

ANTISEMITISM POLICY TRUST

Special
Briefing

A lit candle is the central focus of the lower half of the cover. The candle is lit, with a bright flame. Behind the candle, a Star of David is visible, partially obscured by the candle and the dark background. The background is a dark, almost black, triangular shape that points towards the top right corner. The overall mood is somber and reflective.

HOLOCAUST DENIAL
AND REVISIONISM

Front cover: New Africa Studio, 'Barbed wire and burning candle on black background, space for text. Holocaust memory day' - Shutterstock

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Introduction

The Holocaust – the murder of six million Jewish people – was a unique evil in the world. Many others, including Roma and Sinti, black, disabled and gay people, and political opponents, were also murdered by the Nazis in a barbaric undertaking that has left a stain on human history. It is imperative that we learn lessons from this dark moment in history for humanity's sake.

Sadly, there is, in the words of historian Deborah Lipstadt, a 'growing assault on truth and memory.'¹ Primarily, this finds form in outright denial of the Holocaust: an antisemitic act. The shape of Holocaust denial and abuse continues to evolve,² shifting between what can be termed classical denial; the denial of the ways in which Jews were murdered, the mechanisms of annihilation and the number of Jews killed, and motivational denial; in other words, what drove Hitler and the Nazi party to carry out the Holocaust. The latter form of denial, which has seen a gradual resurgence, is peddled by deniers and revisionists who, despite overwhelming evidence, reject the true historical narrative of the Holocaust. They invent new narratives, false and baseless, seeking to mask their arguments behind scholarly rhetoric in order to gain credibility.

Revisionists claim, for example, that Hitler supported Jewish emigration to Israel, not annihilation. They also claim that Zionists – those who believe in the right to self-determination for the Jewish people in the land of Israel (excluding any final decision on borders) – or even Jews as a whole, were actively supported in Nazi Germany, before Hitler changed his mind, or 'went mad' (see page 9 for more on this).

However, as Lipstadt points out, the Nazis' slogan for the Jews was 'Juda Verrecke'³ or 'Perish Judah', not 'emigrate Judah.' This pernicious form of Holocaust abuse and revisionism is being shared on social media and has even been employed by some in the public eye.

This briefing will examine some of the arguments put forward by Holocaust revisionists who seek to perpetuate the myths of motivational Holocaust denial.⁴ The briefing is not intended to be all encompassing; to unpick all the arguments put forward by deniers and revisionists would take several volumes, and of course more lies continue to be invented. Rather, it addresses several themes espoused in recent years which have been frequently disseminated by those attempting to rewrite history or abuse the memory of the Holocaust.

In order to create as comprehensive a briefing as possible, the Antisemitism Policy Trust engaged in private conversations and correspondence with several eminent scholars on the Holocaust. We would like to express sincere gratitude for their insights, to Professor Francis R. Nicosia, Professor Sir Richard Evans and Laurence Rees in particular.

1 Lipstadt, D. *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, Penguin Books, New York, 1995

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid. p.122

4 Definition of Holocaust Denial: <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-holocaust-denial-and-distortion>:

MYTH: Hitler and the Nazis Supported Zionism

CLAIM: The claim that Hitler supported Zionism (national self-determination for Jewish people in Israel), or was a Zionist, contends that he supported, and even pursued, the goal of the emigration of Jews to the land of Israel for their own ideological or other reasons or that he welcomed the creation of a state for Jewish people. Some go so far as to claim that this is proven by Hitler negotiating with a German Zionist organisation in order to remove 66,000 Jews from Nazi Germany to the British mandate of Palestine, the land of Israel. This is a reference to the 1933 Ha'avara (transfer) agreement, examined in detail below.

Reality: This claim does not appropriately contextualise support for Zionism amongst the Nazi political elite. The idea of any form of collaboration between Jewish people and the Nazis is a misrepresentation, an offensive twisting of the truth⁵, and according to renowned historian Laurence Rees, is 'misleading.'⁶ In truth, this was a Nazi manipulation for antisemitic ends. Hitler's own words make clear his views on Zionism. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler's racist tome written during his imprisonment in 1925, his hatred of Zionism and Jews is explicit:

*'While the Zionists try to make the rest of the World believe that the national consciousness of the Jew finds its satisfaction in the creation of a Palestinian state, the Jews again slyly dupe the dumb Goyim [an offensive term for non-Jews]. It doesn't even enter their heads to build up a Jewish state in Palestine for the purpose of living there; all they want is a central organisation for their international world swindler, endowed with its own sovereign rights and removed from the intervention of other states: a haven for convicted scoundrels and a university for budding crooks. It is a sign of their rising confidence and sense of security that at a time when one section is still playing the German, French-man, or Englishman, the other with open effrontery comes out as the Jewish race.'*⁷

Also in *Mein Kampf*, the evidence for Hitler's murderous goal is made clear: 'if at the beginning of the war and during the war twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people had been held under poison gas, as happened to hundreds of thousands of our very best German workers in the field, the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain.'⁸ The Reich did not support the establishment of a Jewish state or the Zionist ideology. Its primary goal was to create a 'pure Aryan' race and to achieve it, the Nazis wanted to eradicate, by

eviction, sterilisation, murder and other methods, the races and people that they perceived as inferior. After efforts to evict all Jewish people from Nazi controlled territories had failed, the Nazis adopted the 'final solution'; the mass murder of Jewish people. Within the Nazi worldview, the concept of Zionism, explored in further detail in the following sections, was a convenient mechanism to facilitate the removal of the Jewish population from Nazi occupied Europe prior to 1941.⁹

5 Bogdanor, P., An Antisemitism Hoax: Lenni Brenner on Zionist 'Collaboration' with the Nazis, *Fathom Journal*, June 2016, <https://fathomjournal.org/an-antisemitic-hoax-lenni-brenner-on-zionist-collaboration-with-the-nazis/>

