

LOYAL TO ISRAEL: TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE ISRAELI- PALESTINIAN CONFLICT



A STUDY OF LOYALIST TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAEL

Loyal to Israel: Transnational solidarity with the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Thesis MA Modern Middle East Studies

Leiden University

Andrew Graham Robertson Page

Student number: 1963023

15 January 2018

Supervisor: Dr. Noa Schonmann

Words: 21,676

Cover Photo: Adrian McKinty, "Israeli flags in Belfast", *Adrian McKinty Blogspot*, accessed January 14, 2018, <http://adrianmckinty.blogspot.nl/2015/04/the-israeli-flags-in-belfast.html>.



Universiteit
Leiden

Abstract:

The Ulster Loyalist community of Northern Ireland have long regarded themselves as a people besieged by Irish Republican ideology. While lacking international support, the Loyalists have formed a geographically and culturally unusual bond with the State of Israel. Loyalist support for Israel increased visibly during the 2002 Intifada and Loyalists continue to make declarations of support for Israel. Yet, the governing Likud Party in recent years has commemorated Zionist insurgents, who committed acts of terror against the British administration in the 1940s. The Israeli government's actions have led to criticism from the Her Majesty's British government, which the Loyalist community aims to stand alongside, to maintain the Union and prevent the triumph of Irish Republicanism. Despite British public support for Israel declining during the past few decades, Ulster Loyalist support for the Jewish State is believed to be one of the strongest in Europe.

Contents	Page
1 Introduction	4
- 1.1 Methodology	7
2 Literature Review	10
- 2.1 Overview of the Literature	10
- 2.2 Defining Transnational Solidarity	13
- 2.3 The Concept of Borrowed Legitimacy	15
3 Historical Context	18
4 Section One: Empirical Evidence	23
- 4.1 Transformation of British Public Opinion	23
- 4.2 Loyalist Contrast: Rise and Continuation Solidarity	26
- 4.3 The Likud Conundrum	33
5 Section Two: Analysis of the Loyalist Case	38
- 5.1 Siege Mentality	38
- 5.2 Loyalist Historic-Theological Memory	43
- 5.3 In Support of Borrowed Legitimacy	47
6 Conclusions	50
7 Bibliography	52
8 Appendix	61

1. Introduction

“We unfortunately find ourselves in a conflict in our area and we certainly don’t want to export conflict from our part of the world, we would rather try and be part of reconciliation and understanding. On the other hand, I have respect for people who have a parallel between their story and the story of the people of Israel.”¹

Daniel Taub, 2013.

In 2013, former Israeli Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Daniel Taub visited Belfast and encountered the unusual sight of Israeli and Palestinian flags flying across the city. The Israeli flags were being flown by the Loyalist community, those in Northern Ireland who identify as part of the United Kingdom as opposed to the Republicans who seek unification with the rest of Ireland. In the year 2002, an increase in Israeli flags in Loyalist areas of Belfast and across Northern Ireland was recorded and this has continued into the present.² Alongside this, an increased discourse regarding Israel has become more apparent in Loyalist newspapers and expressions of solidarity with Israel has become more vocal. This however is not reflected amongst the wider British public, which has become more sympathetic towards Palestinian self-determination and increasingly critical of Israel’s actions. While Israeli flags continue to fly on the Loyalist streets of Belfast, in London we see protests in opposition to the Balfour Declaration, standing in solidarity with Palestine.³ This is a one-way relationship; you will not find Northern Irish flags or Loyalist symbols in Jerusalem. Loyalists appear content to provide Israel with support and receiving little in return. In addition, the governing Likud Party has been involved in commemorating the members and actions of various terrorist organisations that fought against the British in the 1940s. This is of course the same Britain which Loyalists have such a strong desire to be a part of. Surprisingly, these apparent contradictions have remained largely unspoken within the Loyalist community. Only a few condemnatory voices have shared their concern about the hypocrisies that exist in supporting a country whose government is happy to celebrate terrorist actions against Britain. Clearly, there is an awareness of the apparent contradictions in solidarity with Israel, but there is a

¹ Sam McBride, “Ambassador ‘torn over Israel flags in NI’”, *News Letter*, February 21, 2013, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/ambassador-torn-over-israel-flags-in-ni-1-4810799>.

² Andrew Hill et al, “The Flying of Israeli Flags in Northern Ireland” *Identities* 15, no.1, (2008): 33.

³ Areeb Ullah, “Thousands march through London to oppose Balfour Declaration”, *Middle East Eye*, November 4, 2017, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/thousands-marched-through-london-oppose-balfour-declaration-498366841>.

lack of willingness to confront them. Any criticism is suppressed by the voices of Loyalists who continue to promote their support for Israel.

In academia, when Northern Ireland and Israel are discussed together, what usually entails is a comparative discussion about partition politics or conflict resolution. This study shall not be a comparison between the two conflicts but rather focus on the specific, existing phenomena of Loyalist solidarity with Israel. It shall look at solidarity with Israel through the lens of transnational solidarity, utilising scholarly works in this field. In particular, Rawan Arar's work on solidarity with the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict by factions in the Northern Irish Troubles and her theory of *borrowed legitimacy*. The key objective shall be to provide proof that Loyalist solidarity rose sharply in 2002 and has continued to maintain a solid presence in Loyalist civic society, despite Likud's commemorations of Zionist terrorist atrocities against the British during the 1940s. It shall be argued that Loyalist solidarity with Israel increased due to the community's view that it is under siege from its Republican nemesis, fuelled by various negotiations and demographic change. This has led to a sense of vulnerability and a longing for allies in what they perceive as a hostile world. Therefore, Loyalists have harked back to their historic memory of the religious glorification of the Israelites and translated this to a modern affinity with the state of Israel. Israel is a quaint choice to support, as it can also be used against the Loyalist's local "other", who have displayed solidarity with Palestinians, for different, anti-Imperialist reasons.

This study will provide empirical evidence for the rise of Loyalist solidarity in 2002 and show its continuation to date. Evidence shall be presented in three key areas: Firstly, the development of British-Israeli diplomatic relations and the transformation of British public opinion. Secondly, Loyalist attitudes towards Israel; in order to highlight the contrasts between Loyalists and the British public. In doing so, Loyalist expressions of solidarity shall be discussed along with newspaper sources to show the bias in favour of Israel. The existence of solidarity prior to 2002 shall be explored and contrasted with the changes post 2002. Finally, focusing on the commemorations by Likud of Zionist terrorists and their organisations. In doing so, establishing that there is an immediate ideological contradiction in Loyalists supporting a Likud-run Israel, while it commemorates those who used terrorism against Britain. The empirical evidence in this study presents ample evidence for the formulation of an argument.

The study will then focus on investigating reasons for the rise and continuation of solidarity with Israel. It will thematically compile an argument as to why solidarity with Israel has continued amongst Loyalists. It shall focus on the Loyalists' perception of their situation, viewing themselves as under siege from threatening foes. This shall consider the Loyalist belief that they are continually losing ground to Republicans and how they perceive themselves in the eyes of the international community. It shall also discuss why they seek solidarity with Israel. The realities of how similar their situations actually are, shall be questioned and it shall explore if there is any merit in such comparisons. Following from this it shall explore the significance of Israel to the historic-religious memory of the Loyalist community. This shall evaluate how significant religious memory might be in the growth of solidarity with Israel and how it has affected Loyalist perceptions of Israel. Finally, it shall provide support for Arar's 'borrowed legitimacy' theory and discuss the strengths of her study. While it is important to be critical of aspects of this study, it has proved very useful and insightful, when tracing the growth of Loyalist solidarity with Israel.

The potential difficulties that emerge in producing such a study must be acknowledged. Specifically, that the Ulster Loyalist community tends to perceive themselves as a people under siege and being regarded unfavourably by the international community. Therefore, it can be defensive when directly asked about their political logic. It will also consider the animosity that exists between opposing sides, in both the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Irish Troubles, which can lead to bias and a constant need to be antagonistic towards their perceived "other".

In seeking answers to this research question, this study aims to fill gaps that exist in the body of literature surrounding the discourse of transnational solidarity; focusing on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and its internationalisation. Most work relating to Northern Ireland and the Israeli Conflict is comparative, and focuses on conflict resolution and partition politics. Studies on transnational solidarity, generally focus on the Republican relationship with the Palestinians. The Loyalist-Israeli dynamic does not have the same quantity of coverage. In particular, scant attention has been given to the contradictory ideological elements of Loyalist solidarity with Israel, in relation to commemorations of Zionist terrorism. While the topic of this study may appear rather niche, it has significance. The political arm of the Loyalist community, the Democratic Unionist Party, in the summer of 2017 agreed a deal of "confidence and supply" with the governing Conservative Party in Westminster, which has

already created interest in Israel due to the DUP's ideological position.⁴ The utilisation of borrowed legitimacy in relation to transnational solidarity has not been widely applied to the Middle East, making it a novel approach. Also, Arar did not focus her own study on Israel or Loyalists, but rather on solidarity between both conflicts as a whole. Greater specificity can allow for a much deeper examination of her concept. This work hopes to expand upon notions of transnational solidarity within Middle Eastern Studies and to challenge Arar's concept of borrowed legitimacy within the discipline. By advancing the study of Loyalist solidarity with Israel, critiquing the limitations of borrowed legitimacy in the process, our view of transnational solidarity can be further modified and developed to increase understanding as to why solidarity exists on the international level and in a Middle Eastern context.

1.1 Methodology

In seeking to prove that solidarity for Israel exists within the Loyalist community, the well-established, '*Belfast News Letter*' was used as the key primary source. The *Belfast News Letter* or the '*News Letter*', has been in circulation since 1737. The logic for utilising it was simple; it is the only daily newspaper in Northern Ireland that is explicitly politically supportive of the Loyalist community. The paper has historically, gone as far as to advertise itself "For Protestants" and has been associated with promoting the hard-line loyalist, Orange Order.⁵ Along with news articles, the paper also contains an opinion section which provides views from columnists in Northern Ireland and also members of the public. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict features with reasonable frequency in these sections and this helps provide insight into Loyalist opinion of the conflict and its combatants. One limitation, is that one cannot be completely sure that the author is a Loyalist, when not clearly stated. However, with the evidence from academic sources and the fact that the *News Letter* is considered a Loyalist media outlet, within a highly tribal society, we can safely assume that the vast majority of these pieces in support of Israel, if not all, are coming from Loyalist sources.

⁴ Tamara Zieve, "UK Jewish Leader: Kingmaker DUP is friend of the community and Israel", *Jerusalem Post*, June 9, 2017, <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/UK-Jewish-leader-Kingmaker-DUP-is-friend-of-the-community-and-Israel-496399>

⁵ Claire Nally et al, *Advertising, Literature and Print Culture in Ireland, 1891-1922*. (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012): 137.

To provide empirical evidence for the rise of Loyalist solidarity with Israel, data was collected from the *News Letter*. This was gained from two databases, the Factiva archive and the *News Letter* website archive. The Factiva archive provided articles from 1st January 1998, to the end of 2017. The key search used was “Israel” to provide all articles that mention Israel in some shape or form. To increase the relevance of the articles, the category chosen was “Domestic Politics”, providing a closer link between the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and Northern Ireland and British politics. The database also allowed for the exclusion of a number of categories, and both “football” and “sports” were deemed acceptable for exclusion, whereas other categories were not, as they may have had some relevance to this study. These filtering actions led to the number of articles, going from 1,600 to 105, the original number too great for the time constraints that existed on this study. The inclusion of a second database, the *News Letter*’s online archive, was due to the omission of opinion pieces in the Factiva database. It provided valuable evidence of the Loyalist public’s view of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Once again, “Israel” was used as the search word and any sports articles excluded in the data count, as were the 15 articles found in the Factiva count that appeared after 2009. The two databases were given separate charts to allow for easier replication of the data. One of the main limitations of the data gathering, was the lack of cost free material prior to 1998. If more time and financial resources were available greater insight into the period prior to 1998 may have been achieved.

With the data collected from the databases, textual analysis, as described by Alan McKee, was used to decipher information. McKee argued that textual analysis is essentially an “educated guess” at the interpretations that could be made of the text in question and that it is effective for research within cultural/area studies.⁶ Textual analysis lends itself well to this study, in part due to there being no need for translation, therefore the nuances of language are not lost. The climate of tribalism within Northern Ireland and the need for groups and individuals to promote their identities and beliefs, makes the application of textual analysis even more interesting. There are of course some limitations to textual analysis, as cultural differences can provide unique interpretations of texts which must be acknowledged.⁷ In addition, a text may have multiple interpretations and this study has attempted to convey this, when applicable. The application of textual analysis, allowed for the language in the *News*

⁶ Alan McKee, *Textual Analysis*. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2002):1.

⁷ McKee, *Textual*:4.

Letter to be heavily scrutinised and compared with that of British public opinion to demonstrate the differences between them.

In analysing the changes in British attitudes towards Israel, there was an abundance of resources available. To grasp the changes within public opinion, polls were consulted from three periods: a) Post-Israeli independence b) shortly after the Six-Day War c) the most recent data. The first two polls were provided by Public Opinion Quarterly and the other by YouGov. British Diplomatic relations, specifically grievances with Israel, were analysed via a collection of British and Israeli newspapers, including *Haaretz*, *Times of Israel*, *the Guardian* and *the Telegraph*. The aim was to provide some balance and allow for an awareness of bias. Grievances were focused upon, as this kind of event could then be applied to newspapers and other media in Northern Ireland to ascertain how the Loyalist community interpreted these events.

Finally, in answering the question, why solidarity arose, despite the obvious conundrum; the research method focuses mainly on text based sources. Interviews were considered for this process; however, it was not deemed necessary, as many of the Loyalists have already provided reasons for their solidarity with Israel and many scholars have also given their opinion on the issue. The sources provide a mixture of primary data, mainly from news outlets in Northern Ireland and the rest of the UK and secondary data which mainly came from academic research. This provides a variety of views and a solid mass of qualitative data that could be applied to this thesis.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Overview of the Literature

Most of the literature that associates Northern Ireland with the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict is made of comparative studies. They generally focus on partition politics and the peace processes in both conflicts. One of the seminal works in this field is Thomas G. Mitchell's *Native vs Settler: Ethnic Conflict in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and South Africa*. It analysed the dynamics between ethnic groups, where one is viewed as the coloniser and the other the colonised.⁸ Mitchell argues that colonial rule has been established in certain areas of the world, by the importation of a different ethnic group who has imposed discrimination over the indigenous population.⁹ This is one of the earlier studies to make mention of the existence of a "siege mentality" within settler communities. It explores the religious dynamics of settler communities, whereby they view themselves as "chosen people."¹⁰ While perhaps lacking in theoretical analysis, the sheer breadth of material on native-settler dynamics, in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Troubles is impressive. Many studies have followed from Mitchell's work: McGarry¹¹ and Cox et al¹² have made comparisons of the settler conflict in Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine, focusing on the divisions created in society. It is worth noting the inclusion of South Africa as a third setting in most of these comparative works. This is due to the ease with which settler communities can be compared, as they have all possess some similar variables. Settler communities usually begin with a small number of isolated settlements and must contest with the local "other" which settlers, such as the Afrikaans of South Africa, often attempted to subjugate. They also have similar identifiable traits, as pointed out by Akenson, who argues that settler communities generally appear aggressive towards outsiders and immovable on social issues.¹³ Another example of settler colonialism, is Rhodesia post-UDI. Rhodesia appears to have been omitted from comparative studies involving Israel-Palestine and Northern Ireland,

⁸ Thomas G Mitchell, *Native vs Settler*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000): 1.

