

David Miller, Oliver Kamm, and Academic Inquiry

Seven months before he was sacked from Bristol University, Professor David Miller was attacked by Oliver Kamm. Writing in [CapX](#), Kamm described Miller's scholarship as both "antisemitic" and an "affront to academic inquiry."

I shall first summarise and to some extent critique the article.

Kamm begins by citing Richard Hofstadter on all-embracing conspiracies, remarking that because they lack evidence conspiratorial fantasists are forced to spin an "ever-more-complex story about how the Truth is being suppressed." Kamm applies this to an event on 13 February 2021, that is, one week before Kamm's critical remarks, in which Miller, in a virtual event purporting to be about free speech, called for the "end of Zionism as a functioning ideology." Kamm then referred to some "clearly antisemitic invective" five days later:

In response to the dismay of Jewish students, Miller complained: "There is a real question of abuse here – of Jewish students on British campuses being used as political pawns by a violent, racist, foreign regime engaged in ethnic cleansing. The [Union of Jewish Students'] lobbying for Israel is a threat to the safety of Arab and Muslim students as well as of Jewish students and indeed of all critics of Israel."

Kamm has listened to his contributions to various virtual events posted on YouTube, and notes a "preoccupation with what he depicts, though does not describe, as an international conspiracy." Kamm cites the professor on, "the Zionist movement is an actually existing transnational network of organisations, which work tirelessly to justify Israel's ongoing dispossession of the Palestinians. It works in collaboration with the leading imperial powers, most obviously the US and the UK."

His allegation that the Jewish state is manipulating its "pawns" is instantly recognisable as part of a long and ignoble tradition of conspiratorial fantasy. It plays into the notion that Jews in the diaspora have a "dual loyalty" to Israel and to their host nation – an accusation that, because it deals with psychological states, is incapable of disproof and is hence peculiarly toxic.

For Kamm, the University has an obligation to condemn such comments outright. Were it a "free speech" issue he would be defending Miller, but this case touches on the integrity of scholarship. Miller is "part of a small group of UK academics who have spread pro-Assad conspiracy theories, supposedly exonerating the Syrian dictator on charges of using chemical weapons." Kamm cites the *Times* [leader](#) in 2018 that this type of activity is a "a violation of the ethos of academic research and gives succour to an appalling regime by trampling on evidence in favour of obscurantism." That is, Miller et al spread material that is "is inherently hostile to the notion of scholarship and critical inquiry." The authors have no "specialist knowledge of chemical weapons, Middle East studies, strategic studies or any other relevant discipline."

Finally, Miller complained that an interfaith venture in which Jews and Muslims made chicken soup together in a London mosque was “an Israeli-backed project to normalise Zionism within the Muslim community.”

It has always been like that. Miller’s PhD thesis from 1994 is titled *The Struggle Over, and Impact of, Media Portrayals of Northern Ireland*. It extensively cites Edward Herman, a genocide denier and fraudster about whom Kamm has written before.

Among other errors is Miller’s assertion: “During the 1980/1981 hunger strikes journalists were simply not allowed to interview hunger strikers.” Not true at all. I could refer him to a prominent US network journalist I used to be related to who did precisely this, at the specific request of one of the ten prisoners who died.

Although this is the *only* assertion that Kamm questions, the critic repeats that Bristol should act on what is an “affront to critical inquiry.”

To sum up, Kamm has faulted Miller on Jewish pawns and chicken soup, Syria, Herman and journalistic access to hunger strikes in 1981. Kamm claims that this amounts to flat earthism.

In what follows I will attempt a patient rebuttal as my learning allows - which is to say that on some points I must plead ignorance.

Thus, of Miller’s doctorate I have only read the sentence cited by Kamm, and the surrounding paragraph. Miller was explaining that the IRA prisoners who went on hunger strike were in an area tightly controlled. In March 1979 a small group of journalists were let in, although they were not allowed to speak to protesting prisoners.

During the 1980/81 hunger strikes journalists were simply not permitted to interview hunger strikers. When Bobby Sands stood for and was elected to parliament the NIO still refused access. Some journalists got in on ordinary visitors’ passes. “But if their identity as journalists was discovered, they were required to sign a form saying they would not publish anything about the visit.”

In that last citation Miller was drawing on Liz Curtis, author of *Ireland, the Propaganda War*, and Miller concludes the paragraph on page 143 by citing American journalist Sally Belfrage who in the mid-1980s had to pretend to be a relative of the prisoners to gain access.

From this it does not appear that Miller was saying that no journalists were *able* to access the prisoners (which is how Kamm was reading Miller), but that they were not *permitted to*, in the sense that the prisoners were tightly controlled (with controls that were nonetheless imperfect). Moreover, this reading is obvious from the context which Kamm could hardly have missed. Kamm’s charge that Miller’s research is an affront is hardly sustained - not here.

I had not heard of Hermann, who appears six times in the bibliography. That fact certainly disqualifies me from learned opinion, as I was even unaware that Noam Chomsky had co-authored *Manufactured Consent* with the academic. I will simply remark that Kamm himself notes that he received a “kid-glove” obituary in the Washington Post. Kamm regards the man as a fraudster because Herman questioned the veracity of some accounts of atrocities which he believed were being manipulated for propaganda purposes. I do not know whether the researcher was ever convicted of fraud, but presumably not as I doubt whether the Washington Post would treat such a man with kid gloves. I may of course be wrong.

