



Mapping the Organizational Sources of the Global Delegitimization Campaign against Israel in the UK

Ehud Rosen



Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

המרכז הירושלמי לענייני ציבור ומדינה

© 2010 Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

13 Tel Hai Street, Jerusalem, Israel

Tel. 972-2-561-9281 Fax. 972-2-561-9112

Email: jcpa@netvision.net.il

www.jcpa.org

ISBN 978-965-218-094-0

Production Director: Edna Weinstock-Gabay

Graphic Design: Rami & Jacky - www.ramijaki.co.il

**Mapping the Organizational
Sources of the Global
Delegitimization Campaign
against Israel in the UK**

Ehud Rosen

Ehud Rosen specializes in modern political Islam, focusing on the ideology and history of the Muslim Brotherhood. He lived in London for five years, while working toward his PhD at SOAS, University of London. He currently teaches at Bar-Ilan University.

Table of contents

Foreword	7
Part I: The importance of ideology	9
1. The Society of the Muslim Brothers (Brotherhood)	9
I. General introduction	9
II. The internationalization of the movement	10
III. Adaptation of Islamic jurisprudence to life in the West	12
IV. Palestine, Hamas, and the Oslo agreements: A new phase	13
2. The British far left	14
I. The Socialist Workers' Party (SWP)	14
II. The International Marxist Group (IMG)	15
3. Forming the "red-green alliance"	17
I. The Muslim Brotherhood in the UK arena	17
II. Early beginnings	18
III. 9/11 and the Stop the War Coalition	19
4. Expanding the alliance: The Cairo conferences 2002-2007	20
5. Moving to politics: The RESPECT-Unity coalition	22
Part II: The main organizations involved in the campaign	24
1. The Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) and the British Muslim Initiative (BMI)	24
2. The Palestinian Return Centre (PRC)	27
3. The Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC)	30
4. Middle East Monitor (MEMO)	33
5. Viva Palestina	35
6. The Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC)	36
7. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)	37
8. Jews for Justice for the Palestinians (JfJfP)	39
Part III: Who are the "mainstreaming" agents?	41
I. Politics	41
II. Media	42
III. Trade unions	42
IV. The academy	43
V. Israel's lack of a PR strategy	44
VI. The Global Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement	45
Mapping the Main Forces behind Global Delegitimization of Israel in the UK	47

Foreword

In mid-December 2009, Member of Knesset Tzipi Livni, Israel's former foreign minister, was due to arrive in London and make a speech at a Jewish National Fund (JNF) event, held at the Hendon Hall Hotel in London. Having had a warrant issued for her to be arrested for alleged war crimes while serving as a minister during the Second Lebanon War and Operation Cast Lead, Livni canceled her plans and never came to Britain. A clip, still available on YouTube,¹ shows two and a half minutes of a demonstration held in front of the hotel. This is a rather small demonstration; the few dozen protesters chant slogans such as "Zionists are terrorists" and "Free Palestine." They are holding signboards referring to "Apartheid in Palestine," and calling to bring "war criminals" to justice and to boycott Israeli goods.

A closer look reveals that these signboards either carry the logo of the British Muslim Initiative (BMI), a main Muslim Brotherhood front in Britain, or of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) and its Boycott Israeli Goods (BIG) Campaign. Despite the small number of participants, top UK Brotherhood (Hamas's parent movement) figures are featured such as like Dr. Kemal Helbawy, Muhammad Sawalha, and Zaher Birawi, alongside top PSC figures such as Betty Hunter. In the clip, Hunter says they will pursue "these people" wherever and whenever they can. She also tells the crowd about a decision taken the same week by the British government for supermarkets to label Israeli-settlement goods, and says they have to ensure that "this small step...is turned into a huge movement of boycotting all Israeli goods."

Both the warrant for Livni's arrest and this demonstration, organized by the same coalition, tell in a nutshell the story of the last decade, in which Britain has become the main leader of an international effort to deny Israel's right to exist in its current form. This campaign is rooted in a network that includes rather strange bedfellows: hard-line Islamists, mainly led by Muslim Brotherhood members and supporters, along with far-left socialists, each having their own splinter groups that cooperate in the struggle against the Jewish state. For many years Britain has been a stronghold of the Brotherhood; its main publications, as well as the main publications of its Palestinian branch, Hamas, have been issued there, instead of in locales such as Cairo or Amman where doing so would be prohibited. Far-left movements have also been active in Britain for many years.

By taking advantage of Britain's political freedoms and legal system, which allows designated "war criminals" to be brought to justice there, by working through both the country's civil-society system and politics, these groups have been able to mobilize an anti-Israeli campaign in the country. Furthermore, by joining forces against the War

on Terror proclaimed by President Bush after the 9/11 events, and against the British participation in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, they have succeeded to elevate and “mainstream” their efforts. In the process, a focus has been placed on the media based in Britain, whether electronic media outlets such as the BBC or Sky, or print media such as *The Guardian*, which today is read globally in the English-speaking world on the internet. London, it should be noted, is also a hub for major Arabic media outlets with influence across the whole Middle East, such as *Al-Hayat* and *Asharq Alawsat*. Thus, this campaign also functions on a global scale. Hence, it is imperative to scrutinize the British hub of delegitimization in order to understand its sources and how it reaches out to the rest of the world.

This article will first consider the background of both the Islamic and leftist camps, then map the main organizations active in the delegitimization efforts, and finally focus on those who help “mainstream” these efforts.

Before beginning, I would like to thank a few friends and colleagues: Michael Ezra and Paul Bogdanor for guiding me through the tangled history of British socialism in the last decades; and Dave Rich for his great help in various matters. The British political blog Harry’s Place also served as a most useful source of information. To them and others, I am grateful for helping me put the pieces of the puzzle together.

Part I: The importance of ideology

Part of the problem with understanding the phenomenon of delegitimization, even after the organizations promoting it are mapped out, is that most political observers are not fully acquainted with the groups that are involved. The Muslim Brotherhood, for example, has been at the center of a large debate in policymaking circles in both the United States and the UK over whether it should be regarded as a moderate Islamist alternative to Al-Qaeda and other violent groups or as a precursor for all modern Islamic terrorism. Therefore, any effort to map out the sources of delegitimization must first examine the ideologies and background of its constituent elements. Subsequently this paper will consider how these groups, which were never at the center of British politics, have managed to “mainstream” these efforts and acquire the impact that is being witnessed today.

1. The Society of the Muslim Brothers (Brotherhood)

I. General introduction

The Society of the Muslim Brothers (Brotherhood) was established in Egypt in 1928 by the young schoolteacher Hasan al-Banna. Banna sought to reunite the Muslim nation (*ummah*) following the fall of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the division of the lands of the Middle East between the Western empires, and the abolition of the caliphate in 1924. In the process of constructing a new society, Banna took inspiration from both Islamic and Western ideologies.

Banna viewed Islam as a comprehensive order (*nizam shamil*) that encompasses all aspects of life. His vision aspired to mobilize a gradual sociopolitical and militant process, with Islamic revival implemented initially by individuals and families, and then by the entire nation; this would be followed by political participation, which, in turn, would facilitate militant jihad, thus enabling “Western imperialism” to be driven out from Muslim and Arab lands.² The basis of the revival was a return to the *salaf* (the early period of Islam, which incorporated the Prophet and the four “rightly guided Caliphs”) and to Islam through the Quran and *hadith*. The Quran and *hadith*, however, were to be reinterpreted using modern, “reformist” terminology, in order to suit the modern era. For Banna, the route to Islamic revival passed through active proselytization (*da’wah*), mainly focused on middle-class and lower-middle-class youngsters and students. His followers were recruited into *da’wah* groups and study circles comprising small numbers of activists (up to forty), who developed loyalty to the group, the Society, and its leader.

At first, the Brotherhood mainly concentrated on establishing educational, welfare, and religious institutions. The Brotherhood, however, also developed a “secret apparatus” that came to engage in political assassination and terrorism against senior Egyptian officials. Starting in 1936, after the outbreak of the Arab Revolt in Palestine, the Brotherhood launched a campaign that included anti-Zionist/anti-Semitic incitement in mosques, the collection of *zakat* money, and more. It introduced its “Ten Thousand Volunteers” campaign in 1947-1948, which enlisted volunteers to participate in the fighting in Palestine and ended after Banna’s death (in 1949) with the 1953 international Islamic conference in Jerusalem. Focusing on Palestine, the conference’s resolutions stated that the issue “should be considered the inescapable and immediate duty of all Muslims to the limit of their capabilities,” adding that peace or any dealings with Israel should be considered “punishable treason.”³ Ever since then, those who grew up in the Society’s circles have seen themselves as the Islamic spearhead working for Palestine. The Brotherhood’s main ideologue in the early 1960s, Syed Qutb, further increased the revolutionary dimension of the Muslim Brotherhood, making the revolution part of Islam itself. He gradually developed a theory under which the whole world is in a situation of a new *jahiliyyah* (ignorance), where neither the rulers in Egypt nor the religious establishment could be called real Muslims and even the Western world had realized that Western civilization was unable to present any healthy values for the guidance of mankind.⁴ Qutb maintained that only a place where an Islamic state is established, *shari’a* is the authority, Allah’s rules are observed, and all the Muslims administer the affairs of the state through mutual consultation can be considered the Land of Islam (*Dar al-Islam*); the rest of the world is the Land of War (*Dar al-Harb*).⁵

II. The internationalization of the movement

Branches of the Brotherhood were opened in several countries in the early stages of the Society’s existence (1928-1954). However, the main catalyst in the process of internationalizing the movement was Nasser’s “ordeal” (*mihna*) in 1954, which occurred despite the assistance they gave him in seizing control of Egypt. Many were arrested, killed, deported, or fled Egypt. Today the Brotherhood claims to be represented in more than eighty countries around the world. Many of those who fled relocated to Saudi Arabia,⁶ where they played a key role in establishing two leading Islamic universities, The Islamic University of al-Madinah (1961)⁷ and the King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz University (1967), as well as several international umbrella organizations aimed at spreading the *da’wah*, such as the Muslim World League (MWL, founded 1962) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY, founded 1972). Many current Islamist leaders either graduated from the two universities or took part as youngsters in WAMY’s activities around the world. Both the MWL and WAMY came under investigation in the United States after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Government officials believe they have helped to spread Islamic extremism around the world as well as sponsor terrorism in places such as Bosnia, Israel, and India.⁸

Saudi Arabia also provided shelter for Syed Qutb's brother Muhammad, who both taught and published the important works written by his brother and by himself. Some of the prominent followers of the Qutb brothers went further to create the "Qutbist trend," which gave birth to terrorist organizations in the Middle East during the 1980s and brought about the foundation of Al-Qaeda toward the end of the decade. Today the "official" Muslim Brotherhood itself includes both Banna and Qutb camps, with the relatively new Supreme Guide (*al-Murshid al-'Am*) Muhammad Badie, elected in January 2010, representing the latter camp. However, Banna still remains the most important historical theorist of the movement.

Another large group of Brotherhood members went to Qatar where they laid the foundations for the Education Ministry, teaching at all stages of schools and awakening the Islamic trend in the country until the early 1980s.⁹ Today the Qatari Brotherhood plays a major role in the structure of the Society's affiliated bodies worldwide, mainly through its leader, Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, who has been living in Qatar since 1961. Qaradawi, who joined the Brotherhood in Egypt at an early age, was able to raise himself to the level of an international leader. He is supported by the Qatari emir and by wealthy Gulf businessmen, thanks to his major efforts in developing the field of Islamic finance and the religious validation he provides to Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and others committed to jihad against Israel and Western "occupation."¹⁰ Today Qaradawi enjoys worldwide exposure via Al Jazeera TV, which he oversees, and in which he has his weekly program *Shari'a and Life (al-Shari'a wa-al-Hayat)*; until recently he also oversaw the prominent Islamist portal *IslamOnline*. Both outlets were established by the Qatari emir in 1996 and 1997, respectively.

The great success of the "Qatari Islamists" even prompted a famous Kuwaiti Islamist thinker, 'Abd Allah al-Nafisi, to write an article in 2007 in which he called for them to take the lead. In his view the Egyptian mother organization, which had become a "burden," should disband altogether.¹¹

A third, much less organized group of Brotherhood activists moved, as students or refugees, to the United States and a number of European countries, including West Germany. It was this group that sparked the critical phase of the dissemination of the Brotherhood ideology on a global scale. Their status as students provided them with the environment to meet each other, while Western liberties gave them the freedom to cultivate and nurture their worldview, first among fellow-Muslims and later among non-Muslim scholars and leftist oppositionists. Thus, according to Muhammad Mahdi 'Akef, the recently retired Egyptian Brotherhood's Supreme Guide, the Brotherhood "established itself in Europe" in the 1950s.¹² Gradually members and followers of this ideology joined forces to spread the spirit of the *da'wah* in the West. Sometimes they were joined by the Brotherhood's main facilitators who were supported by Saudi Arabia

and other wealthy Middle Eastern countries, such as Sa'id Ramadan, Hasan al-Banna's son-in-law. In several cases they also cooperated with members or followers of similar Islamist ideologies. For several decades they opened and developed educational, welfare, and religious institutions in the United States and Europe that followed the teachings of the Brotherhood's ideology. Step by step, constituting the "visible" face of Islam, they became the "natural" engagement partners for officialdom. Official engagement gradually endowed them with the aura of being the "mainstream" trend of Islam in the West, to the extent that they have now, over a relatively short time, assumed the guise of the Muslim "establishment."

III. Adaptation of Islamic jurisprudence to life in the West

From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, Brotherhood leaders developed an interest in the Muslims living in the West. Gradually the theologians' perception of the West changed; it was no longer perceived as *Dar al-Kufr* (the Land of Unbelief) or *Dar al-Harb* (the Land of War). Instead the West was viewed as *Dar al-Da'wah*, and sometimes even *Dar al-Islam*, where Muslims have the right to live under *shari'a* law.¹³ A new legal concept of *fiqh al-aqaliyyat* (the minorities' jurisprudence) was introduced by both Sheikh Qaradawi and the U.S.-based Sheikh Taha Jaber al-Alwani, focusing especially on aspects of daily life of Muslims residing in the West.¹⁴ European umbrella organizations started to emerge, mainly under the religious patronage of Sheikh Qaradawi, placing under their wing educational, cultural, religious, economic, and political lobbying organizations that adhere to the Brotherhood's ideology. In 1989, the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) was established. Today it lists twenty-eight member organizations based in many of the EU countries, but also in non-EU ones such as Kosovo, Turkey, Moldova, Ukraine, and Russia.¹⁵ In 1997, Qaradawi also established the FIOE's Dublin-based theological wing, the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR), with the aim of "issuing studies and *fatwas* on the problems facing the Muslims in Europe, either directly or indirectly."¹⁶ Several times Qaradawi expressed his belief that Islam will take over Europe not by war but, rather, by its *da'wah* efforts.