⁹ Mitchell, *Native vs Settler*: 15.

¹⁰ Ibid: 20.

¹¹ John McGarry, *Northern Ireland and the Divided World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹² Michael Cox et al (eds.) *A farewell to arms?*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

¹³ Donald H. Akenson, *God's Peoples*, (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992): 42.

which is unusual, as Rhodesia had similar settler dynamics of an imported minority dominating a local majority.

More specific comparisons have been drawn in relation to the impact of partition politics on society. Literature and the way partition politics has shaped post-partition works was undertaken by Cleary¹⁴, and by Patke¹⁵. Other specific fields have included; the impact on social work by Ramon et al¹⁶ and education and how it can be mobilised for fostering mutual understanding between warring ethnic groups (Saloman¹⁷). However, this study does not intend to add to the existing literature in the field of comparative studies, but rather focus on transnational solidarity.

The politics of solidarity has been addressed by a fairly modest body of work. However, there are several key works that have been explored within this study. They are the most focused pieces of work, which specifically touch on notions of solidarity between factions involved in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Troubles. The first is John Doyle's *Irish Nationalism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict*, in which Doyle aims to examine links that have been generated by Irish nationalists with the participants in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Doyle explores the difference between the solidarity of *Sinn Fein* and the foreign policy of the Republic of Ireland. The Republic's foreign policy is in his view, the face of moderate nationalism. This contrasts with *Sinn Fein*, which he considers to be radical in its expression of nationalism. This is significant, as this is a study that deals with the Republican perspective for the most part. Much of the solidarity within this study, is related to the relationship between the Irish Republican Army and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. What is interesting about Doyle's study, is that he provides evidence of actual physical links between the two conflicts; joint training exercises and gun-running operations.¹⁸ However, Doyle's study lacks a definitive answer, as to why the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict is so significant in Northern Ireland, compared to other international struggles for self-

¹⁴ Joe Cleary, *Literature, Partition and the Nation State*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁵ Rajeev Patke, "Partition and its aftermath: Poetry and history in Northern Ireland", *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 46, no. 1, (2010).

¹⁶ Shulamit Ramon et al, "The Impact of Political Conflict on Social Work", *British Journal of Social Work*, no. 36, (2006).

¹⁷ Gavriel Saloman, "Lessons from Research on Peace Education in Israel/Palestine", *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 1, no. 1, (2013).

¹⁸ John Doyle, "Irish Nationalism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict", *Working Papers in International Studies: Centre for International Studies*, (2007): 2.

determination. What it does achieve is a chronology of solidarity, particularly from a Republican perspective.

One of the key limitations of these solidarity studies, is that most of their focus is on Republican solidarity for Palestine, whilst Loyalist solidarity with Israel is given less discussion time. Rolston¹⁹ is an example of this. He discusses the displays of solidarity shown through political murals in Northern Ireland. Most of his focus is on Republican artwork, which is not exclusively designated to Palestine, but also other struggles for independence such as Basque nationalism.²⁰ Loyalist expressions of solidarity are only give a page and a half in Rolston's study. Of course, there is no obligation for Rolston to provide study into Loyalists and as he points out, there are fewer examples of murals with international references that are Loyalist designs.²¹ Studies such as Tugwell²² and Drake²³ have also focused on Republican transnational solidarity, through framing their struggle as an anti-imperialist mission.

In recent years however, studies have started to give a much greater balance between Republican and Loyalist. Andrew Hill and White, provide an in-depth analysis of flag flying in Northern Ireland in their study *The Flying of Israeli Flags in Northern Ireland*. This study was motivated by the appearance of Israeli flags in Loyalist communities in 2002, a phenomenon that they consider to be unprecedented and felt had received "scant scholarly attention".²⁴ Hill et al explore the significance of Israeli flags appearing in Loyalist areas of Belfast and open the door to more discussion about Loyalist solidarity with Israel. What is also so effective, is that Hill et al refer to the contradictions that can exist when promoting another ethnic group, under the banner of transnational solidarity. While not directly dealing with the issue of this thesis, they do highlight the relationship with right-wing British nationalism, which tends to hold anti-Semitic views and the flying of Israeli flags.²⁵ The exploration of this issue, certainly influenced the themes behind this thesis.

¹⁹ Bill Rolston, "Brothers on the Walls: International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals", *Journal of Black Studies*, 39, no. 3, (2009).

²⁰ Rolston, "Brothers": 456.

²¹ Ibid: 465-67.

²² Maurice Tugwell, "Politics and propaganda of the provisional IRA", *Terrorism*, 5, no. 1-2, (1981).

²³ C.J.M Drake, "The provisional IRA", *Terrorism and Violence*, 3, no. 2 (1991).

²⁴ Hill et al, "Flying Israeli Flags":32.

²⁵ Ibid:39-40.

While studies have recently begun to focus on Loyalist transnational solidarity with Israel to a greater degree, there is very little literature that focuses on Loyalists alone. Studies on Loyalists have focused more on Loyalist identity, rather than solidarity, such as Alan Finlayson.²⁶ If other Loyalist solidarities with peoples across the globe exist, then they too appear to lack coverage in scholarly works. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the contradictions mentioned, have received no attention from scholars and the only references to them can be found in the odd newspaper article and online blog post. This study will focus on this void and attempt to begin to fill this gap in the literature.

2.2 Defining Transnational Solidarity

Studies of solidarity are widespread throughout a variety of academic disciplines. Solidarity is perceived to be a concept of providing a group, community or nation with a sense of belonging and togetherness. It has also been suggested by Christian Smith, that solidarity is a feeling that invokes relationships that are characterised by a social or emotional bond.²⁷ In terms of a single nation, according to Eric Hobsbawm and Tom Nairn, the binding factors are commonly along the lines of ethnicity or civic boundaries.²⁸ Solidarity, has often been associated within nation-building, as in Benedict Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community.' Anderson argues that a focal point is drawn from the past of an ethnic group or those living within a geographical boundary, that is designed to inspire nationalistic solidarity within the present-day nation state.²⁹ Emile Durkheim, argued in his work *The Division of Labour in Society*, the existence of two forms of solidarity; the mechanic and the organic. Mechanic solidarity, found in primitive societies, where solidarity was characterised on commonality; similar values which were generated, due to similar experiences and common life situations. Organic solidarity, is more reliant on dependence rather than commonality. It arises when societal members differ, however they depend upon each other or are constrained by one another within the functions of a society.³⁰

²⁶ Alan Finlayson, "Loyalist Political Identity After the Peace", *Capital & Class*, 23, no. 3, (1999).

²⁷ Christian Smith et al, "On Social Solidarity", in *The Palgrave Handbook of Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity: Formulating a Field of Study*, ed. Vincent Jeffries, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014): 225.

²⁸ Tim Rowse, "Nation", in *Identity and Belonging*, eds. Kate Huppertz et al, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015): 107.

²⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. (New York: Verso, 2006): 4.

³⁰ J. A. Barnes, "Durkheim's Division of Labour in Society", *Man*, 1, no.2, (1966): 163-164.

Few studies focus on the transcendent nature of solidarity on an international scale. Anderson gets close to touching upon it, when he notes the “curious trans-state character” of solidarity. In analysing 19th colonialism, Anderson found that colonial rulers from multiple nation states were able to draw on racialist “solidarity among whites”. Internal rivalries and conflicting interests within European-Western settings were irrelevant to this solidarity’s existence.³¹ Advocate of anarchism, Pytor Kropotkin is one of the first scholars to apply solidarity to the international level. Solidarity to Kropotkin was a form of “mutual aid” which has been of crucial importance in the evolution of social institutions. Kropotkin does not limit this merely to the nation state but mankind as a species (his study also includes animals) and how solidarity has led to their development.³²

It is important to note the difference between transnational solidarity, which this study focuses on and international solidarity, which has greater traction in studies of international relations. International solidarity focuses on the role of the state as the primary player in solidarity, mainly taking the form of treaties and alliances.³³ Transnational solidarity, focuses on non-state actors, such as activist groups and is often associated with the growing phenomenon of Globalisation and identity politics. According to Patricia Landolt, transitional solidarity has increased in recent years, as agendas in different nation states can now connect due to the increased ability to create global networks.³⁴ In Middle Eastern Studies, transnational solidarity has often been associated with Palestine. Laleh Khalili has focused on solidarity between political organisations such as Hezbollah and the Palestinians and specifically ‘South-South’ transnational solidarity. Khalili noted the importance of overlapping identities such as ‘anti-imperialist’, ‘Islamist’ or ‘pan-Arabist’, as influencing factors of transnational solidarity.³⁵ Timothy Seidel, also studied forms of transnational solidarity in Palestinian resistance and the support received from Europe.³⁶

³¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: 153.

³² Petr Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, (Rookhope: Aziloth Books, 2017): 1-9.

³³ Guillaume Devin, “International Solidarity” in *International Encyclopaedia of Political Science*, (eds.) Bertrand Badie et al, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2011): 1320.

³⁴ Patricia Landolt, “The Transnational Geographies of Immigrant Politics”, *The Sociological Quarterly*, 49, no.1, (2008): 53.

³⁵ Laleh Khalili, “Standing with My Brother”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49, no. 2, (2007): 277-278.

³⁶ Timothy Seidel, “Occupied territory is occupied territory”, *Third World Quarterly*, 37, no. 9, (2016).

Other studies of transnational solidarity focus more on activist groups with ideological similarities. Latin America has received a lot of attention from scholars in this field. Solidarity from transnational organisations with the Zapatistas, the left-wing revolutionaries of Mexico, was explored by Abigail Andrews in 2010.³⁷ The other area which has seen significant coverage is transnational feminist solidarity. Lindsey Churchill, brings together both Latin America and radical feminism in the US, in her study into American feminists' attempts at solidarity with Latin American revolutionary movements between 1970 and 1989. Thus, giving insight into the relationship between first and third world feminism.³⁸ Basuli Deb through an Orientalist lens, takes the focus on feminism into a Middle Eastern context, in her study of Imperial feminism and the West's attempts at solidarity.³⁹ It is interesting that there appears to be a lack of scholarly work on transnational solidarity in relation to Israel. This is an area in which this study would hope to go some way in addressing.

2.3 The Concept of Borrowed Legitimacy

Rawan Arar's study, *International Solidarity and ethnic boundaries*, provides focus on both Republican-Palestinian and Loyalist-Israeli dynamics. Arar also produces her own theoretical framework for the reasoning behind forms of transnational solidarity, known as '*borrowed legitimacy*'. This is a recent concept, which has yet to receive any scrutiny in its application to Loyalist solidarity with Israel. It is worth noting that while Arar makes reference to 'international solidarity', it is in association with non-state actors, having more akin with transnational solidarity. Arar focuses on "ethnic boundaries" rather than existing political boundaries when explaining solidarity in the setting of Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine.⁴⁰ However Barth, defines ethnic boundaries as channelling societal life and argues that those within this channel hold certain elements of identification that allow a fellow member of that ethnic group to identify them as "one of their own".⁴¹ According to Barth

³⁷ Abigail Andrews, "Constructing Mutuality: The Zapatistas' Transformation of Transnational Activist Power Dynamics", *Latin American Politics and Society*, 52, no.1, (2010).

³⁸ Lindsey Churchill, "Transnational Alliances: Radical U.S. Feminist Solidarity and Contention with Latin America, 1970-1989", *Latin American Perspectives*, 36, no. 6, (2009):10.

³⁹ Basuli Deb, "Cutting Imperial Feminisms towards Transnational Feminism Solidarities", *Meridians*, 13, no. 2, (2016).

⁴⁰ Arar, "International solidarity": 2.

⁴¹ Fredrik Barth (ed.), "Introduction" in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 1998): 15.

there is then an assumption that those identified as the same ethnic group are “playing the same game”, and that their ethnic relationship can expand within a specific space to generate an “ethnic boundary”.⁴² This has a similar constructed dynamic to that of Anderson’s “Imagined Community”, which proposes that nationalist solidarity is created from relevant cultural systems and shared elements of culture such as religion or dynasticism.⁴³ When relating this to Northern Ireland, Arar defines the boundary as the “different circumstances...either a political stance or a personal identity or both”.⁴⁴ In comparison, Israeli-Palestinian ethnic boundaries could more easily be defined as between those who are ethnically Arab Palestinians and those who identify as Israeli Jews. Marco Giugni et al, have suggested that solidarity on the global stage is altruistic in nature. They argue that those involved in political movements that share solidarity transnationally, do so to “defend the rights and interests of others”.⁴⁵ There is a similar argument from Guillaume Devin, who states that ethnic groups use transnational solidarity as a tool to strive for “mutual empowerment” while promoting a common cause, a form of transnational activism.⁴⁶ Borrowed legitimacy, challenges these traditional views of solidarity or at least, adds another dimension to it. Arar, is critical of the common assumption that solidarity is purely a tool for mutual benefit and an act of selflessness to help those in need. She argues that too much focus has been given to the cultural aspects that lead to solidarity, rather than the need to form and maintain an ethnic boundary. She also claims there is insufficient study of expressions of solidarity that adopt a foreign ally and therefore create a new foreign opposition. This is where borrowed legitimacy takes place. It is an attempt to attack a local “other” by proxy, by engaging within an existing boundary between the ally to which solidarity is given and her adversary.⁴⁷ The new international ethnic boundary, is then adopted as an expression of solidarity and then used to reinforce the adopter’s own local boundary and attack the local “other” with it.⁴⁸

⁴² Barth, *Ethnic Groups*: 15.

⁴³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: 12.

⁴⁴ Arar, “International solidarity”: 4.

⁴⁵ Marco Giugni et al (eds.), “Political Altruism and the Solidarity Movement” in *Political Altruism?*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001): 5.

⁴⁶ Devin, “International Solidarity”: 1320-1322.

⁴⁷ Arar, “International solidarity”: 1-2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*: 5.

Borrowed legitimacy, is then placed by Arar into the scenario of existing solidarities between factions in the Troubles and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, to provide weight to her theory. This so far, is the only context to which borrowed legitimacy has been applied. Arar, provides a broad application to this scenario, rather than focusing on a specific dynamic within it. Arar, argues that solidarity linking the Troubles to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict comes down to three main points. Firstly, that there are similarities between the struggles for self-determination, both are regions that have experienced settler-colonial foundations, during British rule. Secondly, she argues that both regions have experienced partition, with varying levels of success. Finally, the existence of debates surrounding inter-communal violence, has led to parallels being drawn over forms of resistance.⁴⁹ These are the conditions which Arar argues, led borrowed legitimacy to take place.

