

# The Long View

Quarterly Magazine



Volume 6, Issue 4 - December 2024 / Jumada II 1446

ISSN 2632-3168

£5 where sold



Defying Dehumanisation:

Recognising and Rectifying  
the Ideologies of Hate

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# In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful

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The Long View is a project  
and publication of Islamic  
Human Rights Commission  
(a limited company no 04716690).

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Sometimes, in the depths of a despairing soliloquy, I ask myself how the world can stand by and allow the live-streamed mass slaughter of fellow human beings to continue. With the genocide in Gaza now well into its second year, it is reasonable to question why a world that declared "Never Again" after the Holocaust can stand by while another one unfolds, live-streamed no less, in front of its very eyes?

The reasons for this are manifold. But one of the key ones is the success with which the powers that are prosecuting, aiding and abetting the genocide have generated narratives for public consumption that seek to justify their barbarity. From the very outset, Israel and its accomplices have sought legitimacy from their own populations as well as those outside by presenting Palestinians as sub-human and therefore not worthy of being treated by human standards. Alongside these run the stock denials, obfuscations and misrepresentations that have become a familiar occurrence in the unending catalogue of atrocities committed by the collective West.

The first essay in this issue of the Long View by **Denijal Jegić** lays out the various ways that these justifications are now also being applied to Lebanon following the Zionist state's invasion of that country. Using their trusty handmaiden, the mainstream mass media, Jegić shows how the genocidaires and their accomplices are utilizing various devices to make palatable the disproportionate and indiscriminate bombing of schools, hospitals, mosques and residential premises. From tailoring of language, omission, blaming the victim, to dehumanizing and misrepresenting them, he shows how the media is playing an indispensable role in shaping public opinion to stomach the unconscionable.

Of course, not everyone buys the official line and for those who see through the façade and seek to answer the call of their conscience to challenge the genocide another layer of repression is necessary. So we find genocidaire states resorting to ever more repressive measures against protestors and activists in order to prevent their complicity from being exposed and opposed,

In our second piece **Arzu Merali** sets out how Germany has been the biggest culprit, imposing a near zero-tolerance approach to anti-Israel activities. In fact, nowhere has the emptiness of the Western claim to being the exemplar of the fundamental human right of freedom of expression been more exposed than in the land of the Nazi Holocaust. Here, protestors and activists have been demonised and brutalised to a degree unseen in recent times in the West, mainly because an Islamophobia riddled political system views Palestinian rights as a Muslim, and thereby, illegitimate cause.

Berlin's authoritarian slide has been mirrored to a lesser degree by Britain where the political establishment is just as Islamophobic and immovably invested in Israel's survival as the West's strongman in the Middle East but

where also the anti-Israel movement has internalised the red lines set by its rivals.

One of those red lines is the relative immunity that has hitherto been extended to Zionism as an ideology by large sections of the left, either because they still believe in the fiction of a socialism driven non-violent settlement of Israel or because they do not want to alienate Zionists and centrists inside the wider anti-racism movement.

The genocide in Gaza has blown open the contradiction that exists in this marriage of convenience. Accommodating Zionism is counterproductive. It legitimises Zionism by admitting that what is at root a colonial racist project contains some redeeming features. More and more voices calling for a clean break with all Zionists and beyond that the DeZionisation of politics, economy and society.

Foremost among these is **Prof. David Miller** who set a free speech precedent in February 2024 when he won an employment tribunal against Bristol University which had fired him following bogus complaints of anti-Semitism from Zionist organisations and students. The tribunal judgment established that anti-Zionism was a legitimate and therefore protected belief, giving a boost to pro-Palestine justice campaigners who have shied away from confronting Zionism head on for fear of being accused of Jew hate. In his piece for the Long View, Prof. Miller proposes how we might go about De-Zionising British schools which he considers to be a breeding ground for genocidal and racist pro-Israeli views.

If challenging the foundational beliefs of Zionism is key to challenging Israel, then so we must also confront the ideas that bind Zionists to the very concept of Israel, argues **João Silva Jordão** in the final essay in this edition. According to Jordão, Israel has been sold to world Jewry as "simultaneously a *home*, a *representative* and a *vehicle* for Jewish people and Jewish values."

But as the Zionist state is attacked on multiple fronts, military, economic, political and legal, and continues to wage a genocide in the name of Judaism, this narrative is increasingly being questioned by Jews themselves. And, "if Israel is no longer seen as being supported by Jews, nor of representing Judaism, nor much less of providing a safe haven for Jews, then it could face a more humiliating future than military defeat - it could very well be ousted as a fraud about to crumble under the weight of its own underlying contradictions," says Jordão.

Whilst carrying on our different struggles to end the genocide must continue at full power and pace, planning for the after-effects once this is over is also a must. To do so, we must learn some hard lessons by recognising the repeated mistakes made in solidarity and advocacy movements. We must plan for de-Zionisation, just as Europe (with what appears not to be faint success) planned de-Nazification. These essays are a small contribution to that future. Please help spread the word.

Join the conversation by emailing us on [info@ihrc.org](mailto:info@ihrc.org), tweeting [@ihrc](https://twitter.com/ihrc) or find us on Facebook. We now also record podcasts and videos called The Long View Conversations looking into the deeper issues raised by multiple essays with some of our authors. You can find these at [www.ihrc.org.uk/video-multimedia/](http://www.ihrc.org.uk/video-multimedia/) We are now also recording some of our essays so you can listen to them on the go. Find them in the same section.

# The Media's Manufacturing of Consent for Genocide in Lebanon

In this study of the colonial contexts of US-backed Israeli atrocities in West Asia, **Denijal Jević** analyses the victim-blaming narratives employed by media actors to justify the extension of genocide into Lebanon.

**W**hile the Israeli regime continues to commit unspeakable crimes in its genocide against the Palestinian population in Gaza, the regime has in recent weeks intensified its war against Lebanon, in addition to its hostilities against Iran, Syria and Yemen. Israel's relentless and sadistic war against Lebanon follows a similar approach as its genocide in Gaza. The Israeli regime is bombarding civilians and civilian infrastructure, spreading death and destruction in its attempted settler-colonial conquest. The Israeli effort to confront the Lebanese resistance and make at least parts of the country uninhabitable has received considerable backing from Western political elites as well as mainstream media. Just like in Gaza, corporate mainstream media has contributed to the manufacturing of consent for genocide in Lebanon.

## Genocide and Settler-Colonial Conquest

The Lebanese resistance movement Hezbollah intervened in the Israeli genocide in Palestine in October 2023 and had for months carried out resistance operations targeting Israeli military infrastructure, in order to engage the Israeli military in the north of Occupied Palestine and thus reduce pressure on the Palestinian people being killed under Israeli blockade. Although the manufactured colonialist narrative presents October 7 as the starting point of the war, Hamas' operation was conducted in the context of an ongoing Israeli illegal military occupation and blockade of Palestine and over a century of Zionist colonialism. Lebanon and Israel have been in a state of war since the violent proclamation of that state during the Nakba in 1948 when "Israel" launched its first attacks against civilians in South Lebanon.

The current Israeli war on Lebanon is thus a continuation of the Zionist settler-colonial conquest. Since the proclamation of the state of Israel in 1948, the regime has invaded Lebanon on numerous occasions and terrorized the South of Lebanon during a brutal military occupation. Israeli presence in Lebanon has been characterized by war

crimes, massacres, death and destruction. Israel's current terror campaign against Lebanon represents an attempt to weaken the Lebanese resistance movement Hezbollah, primarily because of Hezbollah's intervention in the genocide and solidarity with the people of Gaza in the absence of any response from the international community.

## Turning Beirut into Gaza

Since its unprecedented escalation of the genocide in Gaza in the last year, the Israeli regime has doubled down on its genocidal fantasies toward Lebanon, which had been repeatedly proclaimed by members of the regime in previous years and, in fact, span the history of the regime's colonial communication. Following declarations that Israel would send Lebanon back to the Stone Age and obliterate its civilian infrastructure, the Netanyahu regime threatened in the past few months that it would turn Beirut into Gaza.

In current iterations of the genocidal discourse against Lebanon - a discourse that predates the emergence of Hezbollah - the regime is tying its threats against Lebanon's civilian population to its attacks against the Lebanese resistance movement, which the regime and its Western backers have designated as a "terrorist" organization. The Israeli regime is carrying out a psychological war. Similar to its lies about Hamas in Gaza, the Israeli regime is fabricating accusations to terrorize Lebanon, claiming that Hezbollah was hiding weapons in civilian homes and under hospitals, as the regime continues to indiscriminately bombard people. In fact, the Zionist fantasy that Lebanese homes are used as missile factories, weapons storages, and rocket launchers is not new. The Israeli regime is currently recycling its own genocidal justifications that it has used for decades.

## Israeli Terrorism and Lebanese Resistance

The Israeli regime's targeting of Hezbollah is indeed part of its genocidal conquest. In its settler-colonial conquest, the colonizer removes everything that stands in

its way. The Israeli project has never declared its borders and has included at least parts of Lebanon in Zionist visions of a Greater Israel.

Since its emergence as a popular resistance and liberation movement in the 1980s in response to the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, Hezbollah has arguably become the world's most powerful armed resistance movement. Efforts to weaken Hezbollah have been abundant. The US-backed Israeli war on Lebanon in 2006, continued economic and diplomatic pressure against Hezbollah and Lebanon from U.S. proxies in Europe and the Arab region, incitement in Saudi-backed Lebanese media, and soft power efforts through the NGO-industrial complex in Lebanon, itself characterized by potent German government influence, represent concerted efforts to influence public opinion in Lebanon against Hezbollah and to divide the Lebanese population politically within an imperialist discourse that establishes a dichotomy between alleged Western civilization, democracy, and human rights on the one side, and an Iranian-aligned Islamist movement on the other.

These efforts have failed. Not only is Hezbollah an armed resistance movement that has protected Lebanon against Israeli and Takfiri aggressions and incursions into Lebanon, it is also a democratically elected political party which, in the last parliamentary elections, gained the largest number of votes. Hezbollah is also a socio-economic organization that provides social infrastructure and welfare to a significant part of Lebanon's population. It is part of the Lebanese people and continues to represent the resistance against colonialist-imperialist aggression against Lebanon.

Israeli assassinations of resistance leaders, including the martyrdom of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, not only failed to weaken Hezbollah, but served as a clear reiteration of the people's continuous commitment to the resistance. Israel cannot remove the people's connection to their land. Confronted with another unsuccessful attempt to invade Lebanon via its southern border due to the strength of Hezbollah, the Israeli regime has continued to escalate its terrorism via heightened airstrikes. Using mass forced displacement as a means of war, the regime is

attempting to instill internal chaos and incite division amongst the Lebanese population, as Israel has done so often in the past. This attempt was evident in Netanyahu's recent address to the Lebanese people in English, in which he urged Lebanese citizens to destroy Hezbollah, repeating the threat that otherwise they would experience the same fate as Gaza. In other words, the Israeli regime made it clear to the Lebanese that if they do not kill each other, Israel will kill them.

## Colonial Communication

That the Israeli regime is able to expand its genocidal atrocities into Lebanon after a year of increased, relentless, unspeakable crimes in Gaza has been possible because of the absence of any intervention from the international community in the ongoing genocide in Gaza. As a result, the regime continues its atrocities unhindered without having to face any consequences or accountability. Effectively, however, the Israeli regime has acted as a proxy for the United States, as the Biden-Harris administration continues to provide the military infrastructure and weapons for the genocide and to use its dominance in the world to protect Israel from any consequences. In fact, any discursively projected difference or distance between the governments of Israel and the United States in this case is fallacious and has only served U.S. political elites to spread lies that would allow its Israeli proxy to continue the genocide unhindered, while the US government lies to its citizens about tirelessly working on a ceasefire. As a result, both the victims and anyone who dares to intervene in this genocide are condemned and labeled as terrorists.