Qaradawi went a step further in 2004 and also established the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS), which includes around five hundred Islamist scholars from across the world. It was launched in London in July 2004, when Qaradawi was invited by then-mayor Ken Livingstone to speak at County Hall. The founding conference was attended by the secretary general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), Ekmel Eddin Ihsanoglu. In his opening address Qaradawi stressed that the fall of the Islamic caliphate had ended any unified reference for all Muslims, and the IUMS was therefore intended to create "an international Islamic reference for all Muslims that oversteps local juristic assemblies."¹⁷ From an examination of the writings of Banna to those of Qaradawi, it becomes clear that the Muslim Brotherhood did not envision Islam taking part in a

multicultural society in Europe but instead hoped to become the dominant force on the continent. Qaradawi stated in 2002, for example, that Islam would “return to Europe as a conqueror and victor, after being expelled from it twice....” He qualified this by adding: “Perhaps the next conquest, Allah willing, will be by preaching and ideology.”¹⁸

IV. Palestine, Hamas, and the Oslo agreements: A new phase

As noted, the Muslim Brotherhood has long been involved in the Palestinian issue. In 1987, Hamas was established as a “branch of the Muslim Brotherhood chapter in Palestine.”¹⁹

A step forward seems to have been taken in light of the signing of the Oslo agreements in 1993. In October 1993, less than a month after the public signing of the accords, approximately twenty members of the Muslim Brotherhood’s Palestinian Committee²⁰ gathered together in Philadelphia to discuss how best to proceed.²¹ The meeting paved the way to channeling money to Hamas by using Brotherhood-affiliated charities around the world, the most famous of which was the Texas-based Holy Land Foundation (HLF), whose trial recently ended in the full conviction of its heads and their long imprisonment. In late 2000, shortly after the outbreak of the Second Intifada in Israel, Sheikh Qaradawi himself established the Union of Good (Itilaf al-Khayr), a coalition of European Islamic charities, now also designated in the United States for transferring funds to Hamas.²² Most of these charities, however, still operate. Qaradawi’s connections with the Qatari emir are best viewed by the American wording of this designation, which states that the Union was “an organization created by Hamas leadership,” failing to include his name in it.

In February 2010, the Qaradawi Students Forum, led by several prominent Brotherhood and Islamist leaders, was launched in Qatar to promote his ideas and works around the world,²³ and help establish his *wasati* (“middle way”) approach as a whole new trend. In his speech, Qaradawi expressed his thanks to the emir and the people of Qatar “for having accepted me and allowed me to do my work on an international scale.” He further thanked the emir in person for his “firm support” and a “committed and bold stand,” stating that without this, “the U.S. authorities would have included my name in the list of persons who support terrorism.”

In the past few months, it seems Qaradawi is getting closer to the Turkish government as well (the AKP ruling party represents the Muslim Brotherhood in Turkey). On 31 May 2010, the same day the flotilla was raided by Israel, the IUMS issued a declaration that included a message of blessing to President Erdogan, and called on the Arab and Islamic countries to support Turkey’s tourism and divert their investments to the country.²⁴ Finally, Qaradawi is also thought to be close to the Kuwaiti emir Sheikh Sabah, who in May 2010 hosted the 25th anniversary of the International Islamic Charitable Organization (IICO), an international, Kuwaiti-based charity founded by Qaradawi.²⁵

Similarly to Nafisi's suggestion, the process of the Europe-based, Qaradawi-leaning Brotherhood organizations taking the lead from the Middle Eastern Brotherhood seems to have de facto taken place in the last two decades. European countries as well as EU organizations, eager for dialogue with Muslims living in their countries, often perceive these organizations as the authentic voice of Islam, a nonviolent counter-option to Al-Qaeda. Hence these organizations engage in official dialogues and positions, whereas the Middle Eastern Brotherhood continues its decline. A good example of this process can be seen in a long article by Muhammad al-Hazmi, the Yemeni MP who was pictured carrying a dagger on the *Mavi Marmara*. Hazmi, a member of the Brotherhood-aligned Al-Islah party, was one of those sent to represent the party. One of his recollections, before the flotilla's departure from Istanbul, is that they were taken to celebrate the FIOE's anniversary.²⁶

2. The British far left

The history of the far left in Britain is complex, murky, and includes the establishment and splitting of many groups and subgroups. It has not yet been properly explored. The following pages note the most important historical developments relevant to the subject.

I. The Socialist Workers' Party (SWP)

The most important and relevant group is the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP), which began in September 1950 as a splinter- group of thirty-three members expelled from the Revolutionary Communist Party because of their opposition to Stalinism. They started publishing a duplicated paper called *Socialist Review*, and in 1951 held a founding conference of what was called the **Socialist Review Group** (SRG). The group adopted as its essential theoretical basis three documents written by its founder "Tony Cliff," which regarded Russia as a "bureaucratic state capitalist regime."²⁷ Tony Cliff is the pen-name of Yigael (later Yig'al) Gluckstein, who left Palestine in 1943 after being active there in the illegal Palestine **Revolutionary Communist League**. In 1953, Gluckstein's brother-in-law Mike Kidron arrived in Britain from Israel and became responsible for the group's political agenda, serving as the editor of the paper.

Because of their small number they decided to adopt an entryist approach and work within the Labour Party, which they considered a source of recruits, especially the young members of the Labour League of Youth. "The SRG was, throughout the fifties, a purely propaganda group,"²⁸ so it reached the beginning of the 1960s with not many more members than it had in 1951. However, the **Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament** (CND, see part II), which was begun in 1958, grew rapidly and in 1960 and 1961 organized marches with about a hundred thousand participants, many of them young working-class people. The SRG saw this as a chance to find new audiences for its message; its supporters

were active in the CND actions, took part in the demonstrations, and in 1964 it attained a membership of two hundred. A new journal, *International Socialism*, was launched in 1960, and once again the party took its name from the paper and the SRG became, at the end of 1962, the International Socialism Group (IS).

During the 1960s, two of the founding members of the anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist Israeli Matzpen movement came to London, Akiva Orr (1964) and Dr. (now Prof.) Moshe Machover (1968). The Matzpen movement called for the “de-Zionization” of Israel, stating that Zionism is not the right solution for anti-Semitism and persecutions against the Jews²⁹ but rather a colonialist and racist movement, which provides the basis for the expulsion of the Arabs from their lands and depriving them of their national rights in Palestine. Israel, therefore, was perceived as an “agent” of imperialism, serving as its watchdog in the region.³⁰ Both Orr and Machover became acquainted with prominent left-wing intellectuals, and their book (with Haim Hanegbi) *The Class Nature of Israeli Society* was published in 1971 by Pluto Press, at the time the publishing arm of IS.³¹ *The Socialist Worker* (IS’s paper) also published articles by the two: “Racist Israel heading for the apartheid camp” (30 June 1973) and “Middle East War: the blame lies at the Zionists’ door” (13 October 1973, titled as a “statement” by their Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad, ISRACA). The Soviet Union, which supported the establishment of Israel in 1948, changed its attitude toward it quite soon and began to regard it as an agent of American imperialism. Following the 1967 war, it broke its relations with Israel and launched a zealous anti-Israeli propaganda campaign.

A similar view is reflected in a 1986 pamphlet titled *Israel: The Hijack State, America’s Watchdog in the Middle East*. It was written by John Rose, one of the leading members of the group, which was finally renamed the Socialist Workers’ Party (SWP) in 1977 “for purely internal reasons, to give members a sense of progress, the better to conceal the fact that there had actually been a retreat” in membership throughout the 1970s.³² In any case, by the early 1970s, “opposition to Zionism had become one of the axioms of correct left-wing anti-imperialist thinking.”³³

II. The International Marxist Group (IMG)

The International Marxist Group, the official Trotskyist section of the Fourth International, Unified Secretariat, emerged in the mid-1960s, after a number of phases. It started off as a splinter-group from the British Communist Party, which adopted the entryist approach and joined the Labour Party around the journal *The Week*. In early 1968, after several splits, the group, now named the **Internationalist Group**, renamed itself the **International Marxist Group** (IMG). Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, the IMG established a certain base among radicalized students, often coming into violent conflict with the police. Its newspaper,

Socialist Challenge, first appeared in 1977. In 1981, it reverted back to entryism and submerged itself within the Labour Party, supporting its left wing. In December 1982, the Group changed its name to the **Socialist League** and in 1983 the name of its associated newspaper changed to *Socialist Action*.

In 1985, a minority split from it and formed the **International Group**, which later became the **International Socialist Group**. The rest of the members split into two groups, one of which eventually formed the **Communist League** while the other, still defining itself as Trotskyite, became the **Socialist Action (SA)**, called after its publication. It numbered relatively few people, but its involvement in many campaigns helped it exert larger influence than its size warranted. SA's greatest influence probably came through its loyalty to Livingstone, Labour mayor of London from 2000 to 2008, who in 1985 took the group's leader John Ross to be his economic adviser, and throughout his tenure employed many of its members in high positions.³⁴

Another important figure in these circles is Tariq Ali. Born in 1943 in Lahore (now in Pakistan), Ali became politically active at an early age. His parents sent him to study in Britain, and in 1965 he became president of the Oxford Student Union. At the time the Vietnam War was at its height, and he was involved in the movement against it; on graduating he led the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.³⁵ In the late 1960s, Ali left the Labour Party and joined the IMG, becoming one of its leaders. However, since the group's entry into the Labour Party in 1981, he devoted himself to writing – books on world history and politics, novels, and screenplays; at the same time he continued to take part in antiwar campaigns and speak and write against the United States and Israel.

In the late 1990s, Socialist Action adopted the entryist approach again. One of their key objectives was to put their people in positions of responsibility in other organizations.

3. Forming the “red-green alliance”

I. The Muslim Brotherhood in the UK arena

Islamist/Brotherhood-affiliated activities in the UK go back to the early 1960s, and are a subject for a much wider research. However, as previously noted, theologically Britain and the West were perceived as *Dar al-Kufr* or *Dar al-Harb*. Thus, most of the organizations that operated in the Muslim arena concentrated on students and other temporary residents in the country, aiming to provide them with “a home away from home” and focus on educational and other *da’wah* activities. The situation changed in the late 1980s following the “Rushdie Affair”, which marks the beginning of the visible stage in politicizing religious identities in Britain. This coincided with the changing perception of the West and the new focus on Muslim minorities living there; new organizations started to emerge, and political Islamist organizations established the UK Action Committee on Islamic Affairs, which in 1997 formed into an umbrella organization, the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB).

In addition, the first half of the 1990s saw the arrival in Britain of top Middle Eastern Brotherhood figures, under the policy later referred to by French intelligence as “Londonistan.” As part of this policy, jihadi leaders and prominent Islamist scholars and activists found shelter in the country. Such Brotherhood leaders were Rachid al-Ghannouchi of Tunisia (who came to Britain from France), ‘Azzam Tamimi of Jordan, and Kemal Helbawy, who in 1994 came back from Pakistan to become the “Muslim Brotherhood spokesman to the West.” Helbawy (born 1939) joined the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt at the age of twelve. His rather extensive biography also includes key roles in establishing main *da’wah* frameworks jointly with members and followers of the Brotherhood and other Islamist trends, such as the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) in 1972, or the **Institute of Policy Studies** in Pakistan.³⁶

At around the same time, however, major disputes took place in the ranks of the “official” Brotherhood in Egypt, which was divided after the failure to form the Al-Wasat political party. It was also unclear who exactly the “spokesman” should represent. Sheikh Qaradawi, on the other hand, started to gain international influence through the newly established Qatari-Islamist media outlets mentioned earlier. Thus, in 1997, Helbawy officially retired from the ranks of the Muslim Brotherhood³⁷ and started to focus on the European arena. Helbawy played a leading role in establishing the two main Islamist frameworks in Britain, the aforementioned Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) and the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB), set up that year. At this stage he could join forces with the younger generation of Brotherhood activists in the country such as ‘Azzam Tamimi, Anas Altikriti (son of Dr. Osama al-Tikriti, current head of the Iraqi Islamist Party, which represents the Brotherhood in Iraq), Soumaya Ghannouchi (Rachid al-Ghannouchi’s daughter), and a few Hamas

activists who found asylum in Britain as well, the most senior of whom was probably Muhammad Sawalha.³⁸ In 2000, the now former head of the Syrian Brotherhood, Ali Sadruddin al-Bayanouni, also arrived in London as a refugee and joined their activities.

Gradually, a stronghold of exiled Brotherhood leaders and their sons and daughters was formed (sometimes referred to by the Arab media as the “London Ikhwan”), striving to transform the Brotherhood into a de facto international movement. The Brotherhood acts using different fronts and names, among them charities or ad hoc groups and websites, mostly operated by the same set of people.

II. Early beginnings

From an early stage after World War II, British leftist elements tried to appeal to the new groups of Muslim, Hindi, and Sikh immigrants, mostly unskilled laborers, who mainly arrived from the Indian subcontinent. Gradually, Asian immigrants started to form their own trade unions. The alliance between the white workers and the Asian trade unions was “built on a secular basis, with religion regarded as a private matter and secondary to the general struggle against the forces of capitalism.”³⁹ Cooperation between the left and newly formed Asian youth movements and other organizations remained on a secular basis. The situation began to change, however, in the 1980s. As a result of the multiculturalism policy initiated by the British government, the character of the political struggle changed, and near the end of the decade its focus shifted from immigration to faith schooling.⁴⁰ In addition, as mentioned, the “Rushdie Affair” marks the beginning of the visible stage of Islamic politicization.

At the same time, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 left room for the emergence of radical Islamic groups internationally, and Muslim youth movements began to receive support from those groups that were established in Britain.⁴¹ Over the coming decade, both sides gradually realized they had common enemies: the capitalist-imperialist United States, and Israel. Already in 1994, Chris Harman, one of the most significant of SWP’s thinkers and for many years editor of its papers, wrote an essay, later published as a pamphlet, titled *The Prophet and the Proletariat*.⁴² In this work Harman maintains that “Islamism is the response to the ravages of Imperialism...”⁴³ and also that “Islamism has arisen in societies traumatized by the impact of Capitalism...”⁴⁴ Israel is described as “what began as a European settler colony under British sponsorship... as the State of Israel, an untrammelled dictatorship over the people of Palestine, continually dispossessing people of their homes and land...”⁴⁵ This work was later described as “a pioneering Marxist study of political Islam that helped to arm the SWP for the debates and struggles after 9/11 and thus preparing socialists to combat war and islamophobia.”⁴⁶

III. 9/11 and the Stop the War Coalition

For many in the West, the 9/11 terrorist attacks marked the beginning of a new era, in which Western countries are also subject to major attacks. For British far-left activists, however, the reading was different. Al-Qaeda and the growth of terrorism were not perceived as a “result of actions by uniquely evil people” but, instead, as

*a symptom of major political problems in the world: the growing threat of a new imperialism which walked hand in hand with neo-liberal global capital; the injustices in Middle Eastern countries, stretching from the monarchies and dictatorships which ruled virtually all of them (usually backed by the West) to the occupation of Palestine by Israel; and the inequalities of the world which led increasing numbers of young people to see the Western powers as their enemy.*⁴⁷

The War on Terror, declared by President Bush soon after the 9/11 events was, for the first time, a war “not against a state or an ideology...or even a religion, but against a method,” and its definition and difference from legitimate resistance were not clear enough for these activists.⁴⁸ They wished to see the 9/11 events treated as a crime, whereas it was clear to them that the War on Terror meant the opening of two fronts, in Afghanistan and Iraq. Furthermore, unlike the times when the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, led by Tariq Ali, had mobilized people around the country, this time British troops were directly involved, and in the leftist activists’ view, the “well-known influence pro-Israeli groups have on US foreign policy, played a major part in shaping Bush’s policy towards Iraq.”⁴⁹

So, less than two weeks after the 9/11 attacks, a meeting took place in London, called “Stop the war before it starts,” in which the main speakers were from the SWP, SA, and CND along with Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn and Tariq Ali.⁵⁰ Joint antiwar motions were able to unite the ranks of the different bodies that took part in the meeting, and within a very short time the Stop the War Coalition (StWC) was launched, gradually building its short-term and long-term influence. The StWC’s rather extensive principles, such as defending civil liberties and opposing any racist backlash, appealed to many sharing the antiwar cause and attracted the Labour left, members of the antiglobalization movement, formally nonpolitical campaigns such as the CND, and the trade unions, which were gradually “swept” into the activism.⁵¹

The general public first became aware of the MAB in April 2002 when it organized a large rally in central London “in solidarity with the Palestinian people...facing Israeli aggression of epic proportions,”⁵² during which Helbawy, Tamimi, and other Muslim, Palestinian activists and left-wing politicians involved in the StWC spoke. The demonstrators called on the British government to “work ceaselessly to stop the war crimes of the Zionist

state of Israel against the unarmed and defenceless Palestinian people," bring the then Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon before the War Crimes Tribunal, and impose arms and trade sanctions against Israel, referring to the "moral and legal obligation" the British government had toward Palestine, "as it was the major contributing element which facilitated the occupation of its lands by the Zionists."⁵³

The official connection between the two sides was made in September that year, when both were planning demonstrations for the same day – the StWC against the forthcoming war in Iraq, and the MAB to mark the anniversary of the Second Intifada. Despite many hesitations, both sides agreed to come together and organize a significant march. The rally was the first of over twenty, co-organized by the StWC and the MAB, in which the slogan "No war in Iraq...Free Palestine" was created by the MAB.⁵⁴ Over the years, the slogan extended itself to include opposition to attacking Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Iran.