There is certainly strength in the argument that solidarity could be utilised to attack a local “other” by proxy. However, this thesis intends to question aspects of Arar’s argument of borrowed legitimacy by focusing on Loyalist solidarity with Israel. Umbrage is taken with the conditions that Arar suggests have led to borrowed legitimacy within the setting of the Troubles. Her focus appears to be more on Republican solidarity with Palestine and the process that led to borrowed legitimacy being utilised by Republicans. For example, when Arar focuses on “struggles” under settler-colonialism and “means and forms of resistance”; this indicates that she is referring to the indigenous population, resisting the settler colonisers, rather than incorporating settlers within this process.⁵⁰ The application of borrowed legitimacy can be questioned regarding Loyalist solidarity with Israel, raising other potential factors that may provide other dynamics to this relationship, in the face of historical Zionist terrorism against the British.

⁴⁹ Ibid: 6-7.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

3. Historical Context

It is worth taking some time to look at the historical background of both the Troubles and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, to provide some context and a grasp of the terminology used in this study. It is especially important that the Troubles is provided with some analysis as it is obviously alien to the field of Middle Eastern Studies and the terminology which it uses.

The Northern Ireland Conflict, more commonly referred to as 'The Troubles', refers to the period of conflict between Irish Republican militants and the Loyalist paramilitaries, involving the British security forces between 1968 and 1999.⁵¹ The conflict is often considered to be one of religion, between the Catholic and Protestant communities. However, Joanne McEvoy argues that this is a misinterpretation, arguing that the conflict was related to national identity; where the nationalist/republican "looks to the Republic of Ireland as the 'motherland'" and the unionist/loyalist community looks to the United Kingdom as "their patron state".⁵² The nationalist/republicans wish to see Northern Ireland become united with the Republic of Ireland; while unionists/loyalists wish to remain part of the United Kingdom.⁵³ McEvoy, also notes that the religious connotations in the conflict, derive from the fact that nationalists are "almost exclusively" Catholic and the unionist community is "overwhelmingly Protestant", which McEvoy puts down to the history of the region.⁵⁴ McEvoy is perhaps underplaying the importance of religion in this conflict. The partition of Ireland in 1921, saw a sizable Catholic minority, separated from the Irish Free State (Republic of Ireland from 1949), who rapidly faced discrimination from the Protestant Loyalist population. The Loyalist population, was to an extent, indulged by the British establishment and had privilege over the Catholic minority, in jobs and housing. Many Catholic Republicans found themselves impoverished in Northern Ireland and disenfranchised, despite the rebuttals from Loyalist politicians that discrimination existed.⁵⁵ By the late 1960s, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was created, similar to the

⁵¹ Michael L. Storey, *Representing the Troubles in Irish Short Fiction*, (Washington D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004): 4-6.

⁵² Joanne McEvoy, *The Politics of Northern Ireland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008): 8.

⁵³ This study shall refer to the 'Unionist/Loyalist' faction as Loyalist it embodies the most passionate sectors of those who wish to see Northern Ireland remain as part of the United Kingdom. Unionist could of course range to those who support the idea of remaining as part of the UK, however do not vigorously promote the need to do so. Similarly, Republican shall be used to cover the 'Republican/Nationalist' community.

⁵⁴ McEvoy, *Politics of NI*: 8.

⁵⁵ Robert Kee, *Ireland: A History*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, 1980): 227-229.

African American movement in the United States, it campaigned against the social injustices faced by Catholics. 1969 saw a series of riots take place as Civil Rights marches were attacked by Protestant mobs, essentially sparking the flame of the Troubles. Fighting took hold of the streets of Derry, leading to the deployment of British troops in August of 1969, in an attempt to restore order. The scenes from these riots and the chaotic situation that resulted, led to sections of the IRA (known as Provisionals) to arm and launch itself into the conflict.⁵⁶ In the decades that followed, up until the Good Friday Agreement of 1999, the IRA fought Loyalist paramilitaries and British security forces and conducted numerous terrorist attacks against civilians, many of which took place on mainland Britain against non-Irish Britons. The terror campaign conducted by the IRA, got to the very heart of the British establishment. The 1984 Brighton hotel bombing, saw the then Prime Minister Margret Thatcher narrowly escaped injury, when an IRA bomb blew up the hotel hosting members of the Cabinet, attending the annual Conservative Party Conference. Other members of her party were not so fortunate. It is estimated that around 1,800 people were killed by the IRA since the 1960s; around 650 are thought to have been civilians.⁵⁷ Many civilians were also killed by Loyalist paramilitaries, who according to recent evidence, had some collusion with British security forces.⁵⁸ Despite a ceasefire and the Good Friday Agreement, the societal divide is still highly evident to this day.⁵⁹

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict has some similarities to the Troubles, notably the occurrence of terrorist attacks against civilians. While the Troubles appear to have ceased at the present, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict is still very much alive. The Conflict is part of the wider Arab-Israeli Conflict, which included multiple Arab states fighting against Israel during a number of wars; the most significant being the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, the Suez Crisis 1956, the Six-Day war of 1967, the Yom Kippur War of 1973, and the Israeli-Lebanese Conflict, which had its main phase between 1978-2006. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict however, focuses on the Palestinian fight for self-determination against Israel. While this Conflict has its origins in Jewish immigration from Europe during the first half of the 20th century, the 1970s saw its

⁵⁶ Kee, *Ireland*: 235-239.

⁵⁷ Brian Lavery, "I.R.A. Apologizes for Civilian Deaths in Its 30-Year Campaign", *The New York Times*, July 17, 2002, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/07/17/world/ira-apologizes-for-civilian-deaths-in-its-30-year-campaign.html>.

⁵⁸ "UK agents 'worked with NI paramilitary killers'", *BBC News*, May 28, 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-32887445>.

⁵⁹ Paul Nolan, "Two tribes: A divided Northern Ireland", *The Irish Times*, April 1, 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/two-tribes-a-divided-northern-ireland-1.3030921>.

intensification as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation launched attacks on Israel from Southern Lebanon. Strands of the PLO waged an international war against Israel, which saw hostage takings and killings, similar to that of the IRA and most notably during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich.⁶⁰ As the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories dragged on, two key uprisings took place; the First Intifada of 1987-1993 and the Second Intifada which lasted from 2000 to 2005. The First Intifada was characterised by many of the Palestinians who practiced non-violent forms of resistance, such as boycotts and strikes. However, in a similar fashion to the 1969 riots in Northern Ireland, it soon set off an armed struggle which was suppressed by the Israelis.⁶¹ Also in a similar vein to the IRA, the Second Intifada and its aftermath saw the increase in Palestinian terrorist tactics, including bombings. The Palestinians have yet to achieve the same measure of success as the Republican cause in Northern Ireland. To achieve a power sharing deal, similar to that of in Stormont would appear to be far more difficult in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, due to territorial demands and concessions, along with the right of return, neither of which were issues during the Troubles. Both conflicts have in common the role of Britain in their partition. It is however Britain's relationship with Israel that will be most pertinent to the context of this study, viewing it alongside the opinion of the British public and Loyalists towards Israel.

Since Israeli independence was carved out of the British Mandate of Palestine in 1948, relations with Britain have been mostly positive. Israel can be considered an ally of the British state in the Middle-East, without any real cause for debate. Historically, the 1917 Balfour Declaration, provided the Zionist movement with the British government's endorsement of "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine.⁶² From this point onwards, Britain became historically etched into the pages of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Despite issues during the Mandate involving British attempts to curb Jewish immigration and a violent terrorist campaign led by Irgun and Lehi against the British administration; the outcome of Israeli independence essentially provided Britain with a stable ally in the Middle-East.⁶³ Israel's success during the 1948 War, won over the support of British Army High

⁶⁰ Anton La Guardia, *Holy Land, Unholy War*, (Croydon: John Murray, 2002):142-144.

⁶¹ La Guardia, *Holy Land*: 134.

⁶² Helen William, "Balfour Declaration centenary: Read the historic letter pledging British support for the creation of Israel", *The Independence*, November 2, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/balfour-declaration-read-full-text-israel-jewish-homeland-palestine-arthur-james-balfour-lord-a8033556.html>

⁶³ David Cronin, *Balfour's Shadow*, (London: Pluto Books, 2017): 60-61.

Command who were impressed with their victory. High Command, sought stronger ties with the Israelis, influencing the government towards this course of action. This came to fruition during the 1950s, when Britain provide Israel with sales of arms and technology. Britain struggled through this period to maintain a balancing act between the Israelis and the surrounding Arab states. It attempted to appear impartial, however it was well known that Britain, France and the United States had all signed a Tripartite agreement, which intended to assess arms deals with Middle Eastern States on a case by case basis. What became obvious, was that Israel was receiving the bulk of these weapons and had the greatest success in obtaining deals.⁶⁴ During the 1967 'Six-day War' Arab countries believed inaccurately that Britain, along with the United States, had lent air support to Israel. This seemed to push Britain further away from the Arab camp and at least appeared on the international stage, to be firmly on the side of Israel.⁶⁵ The good relationship with Israel certainly had its benefits for Britain. According to Rosemary Hollis, Israel's defeat of the Arab powers during the Six-day war, reduced tension for Britain in the Middle East, amidst calls to grant its remaining territories in the region independence.⁶⁶ Britain was able to secure a more peaceful transition of power in the Gulf States; leaving the British government with friendly ties and a series of treaties involving trade and defence cooperation.⁶⁷

Britain has continued its steady decline on the world stage and been forced to re-assess its position as a global power. Cooperation with the United States has become paramount and Britain has acted in support to US policy; more so since the 1990s and early 2000s. Its policy regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, has been to assist in the peace process, while allowing the US to take the lead in motivating that process.⁶⁸ More controversially, in 1979, Britain used its remaining influence on the United Nations Security Council to prevent Arab calls to conduct studies on Israeli nuclear capabilities.⁶⁹ Yet the relationship has proved to be far from perfect. Neill Lochery argues that British-Israeli relations have been in decline since the 1970s, with 1976 being a defining year. The aftermath of the Arab oil embargo, following the 1973 Yom Kippur war, led Britain to push for better relations with the Arab states in

⁶⁴ Cronin, *Balfour's Shadow*: 79-80.

⁶⁵ Frank Brenchley, *Britain, the Six-day War and its Aftermath*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005): 124.

⁶⁶ Rosemary Hollis, *Britain in the Middle East During the 9/11 Era*, (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 19.

⁶⁷ Hollis, *Britain in the ME*: 19.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*: 70-86.

⁶⁹ Cronin, *Balfour's Shadow*: 109.

order to maintain her oil supply. This led to the comment from Lord Greville Janner, “Oil is thicker than Jewish blood”.⁷⁰ Lochery, also argues that Britain’s entry into the European Economic Community further complicated her relationship with Israel. He claims that French pro-Arab views were dominant within the EEC and Britain was forced to subscribe to this.⁷¹ However, the Brexit vote in June of 2016 could make this argument void in the future.

Other diplomatic grievances have taken place during the formative years of the 21st century. However, despite these grievances, it would be difficult to argue that the British government is not currently an ally of Israel. Recent statements from the British establishment make this clear. Former Prime Minister, David Cameron stated in an address to the Knesset in 2014, that Britain was committed to the provision of a peaceful and prosperous life for Jewish people in Israel and commented on a partnership between the two nations and a shared commitment to security.⁷² The current Prime Minister, Theresa May, in early November of 2017, stated that she was “proud of our pioneering role in the creation of the state of Israel.” This was at a dinner commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Balfour declaration.⁷³ Comments that certainly do no harm in reinforcing the strength of British-Israeli relations.

⁷⁰ Neill Lochery, “The British Foreign Office and Israel”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 46, no. 4, (2010): 497.

⁷¹ Lochery, “British Foreign Office”: 499.

⁷² “Full text of British PM David Cameron’s Knesset speech”, *Times of Israel*, March 12, 2014, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/full-text-of-british-pm-david-camerons-knesset-speech>.

⁷³ Patrick Wintour et al, “May lauds UK role in creation of Israel at Balfour centenary dinner”, *The Guardian*, November 2, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/02/may-netanyahu-balfour-declaration-israel-palestine>.

4. Empirical Evidence

4.1 Transformation of British Public Opinion

While the British government continues a policy of support for Israel, it is in the public sphere where a shift in opinion can be most detected. In the years immediately after Israel's independence, British public opinion was divided. In a 1949 poll of 2,000 British adults, when asked the question "What is your attitude towards recognition by the British Government of an independent Jewish State as part of Palestine?", the responses were mixed. 35% of men and 32% of women were in favour of recognising Israel, however 35% of the former were also against recognition and 16% of the later. There was also a large amount of the sample who were undecided on the issue, with 30% of men and 52% of women being in this category.⁷⁴ While support for Israel's existence was stable at this point, those opposed to it are significant in number. What must be remembered is the timing of this poll. Britain had withdrawn from Palestine the previous year, after fighting a costly war against Zionist terrorists. Indeed, the actions of the Zionist insurgency proved poignant in the eyes of the British public in the late 1940s. The two main insurgent groups, Irgun and Lehi conducted a campaign of terror against the British administration where calculated killings and bombings became commonplace. These tactics were viewed by paramilitary groups as necessary tools to allow for what they believed to be the liberation of the Jewish nation.⁷⁵ The Zionist insurgents were met with disdain in Britain and two damaging terrorist attacks led to a significant outcry. In July 1946, Irgun planted explosives in the British Military High Command in the King David Hotel, destroying part of the building and leaving countless British, Arab and Jewish personnel dead. It was claimed that everyone in the British Administration or army had an acquaintance or friend who was killed in the bombing. The British public's will for remaining in Palestine was virtually nullified.⁷⁶ The second, took place a year later in July of 1947. It was as a retaliation for the sentencing of two Irgun members to death. Two British Sergeants were abducted then later hanged with booby traps placed around their bodies. The response to this led Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin to tell US Secretary of State George Marshall that the executions "would never be forgotten" and that

⁷⁴ Mark Abrams, "British Opinion and Recognition of Israel", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13, no.1, (1949):129.

⁷⁵ Arie Perligner, *The Roots of Terrorism: Middle Eastern Terrorism*, (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2006):37

⁷⁶ Roger Louis, "British Imperialism and the End of the Palestine Mandate" in *The End of the Palestine Mandate*, eds. Roger Louis et al, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1986):10.

“anti-Jewish feeling in England is now greater than it had been in a hundred years”.⁷⁷ Indeed, this manifested itself in Britain with a wave of anger, creating anti-Jewish demonstrations and riots across the Country. These riots saw the burning down of a wooden Synagogue in Derby and Jewish shop keepers attacked in Glasgow. This all happened in spite of the condemnation of Irgun’s actions by the British Jewish community.⁷⁸ However, in Europe and the United States, the Holocaust was still a very recent event, which had led many to feel a great deal of sympathy for the Jews and their right to a homeland in Palestine. It was felt in some circles of the international community that after the ordeal which the Jewish people had gone through, they should be given what they desired.⁷⁹ However, the British experience in Palestine had been somewhat different. British soldiers serving in Palestine felt that the Jews were ungrateful for the protection provided to them and had little sympathy for their aims of a Jewish homeland.⁸⁰ It is clear, that mixed emotions were felt by the British public with regard to Israel’s independence.