This leads me to a third area of ignorance, as I have not wrestled at all with Miller’s work on Syria. I am inclined to think, though, that this is the significant issue as far as my research on Twitter goes, it was immediately after his controversial work in August 2018 (when Miller moved from Bath to Bristol) that the first suggestions of antisemitism arose - drawing on data long in the public domain, and also data obtained presumably by “students” recording a talk (to Palestinians on how to stand up to intimidation on campus). To my mind it is at least plausible that the allegations of antisemitism stand proxy for other concerns.

From my point of view I concede that Miller *might* be a “useful idiot.” That said, I do not think that Miller would accept the designation of being “pro-Assad.” Nor in general is it fair to label someone who questions the veracity of chemical attacks, in the context of a potential war, as *supporting* the regime. Plainly, someone opposing the Iraq war may question a dodgy dossier without “supporting” Saddam Hussain. Here we can note that in October 2018 *The Times* would in effect [describe](#) former Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey (and other bishops who had met Assad) as useful idiots:

A “cabal” from the Church of England and the House of Lords has undermined British foreign policy by going to Syria and “parroting” President Assad’s propaganda, memos released by the Foreign Office warn.

Once again, it is difficult to see how Kamm, who staunchly defends the rights of free speech, even for noxious individuals, has sustained his attack on Miller’s research. Plainly, even if Kamm is right on the chemical attacks, Miller was not theorising about a flat earth.

On Kamm’s observation about conspiracists, forced to spin ever more complex accounts to explain the suppression of the Truth, I shall with regret pass. Kamm’s observation is extremely interesting to us, and we have [several](#) times treated the matter. Needless to say, rationality and evidence is of primary concern for us, as we think it was with Kamm’s teacher Paul Hirst, whom he praises in the article.

On the “chicken soup,” we will cut and paste some short remarks made in [response](#) to David Hirsh:

Hirsh was referring to an anti-Miller trope that quickly became notorious. It first emerged, actually, in a 45 second clip [emerging](#) on 19 June 2020 via an anonymous Zionist Twitter account, giving no sense of the original context. Obviously, Hirsh can be excused for not having read the refutation from [Labour Briefing](#) which appeared on the same day as the long read. This provides the full transcript from the video, and also the link to the article (not Miller’s) in [Middle East Eye](#) the previous year (November 2018) that does give the

context, of the Home office funding for a “chicken soup challenge,” along with funding from the controversial Birthright programme, boycotted by Jewish Voice for Peace.

However, the chief point I shall (again) address concerns the February remarks, and I shall now provide some appropriate context. In fact, I have treated what I regard as a witch-hunt (Kamm: “preposterous”) at some length, and so here I will write more briefly.

It can be shown, then, that Miller was long on the radar screen for [Harry's Place](#), the CST, and Jonathan Hoffman, all of whom played a role in the conspiracy, for around 10 years. Indeed, to “join up some dots,” we note that Kamm himself has some association with Harry's Place from 2010, cited as attacking Tony Greenstein for his contention that Thatcher was a legitimate target for IRA terrorism - which with Kamm I too condemn. In any case, Kamm makes no secret of the fact that he has had concerns about Miller for some time.

However, we will cut to November 2018 when Miller gave a talk to Palestinian students on how to stand up to intimidation in campus. As indicated, Miller was now at Bristol having just co-authored his research into Syria. At that talk, Miller was taped, and the recording placed on Harry's Place, after which Miller was attacked in the JC, though at the time he was not accused of antisemitism. The chief complaint, rather, was that Miller was dismissing fears of Jewish students - in a way, a prototype for the row about “pawns.” Plainly, Miller was being spied upon, and plainly he knew it, as the JC contacted him and he responded in November. The JSocs were involved at that time - as the November article also shows.

A couple of months later Miller started a lecture series on “The Harms of the Powerful.” This was attended and taped by two anonymous students working with the CST. Miller, in fact, has tended to be silent about this complaint. The two students went to the CST, and they complained to the university in March on the students' behalf. Although as a matter of fact the university *can* accept anonymous complaints (from their own students, of course), they would not accept this third party complaint, and so it was dismissed on 3 April 2019. We now learn (from the Lee Harpin in the Jewish News in which 3 minutes of Miller are presented) that it was the fourth lecture on parts of the Zionist movement, and a reference to the CST that caused the fuss. In truth, though, when one compares what Miller said with the written statements in the February 2019 complaint (revealed by the CST in September 2019) with the five “offensive” seconds of the tape it would seem obvious that Miller had no case to answer.

At any rate, one day later (4 April) the CST returned with another complaint fronted by the president of the UJS, Hannah Rose and the head of the Bristol JSoc, Nina Freedman (who later became president of the UJS. Astonishingly, neither had attended Miller's lectures, and only one detail of this complaint referred to his teaching, namely, that he had set as an essay question, “Discuss whether lobbying can be a form of harm” (or words to that effect). The objection was that some students might take this to mean the Israel Lobby, and hence the exam question was antisemitic! As indicated, the main gripe was a criticism of the CST and a diagram from 2013 that in fact Keith Kahn-Harris will fault, writing on the same day as Kamm. Bristol rejected the complaint in June.

The CST appealed. However, the university was about to implement the IHRA definition of antisemitism in December, and so they suggested that the appeal be deferred until then. The complaint was relaunched early in 2020, and Bristol appointed an “eminent” QC to look into it. The QC rejected the complaints by the end of the year. We now know that the QC - who

interviewed the complainants, or at least one of them - presumably Freedman, as at the time Rose was not a Bristol student, and it seems that Rose subsequently withdrew for that reason - completely dismissed any question of antisemitism from Miller or hate speech. This was after 18 months.