The alliance between the two sides, it should be noted, is tactical, not strategic. The MAB refused to affiliate with the StWC, instead offering equal partnership, on the MAB's terms. According to Anas Altikriti: "MAB spoke to Stop the War and we said to them, we will join you; however we will not become part of your coalition, we will be a separate and independent entity but we will work together with you on a national basis as part of the anti-war movement." This also reassured the MAB that it retains its full independence, able to shape the agenda while not letting the left take over.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, much mutual influence is seen on both sides, mainly by applying similar terminology to the subjects of interest. Thus, the MAB slogan "Palestine must be free, from the river to the sea" is now ubiquitous in anti-Israeli demonstrations in the UK,⁵⁶ but the Palestinian situation is described more as involving human rights and postcolonialism.

4. Expanding the alliance: The Cairo conferences 2002-2007

Originally titled "The Cairo Conference against the US Hegemony and War on Iraq and in Solidarity with Palestine," and later "Popular Campaign for the Support of Resistance in Palestine and Iraq and against Globalization," these annual conferences were organized by the **International Campaign against U.S. and Zionist Occupation**, bringing together participants from the far left, anti-Zionists, radical Arab nationalists, and militant Islamists. Five conferences were held from 2002 to 2007; the sixth, scheduled to take place in March 2008, was called off by the Egyptian government. The leftist side was usually represented by delegates from the SWP, the StWC, and the Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign, together with delegates from British trade unions and the British antiwar movement (and later the Respect-Unity Coalition). The Islamist side included, among others, delegates from Hamas, Hizballah, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other radical organizations.

The atmosphere in all five conferences was extremely anti-Western and anti-Zionist. Speeches and declarations were based on the theory that globalization, imperialism, and occupation are the enemies of world peace, and that the United States and Israel are chiefly to blame for most local and world problems. A central theme in every conference was improving the tactics and strategies to boycott the state of Israel and Israeli products, and each conference concluded with a declaration that usually included solidarity with the Iraqi and Palestinian resistance; statements regarding the U.S. strategy aimed at undermining the social, political, and economic progress of the Arab countries and tightening its control over the world by democratic, economic, and military means; strong condemnations of aggressive Israeli policies and its U.S.-enabled genocide in the Middle East; building bridges between leftist and Islamist movements against imperialism and globalization by organizing a variety of worldwide protests, demonstrations, and campaigns against global imperialism and strengthening the antiwar movement; spreading the culture of resistance; boycotting Israeli, American, and British products and developing an economic and political boycott of the Zionist state.

The first conference, of December 2002, may have been the outgrowth of the Baghdad conference that took place in May 2002, chaired by Tariq 'Aziz, then Iraq's deputy prime minister and a close adviser of Saddam Hussein.⁵⁷ Ahmed Ben Bella, leader of the resistance to French colonialism and first president of independent Algeria, was elected as the conference's president, and John Rees of SWP and StWC became the European vice-president.⁵⁸ As part of the efforts to gain popularity and unity, the conferences themselves were followed by demonstrations in Cairo. Thus, as Rees notes, a demonstration held after the first conference in front of the Qatari embassy to protest its decision to allow American troops to deploy on its soil toward attacking Iraq, "helped raise the confidence of the radical movement in the most important city in the most important country in the Arab world."

Soon after the first conference, and in direct response to it, a number of antiwar sibling conferences were convened. They included the Japan Conference of May 2003, organized by the **International Solidarity Forum**, which produced the Tokyo Declaration, the Jakarta Peace Consensus that took place in the same month, and the Beirut-based, Hizballah-run International Strategy Meeting of September 2004. In all these and other antiwar conferences members of the StWC participated,⁵⁹ and gradually, others considering themselves part of the antiwar movement attended as well. Rees concludes: "The Cairo conference remains a unique meeting point for those fighting imperialism in the Arab world and the rest of the international movement that acts in solidarity with them." Today, many SWP members are proud of their achievement in "integrating Muslims into political life."⁶⁰

5. Moving to politics: The RESPECT-Unity coalition

The RESPECT Coalition (standing for Respect, Equality, Socialism, Peace, Environment, Community and Trade Unionism) was formed in 2004, after George Galloway, vice-president of the StWC since 2001, was expelled from the Labour Party following many controversial statements he had made in opposition to the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Respect was formed as a broad-based leftist alternative to the Labour Party by Muslim and left-wing groups in England and Wales, most prominently members of the MAB and MCB together with the SWP.⁶¹ Respect was unique in bringing together not only secular Muslims but also Islamists with the British left. Lindsey German, “convenor” of the StWC and parliamentary candidate for the Respect Party, justified this alliance by referring to the leftist principle of defending the oppressed, stating that after 9/11, racist attacks on Muslims were far worse and Muslims in Britain were experiencing a witch-hunt.⁶²

Respect’s founding declaration begins by referring to the antiwar movement, saying that “the greatest mass movement of our age has brought us together.”⁶³ It states further: “We have marched in unprecedented numbers against war, against racism, and in defence of democracy and civil liberties. Our views are shared by millions, often a majority of the people in this country. Yet no establishment politician, and very few elected representatives of any kind, will lend their voice to this movement.” Respect, however, as also noted by Shain, did not focus just on the war but followed a similar agenda to Stalin in the 1930s, who created the Popular Front. Respect sought to appeal to “pensioners, students, trade unionists, Muslims and other faith groups, socialists, ethnic minorities and many others who were deeply disappointed by the authoritarian social policies and profit-centred, neo-liberal economic strategy of the government,” claiming a “crisis of representation.”

Respects says it believes

*that there is an alternative to imperialist war, unfettered global capital, and the rule of the market. We aim for a society where wealth is created to meet the needs of the people and not the profits of the corporations. We aim to organise opposition to all forms of inequality and injustice, including the increasing abuse of human and democratic rights. We aim to oppose actively the destruction of the environment, inherent in the profit system, which threatens the future of the planet.*⁶⁴

So far, Respect achieved its biggest success in the May 2007 local elections, when it managed to enter eighteen councilors around the country. However, the months to follow saw a split between Galloway and his loyalists and the SWP, and in the 2010 general elections Respect did not enter any MPs to the parliament, winning altogether 33,251 votes or about 6.8 percent of the total vote in the country.⁶⁵

As already referred to, the MAB and BMI also enjoyed good relations with London's former mayor Ken Livingstone. Toward the 2008 mayoral elections, they tried to mobilize the Muslims in the city to vote for him, first by signing a public letter in *The Guardian* titled "Give Ken a third term: The interests of London's Muslim communities would be best served by re-electing Livingstone as mayor,"⁶⁶ and later by opening the Muslims4ken blog,⁶⁷ of which Anas Altikriti was proud for mobilizing the community and identifying itself by the faith of its target audience.⁶⁸

The StWC's success in mobilizing the antiwar/anticapitalism movement has probably caused some tension within the ranks of the SWP. In early 2010, after Lindsey German had been asked by the Party's Central Committee not to speak at a local StWC event in Newcastle, and under the claim that the party was segregating itself, sixty members, among them the main figures of the StWC resigned.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, politicizing the Muslims in Britain is perceived as one of the SWP's major achievements in the last few decades. As explained by Arun Kundnani, editor of the *Race & Class* journal: "The role of the anti-war movement and the coalitions it fostered between Islamists and the Left have obviously been central to this [politicization] dynamic and given a wide range of Muslim groups a level of confidence to speak out on issues such as civil rights and foreign policy, despite the fear of being associated with terrorism."⁷⁰ Salma Yaqoob, a close political ally of Galloway, says that:

The dominant character of Muslim radicalisation in Britain today points not towards terrorism or religious extremism, but in the opposite direction: towards political engagement in new, radical and progressive coalitions that seek to unite Muslim with non-Muslim in parliamentary and extra-parliamentary strategies to effect change. What is unique about British Muslim radicalism in the European context is the degree to which it has overlapped, intertwined and engaged with indigenous non-Muslim radicalism post-9/11...[a] sea change...has taken place in the transformation of Muslim ideas of citizenship through participation in the anti-war movement.⁷¹

Part II: The main organizations involved in the campaign

1. The Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) and the British Muslim Initiative (BMI)

The subject of the MAB's affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood was brought to discussion in the British Parliament several times both by representative bodies of the Jewish community, who highlighted its contribution to current Islamic anti-Semitism, and by British politicians concerned about its role in shaping the lives of Muslims in Britain.⁷² In November 2010, MP Alistair Burt, a parliamentary under secretary of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, stated that:

We are aware of reports which suggest that there are significant historic linkages between the Muslim Brotherhood, its overseas affiliates and Hamas. Historically the Brotherhood has presented Hamas as a legitimate resistance movement for the Palestinian people. The Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) are the Brotherhood's representative in the UK. MAB in the UK publically [sic] rejects violence and state that they work for wider Muslim integration into British society.⁷³

Ahmad Sheikh, who served as the MAB's president in the mid-2000s, says they are "not ashamed" to admit that they share some of the teachings of the Muslim Brotherhood, but insisted: "We have no link with any international organization outside this country."⁷⁴ It was the MAB that invited Sheikh Qaradawi to his famous London visit in 2004, during which the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS) was launched. The leaders of its offshoot, the British Muslim Initiative (BMI) denounced the British government's decision in February 2008 not to allow Qaradawi to obtain a visa to come again as "disgusting and outrageous," saying it was "carried out to appease a few high-ranking pro-Zionists in the Department of Communities and Local Government and right-wing politicians and media."⁷⁵

The MAB states that it is "dedicated to serving society through promoting Islam in its spiritual teachings, ideological and civilising concepts, and moral and human values – all placed in the service of humanity." It "works hand in hand with sister Muslim organisations, civic institutions, and political bodies to achieve the positive integration of Muslims in the wider British society." It "cooperates with others in tackling the complex and intractable issues affecting our society like drug addiction, rising crime, failure in

education, the spread of racism and Islamophobia, and violence – whether organised or individual, regardless of its motives,” and, like a typical organization based on Banna’s working methods, “seeks to realise its goals through its various organisational units; most importantly, Youth and Students, Women, Media, Public Relations, Education, Dawah, and Scouts.”⁷⁶

In reality, as already discussed, the MAB also played a major role in forming the political alliance with the British left, mostly manifested by the younger generation of its Brotherhood activists. Rajib al-Basil, an Egyptian journalist and blogger, explained that the MAB has two main political goals: to guide the Islamic awakening in Britain, and to raise the political awareness of the Muslims in Britain and make them more involved in the political process.⁷⁷ In one of the joint rallies with the StWC (27 September 2003), the large numbers of participants, the high level of organization, and the media and political attention received, as with a previous rally, prove that the Muslims in Britain are on their way to becoming an active lobby in British politics, having reached the stage of being able to influence the government and oppose its policy – peacefully – in matters where they see British and Muslim interests contradicting each other.⁷⁸

Al-Basil further praised the close cooperation with left-wing politicians and the slogan linking Iraq and Palestine. Within the MAB, however, a generational divide emerged with regard to political participation, with the older generation fearing it might harm their *da’wah* work. Thus, in December 2005, a new president and executive board were elected, to reflect the older generation’s regaining of its power. “Pitting the pious against the political firebrands,”⁷⁹ this led to the formation of the British Muslim Initiative (BMI) in 2006 by Sawalha, Tamimi, Tikriti, and a handful of others who wanted to ensure that their political activism, particularly in the antiwar movement, did not die away.⁸⁰ Although the nature of this split is unclear, the MAB has since reverted to focusing on various aspects of *da’wah* activities. Tikriti described the differences between the two organizations:

*The MAB is a grassroots organisation established almost 11 years ago, and I had the honour of being amongst its founding members. I am a member of MAB and was its president in 2004, although I no longer hold a leading post within it. BMI is a political organisation founded by a group of activists in 2006. It does not have a membership, nor does it cover aspects of a British Muslim’s life beyond politics (such as MAB does). I am one of the founding members, and currently spokesman for BMI.*⁸¹

The BMI adopts some of the far-left terminology, saying it seeks to “fight racism and Islamophobia, combat the challenges Muslims face around the world, encourage Muslim participation in British public life and improve relations between the West and the Muslim world.”⁸² In order to put its name out, the BMI first initiated the **IslamExpo**,

a large cultural affair that was intended to introduce Islam to the British public as a global culture and faith, shed light on the achievements of the Muslim civilization, create stronger foundations for Muslims to understand their heritage and develop their identity, encourage positive interaction between Muslims and other groups, and promote multiculturalism.⁸³ Most of the costs for the event (just over GBP 1 million) were covered by the Qatari National Council for Culture, Arts and Heritage, an arm of the Qatari government.⁸⁴ Opened on 6 July 2006 by then-London mayor Ken Livingstone and the Conservative Lord Sebastian Coe, the event was widely covered by the British media. Andrew Murray, national chair of the StWC (and director of campaigns and communications for the Transport and General Workers' Union), wrote an article titled "We need a new alliance: Muslims and the left in Britain have much to celebrate together."⁸⁵ In it he describes IslamExpo as a "marvellous cultural and political festival" and dwells on the main points of the "common agenda": anti-imperialism; equality of individuals, undivided on grounds of race; freedom; and civil liberties.

In 2008, as part of the internal British debate on the place of Islamist-government cooperation, the then minister of the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG), Hazel Blears, instructed that no minister should attend the second IslamExpo (also funded by Qatar). She explained:

As a minister dealing with this every day, I can tell you there is no easy answer to the questions of when, who and how to engage with different groups. When my predecessor Ruth Kelly became Secretary of State, she made it clear that the Government would not do business with any groups who weren't serious about standing up to violence and upholding shared values, and that has been our approach ever since.