6 Rees, L. *The Holocaust A New History*, Viking, 2017, p.86

7 Hitler, A. *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"), Houghton Mifflin, New York: Hutchinson Publ. Ltd., London, 1969. In Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum, 'Extracts from *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler.' <https://www.yadvashem.org/docs/extracts-from-mein-kampf.html>

8 Hitler, A. *Mein Kampf*, in Burleigh, M. 'History shows Hitler never was a Zionist', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 5 May 2016, <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/history-shows-hitler-never-was-a-zionist>

9 Correspondence with Francis R Nicosia, 12 May 2017

Hitler and the Nazis were in no way Zionists or sympathetic to the Zionists' goal of creating a Jewish state. Nazi policy was to reverse Jewish emancipation in Germany. Zionism, and the emigration of Jews to Palestine, conveniently for the Nazi leadership, would achieve a diminished Jewish population in the Nazi Reich.¹⁰ Holocaust historian Francis Nicosia stresses that Jewish emigration could also 'mitigate the negative fallout' in international public opinion of the Nazis treatment and persecution of the Jews.¹¹ It would also allow for the Nazis to pursue their goal of Lebensraum (living space) for 'pure' Aryan Germans.

The Ha'avara Agreement of August 1933 served the Nazi aim of removing the Jewish population of Nazi Germany.¹² The Agreement, negotiated by the Zionist Federation of Germany and the German Government,¹³ encouraged 60,000 Jews to leave Germany for Palestine before the beginning of the Second World War.¹⁴ Sir Richard Evans stresses this was only ever a temporary measure.¹⁵ This was not a simple transfer agreement; it was a set of complex monetary arrangements which would allow Jews to bypass currency export restrictions and would allow German exports to go to Palestine.¹⁶

Using the Zionist movement to this end was a strategic decision by the German government; they did not support Zionism – they used it.

The Zionist movement was led to believe the Agreement would allow the emigration of 15,000 to 20,000 German Jews to Palestine each year for the following 30 years.¹⁷ In light of this, Nicosia has called the Zionist movement momentarily 'naïve' in its pursuit of emancipation through emigration to Palestine.¹⁸ However, although this was not the intended consequence, the Agreement did save many Jews who moved to Palestine during the 1930s from ultimately perishing in the Holocaust.¹⁹

Economically, through Jewish emigration, the Nazis could confiscate their possessions.²⁰ Professor Deborah Lipstadt has labelled Jewish emigration and the Agreement something 'of tremendous financial benefit to the Germans.'²¹ Jews leaving the Reich, whether for Palestine or elsewhere, were only permitted to take with them minimal possessions²² and had to pay a special 'Flight Tax' to the Reich for being 'allowed' to emigrate. Furthermore, both the Nazi Economics Ministry and the Reichsbank believed that Jewish emigration would act as a 'weapon against the international boycott of German goods.'²³ Professor Nicosia has explained that the Economics Ministry called the Ha'avara Transfer Agreement 'the best weapon to neutralize the international anti-German economic boycott.'²⁴

The manipulative use of Zionism by the Nazi party and Hitler, as well as creating a Lebensraum (living space) for German Aryans and fulfilling the goal of Judenrein (a Jewish-free area) perpetuated the antisemitic trope of 'dual loyalty.'

10 Nicosia, F.R., *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.105

11 *Ibid.*, p.80

12 *Ibid.*, p.78

13 Burleigh, M. 'History shows Hitler never was a Zionist.' *The Jewish Chronicle*, 5 May 2016, <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/history-shows-hitler-never-was-a-zionist-1.56518>

14 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evans, 7 July 2016.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evans 7 July 2016; and Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews 1933 – 1945*, 2009

18 Nicosia, F.R. *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.104

19 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Lipstadt, D. 'The perils of ignoring Holocaust history.' *CNN*, 5 May 2016, <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/05/04/opinions/livingstone-is-wrong-about-zionism-lipstadt/index.html>

22 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evans, 7 July 2016

23 Nicosia, F.R. *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 80

24 *Ibid.*, p.88.

According to the trope, Jews are more loyal to a Jewish state (or in this case, British Mandate Palestine) than to the one they live in. It was used by the Nazi Justice Ministry to justify the gradual removal of civil rights from the Jewish population in the Reich.²⁵ By pointing to the Zionist movement, they could argue Jews were a distinct ethnicity, loyal to Palestine.

The idea that Nazis supported Zionists and Zionism also fails to contextualise the treatment of Zionists in the Reich. Anti-Jewish legislation, including the Nuremberg Race Laws, targeted Zionist and non-Zionist Jews alike. German racial policy did not differentiate between the two groups; they were all considered to be ethnically unclean.²⁶ It is also important to understand that support for Zionism in Germany was small at the time, with little backing from the broader Jewish population. Many Jews in Germany considered themselves first and foremost German, and had no desire to emigrate before the Nazis came to power in 1933. The Jews who decided to leave Germany after 1933, did so to avoid persecution rather than because they were Zionist,²⁷ with many fleeing to elsewhere in Europe and the United States rather than to Palestine.²⁸

The Nazis pursued anti-Zionist antisemitism too. For example, they met with the Palestinian Arab leader Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, from whom they attempted to solicit support with a promise to exterminate the Jews in Palestine: a far cry from supporting Zionism's goal of a Jewish state. In 1944, the Nazis conspired with the Mufti to execute Operation Atlas: a plan to incite Arabs in Palestine to kill Jews.²⁹ Luckily, the operation failed and some of its organisers

were captured by the British forces in Palestine. The Nazis also assembled an SS Einsatzkommando (a Nazi mobile killing squad) in Egypt, in order to kill the 700,000 Jews in North Africa and the Levant, including Palestine, if the opportunity came.