At the beginning of this year, however, the attacks began again. The key trigger was 13 February. Kamm particularly focussed on this talk in which Miller was speaking on free speech in the university context. I have a faithful though slightly edited response in which Miller was speaking, it seems after Tony Greenstein:

Addressing the universities sector, Miller began with a preamble in which he qualified the previous speaker, "Tony," pointing out that Palestinians are oppressed not only by words but by deeds. So that the "enemy we face here is Zionism" (meaning the actual policy enacted by Israel). Thus, Tony would have us name the organisations attacking the LP, but Miller insisted that "it" did not start with the UKLP, but had happened in France and the US (with Bernie Sanders), a global onslaught of the Left by the State of Israel. The UKLP was a "mere detail" in Israel's attempt to exert their will over the whole world. How do we defeat the ideology of Zionism in practice? It's not enough to say, "Zionism is racism," "Israel is a settler colony." The aim is to *end* settler colonialism (Zionism as a functioning ideology). Miller was concerned not just with ideas but material realities. Having completed the preamble, Miller then turned to the universities sector. He mentioned the UCL voting to get rid of the IHRA definition, and referenced the lobbying against it. Miller said that "we" will face a huge struggle as to its replacement, and in this context warned of (Liberal Zionist) resolutions, a battle that has gone on in all of the universities in the UK. "As some of you will know, I have been attacked and complained-of, by the head of the Bristol JSoc, along with the president of the UJS." Miller referred to the JSocs as formally members of the Zionist movement, the WZO. He returned to the alternative formulae for universities thinking of replacing IHRA, and said that we will continue to see concerted efforts to counter critiques of Zionism. He urged that we have to fightback "by organising proper debates to understand the issues," and not to be fooled by the idea that there is some sort of Liberal Zionist panacea which is not as bad as (other kinds of Zionism). We need to be "properly across those debates." This is a problem for freedom of speech. He had said that "parts of the Zionist movement" were among the causes of Islamophobia - this was simply a matter of fact. "It's fundamental for Zionism to encourage Islamophobia." The pressure on him to stop writing about "this stuff," speaking about it, and indeed to stop researching it ... as if to do so was somehow antisemitic. So while it is valuable to defend free speech, it is particularly important to defend *academic* speech - and not just to "defend" free speech, but to actually win the argument.

Miller made no reference to "pawns," actually, but here it may be worth noting that that word had already been used, not by Miller (insofar as I am aware), but by a Twitter handle evidently created to attack Miller. Thus, on 30 July 2020:

[University Antisemitism Map on Twitter: "David Miller shames @BristolUni. Here he is accusing campaigners against antisemitism of being pawns of the Israeli government. How can any Jewish students have faith any complaints about antisemitism will be taken seriously when Bristol University employ Miller?" / Twitter](#)

The free speech talk was on 13 February, but the JC asked Miller about this on 18 February, at which Miller returned with a *question* of "pawns" (perhaps because the JC raised that with him,

the general idea having emerged since November 2019, but not in response to students, as Kamm had it). This quote would then be recycled (and misquoted) roughly every 10 days until after the sacking by the JC.

After 18 February Miller was subject to a torrent of criticism of which Kamm's article on 22 February formed a part, along with attacks by Kahn-Harris, David Feldman, Melanie Phillips, 100 parliamentarians, the Board of Deputies, and of course, trolls on Twitter, @Habibi_UK especially. In our view, the key date is 24 March. This saw the confluence of two strands of the anti-Miller campaign. Again, and to simplify, in the first place, and with the pawns quote in mind, Conservative whip Lord Parkinson wholly condemned Miller in oral debate - and reference was made with regards to students being free to contact the police. Second, it was made more public that Hoffman instigated a police complaint. The news was made public by someone at the heart of the Miller campaign, editor of the Bristol Tab, Ben Bloch. Hoffman, of course, was not directly affected. Even so, one man came forward, gave a statement, and then withdrew it. The previous week *The Tab* had broken the news that the university had announced that they were looking into Miller again (16 March).

Still, by August the police investigation had folded, and Miller was slated to lecture again in the Autumn term. It was at this time that the CAA announced that they were putting together a legal case whereupon within a month the university caved in. The official statement gave no reason for Miller's dismissal save that the employee had not lived up to expectations. Soon after the sacking, the JC would cite lawyer Adam Rose from *Mishcon de Reya*, in effect explaining that Miller was the tip of the iceberg. Adam is certainly related business-wise to Hannah and her sister Ella, former UJS President and Embassy employee whose violent tendencies were caught on film on Al Jazeera's Lobby.

With hindsight, I do not find the idea of a conspiracy far-fetched. It is obvious that Miller was not thinking of Jewish students as a collective, and whatever Miller might have been thinking, the facts do point to "a surreptitious plan, formulated in secret by two or more persons" [Webster's definition of "conspiracy"] to damage Miller's reputation, and even his livelihood, by getting him removed from the university.

Kamm reckons that such an accusation "deals with psychological states," and hence is "incapable of disproof," madness, in fact, that will twist the facts in order to maintain its paranoid delusion. To the contrary, our view is that standard canons of journalistic evidence apply, as per the "conspiracy" of Watergate. Although we could spell out what we mean in more detail, let us simply suggest that time is of the essence. By this we draw attention to the significance of a critical timeline, but also to the fact that as time goes on the "conspiratorial" reading has only become more fruitful as more revelations emerge.

In other words, it is the conspiratorial reading that is true to the spirit of critical inquiry that Kamm commends. Plainly, this does not mean that Miller is correct in every aspect - and this is why further questions must be raised. From my limited experience it does not appear that those questions are welcome.

Of course, if we have erred in our analysis that same spirit demands that we listen to Kamm's response, or from others who have rational concerns about our defence.