The justifications for the war against Lebanon have always been present in dominant Western political communication and disseminated by mainstream media. In fact, the Israeli regime's colonial communication cannot be separated from the political identity of the collective West.

## Manufacturing Consent for Genocide

Once again, Lebanese people are referred to as militants, the densely populated neighborhood of Dahiye is described as a military stronghold and the massacres are euphemized into 'targeted killings'. The Israeli PR campaign around the events of October 7 has entailed atrocity propaganda, accusing Hamas and Palestinians of beheading babies and raping settlers. Neither the fact that these fantasies were exposed as lies, nor the fact that it was actually Israel that killed thousands of Palestinian babies and enforced systematic rape of Palestinians in Gaza seemed to matter in the dominant discourse. Until today, US presidential candidate Kamala Harris keeps repeating the same lies during her electoral campaign.

Dominant media has played a significant role in disseminating disinformation and, at

times, outright lies in favor of the Israeli regime. Israeli claims are often presented as information and not verified, while Palestinian voices are either obscured or treated with suspicion. At times, the framing and word choice of Western media outlets create mysteries in order to obscure Israeli crimes when those facts are clearly visible.

## Language

Even after over a year of an unspeakable genocide in Gaza that followed more than seven decades of colonial violence, mainstream media tend to find euphemisms to describe the situation. Terms such as 'conflict' or even 'cycle of violence' have long helped downplay the extent of Israeli violence and imply a parity of power between the aggressor and the victim. Categorizations such as 'Israel-Hamas war' or 'Israel-Hezbollah conflict' fail to identify the imbalance in power relations and the colonial and imperialist origins of the violence. Effectively, the war is waged by a first-world heavily militarized and developed nuclear power against the people native to the region. Similarly, the origin of the aggression is often obscured through selective use of words and the passive voice, implying that Lebanese and Palestinians simply 'die' due to an 'escalation' rather than being killed in a genocide. Some coverage focuses on the humanitarian crisis without contextualizing it as a consequence of the Israeli aggression, thus presenting human suffering as not related to the colonial war. At times, people are described as fleeing their homes due to fighting rather than being forcibly expelled by Israeli violence.

## Bias through omission of information

A widespread method, particularly in headlines, is the creation of bias through the omission of information. Media content on attacks carried out by the Israeli regime often fail to identify the perpetrator. On some occasions, headlines may be misleading even if the context, cause, and consequence appear clear. When the Israeli regime bombed a densely populated civilian area in Beirut and massacred civilians, the BBC wrote the headline: "Beirut strikes: Rescue workers search for signs of missing under rubble". CNN led with "Strikes hit central Beirut: CNN team on the ground." One has to wonder what kind of strikes these are and where they came from? Given that many audiences only read headlines or skim through the teaser of a news article, these representations hide the perpetrator and even the nature of these strikes from the reader's perception.

## Blaming the victims

Cause and consequence are often obscured or even reversed. An episodic framing of a news story may fail to provide crucial information about how a certain event

started. As a result, victims and aggressor may be identified as two equal sides or even reversed. Israeli attacks are thus at times presented as responses or retaliation to attacks by Hezbollah or Hamas, without identifying the Israeli regime as the occupying force or aggressor. In the particular case of Lebanon, the significant differentiation that Hezbollah has primarily targeted military infrastructure in response to Israel's targeting of civilians is often absent.

The actions or reactions of Lebanese people are sometimes framed as the trigger for Israeli aggression. Following Netanyahu's speech, in which he warned the Lebanese population that, if they did not destroy Hezbollah, they will experience the same fate as Gaza, the BBC wrote "Netanyahu's appeal to Lebanese people falls on deaf ears in Beirut." In this case, Netanyahu's genocidal threat is euphemized into an 'appeal' with the outlet implying that Lebanese were expected to react. In line with colonial narratives, such phrasing implies that if the Lebanese people had only acted differently, they may not be experiencing this violence.

Similarly, Iran's military operation against Israel on October 1 was framed as an escalation. Throughout the year of genocide in Gaza and numerous Israeli assassinations of resistance leaders, including the killing of Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh in Tehran, in addition to ongoing Israeli provocations, Iran has showed patience and restraint. When it responded, it was accused of escalating and attacking. However, Israel's attempted attack on Iran on October 26 was again presented as a 'retaliatory.'

## Dehumanization

Targets of US-Israeli aggression are regularly dehumanized in dominant media through particular categories and labels that aim to deem them legitimate targets for military violence. The Dahiye (Suburb) of Beirut and other areas of the country with a Shia majority population, which have been relentlessly bombarded by the Israeli regime, are more often than not referred to as a "Hezbollah stronghold", a term that evokes a military presence and may thus be understood by unfamiliar audiences as a military target. Channel 4, for example, presented the headline "Israel carries out 'targeted strikes' on Hezbollah stronghold." LeMonde referred to the Bakaa as "Hezbollah's historic stronghold" in one headline and claimed that "Israel unleashed a wave of air strikes on Hezbollah's southern Beirut stronghold" in another. According to the Guardian, "Israel launches intense attacks on Hezbollah stronghold in Beirut's south" These are mere examples of a pattern that has long been present before the current war.

Dahiye is a very densely populated area with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. Many residential buildings include commercial stores and public services on the first floor. The Israeli bombardment of Dahiye has resulted in massacres and forced displacement of civilians and large

destruction of civilian infrastructure. In fact, during its 2006 war on Lebanon, the Israeli regime coined the 'Dahiye Doctrine', a military strategy aimed at inflicting maximum damage to civilian infrastructure. Referring to this large-scale terror against civilians as a targeted strike on a stronghold downplays and potentially justifies the Israeli crimes.

## Labeling

Civilian infrastructure is also presented as a legitimate target when referred to as 'Hezbollah-linked'. Just like the characterization ' Hamas-controlled ' was used in Gaza to cast doubt on Palestinian voices, including the reported death toll, the term 'Hezbollah-linked' has served to imply a connection to the armed group that would implicitly favor the Israeli narrative. Reporting on one of the numerous attacks on Lebanon's medical infrastructure, Channel 4 presented the headline "Nine killed in Israeli strike on Hezbollah-linked medical centre." More than a hundred healthcare workers have already been killed and dozens of healthcare centers were closed. Similarly, when the Israeli regime launched its attacks on the charity organization Al-Qard al-Hassan, headlines such as France24's "Why Israel is attacking Hezbollah-linked Islamic finance institution Al-Qard al-Hassan" under the category "explainer" emerged, suggesting that there is a link to Hezbollah which implicitly justifies its targeting, with news agencies and many mainstream media outlets providing an abundance of similar "explainer" pieces suggesting there is a reason why the charity had to be bombarded. Hundreds of thousands of people in Lebanon have received financial support through this charity, particularly in recent years due to the ongoing economic crisis in Lebanon and collapse of the currency. Israel's attack against this institution is an attempt to economically destroy the livelihoods of regular people. These crucial facts go missing in such a framing.

Such labels also have the effect of casting doubt on sources, when used to refer to testimonies or official information. Oftentimes, governmental institutions are described as ' Hamas-controlled ' or 'Hezbollah-linked', while at the same time Israeli and US sources may enjoy more legitimacy in Western media. Phrases such as "Israel says" or "Israeli military says" are, in fact, often parts of actual headlines, presenting Israeli narratives as information.

## Hezbollah as the common enemy, terrorist and Iranian "proxy"

These labels are reminiscent of the general labeling of Hezbollah in Western political and media discourse as "Iranian-backed" or an alleged "Iranian proxy" which has been widely and uncritically used for years to describe not only Hezbollah, but also any other forms of armed resistance against

US aggressions in the region. Alleged explainers, analysis, and "expert" opinions on "Iranian proxies" have been omnipresent in Western media, with headlines such as "What to Know About the Axis of Resistance, the Iran-backed Militia Network" by the New York Times.

Unlike the transactional relationship the United States enjoys with its proxies, Hezbollah's connection to Iran is not one of a proxy and sponsor, but rather represents a close alliance based on shared values, histories and goals. Interestingly, the Israeli regime is usually not referred to as a "US proxy" or "US-backed militia", although this characterization would indeed be accurate.

The framing of Hezbollah as an Iranian agent serves not only to undermine its indigenous roots and legitimacy in Lebanon, but also to delegitimize its resistance against Israel. This framing also portrays Hezbollah as a threat to Western civilization, in exploiting long present anti-Iranian hatred and anti-Shia sectarianism peddled by the Israeli regime and its Western and Arab allies. For over four decades Iran has been conceptualized as the common enemy in dominant Western media discourse, in accordance with the US government's targeting of Iran and relentless efforts at regime change. The designation of Hezbollah as a 'terrorist organization' by the United States and its proxies has further facilitated a criminalization and demonization of the movement to an extent that it is possible in Western discourses to make any claims about Hezbollah and Iran without evidence. The legal designation as a 'terrorist organization' has provided the United States and Israel with a useful pretext to easily justify their attacks against Lebanese civilian infrastructure as a fight against 'terrorism'.

Similar to the 'Iranian-backed' label, sectarian language is often adopted. Hezbollah is thus regularly referred to as a distinctively "Shia militia", and while Hezbollah is in fact an Islamic resistance movement, the characterization of "Shia" has often been used in mainstream Western, Arab, and Israeli discourse to exploit present anti-Shiite discrimination. More recently, terms such as "Shia villages" and "Shia houses" have been used in the Israeli discourse, in attempts to further dehumanize the Muslim Shia population and present them as legitimate targets. The sectarianism is also in line with broader colonial ambitions to divide the population and incite internal strife.

In addition to blaming the victims, some media outlets have outright mocked or celebrated the Israeli attacks. Following the Israeli terrorist attack through manipulation of pagers in Lebanon the New York Post, for instance, wrote on their front page "Beep Beep Boom. 2,800 Hezbollah terrorists hit by exploding pager plot." In a dystopian scenario, on two consecutive days in September, thousands of communication devices exploded simultaneously throughout Lebanon, killing dozens and injuring thousands of people. One can only assume that, had such an attack occurred in Israel or

elsewhere in the West, it would have triggered outrage, shock, and anger rather than ridicule in Western media.

## Structural Questions of Ethics and Racism

Today's violent media representation did not emerge in a vacuum, nor do the illustrative examples cited in this paper nearly provide a comprehensive overview of the manifold dimensions of the manufacturing of consent for genocide. In their reporting on Israeli violence in Lebanon, dominant mainstream media continue to replicate some of the same phrases that have been used for decades to downplay Israeli aggressions and to obscure clear and simple facts by turning them into allegedly complex issues.

This manufacturing of consent for genocide is possible due to histories of Orientalism deeply embedded in the Western lens that have facilitated the dissemination of different forms of racist speech. Within this context, dominant mainstream media coverage of Lebanon and Palestine is also marked by an anti-indigenous bias, which is evident above all in the complete absence of any reference to the colonial structures and power relations. This absence in itself has created the conditions for coverage that is implicitly or outright in support of the colonizer. As a result, readers are often presented with mysterious strikes, humanitarian crises and cycles of violence with the victims more often than not blamed for the terror that is being inflicted on them. The bias in dominant Western mainstream media is further impacted by the broader political economy of the media, the political affiliations and allegiance of media outlets as well as internal editorial policies and style guides which may instruct journalistic practice but are not necessarily transparently communicated with the broader public.

As much of the dominant western mainstream media continues to disseminate narratives in line with the US State Department and lies in favor of the Israeli regime, even at times when the Israeli regime is transparent about its genocidal intent, questions of ethics and accountability remain. Media should function as the fourth estate and ideally hold power to account rather than to work on its behalf and as its proxy. The corruption of Western media, albeit not new, is clearly highlighted in the manufacturing of consent for the genocidal violence currently inflicted against the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

### Denijal Jegić

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# Wide-eyed and Unwary: Civil Society, Media and Political Failures in the Time of Genocide

Things need to change in mainstream pro-Palestine movements in Western Europe argues **Arzu Merali**, when so many of the racist, Islamophobic, anti-Palestinian narratives that have been employed to justify and enact genocide have been internalised by mainstream social justice organisations. The result has been to uphold those narratives and invite persecution of those protesting “Israel’s” massacres and atrocities.

