

The work of the Labour Party's Governance and Legal Unit in relation to antisemitism, 2014 - 2019

**The Labour Party
March 2020**

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1.2.1. The EHRC investigation

The Labour Party has sent the EHRC thousands of pieces of evidence and documentation, and hundreds of pages of information on particular cases and events which the Commission enquired about.

The EHRC requested information and documentation pertaining to 58 individual disciplinary cases, which the Party provided in full. In addition, the EHRC sent “requests for further information” or “RFIs” with hundreds of questions on individual cases and specific issues.

The Party has written 151,771 words to the EHRC responding to these questions in the last three months, and has provided all relevant documentation.

The Party also volunteered information and documentation on further cases to provide the Commission with a fuller picture of how the disciplinary processes have operated in relation to a wide range of cases.

This work has taken up a considerable amount of staff time, including staff within the Governance and Legal Unit (GLU), as this is the Unit with the relevant knowledge and access to information and is best placed to provide full answers to the Commission’s questions. Carrying out this work in response to the Commission has used up the resources of two members of staff on an entirely full-time basis for three months.

It has used up the majority of the time of a further six members of staff, and roughly half of the time of a further five members of staff for the last three months. In total, this investigation has used up roughly 1,183 working days of staff in GLU since December 12 2019. On top of the number of working days, much of the work for the Commission has required extremely late nights and working over the weekends.

The Party has been working with the EHRC and seeking to fully comply with its requests and as quickly as possible.

2.1.4.ii. Staff views on Labour MPs and the 2015 Leadership Election

"Anyone who nominates corbyn 'to widen the debate' deserves to be taken out and shot" - Jo Green, Labour Head of Broadcasting, 15 June 2015

Senior Labour staff were clear in their opposition to Jeremy Corbyn, and also Andy Burnham, in the 2015 Labour leadership election, as well as to many other Labour MPs not associated with the "Blairite" wing of the party.

On 15 June 2015, for example, Head of Press and Broadcasting Jo Green called Corbyn "that fucking trot" and suggested to Acting Director of Policy and Political Research Simon Jackson that "anyone who nominates corbyn 'to widen the debate' deserves to be taken out and shot". Jackson agreed: "quite. if the left can't get on the ballot it shows they're moribund... putting them on there only validates the views".²⁰

On 15 June 2015, John Stolliday, then a Senior Media Monitoring Officer, who moved to GLU in late 2015 and became its Director in 2016, discussed the leadership election with Jo Green. Both made clear their opposition to both Corbyn and Burnham:

*John Stolliday 11:58:
I bet Ed would vote for Corbyn
Jo Green 11:58:
ed wants andy to win i am told...
John Stolliday 11:58:
fucking hell²¹*

On 2 July 2015 Stolliday also referred to the Andy Burnham campaign as "team #failure".²²

On 20 July 2015, Head of Political Strategy Greg Cook described a Labour MP as being "such a Trot now", to which Head of Press and Broadcasting Jo Green responded "yep. like most of the PLP it seems".²³ Green said to Jackson that Andy Burnham "just panders to what members want. he'll be a total disaster" - "the PLP is a joke now .. full of people unable and unwilling to be sensible".²⁴ On 3 August 2015, Greg Cook then commented that Kate Hoey "is better than Corbyn, Abbott, Burnham, Nandy, Lewis and about 150 others".²⁵

²⁰ Political Bias: Trots: "150615 Conversation with Jo Green.eml". Similarly: Political Bias: Trots: "150812 Conversation with Anna Wright.eml"

²¹ Political Bias: Trots: "150615 Conversation with Jo Green Stolliday.eml"

²² Political Bias: Trots: "150702 Conversation with Anna Wright.eml"

²³ Political Bias: Trots: "150720 Conversation with Jo Green.eml"

²⁴ Political Bias: Trots: "150720 Conversation with Jo Green, Jackson.eml"

²⁵ Political Bias: Trots: "150803 Conversation with Hester Waterfield.eml"

That would be ace

Jo Green 11:46:

it would!