Key Events in the David Miller Case:

2009/2010: Harry's Place, a [website](#) tweeting as @hurryupharry (hereafter, HP), puts sociologist David Miller (hereafter DM), who tweets as @Tracking_Power, into the [crosshairs](#).

2011: UK Zionist activist [Jonathan Hoffman](#) (hereafter JH) [cites](#) HP in reference to DM's work on Islamophobia.

2012: Both the CST and DM give evidence with regards to the attempted deportation of Raed Salah, overturned in February after evidence cited by the CST regarding a poem by Salah referring to "oppressors" was (wrongly) attributed to "Jews." The [ruling](#) was reported in the [Guardian](#) and the [Telegraph](#), and the CST response is [here](#).

2013: DM coauthors [research](#) based at Bath University on BICOM that includes a diagram of the British Zionist scene in context, and the four authors then [present](#) a brief, historical account for *Open Democracy*.

December 2013: Ella Rose [elected](#) president of UJS (Union of Jewish Students) for 2014-15.

2015: DM lectures in Leeds for [MEND \(Muslim Engagement and Development\)](#) and later at SOAS with slides that include a reference to "parts of the Zionist" movement as "pillars" of Islamophobia. The slides also mention the CST who complain privately to DM in November.

January 2017: *Al Jazeera* documentary [The Lobby](#) exposes Embassy worker Shai Masot expressing the desire to "take down" Conservative MP Sir Alan Duncan, and Ella Rose is captured [boasting](#) that she could "take out" black-Jewish activist Jackie Walker using martial arts. Masot is forced to leave the country in disgrace. Citing HP, JH offers [support](#) to Ella Rose from this time.

20 February 2017: The CAA [complain](#) to Bristol University about Professor Rebecca Gould for her views on how the holocaust is used in propaganda, referencing the student newspaper *Epigram*.

25 October 2017: @Habibi_UK [tweets](#) for the first time (on MEND). The handle is very strongly connected with Harry's Place, contributing to the blog and tweeting the content. Primary concerns are Islamism and also Corbyn, but will emerge as one of the most virulent opponents of DM, tweeting for the [first](#) time in September 2018, and [then](#) from September 2019 around 135 [times](#) (every 5 or 6 days).

December 2017: Hannah Rose is elected president of UJS (so that she will still be in post early in 2019). Hannah is the sister of Ella, and the pair have [some association](#) with Adam Rose, a lawyer working for [Mishcon de Reya LLP](#) who will later act pro bono against DM.

August 2018: DM moves from Bath University to Bristol and coauthors [research](#) indicating that chemical attacks in Syria may have been staged. Oliver Kamm attacks the "conspiracy theory" in [The Times](#). Generally speaking, up to this point DM has not been accused of antisemitism.

22 September 2018: Habibi [tweets](#) on DM for the first time re an interview at Sputnik on why MI5 and MI6 may be undermining Corbyn.

20 November 2018: Using a secret recording from HP, the [Jewish Chronicle](#) (hereafter, JC) reports on DM suggesting that he thinks Jewish students' fears are "propaganda." This relates to a talk on "how to stand up to intimidation on campus." UJS campaigner Daniel Kosky is cited. The report also notes DM's scepticism about accusations of antisemitism in the UKLP. See here for a tweet from [@GnasherJew](#).

January 2019: According to Bristol student Sabrina Miller, (hereafter SM), Campaigns Officer for Bristol Jewish Society (hereafter, by the Twitter handle, BristolJSoc), DM begins to be mentioned in meetings. (Note, this from an [article](#) in Bristol student newspaper *The Tab*, of October 2020, that refers to "since last January" seemingly 2019).

18 February 2019: DM lectures on "the harms of the powerful" including the aforementioned slides (see 2013, 2015). *Photographs* of the slides may have been taken, but these are not used by the CST. The *Jewish News* will [later](#) give a 3 minute excerpt recorded by a student who complained.

March 2019: The CST [writes](#) to Bristol University submitting an anonymous complaint, and includes two written statements from two students. It also has slides of the lectures - but not *photos* (taken with a phone, say, and showing patches of light etc.). The university cannot accept this complaint from a third party (it will only take complaints from current students).

28 March 2019: DM meets with Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott and Guido Fawkes website [attacks](#) the "notorious conspiracist" for the first time. That evening, Hugh Bennett, a special advisor to 10 Downing St, [tweets](#) that DM was suspended from the LP.

April 2019: "The CST then approached the Union of Jewish Students of the UK and Ireland (UJS) to front a complaint. Its then-President signed a new complaint along with the then-President of its local affiliate, Bristol Jewish Society (JSoc)." - DM [statement](#).

9 April 2019: The CAA [tweets](#) about DM for the first time in connection with the Guido story.

May 2019: Imogen Horton is [described](#) as an editor of *Epigram*, along with Opinion Editor, SM who opened her "[reign of terror](#)" on 10 May.

15 May 2019: Guido [tweets](#) that DM was suspended from the LP, and features the slide shown in 2015 to MEND

June 2019: Bristol [rejects](#) the complaint, but the UJS appeal, and the University suggest that it be heard after December 2019 when the University will have embraced the IHRA definition of antisemitism.

10 July 2019: Ella Rose shown on [Panorama's](#) Is Labour antisemitic?

8 September 2019: Camilla Turner and Imogen Horton in the *Sunday Telegraph* [report](#) on the dismissal, and refer to other concerns at Bristol (while not imputing antisemitism). The CST puts out a [thread](#) with details of the March complaint letter and links to the article. For [JC](#).

10 September 2019: DM [tweets](#) on the "hit piece" in the *Sunday Telegraph* accusing it of weasel words.

13 September 2019: DM responds to the CST with a [thread](#), defending himself from misrepresentation.

7.59am 19 September 2019: Habibi [tweets](#) about DM and the Waterstones book launch.