**T**he collective noun for canaries – in English – is opera. Imagine then, Sydney Opera House stuffed full to the brim with dead canaries. The early warning metaphor for societal breakdown caused by rampant racism has itself broken down long ago. Stick with the coalmine if you prefer, but there have been so many unheeded warning points this last decade of the horrors to come, the horror we are currently living through. Many of those warnings came in the shape of the crack-down on pro-Palestinian speech, action and thought. Comingled with Islamophobia, anti-migrant racism and the biological racisms of yesteryear resurging across Europeanised settings, the cases and events all fell below the radar of those who are supposed to care. The fourth estate, and the establishment and organs of state in this regard are more culpable than most. But civil society, and within it, ‘mainstream’ pro-Palestinian activism, also has serious questions to answer.

Caterina Aiena’s [two reports](#) for Islamic Human Rights Commission prepared for the United Nations this year have covered attacks on pro-Palestine protestors, commentators and activists by the state and its organs in the UK, France and Germany since October 2023. Some examples will appear on these pages but it is better to read them in full for a sense (they could not cover every case) of the magnitude and manner of state repression in this period. The recommendations from it follow at the end, though how seriously they will be taken by governments who have acted with impunity not just since October 2023, but for a long while before, remains to be seen.

We can go back any number of years, but for the sake of brevity, let’s pick a year to unpack: 2018. Let’s zoom in on Germany and the UK, because of the strange symbiosis between the two. One – Germany – was the country hailed as anti-fascist post Second

World War<sup>1</sup>; led by the woman charged with carrying the leadership of the ‘free world’ after the 2016 election of Donald Trump to the US Presidency. The other – the UK – was still inhaling the fumes of the Brexit vote, rushing to leave the EU and with it the perceived overlordship of Europe in general and Germany in particular. Yet, in countering pro-Palestinian activism there was no light to be seen between the pair. Arguably this was the pattern across Western Europe, but again space dictates snapshots not a thesis. All has been documented elsewhere.

## Shrinking

The rise of Angela Merkel in 2009 heralded the idea that the *Staatsraison* (reason of state) for Germany is ‘unconditional support for Israel’. In the years from then until 2018 various pro-Palestinian often BDS oriented events had been targeted by Zionists and cancelled as a result of venue owners buckling under pressure, municipal facilities being withdrawn or local government interventions. According to a [database](#) compiled by pro-Palestine activists (which is acknowledged to present severe underreporting especially from the earlier years) 97 such cases were recorded in that period, with 25 and 13 reported for the years 2017 and 2018 respectively.

Readed to fight back, affected pro-Palestine groups brought legal challenges to the courts in Germany, with judgment in many cases being given across 2018. Simultaneously local, appeal and federal courts were finding for and against pro-Palestinian activists. In Oldenburg<sup>2</sup>, the Administrative Court [found in favour of](#) those bringing the case stating in a 20-page judgment that BDS campaigning fell within fundamental rights to freedom of expression and assembly which are protected by the German constitution and essential for democracy. Consequently, the rights of those protesting and organising

had been violated by the cancellation of their event. Further, they found the courts advised the City of Oldenburg that in considering requests for hall hire in all cases they needed to give due heed **and consideration of: i) the fundamental rights to freedom assembly and expression; ii) the principle of equal treatment, and, iii) the applicant’s right to a hearing.**

Similar judgements supporting the right to pro-Palestinian protest and castigating municipal and even federal authorities for their cancellations and interventions, followed from that period. Cases from [Munich \(2020, 2022\)](#), [Bonn \(2019\)](#) were examples of cancelled events. In Stuttgart the Palestine Committee there had its bank accounts closed by the State Bank in [2018 and 2022](#). These were but a few, and many of these cases faced multiple appeals sometimes retaining their victory and at other times losing.

Others were not so lucky. All through the year more and more cancellations took place, whilst older court cases found in favour of anti-BDS authorities. This feverish period was set in motion by increasing non-legal declarations by municipal and state authorities, declaring BDS antisemitic. Cases are still being heard until today, with as much back and forth between successful cases for the pro- and anti-Palestine parties. However, in the interim, the Federal State has intervened passing in 2019, a motion, calling BDS activity anti-semitic using the ever controversial but now increasingly adopted IHRA definition of antisemitism.

This upping of the ante, though still being challenged on case by case bases, not only had an increasingly chilling effect on civil society activism for Palestine, it provided a beacon for Zionist agitators across borders.

The script goes thus: a journalist, or a politician (often the same journalists and politicians as in other cases) raises a complaint; if it’s a journalist, a politician will

comment making accusations of anti-semitism; as a result of the reportage, more media scrutiny appears, already taking the narrative as set – this group, person, event is anti-semitic / Germany is under attack / Jews need protecting from the hordes of (mostly racialised) protestors / academics / activists / artists etc. Variations, include the ‘alarm’ first being raised by a politician, media then report, you get what happens next.

I speak not simply as a disinterested observer. An IHRC event in Berlin in the autumn of 2018, to be held on a university’s premises with one of their departments as a supporting organisation, regarding the report launch of [research on Islamophobia](#) in Germany (mentioning inter alia, the collapsing of anti-Palestinian and anti-Muslim narratives), fell victim to such an attack. The fallout was not simply the cancelling of the event. The researcher involved and his family were intimidated for days before the cancelled event, job opportunities evaporated. So intense was the backlash that attempts to reorganise the event at a private venue [had to be dropped](#) because of security concerns. Back in the UK a drip-drip of negative media started distracting from the [Europe-wide project](#), overshadowing the findings. Of course, the irony is not lost on anyone with an iota of common sense. A project that posits the idea that attacking Muslims (and indeed other racialised through this narrative) for supporting Palestine, is a form of Islamophobia, was cancelled by the said same Islamophobia<sup>3</sup> in action. Thus cross-border solidarity between Zionist activists, whether in the media or political arenas has seen that one national setting can influence another with speed and ease, ratcheting up the repression of pro-Palestinian voices with alacrity.

## Deteriorating

Meanwhile, the environment in Germany continued to deteriorate, with artists, academics and activists targeted: activists and academics losing jobs, artists losing commissions, having exhibitions, book launches,

even publications cancelled. Worse still applicants for citizenship were now finding their pro-Palestinian sympathies becoming an obstacle to naturalisation. The fraught [arena of citizenship](#), despite many improvements since the year 2000<sup>4</sup> had already been a problematic arena for Muslim applicants whose religious views were already being policed and sanctioned. Since October 2023, citizenship has now [become contingent](#) on accepting the ‘right of Israel to exist’. As this piece is being written, the Bundestag is getting ready to ratify a resolution that would make [public funding](#) for the arts and science also reliant on a declaration of Israel’s right to exist from recipients. Needless to say, the precarious state of refugees is worsened by the same requirements, ironic when so many have fled persecution for their political beliefs, arriving in Germany in the belief they will be free. It is even more ironic that the measures tying citizenship to belief in the right of ‘Israel’ to exist came with the new citizenship law that was seen as a [major reform](#) in relation to the previous measures: cutting down required residency time in Germany from eight to as little as three years and allowing dual nationality (which previously had not been allowed to non-EU residents and had [adversely affected](#) German born applicants as well as immigrants with Turkish, Balkan and Moroccan heritage in great numbers).

It’s not that there hasn’t been push-back: [over 1400 artists](#) signed a letter of protest (following protests from an alliance of [elite German cultural institutions](#) focusing on BDS) on the curtailment of even the most mealy mouthed criticism of the Israeli entity’s genocidal reign. It’s that such voices, alongside the already marginalised voices of Muslims and other pro-Palestinians, have themselves become pariahs. Pastor Niemoller couldn’t be (still) more relevant in this regard: few if any spoke up when it was Germans of ‘migration heritage’ that were the [targets](#) across the 2000s and 2010s. Even anti-fascist, anti-racist campaigners have been guilty of Islamophobic rhetoric. Activist and academic [Leandros Fischer narrates](#) a particularly poignant (and to many, typical)

example from 2014:

“When a [mob](#) of five thousand hooligans, many of them active neo-Nazis, gathered in front of Cologne’s main train station on October 26 to protest “Salafism,” the far smaller counter-demonstration assembled under the abstract slogan “against racism and religious fundamentalism,” apparently eager to disassociate itself from the Salafism.

“This had the rather unsettling effect of equating young discriminated Muslims with the direct political heirs of Himmler and Goebbels.

“At a subsequent meeting convened to discuss the aftermath of the demonstration, I witnessed how left-oriented German students could genuinely not fathom why the counter-protest’s slogan was outright wrong. This drew the desperate ire of a comrade of Iranian background, a symptom perhaps of a deepening rift between significant parts of the Left and Muslims living in Germany.”

Few listened to the [anti-Zionist Jewish activists](#) and groups making the very necessary connections between a then and now of 100 years of barely suppressed fascism. They still clamour today, highlighting not just the state’s descent into neo-fascism as police brutalise protestors day in day out, but [Zionist groups linked](#) to neo-fascists.

Recent anti-racist demonstrators in Germany this last year have abused and [expelled pro-Palestine](#) protestors from their mobilisations against the rampant rise of the right. It makes no sense, it would be laughable, except that it is real, and is happening with greater regulatory.

Worse still perhaps, is that in many of the larger pro-Palestine movements then and now, the perception that mainstreaming requires distancing from those racialised and demonised has affected how both mobilisations work and who is allowed to be seen to be present. Thus in the UK, a combination of gatekeeping and pre-emptive censorship

**CIVIL RIGHTS**

<https://www.ihr.org.uk/civil-rights/>

IHRC has focused on civil rights in various contexts from its outset in 1997. This area of interest in civil rights and liberties, political, social and minority rights has been realised in various countries, but particularly in the UK. Our areas of focus include: anti-terrorism laws; counter-extremism policy; institutional racism (including Islamophobia) and discrimination; immigration and asylum; policing; shrinking civil society space and the concentration of power.

- Anti Terrorism Laws
- Prevent and other Counter-Extremism Policies
- Institutional Racism (Islamophobic and Discrimination)
- Immigration & Asylum
- Policing
- SHRINKING CIVIL SOCIETY SPACE & Concentration of Power
- Know Your Rights
- Guantanamo
- Minority rights
- Extradition & Deportation
- Stop & Search
- Schedule 7

of slogans and banners has created an atmosphere where protestors attending marches can be isolated from event leadership and supported and then targeted by Zionist media and activists, resulting in their images being circulated over social media and post-event arrests and charges. As the [paraglider case proved](#), even supposedly progressive media piled on to create an atmosphere that saw three young women caught up in the emotion of witnessing a sudden genocidal onslaught, charged and found guilty of anti-terrorism offences.

Meanwhile, all pro-Palestinian demonstrations, regardless of the extremes of self-censorship and ally shedding, were termed 'hate marches' by the then Home Secretary Suella Braverman. Though widely condemned by international organisations, within the UK and as vanguard to European state efforts against similar demonstrations of pro-Palestine feeling, the term has taken off. It is regularly regurgitated by power adjacent think tankers in various nation contexts. This appellation should have been no surprise to organisers, having been levelled for decades at the annual Al-Quds Day protest in Berlin. Unchallenged in that context it has now been 'mainstreamed'.

### Documenta 15

Aiena's report reproduces many reports of police brutality and state (sponsored) discrimination.