In reality – up to at least the outbreak of the Second World War – the Nazis did not much care where Jewish people ended up, as long as they were out of the Reich. As country after country rapidly fell to German forces between 1938 and 1940, a much larger number of Jewish people found themselves under Nazi rule. Nazi perspectives on Jewish policy therefore needed some revision. Perversely, this increased rule over both Jewish people and land was seen by the Nazis to both exacerbate their so-called 'Jewish problem' and create new possibilities for solving it. For example, the Nazis attempted to relocate Jews to the French colony of Madagascar in July 1940 and attempted to mass expel Polish and stateless Jews from Germany to Poland in October 1938.³⁰ The Madagascar plan was only abandoned when British control of sea lanes left the plan unworkable.³¹ Professor Richard Evans argues that the need for the 1933 Transfer Agreement therefore halted in September 1939.³² Meanwhile, the idea that both the Transfer agreement and the Holocaust more broadly contributed to the Zionist goal of working towards Jewish self-determination by creating a nation-state, can also be seen as a cruel and distorted half-truth: as historian Anita Shapira has noted, millions of Jews throughout Europe, who were massacred by the Nazis, could have contributed to the Zionist dream in the State of Israel, but were prevented from doing so.³³

25 Ibid., p.80

26 Ibid., p.105

27 'Emigration 1933-1941: The Holocaust Explained, The Wiener Holocaust Library, <https://www.theholocaustexplained.org/resistance-responses-collaboration/responses/emigration/>

28 'German Jewish Refugees 1933-1939: Holocaust Encyclopaedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/german-jewish-refugees-1933-1939>

29 Goldberg, M. 'Operation Atlas Casts Light on Nazi Attempts to Squelch the Jewish State.' Tablet Magazine, 15 April 2021, <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/history/articles/nazi-paratroopers>

30 Schulze, R. 'Hitler and Zionism: Why the Haavara Agreement does not mean the Nazis were Zionists.' The Independent, 2 May 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/world-history/adolf-hitler-zionism-zionist-nazis-haavara-agreement-ken-livingstone-labour-antisemitism-row-a7009981.html>

31 Burleigh, M. 'History shows Hitler never was a Zionist.' The Jewish Chronicle, 5 May 2016, <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/history-shows-hitler-never-was-a-zionist-1.56518>

32 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evans, 7 July 2016.

33 Herf, J. 'Hitler and the Nazis' Anti-Zionism'. Fathom, <http://fathomjournal.org/hitler-and-the-nazis-anti-zionism-2/>

MYTH: Nazi Policy Between 1920 and 1932 was to deport German Jews to Israel

CLAIM: The allegation of Hitler's support for Zionism extends to the assertion that it was official policy of the Nazi party, founded in 1920, to deport Jews from Germany to the land of Israel; what was then British Mandate Palestine.

Reality: It is a historical fallacy to claim that 'Israel' was the destination of emigrating Jews, for it ignores the fact that Israel, as a state, was only founded in 1948 following the end of the Second World War. This false narrative asserts that the Zionist movement had official meetings with Nazis to coordinate migration prior to 1932, when Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich. Deniers use publications such as the 'Myth of the Six Million' [1969] and 'Did Six Million Really Die?' [1974], in what Deborah Lipstadt calls an attempt to "rehabilitate the reputation of National Socialism, to try to prove that the Nazis' main aim was emigration not systematic mass murder."³⁴

Professor Sir Richard Evans is clear that there is "no basis in historical fact for a policy of 'Jews to Palestine' or anything similar in 1932 existing."³⁵ Under the Weimar Republic, the German Government 'supported the British Mandate in Palestine and also the idea of a Jewish homeland there, as announced in the Balfour Declaration in 1917, largely because it saw this as advantageous to German economic interests in the Middle East.'³⁶ Later, during the Nazi period, all Jews, whether Zionists or non-Zionists were hated, but the Nazis were pragmatic. In the words of Francis R Nicosia, the Nazis saw the Zionist movement as "useful Jews" who aided Nazi policy priorities prior to 1941, as they could help remove Jews from German living space.³⁷

After 1941, having taken control of much of Europe, the concept of deportation or emigration for over ten million Jews was unfeasible, the chosen option was systematic annihilation.³⁸

Hitler and the Nazi party were demonstrably antisemitic from inception. During a speech in Munich on 6 July 1920, which some have pointed to as proof of Hitler and the Nazis' support for Jewish emigration, Hitler called for the removal of Jews from Germany. A heckler then stated this would violate their human rights, after which Hitler stated that that the Jew 'should seek human rights where they belong, in his own state of Palestine.'³⁹ Moreover, the Nazi party programme, issued in 1920, which remain largely unchanged, called for the 'removal of German citizenship and voting rights from Jews, their banning from work in or ownership of the media, and their legal classification as resident aliens' but crucially it does not mention any such 'transfer to Palestine.'⁴⁰ It in fact states, 'no Jew can be a countryman.' Two years after the programme was issued, in 1922, Hitler told an army journalist that he would 'publicly hang Jews until there were none left in Germany.'⁴¹

34 Lipstadt, D. *Denying the Holocaust: the Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, Penguin Books, 1993

35 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evens, 7 July 2016.

36 Ibid.

37 Correspondence with Professor Francis R Nicosia, 11 May 2017.

38 Ibid.

39 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evans, 7 July 2016. ; Nicosia, F.R., *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*, University of Texas Press, 1985.

40 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evens, 7 July 2016.

41 Burleigh, M. 'History shows Hitler never was a Zionist', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 5 May 2016, <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/history-shows-hitler-never-was-a-zionist-1.56518>

MYTH: Hitler Went Mad

CLAIM: Many who perpetuate the myth that Hitler and the Nazis supported the Zionist goal of Jewish emigration to Palestine, claim it was only after he went 'mad' that he changed his mind and supported the annihilation of the Jews. Some claim that following several catastrophic military errors, such as the invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler's decisions became irrational, including the obliteration of the Jews.