Take the Islam Expo at the weekend. I was clear that because of the views of some of the organisers, and because of the nature of some of the exhibitors, this was an event that no Minister should attend. Organisers like Anas Altikriti, who believes in boycotting Holocaust Memorial Day. Or speakers like 'Azzam Tamimi, who has sought to justify suicide bombing....⁸⁶

Seumas Milne, *The Guardian's* associate editor and perhaps the most senior British journalist who supports the Islamist line, wrote in his column about this decision that the "organisers of IslamExpo – who have shown themselves to be committed to pluralism and ready to engage in a dialogue with their harshest critics – have been handed the political and moral high ground. The New Labour and Tory frontbenchers... on the other hand, have been left looking craven, small-minded and unable to face up to some of the most pressing demands of our time."⁸⁷ In the last few years, the BMI has participated in several campaigns that spoke about peace, tolerance, and countering racism.

In July 2006, leading figures of the BMI also launched a new Arab TV channel, Al Hiwar TV,⁸⁸ aiming to target “Arab audiences across the world with a special emphasis on Europe’s growing Arab contingent.”⁸⁹ Broadcasting from London, the channel offers a variety of programs to teenagers, adults, and older persons. The programs, so far mostly on the level of studio discussion, touch upon the daily issues of Muslims in Europe, the abovementioned religious conception of *fiqh al-’aqqaliyyat*, a special weekly *Palestinian Panorama*, and more. People such as Tamimi and Altikriti lead the channel, joined by others such as Zahir Birawi, who serves as its head of programs.⁹⁰ A special weekly program called *Reviews (muraja’at)* presents interviews with various Arab personalities who have played a historic role in “struggle, thinking or politics” regarding all aspects of ideology. Within this framework many prominent Muslim Brotherhood leaders around the world have been interviewed. At the beginning of 2007, as part of the efforts to release the BBC correspondent Alan Johnston who was being held in Gaza, Mayor Livingstone chose Al Hiwar to make an appeal for him. The channel was estimated on that occasion to have “around 2 million viewers across Europe, the Middle East and north Africa.”⁹¹

In October 2009, Rachid al-Ghannouchi, a frequent guest in the channel’s programs, said that a Quranic phrase,⁹² “to strike terror into the [hearts of the] enemies,” referring to the treatment that unbelievers should receive, “is amazing, because preparing power and strength does not mean to kill the others but rather to prevent them from attacking or carrying on aggression against you. That is why I quite like the Qassam rockets. During the war they did not kill anyone on the other side, they scared them only. It is a civilised weapon as it serves the purpose, it creates balance in power because Allah says not to exaggerate killing...” Ofcom, the British TV regulator, ruled that “Given the programme essentially permitted a guest in a discussion to praise the use of bombs, without challenge, Ofcom believed that there was insufficient justification for including the comments. As a consequence, the broadcaster failed to comply with generally accepted standards in breach of Rule 2.3 of the Code.”⁹³

2. The Palestinian Return Centre (PRC)

The PRC presents itself as “an independent consultancy focusing on the historical, political and legal aspects of the Palestinian Refugees.”⁹⁴ Specializing in the “research, analysis, and monitoring of issues pertaining to the dispersed Palestinians and their internationally recognized legal right to return,” the PRC offers “expert advice to various actors and agencies on the question of Palestinian Refugees within the context of the Nakhba – The catastrophe following the forced displacement of Palestinians in 1948 – and serves as an information repository on other related aspects of the Palestine question and the Arab-Israeli conflict.”

The PRC states eight aims for its activity, which cover the issue of the right of return from current, historical, humanitarian, legal, and political perspectives; endeavoring to strengthen a distinct Palestinian identity while preventing attempts to resettle Palestinians in other countries; and supporting the work of existing organizations such as UNRWA. The PRC is reported to have participated in the Durban Anti-Racism Conference in August 2001 under the United Nations' auspices. In the conference, which equated Israel with South Africa's apartheid, the PRC delegation took part in the work of the "refugees and displaced committee."⁹⁵ It is also a member of the Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC).⁹⁶

The PRC was officially established in 1996 by Prof. Salman Abu-Sitta,⁹⁷ who writes extensively about Palestinian-refugee issues. Abu-Sitta is reported to have phrased the motto of the global Right of Return Movement, saying that it was an "inalienable and sacred right," and he made his life's mission "documenting the *nakba*" and "ensuring as well that the memories and identity of the occupied homeland are never lost." Abu-Sitta often equates Israelis with the Nazis, and asserts that the "Palestinian Holocaust is unsurpassed in history." "For a country," he further states, "to be occupied, emptied of its people, its physical and cultural landmarks obliterated, its destruction hailed as a miraculous act of God, all done according to a premeditated plan, meticulously executed, internationally supported, and still maintained today, is no doubt the ugliest crime of modern times."⁹⁸

While Abu-Sitta seems not to be playing any official role in the PRC today, the current trustees – Majed al-Zeer, Dr. 'Arafat Shukri (also known as 'Arafat Madi), Zaher Birawi, Ghassan Fa'war, and Majdi Aqil – reflect a clear Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated background. At least some of them have also been described in the past by Israeli sources as Hamas members. A few are also members of Interpal, a UK-based charity, and member of the Qaradawi-initiated Union of Good, which has been designated by both Israel and the United States for channeling money to Hamas.⁹⁹ Subhi Saleh, an independent Egyptian MP identified with the Brotherhood, states in his CV that he is an "adjunct fellow" (*'udh murasil*) of the PRC.¹⁰⁰

The current leadership remains faithful to the unconditional right of return, and recently launched an attack on the outgoing director of UNRWA's office in New York, Andrew Whitely, who in a conference called on Palestinians to "acknowledge the fact that the probability of their returning to 'Palestine' was low," saying "they would do better to abandon the 'cruel illusions' that they would someday return to their homes [i.e., in Israel]," and "to start debating their own role in the societies where they are."¹⁰¹ The PRC responded by sending a letter to UNRWA's commissioner general to remind the organization "of its responsibility taking particular note of the historical context in which it emerged," saying that "Palestinian refugees all across the world are outraged and bitterly

disappointed by the immoral and irresponsible comments. Mr. Whitely, holding such a responsible post in New York, should have known better than to be a mouth piece of Israeli propaganda,” and that “the right of return is legally guaranteed by all international laws and this right is natural, non-negotiable and inalienable.”¹⁰²

In April 2010, it is worth noting, the PRC held a poll in association with two organizations – in Lebanon and Syria – on UNRWA’s image as perceived by Palestinian refugees in those two countries. The poll found that while 92 percent of those asked supported UNRWA’s continued provision of its services, the wide majority were not satisfied with the services it currently offers in any area.¹⁰³ On the other hand, the PRC seems to be important to UNRWA. In December 2009, for example, the PRC hosted a conference titled “UNRWA and the Future of Palestinian Refugees,” which was also attended by UNRWA officials.¹⁰⁴

The PRC works in both the civil and political areas. Described by Dr. Ghada Karmi, a prominent Palestinian, fiercely anti-Zionist writer, as “one of the most successful Arab organisations in Britain,” it publishes research-oriented material, provides much data on its own website, and also has established a Palestinian cultural center in London, “the first of its kind.”¹⁰⁵ On the political side, it conducts lobbying work on Palestinian issues and seems to be rather close to the Labour Friends of Palestine. Recently the PRC launched Abu-Sitta’s *Atlas of Palestine (1917-1966)* in an event that brought together “journalists, academics and activists.”¹⁰⁶

One of the most important of the PRC’s initiatives is the annual **Palestinians in Europe** conference, first convened in London in 2003. Eight conferences have been held so far in different European capitals; in the last few years the conference is said to be jointly organized by the PRC and the **General Secretariat of Palestinians in Europe Conference**. The conferences hosted a wide range of speakers, including some from the Palestinian Authority, but also others known for their opposition to peace such as Farouq al-Qaddumi. Hamas officials also were usually invited, but in most cases their entry was denied. For example, in this year’s conference, Hamas legislator Dr. ‘Aziz Duweik was mentioned, along with the Israeli Arab sheikh Ra’ed Salah, as being “at the forefront of speakers at the conference...”;¹⁰⁷ however, the latter’s visa was eventually revoked.¹⁰⁸

In an interview to Al Jazeera in May 2010 (prior to this year’s conference), al-Zeer described the PRC’s plans for the year, which included the launching of an annual “Nakba 48” month by eight Palestinian organizations “covering the map of the Palestinian diaspora”: the PRC, the American Palestine Right to Return Coalition,¹⁰⁹ three Syrian and two Lebanese organizations, and the High Committee for the Defense of the Right of Return in Jordan.¹¹⁰ One initiative by the **Free Gaza Movement**’s cofounder Paul Larudee, organized jointly by the PRC, the American Palestine Right to Return Coalition, and the Free Gaza Movement, includes a three-hour demonstration to be held in front of Israeli

embassies on 15 May (Israel's Independence Day) in Western capitals, holding keys to their homes in Palestine. The year 2011, Larudee added, will focus on fighting the Israeli settlements and security fence, and on the Palestinian prisoners.¹¹¹

A number of remarkable resolutions were accepted in the Palestinian conferences, such as presenting Jerusalem as the Arab cultural capital across Europe in 2009, focusing on the issue of the Palestinian prisoners in 2010, but even more notably, the formation of the **European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG)** in late 2007 or the beginning of 2008,¹¹² in order to "mobilize the greater European community in opposition to the siege on Gaza."¹¹³

The ECESG is "an umbrella body of non-governmental organizations across Europe that advocates the fundamental right of the Palestinian people in Gaza to live in peace and dignity without being subjected to any form of collective punishment such as the cutting of supplies of food, fuel and medicine or their denial of free access to travel outside Gaza Strip."¹¹⁴ This group emerged in the headlines, having been one of the main organizers of the Freedom Flotilla in May 2010. Its head is the aforementioned Dr. 'Arafat Shukri (also known as 'Arafat Madi), the PRC's operational director, and, at least until recently, it shared the same contact details as the PRC. Shukri said in April 2010 regarding the flotilla that "Conditions are ripe to make this flotilla the 'tipping point.'"¹¹⁵ On its website, the ECESG names thirty-four NGOs "forming the campaign,"¹¹⁶ the wide majority of which have been analyzed by Israeli sources and found to be close to the Muslim Brotherhood and the Union of Good.¹¹⁷ The website further names thirty individuals ("VIPs") supporting it, mainly members of parliaments and the European Parliament, who mostly seem to belong to far-left parties.¹¹⁸

In January 2010, the ECESG initiated a visit of fifty MPs and MEPs to Gaza. Upon returning, UK MPs issued an Early Day Motion to Parliament stating "that this house welcomes the work" of the ECESG for organizing the delegation.¹¹⁹ The ECESG also lobbied against Israel's acceptance to the OECD,¹²⁰ with no success.

3. The Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC)

The Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) was established in 1982, at around the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. It claims to be an independent, nongovernmental, nonparty political organization with members from all faiths and political tendencies across Britain, and increasingly throughout the world, who have all come together to work for peace and justice for the Palestinian people. These include students, faith groups, trade unions, and many other campaigning, cultural, and political organizations in Britain, Europe, and worldwide.¹²¹

According to the PSC's Memorandum of Association, it was set up to campaign for eight purposes: the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people; the right of return for the Palestinian people; the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli state from the occupied territories; against the oppression and dispossession suffered by the Palestinian people; in support of the rights of the Palestinian people and their struggle to achieve these rights; to promote Palestinian civil society in the interests of democratic rights and social justice; to oppose Israel's occupation and its aggression against neighboring states; and to oppose racism, including anti-Jewish prejudice and the apartheid and Zionist nature of the Israeli state.¹²² It is, however, important to note that the PSC's general stance regarding Israel's right to exist as an independent Jewish state is unclear. Nor does it make clear whether it supports a one-state or two-state solution. Like other groups discussed, the PRC often equates the conditions of the Palestinians with the Holocaust, speaking of "ghettolike" conditions and so on.

The PSC is operated by an executive committee of twenty persons, elected at the annual general meeting by the PSC's members. Two other members, it is important to note, represent the PSC's Trade Union Advisory Committee, reflecting the PRC's strong ties with the British trade unions. The PSC maintains forty regional groups in England and Wales, and independent groups in both Scotland and Ireland.

The Scottish PSC (SPSC) is worth highlighting here; it is considered more extremist than its English counterpart, and its activists are far more likely to stray from anti-Zionism into anti-Semitism. A good example is an article published by its chair, Nick Napier, after the terrorist attack on the Mercaz Harav Yeshiva in Jerusalem in March 2008. The article is titled "Mercaz HaRav – a training centre for illegal occupation, murder and 'Arabs to the Gas Chambers,'"¹²³ and concentrates on claims of Jews stealing Palestinian organs and using Arabs for medical experiments, all according to the alleged viewpoint of the yeshiva's founder, Rabbi A. Y. Kook, that Palestinians are nonhuman.

According to reports from the PSC's 2010 annual general meeting, membership is just over 4,400, marking an increase of about 1,000 from last year. This increase was attributed to the reaction to Israel's Operation Cast Lead.¹²⁴

The Palestinian issue has long been embraced by the far left. In 1979, for example, Phil Marfleet, who currently lectures on Third World Studies and coordinates the MA degree in Refugee Studies at the University of East London, published a pamphlet titled *Palestine Lives*. It is a Marxist historical account of the history of the land, describing how Zionism was able to "force out" Palestinians who would not cooperate with it, with support from the British capitalist establishment.¹²⁵ It is the IMG that claims it was responsible for the formation of the PSC.¹²⁶ A large number of SWP activists were involved in the early stages of the PSC, and by the 1990s the SWP had become the main force in the organization.

Former IMG activists, along with Socialist Action (SA) activists (SA was one of three groups formed out of IMG members), began to get involved again in the late 1990s, and at least two longstanding members of the current PSC Executive, Betty Hunter and Bernard Regan, were IMG members. In addition, two of the four PSC employees have been active within the SA's ranks. In the last two years, some members of the PSC Executive, in particular Tony Greenstein and Roland Rance, have tried to fight what they saw as "increasingly successful attempts of a tiny group of what have been termed Political Freemasons, Socialist Action (SA), to take over the political and administrative machinery of PSC."¹²⁷ The SA's involvement does not, however, seem to be as new as they claim.

The PSC is very active both in domestic and European politics, as well as in civil areas, focusing on its appeal to boycott Israeli goods, especially settlement goods. It runs the Boycott Israeli Goods (BIG) Campaign¹²⁸ from its London office. The BIG Campaign now also links to the website of the Global BDS Movement, and, as reported on its website, PSC activists took a large part in the recent Global BDS action week in different meetings and protests in front of supermarkets. The PSC lobbies British and EU politicians on a regular basis, and has a group of MPs coordinating their activities with the organization and raising relevant issues in Parliament, such as calling on Israel to end its "illegal occupation" of the West Bank and Gaza, bringing those responsible for "war crimes" to justice, working to end the siege on Gaza, calling on the government to ban the import of settlement goods, and ending Britain's arms trade with Israel. To the EU it calls to suspend its Association Agreements with Israel.

As noted, the PSC is deeply involved with the British trade unions, and it is believed to have taken part in a series of motions that several unions passed in the last three years. The PSC has a **Trade Union Advisory Committee** (TUAC) composed of representatives of the national affiliates, which meets regularly to discuss and plan actions to build the campaign for justice for the Palestinians.¹²⁹ The PSC organizes delegations to the West Bank. These focus on trade-union activists and officials, MPs, and other key political pressure points. Returnees from the delegation trips have come back highly motivated, and they are used as speakers at events for local branches to give eyewitness reports. Eyewitness reports also came from activists who took part in the Freedom Flotilla in May 2010.