The loss of Angela Merkel as German Chancellor heralded the collapse of any last vestiges of opposition to a US led pro-Israel campaign that has left sovereign states, and even the putative European federation beholden to the support of the Israeli regime. The case of the arts festival Documenta 15 (held in 2022) has been covered relatively extensively. Labelled antisemitic over an interpretation of an image in a mural, there has been little coverage of the racist and Islamophobic attacks on artists as a result of the claims. The curators for that year were Rungrupa, the artists' collective from Indonesia. The accusations of anti-semitism resulted in exhibits being covered, and talks, which could have addressed the accusations, being cancelled. The [violence and threats of violence](#) embedded in multiple acts of vandalism were overlooked even when [reporting from the letter in support of victims of that violence](#). Muslims – routinely accused of being insensitive to artistic vision, only able to destroy what they can't understand or accept – were here in racialised projections – the victims of violence against their freedom of expression. The controversy still rages about Documenta 15 and underpins a large part of the push for the ratification of the policy to be imposed on arts and science research.

For the purposes of this piece however, a case from Documenta that has received less attention and crosses the divide between Germany and the UK is that of British artist [Hamja Ahsan](#). He not only experienced first-hand the violence at Documenta when

the venue hosting his work (alongside collectives Question of Funding and Party Office) was broken into and vandalized, with spray-painted slogans reading "187" and "Peralta."<sup>5</sup> In August of that year while in London, Ahsan posted a Guardian piece on Facebook about Germany's increased defence spending, referring to Olaf Scholz, the German chancellor, as "a neo-liberal fascist pig". He also posted a Telegraph story about a press conference involving Boris Johnson and Scholz with the caption "two pigs".

In Germany a few days later for Documenta 15, Ahsan came under attack from no Stefan Naas, from the Free Democratic Party (FDP), who shared a screenshot of Ahsan's Facebook post on his X account calling it "unbearable".

Ahsan's responses to Naas's post, seem par of the course for a platform like X (formerly Twitter). In one tweet, he accused Naas of attempting to shut down his event, calling him a "neoliberal Apartheid regime lackey." Not the most flattering but hardly a controversial insult given the topic or indeed the times. Indeed, much worse is daily said across the platform by the powerful against the powerless without so much as the bat of an eyelid. Except apparently not in Germany. Several German publications, including Bild, began covering the Twitter spat, branding Ahsan a "hate artist" and expressing outrage at his "insults" towards Scholz.

Ahsan received floods of abuse and threats as a result, to the extent that he feared for his safety. He cancelled all his remaining events, informed Documenta of his security fears and asked for an escort to the airport. He states that the abuse included everything from calls to burn his art, to threats to kill him. No-one has been held responsible for this abuse.

This horrific story does not end here. Back at home in the UK, Ahsan received documents from the Kassel prosecutor's office in December 2022. The document stated he had "insulted" the two politicians knowing that the comments "would impede the politician's political career, which was exactly what you intended to do."

If convicted, he was told, he could face a fine of around 12,000; failure to pay which could result in imprisonment. He had to crowdfund to pay his legal fees. In 2024, Ahsan was found guilty and fined. At the time of writing, Ahsan is awaiting the result of an appeal. The toll on Ahsan has been, understandably, huge.

His case, has highlighted that the lengths that the German establishment will go to silence opponents. In the UK, at least at the point of writing, calling a politician a pig has yet to invoke criminal prosecution. However, as the [coconut](#) and [paraglider](#) cases have shown, we are not far off. Those cases have generally been reported in derogatory and alarmist terms. The British press' obsession with free speech curtailment as a result of Muslim demands (it feels to someone my age that this has been a fairly routine accusation since the Rushdie affair of end 1988, punctuated until today by Charlie Hebdo type in-

cidents) is truly just Muslim specific. These cases, with demands for the sanctioning of pro-Palestinian speech, have shown that the sacred cow of free speech and (political) expression, was always a myth. Speech and action is only free, it seems, when targeting Muslims and those racialised as such (or racialised other ways). No such rights are afforded to those victimised by such.

We have already had so many cases over almost 25 years, of teenagers writing 'extremist poetry' on the backs of till receipts being prosecuted under anti-terrorism laws, Muslim bookshops raided and owners arrested because of their stock, and of course the never-ending cases of students downloading material for the degrees or A-Level essays and then being charged for downloading terrorist manuals etc. All these cases, numerous in the 2000s, immediately chilled civil society and anti-racist movements, and the pro-Palestine movement was not immune then and it is especially not so now.

London protestors in the early mass demonstrations last year complained of how stewards told them to refrain from certain chants – long before there was any clamour from Zionist organisations and their skills in parliament. It is [sadly reminiscent](#) of the time police were called to deal with two protestors by supposedly pro-Palestine rally organisers, for displaying flags and attire in support of the resistance. This incident took place long before any laws banning the same. They did result in the pair's homes being raided by anti-terrorist police and both being detained, questioned and interrogated. Thus far nothing changes, and the organisers of these events seem insensitive (or worse) to the effects of their decisions.

### Incredulousness

Much of the disappointment of those now targeted and protesting outside traditional racialised settings stems from an inability to see Western European states as anything other than representative democracies, where all (racialised liberal and mainly 'white' or 'white' adjacent) are equal. As direct action movements have multiplied in recent years, this fantasy, despite extreme repression, has persisted.

When climate activists were given [custodial sentences](#) for having a meeting on Zoom discussing disruption, or when others were targeted under anti-terrorism laws, parts of the liberal press (such that is left in the UK) were aghast. Much talk of miscarriages of justice, and creeping authoritarianism arose. To the Muslimised sections of British society this was rank hypocrisy. The injustice of the case was neither new (there have been decades worth of such travesties under [at laws](#), see [Ansari for snapshot of 2000 - 2006](#)). It was as if such repression is only fit to be described thus when whiteness is involved. Worse still is the treatment of direct action protestors regarding Palestine. Some consideration is required into why the treatment of protestors arrested and charged with offences has changed from court victories



and vindication to being held without access to family and friends and bail under anti-terrorism laws as in the case of [the Filton 10](#). Does the changing demographic of those who protest have an impact? In other words, does increased Muslim participation facilitate the increased repression? Or, relatedly still, is it the mission creep of anti-terrorism laws that many warned about back when they were reintroduced in 1997? Understanding these issues needs to be a priority within such movements and wider civil society whose. Thus far the failing opposition to the state's crackdown on pro-Palestine feeling is not an aberration but a natural progression for an inherently racist state and its organs, and mainstream pro-Palestinian movements are facilitating this failure by their exclusionary and muted organising thus far.

The [leaked information](#) that ministers have interfered in the prosecution of activists, is horrendous but only shocking if you didn't already have a grounding on government and security services interference in legal proceedings as a matter of course. Any number of informants, arrested by the police and charged with terrorism have found, charges dematerialise and release appears when their handler agency has been pushed to get involved or has involved themselves to ensure their activities are kept out of the limelight. Some of these cases are well known, many more not so. Then there is the failure of strategic litigation, scuppered almost completely by the withdrawal of legal aid for such cases. Even when a case can make it to court, like the attempt to ban supply flights for Israel from the US landing at Prestwick airport to refuel during the 33 Day war between the entity and Lebanon in 2006. Sure of a win based on law and also a highly sympathetic judge, the judgment against was so clearly the result of political intervention it should have lit up the front pages had there remained a fourth estate worthy of the name.

## Betrayals

This beyond naïve, nay delusional, faith in the system was shown perhaps most starkly in the UK with the election of Jeremy Corbyn as Labour Party leader in 2015. Attacked by Zionists as an anti-Semite and largely laughed at and pilloried by mainstream press, Corbyn's Labour Party nevertheless caught the mood of disenchantment and desperation of a country breaking under racialised hierarchies and still reeling from austerity imposed after the 2008 financial crash. The accusation of hating Jews based solely on his pro-Palestinian activism had no effect on the electorate in the snap general election called by the newly crowned Prime Minister Theresa May in order to increase her majority (something considered a given by the commentariat and her advisers at the time). The shock result of a hung parliament with the country without a functioning government for many days and the possibility of a minority Labour government in the wings was a crucial moment where the possibility

of change was in fact thrown under the bus by the very people in whose words so much hope by so many had been placed through the ballot box.

The accusation of anti-semitism against Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour Party had not affected this incredible reversal of fortunes for the incumbent Tory Party. It is worth remembering that this is a country in which, when Michael Howard became leader of the Tory Party (and thus opposition in 2004), polls [showed that 1 in 5](#) would not want him (or any other Jewish person) as Prime Minister because of his faith. Only 53% of those polled felt indifferent to having a Jewish Prime Minister compared to any other faith.

**Research needs to be made into how media and political demonisation of migrants, apartheid, Muslims alongside Palestine all collapsed into the meaning of anti-semitism.**

Of course, the state always recalibrates. It is our responses to that recalibration and the learning or not of lessons that defines our futures. Hitherto a mass movement for change the Corbyn Labour Party's leadership appeared to concede all sorts of matters to Zionist factions within its structure, in exchange, we can only assume their support and deliverance thereafter to power. What utter fools. An entirely unnecessary enquiry and chain of events that resulted in suspensions and expulsions of pro-Palestine activists ensued, giving succour to the idea that something was exceptionally wrong in the party, and cementing the idea that pro-Palestinianism is wrong in the mind of a public that had not made such spurious connections (in large part) thus far. Other demonisations followed and research needs to be made into how media and political demonisation of migrants, apartheid, Muslims alongside Palestine all collapsed into the meaning of anti-semitism. Anti-semitism, if you read much of the post 2017 election media, is not anti-Jewish so much as pro-Muslim/migrant/Palestinian. These have all finally collapsed into the pre-eminent dog-whistle narrative. It was employed at the drop of the hat in summer UK and riots, in coverage of Maccabi Tel Aviv fans running riot (or conducting an anti-Muslim pogrom if you prefer) in Amsterdam, in all justifications of genocide since October 2023 and the months in-between.

At the end 2021 I wrote that the pro-Palestine movement had to learn the lessons of demonisation. It hasn't. Supine in its larger established organisations of both sec-

ular and Muslim bent in the UK, it has continued to undermine actual Palestinian and pro-Palestinian resistance to extermination, by focusing on victimhood whilst eschewing the very real military victories against Zionist forces in Gaza, Lebanon the Red Sea and all over West Asia. And yes that includes the (at the time of writing) two Operations True Promise from the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In the UK, Sayyeda Warsi's dinner table test for Islamophobia is failed routinely in these circles, as all those resisting are tarred with the brush of 'Islam'. It is not simply a case of political difference or opposition in a decontextualised 'abroad', it has left pro-Palestine protestors vulnerable to arrests for carrying imagery of the erstwhile PM and Home Secretary as coconuts, it has seen [pro-Palestine journalists](#) raided at dawn by anti-terrorism police and all their devices confiscated. It has seen the son of Holocaust survivors, Haim Bresheeth-Zabner, [arrested](#) by the same for condemning Israel's genocide of the Palestinians. Amongst his few but very eloquent words he stated:

"We have to fight colonialism everywhere because Israel has colonized the American mind, the British mind the European mind. More importantly they've colonized the Jewish people everywhere, they have colonized Judaism the tradition, the beliefs, the religion the experience of Jews for 2,000 years was colonized by Zionism and these Jews are supporting in great numbers not just here but everywhere in the west they are supporting the genocide. Shame on them."

## Premature Anti-Nazism and Anti-Genocidism

An interesting thread [circulates on X](#) while this is being written. It recounts how accusations of 'premature anti-Nazism' and 'anti-fascism' abounded after the Second World War. This targeted those who had before the US become a part of the war against Nazi Germany and had raised the alarm against Fascism across Europe (particularly Franco's Spain) and the Nazis in Germany in particular. These accusations were a precursor to the McCarthy witch-hunts, and resulted in the black- and greylisting of many artists, the blacklisting of political activists and the exclusion from political life of those deemed guilty of opposing fascism. This included those who had gone to Spain to fight Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War.