John Stolliday 11:46:

Great idea

Jo Green 11:46:

unite could disaffiliate

form a new party

John Stolliday 11:47:

I've been assumimng that will be the case anyway within a few years, whoever wins frankly

it would be brilliant for Labour. Financially tough but absolutely great for the party

Jo Green 11:51:

i think it will happen yeah

John Stolliday 12:58:

Byron must be fucking loving this

Jo Green 12:59:

well as i understand it he wanted andy to win

not sure even his politics are corbyn levels of madness

but then again he'll be wondering what he can get out of it

hateful twat

John Stolliday 12:59:

the mad ones on the NEC all love him - Jennie Formby & Christine Shawcroft³⁰

On 15 September 2015, after his election victory, Jeremy Corbyn visited party headquarters to greet the staff. The day before, Stolliday, who was about to be appointed to a key role in GLU, and Labour press officer Anna Wright discussed Corbyn's planned visit:

John Stolliday 12:31:

we were all amazed that somebody has bought dozens of bottles of prosecco mad

Anna Wright 12:31:

It is ludicrous

I hope the fucking thing is short

Cannot be arsed with small talk

John Stolliday 12:32:

I'm not drinking it, I'm not clapping

I'm going to stay at my desk or leave the office

Anna Wright 12:33:

We need to go up and show face for Team Watson or we'll end up on a list

³⁰ Political Bias: Trots: "150813 Conversation with Jo Green.eml"

*Anna Wright 13:00:
Look at that fucker looking statespersonlike
Looking after our security³¹*

On 15 September, after the visit, Dan Hogan, then a Policy Communications Officer but from late 2016 to mid-2018 an Investigations Officer in GLU, and Amy Fowler from Fundraising, discussed Corbyn's visit. Hogan said that a staff member who "whooped" Corbyn's speech "should be shot". Fowler noted how all the staff in Labour HQ "kind of hate [Corbyn]", and she wasn't sure how Corbyn could address that "massive elephant in the room... without making me hate this more":

*Amy Fowler 16:40:
How did you think it went when he was in earlier?
Stevie P whooped and is now dead to Carol
Dan Hogan 16:42:
people were polite. Stevie P should be shot. Jez's speech was a total crock of shit.*

*...
i clapped. but i probably didn't do a very good job of masking what i thought.*

*Amy Fowler 16:44:
I clapped but I didn't smile
And it takes a conscious effort for me not to smile in those situations*

*Dan Hogan 16:45:
i couldn't look at him. my eyes rolled a lot. i probably shook my head*

*Amy Fowler 16:52:
I feel like he should have maybe addressed the massive elephant in the room that we all kind of hate him
But I'm not sure how he could have done that without making me hate this more³²*

Later that day, key GLU staff member Katherine Buckingham commented:

I had some drinks in the office until Jeremy came in. and then all I wanted to do was go home³³

In November 2015, Danny Adilypour (Campaigns Officer - Campaign Technology) referred to Labour MP Rachel Maskell as a "Trot".³⁴ On 25 May 2017, Catherine Bramwell, South East Regional Communications Officer, described a Labour parliamentary candidate in Brighton as "the trot candidate".³⁵

³¹ Political Bias: Trots: 150914 JS on JC visit.eml"

³² Political Bias: Trots: "150915 Conversation with Dan Hogan.eml"

³³ Political Bias: Trots: "150914 Conversation with Teddy Ryan.eml"

³⁴ Political Bias - Trots: "151123 Conversation with Danny Adilypour.eml"

³⁵ Political Bias - Trots: "170525 Conversation with Stephanie Driver - Brighton Trot candidate.eml"

Following the 2015 leadership campaign, many staff continued to show their dissatisfaction with MPs who nominated Corbyn, such as Sadiq Khan. On 28 April 2016, a week before the 2016 London Mayoral election, Jo Greening, Head of International Liaison commented that “maybe I will consider voting for [Sadiq Khan] now”, after Khan called for Livingstone to be suspended - “probably not though”.³⁶ Director of Policy and Research Simon Jackson, meanwhile, said to colleagues regarding a potential snap general election:

*Ultimately though, who votes for JC?
If it's a choice btwn him & TMay how do WE vote for him??
I mean we're not fucking mad³⁷*

Any Labour member who advocates opposing a Labour candidate, or supporting a rival, can be auto-excluded from the party. Just days after Greening’s comments, a Labour member was auto-excluded for saying Sadiq Khan would not be getting their first preference vote for Mayor.³⁸ Greening's apparent lack of support for Labour mayoral candidate Sadiq Khan, and Jackson’s apparent lack of support for the Labour Party, was not reported to the Party.