In these events, the speakers who participate are from main Islamist/Brotherhood-affiliated organizations such as the MAB, BMI, MCB, and Friends of Al-Aqsa. The PSC also organizes an annual rally in Trafalgar Square to coincide with Nakba Day, marked on 15 May, and joined StWC and the other main bodies that mobilized demonstrations against Israel in response to various Middle Eastern events.

4. Middle East Monitor (MEMO)

The Middle East Monitor (MEMO) is a PR and opinions website and activist entity that emerged in mid-2009. Introducing itself, MEMO says that “The use or misuse of information was always central to the conflict in the Middle East. There is an urgent need for supporters of the Palestinian cause in particular to master the art of information gathering, analysis and dissemination. This requires well organized, focused and targeted operations. Such initiatives are virtually non-existent in the West today.” MEMO intends not only to fill this gap, which others do as well, but it “seeks to go one step further; to reach out to opinion makers and decision makers in a deliberate, organized and sustained manner,” and “become an essential point of reference for journalists, researchers, human rights organisations and NGOs as well as policy and decision-makers across the political spectrum.”¹³⁰

Under the title “Our Strengths,” MEMO says it intends to bring the Islamic point of view to the coverage of Palestine, “something which none has undertaken in the West.” Its PR strategy focuses on media, political, and community engagement, and it claims to provide reliable primary sources of information, experienced and approachable specialists, and in-person meetings with actors on the ground.

MEMO is led by Dr. Daud Abdullah, and Ibrahim Hewitt is senior editor of its website. Abdullah was formerly deputy secretary general of the MCB and a senior researcher in the PRC for Palestinian issues. Abdullah is a Muslim convert, born in Grenada, who in 1976, after converting to Islam, joined the Islamic Party in Grenada, known as close to the Brotherhood’s ideology.¹³¹ In 2009, he made the headlines in Britain when the abovementioned Hazel Blears, then minister of the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), urged him to quit his role at the MCB, having signed the pro-Hamas **Istanbul Declaration**, which also suggested that foreign navies might be attacked if they halt arms smuggling to Gaza.¹³² His refusal to do so caused the minister to cut all official government ties with the organization.¹³³ Ibrahim Hewitt, a head schoolteacher, served as chairman of Interpal for many years. The Honorary Advisers of MEMO are also known Islamists or Islamist supporters such as the aforementioned Salman Abu Sitta, Baroness Jenny Tonge, Oliver McTernan, and Tariq Ramadan.

MEMO’s work made headlines in Israel when in February 2010 it interviewed Col. (ret.) Desmond Travers, coauthor of the Goldstone Report. In the interview Travers said, for instance, that the number of rockets that had been fired into Israel in the month preceding their operations was something like two.¹³⁴

In addition to its website, MEMO initiates or joins various seminars and events on relevant issues. Although most of the other organizations it shares platforms with are

either Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated or known as Islamist supporters, it seems to have reached the level of more respected institutions such as, for example, Chatham House.¹³⁵ As a media-oriented organization, MEMO's staff is reported to have been interviewed by various outlets, most of them Islamist. Here too, however, its people were also interviewed by more mainstream outlets such as Channel 4 and Sky. MEMO also organizes trips for journalists. The one in May 2010 to Syria and Lebanon, for example, resulted in an interview of Hamas leader Khalid Mash'al by *The Guardian*.¹³⁶

Another subject that MEMO focuses on is the legal battle and aspirations to bring "Israeli war criminals" to justice. In December 2009, it held a seminar titled "Universal Jurisdiction against Israeli War Criminals,"¹³⁷ "a groundbreaking event which brought together people from a wide variety of backgrounds and professions including academics, lawyers, peace activists, an MP and many others, all of whom were united by a common interest, to see justice served on behalf of the Palestinian people."¹³⁸ The seminar was reportedly attended by all four barristers who were previously involved in issuing warrants against Israeli seniors planning to visit the UK: solicitor Daniel Machover (son of Prof. Moshe Machover of Matzpen), cofounder of **Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights**; solicitor Tayab Ali; and barristers Michel Masseh QC and Paul Troop. The event, described as a "great success,"¹³⁹ was chaired by solicitor Sarah McSherry, an Executive Committee member of Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights.¹⁴⁰ The Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights' website links to many NGOs, including Israeli and Palestinian ones, with which it probably also cooperates in various ways.¹⁴¹ In addition, as unveiled by Israeli sources, and also reported by *The Times*, Hamas itself masterminds the efforts to have senior Israeli leaders arrested for alleged war crimes when they visit European countries including Britain,¹⁴² via the Central Committee for Documentation (*tawthiq*) and Prosecuting Israeli War Criminals, which it set up in January 2009 under its Justice Ministry.¹⁴³ In June 2010, MEMO also published a briefing titled "Europe's role in strengthening and protecting Universal Justice."¹⁴⁴

5. Viva Palestina

Viva Palestina is a UK charity registered in April 2009, founded by George Galloway following Operation Cast Lead with two stated objectives:

- 1) Provision from the UK of food, medicine and essential goods and services needed by the civilian population
- 2) Highlighting the causes and results of wars with a view to achieving peace.¹⁴⁵

Viva Palestina works under the name Lifeline to Gaza; its main operation is organizing aid convoys to "break the siege" imposed on the Strip by Israel. The latest "Lifeline for Gaza global convoy" (number 5) arrived in Gaza toward the end of October 2010.¹⁴⁶ Among the charity's trustees is Kevin Ovenden, a member, close to Galloway, of Respect's leadership, also described as the "organizer" of the convoys or "director" of the charity. Galloway,

who led the first three land convoys, is now described as “founder of the worldwide Viva Palestina movement.”¹⁴⁷ Viva Palestina’s website now refers to ten “partner” organizations around the world,¹⁴⁸ reflecting the alliance between Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organizations and far-left Western activists. Among these are the U.S. branch, a Canadian organization, and other organizations from the Gulf, Malaysia, New Zealand, and Australia. The Italian operation is conducted by its local International Solidarity Movement (ISM) branch; in Turkey, it links to the IHH, which apparently started to play a major role in the organization since the third convoy; and in Jordan to the local Lifeline for Gaza Committee, which operates under the auspices of the Brotherhood-controlled trade unions. In addition, Zaher Birawi takes part in all convoys as “official spokesman,” and Muhammad Sawalha also appears as one of the organizers, under his title as vice-head of the International Committee to Break the Siege on Gaza.

While participants in the first convoy (March 2009) met with Hamas’s PM Ismail Haniyyeh quite openly, delivering the goods they brought with them as well as \$25,000 in cash to Hamas, seen as the democratically elected government of Palestine, participants in the second convoy, especially Americans, were more cautious because Hamas is a designated terrorist organization in the United States. One participant, for example, wrote:

*VIVA PALESTINA members spent our 24 hours in Gaza as guests of the Palestinian National Authority which provided bus service, hotel, meals, security (photo at right), and a tour of Gaza. Noting that the Palestinian National Authority in the Gaza Strip is Hamas, and supporting Hamas is illegal for Americans because the U.S. Government considers Hamas a terrorist organization, I took care to distance myself from tour events that were not humanitarian in nature. I sat in the bus during meetings with Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh, at the bombed Parliament building, and at the Ministry of Detainees (the later [sic] with relatives of Hamas men who are prisoners in Israel).*¹⁴⁹

Nevertheless, close following of the convoys’ routes, welcome parties, and meetings easily reveals that many of those were either with Hamas’s top leadership, other Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organizations, or far-left European politicians and campaigners. Perhaps a new escalation in mobilizing Palestinian resistance can be traced in the recent convoy, which, in Syria, was welcomed in a rally held by the Palestinian resistance (*muqawama*) groups such as Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SNP).¹⁵⁰

A brother of a participant in the third convoy (January 2010) expressed his thoughts on the convoy’s organizers’ conduct, saying: “Whatever the views of the struggle between Israel and Palestine, surely the arrival of a convoy of aid, helping those most in need, and brought about almost entirely as a result of personal sacrifice and charity should be celebrated?” For some, he continues,

*this is not the case – and, looking at the past few weeks, it is not hard to find the reasons behind that. Violence has sprung up not only between convoyers and the Egyptians, but between Palestinians and Egyptians, leading to the tragic loss of a border guard's life on Tuesday night. In addition, the inability of truly neutral players to get involved in events such as this – which highlight the situation, as well as address the lack of necessities – has led to the efforts of many being maligned by the association with extremism and anti-semitism.*¹⁵¹

The events referred to in this post concern the conflict the convoy came into with the Egyptian army, which descended into violence and ended with the killing of an Egyptian border guard, resulting in Galloway's being deported from Egypt and being declared *persona non grata*.¹⁵² These events followed the convoy's wish to enter Gaza through the Port of Nuweiba, in the Sinai Peninsula, despite Egyptian instructions to cross through the Port of El-'Arish. The clashes, as confirmed at the time by Al Jazeera, began in a rally called for in the Palestinian side by Hamas, during which protesters started throwing stones at the Egyptian side,¹⁵³ which also exposed the close cooperation between the Egyptian Brotherhood and Hamas.

The real purpose of these convoys was also revealed by Sawalha in an interview to Hizballah's magazine *Al-Intiqad*, soon after the return of the third convoy: "the Lifeline Convoy tries to gather the free people of the world to bring them all together in service of the idea of resistance [*muqawama*] and the people's right to resist the occupation." Interviewed in Beirut during a conference organized by the **Arab-International Forum for Support of the Resistance**, he further explained: "What makes this conference so special is that it transforms the issue of resistance into a general conception and culture of the nation...not everyone is able to practice resistance directly, but people are able to help it in its different forms." He added: "The nation today...is divided into two cultural trends, one is the resistance trend, and the other is the trend of submission, which holds most of the gates, institutions and parties; behind it stand many countries supported by the West".¹⁵⁴ In the same interview he further announced the preparations for a sea convoy (May's Flotilla), adding "this time we want to confront the Zionist enemy directly."

6. The Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC)

The Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) was set up in 1997 as an "independent, not-for-profit, campaign, research and advocacy organization based in London, UK," aspiring to fulfill "the Qur'anic injunctions (4:75) that command believers to rise up in defence of the oppressed." The IHRC also holds a consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council.¹⁵⁵

According to its website, the IHRC runs a series of projects. Some of these deal with issues concerning Muslims in Britain, antiterror laws, and their own expectations from their government. Another project is the annual Islamophobia Award, “to acknowledge – through satire, revue and comedy – the worst Islamophobes of the year.”¹⁵⁶ However, the large majority are projects dealing with boycotting Israeli goods and commemorating events related to the Palestinians. One of these events, the **Genocide Memorial Day**, had been marked in January 2010 to coincide with the anniversary of the “Gaza massacre and its fallen victims.”¹⁵⁷ The event was supported by several Islamist and far-left organizations as well. However, the most important annual event organized by the IHRC is of **Al-Quds Day** in the last Friday of the month of Ramadhan, first held in Iran in 1979 following a call from Ayatullah Khomeini, who said that “It is not an exclusive day for Quds itself. It is a day for the oppressed to rise and stand up against the arrogant.”¹⁵⁸ Along with other Islamist, far-left, and anti-Zionist organizations, the IHRC is usually the main organizer of the annual march that takes place in London.

On the whole, the IHRC is considered supportive of the Iranian regime, and usually refrains from harsh criticism of its human rights abuses. On the June 2009 events, for example, the IHRC press release acknowledged that most protests were peaceful, but “also contained violent fringe elements including organised groups committed to violence and instability in the region.” The IHRC further said it was “concerned with the allegations of external forces in the promotion of violence and feels that such involvement is counter-productive and damaging to civil society in Iran.”¹⁵⁹

For the IHRC, “Zionism” does not mean Israel alone but relates to “Zionist” influence around the world. For example, in May 2009, the heads of the American charity Holy Land Foundation (HLF) were sentenced to very long prison terms for channeling money to Hamas. The IHRC’s press release on the issue was titled “Ghassan Elashi, and the HLF, hostages to Zionism in the USA.”¹⁶⁰ In November 2010, an event was held in the Venezuelan embassy in London titled “The Outbreak of the Intifada: Turning Back the Empire.” The IHRC reported that “Zionist-Apartheid bullying... through their press, attempted to sabotage the day and bully the organisers. Their attempts utterly failed.”¹⁶¹

7. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was established in 1957 by left-wing activists, and for many years has been dominated by the far left. It claims to be Europe’s largest single-issue peace campaign. Its website says that it “campaigns non-violently to rid the world of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and to create genuine security for future generations.” The CND further says it “opposes all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction: their development, manufacture, testing, deployment and use or threatened use by any country” and refers to four strategic

objectives, as decided by delegates to its annual conference: the elimination of British nuclear weapons and global abolition of nuclear weapons; the abolition of other threats of mass destruction or indiscriminate effect; a nuclear-free, less militarized, and more secure Europe; and the closure of the nuclear power industry.¹⁶²

The CND is built up as a network of regional organizations, local groups, and individual members from across Britain. It has a national office in London, regional offices in several cities, and independent campaigns in Scotland and Ireland. In addition, there are student CND groups, another group within the Labour Party, a Christian group, and other homogeneous groups. The different member groups of the campaign operate independently in local campaigns or on specific aspects, and join national events such as rallies. At the CND Annual Conference delegates from local groups, regions, and specialist sections, as well as individuals, elect a chair, three vice-chairs, and a treasurer; they then debate and decide on general campaigning policies and priorities for the year ahead.¹⁶³

Two of the CND's past campaigns are famous for having been influential. In the 1960s, it waged its first campaign for unilateral disarmament by Britain at a time when the prospect of a nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union seemed real enough; and another campaign in the early 1980s when Cruise missiles were deployed in Britain and Germany in a U.S. endeavor to gain a first-strike capacity against the Soviets. During the 1960s and 1970s, CND members were subject to surveillance by MI5, which regarded the campaigns as being operated by a "subversive group."¹⁶⁴

For many organizations and movements that operated in the Cold War context, adapting to the new realities of the post-Cold War world posed a challenge. One of the subjects that started to occupy the minds of some CND members during the 1990s was Israel's secret nuclear arsenal, which "casts a long shadow over Middle East politics."¹⁶⁵ As for the CND's leadership, the 9/11 bombings and the War on Terror enabled it to turn to more political issues, similarly to the position the Campaign took in opposing the Vietnam War. The CND's 2001 Annual Conference, which took place just a few days after 9/11, "was overwhelmingly united in condemning the terrorism, but also in condemning state terrorism too." Moreover, "CND's view was that the criminals who perpetrated the crime should be brought to justice, but we completely opposed plans to launch a military attack on Afghanistan in response."¹⁶⁶ So the campaign extended its activities to include opposition to U.S. and British policy in the Middle East. According to the StWC's conveyors, the great majority of the CND leadership and membership, particularly in London, immediately flung itself into the antiwar movement and "never looked back."¹⁶⁷ The CND joined the StWC and the MAB (and later the BMI) to organize more than twenty antiwar marches. In addition, the CND says it has also linked with peace and antiwar campaigns internationally, with the aim of coordinating international opposition – such as the **Global Day of Action against the war in Iraq** on 15 February 2003.