In the clamour since October 2023 to shut down all anti-genocide protests we can see that without serious change this is a future awaiting thousands upon thousands in Western Europe and the US. This cycle however has repeated many times since the end of the Second World War and this is not the first time that pro-Palestinianism will be impacted. Any number of academics in Germany are already jobless and blacklisted, told

point blank they will never work in academia in Germany again. In the UK, the wave of such cases has started, stemmed only because of the success of Professor David Miller's employment tribunal victory that has established anti-Zionism as a protected belief. Civil society organisations are silenced and excluded, politicians and broadcasters suspended or cast out of jobs and political parties. Given the scale of human suffering we are witnessing at the hands of the genocidal Israeli regime, some thousands of us being blacklisted for calling it out seems a small price to pay to speak truth. However, the fear of it chills the movements and the organisations that lead these movements. Their capitulation to the narratives, also excluding other organisations, also undermining, rejecting or minimising the resistance are worse than the repression of the state. It is a betrayal that will and has already opened the door to greater repression than blacklisting.

The regular wide-eyed stares of surprise at repression need to be replaced by a united pro-Palestine movement working in solidarity with other anti-racist organisations and understanding that their activism means nothing if it is not also set on changing the status quo ante of the repressive societies they live in.

As the toxic culture of pro-Israelis accelerated in Germany, Susann Witt-Stahl and Dror Dayan documented the attacks on and resistance from anti-Zionist Jews in Germany (and also the UK). Their 2022 film 'The Time of Slanderers - A Critical Intervention' is compulsory viewing.

Rolf Becker in the opening section entitled, 'Hitler's Extended Arm' is brutal in his more than apt comparison with Germany in the 1930s:

"As Bertolt Brecht said, I believe in 1932, just before the Nazis took power: the enemy has deformed most of our terms beyond recognition. That's the situation we are facing now."

In this situation, anti-Genocidism is anti-Nazism. At some point, no doubt, that will be universally acknowledged. Meanwhile, those who decried it too early will pay a price. Also from the film, Becker's poem opens:

Some day

The Jews that are still left  
When this insanity is over  
Will begin to look for traces of Jews  
Who were not complicit  
But warned

Thus Germans pointed  
After Hitler's demise  
To Germans who only the previous day  
Had been persecuted or killed  
They were now to bear testimony  
That there had been other Germans too.

Will a word of my warning  
Still resonate then?

It is not just Jewish people who will be accountable. Those of us in pro-Palestine movements have much to be justifiably aggrieved with. But we also bear responsibility for the deformation of terms that crush the movement daily. It is a horrendous state of affairs.

No one of us should be surprised. This cycle of repetition needs breaking.

## Arzu Merali

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**CATERINA AIENA'S** recommendations are copious and are addressed to the UN, the EU and Nation States. Below are those aimed at the latter<sup>6</sup>. The full report and recommendations can be found online. I share these because pro-Palestinian civil society, whether secular, Islamic, leftist are any and no combination of the above need to also see how their behaviours have internalised the behaviours of the state in dealing with other parts of the pro-Palestine movement. It is a harsh criticism, but based on pre- and post-October 2023 behaviours, deserved. Without serious consideration of the impact and damage these behaviours have had not just on the cause of Palestine but also within anti-racist movements in Westernised settings.

### IHRC calls on states:

1. to formally discard the non-legally binding IHRA definition of anti-semitism that stigmatises dissenting positions on the Israeli occupation with the accusation of antisemitism and abridges fundamental rights, particularly freedom of speech. The anti-semitism accusation that is based on the IHRA definition becomes an instrument used to protect the persistence of racial domination of Israeli Jews over Palestinians.

2. to endorse the Jerusalem Declaration in lieu of the IHRA definition. It provides examples that help distinguish anti-Israel from Anti-Semitic statements and actions.

3. to respect the European Court of Human Rights' opinion that has recognised recently in connection with campaigns relating to Israel that "[a] boycott is first and foremost a means of expressing opinions by way of protest. A call for a boycott, which imparts those opinions while appealing for specific actions arising from them, thus falls in principle within the protection of Article 10 of the Convention".

4. to stop arbitrary banning of demonstrations. Bans are clearly something that stand outside the bounds of international conventional counter-terrorism requirements. Most of the bans have been pursued by indefinite, blanket orders, with no limits or definition, simply applying to fundraising, the display of the Palestinian flag, the wearing of the Palestinian keffiyeh, and chanting the "Free, Free Palestine" slogan.

5. to encourage member states to review the definition of counter-terrorism and extremism and their implementation, by providing that"  
(i) decisions cannot be taken solely by ministerial decrees;  
(ii) necessary safeguards are put in place for anyone who feels they have been wrongly labelled an extremist;  
(iii) right to appeal must be guaranteed at all times;  
(iv) the practice of blacklisting must be impeded.

6. to prevent the ministers of education or other relevant government actors from providing strict disciplinary procedures on how to discuss the situation in Palestine and referrals to counter-terrorism departments at schools and universities

7. to ensure free spaces of confrontation and expression of political views and refrain from boycotting and cancelling of the events and targeting intellectuals, artists, and activists.

8. to stop conditionalising the obtaining of national residence permit or citizenship on the recognition of Israel's right to exist.

### End Notes:

<sup>1</sup> The rise of AfD included, the idea of the de-Nazification of German settings has not for a long carried the weight it used to. As with rest of the west, Fascism has not crept but fairly leapt back into the mainstream.

<sup>2</sup> A city in Lower Saxony, close to the Netherlands Border, with a population just shy of 200,000.

<sup>3</sup> Sadly this was not even the first time an IHRC event was cancelled because of Islamophobia. In 2014 the first of what was to be an annual event of more than ten years standing: IHRC & SACC's Institutional Islamophobia Conference, was cancelled by the venue hosts, Birkbeck College after the intervention of Camden Council's Prevent Officer and advice from the local police. The incident is described [here](#), at the Law on Trial 2015: The Islamophobic university event, from 2015.

<sup>4</sup> As discussed [on these pages](#) before in 'New Citizens for Old: How Islamophobia makes Contemporary Germany', The Long View, Volume 3, Issue 2, March 2021.

<sup>5</sup> It is suspected that the slogans referred to the California penal code section on murder and the Spanish neo-Nazi activist Isabel Peralta, who has encouraged violence against Islam.

<sup>6</sup> Policy Recommendations from 'The Authoritarian Drift of the European Democratic State: the Crackdown on Pro-Palestine Movement - Part II' by Caterina Aiena for Islamic Human Rights Commission.

# How do we De-Zionise British schools?

As per other post-genocide projects to address the embedded ideologies that dehumanise and legitimise mass murder and wide spread atrocities, societies must in the current moment look to the de-Zionisation of their institutions. **David Miller** discusses why this is needed and how it might look in British schools.

There is a Jewish school in Birmingham, where it seems that less than 20% of the pupils are Jewish. It was reported some years ago that 80% of the pupils are Muslim. At this school the pupils sing Hatikvah and celebrate the anniversary of the creation of the Zionist entity each year with blue and white bunting. It is reported that “Students learn Hebrew and recite Jewish prayers every morning. They celebrate Jewish festivals, sing Jewish songs, and eat meals cooked in a kosher kitchen.” The school also celebrates both Jewish and “Israeli” festivals. There are reportedly also “annual visits of groups of former Israeli soldiers on Yom HaZikaron”. Yom HaZikaron or Memorial day commemorates “fallen” members of the occupation forces.

Here is a [description](#) from the Zionist press of the celebration at the school of the establishment of the settler colony from 2018.

On Israel’s Independence Day, which this year fell on April 19, Esther Cohen, King David’s head of religious education, kicked off the ceremony in the school gym with the Modeh Ani morning prayer in Hebrew followed by the Shema Yisrael prayer.

The student body, hand-drawn Israeli flags at their feet, dutifully recited the words. Then they closed their eyes for what Cohen called “tefillah to Hashem,” Hebrew for “prayer to God.” Most of the boys were wearing some sort of head cover — some kippahs and others the larger Muslim skullcap called taqiyah. Many girls also wore hijabs, the Muslim head cover for females.

Cohen showed the students two videos celebrating Israeli innovation and invited them to another tefillah, this time to “thank Hashem that he gave us Israel.” She asked the students to stand up to sing “Hatikvah,” which speaks of “being a free People in Zion, Jerusalem” — almost all of them sang the Hebrew-language anthem by heart.

Finally, the students were given permission to wave the flags after

having been told not to fidget with them for the ceremony’s duration.

It was reported in the Zionist press in July this year that only 18 of the pupils are Jewish. According to the Department for Education that is out of a total of 204 pupils in total (data last confirmed 14 August 2024). Shockingly, that suggests that only 8.8% of the pupils of this “Jewish” school are Jewish. It’s not surprising that the most recent Ofsted inspection noticed that some of the Muslim parents objected to the propagation of the racist ideology of Zionism in the middle of a genocide. Even the headteacher Steve Langford admitted that while parents were “very supportive” of the school and respected its Jewish ethos “at all times,” some “have struggled with Israel’s special place in Judaism, as the biblical homeland of the Jewish people. Our Yom Ha’atzmaut celebrations took place, although scaled down due to the security situation and the absence of a key staff member.”

There are other areas of declining Jewish population in the UK where the remaining Jewish schools have significant numbers of Protestant, Catholic or Muslim pupils. This is the case at Calderwood School in Glasgow, and at the King David School in Liverpool. At these schools too there is a Zionist ethos - as opposed to a simply Jewish faith ethos.

Calderwood is the only Jewish school in Scotland. It was first set up in 1962 by the Zionist Federation, a strong clue to its orientation. In 1998 it was reported that, “Israel’s 50th anniversary has provided an extra celebration [at the school]. In addition to activities on the day itself, P7 pupils have done a project and prepared a database about Glasgow people, particularly those with associations with Calderwood Lodge, who have gone to live in Israel. The school has put on a special celebratory end-of-term production, which included a traditional Israeli line dance. A “Happy Birthday Israel” banner in Hebrew takes pride of place in the school hall.” In 1998 it was reported that not all students were Jewish: “approximately 10 per cent come from other faiths including Catholic, Protestant and Muslim”. In 2012 it was reported that “up to two thirds” of the pupils

were Jewish. By 2017 the Times of Israel was reporting a further sharp decline in the proportion of Jewish students to 52%.

In Liverpool’s King David High School as of January 2023, it was reported by the Board of Deputies that, “There are 752 pupils on roll, of whom 11% are Jewish, whilst the majority are Roman Catholic (30%), Church of England (25%) [or] other Christian denominations (18%)”. Five percent of the pupils are Muslim. And yet the school insists in ramming the racist ideology of Zionism down the throats of all the pupils, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. This school has been Zionist since the beginning. It was here in 1972 that Tony Greenstein made his first steps towards anti-Zionism when he was expelled from the school. He reports that the school was steeped in the Zionist ethos: “we never even heard the word Palestinian”, he said. Today the ethos of the school encourages “positive identification as being part of the Jewish family, Israel etc.” Students study “Israel in Geography” have “the opportunity for Year 9 pupils to experience living at Kibbutz Lavi, as well as prospective annual trips to Israel”. There is an Israel club and tutor groups are named after “four regions of Israel”. The school marks “Israel Independence Day” and involves “an Israeli-style breakfast” and “some sort of celebration”.

So, it appears there are Zionist schools in the UK. Who knew?

Until the genocide in Gaza hardly anyone even noticed that this was the case, never mind said that it was a problem. But the cruel and unrelenting nature of the genocide has sparked a new and more critical interest in the role of Zionism in the UK. As a result it has become more widely known that there are hundreds of Zionist organisations in the UK - perhaps as many as 2,000. As part of this growing interest, it has been observed that some Jewish faith schools are ideologically committed to Zionism as opposed to simply providing a faith environment for pupils. This revelation has been quite shocking and has sparked interest in the pro-Palestine movement. But how widespread is the problem of Zionist ideology in schools and what can we do about it?