On 6 October 2015, Acting Director of Policy and Political Research Simon Jackson said that Iain Duncan-Smith was “shit” but “the mad thing is he's better than most of our shadow cabinet”.³⁹ The shadow cabinet was, then, a broad “unity” shadow cabinet, in which only four MPs were supporters of Corbyn.

Senior staff commented negatively on Dawn Butler MP’s appointment to the Shadow Cabinet, apparently suggesting that her accusations of racism within the Labour Party were untrue:

*6/10/2016, 19:16 - Emilie Oldknow: DAWN BUTLER
06/10/2016, 19:16 - Neil Fleming (Acting Head of Press and Broadcasting): Yep. Plp women will go spare.
06/10/2016, 19:17 - Emilie Oldknow: Good grief
06/10/2016, 19:17 - Claire-Frances Fuller: Did she not accuse the LP and its staff of being racist this week? Nice.
06/10/2016, 19:17 - Emilie Oldknow: Harriet "white privilege" Harman⁴⁰*

³⁶ Political Bias - Trots: “160428 Conversation with Jo Greening.eml”

³⁷ 2016: “160727 Jackson conversation on freeze date.eml”

³⁸ Political Bias - Trots: “160504 khan AE.eml”

³⁹ Political Bias - Trots: “151006 Conversation with Jo Green - crackers to renationalise rail.eml”

⁴⁰ WhatsApp: “LP Forward Planning”

Mulholland as PLP Secretary was the main liaison between MPs and the Labour Party. In February 2017 she said Diane Abbott “literally makes me sick”. In the same WhatsApp group senior staff discussed Abbott crying in the toilets and telling Michael Crick, a Channel 4 reporter at the time, where she was:

08/02/2017, 13:04 - Patrick Heneghan: Abbott found crying in the loos
08/02/2017, 13:27 - Julie Lawrence: ☐
08/02/2017, 13:27 - Tracey Allen: Abbott memorial cupboard works well
08/02/2017, 15:52 - Patrick Heneghan: Diane in Leon on vic street
08/02/2017, 15:52 - Fiona Stanton: Shall we tell michael crick
08/02/2017, 15:53 - Patrick Heneghan: Already have ☐⁴¹

Another senior staff member engaged in what could be considered a classic racist trope, calling Diane Abbott an “angry woman”, while his colleague called her “repulsive”:

26/01/2017, 23:10 - Neil Fleming: Watching QT without the sound on. Abbot is a very angry woman.
13/06/2017, 22:40 - Greg Cook: Abbott is truly repulsive⁴²

As mentioned elsewhere in this report, senior staff also remarked in this WhatsApp group that Emily Thornberry was “horrendous” and would “pay in the reckoning” following what they expected to be a poor performance for Labour in the 2017 general election.

⁴¹ WhatsApp: “LP Forward Planning”

⁴² WhatsApp: “LP Forward Planning”

the Compliance unit, could give an indication of how hiring processes worked at the time:

Emilie Oldknow [09:27]:

Sarah tells me that your sister is looking for a job?

Emma Meehan [09:27]:

Yeah she is

Emilie Oldknow [09:27]:

We have an admin role coming up in the compliance unit

It is a bit boring, helping Margaret with donation reports etc but it gets her in the door and gives her some experience?

Do you think she would be interested?

Emma Meehan [09:28]:

Yes she definitely would, shes been looking for admin work in London shes pretty new to the party

Emilie Oldknow [09:28]:

Okay great. That means she will be completely malleable....

Emma Meehan [09:28]:

but it would be really good experience for her

Emilie Oldknow [09:28]:

Mwah ha ha ha¹⁴⁸

On 6 July 2015, two staff members discussed the fact “these labour students” working in the office all supported Liz Kendall, who gained 4.5% of the vote in the 2015 leadership election.¹⁴⁹ In July 2016, as discussed later, ten people from “Labour Students” were recruited to work on suspending and excluding Labour members and supporters in the 2016 leadership election.¹⁵⁰

On 17 May 2016, Campaigns Analyst Josh Carrington, seeing a press officer talking openly of “smashing Trots” and “mad Trots”, commented that a newer colleague was going through the same process he had in “Head Office”, where you:

slowly realise that everyone, everyone else is much more right-wing and considers anyone left of brown to be a trot.¹⁵¹