This cooperation, as well as the fact that the CND itself refused to criticize Palestinian and pro-Palestinian terrorism or the use of Holocaust and Nazi imagery in its condemnations of Israel, brought the Jewish Board of Deputies to complain in a letter in January 2003 about the CND's association with unrestrained anti-Israeli hatred, connecting Middle Eastern events to the level of anti-Semitic attacks in Britain.¹⁶⁸ The CND promised that the next demonstration "would be free from inappropriate slogans and chants," adding that a CND representative's equating Israel's actions with Nazi Germany was not acceptable.¹⁶⁹

8. Jews for Justice for the Palestinians (JfJfP)

Jews for Justice for Palestinians (JfJfP) is a network of Jews who are British or live in Britain, practicing and secular, Zionist and not. The group, described by the Jewish press in the UK as being "on the very margins of the Jewish community,"¹⁷⁰ opposes "Israeli policies that undermine the livelihoods, human, civil and political rights of the Palestinian people," yet also "supports the right of Israelis to live in freedom and security within Israel's 1967 borders."¹⁷¹ The organization claims to have garnered over 1,500 signatories from the academy, physicians, several rabbis, and an MP, and on its website adds new signatories on a monthly basis.¹⁷² Some of the signatories are known anti-Zionist figures, or members of far-left parties covered in this report.

JfJfP says it works "to build world-wide Jewish opposition to the Israeli Occupation, with like-minded groups around the world," and is

a founding member of European Jews for a Just Peace, a federation of Jewish groups in ten European countries whose principles include: condemnation of all violence against civilians in the conflict, no matter by whom it is carried out; recognition of Israel's 1967 'green line' borders; commitment to the Palestinians' right to a state in the territories currently occupied by Israel in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza; calling on Israel to acknowledge its part in the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem and its obligation to negotiate a just, fair and practical resolution of the issue.

On its website the organization mainly links to local Palestinian campaigns, as well as to a campaign for boycotting Israeli goods and stopping arms trades with it.

Under "Related Organisations" it links only to the **Israeli Committee against House Demolitions (ICAHD)**. Established in 1997 by Israeli professor Jeff Halper as a "non-violent, direct-action organization...to resist Israeli demolition of Palestinian houses in the Occupied Territories," today, according to its website, ICAHD runs additional campaigns related to international BDS actions, as well as against arms trade with Israel. Halper is

known as a supporter of a “one-state” solution, and often speaks of Israel as an apartheid state. The ICAHD also has U.S. and UK branches.

In a February 2009 interview with the Egyptian paper *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, Kemal Helbawy pointed out the major role that, according to him, the Muslim Brotherhood played in organizing demonstrations against Israel in various places around the world during Operation Cast Lead, “to protest against the massacres it committed in the Strip.” The demonstrations, however, were not held under the Brotherhood’s signboards but “under the cover of relief organizations.” Two Jewish organizations cited as having coordinated demonstrations with the Brotherhood are the ICAHD and Jews against Zionism (Neturei Karta). Both groups, according to Helbawy, “had accepted the co-ordination with the Brotherhood by organising joint demonstrations in the UK capital.”¹⁷³ In London, some of these demonstrations led to clashes with the police and acts of vandalism against shops suspected as “Zionist supporters” such as Tesco and Starbucks Coffee. A few of the participants were even later sentenced to jail.

Part III: Who are the “mainstreaming agents”?

We saw that the main organizations and groups involved in Israel’s delegitimization efforts come from small, ideologically motivated circles. True, their devotion to their causes and enthusiasm for change are remarkable. However, these are still not enough. In order to gain more credibility, these groups must be portrayed as working from the “mainstream” to promote justice and human rights. This can be achieved with the help of “mainstreaming agents” in various fields.

I. Politics

Politicians from all over the spectrum cooperate and promote some of the lobbying work that we have followed, through lobbying groups within the three major UK parties. Among them, the most important group is probably **Labour Friends of Palestine & the Middle East (LFPME)**, established in 2008. Its main policy pamphlet, “Stop building hatred,”¹⁷⁴ focuses on Israel’s “illegal settlements” (covering the areas of the Gaza Strip, West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights), as well as U.S. aid to Israel in both military and civilian measures.

The LFPME’s website, however, tells a different story. A historical timeline it provides, titled “Palestine’s modern history,” can only be described as completely one-sided. Starting with the Balfour Declaration in 1917, in which “The colonial British government decrees that Palestine will be a future homeland of the Jews,” it goes on to survey the most important events. The 1948 war, for instance, is described thus: “The state of Israel is declared. Expulsions and ethnic cleansing begin. When the British leave in May 1948 a third of the Palestinian population has already been evicted. The result is the first Arab-Israeli war, which lasts from May 1948 until January 1949.” The Six Day War in 1967 is portrayed as “Israel occupies the Sinai Peninsula (belonging to Egypt), the West Bank (previously administered by Jordan) and the Golan Heights (belonging to Syria).” More recent episodes completely ignore Israel’s disengagement from the Gaza Strip, and Operation Cast Lead is referred to as “November 2008: Israel breaks the ceasefire with Hamas and follows it with a well-planned three week assault on the Gaza Strip.”¹⁷⁵

Members of the LFPME (which claims to have the support of more than sixty MPs) issue motions on different issues concerning the situation in Gaza, Israeli settlements, and trade agreements; they also participate in relevant events either organized by groups referred to in this report or by the LFPME itself. In addition, the LFPME says it is “well represented” in the **Britain-Palestine All Party Parliamentary Group (BPAPPG or APPG)**. The APPG is chaired by MP Richard Burden (Labour), and its official secretariat is managed by the influential **Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU)**,¹⁷⁶

also known to be working closely with the above-described Palestine Solidarity Campaign. In the last few years, several delegations went to Gaza on behalf of the APPG; all seem to have been coordinated with CAABU.

II. Media

The best way for small and rather marginal groups, such as those mostly engaged with Israel's delegitimization campaign, to gain exposure is through the media. Britain today is a major capital for world media, and serves as the base for the BBC, the largest global media network, for important economic papers such as the *Financial Times*, and for the popular *Guardian's* website's open platform "Comment is Free" (CiF). This is in addition to being the capital for international Arab media outside the Middle East. In the last few years, other leading Islamist outlets were also established in the country, such as the Al Jazeera English channel, the aforementioned Al Hiwar TV channel, the Iranian English channel Press TV, and more. Leading Brotherhood figures make use of all these channels, have written articles on CiF for a long time, and are regularly interviewed by different outlets of the Arab and Islamist media. The far left, on the other hand, is represented in main papers such as *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, and sometimes in other papers and channels such as the BBC that are not automatically identified as leftist or liberal.

Activists from both groups appear and engage in debates, usually describing themselves as human rights, welfare, or community representative bodies. Thus, marginal groups such as the Muslim Public Affairs Committee (MPAC UK), featured in the 2007 report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism, are frequently invited to attend BBC discussions on relevant issues, as organizations aiming to "empower" Muslims in the country. The BBC also uses Abdel Bari 'Atwan (see "The academy") as commentator on Middle Eastern issues. However, as far as anti-Israeli and other joint "red-green" activities that might be perceived as controversial are concerned, usually the Islamists give interviews to the Arab and Islamist media while the far-left activists turn to Western outlets.

In addition, activists from both sides widely use new-media outlets, opening notice boards, Facebook, and Twitter pages, and often also give interviews to news websites.

III. Trade unions

The British trade unions are very important players in the country's civilian infrastructure. They represent millions of workers in various fields, who serve as a great potential – via their leaders – to "mainstream" political causes such as those of the "antiwar movement." Traditionally the trade unions were closer to the Labour Party, out of which the far-left groups we surveyed have developed. In addition, some of the leaders of the StWC themselves represent different trade unions, and, as described by Murray and German, the

StWC core leadership came to be when they approached each other as representatives of their unions during the first meeting.¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, the Middle Eastern Muslim Brotherhood has been close to trade unions for many years, whether in Egypt, where it is identified with leading the syndicates of free professions such as the journalists', doctors', lawyers' associations and so on, or in Jordan, where it controls the syndicates even more openly. Thus, as already discussed, the trade unions are a strategic and easy target for organizations such as the PSC.

IV. The academy

When considering the academic world, it should first be remembered that today the influence of anti-Zionist scholars such as Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, and others is very significant. Along with them, Israeli anti-Zionist scholars working in Britain should also be noted, such as Prof. Ilan Pappé, as well as Palestinian scholars such as the aforementioned Dr. Ghada Karmi, who express the "Palestinian narrative" and are also usually active in various lobbying groups. Academic unions were the first to initiate boycotts of Israeli institutions, with the SWP being the driving force behind the September 2007 initiative (until it backed off).¹⁷⁸

The students themselves, thanks to their relatively young age, enthusiasm, and traditional political involvement, are a primary target audience for the anti-Zionist campaigners. Thus, far-left groups such as the SWP and SA have active student societies, in addition to the StWC and Respect, which operate student societies on important campuses. The PSC also appeals to students through targeted publications and other means. On the other hand, there are Palestine societies in leading academic institutions, as well as Islamic societies, which mostly come under the wing of the Federation of Student Islamic Societies in the UK & Ireland (FOSIS). FOSIS was established in 1962 to serve as the "voice" of the Muslim students in Britain. Several indications connect its historical roots to Islamist scholars identified with the Muslim Brotherhood and its Indian "cousin," Abu al-A'ala al-Mawdudi's Jamaat-e-Islami.¹⁷⁹ Frequently campuses, as part of academic freedom, provide a platform for controversial issues and figures. In February 2010, for example, the police said it would investigate 'Azzam Tamimi after he had praised Hamas and called for the state of Israel to come to an end.¹⁸⁰ In December 2010, a talk with Abdel Bari 'Atwan, editor in chief of the London-based *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*, was reported to have degenerated into an extremely hostile atmosphere for Jewish and Israeli students.¹⁸¹ Official Israeli speakers, on the other hand, are often subject to organized activities that prevent them from speaking. In February 2010, Prof. Benny Morris, a well-known Israeli revisionist political historian, had his talk at Cambridge University canceled following pressure from the Islamic Society and members of staff, who accused him of being an "Islamophobe."¹⁸²

The FOSIS website provides a summary of student activism across British campuses in 2009, in the aftermath of Operation Cast Lead, when students occupied buildings in

Britain's leading universities out of solidarity with the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. These activities reached the London School of Economics, King's College, Oxford University, Edinburgh University, Nottingham University, and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), among others. At SOAS the student activists worked with the StWC. At Manchester University the Israeli deputy ambassador to the UK, Talya Lador-Fresher, was attacked by an organization called **Action Palestine**, which works with other groups such as the PSC and StWC. The BBC and *The Guardian* covered the wave of protests across Britain. What the protests demonstrated was an ability of these groups to bring out supporters across British campuses and to obtain media coverage for their cause.

This was followed by another disturbing trend, the proposals at British universities to "twin" themselves with the **Islamic University of Gaza**, which was used as a military site by Hamas during Operation Cast Lead. The idea was raised at the London School of Economics. In 2008, the head of the Islamic Law Department of the Islamic University of Gaza, Yunis al-Astal, called for *mahraqa* (burning or Holocaust) of the Jews. Al-Astal is also a member of the Hamas parliament and is viewed as part of the Hamas leadership in Gaza. It is extremely doubtful that British students knew about al-Astal's views, but their readiness to adopt a stronghold of Hamas indicates how successful the Islamist efforts in Britain had become.

V. Israel's lack of a PR strategy

Notwithstanding the delegitimizing tendencies that have developed against Israel, it does not appear that Israel itself has formulated a coherent strategy to tackle these tendencies. There is insufficient understanding of the British and European civil society structures, and hardly any official use of new-media outlets. Instead Israel seems to stick to military measurements such as threat assessments and the like. The best case study for this claim is Israel's treatment of the May 2010 Freedom Flotilla. Despite the fact that the main organizers of the flotilla openly spoke about their intentions, no official Israeli bodies have either exposed them or dealt with the identities of the organizers, and their affiliation with the far left and the Muslim Brotherhood.

As uncovered by Israeli sources, media outlets that accompanied the flotilla did not include any major, "mainstream" agencies.¹⁸³ It was only Israel's military action that brought worldwide interest in the flotilla, and even then the flotilla participants were mainly described as "peace" or "humanitarian" activists. A simple search, for example, would have found that the Free Gaza Movement (affiliated with the International Solidarity Movement, ISM) has received a large donation of 300,000 Euros from the **Perdana for Peace Global Movement**, established by the anti-Semitic/anti-American, former Malaysian prime minister Mahathir Mohamad.¹⁸⁴

VI. The Global Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement

The Global BDS movement operates its own website, and toward the UN Durban Review Conference in November 2008, the Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC) had published a position paper titled “United against Apartheid, Colonialism and Occupation: Dignity & Justice for the Palestinian People,” endorsed by “hundreds of international civil society organizations and networks.”¹⁸⁵ Yet it seems that the BDS itself is not an organized movement but, instead, a concept formed between 2005-2007 on the South African model, intended to “strengthen and spread the culture of Boycott as a central form of civil resistance to Israeli occupation and apartheid.”¹⁸⁶ The Global BDS campaign is meant to coordinate between various Palestinian bodies on the issues of boycotting Israel by political, economic, and cultural means, and rejects any attempt for normalization between Israel and Palestine. The figure most identified with the BDS initiative is the Israeli Arab citizen Omar Barghouti. According to Prof. Rachel Giora, an Israeli supporter of the BDS, the emergence of the Israeli BDS movement has mostly been reactive to Palestinian and international calls, illustrated by different motions that she lists. According to her, “The major role of the Israeli BDS movement has been to support international BDS calls against Israel and legitimize them both as clearly not anti-Semitic, as not working against Israelis but against Israeli governmental policies, and as supporting a legitimate nonviolent means by which Palestinian civil society can reclaim and re-own its people’s rights and freedoms.”¹⁸⁷