## Jewish schools in Britain

There are more than 135 Jewish Schools in the UK. They represent all strands of Judaism from Reform and modern orthodox through to those associated with one or more of the many variations of “strictly” orthodox Hasidic or other Haredi sects as they are described by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (IJPR).

Like Calderwood in Glasgow the Zionist Federation was involved in founding a number of Jewish schools including three Primary schools with the **Scopus Jewish Education Trust** as their foundation body (a subsidiary of the ZF). These include **Mathilda-Marks-Kennedy School** in Mill Hill, **Rosh Pinah Jewish Primary School** in Edgware and **Simon Marks Jewish Primary School** in Stoke Newington. Today these schools are all under the authority of the **United Synagogue** along with another 15 primary and six secondary schools including the King David (primary and secondary) in Liverpool and the King David Schools (primary and secondary) in Manchester. These are all “mainstream” Jewish schools and are all effectively Zionist since - in case you did not know this - the United Synagogue, the largest Synagogue movement in the country, is, likewise, a “Zionist Organisation” as it said on its website up until December 2023 (after which the page was removed).

How does this Zionism manifest itself? The King David Primary in Manchester says explicitly it is a “Zionist school”.

The Simon Marks Primary - named for the Zionist luminary who co-founded and ran Marks and Spencer for many years is too. It is “proud” to celebrate the genocidal ethnic cleansing of the Nakba that led to “Israel’s independence”, **stating on their site**: “As we are a Zionist school which supports the state of Israel and are proud to celebrate Israel’s independence. Modern Hebrew is taught all children as a modern foreign language.”

Another United synagogue school is **Yavneh College** in Borehamwood, which is described by the **Board of Deputies of**

**British Jews** as having “Zionist aims”. The school advertised itself, **as recently as 2021**, as ‘a religious Zionist school’ under the heading ‘Me and My Land’. But British children have no right to the so-called ‘land of “Israel”’ and it is racist and genocidal to imagine that they do.

The school **boasts of** inviting speakers from extremist Zionist groups in year 12 (16-17 years old) to indoctrinate the pupils including a “special programme run in partnership with Mizrahi UK” where they are taught “how to be a positive advocate” for “Israel”. Mizrahi is a religious Zionist group, formally signed up to the Zionist movement. The course leads to an “Israel” “advocacy speaking competition”. In Year 13 (17-18 years old) “students are able to take part in an “Israel” course that focuses specifically on “Israel” on campus.” This involves hearing “campus focused speakers including representatives from UJS and StandWithUs” on “how to be positive advocates for Israel in the next stage of their life”. UJS is, formally, a Zionist organisation for UK students, while StandWithUs in the UK is a subsidiary of StandWithUs in the US, its parent organisation, which **historically has provided** most of its funding. StandWithUs in the US is, in turn, a direct asset of the Zionist regime. According to the former Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister, Danny Ayalon, StandWithUs is used to ‘**amplify our power**’ and ‘**for leverage**’.

Yet another United Synagogue School is **JFS** in Kenton. The school says it too is “proud” of its “long standing and deep connections to the State of Israel. For over 40 years the school has offered a bespoke residential programme in Israel to provide an opportunity for students to immerse themselves in life in Israel, improve their Hebrew and enhance their knowledge of Jewish studies, culture and history beyond what is taught at school. ... The JFS programme [in Israel] promotes the values and ethos of JFS including the ideals of Zionist Modern Orthodoxy.” The school **names its houses** after racist settler colonial ideologues such as Chaim Weizmann, Israel

Zangwill and Selig Brodetsky.

The school commemorates Israel “Independence Day” and has an Israel club which has also **invited speakers** from Zionist regime asset Stand With Us who “focused on enabling students to distinguish differences between anti-Semitism and valid criticism of the state of Israel.”

The school **noted on Facebook** in November 2022 that “Last night we were honoured to host her Excellency **Tzipi Hotovely**, the Israeli Ambassador to London, to dedicate a special memorial garden at JFS”. The Sinai School Choir attended and sang the Hatikvah, the racist “national anthem” of the settler colony.

Many more examples could be given.

Unsurprisingly students from such schools often emerge as extremist supporters of Zionism, and play leadership roles in the Zionist movement. Here are two examples from the schools we have mentioned;

**Judith Flacks-Leigh** is a former pupil of JFS. She **has worked** with a dizzying collection of Zionist organisations, including being Head of Communications and Campaigns at the **JLC** (April 2016–July 2019) and a trustee of the **Union of Jewish Students** (since August 2020). Between December 2014 and January 2016, Flacks-Leigh served as Communications Officer at the UK’s main pro-Israel lobby group, the **Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre** (BICOM). Immediately afterwards, she was employed as parliamentary assistant to **John Spellar** MP, a vice chair of **Labour Friends of Israel** with strong connections to BICOM. Flacks-Leigh sat on the defence division of the **Board of Deputies of British Jews** (2018–2021), was on the National Executive Committee of the **Jewish Labour Movement** (July 2017–Oct 2018) and a volunteer with the pro-Israel **American Jewish Committee** (2014). She was also Trustee and Director (January 2017–December 2020) at **Nisa-Nashim** the women’s interfaith initiative aiming to normalise Zionism in the UK Muslim community.

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A second example is the 2021-22 head of the Union of Jewish Students, Nina Freedman, attended Yavneh College, was a member of the Federation of Zionist Youth, then the president of the Bristol Jewish Society for a year (2019-20) before becoming president of the National Union of Jewish Students the umbrella body for all university Jewish Societies. It is, as is now widely recognised, a formally Zionist group affiliated to the World Zionist Organisation. She spent the summer of 2019 running propaganda tours to "Israel" for 13-14-year-old Yavneh College pupils, where she was 'expected to educate the pupils on a variety of topics, including Judaism, "Israeli" culture and politics and secular and Jewish history.' After all this she was appointed as a Trustee of the Jewish Leadership Council in October 2024, putting her amongst the leading figures in the British Zionist movement.

### The range of Jewish schools

More than 40 (roughly 30%) of Jewish schools in the UK are categorised by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research as "Mainstream" while the rest are "strictly orthodox". According to the IJPR in 2021:

60% of Jewish pupils in Jewish schools are in strictly Orthodox schools; 40% are in non-strictly Orthodox or 'mainstream' Jewish schools. This is a ... significant shift since the mid-1990s, when the ratio was 55% mainstream to 45% strictly Orthodox.

It is not known how many of the schools are actually professedly Zionist. It appears that all or almost all of the "mainstream" Jewish schools are Zionist. But what of the "strictly" orthodox schools?

### "Strictly orthodox" schools

Of the schools run by specific Hasidic sects there is very little information available about their relationship with

Zionism, largely because some eschew the internet for religious reasons and thus few have websites. We do know, however, that the anti-Zionism which was almost universally shared by Hasidic groups in 1947 has been subject to considerable dilution and indeed reversals. Some groups like the Bobov (at least four schools), maintain a refusal to serve in the IDF and appear to have been more militant in this than the other large Hasidic sects.

On the other hand, the three largest Hasidic courts: Ger, Belz, and Viznitz, have, in July this year "instructed their members to continue" to "report at the enlistment centers after receiving pre-draft evaluation orders." Ger (1), Viznitz (4), and Belz (10) run at least 15 schools between them in the UK. All four of these sects have adherents who live in illegal settlements. There is even a Bobov cluster in the illegal settlement of Beitar Illit, and the Bobov Rebbe has recently made a "triumphant visit to Israel".

In addition Ger, Belz and Viznitz are closely associated with two Hasidic parties the Agudat Yisrael, which is half of a coalition known as United Torah Judaism, which is, in turn, part of the current Netanyahu regime. We can safely conclude that all of these schools are influenced by Zionism.

Meanwhile one of the largest groups known as Chabad, has shifted from an anti-Zionist position in the 1920s to become an ultra-Zionist sect which has enthusiastically taken part in the genocide in Gaza. This sect, which has over 5,000 branches worldwide, more than 150 outposts in the UK and operates around twelve schools in Salford, Bury, Leeds and London. It is a mark of how well disguised the genocidal ideology of Zionism is that there is so far no outrage over the existence of such schools.

### Anti-Zionist schools?

We do know that there are a handful of Satmar Hasidic schools (at least seven). Satmar is the largest Hasidic sect that still professes to be anti-Zionist. However, after

the launch of Al Aqsa Flood one of the leaders of Satmar condemned the participation of the anti-Zionist group Neturei Karta in demonstrations in solidarity with the Palestinians. Neturei Karta appears to take some inspiration from the previous Satmar Rebbe, but there are apparently some contradictions within the Satmar camp. Among the rebukes from Rabbi Yekusiel Yehuda Teitelbaum, one of two Satmar Rebbes, based in Williamsburg, New York, was: "Unfortunately, we see how far they have strayed from the path... They are walking around the world together with the Arabs, with those who shout without any shame and support the murders, they walk with them in broad daylight with the Shtreimel and the gown and shout together with the haters of Israel and murderers of souls. This is a terrible desecration of the name of heaven, to strengthen murderers in the name of the Holy Torah and in the name of heaven." Obviously, the anti-Zionism of this strand of Satmar at least does not extend to supporting the liberation of Palestine or support for Palestinian resistance. So, whether there are any Jewish schools in the UK which are meaningfully anti-Zionist is an open question.

### Zionist infiltration in schools more generally

The indoctrination, radicalisation and grooming of Jewish kids at Jewish schools is not the limit of Zionist ambition. Zionist groups are attempting to infiltrate and co-opt all British schools. In 2021 the Secretary of State for Education, Right Honourable Gavin Williamson, sent headteachers a letter that schools should not 'present materials in a politically biased or one-sided way'. Yet he promotes pro-Israel organisations such as Solutions Not Sides, the Community Security Trust (CST) and Forum for Discussion of Israel & Palestine (FODIP) which he claimed are 'balanced. Each is influenced by Zionism and seeks to normalise Israel and its crimes.

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## Jewish Activities in Mainstream Schools

There is also something called Jewish Activities in Mainstream Schools, a programme run by the largest Zionist fundraising charity in the UK, the [United Jewish Israel Appeal](#). According to the UJIA it is run in around 35 English and Scottish schools, mainly in Glasgow, Manchester and London. According to the UJIA they create “JSocs” at these schools (see some of those schools involved on page 6 of the UJIA JAMS [brochure](#)). They use these as a vehicle for the radicalisation and indoctrinating of Jewish pupils into the Zionist movement. They do this by presenting them with opportunities to recruit students into the Zionist movement which are presented as if they are just “Jewish” activities. Among the largest JSocs according to the UJIA are those at Haberdashers’ School (formerly known as Haberdashers’ Aske’s). As I have [previously noted](#), this school provides a hothouse environment for recruiting lifelong Zionist activists, particularly into the racist Zionist Youth group Habonim Dror. Amongst alumni were: Matt Lucas, Ashley Blaker (Little Britain), Robert Popper, (commissioned Bo>Selecta and produced two series of Peep Show). David Baddiel and Sacha Baron-Cohen (Ali G, Borat, spokesperson for the ADL).

One can book a session through JAMS via the UJIA website. This takes you to a [booking link](#) with various categories of activity including the following with sessions bookable from the organisation indicated

- **Israel:** Noam, Yachad, Stand With Us UK
- **Contemporary Issues:** Tribe, Camp Simcha, KeshetUK, Stand With Us UK, JAMI, Habonim Dror, Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA), LJY Netzer
- **Jewish Thought:** Kisharon, LJY-Netzer
- **Jewish Culture:** Kisharon, LJY-Netzer, Habonim Dror, Noam

All of these groups are of course hardline Zionist operations and not simply “Jewish”.