It was during the 1950s and 60s that a major shift in British public opinion started to take place. Polls from 1955 and 1956 by Public Opinion Quarterly, had support for Israel, higher than the Arab States. The 1956 poll showed that 31% of Britons were supportive of Israel, compared to just 5% who backed Arab states.⁸¹ By the Six-Day War of 1967, support for Israeli had increased further. National Opinion Polls London, produced statistics shortly after the outbreak of war, found that 55% of those asked blamed the Arabs for the conflict. In contrast, just 3% believed that any of the responsibility for the war lay at Israel’s door.⁸² The reasons for such an increase in support for Israel, likely lie with several factors. Firstly, Israeli support can be partially attributed to the existence of animosity towards Arabs. The lack of support for Arabs in 1967, could be in part be due to the rise of Arab nationalism and Britain’s embarrassment during the Suez Crisis. Gamal Nasser’s collectivist call for unity in the Arab world against European colonialism, may have created an antagonistic “other” out of the Arab world. However, this appears to have been of more concern to the Foreign Office

⁷⁷ Louis, “British Imperialism”: 19.

⁷⁸ Daniel Trilling, “Britain’s last anti-Jewish riots”, *The New Statesman*, May 23, 2012, <https://www.newstatesman.com/2012/05/britains-last-anti-jewish-riots>.

⁷⁹ Michael Wolffsohn, *Eternal Guilt?*, (New York: New York University Press, 1993): 1.

⁸⁰ Naomi Shepard, *Ploughing sand*, (London: John Murray, 1999): 221.

⁸¹ Hazel Erskine, “The Polls: Western Partisanship in the Middle East”, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 33, no. 4, (1969): 628.

⁸² Erskine, “The Polls”: 635.

than the British Public, as there was a distinct lack of support for military action during Suez.⁸³ Orientalist discourses of Edward Said, would argue that the Arab had been vilified and dehumanised in the European mind for centuries.⁸⁴ This could have contributed to a racist attitude towards Arabs in Britain, where Jews were favoured over them. Without physical evidence this is difficult to prove, however the existence of an “orientalist tradition” would dictate that this was certainly possible.

Barnet Litvinoff, argues that the British public’s support for Israel came out of a romanticised view of the Jewish State. According to Litvinoff, Israel was seen as a sanctuary for those who had been oppressed and suffered persecution in their native lands. A poignant image was created of an oasis in the desert. The Jews were seen by the British public to have taken a land of desert and arid terrain and made it green and fruitful.⁸⁵ This was certainly an image promoted by the Israeli government; Shimon Peres was quoted as saying that the land prior to the arrival of the Zionists “was mostly an empty desert with only a few islands of Arab settlement; and Israel’s cultivable land today was indeed redeemed from swamp and wilderness”.⁸⁶ Alan George has questioned this, arguing that the expansion of cultivated land was under way before mass Zionist immigration.⁸⁷ However, the whole basis for his study was due to the belief in Western society that Israeli’s had single handedly reclaimed the land from the desert.⁸⁸ Indeed, the British Minister to Tel-Aviv in Clement Attlee’s government, Alexander Knox Helm, admitted that Israel as “good showmen and propagandists” had been successful in wooing the British public.⁸⁹

By the early years of the 21st century, this had all changed. Israel was no longer the ‘darling’ of the British public. Continued building of settlements in the West Bank and a long-standing occupation of the area had changed the way in which the British public perceive Israel. It was no longer looked upon as a place of refuge but rather an oppressor of Palestinian Arabs. As far back as 1980, Litvinoff argued that even the Jewish population in Britain had become

⁸³ Jean Owen, “The Polls and Newspaper Appraisal of the Suez Crisis”, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21, no. 3, (1957): 353.

⁸⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (London: Penguin Books, 1978): 65-67.

⁸⁵ Barnet Litvinoff, “The Fall from Grace of Zionism”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 10, no. 1, (1980): 185.

⁸⁶ Shimon Peres, *David’s Sling*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970): 249.

⁸⁷ Alan George, ““Making the Desert Bloom” A Myth Examined”, *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 8, no. 2, (1979): 100.

⁸⁸ George, “Desert Bloom”: 89.

⁸⁹ Natan Aridan, *Britain, Israel and Anglo-Jewry 1949-57*, (London: Routledge, 2004): 44.

tired of Israel's expansion into the Palestinian Territories.⁹⁰ This notion has been reinforced in more recent years by Matthew Gould, the former British Ambassador to Israel, who claimed he had "detected a shift" in support for Israel within Britain. Gould also noted that this was no longer a fringe boycott movement but rather a mainstream view, which had been cultivated due to the expansion of settlements and stories about atrocities in the West Bank and Gaza.⁹¹ Polling supports these statements: In 2014, a YouGov poll found that only around 16% of Britons were sympathetic towards Israel, in comparison to 22% towards Palestine. Those in the 18 to 24-year-old bracket, were even less supportive of Israel, with only 10% identifying as pro-Israeli.⁹² As part of this shift away from Israel, multiple diplomatic grievances have taken place between Britain and Israel, along with countless acts of public outcry in Britain aimed at Israel. Some of these topics and events shall be discussed further in the following sections.

4.2 Loyalist Contrast: Rise and Continuation Solidarity

While the public in the United Kingdom has clearly shifted their support away from Israel during the latter half of the 20th century and more so during the formative years of the 21st century, this is not the case in of all the UK. Political allegiances may sway support for Israel one way or another, but this is generally down to the individual preference. It is uncommon for the vast majority of a community to support one side. In the UK, one such pro-Israeli community does exist; the Loyalist community of Northern Ireland. It is important to remember, the significance that Loyalists place on being British. Within the Loyalist community, symbols of both British history and achievement, alongside protestant history in Ireland, such as the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, are at the heart of their culture.⁹³ The website of the DUP, before mentioning any of their economic or social policies, stresses several times that the party's purpose is to "maintain and enhance Northern Ireland's

⁹⁰ Litvinoff, "Fall from Grace": 185.

⁹¹ Adrian Blomfield, "British public opinion turning against Israel, warns ambassador", *The Telegraph*, August 3, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/9450083/British-public-opinion-turning-against-Israel-warns-ambassador.html>

⁹² Will Dahlgreen, "Israel and Palestine: whose side is Britain on?", *YouGov UK*, March 11, 2014, <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2014/03/11/israel-and-palestine-whose-side-britain/>.

⁹³ Ronnie Moore et al, "Formations of Culture: Nationalism and Conspiracy Ideology in Ulster Loyalism", *Anthropology Today*, 18, no. 6, (2002): 11.

constitutional position within the United Kingdom”. In fact, the UK is referred to five times in a mission statement consisting of merely 200 words.⁹⁴

Despite the strong desire to be part of British society, there has been an interesting shift that has manifested itself since 2002, with regard to views on Israel. In April 2002, during the height of the Palestinian uprising, the Second Intifada, a unique characteristic appeared on the streets of Belfast. Both the *Belfast News Letter* and the Republican *Irish News*, reported that Israeli flags were making an appearance across the city in Loyalist areas. This was viewed as a reaction to the presence of Palestinian flags in Republican areas.⁹⁵ What began as a series of flags across Belfast, has become part of Loyalist symbolism and ideology. Graffiti and murals appeared with slogans, such as ‘The West Bank of the Lagan (a unionist area) backs Ariel Sharon’.⁹⁶ Association with conflicts in other parts of the world is common in Northern Ireland.⁹⁷ However, Republicans are more likely to use international symbols than Loyalists, who generally stick to British symbols and those of their own Protestant heritage.⁹⁸ This adds an extra air of interest to the Israeli dynamic. What is also interesting, is that Loyalist solidarity with Israel has since 2002, has been increasingly expressed by Unionist politicians. Several members of the DUP have defended and declared support for Israel, including senior MP’s, Ian Paisley Jr. and Jeffrey Donaldson.⁹⁹ Concern was even raised by former DUP Lord Mayor, Brian Kingston when Omar Barghouti, the leader of Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions, visited Belfast in 2017, due to fear he might “increase tensions in the city”.¹⁰⁰

Aside from the examples of Loyalist expressions of solidarity with Israel, much can be gleaned from the pages of the *Belfast News Letter*. What is particularly revealing, is the *News Letter*’s reporting of issues and news stories related to Israel. Many of these articles and opinion pieces have a clear pro-Israeli bias, thus providing an example of the rise of Loyalist

⁹⁴ “Our Vision”, About Us, DUP, accessed November 22, 2017, <http://www.mydup.com/about-us>.

⁹⁵ Hill et al, “Flying Israeli Flags”: 33.

⁹⁶ Doyle, “Irish Nationalism”: 4.

⁹⁷ Kris Brown et al, “Public attitudes toward Partisan and Neutral Symbols in Post-Agreement Northern Ireland,” *Identities*, 10, no.1, (2010): 83-84.

⁹⁸ Rolston, “Brothers”: 466.

⁹⁹ “Proxy Wars: A distant conflict resonates in Northern Ireland”, *The Economist*, August 3, 2017, <https://www.economist.com/news/britain/21725795-catholics-and-protestants-have-strong-views-about-israel-and-palestine-distant-conflict>.

¹⁰⁰ “DUP concern over visit by anti-Israeli campaigner”, *Belfast Telegraph*, July 3, 2017, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/dup-concern-over-visit-by-antiisraeli-campaigner-35887824.html>.

solidarity with Israel and insight into the reasons behind this stance. What is so apparent from the *News Letter*, is the greater presence of articles supporting Israel since 2002. In the appendix, three charts have been drawn up, to show the bias within *News Letter* articles. Bias was interpreted as praise for Israeli actions and a distinct lack of criticism when suitable, or positive connotations of Israel in contrast to the negative image of Palestine. The results for these charts have been divided into three categories: pro-Israeli, anti-Israeli and neutral/irrelevant. It is worth noting, that the neutral/irrelevant position is the most significant in all three charts. This is in part due to the fact that the removal of articles that lacked relevance would have made any attempt to replicate the charts impossible, due to interpretational differences in textual analysis.

Figure 1 shows prior to 2002, mainly non-partisan reporting from the *News Letter* on issues relating to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. The majority of articles are either neutral in their reporting or lack relevance, such as scientific developments involving Israeli scientists or human-interest stories. A level of objectivity is usually expected with a newspaper, and there is no exception during this period. Many of these articles objectively deal with reports on the peace process and internal Israeli politics. Out of the 26 articles available during this four-year period, two showed signs of Israeli bias and two Palestinian. These results show an impartial newspaper, as there is no distinct bias towards either side in the Conflict. Those articles with bias do not appear to show any upward trend but rather appear sporadically.¹⁰¹

As been noted by Hill et al, the increased prevalence of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict appears in 2002 and continues from then onwards. Figure 2 shows that this rise was sharp. Close to half the articles produced relating to Israel in 2002 showed signs of pro-Israeli bias, in contrast to just two negative articles about Israel. 2002, also has the greatest quantity of articles produced in relation to Israel with 22, discussing the Jewish State. The rapid increase in not only pro-Israeli support in the *News Letter*, but also discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, can in part be connected to the emergence of Israeli flags in Loyalist areas in response to the Palestinian flags amongst Republicans, as described by Hill et al.¹⁰² Interestingly, after 2002, while the quantity of articles related to Israel gradually decreases, the inclusion of articles supporting Israel does not. Equally surprising is that there are no

¹⁰¹ See Appendix: Figure 1.

¹⁰² Hill et al, "Flying Israeli Flags": 33.

signs of anti-Israeli articles from 2003 onwards.¹⁰³ Figure 3 provides a more detailed look at the articles available on the online archive of the *News Letter* between 2009 and the end of December 2017. Many of these articles are opinion pieces from the Loyalist public, some of which shall be discussed in this section. The results of Figure 3 show that out of 152 articles, 38% displayed a pro-Israeli bias, in contrast to just 8% which held any anti-Israeli views or criticism.¹⁰⁴ While these charts do not show an exact uphill trend in pro-Israeli bias, it is clear that there has been a major shift towards support of Israel from 2002 onwards. It is also worth noting that the current Likud government's victory in 2009, appears to have had little or no impact on the continuation of articles that support Israel. The rhetoric of Likud, in commemorating Zionist terrorists, would lead us to expect that Loyalist support would decrease at this point. If anything, since 2009 there appears to have been a slight upsurge in pro-Israeli pieces in the *News Letter*.

When engaging with a selection of these articles, we see examples of the bias that has continued from 2002. In reporting the 2008-09 Gaza War, the *News Letter* paid more attention to opinion in Northern Irish circles, than the actual conflict. Events surrounding the conflict were to an extent relayed through an article which centred around a Belfast Protestant Pastor who defended the military actions of Israel in Gaza. It sympathetically explains that the Pastor, Paul Burns, had a Jewish uncle who escaped Austria as the Nazis arrived in 1938. Burns, then explains his reasons for supporting Israel's military action in Gaza. He equates Nazi desires to "exterminate" the Jews and a similar message from "Muslim clerics" in the countries surrounding Israel. Bizarrely, this small lead-in, is juxtaposed to the rest of the article which mentions calls for peace from religious and political figures. The article also avoids any real discussion of more controversial debates such as the "humanitarian crisis". Instead it focuses more on the British government's call for a ceasefire.¹⁰⁵

Several other articles also displayed pro-Israeli sentiment in 2009. One article, gave a message of support to Israel from the Loyalist community in Northern Ireland. Both the DUP and Traditional Unionist Voice, stated that the international outrage surrounding the actions of Israel, did not consider the "thousands of rocket attacks" that Israel had experienced from the terrorists. The article quoted TUV MEP Jim Allister as saying that Hamas' "murderous

¹⁰³ See Appendix: Figure 2.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix: Figure 3.

¹⁰⁵ "Pastor with holocaust links defends strikes", *News Letter*, December 30, 2008, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/pastor-with-holocaust-links-defends-strikes-1-1879841>.

mayhem” against citizens, “fully entitled” Israel to defend itself. Allister then immediately linked this to Irish Republicanism, claiming he was “not surprised that *Sinn Fein*, whose IRA also cared nothing for civilians, are loud apologists for the Palestinian terrorist cause”.¹⁰⁶ Another article told of the fear Israeli workers in Belfast had for their safety during a demonstration by the Republican group *Eirigi*, calling for a “boycott of Israeli goods”. The article indicates that the stalls owned by the Israelis, selling Dead Sea products were “stormed” by the protestors and an attempt to “trash” them was made. At a later point in the article, a quote is given; “People are only getting one side of the conflict now – it’s not objective”. This is mentioned immediately after the paper reminds the reader that Israel endured Hamas bombing before the commencing of the conflict.¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, a video of the protest can be found on Youtube. While the protest is perhaps intimidating, there is little evidence of an attempt to ‘trash the stalls’, other than propaganda pamphlets being dropped from the floor above by *Eirigi*.¹⁰⁸

What is so striking about the *News Letters* articles, is the way in which they deviate from the mainstream British media. Left of centre papers such as the *Independent* and the *Guardian*, published articles during the 2008-09 conflict that could be considered critical of Israel.^{109 110} Even the more unionist-light paper the *Belfast Telegraph*, published articles that reported on the suffering of Palestinians during the conflict.¹¹¹ The nearest criticism Israel receives in any article from the *News Letter* is that she must do more to end the conflict. Yet these articles still contain comments such as “Israel must assert its dominance over Hamas”¹¹² and “The Israeli cause has the sympathy of many people in Northern Ireland, who know the pain and

¹⁰⁶ “Unionists back Israel over Gaza crisis”, *News Letter*, January 06, 2009, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/politics/unionists-back-israel-over-gaza-crisis-1-1880065>.