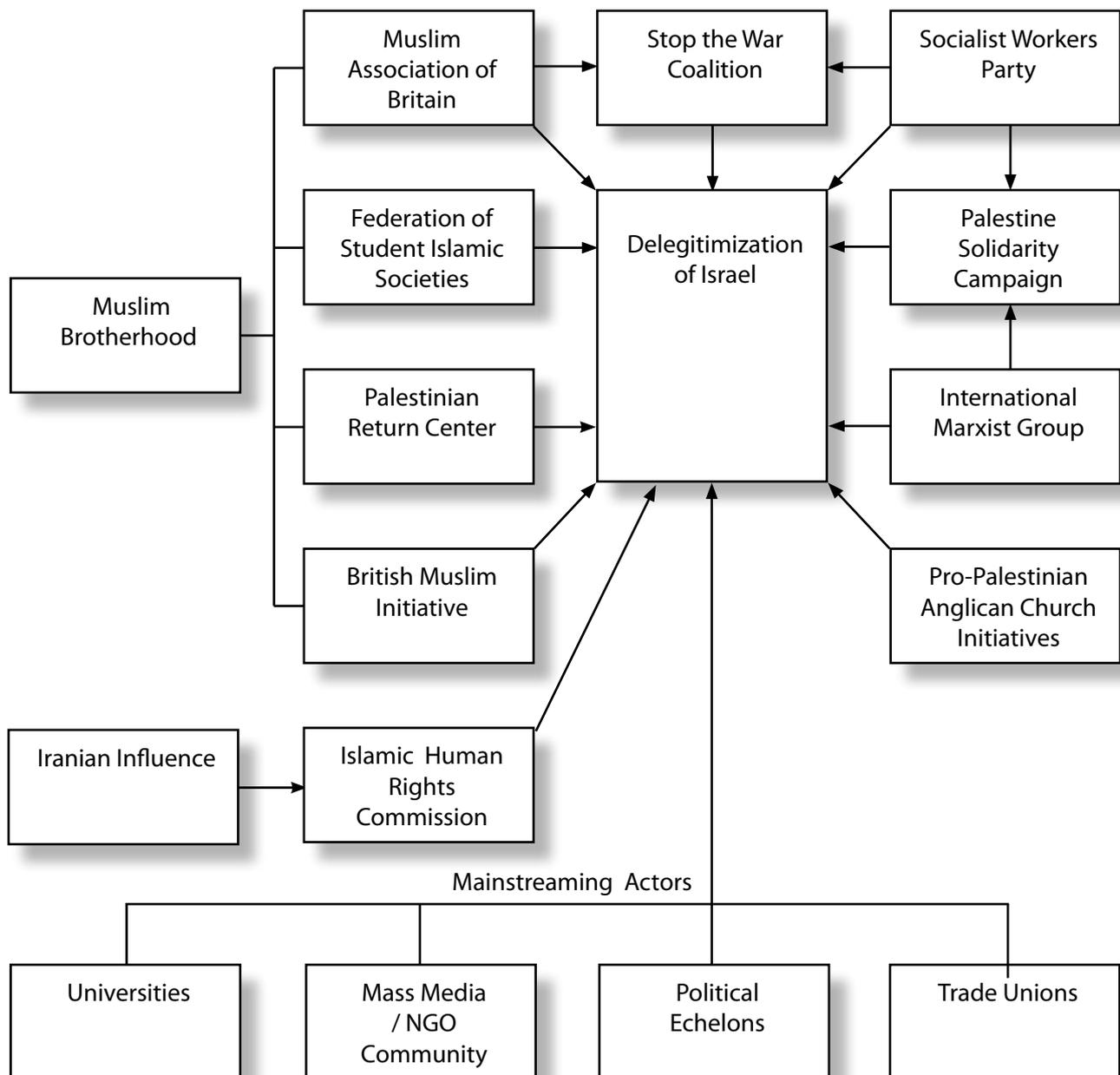
With what seems to be a growing momentum of equating Israel with South Africa’s apartheid system, the BDS campaign has the potential to persuade more relevant organizations from around the world to adopt its principles, as indeed occurs in Britain with major groups such as the PSC. Since commercial companies usually do not report on sanctions or lack of cooperation on a political basis, it is difficult to assess the number of cases involved. So far, in Britain, the primary manifestation seems to have been the voluntary guidance issued in December 2009 by the government’s **Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra)**, which recommends a different labeling for Israeli and Palestinian products made in the West Bank,¹⁸⁸ a call now also referred to the EU by the current shadow foreign secretary Yvette Cooper.¹⁸⁹

In any case, it is clear that BDS supporters and promoters tend to exaggerate and “dress up” commercial decisions in BDS clothes.

A few recent cases of this tendency were described by the American Jewish Committee’s Ben Cohen on *Huffington Post*.¹⁹⁰ Cohen also quotes John Haber, who writes and acts to stop the BDS campaign, as saying:

Having failed to get a single college or university to divest in the Jewish state, having lost their few attempts to win a divestment victory with municipalities and unions, and now having lost the support of the Mainline Protestant community (once the flagship for the BDS enterprise), "Team Divestment" has been reduced to manufacturing pretend victories where none exist. The strategy seems to be to anticipate likely financial decisions (such as companies trying to get rid of their Israel-Africa shares as fast as possible, given the company's huge losses and exposure in the real estate markets), send out press releases claiming that these normal business transactions actually represent political choices on the part of large institutions, and hope someone in the media takes the bait.¹⁹¹

Mapping the Main Forces behind Global Delegitimization of Israel in the UK



Endnotes

- 1 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TB1bgzbW9Yw>.
- 2 Hasan al-Banna, *Majmu'at rasail al-imam al-shahid Hasan al-Banna*, Beirut (undated), pp. 100-101.
- 3 British National Archives, FO 371/110840, Report on Islamic Conference in Jerusalem: meetings of Moslem Brotherhood and its activities in various Middle Eastern countries, 1954.
- 4 Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, Indianapolis, American Trust Publications, c1993, pp. 6, 155.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- 6 Dore Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism*, Washington, DC, Regnery, 2003, p. 90.
- 7 The University of al-Madinah might be defined as a sort of melting pot of modern Islamism. From the Indian subcontinent, for example, Abu al-A'ala al-Mawdudi, founder of Jamaat-e-Islami, is also said to have "played a part" in its inception, see Syed Vali Reza Nasr, *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 166, n. 71.
- 8 United States Government Accountability Office, Report to Congressional Requesters, Information on U.S. Agencies' Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism, *INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS* (September 2005), p. 6, <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05852.pdf>; *ISLAMIC EXTREMISM IN EUROPE: HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND EMERGING THREATS OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION APRIL 27, 2005*, p. 44, http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intlrel/hfa20917.000/hfa20917_0.HTM.
- 9 <http://www.alnefisi.com/Default.aspx?Pages=item&id=62>.
- 10 Reuven Paz, *Qaradhawi and the World Association of Muslim Clerics: The New Platform of the Muslim Brotherhood* (PRISM Series on Global Jihad, no. 4/2, November 2004), pp. 1-2, http://www.e-prism.org/images/PRISM_no_4_vol_2_-_Qaradhawi.pdf.
- 11 This article elicited many waves in the Arab media, see, for example, 'al-Nafisi yad'u ila hal tanzim al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin wa-yushidu bi-najah al-Islamiyyin al-Qatariyyin fi dalika,' *Majallat al-'Asr* (Kuwait), 11/2/2007; Mshari Al-Zaydi, "Should the Muslim Brotherhood disband?," *al-Sharq al-Awsat* (London), 25/2/2007.
- 12 Lorenzo Vidino, "Aims and Methods of Europe's Muslim Brotherhood," *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, vol. 4 (2006), p. 25, quoting Besson, *la Conquete de l'Occident*, p. 37.
- 13 David Rich, "The Very Model of a British Muslim Brotherhood," in Barry Rubin, ed., *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 119; Gilles Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2004, p. 254.
- 14 Shammai Fishman, *Fiqh al-Aqalliyat: A Legal Theory for Muslim Minorities*, Washington, Hudson Institute, 2006, p. 1, http://www.currenttrends.org/docLib/20061018_MonographFishman2.pdf.
- 15 Steve Merley, *The Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe*, Nefa Foundation, 2008, p. 3, <http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/nefarioereport1008.pdf>.
- 16 The ECFR draft constitution: http://www.e-cfr.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20.
- 17 Launching the International Union for Muslim Scholars, *IslamOnline.net*, 11/07/2004, <http://web.archive.org/web/20071028010045>, <http://www.iumsonline.net/english/articles/2004/07/article02.shtml>.
- 18 "Leading Sunni Sheikh Yousef Al-Qaradhawi and other Sheikhs Herald the Coming Conquest of Rome," MEMRI, Special Dispatch No. 447, 6 December 2002.
- 19 Hamas Charter, chapter 1, article 2, #3:04-CR-240-G, US v. HLF, et al.
- 20 <http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/palcommbylaws.pdf>.
- 21 http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/U.S._v_HLF_TrialBrief.pdf.
- 22 "Treasury designs the Union of Good," 12/11/2008, <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/hp1267.htm>.

- 23 http://www.gulf-times.com/site/topics/article.asp?cu_no=2&item_no=342910&version=1&template_id=36&parent_id=16.
- 24 http://www.iumsonline.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=973:2010-07-10-23-06-44&catid=6:data&Itemid=83.
- 25 "Leading Kuwaiti charity marks 25th anniversary, Amir attends ceremony," Kuwait News Agency (KUNA), 10/5/2010, <http://www.kuna.net.kw/NewsAgenciesPublicsite/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=2082137&Language=en>.
- 26 <http://marebpress.net/articles.php?id=7338>.
- 27 Jim Higgins, *More Years for the Locust: The Origins of the SWP*, London, IS Group, 1997, ch. 3.
- 28 Ian Birchall, *History of the International Socialists – Pt. 1: From Theory to Practice* (originally published in *International Socialism* 76, March 1975), <http://www.marxists.de/intsoctend/birchall/theoprac.htm>.
- 29 Nira Yuval-Davis, *Matzpen: The Socialist Organization in Israel* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, Hebrew University, 1977, p. 40.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 41; Nitza Erel, *Matzpen: The Conscience and Fantasy* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv, Resling, 2010, pp. 31, 295.
- 31 Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover, and Akiva Orr, *The Class Nature of Israeli Society*, London, Pluto Press, 1971; the book is part of a series published by the *New Left Review*, a journal edited by Tariq Ali that is strongly sympathetic to Maoism.
- 32 Jim Higgins, *More Years for the Locusts* (online version), ch. 14, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/higgins/1997/locust/chap14.htm>.
- 33 Werner Cohn, "From Victim to Shylock and Oppressor: The Image of the Jew in the Trotskyist Movement", London, *Journal of Communist Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, March 1991.
- 34 Nick Cohen, "Why Ken Livingstone is not fit for Office," *The Observer*, 20 January 2008.
- 35 <http://www.contemporarywriters.com/authors/?p=auth164>.
- 36 The institute, set up to support the civic structure of the Afghan *mujahedeen* (or what the Muslim Brotherhood refer to as *da'wah* institutions), was headed by Prof. Khurshid Ahmed, currently vice-president of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (his own curriculum vitae states that he is "Ex-Adviser to the *Mujahedeen* Leadership of Afghanistan"), <http://www.soas.ac.uk/politics/events/muslimgovtconf/participants/#KemalalHelbawy>.
- 37 Though in fact still widely involved in Brotherhood issues, and frequently referred to by the Arab media as "Ikhwani leader."
- 38 Sawalha was called a " Hamas activist " by Israeli sources, see http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/hamas_e095.htm; he is listed as an unindicted co-conspirator, and "member of the US Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee" in the Holy Land Foundation case (Case 3:04-cr-00240 Document 656-2) and was named by *IslamOnline* as "UK Official [*masul*] of the Political Committee of the International Muslim Brotherhood organization," see <http://www.hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/sawalha.JPG>.
- 39 Farzana Shain, "Uneasy Alliances: British Muslims and Socialists since the 1950s," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol. 25, no. 1 (March 2009), p. 3.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 42 Chris Harman, *The Prophet and the Proletariat*, London, International Socialism, 1994.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 46 Alex Callinicos, "Obituary: Chris Harman 1942-2009," *Socialist Worker online*, 14/11/2009, <http://www.socialistworker.co.uk/art.php?id=19504>.
- 47 Andrew Murray and Lindsey German, *Stop the War: The Story of Britain's Biggest Mass Movement*, London, Bookmarks Publications, 2005, p. 4.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

- 49 Ibid., pp. 21, 36.
- 50 Ibid., p. 47.
- 51 Ibid., pp. 168, 172-173, 176.
- 52 "MAB Demonstration in solidarity with the Palestinian people draws nearly 100,000," Muslim Association of Britain Press Release, 13/4/2002.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Rich, pp. 122-123.
- 55 Richard Phillips, "Standing together: The Muslim Association of Britain and the anti-war movement," *Race & Class*, vol. 50, no. 2 (October 2008), p. 104.
- 56 Rich, p. 124.
- 57 Stan Crooke, "The Politics of the Cairo Declaration," *New Politics*, vol. 9, pt. 3 (Summer 2003).
- 58 Murray and German, pp. 208-209.
- 59 Respect website, 9 December 2006.
- 60 Neil Davidson, "Leadership, membership and democracy in the revolutionary party," 17 December 2008, www.socialistunity.com.
- 61 Shain, p. 104.
- 62 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2004/jul/13/religion.world>.
- 63 <http://www.therespectparty.net/founding.php>.
- 64 <http://www.therespectparty.net/constitution.php>.
- 65 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/election2010/results>.
- 66 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jan/03/supportingkenlivingstoneas>.
- 67 <http://muslimsforken.blogspot.com>.
- 68 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/may/04/wegotoutthevote>.
- 69 <http://solomonsmindfield.blogspot.com/2010/02/why-we-are-resigning-from-swp-open.html>.
- 70 Arun Kundani, "Islamism and the roots of liberal age," *Race & Class*, vol. 50, no. 2 (October 2008), p. 61.
- 71 Salma Yaqoob, "British Islamic Political Radicalism," in Tahir Abbas, ed., *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007, pp. 279-280.
- 72 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmhaff/165ii/165we38.htm>;
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200607/cmhansrd/cm070417/halltext/70417h0004.htm>;
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmhaff/165ii/165we04.htm>;
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmhansrd/cm080625/halltext/80625h0001.htm>;
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmhaff/165/165ii.pdf>;
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200607/cmordbk1/70109w01.htm>;
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmhansrd/vo031218/debtext/31218-18.htm>.
- 73 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmhansrd/cm101122/text/101122w0003.htm#10112234000037>.
- 74 Anthony Brown, "Muslim Association of Britain exposed," *The Times*, 11/8/2004.
- 75 <http://www.bminitiative.net/BMI/EN/details.aspx?ID=261&table=sub>.
- 76 http://mabonline.net/?page_id=2.
- 77 Rajib al-Basil, "al-Rabita al-Islamiyya Loby Muslimay Baritania"; available online on www.daawa-info.net/article.php?id=235.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 "Who speaks for British Muslims?," *The Economist*, 17 June 2006.
- 80 Rich, p. 127.
- 81 Anas Al-Tikriti, "Live Dialogue," *IslamOnline.net*, 5 May 2008 (no longer available).
- 82 "About BMI," www.bminitiative.net.
- 83 "About Islam Expo," http://islamexpo.info/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=84&Itemid=151.
- 84 Rich, p. 129.