Reality: There is no historical evidence to suggest that Hitler was clinically mad or insane. Attributing his murderous actions to sudden 'madness' wrongfully diminishes his fundamental culpability and the calculated nature of his regime. Detailed research into Hitler's medical history by both historians and physicians, show that he was sane and not impaired by any standard medications taken on the advice of his doctors.⁴² The world's leading expert on Hitler, Professor Sir Ian Kershaw, states unequivocally that 'Hitler wasn't clinically mad or clinically insane.'⁴³ To call Hitler a madman is to reduce his responsibility in the Holocaust. This fundamentally flawed claim implies that if Hitler had not been 'mad' there would have been no genocide of the Jews.⁴⁴

One author has claimed that Hitler, under the supervision of Doctor Theo Morrell, was given regular drug cocktails through injections, which included several psychoactive, consciousness changing drugs.⁴⁵ Morell's own diaries from the time list the dozens of drugs administered to Hitler, from 1936 until the end of the war. This has been rejected by some historians.

It is moreover obvious, from the arguments laid out in previous sections of this briefing, that Hitler detested Jews and Zionists, as is clear from the 1920 Nazi party programme and Hitler's own words in *Mein Kampf*.

There was no sudden shift in policy from either Hitler or the Nazis as a whole in later years, which can be blamed on either clinical madness or alleged unorthodox drug use. Laurence Rees states explicitly there were several milestones on the road to genocide to answer the question of the 'Jewish Problem.'⁴⁶ These include the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Hitler's decision to send Jews to the East of the Reich in autumn 1941, his response to the United States entering the war and the order to kill Jews in Poland in the summer of 1942.⁴⁷

42 Correspondence with Laurence Rees, 11 April 2017

43 Rees, L. and Kershaw, I., 'Was Hitler Mad, WW2 History,' WW2 History, http://ww2history.com/experts/Sir_Ian_Kershaw/Was_Hitler_mad

44 Correspondence with Laurence Rees, 11 April 2017

45 Ohler, N. *Blitzed: Drugs in Nazi Germany*, Penguin Random House, 2016, p.141

46 Correspondence with Laurence Rees, 11 April 2017

47 Ibid.

MYTH: Only the Swastika and blue and white Zionist banner were allowed to be flown in Germany

CLAIM: This myth contends that in Nazi Germany, which punished allegiances to other nations, groups or states, only the Nazi Swastika and the 'Zionist banner' were allowed to be flown. This claim generally states that the arrangement was mandated through the infamously antisemitic 1935 Nuremberg laws, in order to placate the Zionists. Some have suggested that it was part of the Nazi Anti-Flag Desecration Law, an amendment to the Second Reich penal code signed into law during the Weimar Republic in 1932. In 1935, the Reichsflaggengesetz was passed; the law extended protection to the Hakenkreuzfahne, the Nazi flag. The claim that this protected and encouraged the flying of the Zionist banner is the logical next step in the false claims that Hitler supported the Zionist movement, and that official Nazi party policy was emigration of the Jewish population.

Reality: This equation between the Nazi flag and the so-called Jewish or Zionist flag, Laurence Rees argues, presents a danger of 'creating the impression of an almost equal relationship between the Nazis and the Zionists.'⁴⁸ The Reich Flag Law, or Reichsflaggengesetz, passed in September 1935, did not represent encouragement for 'Zionists'; in fact, the appearance of any 'Zionist Flag' was itself uncertain. It was conversely another ploy to segregate and isolate the German Jews from the rest of the population. The law made the black-white-red flag and the Swastika Nazi flag national flags, with the removal of the black-red-gold flag. The 1935 extension made the Nazi swastika flag the only national flag.

Another law passed in 1935, relating to the Nuremberg Race Laws. Article Four Part One of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour banned Jews from displaying this flag.⁴⁹

Hermann Goering, leading member of the Nazi party, stressed that 'for us the swastika has become a sacred symbol, and thus it is quite self-evident that, if this flag is to fly over Germany in the future, no Jew may be allowed to hoist this sacred insignia.'⁵⁰ Article Four Part Two of the same law permitted Jews to 'display the Jews colours.'⁵¹ When Goering said to assembled Reichstag deputies that Jews could instead fly their own flag, his remarks 'elicited hoots of laughter.'⁵² Jews did not have any official colours at the time, so this law was purposively vague and unclear. Professor Yehuda Baeur has labelled the law a 'propaganda ploy, to emphasise that German Jews were foreigners and not Germans or full German citizens.'⁵³

48 Correspondence with Laurence Rees, 11 April 2017

49 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evans, 7 July 2016.

50 Correspondence with Laurence Rees, 11 April 2017

51 <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/nuremberg-laws>

52 Correspondence with Laurence Rees, 11 April 2017

53 Frazer, J. 'Top historians take down Ken Livingstone's claim that 'Hitler supported Zionism.' The Times of Israel, 21 June 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/top-historians-take-down-livingstones-claim-that-hitler-supported-zionism>

In October 1935, one month after the passing of the Nuremberg Race Laws, Martin Friedländer, a 29-year-old Berliner who later escaped Nazi Germany and emigrated to Australia,⁵⁴ hung a blue and white flag with the Star of David or Poale Zion Star, outside his window, during the Jewish festival of Rosh Hashanah.⁵⁵ A Nazi magazine ridiculed Friedländer's flag, sarcastically stating, 'thus the riddle of what the Jewish flag actually looks like has now been solved,' echoing the purposively vague law passed at Nuremberg.⁵⁶

These were the Zionist colours, flown by Friedländer, but were not official colours in any way. Despite this act of bravery from Friedländer, there was no agreement on the Zionist flag's colours and the current flag of the State of Israel is different in shape and style from Friedländer's.