Numerous staff privately messaged each other that Joshua Carrington himself was “a trot”, reminding each other to be careful of what they said in his presence. On 12 June 2017, for example, four days after the general election, Anna Phillips messaged Ellie

¹⁴⁸ Political Bias: Trots: “150217 Conversation with Emilie Oldknow.eml”

¹⁴⁹ Political Bias: Trots: “150706 Conversation with Josh Carrington.eml”

¹⁵⁰ 2016: “160630 Conversation with Richard Shakespeare.eml”

¹⁵¹ Political Bias - Trots: “160517 Conversation with Josh Carrington.eml”

In this general election, Labour HQ assigned resources in a factional manner, and hid this from LOTO. In May 2017 Labour HQ assigned staff to a “secret key seats team”, permanently based in a separate building, Ergon House - “all secret to LOTO”.²⁰⁴

*Catherine Bramwell 12:51:
there is a secret key seats team arriving in ergon house permanently...*
*Stephanie Driver 12:55:
ooo interesting on the key seats team, who will be part of it?!*
*Catherine Bramwell 12:55:
lots of secret meetings going on here...
I think it's all secret to loto
I'll let you know
but think it's a brand new team
moving in on Sunday*
*Stephanie Driver 12:59:
Brill. I endorse this plan. And will keep said plan v much to myself.*

Both Sam Matthews, Head of Disputes, and Sophie Goodyear, Head of Safeguarding and Complaints, worked on this project,²⁰⁵ and other key Disputes staff such as Ben Westerman and Louise Withers-Green also appear to have been involved in or aware of it.²⁰⁶

After the election, Matthews asked to be back-paid at a higher pay rate, reflecting - although his “new role did not have a formal title” - his increased responsibilities from 12 May to 8 June 2017, including “direct responsibility for budget management, procurement of services, dealing directly with a range of suppliers and managing more than twice as many staff as normal - with a range of very different skills from the disputes team (such as designers, copy writers, videographers etc).”²⁰⁷

Sophie Goodyear suggested it “might be worth mentioning the level of budget management”, but Matthews responded:

I don't want to put the scale of budget in writing.

He did note, though, that the party could “afford this”, and “I left 100k in that budget”.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Political Bias: Ergon Project: “170510 secret Ergon.eml”

²⁰⁵ Political Bias: Ergon Project: “170522 ergon project.eml”. “170510 secret Ergon.eml”

²⁰⁶ Ergon Project: “170601 Westerman - Johnson, Austin.eml”. “170530 LWG SM Money for Margaret.eml”

²⁰⁷ Political Bias: Ergon Project: “170614 SM GE role.eml”

²⁰⁸ Political Bias: Ergon Project: “170614 SM GE role.eml”

This project had the budget code GEL001, misnamed “Generic Campaign Materials”. Matthews appears to have led on printing materials. On 18 May, Matthews had a budget of £75,000; on 29 May it was increased to £175,000.²⁰⁹ On 30 May, transfer of another £61,300 to GEL001 was agreed - “I think that will give Sam what he needs.”²¹⁰ By 29 May, Matthews had billed £89,000 for printing.²¹¹ In total, the final GE2017 budget reported £135,014 spent under this item, including £42,975 specifically attributed to “Sam Matthews Key Seats Printing”, from an assigned budget of £225,842 (an underspend of £90,000, similar to the figure Matthews mentioned).²¹²

This secret project appears to have been to funnel additional resources into seats of key figures on the right of the party. Some of this was on the basis of defensive assumptions about how the campaign was progressing, contrary to LOTO’s push for more offensive targeting, which meant funnelling resources into seats that would actually - thanks to the “Corbyn surge” - return overwhelming Labour majorities, such as those of Tom Watson and Yvette Cooper. Other key figures from the right of the party in completely safe seats, such as Angela Eagle, Heidi Alexander, Chuka Umuna, Rachel Reeves, also received additional funding, as well as Facebook advertising.²¹³

This “Ergon House Project” was a secret reassignment of resources for largely factional purposes, based in part on defensive assumptions that failed to understand the momentum that was gathering behind the Labour campaign led by Jeremy Corbyn.²¹⁴

Back at Labour HQ, achievements were being talked down and senior staff appeared to relish the prospect of Labour experiencing a bad result:

11/05/2017, 15:55 - Sarah Mulholland: The kitchen are whooping and cheering Jeremy's words to the nation.