2.52pm 20 September 2019: [@HeidiBachram](#) visits Waterstones Brighton to complain about DM and the book launch.

20 September 2019: DM along with four other authors (including Jewish expert on IHRA Antony Lerman) [publish](#) *Bad News for Labour* explaining among other things how the scale of the LP antisemitism crisis had been exaggerated. In a short chapter DM refers to his experience of giving the talk on standing up to intimidation on campus. He offers a careful explanation of why, even accepting IHRA, accusing *the Jewish State* (not, “a” Jewish State) of Israel of racism is not antisemitism. This is because the appropriate standard to apply is the same as any other instance of “settler colonialism,” and, had historical contingencies worked out differently “another” Jewish State might well have respected the rights of Palestinians.

23 September 2019: This year the LP held their annual conference at Brighton, and *Bad News for Labour* was due to be launched there at Waterstones, but the launch is cancelled after a “[campaign of intimidation](#),” [or as else as Waterstones explained 10 hours before the event, they were unable to get the books to the launch on time]. Instead, the authors launched their book at the Rialto Theatre in an evening that with film director Ken Loach and anti-racism campaigner Jackie Walker, which in turn receives a [barrage](#) of extreme abuse on Twitter, implying that the work (of two Jewish authors) was to be compared with Nazi literature. Some Twitter handles are clearly abreast of the “antisemitic” event including [@SussexFriends](#), [@HeidiBachram](#), [@Habibi_UK](#), and the CAA [@antisemitism](#). Also kept informed at the time are SM and associates with the UJS and *Epigram*.

November 2019: Habibi [tweets](#) photos of the Rialto event in a thread that accuses Loach of supporting anti semites. Habibi’s thread also [links](#) to a 2009 article “Herod Again” at HP, (now broken, but [here](#)).

December 2019: Bristol University embraces the IHRA definition of antisemitism.

December 2019: James Harris is [elected](#) president of the UJS.

Late 2019: The CST published their 2018 annual [report](#) on antisemitic discourse mentioning DM in it for the first time.

Early 2020: The complaint was reactivated. Bristol hired a QC who found no merit in it, according to DM [statement](#).

15 June 2020: In an “exclusive,” at 3.33pm HP [tweets](#) that DM has quit the LP, being on the point of suspension and at 16.30 the news is [reported](#) by the JC, [also](#) in The Tab by SM. Meanwhile, that afternoon a new Twitter handle called [@UniASMap](#) tweets for the first time, and will often tweet about DM. The account appears to have strong links with the CAA.

5.56pm 19 June 2019: Pro-Zionist Twitter account The Golem [tweets](#) 45 second clip of DM claiming that the use of chicken soup at interfaith meetings was used to normalise Zionism in the Muslim community. The “chicken soup” incident will become notorious, for example, see David Hirsh 1 March 2021 below. For a response defending DM see Labour Briefing that same day below.

7 July 2020: UniASMap tweets a long [thread](#) on Gould and then DM.

14 July 2020: JH [responds](#) to UniASMap, explaining that he has something to contribute.

30 July 2020: In what appears to be the earliest reference to “pawns,” @UniAsMap [accuses](#) DM of claiming that antisemitism campaigners are pawns of Israel.

8 August 2020: Featuring the slide of the British Zionist scene, JH creates a [petition](#) around [this](#) time to get DM removed around from Bristol.

October 2020: SM in [The Tab](#) now refers to herself openly as Campaigns Officer, and she is campaigning to “get Miller off my campus.” DM has been a concern since January 2019, or at any rate, April 2019. SM includes *photos* of the slides taken at the meeting, suggesting an acquaintance with the photographer (as the text indicates), a student who wishes to be anonymous. SM implies that Bristol University is not taking the complaint seriously.

December 2020: Eighteen months after the complaint, The QC appointed to investigate DM by Bristol finds DM not guilty of all charges. Here see an [interview](#) with DM at around 11.36.

December 2020: Nina Freedman is [elected](#) president of the UJS.

2pm 13 February 2021: DM speaks for 9 minutes at a [video conference on free speech](#). He was introduced as being “in the spotlight.” Addressing the universities sector, DM began with a preamble in which he qualified the previous speaker, “Tony,” [Greenstein?] pointing out that Palestinians are oppressed not only by words but by deeds. So that the “enemy we face here is Zionism” (meaning the actual policy enacted by Israel). Thus, Tony would have us name the organisations attacking the LP, but DM insisted that “it” did not start with the UKLP, but had happened in France and the US (with Bernie Sanders), a global onslaught of the Left by the State of Israel. The UKLP was a “mere detail” in Israel’s attempt to exert their will over the whole world. How do we defeat the ideology of Zionism in practice? It’s not enough to say, “Zionism is racism,” “Israel is a settler colony.” The aim is to *end* settler colonialism (Zionism as a functioning ideology). DM was concerned not just with ideas but material realities. Having completed the preamble, DM then turned to the universities sector. He mentioned the UCL voting to get rid of the IHRA definition, and referenced the lobbying against it. DM said that “we” will face a huge struggle as to its replacement, and in this context warned of (Liberal Zionist) resolutions, a battle that has gone on in all of the universities in the UK. “As some of you will know, I have been attacked and complained-of, by the head of the Bristol JSoc, along with the president of the UJS.” DM referred to the JSocs as formally members of the Zionist movement, the WZO. He returned to the alternative formulae for universities thinking of replacing IHRA, and said that we will continue to see concerted efforts to counter critiques of Zionism. He urged that we have to fightback “by organising proper debates to understand the issues,” and not to be fooled by the idea that there is some sort of Liberal Zionist panacea which is not as bad as (other kinds of Zionism). We need to be “properly across those debates.” This is a problem for freedom of speech. He had said that “parts of the Zionist movement” were among the causes of Islamophobia - this was simply a matter of fact. “It’s fundamental for Zionism to encourage Islamophobia.” The pressure on him to stop writing about “this stuff,” speaking about it, and indeed to stop researching it ... as if to do so was somehow antisemitic. So while it is valuable to defend free speech, it is particularly important to defend *academic* speech - and not just to “defend” free speech, but to actually win the argument.