54 Brave Protest Against Racist Laws, Judisches Museum Berlin, <https://www.jmberlin.de/en/brave-protest-against-racist-laws>

55 Ibid.

56 Correspondence with Sir Richard Evans, 7 July 2016.

MYTH: Senior Nazis met in 1937 and received a directive from Hitler on Jewish emigration

CLAIM: This allegation attempts to paint Hitler as an ardent supporter of Jewish emigration to Palestine. It claims that in July of 1937 senior Nazis were alarmed at the prospect of Jews moving en masse to Palestine, and feared the creation of a Jewish state which could become a focal point for anti-Nazi activity. The allegation contends that, scared by this prospect, senior Nazi officials in meetings in July 1937 and January 1938, called on Hitler to halt any emigration. Despite this, Hitler is said to have pursued a Zionist goal, issuing several directives to this effect.

Reality: Hitler and the Nazis always vehemently opposed the creation of an independent Jewish state. Their policy for the emigration of German Jews to Palestine was a campaign to diminish the German Jewish population, rather than an expression of Zionist sympathy. Any such emigration was predicated on Britain having continual control over Palestine, deterring the Jews in Palestine from exercising self-determination and far from the Zionist goal of an independent Jewish state. Professor Colin Shindler has suggested that the Nazis had a “dual policy” in place namely that they desperately wanted Jews to leave Germany, but they were ideologically opposed to the creation of any Jewish state.⁵⁷

In July 1937, Britain offered the Peel Partition Plan, which would end the majority of the British Mandate and put in place two independent nations; Arab and Jewish. Far from receiving support from Hitler, with the alarm being raised by senior Nazi officials in Berlin, the plan generated debate over the prudence of Jewish emigration to Palestine.⁵⁸

As detailed previously, from the inception of the Nazi party programme in 1920, Hitler and the Nazis rejected any move to create a Jewish state, believing it would become the centre of an international Jewish conspiracy.⁵⁹

In early 1938, with war on the horizon and Hitler’s vision of annexing Austria, conquering Poland and Czechoslovakia, an influx of Jews to the Nazi Reich would have been expected. It is true that Hitler pushed for continued Jewish emigration out of the Nazi Reich following the failure of the Peel Partition Plan, but this was not in pursuit of a Zionist ideal of a Jewish homeland.

57 Frazer, J. ‘Top historians take down Ken Livingstone’s claim that ‘Hitler supported Zionism.’ The Times of Israel, 21 June 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/top-historians-take-down-livingstones-claim-that-hitler-supported-zionism>

58 Correspondence with Professor Francis R Nicosia, 11 May 2017

59 Ibid.

MYTH: Medals were printed with the Swastika and Poale Zion Star

CLAIM: This allegation asserts medals were imprinted with both the Swastika and the Poale Zion Star, the Star of David. Those who pursue this false accusation claim that it proves a pattern of collaboration between the Nazis and the Zionists. This, again, perpetuates the idea that Hitler wanted the Jews out of Germany, emigrating to Palestine, the land of Israel. Others claim the medal was in fact a commemorative coin marking the Ha'avara transfer agreement of 1933.

Reality: There is no substantive evidence to support the wide-scale existence of any such medals. A coin was produced which included the imprint of the Star of David and a Swastika, but this was not produced or endorsed by any Jewish or Zionist group.⁶⁰ The coin, created by the Nazis in 1934, was produced to mark a series of articles in the *Der Angriff* newspaper, founded by Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, following a visit to Palestine by SS Officer Baron von Mildenstein.⁶¹ Accompanying von Mildenstein on the trip was his German Jewish friend, Kurt Tuchler.⁶² Tuchler was allegedly trying to facilitate Jewish emigration to the land of Israel.⁶³

The articles which followed the trip, together with the coin, were part of a Nazi ploy, in what the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has called an encouragement for Jewish emigration.⁶⁴ It was not commemorating the Ha'avara Agreement, nor was it a collaborative arrangement between Zionists and the Nazis. Those pushing the narrative that this coin or medal, created as a piece of Nazi propaganda, proves Zionist and Nazi collaboration, are simply deceitfully repeating the Nazi narrative.

60 Weich, B. 'Coin is not proof of Nazi collaboration with Zionists, says historian', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/coin-is-not-proof-of-nazi-collaboration-with-zionists-says-historian-1.435856>

61 Ibid; 'Souvenir coin with a swastika and Star of David owned by a young German Jewish Girl', United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn517746>

62 Mandel, J. 'When a Nazi toured the Holy Land to find a solution for the 'Jewish problem.' *The Times of Israel*, 9 May 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/when-a-nazi-toured-the-holy-land-to-find-a-solution-for-the-jewish-problem/>

63 Ibid

64 'Souvenir coin with a swastika and Star of David owned by a young German Jewish Girl', United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn517746>

MYTH: The SS set up training camps for Jews emigrating to Palestine

CLAIM: This false assertion contends that the Allgemeine Schutzstaffel, the very group charged with responsibility for enforcing the racial policy of Nazi Germany, were training Jews in Nazi Germany to emigrate to Palestine. In the absence of any national instruments of state in Palestine at the time, many Jewish pioneers who moved there required the skills to live in a very different terrain to that found in Europe, and to have farming and building expertise. The allegation of SS training arrangements contends that Jews were equipped by the Nazis in order to cope with what they would find once they arrived in Palestine.