11/05/2017, 15:57 - Julie Lawrence: Shut the front door ☐

11/05/2017, 16:08 - Tracey Allen: Aaah they should make the most of it. 28 days and they'll be ashen and in tears ☐☐²¹⁵

Staff derided speeches by Jeremy Corbyn:

²⁰⁹ Ergon Project: “170518 Conversation with Gillian Barry.eml”. 170518 RE Budget codes.eml”, “170529 SM on spend plans.eml”; “170529 SM on Budget increase.eml”

²¹⁰ Ergon Project: “170530 RE Staffing budget to GEL001.eml”

²¹¹ Ergon Project: “170529 Conversation with Gillian Barry.eml”. “170529 SM spend breakdown.msg”

²¹² Ergon Project: “170612 campaign budget.msg”. “170613 Print spend, SM.msg”

²¹³ Ergon Project: “170706 Spreadsheet.msg”

²¹⁴ Ergon Project: “170622 DM master sheet by wpc.xlsx”

²¹⁵ WhatsApp: “LP Forward Planning”

08/06/2017, 22:48 - Emilie Oldknow: Everyone needs to be very up beat
 08/06/2017, 22:48 - Julie Lawrence: Its hard but yes
 08/06/2017, 22:52 - Iain McNicol: I'm not in smiling and mixing and doing the 2nd floor.
 08/06/2017, 22:53 - Iain McNicol: Everyone else needs to do the same.
 08/06/2017, 22:53 - Iain McNicol: It is going to be a long night.²²⁸

Results continued to come in throughout the night, and with Labour were making gains across the country, staff commented that “one highlight” of the night would be Rhea Wolfson, a Jewish member of the NEC and Corbyn supporter, winning her seat so she would be “off the NEC”, and derided the Shadow Foreign Secretary:

09/06/2017, 00:07 - Sarah Mulholland: *Scottish friends at the count say Rhea Wolfson doing well on samples...*
 09/06/2017, 00:07 - Emilie Oldknow: *Brilliant*
 09/06/2017, 00:08 - Emilie Oldknow: *Gets her off the NEC*
 09/06/2017, 00:09 - John Stolliday: *Eddie Izzard on*
 09/06/2017, 00:09 - Julie Lawrence: One highlight
 09/06/2017, 00:09 - John Stolliday: *If Ellie Reeves wins as well*
 09/06/2017, 00:11 - Fiona Stanton: Emily thornberry is sooo horrendou²²⁹

The day after the election, senior staff continued to express their dismay:

09/06/2017, 10:44 - Tracey Allen: We will have to suck this up. The people have spoken. Bastards
 09/06/2017, 12:59 - Sarah Mulholland: *What were our loses again - Winnick, Meale, Ffello and Engel. Was there another I've missed? ☐*
 09/06/2017, 13:00 - Greg Cook: *No, the other losses were Copeland and Blenkinsopp's seat*
 09/06/2017, 13:01 - Sarah Mulholland: ☐
 09/06/2017, 13:01 - Sarah Mulholland: *Thanks Greg*
 09/06/2017, 13:16 - Tracey Allen: *We have a letter ready to go to them on Monday Iain*
 09/06/2017, 13:30 - Sarah Mulholland: *Kensington and Chelsea? I've just woken up and confused by Twitter. Did we gain it???*
 09/06/2017, 13:30 - Patrick Heneghan: *Count again at 6pm*
 09/06/2017, 13:31 - Sarah Mulholland: *Omg. That Emma Coad is a grade 1 tool.*²³⁰

²²⁸ WhatsApp: “SMT Group”

²²⁹ WhatsApp: “LP Forward Planning”

²³⁰ WhatsApp: “LP Forward Planning”

- Matthews misapplied NEC guidelines regarding suspensions, instructing staff that they could be considered only in in-person and safeguarding cases.
- LOTO was unaware that Matthews was doing this, and expected cases of antisemitism to be appropriately dealt with, including through the use of suspensions in serious cases. GLU-GSO explicitly, directly and repeatedly told LOTO staff that this was happening.
- During the transition between general secretaries, Matthews then radically changed GLU's policy towards suspensions, and attempted to cover up the previous policy.