8.12pm 13 February 2021: HP [tweets](#) an extract of the video. <The enemy that we face here is Zionism” there is “An all out onslaught by the Israeli government...on the left globally” ...This is Soviet antisemitism, the assertion that there’s a global Zionist conspiracy against the left.>

10.53am 14 February 2021: HP [tweets](#) a second extract of the video. <Prof David Miller ... “lashes out” against [@UJS_PRES](#) [the twitter handle for Nina Freedman] and Bristol Jewish Society, points out [@UJS_UK](#) & JSOC are “formally members of the Zionist movement...”> <It’s fundamental to Zionism to encourage islamophobia and anti Arab racism too.>

The excerpts quite pass over the points DM made about the lobbying of JSocs with regards to IHRA, the chief point of DM’s short talk, and the importance of freedom in academic research, in particular, on Zionism and Islamophobia, which was what the complaint (fronted by the JSocs) was about.

3.15pm 14 February 2021: Hannah Rose [tweets](#) that it has been two years since we launched the complaint against DM, and references HP.

9.01am 15 February 2021: BristolJSoc [accuses](#) DM of launching a personal attack on “our president.” In fact the new president is Edward Isaacs who was in his first year and not involved in the 2019 complaint and never mentioned by DM. BristolSoc claims that DM’s words led to Isaacs being targeted online, though no evidence was presented.

9.10am 15 February 2021: Edward Isaacs [tweets](#) immediately that he had received a hateful message online and that action needs to be taken about the hatred DM is spreading.

That weekend on Twitter: [In fact](#), no abuse of anyone remains visible on Twitter (although BristolJSoc are accused of lying), even as the most extreme abuse was meted out to DM.

16 February 2021: The *Jewish News* [reports](#) on the clips selected by HP, and cites SM on Bristol’s inaction.

10.41am 18 February 2021: In an “exclusive” the JC [reports](#) that leading Jewish organisations have urged Bristol to take action against the “inflammatory tirade” of 13 February. The JC had asked DM for a comment, and printed<There is a real question of abuse here — of Jewish students on British campuses being used as political pawns by a violent, racist foreign regime engaged in ethnic cleansing.> (Hereafter, the “pawns” quote).

On the same day the JC rendered DM’s “pawns” quote as:<He went on to tell the JC that Jewish students are “used as political pawns by a violent, racist foreign regime engaged on ethnic cleansing.”>

Thereafter, on around 25 occasions, the JC will recycle the quote, often distorting it so that (a) where DM had originally “questioned,” this was taken as “believing,” “describing,” “framing,” “ranting,” “accusing,” “attacking,” and “doubling down”; (b) where DM had not referred to any particular student, this was taken as applying to “all JSOC’s” or else Bristol specifically; with the result that (c) DM was therefore deemed a “perpetrator,” “dangerous,” and his conduct “nothing short of incitement.”

6.41pm 18 February 2021: The *Jewish Telegraph* [calls](#) on Bristol to act on the “crank Prof” now.

18 February 2021: Blogging for *Jewish News/Times of Israel*, SM [repeats](#) parts of her October article in *The Tab*, and announces that she is launching a [petition](#) to get DM off campus (hate speech cannot be tolerated) and at the end refers to Hannah Rose’s tweet on 14 February. Signatures exceed that of JH’s petition by a factor of 10. For *Epigram* see [here](#).

19 February 2021: The BDBJ (Board of Deputies of British Jews) [calls](#) DM “increasingly hysterical and in a [letter](#) to the vice-Chancellor likens the talk on 13 February (“odious,” “dangerous”) to Nazi propaganda.

The [JC](#) renders DM’s “pawns” quote exactly.

20 February 2021: DM [urges](#) in *Electronic Intifada* that we must resist Israel’s “war on British universities,” and refers to a “decade of Zionist hate” in which Miller has been smeared personally. He cites *Al Jazeera*’s The Lobby re funding from Israel for the UJS, and relates that 2019 complainant Hannah was sister of “[former embassy employee](#)” [Ella Rose](#) and that the then president of BristolJSoc also complained, thought she “hastily had her name removed.”

22 February 2021: Keith Kahn-Harris attacks DM’s sociology, arguing that DM’s position at Bristol is untenable. Kahn-Harris accuses DM, and in particular his diagram of BICOM in context as manifesting “flatland,” that is, his analysis of power lacks any nuance. But Kahn-Harris quite ignores all context for DM’s diagram, and I have a rebuttal [here](#).

Oliver Kamm attacks DM’s scholarship, again arguing that Bristol should intervene. I have a rebuttal [here](#).

23 February 2021: Lord Daniel Finkelstein (associate editor of *The Times*) [calls](#) for DM’s sacking.

The [JC](#) renders DM’s “pawns” quote exactly.

24 February 2021: Lord Ian Austin [tables](#) a written question the DES: “what assessment they have made of the statements by Professor David Miller about Jewish students; and what discussions they have had with (1) the University of Bristol, and (2) the police, about the steps being taken to ensure the safety of such students.