Reality: The training camps for Jews emigrating to Palestine were not set up by the SS but in fact established and funded by the Zionist movement.⁶⁵ The SS permitted and encouraged these camps in so far as it aided their campaign to remove Jews from Germany.⁶⁶ The camps were created in Germany, and across Europe, prior to 1933, to aid the emigration of mainly younger Jews to Palestine by preparing them for the agricultural work, manual labour and terrain they would encounter.⁶⁷

The training programmes had to take place in segregated facilities, and it was forbidden to mix with German farmers or tradesmen.⁶⁸

Severe punishments were imposed and expulsion from the programme enacted for breaking the rules, including the prohibitions on singing, whistling, smoking or unnecessary noise.⁶⁹

After the formation of the Final Solution to annihilate all of Europe's Jews, Jewish workers, including those engaged in the training programme to prepare them for immigration to Palestine, were included in the Nazi wartime economy workforce as slave labour, which ended in their mass murder.⁷⁰

65 Nicosia, F.R. *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.212; Correspondence with Professor Francis R Nicosia, 11 May 2017

66 *Ibid.*, p.228.

67 Correspondence with Professor Francis R Nicosia, 11 May 2017; Nicosia, F.R. *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.211.

68 Nicosia, F.R. *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.228.

69 *Ibid.* p.229.

70 *Ibid.*, p.244.

MYTH: Nazis sold weapons to an underground Jewish army

CLAIM: Going beyond the assertion that the SS trained Jews, this allegation claims that the Nazis sold weapons, including Mauser pistols, the pistol made in Nazi Germany during World War II, to a Jewish underground army. Some allege that Adolf Eichmann, one of the facilitators of the Final Solution, the annihilation of the Jews, negotiated with Zionists to give them weaponry to take with them to Palestine. These groups include the Haganah, the underground Jewish self-defence group in Palestine, and the Stern Gang, otherwise known as Lehi, a paramilitary organisation in Palestine. This is further proof, revisionists contend, that there was collaboration between Nazis, Zionists and Jews.

Reality: There was no “Jewish army.” In 1920, the Stern Group did attempt to initiate contact with the Germans, then the Weimar Republic, to create a common front against the British, who ruled under the Mandate in Palestine. However, the Jewish community opposed this. The Germans rebuffed any attempt for contact by the Stern group and Professor Yehuda Bauer stresses that the Stern Gang did not ask for weapons.⁷¹

Francis Nicosia states that there was a “story” about a number of German Mauser pistols getting into the hands of the Haganah, but this is not substantiated with any evidence.⁷²

71 Frazer, J. 'Top historians take down Ken Livingstone's claim that 'Hitler supported Zionism.' The Times of Israel, 21 June 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/top-historians-take-down-livingstones-claim-that-hitler-supported-zionism>

72 Correspondence with Professor Frances R Nicosia, 11 May 2017.

MYTH: The Gestapo and Mossad collaborated to secretly migrate Jews to Palestine

CLAIM: In addition to the idea that the SS trained Jews and they were given weaponry, some have alleged that the Gestapo collaborated with the Israeli intelligence agency, the Mossad, to migrate Jews from Nazi Germany to the British mandate of Palestine. This, the revisionists claim, followed the British banning of Jewish migration to Palestine.

Reality: Prior to 1949, the Mossad, the Israeli secret intelligence service, did not exist. The programme of emigration from central Europe, set up by Zionist movements, under the name Mossad LeAliyah Bet, the Institution for Immigration B, was in existence from 1938 and aimed to facilitate Jewish emigration to British Mandate Palestine and to help Jewish refugees.⁷³

The acquiescence of the Gestapo to Mossad LeAliyah Bet's illegal migration of Jews from Central Europe to Palestine was not an expression of support for Zionism. Mossad LeAliyah Bet's aim was to rescue Jews from Nazi persecution, the Gestapo's was to see the Jews removed from Germany through any avenue.⁷⁴

Between 1938 to 1940, despite British immigration restrictions, the Gestapo did not interfere with the illegal migration of Jews to Palestine. Nazi policy between 1933 and 1941 was based on physically removing Jews from German living space by emigration or deportation, therefore they turned a blind eye to the Mossad LeAliyah Bet programme.⁷⁵

73 Correspondence with Professor Francis R Nicosia, 11 May 2017

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

MYTH: The Nazis allowed rabbis to deliver sermons in Hebrew

CLAIM: One revisionist contention, set apart from the militaristic and Zionism-centric claims already explored in this briefing, is the allegation that Rabbis delivered their sermons in Hebrew, as opposed to Yiddish. Revisionists claim that the Zionist movement asked the Nazi government to bar Rabbis in the Reich from conducting their sermons in Yiddish, and to impose a requirement that they be delivered in Hebrew, which was being revived by the Zionist movement at the time. This was allegedly then agreed to by Hitler.

Reality: In truth, Hebrew was prohibited at most Jewish functions. "Gestapo 'observers' attended and reported on all Jewish functions beginning in 1933. These were generally held in German, so the observers would be able to understand the content of what was said. Francis R Nicosia has read innumerable reports written by the Gestapo which depicted who attended, how many people were present and how the functions went.⁷⁶ Very few exceptions to the rule banning the speaking of Hebrew or Yiddish were allowed, with only German being permitted.⁷⁷ As the Jewish population at the time was highly assimilated in Germany, very few spoke any Hebrew or Yiddish anyway.⁷⁸

In April 1936, Reinhard Heydrich, one of the architects of the Holocaust, prohibited Jewish political organisations from using Hebrew in public meetings in favour of German. Heydrich said this was to facilitate 'orderly supervision of these meetings and the prevention of seditious propaganda can be guaranteed.'⁷⁹

Heydrich also stated that in closed events Hebrew could be used, but only to prepare for emigration to Palestine.⁸⁰ In so far as Hebrew was encouraged, this was in aid of the Nazi campaign for the removal of Jews to Palestine; encouraging the speaking of Hebrew, as opposed to German, further isolated the Jewish population.⁸¹ Hebrew language could be taught in lessons in Jewish schools and in cultural events as long as 'the members of the sponsoring Jewish organizations have as their aim the promotion of Jewish emigration to Palestine.'⁸² This was preparation for the removal of the Jewish population, which was part of the previously referenced Zionist training camps.