The Labour Party does not have enough evidence to take a view on the motivation of Matthews, or other GLU-GSO staff, for the policy towards suspensions GLU operated between January 2017 and March 2018. However, it has been alleged by some former LOTO staff that GLU deliberately failed to act on extreme cases of antisemitism in order to undermine the Labour Party as led by Jeremy Corbyn.¹²⁷⁵ Another possibility would be that, given the media publicity that accompanied failures to deal with antisemitism cases focused on Jeremy Corbyn, key GLU-GSO staff were simply not motivated to deal with such cases properly, and that they were only motivated to work on things that contained a factional element.

¹²⁷⁵ <https://www.buzzfeed.com/alexwickham/leaked-emails-reveal-labours-compliance-unit-took-months-to>

Zero tolerance for antisemitism means what it says. We will not accept it.

We have to get this right, all of us. Because divided societies cannot achieve justice.

As we head into elections in May and look towards the next General Election whenever it might come, let's take the lead in building a society free from prejudice. One that enables everyone to realise their full potential, and cares for all.

Thank you for supporting Labour.

*Jeremy Corbyn
Leader of the Labour Party¹³⁰⁶*

In his Passover message on 30 March 2018, Jeremy Corbyn pledged to be an ally in the fight against antisemitism and said he was “committed to making sure the Labour Party is a welcoming and secure place for Jewish people”. He also noted that:

it is easy to denounce antisemitism when you see it in other countries, in other political movements. It is sometimes harder to see it when it is closer to home.

He pledged the Labour movement would not be complacent, and commented that it needed to do better.¹³⁰⁷

On 2 April 2018 Corbyn emailed in a chain with senior LOTO staff Karie Murphy, Seumas Milne, Amy Jackson, Laura Murray and Andrew Fisher, and John McDonnell and Diane Abbott, sharing proposals for tackling antisemitism. Corbyn said he had just had a “very useful talk with Tony Klug”, summarising his points:

We need to take lead on issue and on racism and not play catch up.
i. Left itself needs to understand there is some anti semitism and racism and self examine
ii we should invite joint meeting of Ifpme and lei to agree on two state statement on Israel Palestine
iii invite Luciana Berger and colleagues to meet us and discuss
iv a serious study of racism and discrimination in the U.K.
v Request other parties examine themselves

¹³⁰⁶ Outside GLU: “180329 Jeremy Corbyn email ‘Combating antisemitism and uniting communities’”

¹³⁰⁷ Jeremy Corbyn tweet: ‘As Jews across our country start to prepare for #Passover, I would like to wish everyone in the Jewish community a Chag Sameach’ 30/03/18

<https://twitter.com/jeremycorbyn/status/979689698665926656>

Corbyn noted that Klug “is a good friend and has thought all this through and we need to look at our own strategy, we are not far apart.” Corbyn also said “we should renew offer to meet the Jewish Leadership Council and Board of Deputies”. Corbyn proposed that a conference call take place when Jennie Formby was more settled and proposed:

*About Party in house lawyer, looking at process, number of cases and actions taken and suggest new rules to NEC such as more effective and much smaller sub committee.*¹³⁰⁸

Therefore, in this email Jeremy Corbyn expressed his desire for the party to lead on tackling antisemitism and racism, his support for convening a meeting of Labour Friends of Israel and Labour Friends of Palestine and the Middle East to agree a joint statement advocating a two-state solution, inviting Luciana Berger and other MPs and reach out again to the Board of Deputies and the Jewish Leadership Council. Corbyn also expressed that the left needed to recognise the problem and “self examine”.

Corbyn’s proposal for the number of cases and action taken to be examined, and for new rules to make the processes more effective, such as smaller NEC panels that could meet more frequently, were actioned in the following months.

Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell emailed in the same chain proposing:

National consultation meeting with widest range of representative Jewish organisations;

Programme of regional and local community consultation meetings with local Jewish groups and synagogues.

A day of reflection designated for all party members to include meetings to discuss and reflect on antisemitism, linking up with local Jewish organisations and to mobilise local antisemitism campaigning.

Setting up an advisory group to develop materials and education programme on anti semitism for Labour Party members and supporters.

Develop social media education and campaign materials for use by party members and local constituency parties and trade unions.

¹³⁰⁸ March 18 change: “180403 Jeremy Corbyn email on LOTO Antisemitism Strategy.eml”