- 85 Andrew Morray, "We need a new alliance: Muslims and the left in Britain have much to celebrate together," *The Guardian*, 11/7/06, http://commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/andrew_murray/2006/07/muslims_and_the_left.html.
- 86 Martin Bright, "Hazel Blears and IslamExpo," *New Statesman*, 18 July 2008, <http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/martin-bright/2008/07/hazel-blears-muslim-islamexpo>. Ismail Patel, a BMI spokesman who served as director of the 2008 IslamExpo, also leads a small group called **Friends of Al-Aqsa**, and sometimes joins different anti-Israeli activities under this rubric.
- 87 Seumas Milne, "IslamExpo has gained the moral high ground," *The Guardian* (Comment is Free), 14 July 2008, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jul/14/islam.communities>.
- 88 www.alhiwar.tv
- 89 "Al-Hiwar TV to Target Europe's Arab Diaspora," *Layalina Productions*, PR II.14 (24 June-7 July 2006); available online on http://www.layalina.tv/press/PR_II.14.asp#article11.
- 90 Birawi is also chair of the Board of Trustees of the Palestinian Return Centre (PRC), spokesman for the Lifeline for Gaza convoys (among them the Freedom Flotilla), and spokesman for the Palestinian Forum in Britain (PFB), another Brotherhood front, which, according to the Egyptian paper *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (24/4/2010), is currently under investigation on suspicion of helping launder money for the Brotherhood in Egypt, see <http://www.almasry-alyoum.com/article2.aspx?ArticleID=252391>.
- 91 Jemima Kiss, "Livingstone urges Johnston's release," *The Guardian*, 24/04/2007, <http://media.guardian.co.uk/broadcast/story/0,,2064442,00.html>.
- 92 Quran 8:12.
- 93 <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/enforcement/broadcast-bulletins/obb143>.
- 94 <http://www.prc.org.uk/newsite/en/about-us.html>.
- 95 http://www.prc.org.uk/index.php?module=centre_activities&id=8f642f79798a5e69a824ce28a4d766a4&offset=10.
- 96 <http://bdsmovement.net/?q=node/222>.
- 97 "The way home," *Al-Ahram Weekly*, no. 576, 7-13 March 2002.
- 98 Salman Abu Sitta, *Palestine Right of Return: Sacred, Legal, and Possible*, London, Palestine Return Centre, <http://www.palestineremembered.com/Acre/Right-Of-Return/Story445.html>.
- 99 <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/js672.htm>.
- 100 <http://www.sobhisaleh.com/sob7icv.aspx>.
- 101 <http://www.crethiplethi.com/unrwa-director-calls-on-palestinians-to-acknowledge-they-will-not-return-to-their-homes-in-israel/israel/2010>.
- 102 <http://www.prc.org.uk/newsite/en/Center-News/672-prc-condemns-statement-by-unrwa-director-in-new-york.html>.
- 103 <http://www.alzaytouna.net/english/Docs/2010/poll-unrwa-2010-s-l.pdf>.
- 104 <http://www.prc.org.uk/newsite/en/Conferences/398-prc-conference-on-future-of-palestinian-refugees-starts-in-london.html>.
- 105 <http://www.palestine-family.net/index.php?nav=5-205&cid=490&did=4456>.
- 106 <http://www.prc.org.uk/newsite/en/WorkShop/683-prc-hosts-releasing-atlas-palestine-evening-in-london-.html>.
- 107 <http://www.palestine-info.co.uk/en/default.aspx?xyz=U6Qq7k%2bcOd87MDI46m9rUxJEpmO%2bi1s7Bz hLSSAx3v9GzBb25sam%2fellpv3dFiq9nu7eN%2bxEBSMidNSEio34ydRJa4sMxInCVZGQpp%2bvfe3ejnoK6 6LN34U2D%2bb%2b1lgm3lwZTZV4n8c%3d>.
- 108 <http://english.moqawama.org/fastnewsdetails.php?fstid=497>.
- 109 <http://www.al-awda.org>.
- 110 <http://www.group194.net/index.php?mode=article&id=18330.%C7%E1%E1%CC%E4%C9%20 %C7%E1%DA%E1%ED%C7%20%E1%E1%CF%DD%C7%DA%20%DA%E4%20%CD%DE%20 %C7%E1%DA%E6%CF%C9%20%E1%E1%C7%CC%6%ED%E4%20%C7%E1%DD%E1%D3%D8%ED%E4 %ED%ED%E4/%20%C7%E1%C3%D1%CF%E4>.

- 111 <http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/BDEC89A6-ABA3-48F7-9A63-94196E8DE103.htm>.
- 112 <http://www.alhiwar.net/ShowNews.php?Tnd=6419>.
- 113 <http://www.uruknet.info/index.php?p=m65425&hd=&size=1&l=e>.
- 114 <http://www.savegaza.eu/eng/index.php?view=17>.
- 115 <http://www.intifada-palestine.com/2010/01/50-european-mps-to-visit-gaza>.
- 116 <http://www.savegaza.eu/eng/index.php?view=13>.
- 117 http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/ipc_e131.pdf.
- 118 <http://www.savegaza.eu/eng/index.php?view=22>.
- 119 <http://www.general-election-2010.co.uk/uk-party-political-news/european-campaign-to-end-the-siege-on-gaza>.
- 120 <http://www.uruknet.info/index.php?p=m65425&hd=&size=1&l=e>.
- 121 http://www.palestinecampaign.org/Index5b.asp?m_id=1&l1_id=2&l2_id=41.
- 122 http://palestinecampaign.org/Index5b.asp?m_id=1&l1_id=2&l2_id=10.
- 123 <http://www.scottishpsc.org.uk/Settlers/mercaz-harav-a-training-centre-for-illegal-occupation-murder-and-qarabs-to-the-gas-chambersq.html>.
- 124 <http://azvsas.blogspot.com/2010/02/palestine-solidarity-campaign-beyond.html>.
- 125 Phil Marfleet, *Palestine lives*, London, Socialist Workers Party, 1979.
- 126 *Proposal To The Centre Committee For The Creation of An Arab Commission of the IMG*, IMG Archive, University of Warwick Modern Records Centre, 1978-81 file (exact date unknown).
- 127 <http://azvsas.blogspot.com/2009/09/two-psc-executive-members-resign-as.html>.
- 128 <http://www.bigcampaign.org>.
- 129 http://www.palestinecampaign.org/Index5b.asp?m_id=1&l1_id=7&l2_id=34.
- 130 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/about-us>.
- 131 <http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/6D10A93E-2557-40F5-A97E-60F01A402B1E.htm>.
- 132 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/mar/08/daud-abdullah-gaza-middle-east>.
- 133 http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Guardian/documents/2009/03/23/blears__letter.pdf.
- 134 <http://www.sott.net/articles/show/202529-Exclusive-Middle-East-Monitor-interview-with-Colonel-Desmond-Travers-Co-author-of-the-UN-s-Goldstone-Report>.
- 135 http://www.alzaytouna.net/english/Docs/2010/MEMO_Annual_Report_2010.pdf, p. 28.
- 136 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- 137 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/staff-login/329-invitation-to-our-seminar-quiversal-jurisdiction-against-israeli-war-criminalsq>.
- 138 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/media-review/event-review/335-seminar-on-the-universal-jurisdiction-on-israeli-war-crimes-a-great-success>.
- 139 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/media-review/event-review/335-seminar-on-the-universal-jurisdiction-on-israeli-war-crimes-a-great-success>.
- 140 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/news/europe/375-human-rights-lawyer-speaks-out-on-arrest-warrant-for-the-leader-of-the-israeli-opposition-and-david-milibands-proposed-changes-to-the-law-of-universal-jurisdiction>.
- 141 <http://www.lphr.org.uk/links.php>.
- 142 <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article6963473.ece>.
- 143 http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_e091.pdf.
- 144 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/downloads/briefing-paper/europes-role-in-strengthening-and-protecting-universal-justice.pdf>.
- 145 <http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1129092&SubsidiaryNumber=0>.
- 146 The May 2010 Flotilla is often referred to as "Lifeline for Gaza number four"; Viva Palestina was not a main organizer of the flotilla but, instead, sent a delegation headed by Kevin Ovenden.
- 147 <http://www.georgegalloway.com>.

- 148 <http://www.vivapalestina.org>.
- 149 <http://mondoweiss.net/2009/08/mission-accomplished-a-report-on-the-viva-palestina-usa-convoy-mission-to-break-the-israeli-siege-of-gaza.html>.
- 150 <http://www.alrafi3.com/forum/showthread.php?p=124881>; <http://www.paldf.net/forum/showthread.php?t=684353>; <http://kiaoragaza.wordpress.com/2010/10/06/%e2%80%98these-are-people-who-stole-a-whole-country-why-stop-at-stealing-our-underwear%e2%80%99>.
- 151 <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/01/08/viva-palestina-a-personal-view>.
- 152 "MP Galloway deported from Egypt," *The Guardian*, 8/1/2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/feedarticle/8889508>.
- 153 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o75D299ctuc>.
- 154 <http://www.alintiqad.com/essaydetails.php?eid=25549&cid=8>.
- 155 <http://www.ihrc.org>.
- 156 <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/projects/7899-islamophobia-awards>.
- 157 <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/alerts/9205-update-event-alert-uk-genocide-memorial-day>.
- 158 <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/projects/9428-al-quds-day>.
- 159 <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/show.php?id=4251>.
- 160 <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/publications/briefings/9409-ghassan-elashi-and-the-hlf-hostages-to-zionism-in-the-usa>.
- 161 <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/news/articles/9489-zionist-apartheid-bullying-fails-at-intifada-event-at-venezuelan-embassy-london>.
- 162 <http://www.cnduk.org/index.php/about/general/about-cnd.html>.
- 163 <http://www.cnduk.org/index.php/about/general/cnd-s-structure.html>.
- 164 <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/myths-and-misunderstandings.html>.
- 165 Murray & German, p. 56.
- 166 <http://www.cnduk.org/index.php/campaigns/anti-war/anti-war.html>.
- 167 Murray & German, pp. 56-57.
- 168 http://www.somethingjewish.co.uk/articles/173_cnd_challenged_over_.htm.
- 169 http://www.somethingjewish.co.uk/articles/170_cnd_reassures_board_.htm.
- 170 Miriam Shaviv, "Miliband's mum: backer of Jews for Justice for Palestinians," *Jewish Chronicle*, 26/9/2010, <http://www.thejc.com/blogpost/milibands-mum-backer-jews-justice-palestinians>.
- 171 http://jffp.com/?page_id=2.
- 172 http://jffp.com/?page_id=391.
- 173 <http://www.almasry-alyoum.com/printerfriendly.aspx?ArticleID=197210>.
- 174 <http://www.labourfriendsofpalestine.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/stop-building-hatred-pamphlet8.pdf>.
- 175 http://www.labourfriendsofpalestine.co.uk/?page_id=75.
- 176 http://www.caabu.org/resources/britain_palestine_appg.
- 177 Murray & German, p. 49.
- 178 *Ronnie Fraser*, "The Academic Boycott of Israel: A Review of the Five-Year UK Campaign to Defeat It," http://www.jcpa.org.il/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DRIT=3&DBID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=254&PID=0&IID=1744&TTL=Post-Holocaust_and_Anti-Semitism.
- 179 See, for example, Marika Sherwood, "Malcolm X in Manchester and Sheffield," p. 31, www.workershistory.org/linked_docs/NWLHJ27_Sherwood.pdf; Ziauddin Sardar, "Searching for secular Islam," <http://newhumanist.org.uk/798/searching-for-secular-islam>; Ziauddin Sardar, *Desperately Seeking Paradise*, London, Granta Books, 2004, pp. 24-25, 28; Rich, p. 118.
- 180 <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/27149/police-investigate-azzam-tamimi-soas-talk>.
- 181 <http://www.ujs.org.uk/news/563/ujs-and-lse-israel-society-statement-on-abdel-bari-atwan-talk-at-lse>.
- 182 <http://cambridgetab.co.uk/news/10623>.
- 183 http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/ipc_e127.pdf, p. 13.

- 184 <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE6534NF20100604>; Mohamad is known for his 2003 statement that “Jews rule the world by proxy,” see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-PJ9u8h3Gzw> and, regarding the 9/11 attacks, that “if they [the U.S.] can make Avatar, they can make anything,” see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ZewcnqiZzc.
- 185 <http://bdsmovement.net/?q=node/222>.
- 186 <http://bdsmovement.net/?q=node/126>.
- 187 <http://usacbi.wordpress.com/2010/01/26/milestones-in-the-history-of-the-israeli-bds-movement-a-brief-chronology>.
- 188 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/10/guidance-labelling-food-israeli-settlements>.
- 189 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/dec/04/yvette-cooper-israeli-settler-labelling-imports>.
- 190 Ben S. Cohen, “Another Israeli divestment hoax”, 19/11/2010, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ben-s-cohen/another-israel-divestment_b_786196.html.
- 191 <http://www.divestthis.com/2009/09/tiaa-cref-divestment-hoax-are-you.html>.



ABOUT THE JERUSALEM CENTER FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Websites: English - www.jcpa.org | Hebrew - www.jcpa.org.il

The Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs is a leading independent research institute specializing in public diplomacy and foreign policy. Founded in 1976, the Center has produced hundreds of studies and initiatives by leading experts on a wide range of strategic topics. Dr. Dore Gold, Israel's former ambassador to the UN, has headed the Jerusalem Center since 2000.

Jerusalem Center Programs:

Iran and the New Threats to the West –

Preparation of a legal document jointly with leading Israeli and international scholars and public personalities on the initiation of legal proceedings against Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad for incitement to commit genocide and participate in genocide. This program also features major policy studies by security and academic experts on Iran's use of terror proxies and allies in the regime's war against the West and its race for regional supremacy.

Defensible Borders Initiative – A major security and public diplomacy initiative that analyzes current terror threats and Israel's corresponding territorial requirements, particularly in the strategically vital West Bank, that Israel must maintain to fulfill its existential security and defense needs. (www.defensibleborders.org)

Global Terrorism – Using previously unpublished documents, Jerusalem Center President Dore Gold explored the influence of Saudi Wahhabism on 9/11 in the *New York Times* bestseller *Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism* (Regnery, 2003).

Institute for Contemporary Affairs (ICA) –

A diplomacy program, founded in 2002 jointly with the Wechsler Family Foundation, that presents Israel's case on current issues through high-level briefings by government and military leaders to the foreign diplomatic corps and foreign press, as well as production and dissemination of information materials.

Global Law Forum – A ground-breaking program that undertakes studies and advances policy initiatives to protect Israel's legal rights in its conflict with the Palestinians, the Arab world, and radical Islam. (www.globallawforum.org)

Anti-Semitism After the Holocaust – Initiated and directed by Dr. Manfred Gerstenfeld, this program includes conferences, seminars, and publications discussing restitution, the academic boycott, Holocaust denial, and anti-Semitism in the Arab world, European countries, and the post-Soviet states. (www.jewishaffairs.org)

Jerusalem in International Diplomacy –

Dr. Dore Gold analyzes the legal and historic rights of Israel in Jerusalem and exposes the dangers of compromise that will unleash a new *jihadi* momentum in his book *The Fight for Jerusalem: Radical Islam, the West, and the Future of the Holy City* (Regnery, 2007). Justus Reid Weiner looks at *Illegal Construction in Jerusalem: A Variation on an Alarming Global Phenomenon* (2003). Researcher Nadav Shragai assesses the imminent security threats to Israel's capital resulting from its potential division, and offers alternative strategies for managing Jerusalem's demographic challenge in his monograph *Jerusalem: The Dangers of Division* (2008).

New Models for Economic Growth in Israel –

This comprehensive, 10-year project has studied the application and impact of privatization policy and other financial innovations in Israel. Sponsored by the Milken Institute, the project includes nine published volumes in Hebrew and English.

Jerusalem Center Serial Publications:

Jerusalem Viewpoints – providing in-depth analysis on changing events in Israel and the Middle East since 1977.

Jerusalem Issue Briefs – insider briefings by top-level Israeli government officials, military experts, and academics, as part of the Center's Institute for Contemporary Affairs.

Daily Alert – a daily digest of hyperlinked news and commentary on Israel and the Middle East from the world and Hebrew press. (www.dailyalert.org)

Post-Holocaust and Anti-Semitism – a monthly publication examining anti-Semitism after the Holocaust.

Jewish Political Studies Review – a scholarly journal founded in 1989.

Jerusalem Center Websites

www.jcpa.org (English)

www.jcpa.org.il (Hebrew)

www.jcpa-lecape.org (French)

www.mesi.org.uk (United Kingdom)

www.jer-zentrum.org (German)

President - Dr. Dore Gold

Director General - Chaya Herskovic

Chairman of the Board - Dr. Manfred Gerstenfeld