The inclusion of Zionist regime assets like Stand With Us and the absurd CAA, is an indication of the political orientation. Groups like Camp Simcha and Kisharon present as serving the Jewish community but are, signed up to the Zionist [Jewish Leadership Council](#). The involvement of Zionist youth groups like Tribe, Noam, LJY-Netzer and Habonim Dror, is a clear signal of the attempt to recruit vulnerable young students to the racist Zionist movement. It is apparent that there are absolutely no non or anti-Zionist Jewish groups being platformed and certainly not a single pro-Palestinian group will get anywhere near these schools. It is an urgent matter to ensure that is done immediately.

This kind of radicalisation activity must be urgently stopped.

## DeZionisation

DeZionisation of British schools (whether Jewish Schools or mainstream schools in which there is significant Zionist indoctrination happening) is an urgent priority. We can’t set out a full programme of such activities here for reasons of space and because there has been no full assessment of how bad things are in schools up and down the country. However, we can point to a few necessary initial steps.

1. “Mainstream” Jewish schools (some 30% of existing Jewish Schools) can and should be invited by Ofsted to propose their own plans for de-Zionising their curriculum. If those in charge of the schools (the head teacher and the Directors/Trustees of the company/charity the school) are unwilling to undertake this in good faith, then there will have to be wholesale reform of the governance structure of such schools.
2. Jewish Activities in Mainstream Schools. Obviously the UJIA should

be removed from its position of organising Zionist indoctrination sessions in non Jewish schools. There should be an open invitation to non and anti-Zionist groups to oversee “Jewish Activities”.

3. Close schools run by genocidal sects. All schools run by Chabad (and Bobov, Ger, Belz and Viznitz) should be urgently investigated with a view to proposing measures to ensure that the pupils are no longer radicalised and programmed to support genocide.

4. Carefully assess which of the strictly orthodox schools have the potential to be de-Zionised. The most obvious place to start would be with Satmar schools, but it is by no means certain that the sect would be able to comply with such measures.

5. There must be a wider review of the funding arrangements of Jewish schools. This would need to include reviews of the charitable purposes of those charities in charge of the schools. The activities of those Zionist family foundations (and others involved) which have been bankrolling both mainstream and strictly orthodox schools and their role in indoctrination into genocide need to be closely examined.

## Professor David Miller

is a non-resident Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Islam and Global Affairs at Istanbul Zaim University, Turkey. He is a former Professor of Political Sociology at the University of Bristol. He is a broadcaster; writer and investigative researcher; the producer of the weekly show Palestine Declassified on PressTV; and the co-director of Public Interest Investigations, of which [spinwatch.org](#) and [powerbase.info](#) are projects.

He is on X, Instagram TikTok and Telegram as [@Tracking\\_Power](#).

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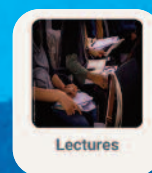
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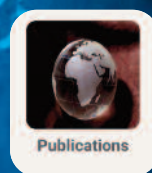
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# The Israeli State is a Genocidal-Ghetto-Golem: We have to Demoralize and Peacefully Dismantle It

João Silva Jordão argues that the Zionist project is a realisation of European anti-semitism. Getting Israelis to understand this reality, is a high priority for pro-Palestine movements.

## The Gaza Genocide Has Set a Precedent Even More Terrifying than the Holocaust

Nazi Germany did everything it could to hide its genocide. The State of Israel however seems to be doing everything it can to make sure that the whole world watches as it maims, tortures, butchers, humiliates and rapes the Palestinian people.

There is a brilliant concept often used by feminists regarding rape, which is victim blaming. Victim blaming is when you look at a situation where there is a clear aggressor and a victim and turn the situation on its head by blaming the victim. Well, Israel, pretty much since its inception, has managed to perform this trick with incredible efficacy. But the Gaza genocide has made it much more difficult, if not practically impossible, for Israel to continue playing the victim.

And if the live-streamed genocide is horrible, the figure that the rest of the world is cutting is somehow even worse; an abhorrent spectacle of a cowardly, cynical world gone simultaneously raving mad, and yet somehow, somehow managing to display incredible structure and method in their selfishness. The world is sinking into sheer madness as they watch the genocide and either ignore it, or merely comment on it with an absolute lack of a sense of the proper tone that the gravity of the situation requires. The genocide is used by artists to sell their product and prove their artistry, by “humanitarians” to prove their morality, by political analysts to prove their knowledge, and by curious onlookers to prove their curiosity. Meanwhile, the agonizing genocide continues, while we use it mainly for the purposes of memes and commentary.

What a despicable demonstration of cynicism and cowardice.

“Hell...”

Indeed, “hell is empty, and all the devils are here” (Ariel, *The Tempest*, Act 1 Scene 2 “Shakespeare”, 1610-1611).

## Israel’s Foundational Narrative is Crumbling

Most pro-Palestinian and/or anti-Israeli activists claim to thoroughly question the Israeli state’s narratives, while in fact they generally only do so superficially. When the state of Israel claims to be a haven of democracy in a region that is otherwise despotic, activists point to Israel’s apartheid policies. When the Israeli “Defence” Army claims to be the most moral army in the world, activists point to the plethora of human rights violations, such as the infamous [broken bones policy](#) of past decades, the use of [white phosphorous](#), the [murder of children](#), among many others. However all these arguments are rather secondary to the core narrative of the Israeli state, which presents the following thesis: Israel is simultaneously a *home*, a *representative* and a *vehicle* for Jewish people and Jewish values. And it is precisely this narrative which, finally, is coming under severe questioning. More and more critics of the state of Israel reject it as the representative of the Jewish people, just as more and more not only criticize its values (or lack thereof) from an objective perspective, but criticize its actions as being in contradictory to Jewish values.

The latest attack on the Gaza Strip has generated unprecedentedly wide and loud cries of condemnation across the world. There are several reasons for this, one of them being the effect of the brutality of the violence unleashed by Israel’s army on Gaza and social media’s ability to spread the evidence of this savagery on a scale previously unattained and unsought by the mainstream media. This information comes not only in the form of news and articles, it comes in pictures, in videos; it shows brutality in a brutal way. Those who see it have little alternative to being outraged, or at least, alienated from those perpetrating it. The violence of the images not only questions Israel’s narrative that it has the ‘world’s most ethical army’ and that it represents a sanctuary of tolerance and restraint in a region plagued with barbaric regimes,

it actually ends up convincing many that it is one of, if not the single most dangerous state in the Middle East.

However, it is not only this particular narrative that is being slowly but surely eroded during the genocide on Gaza. There is a more profound, underlying narrative that Israel invokes for its legitimacy and which is the very central pillar to Israel as a state and political construct - the idea that Israel is a Jewish state, supported by the world’s Jews and offering a besieged population a safe haven from persecution. Many are now challenging this view, suggesting that Israel results in less, not more safety, for the world’s Jews.

The signs are everywhere, from the popularity of videos of Orthodox Jews criticizing the Israeli state in ways that would make some Hamas members blush, to social media campaigns of former Israeli soldiers denouncing the military’s tactics, to messages of Israelis who refuse to serve in the military. Israel’s claim to be the representative for global Jewry is losing its appeal. Instead, it is the Jews of the world who are now out in the public square not only accusing Israel of war crimes, but questioning its very Jewish identity. Some go as far as to accuse Israel of identity theft, of pretending to represent Judaism while actually going against its very principles and teachings. It was recently reported that support for Israel among the USA’s Jewish communities is [dwindling](#). Recently, when Netanyahu went to the American Congress saying that he would do so as a “representative of the entire Jewish people”, many Jews voiced their [opposition](#).

Perhaps more important even than the already hugely important debate over whether already existing Jewish privileges over non-Jews in the state of Israel should be written into law, is the question of whether the Jews and non-Jews of the world accept the state of Israel as being essentially Jewish in its identity and whether it is a legitimate representative of the Jewish people worldwide. And even though some may still argue that that is the case, it would be hard to deny that an increasing number of Jews



and non-Jews question Israel's Jewish identity. Some, indeed many Orthodox Jews, outright accuse the state of Israel of being guilty of identity theft. Moreso, some propose that the efforts of the state of Israel in trying to equate itself with Judaism and Jews leads to an inevitable association between its acts and Judaism, hence imputing by association any negative acts of the state to Jews as well. And given the despicable treatment that the state of Israel has consistently handed out to Palestinians, some then go on to say that its very attempt to identify itself as being essentially Jewish increases anti-Semitism. This means not only that Israel's foundational narrative is being increasingly questioned but also that its supposed purpose and its actual effect are, in the eyes of some, the exact opposite. Whereas it is supposed to be a Jewish state meant to harbour and protect Jews, Israel is increasingly seen as a state that lacks the essential moral fibre of Judaism and whose actions put Jews at risk.

In this respect, there are more similarities between ISIS and the state of Israel than immediately meets the eye. Both over-emphasize their respective religious affiliation in an attempt to co-opt and recruit those who profess the respective religion and end up generating increasing distrust and at times outright condemnation from those who seek to distance themselves from actions they see as being reprehensible and incompatible with their religion. Both behave in a particularly vindictive manner towards their enemies and this vindictiveness polarizes the people they seek to recruit.

The very erosion of this narrative as well as the grand implications it brings to the state of Israel is, for now, still largely hidden beneath the large quantity of words, pictures and videos coming from Gaza which flood the media. However, the appeal of this particular angle of criticism aimed at the state of Israel among friends and long-time foes alike is gaining traction, and it is appealing and effective because it goes to the very heart of Israel's existential identity, its very *raison d'être*.

The threat posed by this emerging angle, which questions Israel's very identity as it has come to be defined by its own institutions, is one even more menacing to its very existence. While those who call for its dismantling legitimize its obligatory military service, its huge military spending and its generally aggressive foreign policy, and those who are anti-Semitic legitimize its argument that the world's Jews need a safe homeland exclusively of their own, those who question its Jewish identity propose an argument that is at the same time simple to propose and difficult to refute. Its effect is to turn a nation that could be united against its intransigent enemies into a state wondering whether it has what it takes to unite its people around its foundation principle. If Israel's claim to be a Jewish state loses its credibility, it risks losing much of the support it now receives

from abroad, both from Jews and non-Jews alike.

For now, Israel's waning support among the world's Jews as well as from those who question its Judaic identity is being partially hidden from public sight and scrutiny; this potential catastrophe is being suffocated beneath the rubble of Gaza, hidden behind the smoke of the bombs. But it could very well be the threat that Israel's spin-doctors and politicians ought to look out for the most. When the rubble and the smoke have cleared, Israel may have to deal with a threat much greater than that posed by Hamas's rockets, by the greater cooperation between political enemies, or even from an ever-greater rallying of public opinion against its policies. It could very well face an unprecedented identity crisis and subsequent existential threat leading to a collapse from within, rather than giving way to the oft-exaggerated military threat from without. If Israel is no longer seen as being supported by Jews, nor of representing Judaism, nor much less of providing a safe haven for Jews, then it could face a more humiliating future than military defeat - it could very well be ousted as a fraud about to crumble under the weight of its own underlying contradictions.

These new developments mean that the identity theft perpetrated by the state of Israel is no longer as widely accepted as if once was, and in this way the foundational narrative of Israel is crumbling, as people increasingly do not see it as representing and defending Jewish interests, but rather as simply an imperialist proxy-agent of the NATO gang. This is also a positive development insofar as it can start to breach the dominant paradigm/dichotomy that prevents Muslims and Jews from working together to stop such professional agents of discord who use religion as a cover for their all-too-worldly pursuits.

### **A Proposal for a Campaign to Demoralize the Israeli Nation and State Using Simple, Undeniable Fact**

Israel is the Global Champion of Collective Punishment and Genocide

Israel is the world's prime exponent of barbarism, genocide and human horrors, collective punishment and the genocidal response to the October 7 attacks are the most despicable and condensed example of that fact.