¹⁰⁷ “Israeli workers tell of fear at Gaza protests”, *News Letter*, January 13, 2009, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/israeli-workers-tell-of-fear-at-gaza-protests-1-1880347>.

¹⁰⁸ *Eirigi*, “Stop the Slaughter in Gaza”, Youtube video, January 11, 2009, https://www.youtube.com/watch?hl=en-GB&gl=GB&v=y4GJoeHIU_w&eurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishrepublican.net%2Fforum%2Fshowthread.php%3Ft%3D25847.

¹⁰⁹ Jon Snow, “Gaza: War, from a distance”, *the Independent*, January 19, 2009, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/tv-radio/gaza-war-from-a-distance-1419147.html>.

¹¹⁰ Clancy Chassay et al, “Guardian investigation uncovers evidence of alleged Israeli war crimes in Gaza”, *the Guardian*, March 24, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/mar/23/israel-gaza-war-crimes-guardian>.

¹¹¹ “Gaza horror: Another family lay buried in the rubble”, *Belfast Telegraph*, January 6, 2009, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/world-news/gaza-horror-another-family-lay-buried-in-rubble-28461058.html>.

¹¹² “Gaza burns while the world fiddles”, *News Letter*, January 6, 2009, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/gaza-burns-while-the-world-fiddles-1-1880064>.

suffering brought by years of terrorist atrocities and share the feeling of isolation from world opinion”.¹¹³ This is a clear indication of the *News Letter*'s Loyalist sympathies towards Israel. When Britain's relationship with Israel has made the national headlines, the *News Letter*, despite Loyalist support for Britain, has often expressed divergent views from the British government and public in general. In fact, it could be argued that they regularly take the side of Israel before Britain. In 2014, Labour MP Grahame Morris brought forward a motion to urge the Government to “recognise the state of Palestine, alongside the state of Israel” to promote a negotiated two-state solution. Out of 274 votes, 262 voted in favour of the motion and 12 against.¹¹⁴ Of those against, five were from the DUP. It was reported in the *News Letter* that the vote legitimised Hamas, and the DUP stated that those MPs who had voted in favour of the motion were not to blame, but rather they had been misinformed.¹¹⁵

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign, has gained a reasonable amount of traction in the UK. As of 2017, 16 British Universities have joined the BDS movement.¹¹⁶ The *News Letter* has been critical of the movement and its intentions. In October of 2016, it suggested that councillors in Londonderry (Derry to Republicans), should give up their council-issued iPads, as they used flash memory which was produced by Israeli company Anobit. Within the article, it used quotes from DUP Member of the Legislative Assembly, Gary Middleton, which referred to BDS as “discriminatory” and “futile” due to the wide usage of items with Israeli products in them.¹¹⁷

There are important news stories in relation to British diplomatic grievances with Israel, that do not appear on either the *News Letter*'s online archive, or the Factiva Database. For example, events that received a high amount of coverage in the British mainstream media; such as the usage of forged British passports by Mossad, during an assassination in Dubai in

¹¹³ “Time to step back from abyss”, *News Letter*, January 12, 2009, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/time-to-step-back-from-abyss-1-1880267>.

¹¹⁴ Oliver Wright, “Palestine vote: MPs take historic decision to recognise Palestinian state”, *the Independent*, October 13, 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/palestine-vote-mps-take-historic-decision-to-recognise-palestinian-state-9792485.html>.

¹¹⁵ “Vote to recognise a Palestinian State ‘regrettable’: MLA”, *News Letter*, October 15, 2014, in Factiva Database, <https://global-factiva-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/redirect/default.aspx?P=sa&NS=16&AID=9LEI000700&an=BELNEL0020141016eaf0000x&cat=a&ep=ASI>

¹¹⁶ “BDS: The boycott Israel movement spreading across UK universities”, *the Week*, April 27, 2017, <http://www.theweek.co.uk/84034/bds-the-boycott-israel-movement-spreading-across-uk-universities>.

¹¹⁷ “Israeli boycott: Are councillors prepared to give up their iPads?” *News Letter*, October 4, 2016, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/israeli-boycott-are-councillors-prepared-to-give-up-their-ipads-1-7610561>.

2010 and the attempt by British lawyers and activists to have both Israeli Defence Minister Ehud Barak and Major-General Doron Almog arrested on British soil. Of course, the paper is a regional paper, it has no obligation to report on all world events. However, these instances, particularly the passport fraud of 2010, received widespread coverage in the UK, from multiple news outlets.¹¹⁸ Several Irish national's passports were also used in the scandal, so it appears odd that the *News Letter* did not cover this story. Following this, the Republic of Ireland expelled an Israeli diplomat, which was again not reported by the *News Letter*.¹¹⁹ This could potentially suggest that the *News Letter* did not wish to publish these stories. It was perhaps felt that the negative press for Israel over these incidents was something that could be avoided; it may have provided an opportunity for criticism of Israel therefore risking a backlash from the Loyalist readership.

Instances do exist of criticisms of Israel in the *News Letter*, as shown in Figure 3. Gary Spedding is perhaps the most prominent of these, a Belfast resident whose vocal criticism of Israel saw him deported from the Middle East to Britain, for what Israeli authorities referred to as “a violent protest” in Belfast in the months prior to his visit.¹²⁰ In the period following his return to the UK, Spedding wrote opinion pieces for the *News Letter*, where he criticised Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories and the heavy-handedness of the IDF towards the Arab population.¹²¹ The reaction his writing received in the *News Letter* was overwhelmingly negative. It accused of Spedding of being a leader of a protest with “anti-Semitic undertones”. Readers and staff argued that Israel had every right to remove Spedding, despite him not being involved in any violence during the protest. It was then claimed that support for pro-Palestinian causes are easily “hijacked” by “anti-democratic” and “anti-Semitic” elements, requiring Israel to be even more careful with the likes of Spedding.¹²² The constant need to rebuke any articles critical of Israel has continued to the

¹¹⁸ Martin Evans, “Dubai Hamas assassination: ‘Israeli hit-squad’ used fake British passports”, *the Telegraph*, February 17, 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/dubai/7251265/Dubai-Hamas-assassination-Israeli-hit-squad-used-fake-British-passports.html>.

¹¹⁹ Mary Fitzgerald, “Israeli official expelled over use of fake passports”, *The Irish Times*, June 16, 2010, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/israeli-official-expelled-over-use-of-fake-passports-1.678818>.

¹²⁰ “Gary Spedding deported from Israel and back in UK”, *BBC News*, January 11, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-25688529>.

¹²¹ Gary Spedding, “Israel subjects Palestinians to expulsion, occupation and abuse”, *News Letter*, October 23, 2014, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/opinion/israel-subjects-palestinians-to-expulsion-occupation-and-abuse-1-7027337>.

¹²² “Israel has good reason to be wary of Gary Spedding”, *News Letter*, January 13, 2014, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/opinion/israel-has-good-reason-to-be-wary-of-gary-spedding-1-5803717>.

present day. It appears that when an individual writes a piece critical of Israel, it is necessary for a member of the Loyalist community to safeguard Israel's honour. A 2017 article of Speeding's criticising Israel's human rights record, was criticised by Colin Nevin for its "very disturbing tone"¹²³

Writers appear to be on the defensive in most of these articles and appear convinced that the wider media is anti-Israeli. Many refer to Israel as "the only democracy in the Middle East" and find it shameful that it receives such a great degree of condemnation from the international community, particularly considering the poor record of free speech, treatment of women and homosexuals in neighbouring states.¹²⁴ Ironically, the DUP are in favour of Northern Ireland continuing to be the only part of the United Kingdom where gay marriage is prohibited.¹²⁵ Pro-Israeli articles seem to be a response to international and local criticism of Israel. One article even promoted a campaign to "stop Israel bashing" after the UN women's rights commission's singled out Israel over treatment of Palestinian women¹²⁶ There is also an element of projection, linking the situation in Israel and Palestine, to that of Northern Ireland; an article even stated that Loyalists and Israelis shared "common values" in the face of terror.¹²⁷ Analysing the articles of the *News Letter* can provide us with a possible explanation as to why the rise in Figure 2 is not continuous; Loyalists appear to jump to Israel's defence after it has been criticised, rather than take the offensive and continuously promote Israel.

4.3 The Likud Conundrum

In this section, the actions of the ruling Likud government in Israel, in commemorating members of Irgun and Lehi shall be discussed. The section shall also shed light on the reception these commemorations have had within British circles. Finally, it shall analyse the

¹²³ Colin Nevin, "Israel will be around for some time", *News Letter*, June 10, 2017, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/israel-will-be-around-for-some-time-1-8002926>.

¹²⁴ Monique Walsh et al "Irony of absurd Israeli boycott", *News Letter*, February 22, 2014, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/irony-of-absurd-israeli-boycott-1-5895442>.

¹²⁵ "DUP 'will keep blocking same-sex marriage in NI'", *ITV News*, October 27, 2016, <http://www.itv.com/news/utv/2016-10-27/dup-will-keep-blocking-same-sex-marriage-in-ni/>.

¹²⁶ Doris Cotton, "Help us to stop the Israel bashing", *News Letter*, October 10, 2017, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/help-us-to-stop-the-israel-bashing-1-8190512>.

¹²⁷ "Israel ought to be Europe's key ally in the Middle East", *News Letter*, November 12, 2015, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/opinion/israel-ought-to-be-europe-s-key-ally-in-the-middle-east-1-7062897>.

impact upon Loyalist solidarity and look to see if the history of the past 70 years has been recognised by Loyalist discourse surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.

The origin of the Likud party is steeped in the Zionist terrorist actions of the 1930s and 40s. The forerunners of the party stemmed from the right-wing of the Zionist movement in the 1920s known as the Revisionist movement. The Revisionists, would later go on to create the paramilitary organisations, including Irgun, who became renowned for their terrorist activity against the British and Arabs in the late 30s, until Israeli independence in 1948.¹²⁸ After independence, members of the Irgun formed part of the Israeli political right, the core of this being the Herut Party, led by former Irgun leader, Menachem Begin. In 1973, Begin was chosen to lead a united group of parties including Herut, the Liberal Party, Free Centre, the Labour Movement for Greater Israel and the National List, which established themselves as the Likud Party. The party prided itself on the preservation of Jewish tradition and culture and was also ideologically committed to “historic Eretz Yisrael”; the expansion of Israeli rule over territory mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures as having been at one time under Jewish rule.¹²⁹ This ideological motive has been controversial in the eyes of the world and has led the party to adopt a hard line towards the conditions surrounding potential Palestinian statehood. Likud has been continuously in power since 2009, with the election of Benjamin Netanyahu, who had already served a term as Prime Minister between 1996 to 1999.

While the Israeli government often claims to be at the forefront of fighting terrorism, their perception of the actions by Irgun and Lehi (also known as the Stern Gang) does not fit the common world view. Not only have former members of Zionist terror organisations, such as Begin and fellow former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, found political success within parties such as Likud but they have also been cast in Israeli history as heroes. During his premiership, Shamir created a Lehi Museum and Archives in remembrance of former “freedom fighters” who committed acts of violence against the British administration and civilians.¹³⁰ Since the start of the 21st century, it appears that acts of commemoration for such groups has increased, as milestone anniversaries have approached. In 2011, to mark 70 years since his death, Avraham Stern, a leader of the Irgun, was commemorated with a postage stamp. Stern also had a town named after him *Kokhav Ya'ir*, Ya'ir's star (Stern's alias).

¹²⁸ Mark Tessler, “The Political Right in Israel”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 15, no. 2, (1986): 20.

¹²⁹ Elfi Pallis, “The Likud Party: A Primer”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 21, no. 2, (1992): 43.

¹³⁰ Shlomo Shpiro, “The Intellectual Foundations of Jewish National Terrorism”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25, no. 4, (2013):618.

Monuments have been erected in honour of Irgun casualties such as in Tel-Aviv in 2016, where a monument was created to honour the victims of the Altalena affair. The incident saw 16 members of the Irgun killed by the Israeli Defence Forces after refusing to handover arms. The Altalena has become symbolic of the confrontation between the left and the right in Israel and the commemoration of this continues Likud's rhetoric.¹³¹ Netanyahu has even taken umbrage over others daring to classify Irgun and Lehi as terrorist organisations. According to the mouthpiece of religious Zionism, *Arutz Sheva*, the IDF Education and Youth Corps referred to Irgun and Lehi as "organisations of terrorism". After getting wind of the report from *Arutz Sheva*, Netanyahu was reportedly outraged and demanded that the document containing the reference be taken down immediately. The document was then removed, to prevent further use by IDF officers and instructors.¹³²

Commemorations of the Irgun and Lehi have not gone unnoticed in the UK. It has created tension between the British government and Israel. The most significant instance of this was in July of 2006, when a decision was made by the Israeli government to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the bombing of the King David Hotel. Outside of the hotel, a plaque was unveiled that read:

*"The hotel housed the Mandate Secretariat as well as the Army Headquarters. On July 22, 1946, Irgun fighters at the order of the Hebrew Resistance Movement planted explosives in the basement. Warning phone calls had been made urging the hotel's occupants to leave immediately. For reasons known only to the British, the hotel was not evacuated and after 25 minutes the bombs exploded, and to the Irgun's regret and dismay 91 persons were killed."*¹³³

The plaque rounded off an academic conference held by the Menachem Begin Heritage Centre, which Netanyahu addressed.¹³⁴ At the hotel, several right-wing politicians from the Likud Party were in attendance and the plaque was unveiled by former Irgun fighters. The British Foreign Office, expressed anger, particularly over the line that claimed the British had been warned of the attack. The British ambassador to Israel, Simon MacDonald condemned

¹³¹ "New memorial to Altalena victims erected in Tel Aviv", *The Times of Israel*, October 18, 2016, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/new-memorial-to-altalena-victims-erected-in-tel-aviv/>.

¹³² "PM wants to know: Who compared Irgun and Lehi to terrorist organisations", *Arutz Sheva*, June 8, 2017, <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/230783>.

¹³³ Harry de Quetteville, "Israel celebrates Irgun hotel bombers", *The Telegraph*, July 22, 2006, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1524552/Israel-celebrates-Irgun-hotel-bombers.html>.

¹³⁴ Tom Segev, "The Spirit of the King David Hotel", *Haaretz*, July 23, 2006, <https://www.haaretz.com/the-spirit-of-the-king-david-hotel-1.193571>.

the commemorations. He stated, “There is no credible evidence that any warning reached the British authorities” and argued that the whole commemoration was immoral; “We do not think it is right for an act of terrorism to be commemorated”. In light of considerable pressure the plaque was amended, to drop the insinuation that the British had been made aware, prior to the bombing.¹³⁵

Awareness of this issue in Northern Ireland has been minimal. The *News Letter* did not report on the issue surrounding the plaque on the King David Hotel. The Loyalists don’t appear to have had any discussions about their Israeli comrades commemorating the killings of British soldiers. Perhaps it is an issue worth avoiding, something that risks over complicating and even jeopardising their solidarity. On the internet, small blog posts and articles do exist that question the Loyalist relationship with Israel, considering Israel’s past. One such article, entitled “Unionism and Israel: Holy Land is not a hotter version of Ulster...” was posted on Northern Irish news and opinion portal *Sluggor O’Toole* in 2010. In the article, a self-proclaimed “liberal unionist” under the alias of *Dodrade*, writes a scathing attack of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, being utilised as a proxy war in Northern Ireland. The bulk of this criticism falls on the Loyalist/Unionist camp for its solidarity with Israel, which the author does not share, “in remembrance of the victims of Zionist terrorism against the British”.¹³⁶ The article’s obvious attempts to generate some kind of debate seems to have failed; the vast majority of the comments section does not debate the concerns the author has raised but rather dissolves into a morass of esoteric tribalism that is essentially “Israel vs. Palestine” and “Republicans vs. Loyalists”.