TV presenter Rachel Riley featured in an online rally attended by “thousands” to “Get Hate off Campus” as [reported](#) by the [JC](#).

The [JC](#) renders DM’s “pawns” quote as: <Mr Miller told the [JC](#) last week that Jewish students were “political pawns” of a “violent, racist foreign regime engaged in ethnic cleansing”. In an earlier rant, he had called for “the end of Zionism.”>

25 February 2021: Leader of the House of Commons Lord Rees Mogg condemns DM’s remarks as “deeply wicked” as [JC reports](#).

26 February 2021: Melanie Phillips [condemns](#) DM for his direct attacks on students.

1 March 2021: Writing a [long read](#) for BICOM’s in-house journal *Fathom*, David Hirsh discusses the “Meaning of Miller.” The work is too long to put in a capsule, but it can be pointed out that the article does not say that some students have complained about DM’s lecture on the “harms of the powerful” since 2019, working with the CST and the JSocs. The article begins with the “chicken soup incident.” The [reply](#) from Labour Briefing showing the full [video](#) gives a transcript and refers back to an [article](#) in *Middle East Eye* asking about funding for a cook chicken soup challenge from the Home office (counter-terrorism measures) and Jewish (Birthright) organisations.

3 March 2021: *Epigram* [posts](#) an article from a student claiming to be terrified of DM. As leaked documents [show](#), the QC charged with investigating DM found such fears baseless.

4 March 2021: The APPGA (all party group on antisemitism) [tweeted](#) that 100 parliamentarians have called for action on antisemitism in Bristol. In their letter, and citing Hirsh, DM's work is described as an antisemitic conspiracy fantasy, and that by framing students as pawns he has identified a group that should be targeted. *The Tab* also [reported](#).

Former director of the Pears Institute David Feldman in *Ha'aretz* [calls](#) for equalities law (2010) to be used against DM. Feldman recurs to the 2013 article in *Open Democracy*, [distorting](#) it, and rendering DM a vicious antisemite.

The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Addressing the issue of free speech, the letter says that in his attacks the sociology lecturer has "framed Jewish students" as the "pawns or tools of a foreign government.">

8 March 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as: <Mr Miller was heavily criticised for saying Jewish students in the UK were being used as "political pawns" by Israel, a country he accused of committing ethnic cleansing.>

10 March 2021: The *Mail* [attacks](#) DM: "A university professor embroiled in an anti-Semitism row is the sole shareholder of a Corbynite campaign group bankrolling far-left figures accused of harassing Jewish people."

16 March 2021: The University issues a public [statement](#) regarding DM, confirming that they have initiated an investigation into DM.

Lord Parkinson [replies](#) to the written question tabled 24 February and refers to DM's "remarks about current students at the University of Bristol." The government finds DM's views wholly reprehensible.

17 March 2021: [Ben Bloch](#), editor of *The Tab*, [reports](#) on the case in the light of the investigation launched by the University and refers to the questions tabled in Parliament.

4.21pm 17 March 2021: JH [tells](#) Bloch that the police are investigating DM in a reply to Bloch's tweet. Apparently, this is news to Bloch, and JH asks for contact details for more information. In fact, no student or person directly affected has given evidence to the police at this stage and it will later be reported that it was JH himself who went to the police - at any rate, it can only have been a third party who triggered this investigation.

4.32pm 17 March 2021: JH [tweets](#) contact details of the DC leading the investigation, and patiently remarks that "hopefully" the message will reach any *former* students affected. JH [invites](#) SM to update her petition, but SM declines.

The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Professor Miller added that he believed that these Jewish students were "pawns of a racist regime engaged in ethnic cleansing.">

19 March 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Miller has accused Jewish students at Bristol University of "being used as political pawns" for the Israeli government and argued that Zionism is behind Islamophobia.">

2.01pm March 2021: [Support David Miller](#) is the first Twitter account that day to report that a vexatious police complaint has been made apparently by JH, and the [website](#) gives details of his conviction in 2019 for harassing a Palestinian Christian in 2018.

24 March 2021: The House of Lords [debate](#) DM. Lord Austin contends that DM's "behaviour has resulted in Jewish students being subjected to weeks of harassment and abuse," with Lord Parkinson repeating that Bristol could do more to condemn DM's conduct to "current" students and deploring his views.

An "exclusive" in *The Tab* now [reports](#) that DM is being investigated by the police, for remarks made in "lectures." *The Tab* also cites "Support Miller" who, presumably referring to JH, claims that "right wing thugs have manufactured antisemitism smears." Bloch's article also cites SM from October 2020.

The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<He [Lord Parkinson in HoL] voiced concern over Professor Miller's claim that students are "political pawns of a foreign government.">

20 April 2021: No students (or those directly affected) had come forward by this stage, as the detective in charge of the case informed me, but eventually one (man) will give evidence, but will not wish to proceed further (as the detective also informed me later on in August).

27 April 2021: Turner in the *Telegraph* [reports](#) on an education select committee in which Robert Halfon urged Universities Minister Michelle Donelan to protect Jewish students, the campus now being akin to 1930s Germany. "There have been some awful things going on" (the [JC](#)).