76 Correspondence with Professor Francis R Nicosia, 11 May 2017

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 Nicosia, F.R. *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.152.

80 Ibid., p. 152.

81 Correspondence with Professor Francis R Nicosia, 11 May 2017

82 Nicosia, F.R., *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.122

Historians' Biographies

We would again like to thank all those who engaged with the Antisemitism Policy Trust in the pursuit of creating this comprehensive briefing. The historians who have been referenced in this document, either via personal correspondence or from citing their publicly available texts, are all eminent scholars in their fields.

This section presents their biographies in order to highlight the veracity of their work refuting Holocaust denial in all its forms.

Professor Yehuda Bauer

Professor Yehuda Bauer is Professor Emeritus of History and Holocaust Studies at the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Academic Advisor to Yad Vashem. He was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1926. His family migrated to Israel in 1939. He was the founding editor of the *Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. Bauer has written numerous articles and books on the Holocaust and on Genocide.

In 1998, he was awarded the Israel Prize, the highest civilian award in Israel, and in 2001 he was elected a member of the Israeli Academy of Science. Bauer has served as advisor to the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research, and as senior advisor to the Swedish Government on the International Forum on Genocide Prevention.

Paul Bogdanor

Paul Bogdanor is an author and researcher based in Britain. His interests include political extremism, genocide, the Holocaust, Zionism, anti-Zionism and antisemitism. His latest book, *Kasztner's Crime*, tells the story of how hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews were deported to their deaths during the Holocaust, while the head of the "rescue operation" in Budapest collaborated with the Nazis. He has contributed to publications on both sides of the Atlantic.

His investigative reports on anti-Zionism and on far-left support for jihadist terror were front-page features in *The Jewish Press*: the largest Orthodox Jewish newspaper in the United States. He is also an activist who has originated national media stories in several countries, exposing incidents of anti-democratic extremism and antisemitism.

Professor Michael Burleigh

In 1977 Michael Burleigh completed a PhD in medieval history in 1982 and he went on to hold posts at New College, Oxford, the London School of Economics, and Cardiff, where he was Distinguished Research Professor in Modern History. He has also been Raoul Wallenberg Chair of Human Rights at Rutgers University in New Jersey, William Rand Kenan Professor of History at Washington & Lee University in Virginia, and Kratter Visiting Professor at Stanford University, California.

In 2002, he gave the three Cardinal Basil Hume Memorial Lectures at Heythrop College, University of London. He is a member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He founded the journal *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* and is on the editorial boards of *Totalitarismus und Demokratie* and *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Professor Richard Evans

Professor Sir Richard Evans FBA is Provost of Gresham College and the President of Wolfson College, Cambridge. He was Regius Professor of History at the University of Cambridge from 2008 until his retirement in September 2014. He is a world-renowned historian and academic, with many of his books now acknowledged as seminal works in the field of modern history. Sir Richard has published 18 books as author and seven as editor. In 2008 he published the third part of his monumental large-scale history of the Third Reich, *The Third Reich at War*, which completed the series of *The Coming of the Third Reich* (2003) and *The Third Reich in Power* (2005). The series has sold more than 250,000 copies in English and has been translated into twelve foreign languages.

His most recent book, *Altered Pasts: Counterfactuals in History*, was published to wide acclaim in January 2014. Prior to this his key publications include: *Cosmopolitan Islanders: British Historians and the European Continent* (2009), *Telling Lies About Hitler: The Holocaust, History, and the David Irving Trial* (2002), *In Defence of History* (1997), *Rituals of Retribution* (1996) and *Death in Hamburg* (1987), which won the Wolfson Foundation History Prize. Sir Richard has been Editor of the *Journal of Contemporary History* since 1998 and a judge of the Wolfson History Prize since 1993.

Saul Friedländer

Saul Friedländer is an historian and a professor emeritus of history at UCLA. Born in Prague, he was raised in France and lived through the German occupation of 1940 – 1944. He was hidden in a Catholic boarding school near Vichy. His parents were murdered at Auschwitz concentration and death camp. Friedländer received his PHD from the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, where he taught until 1933. He also taught at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at Tel Aviv University.

Friedländer has written several books examining the lives of the Jews in Nazi Germany, the downfall of Hitler, the historiography of the Holocaust and has been awarded with several prizes for his writing. In 1988 he was appointed to chair an investigation of the activities of Bertelsmann, a German media company, in Nazi Germany. The report, published in 2002, found the company collaborated with the Nazi regime before and during the Second World War.

Professor Jeffrey C Herf

Jeffrey Herf studies the intersection of ideas and politics in modern European history, specializing in twentieth century Germany. He has published extensively on Germany during the Weimar Republic, Nazi Germany, the Holocaust, and on West and East Germany during the Cold War.

His research interests now focus on the Nazi period, and German and European history in post-World War II decades up to the collapse of Communism and the end of the Cold War in 1989.

Sir Ian Kershaw

Ian Kershaw began his career as a medievalist. After switching fields in the 1970s he concentrated on German history. Most recently he published the first of two planned volumes on the history of Europe in the 20th century for the Penguin History of Europe series. His books have been translated into more than 20 languages.

He was awarded the Bundesverdienstkreuz (Federal Cross of Merit) by Germany in 1994 and knighted in 2002. Kershaw is currently the Emeritus Professor of Modern History at the University of Sheffield, and previously held tenure at the University of Nottingham and the University of Manchester.

Professor Deborah E. Lipstadt

Deborah E. Lipstadt is the Dorot Professor of Modern Jewish History and Holocaust Studies, Tam Institute for Jewish Studies, Emory University. She received her B.A. from City College of New York (1969) and her M.A. (1972) and Ph.D. (1976) from Brandeis University. She has received Honorary Doctorates from Ohio Wesleyan, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, Yeshiva University, Bar Ilan University, Jewish Theological Seminary, and Hebrew Union College. The Forward named her number two on its list of the "Forward Fifty": the fifty top Jewish newsmakers for the year 2000.

