their activities not only contravene principles of free expression and academic freedom but also align with broader efforts to shield Israel from accountability under international law.

Controversial Connections and Ideological Alignment

UKLFI's explicit alignment with the Israeli state is evident in its organisational ethos, funding opacity, and collaboration with entities such as the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and prosettlement NGOs like Regavim. By hosting figures such as Naomi Linder Kahn, who advocates for the demolition of Palestinian homes, and promoting revisionist legal interpretations denying the illegality of occupation, UKLFI perpetuates narratives that legitimise apartheid. Similarly, CAA's reliance on the controversial IHRA definition of antisemitism, coupled with its ties to patrons promoting Islamophobic and Hindutva agendas such as Bob Blackman and Richard Kemp reveals a strategic conflation of Jewish identity with Zionist politics. This conflation not only distorts genuine anti-racism efforts but also fosters institutional prejudice against Palestinian advocacy and Muslim communities.

Both organisations have repeatedly aligned themselves with narratives and actors that defend or excuse the manifest breaches of international law identified by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and other authoritative bodies. In doing so, they act not in the service of universal human rights or anti-racism, but rather as instruments of a political project that has been internationally condemned as constituting apartheid and systemic racial discrimination against the Palestinian people.

Moreover, the evidence reviewed raises profound concerns regarding the compliance of these organisations with UK charity law, which expressly prohibits the advancement of political causes inconsistent with basic human rights principles. The activities of UKLFI and CAA, far from serving charitable purposes, appear to facilitate the maintenance of an unlawful situation condemned by the ICJ and other international bodies.

Vexatious Complaints and Regulatory Abuse

Central to both organisations' methodologies is the systematic submission of complaints designed to harass and intimidate critics of Israel. UKLFI's targeting of medical professionals, academics, and charities exemplified by its spurious complaints against Dr Ghassan Abu-Sitta and the Imperial College Healthcare Trust — has drained resources, instilled fear, and caused significant psychological harm. Similarly, CAA's campaigns against universities, cultural events, and public figures, such as its efforts to cancel performances by Kneecap or sanction academics like Dr Ray Campbell, reflect a deliberate misuse of regulatory processes. These actions, often predicated on tenuous allegations of antisemitism, exploit legal and charitable frameworks to silence dissent, thereby undermining the integrity of public institutions.

The complicity of regulatory authorities and public institutions in entertaining the spurious complaints and narratives promoted by these organisations signals an urgent need for greater vigilance. It calls for a critical reappraisal of how claims of antisemitism are adjudicated, ensuring

that genuine efforts to combat antisemitism are not undermined by their instrumentalisation in defence of state criminality.

Implications for Democratic Discourse

The activities of UKLFI and CAA extend beyond mere advocacy; they represent a coordinated assault on democratic principles in the UK. By leveraging lawfare, political connections, and institutional racism, these organisations have cultivated an environment where criticism of Israel is disproportionately penalised. The chilling effect on academia, healthcare, and civil society — evidenced by self-censorship among scholars and the diversion of humanitarian funds to legal defences - corrodes the UK's commitment to human rights and free expression. Moreover, their alignment with farright ideologies and foreign state interests raises urgent questions about transparency, accountability, and the safeguarding of democratic processes from undue influence.

This report illuminates the imperative for robust regulatory reform, judicial oversight, and public inquiry to dismantle the mechanisms enabling UKLFI and CAA's campaigns of suppression. As the ICJ's findings underscore, apartheid is not merely a historical analogy but a present-day reality necessitating unequivocal condemnation. The UK's failure to confront these organisations' complicity risks normalising structural racism and eroding the foundations of democratic debate. Only through decisive action to uphold international law and protect free expression can the UK begin to redress its role in perpetuating injustice against the Palestinian people.

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