While a single article on a weblog is not likely to fuel the fires of debate, the *News Letter* published an article back in 2002, that quotes from Ulster Unionist Party MLA Esmond Birine, who also questioned the solidarity link. At the point of publishing, Birine was the MLA for Belfast South; claimed by the *New Statesman* to be one of the most closely contested seats between Loyalist/Unionists and Republicans in Northern Ireland.¹³⁷ In his article, Birnie questions the support of Israel by his fellow Loyalists. The issue was brought

¹³⁵ Quetteville, “Israel”.

¹³⁶ Dodrade, “Unionism and Israel”, *Sluggor O’Toole*, June 8, 2010, https://sluggorotoole.com/2010/06/08/unionism-and-israel-holy-land-is-not-a-hotter-version-of-ulster/#disqus_thread.

¹³⁷ Patrick Maguire, “View from Belfast South: the battle for the most diverse seat in Northern Ireland”, *The New Statesman*, June 5, 2017, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2017/06/view-belfast-south-battle-most-diverse-seat-northern-ireland>.

to Birnie's attention by the flag display, as described by Hill et al. The unorthodox element to Birnie's argument is that he makes connections between Zionism and Irish Republicanism, whilst focusing on both groups guerrilla conflicts against Britain. He asks Loyalists who fly the Israeli flag to consider the acts of Zionist terrorism against the British in Palestine and asserts there to be "no real linkage with unionism/loyalism to be celebrated". The article mentions one response to Birnie, which comes from "a senior Loyalist" who states that the affiliation is purely down to a response to pro-Palestinian sentiment in the Republican camp; "if one side said we're supporting Argentina, the other will say we back Uruguay". Oddly enough, the "senior Loyalist" then goes on to link Protestant Orangeism with "the life of Israel and the five-point Star of David".¹³⁸ This brief interaction, is the one of the closest instances of public debate within the Loyalist community on the issue.

¹³⁸ Gemma Murray, "Loyalist-Israel link questioned" *News Letter*, May 25, 2002, in Factiva Database, <https://global-factiva-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/redirect/default.aspx?P=sa&an=belnel0020020527dy5p00018&cat=a&ep=ASE>.

5. Analysis of the Loyalist Case

5.1: The ‘Siege Mentality’

In many of the studies that tackle Loyalist solidarity with Israel, it is found that many Loyalists site a “siege mentality” and similarities with the Israeli position, as one of the key reasons for their solidarity. They believe that they share a similar position geopolitically, both being surrounded by enemies. It is argued, that both are engaged in a fight against terrorism and a hostile indigenous “other.” There is also the view that the international community is against both Israel and the existence of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom. With the Good Friday Agreement of 1999, the future position of the Loyalist community appeared uncertain, therefore seeking out of allies is not an unexpected move. The question remains, have strong similarities with Israel led to an increased expression of solidarity with Israel?

The similarities with Israel which Loyalists appear to identify with, can be placed into three categories; siege mentality, fighting terrorism and the perception of the international community. Arar would argue that through borrowed legitimacy, any comparison, regardless of how minor, can be utilised to provide legitimacy in maintaining ethnic boundaries.¹³⁹ However, if those similarities are more significant, Arar would argue, there is more to Loyalist solidarity than an attempt just to antagonise Republicans. The lack of discourse around Zionist terrorists amongst Loyalist communities suggests that solidarity with Israel has significance; it is a relationship they wish to maintain.

One of the most common assumptions made by Loyalists is that both their community and Israel are in a state of siege. This has been mentioned in a wide selection of studies, including Doyle (2007), Rolston (2009) and Hill et al (2008). What is difficult understand is the exact nature of the threat to the Loyalists, particularly in the present day. Israel is perceived to be facing a siege from the Arab nations that surround its borders and an element of this is attacks from Palestinian terrorism.¹⁴⁰ However in Northern Ireland, since the Good Friday Agreement, the Republican terrorist threat to Loyalists has been greatly reduced, apart from a few dissident republicans who did not accept the terms of the Agreement. Yet according to MI5, the attacks from dissident republican groups such Continuity IRA, the new IRA and *Óglaigh na hÉireann*, have been “steady” since 2000. Since the formation of dissident

¹³⁹ Arar, “International solidarity”: 2.

¹⁴⁰ Rolston, “Brothers”: 467.

groups, MI5 has counted five fatalities caused by the dissidents, all taking place between 2009 and 2012.¹⁴¹ All attacks were focused on members of the security forces, rather than the Loyalist community. Whilst MI5 does note the threat to life posed by these attacks, it is nowhere near the same quantity as in Israel. According to the Israeli government, since September 2015, 59 people have been killed and 827 people have been injured in relation to terrorism.¹⁴² The distinct decrease in terrorist activity directed towards them, would suggest that the Loyalist ‘siege mentality’ comes from some other issue in Northern Irish society.

It could be argued that demographics now pose the greatest threat to the Loyalist community. The Protestant community in Northern Ireland, to which Loyalists belong, has seen a downturn in their population share. The 2011 census in Northern Ireland showed that Protestants made up 48.36% of the population, in comparison to 45.15% who were Catholic.¹⁴³ This is a sharp change from the 2001 census, where Protestants made 53.13% of the population, while Catholics were at 43.76%.¹⁴⁴ This has led to more cause for concern being raised in the Loyalist community. Out of children born since 2008, 44% are Catholic and 31% Protestant. This leads to questions emerging over the future of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom, assuming that this religious demographic continues to hold traditional ideological positions, which seems likely. The Loyalist community is frantically trying to formulate a plan to divert, what appears to be inevitable.¹⁴⁵ This shows how Loyalists could feel threatened. However, this seems to have less in common with the Israeli state, where Arabs only make up a fifth of Israel’s population of 8 million, excluding the occupied Palestinian territories.¹⁴⁶ The imagery created by Loyalists has more similarities with Israeli settlements in the West Bank, considered illegal under international law; pockets

¹⁴¹ “Northern Ireland”, What we do, MI5 – The Security Service, accessed November 29, 2017, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/northern-ireland>.

¹⁴² “Wave of terror”, Foreign Policy, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed November 29, 2017, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Terrorism/Palestinian/Pages/Wave-of-terror-October-2015.aspx>.

¹⁴³ Northern Ireland Statistics & Research Agency, Census: Key Statistics for Northern Ireland, (2012), prepared by the Department of Finance and Personnel. (accessed November 30, 2017): 19.

¹⁴⁴ Northern Ireland Statistics & Research Agency, Northern Ireland Census: Key Statistics, (2001), prepared by National Statistics Publications. (accessed November 30, 2017): 20.

¹⁴⁵ David McWilliams, “Demographics are shifting towards a united Ireland – we must have a plan”, *The Belfast Telegraph*, June 26, 2017, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/news-analysis/demographics-are-shifting-towards-a-united-ireland-we-must-have-a-plan-35865222.html>.

¹⁴⁶ Uri Sadot, “Israel’s ‘Demographic Time Bomb’ Is a Dud”, *Foreign Policy*, December 18, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/12/18/israels-demographic-time-bomb-is-a-dud/>.

of gated communities surrounded by a hostile “other”. This is perhaps harking back to the historical memory of the first Ulster-Scots plantations during the 17th century.

Loyalists also draw comparisons with Israel, as a result of the treatment they receive from the international community. They do not perceive the international community as having any sympathy with their situation, similar to the pressure that they believe Israel continually faces.¹⁴⁷ According to Mitchell, whilst international law would dictate that the United Kingdom cannot abandon the Loyalist settlers in Northern Ireland, so long as they are a majority. They do not perceive there to be actual support for this in the International community who they believe would prefer to see a United Ireland.¹⁴⁸ This tends to stem from the republicans, presenting their ideology as anti-imperialist, seeking liberation from oppression, which is more likely to gain sympathy.¹⁴⁹ The settler position which loyalists hold, is not as attractive to the international community, as it smacks of colonialism. Thus, drawing comparisons to other British settler communities, such as Rhodesia in the 1960s and 70s.¹⁵⁰ Despite this perception, a united Ireland is not a major concern of the international community, which largely considers it as a decision for the people of Northern Ireland, even among those with republican sympathies. A good example of this would be the British Labour Party leader, Jeremy Corbyn.¹⁵¹ For Loyalists to claim that there is a similar degree of intensity amongst the international community, as is found regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, is quite frankly absurd. Significantly more pressure is placed upon Israel, not questioning its right to exist but on allowing Palestinian self-determination to coexist alongside it. Israel’s actions, such as continuing to allow settlements in the West Bank, is what fuels most criticism from the international community and United Nations.¹⁵² There are also international activist networks such as BDS that challenge Israel’s position in the Palestinian territories. The only real pressure that Loyalists face, is from their Republican

¹⁴⁷ Doyle, “Irish Nationalism”: 2.

¹⁴⁸ Mitchell, *Native vs. Settler*: 40.

¹⁴⁹ Rolston, “Brothers”: 448.

¹⁵⁰ Pamela Clayton, *Enemies and Passing Friends: settler ideologies in twentieth century Ulster*, (London: Pluto Press, 1996): 40-46.

¹⁵¹ “Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn defends republicans Troubles meetings”, *BBC News*, September 27, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-34370887>.

¹⁵² “Israel’s Settlements Have No Legal Validity, Constitute Flagrant Violation of International Law, Security Council Reaffirms”, *United Nations*, accessed December 5, 2017, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sc12657.doc.htm>.

rivals. The prevalent call is to sustain peace in Northern Ireland, not for the Loyalists to withdraw from republican territory.

Finally, Loyalists utilise the concept of a ‘united front’ against terrorism. The terrorist threat to the Loyalist community in Northern Ireland is no longer comparable to that of the Israelis. The Loyalist community has not been targeted in recent years by Republican dissidents, suggesting this is part of a historical emotion, a hangover of ‘siege mentality’. Yet Loyalists still staunchly claim to be standing against terrorism. They make much of *Sinn Fein*’s pro-Palestinian stance and their sympathies for Hamas. In taking this position, Loyalists make no mention of their own paramilitary organisations which existed during the Troubles. The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and Ulster Defence Association (UDA), the two main paramilitary organisations, were set up in 1965 to counter Republican attacks which were contributing to mounting unease in the Loyalist community. The strategies used by Loyalist paramilitary groups were similar to that of the IRA and other Republican terrorist groups. 40,000-50,000 men were members of the UDA alone, conducting a terrorist campaign against the IRA and the Catholic population.¹⁵³ Paramilitaries shot Catholic civilians indiscriminately and car bombs were commonplace.¹⁵⁴ There were also attempts to “frame” Republican groups for attacks on public services, when explosives were set off at power stations, water pipelines and reservoirs.¹⁵⁵ These strategies can be classed as acts of terror, damaging the Loyalist argument that they are opponents of terrorism and always have been. Interestingly, the Zionist terrorists of the 1940s, did actually have some connections to Northern Ireland. However, this was not with the Loyalists, which they conveniently forget, but rather the Republican movement. Zionists were inspired by the actions of the IRA fighting the British during the 1920s. Inspiration was drawn from the unity that was created amongst the Irish people, especially after the executions following the 1916 Easter Rising. Begin sought to learn from the IRA when he began his armed rebellion against the British in 1944; noting that guerrilla methods similar to those that had been deployed by the IRA, would be required if the Zionists were to have any success. There was even the adoption of code names related to the Anglo-Irish war, Shamir used “Michael” after Michael Collins, the head of the IRA.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Margaret Urwin, *A State in Denial*, (Cork: Mercier Press, 2016): 8.

¹⁵⁴ Lyndsey Harris, “Implications of a strategic analysis: the operational strategy of Loyalist paramilitaries”, *Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 4, no.1, (2012): 16.

¹⁵⁵ Urwin, *A State in Denial*, 6.

¹⁵⁶ Shulamit Eliash, *The Harp and Shield of David*, (London: Routledge, 2007): 7.

Aside from inspiration, there was also the very real link of Robert Briscoe. Briscoe was the son of Lithuanian Jews and served in the IRA during the Anglo-Irish war and would later serve in the Dail. He was an ardent Zionist and attempted to create links between the Irgun and the IRA. An arrangement was made by Briscoe to have all Irgun literature and documents printed in Dublin and organise an Irish volunteers battalion to help the Zionist cause. However, his plans did not come to fruition, despite remaining as a special advisor to Begin.¹⁵⁷ While this link may not be the strongest, it is another point that is rarely brought up by Loyalists. Birnie was quoted saying to the *News Letter* that connections existed between Irish Republicanism and Zionism, questioning why fellow Loyalists would chose to support Israel, regardless of this.¹⁵⁸ Similar to Zionist attacks against the British, this is another area that does not receive debate in Loyalist circles.

It is likely, that despite the decreased risk of terrorism in Northern Ireland for the Loyalists, the feeling of a siege mentality has increased. Demographics is certainly a factor in this, but the current political situation in Northern Ireland solidifies this notion. The Good Friday Agreement was not well received by all Loyalists. Whilst dramatically ending the violent aspects of the Conflict, the Agreement opened the door for a united Ireland by peaceful means through the Northern Ireland Assembly. Pdraig O'Malley argues that negotiations, including the Good Friday Agreement, have been viewed with great scepticism in sections of the Loyalist community. Loyalists viewing each negotiation as potentially leading to the unification of Ireland. This unification, he argues, would be considered by Loyalists as being "absorbed into and dominated by the larger Catholic culture, and that religious and cultural absorption would inevitability lead to extinction – ethnic cleansing of a different kind".¹⁵⁹ The post-Good Friday Agreement is not one that secures Loyalist dominance. As of the 2017 election, the Assembly has a near 50-50 split between Loyalists and Republicans. Out of the 90 seats in the Assembly, 40 are held by Loyalists and 39 by Republicans (11 seats assigned to "other"). The election saw *Sinn Fein* increase its vote share by 3.9% while the largest Loyalist party the DUP, lost around 1.1%.¹⁶⁰ The demographic shift in the country, in theory

¹⁵⁷ Rolston, "Brothers": 453.

¹⁵⁸ Murray, "Loyalist-Israel link questioned".

¹⁵⁹ Pdraig O'Malley, "Northern Ireland and South Africa", in *Northern Ireland and the Divided World*, ed. John McGarry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 281.

¹⁶⁰ "Results", Northern Ireland Assembly Election 2017, *BBC News*, accessed December 29, 2017, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election/ni2017/results>.

should swing future elections further in favour of Republican parties. Therefore, the Good Friday Agreement can be regarded as pivotal for Loyalists and their position in British society.