It's undeniable, and has been for some time now. Israel's response to the attack on October 7, 2023 was to use it as an excuse to enact a genocide, barely attempting to hide it and if anything, making sure to show the world its propensity for extreme violence as a sort of warning to the rest of the world. This amounts to an attempted, actually

enacted and boastful genocide. The policy of mass killings is there. The policy of targeting any member of society that has any crucial role to play is there, so as to break the back of society and destroy it. Israel has targeted everyone: journalists, teachers, professors, nurses, doctors, aid workers, social media personalities, anyone and everyone, starting from the most influential in Gaza and Palestinian society at large, and then working down in an evil festival of death and destruction. The Al Shifa massacre was the worst and most shocking case of this policy, where they raped and executed medical staff and patients alike, with the horror of their genocidal actions now overshadowed by the massacre of Jabalia in the refugees camps of Gaza. Israel is also the only society on earth seemingly capable of mobilizing civil society to block aid efforts. It's beyond monstrous, it's a society beyond any possibility of redemption.

This has to be pointed out to Israelis at large, again and again and again, in a targeted and relentless manner. **They have to know the nature of the society they have built. They too must realize that it's a project beyond saving.**

The main, foundational problem with the Israeli state is that it began only as a result on a foundational genocidal event, usually referred to as the Nakba, that was never reversed nor atoned for, but rather, continued and expanded. At this point it is interesting to note that there is an element within the Balfour Declaration that is not only present, but an absolutely key, central and indeed necessary part of the Declaration - the promise that the State of Israel shall be established without harming the rights of non-Jewish populations that lived within the Palestinian Protectorate. It is phrased thus (Balfour Declaration, 1917, retrieved from Yale Avalon Project):

*"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."*

This makes a lot of sense. Who in their right mind, not least Jews fearing lack of safety within the homelands they inhabited, would want to migrate to a State that was built in a violent, belligerent way, which would naturally result in further conflict, war, lack of safety, indeed, that would guarantee the very same conditions, if not even worse, than those they were trying to escape?

Strategically speaking, it would have been beneficial for the tiny State of Israel and nation, population and overall culture,

to seek to befriend the Arabs and Muslims at large, since by very definition, regardless of any expansion, it was, and always will insofar as it continues to exist, be a state that is geographically surrounded by Arab and Islamic majority countries. Instead, Israel has chosen the path of absolute belligerency against its fellow nations, as well as relentless campaigns to defame Arabs and Muslims, on top of the Nakba and its continued theft, plunder, rape, murder and genocide of the Palestinian population, thus virtually guaranteeing the animosity of large swathes of the 400 million Arabs and virtually two billion Muslims worldwide. It has managed to guarantee, though most probably only temporarily, the allegiance or connivance of key Arab and/or Muslim majority nations and states, which it absolutely needs for its immediate survival, through cynicism, realpolitik, blackmail and pure political conspiracy. However, in the medium to long term this only aggravates, instead of reducing, the absolute disdain, if not outright hatred, that the population of these countries, and indeed the majority of the populations of the world, have for Israel. Israel has practically guaranteed that its continued existence will only become harder to sustain in the medium to long term with these disastrous strategic choices. Furthermore, it must be noted that at the very core of the Zionist project was the promise of safety and welfare, a promise that is not only elusive 75 years on, but which indeed seems further away than ever before. The Jews who accepted to partake in the ruinous Zionist project, and especially those who migrated from North America and Western Europe, at one point or other will **have to realise that the Jews who did not accept the invitation to migrate now not only live, but thrive, and have both wealth and security, whereas Jews in Israel are forced to send their sons and daughter to the military, or risk imprisonment, in order to send them to the frontlines of a war that seems more and more unwinnable every day that passes.**

These elements are sure to be a large part of why Henry Kissinger, the supposed godfather of modern realpolitik, **allegedly predicted that the state of Israel would not survive more than 10 years** (though some contest the veracity of this quote and prediction). Though that deadline has already passed, if he were alive to witness the state of Israel's genocidal response to the October 7 attacks, one might think that he would maintain and perhaps reinforce his (alleged) prediction of the demise of the ruinous Zionist project. And on top of that, Israel's current president himself, the oddly simultaneously-reluctant-and-staunch Zionist Isaac Herzog, **was already worried as early as May 2023 whether the state of Israel could survive, noticing that historic Jewish States tend to collapse around the 80-100 year mark, whereas several other reluctant Zionists have made similar insightful observations.**

## Israel is Really Just Another GHETTO Which Puts Half of the World's Jews in Harm's Way

Let us first consider Leon Trotsky's view. He was a staunch Zionist and although he was assassinated before State of Israel's coming into existence, his statements now seem prescient.

*"The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen, for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people. Interested in winning the sympathies of the Arabs who are more numerous than the Jews, the British government has sharply altered its policy toward the Jews, and has actually renounced its promise to help them found their "own home" in a foreign land. The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system."*

Trotsky basically calls the mass migration of Jews to Palestine as generating a new sort of Ghetto, and yet, he does it trying to call for the formation of a homeland with its own state. However, is an attempt to huddle as many Jews as possible into what is a tiny piece of land, regardless of whether it has a state or not, likely to produce a ghetto nonetheless? And despite the fact that the formation of the Zionist state was predicated on the concept that it will somehow promise and deliver safety to the Jews, the undeniable truth is the Zionist project has made the Holy Land so unsafe it needs to pay Jews to migrate there. Indeed Israel has endangered the safety of Jews worldwide. It is important to note that there are only 15 million Jews worldwide, and half of them are in Israel.

And despite the fact that many Jews have continued to believe the false promise of safety that the state of Israel promises, but never delivers, **it is economic factors rather than actual safety that drove spikes in Jewish migration to the state of Israel such as that witnessed in 2013, for example.** This is particularly important seeing as Israel provides, in many instances, subsidies for those willing to move to Israel, and the occupied territories in particular. **Ridiculous episodes such as Netanyahu in 2015, after a terrorist attack in Paris, urging Jews to migrate from Europe,** just show the extent of the desperation. Imagine Israel using a single terrorist attack in an otherwise peaceful country, France, where Jews live in peace and prosperity, as an excuse to invite European Jews as a whole to migrate to a country with mandatory military service, which is constantly at war,

with no end in sight.

Israel is the prime example of Jews being convinced by third parties that accepting a state of spatial confinement is beneficial for them, whilst in fact it is, by all measures, negative and detrimental. At several periods in their history, the Jewish people decided, or have been coerced into accepting, greater spatial confinement. Such an example is their period of captivity in Babylon.

Nazism stipulated that the means with which to solve the "Jewish problem" was through spatial segregation, first in ghettos, and later in concentration camps. It must be said that the Nazis took advantage of the insecurities and fears of the Jewish people, and their subsequent search for security, in order to coerce them into living in ghettos, and thereafter into concentration camps, often with the cooperation of Jewish people who were bribed physically and mentally. They were bribed physically with benefits, and bribed mentally by deception, the deception that equates spatial confinement with increased security. It might be relevant to note that the Nazis also considered an ambitious plan of spatial confinement for the Jewish peoples by speculating that Madagascar might be a suitable, gigantic prison, only to ultimately discard such an alternative by virtue of its logistical difficulty and cost.

Similarly, so too does Zionism propose to solve the "Jewish question" by means of spatial confinement. It proposes that the Jewish people should live within the borders of the "state of Israel", which is the confines of the territory of Israel if one considers the present borders of the state, or the confines of the territories between the river Nile and the river Euphrates, if you consider the flag of the state.

We can see this at play in Portuguese history also, as recounted by Martins (2006, pp 64):

*"Although not as lucrative, there were other sources of income for the mayor of Lisbon: two-thirds of the penalties of married barbers, their barregãs and those of clerics and friars - in these cases, the remaining third would be paid by those who denounced them; one-third of the penalty paid by newly-excommunicated individuals; the entire value of pecuniary penalties for rape offences; all the gold and silver confiscated in illicit games of chance; fines from taverns opened between the ringing of the curfew bells and Mass. ... the fines for Jews and Moors found, respectively, outside the Jewish quarter and the Moorish quarter; during the aforementioned curfew period; the fines paid by huseiras and braadar women and the fines for ships that made water during the night. All the weapons confiscated from Muslims leaving Lisbon in ships also*

*belonged to the mayor, as long as they were not for his own use. The fish caught on Sundays, the feast days of Jesus Christ, St Mary and the Apostles and the nights before these holy days, would also revert in their entirety to the benefit of the alcalde-mor, who would also receive the fines relating to the taxes paid by the Moros-Forros at customs and the fines paid by Muslims and Jews who were found drinking in taverns. The alcalde-mor also collected, for every tonne of merchandise loaded in the port of Lisbon, the equivalent of two "old coins", as well as fines for ships that took on passengers and/or merchandise during the night."*

The Ghetto of Venice 1680 is another known example whereby Jews were coerced into accepting a situation of spatial confinement, supposedly to guarantee their safety, whilst obviously sooner or later not only failing to provide it, but actively serving to compromise it.

## Israel as the Gentile West's GOLEM, the Ultimate Hofjuden State

A key idea that makes for a somewhat different critique of the state of Israel than those one usually encounters relates to how it very evidently operates in regards to its overall role in geopolitics and specifically how it is used by the Western geopolitical megastructure is that one should by all means be inclined to call the state of Israel a "Hofjuden" State. It is, at best, an ultra militarized ghetto that will end as all ghettos do, but that for the time being does the bidding of the Gentile West to the detriment of Judaism, Jewish people as a whole and ultimately for the benefit of secular militarism, racist colonialism and the immediate interests of cynical Western powers, namely but not exclusively, the USA.

Just as a very quick example, the infamous Rothschild dynasty and its

founder, Mayer Amschel Rothschild, was himself a member of a Crusader Catholic Order, one of the oldest, if not oldest corporations in continuous existence (the Knights of Malta, founded in 1099, The Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem), while the resulting dynasty is often referred to as "The Vatican's Bankers". The Rothschild dynasty was absolutely fundamental in the foundation of the state of Israel and are illustrated in a painting depicting the **key dynasties in the foundation** of Israeli Supreme Court that can be seen still today in the Supreme Court of Israel. Isn't it at the very least awkward, to not say downright suspicious, that the poster-boys for the world-conquering Jewish conspiracy were at their heart just agents of a Catholic Crusading Order, the same order that swallowed the remnants of the Knights Templar upon their dissolution and dismemberment by the Vatican itself?

The term "Hofjuden" is a sometimes derogatory term which essentially translates to "Court Jew", now mostly out of use (but which should be brought back into fashion as soon as possible), used to denote Jews who are used in a cynical manner by European aristocrats, usually to have Jews do in a public manner, at the behest and for the ultimate benefit of those same aristocrats, things that the aristocrats themselves don't want to be seen as doing, namely, but not only, handling money and money lending, historically seen as anywhere between dubious, illegal, or perhaps just vulgar and dirty. The parallels with the state of Israel as a whole are striking, as it too has an absolutely unique position within the Western political system, as Israel too can do with impunity things that even Western states and its top officials cannot.

One must also remember the bulk of Zionists worldwide are not Jews at all. The majority of Zionists are Christians, a lot of them North American Christians, who "support" Israel with money, weapons and incessant propaganda, whilst mostly watching its endless wars and butchery from a very safe distance.

And there is an even more perverse side to this geopolitical ploy. The Gentile West is using Judaism and Jewish people themselves as a shield and agent, to serve its interests in the region, whilst placing no less than half of the Jewish population in direct danger. It's at best cynical, criminal and irresponsible, and at worst, it's the continuation of Western anti-Jewish pogroms, only in a more convoluted and indirect manner. In conclusion, **Zionism is a terrible idea, very poorly executed, with tragic consequences**, and we must spare no efforts in showing and convincing as many Israeli nationals of this undeniable fact. The only viable solution is the **immediate dismantling of the Israeli state**. Engaging in **virtually any efficient effort to put a stop to the ongoing Gaza genocide as well as the prosecution of all involved should also be an absolute priority for anyone with an inkling of morality**.

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ISSN 26323168



The Long View is a project and publication of Islamic Human Rights Commission (a limited company no 04716690).

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