Lipstadt has published numerous books on the Holocaust, including 'The Eichmann Trial', published by Schocken/Nextbook Series in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Eichmann trial.

Professor Francis R. Nicosia

Frank Nicosia was born and raised in Philadelphia. Before receiving his PhD in history from McGill University in Montreal in 1978, he was a Peace Corps volunteer in a small desert village in Libya, and then taught English and History in a German high school in a small town in southern Germany. He was a history professor at Saint Michael's College in Colchester, Vermont, for many years before coming to UVM.

Frank Nicosia is the author of several books related to the Holocaust and Nazi Germany, including 'Nazi Germany and the Arab World' (Cambridge University

Press, 2014), 'Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany' (Cambridge University Press, 2008, 2010), 'Zionismus und Antisemitismus im Dritten Reich' (Wallstein Verlag, 2012), and 'The Third Reich and the Palestine Question' (University of Texas Press 1985 and Transaction Publishers 2000).

Her book, 'History on Trial: My Day in Court with a Holocaust Denier' is the story of her libel trial in London against David Irving, who sued her for calling him a Holocaust denier and right-wing extremist.

The case itself, David Irving v. Penguin/Deborah Lipstadt, was described by the Daily Telegraph (London) as having "done for the new century what the Nuremberg tribunals or the Eichmann trial did for earlier generations." The Times (London) described it as "history has had its day in court and scored a crushing victory." The judge found David Irving to be a Holocaust denier, a falsifier of history, a racist, and an anti-Semite. Her book, 'Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory' is the first full length study of those who attempt to deny the Holocaust.

Press, 2014), 'Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany' (Cambridge University Press, 2008, 2010), 'Zionismus und Antisemitismus im Dritten Reich' (Wallstein Verlag, 2012), and 'The Third Reich and the Palestine Question' (University of Texas Press 1985 and Transaction Publishers 2000).

Frank has been a member of the Advisory Board of the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at UVM since 1993, and the Center's Interim Director from July 2007 until December 2008, spring semester 2011, and 2013-2014.

Laurence Rees

Laurence Rees is a former Head of BBC TV History Programmes, as well as the founder, writer and producer of WW2History.com, which won 'Best in Class' awards in both the Education and Reference categories at the Interactive Media Awards.

For the last twenty-five years he has specialized in writing books and making television documentaries about both the Second World War and the Third Reich. His work

includes the BBC television series and books: Nazis: a Warning from History (1997); War of the Century (1999); Horror in the East (2001); Auschwitz, the Nazis and the 'Final Solution' (2005); World War Two: Behind Closed Doors (2008) and The Dark Charisma of Adolf Hitler (2012)'. His ninety-minute feature length documentary, Touched by Auschwitz, transmitted on BBC2 in 2015.

In 2006, he won the British Book Award for history book of the year for *Auschwitz: the Nazis and the 'Final Solution'* - a work that is also the world's bestselling history of the camp. His many television awards include a BAFTA, a Grierson Award, a Broadcasting Press Guild Award, a BANFF festival award, a Broadcast Award, a George Foster Peabody Award, two International Documentary Awards and two Emmys. In New York in 2009 he received the 'Lifetime Achievement Award' from 'History Makers', the worldwide congress of Historical and Current Affairs programme makers.

Professor Rainer Schulze

Rainer Schulze was a research fellow at the Arbeitskreis 'Geschichte des Landes Niedersachsen (nach 1945)' in Hannover and taught Modern European History at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Birkbeck College London and Roehampton University, London, before joining the University of Essex in 1995. He has written widely on the British military occupation of Germany, (West) German reconstruction after the Second World War, regional structural change and German collective memory and identity. He initiated and designed an exhibition entitled 'Fremde – Heimat – Niedersachsen' (Strange(rs) – Home –

Lower Saxony), and was involved, as one of the project leaders, in the development of a new permanent exhibition at the Gedenkstätte (memorial) Bergen-Belsen, which opened in October 2007. In 2005, he was appointed as a member of the International Experts' Commission for the Redevelopment of the Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen; he was the only member from the UK. He is the co-ordinator of the annual Holocaust Memorial events at the University of Essex and founding editor of the journal *The Holocaust in History and Memory*.

Dr. Colin Shindler

Colin Shindler is Emeritus Professor and the first Professor of Israel Studies in the United Kingdom. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society in the UK. His first career was lecturing in chemistry while editing the *Jewish Quarterly*. He has taught numerous courses at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and his research interests include Israel and the far left in Europe, as well as the history and evolution of the Israeli right. He is the author of nine books relating to Israel, including *Israel and the European Left: Between Solidarity and Delegitimation* (2012), *Israel, Likud and the Zionist Dream* (1995) and *The Triumph of Military Zionism: Nationalism and the Origins of the Israeli Right* (2006).

An updated second edition of his *History of Modern Israel* was published in December 2012. He edited *Israel and the World Powers* – a collection of essays by international scholars – published in 2014. Cambridge University Press published his latest book, *The Rise of the Israeli Right: From Odessa to Hebron* in 2015. He has also written for the *New York Times*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Guardian* and *Ha'aretz*. He is the founding chair of the European Association of Israel Studies. Professor Shindler holds an M.Sc. from the University of North London and a Ph.D. from Middlesex University.

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The Antisemitism Policy Trust's mission is to educate and empower parliamentarians, policy makers and opinion formers to address antisemitism. It provides the secretariat to the British All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism and works internationally with parliamentarians and others to address antisemitism. The Antisemitism Policy Trust is focussed on educating and empowering decision makers in the UK and across the world to effectively address antisemitism.

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