5.2 Loyalist Historic-Theological Memory

The role of religion in Loyalist society cannot be underestimated. Whilst much of Western society is witnessing an increase in secularisation and a move away from Christian values, religion continues to play a significant role in Northern Irish society. Church attendance may have declined; however Northern Ireland sees the greatest church attendance in the UK, with 45% of people still attending church weekly; that is not to say the other 55% is secular.¹⁶¹ According to Orla Muldoon et al, the process of secularisation in Northern Ireland has been at a significantly slower pace than that of neighbouring states. It is also worth noting that only 8% of people identified themselves as having no religious affiliation.¹⁶² What also must be recognised is the way in which the Protestant faith has influenced Loyalist culture, and the way they perceive themselves in the world. Faith, in the form of historic memory has played its part in Loyalist solidarity with Israel and is a potential factor for its rise in recent years. By going back to their forefathers, the Ulster-Scot settlers of the 17th century, a greater insight into the role of faith may be achieved. In addition, in more modern times, solidarity may find its links with forms of ‘British Israelism’ and ‘Christian Zionism’, similar to that witnessed in the United States. Many of the American Christian Zionists, have strong beliefs surrounding judgement day and the second coming of Christ, which could have an appeal amongst Loyalist Presbyterians. It is also worth exploring the significance of Biblical Israel within Loyalist culture, which may explain the reluctance of Loyalists are to tackle Israeli on Zionist terrorism.

Historically, the majority of Loyalists are descendants of Presbyterians who came from the Scottish Lowlands. They settled in Ulster from 1606, during the reign of James VI & I. The aim was to transform the Irish landscape, to bring “the light of civilization to a benighted

¹⁶¹ Jacinta Ashworth et al, “Churchgoing in the UK”, *Tearfund Report*, (2007):10.

¹⁶² Orla Muldoon et al, “Religious and National Identity after the Belfast Good Friday Agreement”, *Political Psychology*, 28, no. 1, (2007):91.

Celtic backwater”.¹⁶³ They were culturally distinguishable from the indigenous Catholic population and within a short period of time, gained hegemony over them. In 1600, the Catholic population owned over 80% of land in Ireland and by 1700, this proportion had fallen to just a mere 14%, with the influx of Ulster-Scots settlers.¹⁶⁴ The Presbyterian culture in Ulster had a strong adherence to scripture and church discipline within everyday life. They were Calvinist, believing in predestination and that salvation would only be for the “elect”. Central to their theological outlook, according to Akenson, was their continued reference to the Old Testament.¹⁶⁵

Desire to be part of the elect and their focus on the Old Testament, combined with the situation that the Ulster-Scots found themselves in, led to the belief that they were in some way significant in God’s plan. Many of the Presbyterian congregations found it easy to identify with Biblical Israel. They believed that they had been led by God to a “promised land.” They were blessed as they had managed to take control of this land despite the hostile indigenous population, who were not to be considered true adherents of the Christian faith.¹⁶⁶ It was stated that the native Irish were not part of the elect, they were compared to the Hittites and Canaanites; they were enemies of God.¹⁶⁷ This was just one of the many examples of biblical comparison that was made by the Ulster-Scots settlers between themselves and the Israelites. The imagery of their farmhouses surrounded by antagonistic foes, was likened to walled cities from the Biblical era. They were symbols of protection for the community from what lay outside. Akenson argues, that while they were aware that they were not *the* Chosen People, a privilege reserved for the Jews, they believed with conviction that they were *a* Chosen People.¹⁶⁸ This would be reaffirmed by so-called “acts of deliverance” which included victories against the Jacobites, who were supported by the Catholic population, at the siege of Derry in 1688 and the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.¹⁶⁹ These historical emotions would continue into the 20th century. Northern Ireland was established under the influence of

¹⁶³ J. Michael Hill, “The Origins of the Scottish Plantations in Ulster to 1625”, *Journal of British Studies*, 32, no. 1, (1993):24-25.

¹⁶⁴ David Hempton, *Religion and political culture in Britain and Ireland*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996):93.

¹⁶⁵ Akenson, *God’s Peoples*:102.

¹⁶⁶ Finlay Holmes, *Our Presbyterian Heritage*, (Belfast: Publications Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1985):9.

¹⁶⁷ Akenson, *God’s Peoples*:119.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 119-120.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 139.

the Ulster Covenant, which promised that the land would be a Protestant state, which would be upheld and defended by the Protestant population and the will of God.¹⁷⁰

The Loyalist theological infatuation with Israel has also reached the point of mythological, pseudo-Christianity. Steve Bruce argues that during the Troubles, there existed an extreme view within the Loyalist camp that they were descended from one of the “lost tribes of Israel”.¹⁷¹ Amongst those who subscribed to this view were; Loyalist politician, and Orangeman, Rev. Robert Bradford (assassinated by the IRA in 1981), UVF member Clifford Peoples and William McGrath founder of the esoteric Loyalist movement *Tara*.¹⁷² Another example would be Loyalist politician and former DUP MLA, Nelson McCausland who has encouraged the idea of Ulster Scots being considered amongst the Lost Tribes.¹⁷³ All were staunch ‘British Israelites’, at a time when this is no longer a popular ideology in the rest of the UK. They held these views very much through an Ulster lens, focusing on the ethnic identity of Ulster Loyalists as people of God, similar to views held by their settler forefathers. While Bruce does not credit this sect’s views as being dominant within the Loyalist community, it is a clear example of the extension of the early beliefs held by the Ulster-Scot settlers of the 17th century into the modern era. There is little doubt that the historic fascination with Biblical Israel has influenced Loyalists’ present-day perception of modern Israel.

The theological stance towards Israel that is present in sectors of the Loyalist community, lends itself to comparisons with Christian Zionism. This is more commonly associated with the United States and is an ideology that has not gained much support in Britain.¹⁷⁴ Some of the extremists within the Loyalist community clearly express views which are similar to those found more commonly in the United States. The language used by both groups has a strong evangelical tone. In the *News Letter*, connections are made between Israel and faith. George McNally quotes from Genesis 12:3, “You do good things to the Jewish people, and God will

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 150.

¹⁷¹ Steve Bruce, “Fundamentalism and Political Violence”, *Religion*, 31, no. 4, (2001): 402.

¹⁷² Bruce, “Fundamentalism”: 391,401.

¹⁷³ Liam Clarke, “Why Good Book could be bad news for DUP”, *Belfast Telegraph*, June 7, 2010, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/why-good-book-could-be-bad-news-for-dup-28540057.html>.

¹⁷⁴ Victoria Clark, *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007):145.

bless you”.¹⁷⁵ In another article, the same verse is used again, in an attempt to argue that boycotting Israel “should not cross anyone’s mind”.¹⁷⁶ Biblical phraseology appears frequently used to justify modern political rhetoric. Colin Nevin, argues that Arabs have no claim on any of the “Promised Land” as God gave the Jews “the title-deed to the ‘Land of Milk and Honey’”.¹⁷⁷ The Northern Ireland Friends of Israel website makes use of similar rhetoric, referring to the existence of a “secure and confident Israel”, as being “a blessing to the whole world”.¹⁷⁸ Akin to many Christian Zionists, the Rev. Ian Paisley, figurehead of the Loyalist community, believed that the return of Israel and Jerusalem to Jewish control signifies the second coming of Christ. Paisley was one of the founding members of NIFI and had connections with the Irish Christian Friends of Israel.¹⁷⁹

Irish Christian Friends of Israel, holds the objective of reminding Christians of the Jewish roots of their faith. On their website we can see a focus on God’s promise of a homeland for the Jews and the preparation for judgement day.¹⁸⁰ This rhetoric is similar to the apocalyptic nature of the majority of Christian Zionists, who emphasise the need to prepare for the ‘End Times’.¹⁸¹ The focus on judgement day is perhaps something that has been picked up by some of the more ardent religious supporters of Israel in the Loyalist community. Some of the more unique examples that have arisen in Northern Ireland, are very similar to those in the United States. In Belfast, the Shalom Messianic Congregation of Northern Ireland, aims to “re-educate believers in the Hebraic roots of their faith”.¹⁸² The congregation is mostly Ulster Protestant, rather than consisting of Jews who live in Northern Ireland and have accepted Jesus as the Messiah. The Northern Irish founder of the congregation, Jim Clint, has been involved in charity work related to Israel, by assisting eastern European Jews to make the

¹⁷⁵ George McNally, “Isolating Israel: The secularism threat to Christian belief”, *News Letter*, January 16, 2017, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/isolating-israel-the-secularism-threat-to-christian-belief-1-7775253>.

¹⁷⁶ Margaret Hayes, “Christians owe a debt of gratitude to Israel”, *News Letter*, October 15, 2016, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/christians-owe-a-debt-of-gratitude-to-israel-1-7630566>.

¹⁷⁷ Colin Nevin, “Israel”.

¹⁷⁸ “About”, Northern Ireland Friends of Israel, accessed December 4, 2017, <https://nifriendsofisrael.wordpress.com/about/>.

¹⁷⁹ Marie-Violaine Louvet, *Civil Society, Post-Colonialism and Transnational Solidarity: The Irish and the Middle East Conflict*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016):198.

¹⁸⁰ “About: What are Our objectives?” Irish Christian Friends of Israel, accessed December 4, 2017, <http://www.icfi.ie/about-us>.

¹⁸¹ Victoria Clark, *Allies*:12.

¹⁸² “Welcome to Shalom Congregation of Northern Ireland”, Shalom Messianic Congregation of Northern Ireland, accessed December 04, 2017, <https://shalommessianiccongregation.weebly.com/>.

Aliyah to Israel.¹⁸³ Clint was interviewed by Ithamar Handelman Smith in his documentary, *Shalom Belfast*, where he expressed his own desire to make the *Aliyah*, despite his inability to do so. Clint stated that his heart was Jewish, identifying with this more so than his own heritage in Northern Ireland.¹⁸⁴ While this sort of faith is on the far fringes of Loyalist society, this is not to say that it has not influenced this society. A convergence seems to have taken place here between the Ulster-Scots Presbyterian heritage and Christian Zionism. The scale to which Christian Zionist views are subscribed to within the Loyalist community is debatable, however there is little quarrel with the ideological outcome. There is a long history in this community of theological reasoning impacting on their views and many still attempt to utilise it to this day. The belief in Israel, stems from their heritage and has surely assisted in positive perceptions of Israel and ‘Israelites’ throughout the generations. While piety in the UK may not be as paramount today as it was at the dawn of the previous century, it still plays a significant role in Northern Ireland. In still having a significant role to play, individuals have been able to harness religious belief to affirm their solidarity with Israel. The historical memory of the glorification and association with the Israelites, has made association with Israel appear more appropriate to the Loyalist community. After all, the divisions in Northern Ireland have been often highlighted by boundaries between faiths. To assert one’s political motivations, by referring to Biblical sources, is nothing new in this part of the world.

5.3 In Support of Borrowed Legitimacy

Before concluding this thesis, it would seem suitable to re-address the theory of borrowed legitimacy as put forward by Arar. Many of the factors described throughout this thesis have provided alternative reasons for the rise and continuation of Loyalist solidarity with Israel and why it transcends concern for the commemoration of Zionist terrorism. However, it is also appropriate to provide some support for borrowed legitimacy. Many aspects of the theory are relevant, particularly in relation to the utilisation of symbolism and flags in the Loyalist community. The theory is also useful in highlighting a number of the contradictions

¹⁸³ Jim Clint, “Helping Jews make Aliyah to the homeland”, Love for his People, accessed December 4, 2017, <https://loveforhispeople.blogspot.nl/2017/07/helping-jews-make-aliyah-to-homeland.html>.

¹⁸⁴ Ithamar Handelman Smith, *Shalom Belfast?*, television, directed by Eamonn Devlin, Itai Levi & Ithamar Handelman Smith, (Belfast: BBC Northern Ireland, 2012), Documentary.

that exist while professing solidarity with Israel, whilst within a community some hold far-right views.

In Arar's focus on flags and her argument that they are displayed as a means of 'vilification' of the international 'other' and as an attempt to attack the local 'other' by proxy, it would seem she has a good point. If we simply look at the timing of Israel flags being displayed in Loyalist areas of Belfast, immediately after the surge in Palestinian flags in Republican areas during the 2002 intifada; it appears that this was a clear attempt to antagonise Republicans. Loyalist affinity towards Israel already existed, however the flag display was a form of participation in the conflict against Republicans. As Hill et al mention, the increased visibility of Republican solidarity with Palestine led the Loyalists to speak up about their own support for Israel and to display Israeli flags.¹⁸⁵ Fragments of support certainly existed pre-2002, however at this specific moment, there was an opportunity to attack the 'other'.

Arar's argument can be further supported when looking at the presence of borrowed legitimacy in the civic society of the Troubles. This was not exclusive to Northern Ireland and has more relevance to the Republican diaspora and Unionist Protestants in Scotland. Football clubs, Glasgow Rangers and Celtic have been traditionally supported by Loyalists and Republicans respectively; in both Scotland and Ireland. Interestingly, supporters of Celtic have taken up solidarity with the Palestinian cause, as Republicans have in Northern Ireland. Along with the typical sight of Irish tricolours at football matches, it has become common to see Celtic supporters fly Palestinian flags. Supporters even went as far as to fly the flags at an away fixture in Israel against Hapoel Be'er Sheva, resulting in a £75K fine, which was matched by a donation of £200K by Celtic supporters to Palestinian charities.¹⁸⁶ It would be of no surprise, according to borrowed legitimacy, if the fans of Rangers were to wave Israeli flags and of course this has been the case. While not to going to the same level of resilience in their flag display, sightings at matches have been made.¹⁸⁷ Alasdair McKillop of the Rangers Supporters Trust has questioned the actual support for Israel from the club's fans, attributing it to "tit-for-tat" dynamics in Glasgow. The similarities to borrowed legitimacy in Belfast are striking, as this seems to support Arar's work.

¹⁸⁵ Hill et al, "Flying Israeli Flags":34.

¹⁸⁶ Kevin McKenna, "Why Celtic fans flew the flag for Palestine", *The Guardian*, August 28, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/27/why-celtic-fans-flew-flag-for-palestine>.

¹⁸⁷ Nathan Abrams, "Jews and Soccer: A Complicated Relationship", *Haaretz*, August 7, 2013, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/sports/.premium-1.540202>.