30 April 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Academic who described JSoc members as "pawns of a racist regime" has been quietly reinstated. ... Inflammatory remarks by the professor have included claims that "all JSocs" operate "under the auspices of the Union of Jewish Students (UJS), an Israel lobby group", and his belief that these students were "pawns of a racist regime engaged in ethnic cleansing.">

13 May 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Allies of the notorious Bristol professor David Miller – who called for the "end" of Zionism and accused Jewish students of being "pawns" of Israel – are fighting to overturn University College London (UCL)'s commitment to the IHRA definition of antisemitism. ... Two academics proposing an alternative to the IHRA definition signed a letter in March backing Prof Miller, who has claimed that JSocs are "pawns of a racist regime engaged in ethnic cleansing" and "under the auspices of the Union of Jewish Students (UJS), an Israel lobby group.">

28 June 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Comments by the professor have included claims that "all JSocs" operate "under the auspices of the Union of Jewish Students (UJS), an Israel lobby group", and his belief that these students were "political pawns" of a "violent, racist foreign regime.">

1 July 2021: SM [tweets](#) that she is now working as a journalist for Guido Fawkes.

2 July 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Lecturer called for the "end" of Zionism and accused Jewish students of being "pawns" of Israel. ... David Miller, the Bristol University lecturer who accused Jewish student societies of being "pawns" of Israel, has reportedly received £400,000 in government money.>

28 July 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<The Union of Jewish Students and Bristol JSoc have accused Bristol University of refusing to discuss what further action it will take in the case of Professor David Miller, the notorious lecturer who has been the subject of a pending investigation since March after he labelled Jewish student societies "pawns" of Israel. .. In March 2021, the university said it would probe Professor Miller after he called for the "end" of Zionism and accused Jewish students at Bristol of being "pawns" of Israel. Only weeks later he appeared to be back at work.>

29 July 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Furious Jewish student groups have accused Bristol University of dragging its feet after it failed yet again to take action against Professor David Miller, the notorious lecturer who has been under investigation since March after labelling Jewish student societies "pawns" of Israel and calling for the "end" of Zionism. ... Comments by Prof Miller have included claims that "all JSocs" operate "under the auspices of the Union of Jewish Students (UJS), an Israel lobby group." He accused these students of being "political pawns" of a "violent, racist foreign regime.">

5 August 2021: The CAA [announce](#) that they are in the final stages of building a lawsuit against Bristol for not taking action against DM and call for "more students" to come forward. The charge is harassment, and includes the claim that DM suggested that "people associated with Zionism should not be engaged in dialogue but "must only be faced and defeated," (omitting any reference to the talk on 13 February that called for proper debate to promote understanding, and also for research into Zionism and racism). Also [reported](#) in *Algemeiner* that made reference to the Equality Act 2010.

8 August 2021: In response to my email the DC leading the investigation confirmed that it has now been closed. Although one person did come forward he did not want to press charges.

11.40am 12 August 2021: Bloch tweets a [thread](#) on the DM case. DM had "criticised the student president of BristolJSoc," "out of the blue," "leading him to be targeted for antisemitic abuse." Bloch rails against DM's antisemitism and the university's inaction, and, retweeting Hannah Rose of 14 February laments that he did not do more at the time (February 2019). He then cites a BDBJ [statement](#) and also a UJS [thread](#). This includes a complaint letter to the University given that DM will be teaching next term. The university is [legitimizing the targeted attacks on Jewish students he made towards Jewish students](#).

12 August 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as: <Professor David Miller is to teach two modules this term despite being under investigation since March after calling the university's Jewish society "political pawns [used] by a violent, racist foreign regime.">

17 August 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<The government has written to the University of Bristol asking it to "immediately detail" how it intends to address the concerns of Jewish students after it was revealed that Professor David Miller — who notoriously labelled campus JSoc members "pawns" of a "racist foreign regime" — was due to teach two modules this coming year despite being under investigation.>

18 August 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Professor Miller, a sociologist, has been under investigation by the university since March after labelling Jewish society members "pawns" of a "racist foreign regime" but is due to teach next term.>

26 August 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<It was revealed this month that Prof Miller is due to teach two modules in the coming academic year despite being under investigation by the university since March after attacking Bristol's JSoc as "political pawns [used] by a violent, racist foreign regime.">

2 September 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<The academic has been under investigation since March after attacking the university's Jewish society as "political pawns [used] by a violent, racist foreign regime. ... "David Miller is a perpetrator, not a victim," a spokesperson [for the CAA] said. "His doubling down on his dangerous claims that Jewish students are the pawns of Israel and pose a threat to Muslims are nothing short of incitement.">

12 September 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<Prof Miller provoked widespread disgust after calling for the end of Zionism and claiming that Jewish student groups were "pawns of a racist regime engaged in ethnic cleansing.">

1 October 2021: Bristol University sack DM who they found "did not meet the standards of behaviour we expect from our staff." Their [statement](#) acknowledges that a QC did not find that his comments did not constitute "unlawful speech," but the statement passed over any reference to antisemitism. Leaked documents [show](#) that the QC explicitly cleared DM of antisemitism, the investigative researcher having "no case to answer."

The CAA released a [statement](#) claiming that within a month of launching legal action against the University on behalf of "brave students" and a community "disgusted" at DM's conspiracy theories, DM has been fired.

The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<The controversial academic had been under investigation since March after referring to the university's Jewish society as, "political pawns [used] by a violent, racist foreign regime.">

7 October 2021: The [JC](#) [claims](#) that DM is the tip of the iceberg and the Leader [proposes](#) that DM's sacking should be the beginning not the end. Lawyer Adam Rose of Mishcon de Reya LLP is cited, as he notes in a [tweet](#).

8 October 8 2021: The [JC](#) renders DM's "pawns" quote as:<The comments which eventually ended Miller's career at Bristol University were [made at an event in February](#) during which he referred to Jewish students as "pawns" of the state of Israel.>

This from CST's head of investigations Marc Goldberg, who presumably led the 200 day investigation into DM, and who would surely have known that the quote did *not* emerge at the 13 February event, but in DM's response to the [JC](#) on 18 April 2021, and which was then repeated roughly every 10 days.