Borrowed legitimacy can be well applied when studying the more hypocritical elements of Loyalist solidarity with Israel. This is nowhere more apparent than when looking at the far-right fringes of Loyalist society. It has been noted that on occasion Loyalists have been known to drop displays of solidarity with Israel, to appease those supporters on the far-right, who possess anti-Semitic views. An example of this would be the visit of the British National Party to Belfast between 2003 and 2004, where Loyalists consciously removed Israeli flags from their housing schemes. This was done to avoid any offence to the BNP visitors.¹⁸⁸ Many far-right groups such as the BNP and Combat 18 have provided the Loyalist community with support in standing against the unification of Ireland. The existence of Israeli flags on Loyalist streets did impact on their relationship with Combat 18, who threatened to withdraw their support for the Loyalists, on the grounds that the organisation “hates all things Jewish, and surely all the Loyalist people of Ulster must realise this”.¹⁸⁹ These instances reaffirm Arar’s argument that solidarity with Israel was intended for the local, rather than the international audience, merely to be utilised in conflict against Republicans.¹⁹⁰

To an extent, building upon Arar’s argument, it could be suggested that there is a general lack of knowledge about Israel and how it relates to the rest of the world by some of those in the Loyalist camp. In field work conducted by Robert Lambert, in 1989 at a football match between Chelsea and Tottenham Hotspur, he discovered some contradictory actions by fans. Lambert noted two Chelsea fans with “Red Hand Commando” tattoos, a paramilitary, linked to the UVF, who were deeply involved in anti-Semitic chants about Tottenham fans. Moments later, the same fans were discussing their intentions to attend a violent counter-demonstration, which was to engage a pro-Palestinian demonstration in London the following weekend. Lambert agrees with Arar, that there was a requirement, in Catholic-Protestant sectarianism in Northern Ireland and in the Celtic-Rangers dynamic in Scotland, to oppose allies of the other. However, he does not believe this is the full explanation as to why they do so.¹⁹¹ This study intends to conclude, it is not the only reason for solidarity with Israel amongst Loyalists.

¹⁸⁸ Adrian Guelke (ed.), “The politics of imitation: the role of comparison in peace processes”, in *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict*. (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2004): 171.

¹⁸⁹ Rolston, “Brothers”: 467.

¹⁹⁰ Arar, “International solidarity”:10.

¹⁹¹ Robert Lambert, “Extremist Nationalism in Europe and Support for Israel” in *The Battle for Public Opinion in Europe*, (eds.) Daud Abdullah et al, (London: MEMO Publishers, 2012): 206-207.

6. Conclusion

Loyalist solidarity with Israel is far more complex than it first appears. That is not to say that some of the notions of “tit-for-tat” politics are not relevant to this scenario. Arar’s analysis is not wrong, far from it. Much of what she argues is very much the case, solidarity with Israel is most certainly used to attack Republicans by proxy, yet it is not the entire story. While Borrowed legitimacy can explain the reaction to the Republicans flying Palestinian flags in 2002, is doubtful if it alone is sufficient to explain the depth of solidarity with Israel which has been sustained beyond 2002. The intellectualising of solidarity as expressed by politicians and those contributing to discussion in the media draws on a wider range of factors than just borrowed legitimacy.

The ‘siege mentality’ of the Loyalist community, appears to have become more important since the 1999 Good Friday Agreement. The Loyalists, suspicious of continued negotiations and agreements, see their place in British society being gradually signed away, as they continue to lose the demographic battle against the ever-growing Catholic population. With the Good Friday Agreement essentially ending the armed conflict and without appearing the aggressor, Loyalists have had to combat the encroachment on their position by peaceful means. The events of 2002 provided them with such an opportunity. They were able to continue the war by proxy by going to the defence of Israel, in light of Republican support for the Palestinians. The continuation of the conflict in this way, allowed the Loyalists to continue asserting their distinctiveness from the rest of the Irish population.

The continuation of solidarity with Israel provides the Loyalists with the opportunity of supporting a state that appears to suffer a great deal of criticism on the international stage. This is important in reinforcing the perception that Loyalists have of themselves, as being disliked by the international community, whether or not it is justified. To have friends abroad is regarded as important by the Loyalists, even if this relationship appears to be a one-way street. It could be argued that they gain solace from knowing that there are other people in the world, whom they perceive to be facing a similar siege to that of their own. This of course puts the Loyalists out of step with the rest of the British public, which is decidedly more pro-Palestinian. It also puts the Loyalists at odds with their own loyalty to Britain, by disregarding Zionist terrorist actions during the 1940s. The evidence presented would suggest that Likud’s commemoration of groups such as Irgun, have gone virtually unquestioned by the Loyalist community. It could simply be that it was easier for Loyalists to turn a blind eye

to this period of history, rather than to question their own logic regarding their support for Israel. However, the historic memory, of a glorified Israel and the Israelite people in Loyalist heritage may have impacted upon Loyalist views of Israel and provided them with a sort of immunity or at least a kind eye.

Essentially, Loyalist solidarity with Israel, is made up of many components. Borrowed legitimacy, while in part relevant, does not answer the whole question when looking at the case of the Loyalists. Historical factors have produced a community which has unique and individual traits. This should not be underestimated when looking at the loyalist attachment to Israel, which runs deep in the culture and psychic of Northern Ireland's Protestant Society. For Loyalists, there is a much greater emotional need when looking towards Israel. They are in a vulnerable position, in a new century with their position within the United Kingdom moving into unfamiliar territory. At times of uncertainty it is not unusual to look back to the past. Biblical Israel provides a historical and theological perspective, that has always given Ulster Scots a sense of identity and an affinity with Israel. This has been an essential part of the fabric of a Calvinist Presbyterianism, which has endured and sustained this community for centuries. In a society where religion still plays an important role today, it is little wonder that solidarity with Israel is easy for many Loyalists to pursue. Finding solidarity with the modern equivalent, in uncertain times seems like a comforting option, whilst also being able to utilise this against the local Republican "other" as a form of borrowed legitimacy. While full blown Christian Zionism is perhaps only on the fringes of Loyalist society, Israel is still an essential part of the historic memory of mainstream Protestant Society in Northern Ireland even today.

7. Bibliography

Primary sources

Newspapers

Abrams, Nathan. "Jews and Soccer: A Complicated Relationship", *Haaretz*, August 7, 2013, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/sports/.premium-1.540202>.

Blomfield, Adrian "British public opinion turning against Israel, warns ambassador", *The Telegraph*, August 3, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/9450083/British-public-opinion-turning-against-Israel-warns-ambassador.html>

Chassay, Clancy, Julian Borger, "Guardian investigation uncovers evidence of alleged Israeli war crimes in Gaza", *the Guardian*, March 24, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/mar/23/israel-gaza-war-crimes-guardian>.

Clarke, Liam. "Why Good Book could be bad news for DUP", *Belfast Telegraph*, June 7, 2010, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/why-good-book-could-be-bad-news-for-dup-28540057.html>.

Cotton, Doris. "Help us to stop the Israel bashing", *News Letter*, October 10, 2017, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/help-us-to-stop-the-israel-bashing-1-8190512>.

Evans, Martin. "Dubai Hamas assassination: 'Israeli hit-squad' used fake British passports", *the Telegraph*, February 17, 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/dubai/7251265/Dubai-Hamas-assassination-Israeli-hit-squad-used-fake-British-passports.html>.

Fitzgerald, Mary. "Israeli official expelled over use of fake passports", *The Irish Times*, June 16, 2010, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/israeli-official-expelled-over-use-of-fake-passports-1.678818>.

Hayes, Margaret. "Christians owe a debt of gratitude to Israel", *News Letter*, October 15, 2016, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/christians-owe-a-debt-of-gratitude-to-israel-1-7630566>.

Lavery, Brian. "I.R.A. Apologizes for Civilian Deaths in Its 30-Year Campaign", *The New York Times*, July 17, 2002, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/07/17/world/ira-apologizes-for-civilian-deaths-in-its-30-year-campaign.html>.

Maguire, Patrick. "View from Belfast South: the battle for the most diverse seat in Northern Ireland", *The New Statesman*, June 5, 2017, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2017/06/view-belfast-south-battle-most-diverse-seat-northern-ireland>.

McBride, Sam. "Ambassador 'torn over Israel flags in NI'", *News Letter*, February 21, 2013, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/ambassador-torn-over-israel-flags-in-ni-1-4810799>.

McKenna, Kevin. "Why Celtic fans flew the flag for Palestine", *The Guardian*, August 28, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/27/why-celtic-fans-flew-flag-for-palestine>.

McNally, George. "Isolating Israel: The secularism threat to Christian belief", *News Letter*, January 16, 2017, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/isolating-israel-the-secularism-threat-to-christian-belief-1-7775253>.

McWilliams, David. "Demographics are shifting towards a united Ireland – we must have a plan", *The Belfast Telegraph*, June 26, 2017, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/news-analysis/demographics-are-shifting-towards-a-united-ireland-we-must-have-a-plan-35865222.html>.

Murray, Gemma. "Loyalist-Israel link questioned" *News Letter*, May 25, 2002, in Factiva Database, <https://global-factiva-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/redir/default.aspx?P=sa&an=belnel0020020527dy5p00018&cat=a&ep=ASE>.

Nevin, Colin. "Israel will be around for some time", *News Letter*, June 10, 2017, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/israel-will-be-around-for-some-time-1-8002926>.

Nolan, Paul. "Two tribes: A divided Northern Ireland", *The Irish Times*, April 1, 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/two-tribes-a-divided-northern-ireland-1.3030921>

Quetteville, Harry de. "Israel celebrates Irgun hotel bombers", *The Telegraph*, July 22, 2006, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1524552/Israel-celebrates-Irgun-hotel-bombers.html>.

Sadot, Uri. "Israel's 'Demographic Time Bomb' Is a Dud", *Foreign Policy*, December 18, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/12/18/israels-demographic-time-bomb-is-a-dud/>.

Segev, Tom. "The Spirit of the King David Hotel", *Haaretz*, July 23, 2006, <https://www.haaretz.com/the-spirit-of-the-king-david-hotel-1.193571>.

Snow, Jon. "Gaza: War, from a distance", *the Independent*, January 19, 2009, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/tv-radio/gaza-war-from-a-distance-1419147.html>.

Trilling, Daniel. "Britain's last anti-Jewish riots", *The New Statesman*, May 23, 2012, <https://www.newstatesman.com/2012/05/britains-last-anti-jewish-riots>.

Ullah, Areeb. "Thousands march through London to oppose Balfour Declaration", *Middle East Eye*, November 4, 2017, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/thousands-marched-through-london-oppose-balfour-declaration-498366841>.

Walsh, Monique, Debbie Briscoe, "Irony of absurd Israeli boycott", *News Letter*, February 22, 2014, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/irony-of-absurd-israeli-boycott-1-5895442>.

William, Helen. "Balfour Declaration centenary: Read the historic letter pledging British support for the creation of Israel", *The Independence*, November 2, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/balfour-declaration-read-full-text-israel-jewish-homeland-palestine-arthur-james-balfour-lord-a8033556.html>.

Wintour, Patrick, Peter Beaumont, "May lauds UK role in creation of Israel at Balfour centenary dinner", *The Guardian*, November 2, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/02/may-netanyahu-balfour-declaration-israel-palestine>.

Wright, Oliver. "Palestine vote: MPs take historic decision to recognise Palestinian state", *the Independent*, October 13, 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/palestine-vote-mps-take-historic-decision-to-recognise-palestinian-state-9792485.html>.

Zieve, Tamara. "UK Jewish Leader: Kingmaker DUP is friend of the community and Israel", *Jerusalem Post*, June 9, 2017, <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/UK-Jewish-leader-Kingmaker-DUP-is-friend-of-the-community-and-Israel-496399>

“BDS: The boycott Israel movement spreading across UK universities”, *the Week*, April 27, 2017, <http://www.theweek.co.uk/84034/bds-the-boycott-israel-movement-spreading-across-uk-universities>.

“DUP concern over visit by anti-Israeli campaigner”, *Belfast Telegraph*, July 3, 2017, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/dup-concern-over-visit-by-antiisraeli-campaigner-35887824.html>.

“DUP ‘will keep blocking same-sex marriage in NI’”, *ITV News*, October 27, 2016, <http://www.itv.com/news/utv/2016-10-27/dup-will-keep-blocking-same-sex-marriage-in-ni/>.

“Full text of British PM David Cameron’s Knesset speech”, *Times of Israel*, March 12, 2014, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/full-text-of-british-pm-david-camerons-knesset-speech>.

“Gary Spedding deported from Israel and back in UK”, *BBC News*, January 11, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-25688529>.

“Gaza burns while the world fiddles”, *News Letter*, January 6, 2009, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/gaza-burns-while-the-world-fiddles-1-1880064>.

“Gaza horror: Another family lay buried in the rubble”, *Belfast Telegraph*, January 6, 2009, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/world-news/gaza-horror-another-family-lay-buried-in-rubble-28461058.html>.

“Israeli boycott: Are councillors prepared to give up their iPads?” *News Letter*, October 4, 2016, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/israeli-boycott-are-councillors-prepared-to-give-up-their-ipads-1-7610561>.

“Israel has good reason to be wary of Gary Spedding”, *News Letter*, January 13, 2014, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/opinion/israel-has-good-reason-to-be-wary-of-gary-spedding-1-5803717>.

“Israel ought to be Europe’s key ally in the Middle East”, *News Letter*, November 12, 2015, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/opinion/israel-ought-to-be-europe-s-key-ally-in-the-middle-east-1-7062897>.

“Israeli workers tell of fear at Gaza protests”, *News Letter*, January 13, 2009, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/israeli-workers-tell-of-fear-at-gaza-protests-1-1880347>.

“Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn defends republicans Troubles meetings”, *BBC News*, September 27, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-34370887>.

“New memorial to Altalena victims erected in Tel Aviv”, *The Times of Israel*, October 18, 2016, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/new-memorial-to-altalena-victims-erected-in-tel-aviv/>.

“Pastor with holocaust links defends strikes”, *News Letter*, December 30, 2008, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/pastor-with-holocaust-links-defends-strikes-1-1879841>.

“PM wants to know: Who compared Irgun and Lehi to terrorist organisations”, *Arutz Sheva*, June 8, 2017, <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/230783>.

“Proxy Wars: A distant conflict resonates in Northern Ireland”, *The Economist*, August 3, 2017, <https://www.economist.com/news/britain/21725795-catholics-and-protestants-have-strong-views-about-israel-and-palestine-distant-conflict>.

“Results”, Northern Ireland Assembly Election 2017, *BBC News*, accessed December 29, 2017, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election/ni2017/results>.

“Time to step back from abyss”, *News Letter*, January 12, 2009, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/your-say/time-to-step-back-from-abyss-1-1880267>.

“UK agents ‘worked with NI paramilitary killers’”, *BBC News*, May 28, 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-32887445>.

“Unionists back Israel over Gaza crisis”, *News Letter*, January 6, 2009, <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/politics/unionists-back-israel-over-gaza-crisis-1-1880065>.

“Vote to recognise a Palestinian State ‘regrettable’: MLA”, *News Letter*, October 15, 2014, in Factiva Database, <https://global-factiva-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/redirect/default.aspx?P=sa&NS=16&AID=9LEI000700&an=BELNEL0020141016eaaf0000x&cat=a&ep=ASI>

Websites

Clint, Jim. “Helping Jews make Aliyah to the homeland”, Love for his People, accessed December 4, 2017, <https://loveforhispeople.blogspot.nl/2017/07/helping-jews-make-aliyah-to-homeland.html>.

Dahlgreen, Will. “Israel and Palestine: whose side is Britain on?”, *YouGov UK*, March 11, 2014, <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2014/03/11/israel-and-palestine-whose-side-britain/>

Dodrade, “Unionism and Israel: Holy Land is not a hotter version of Ulster”, *Sluggor O’Toole*, June 8, 2010, https://sluggerotoole.com/2010/06/08/unionism-and-israel-holy-land-is-not-a-hotter-version-of-ulster/#disqus_thread.

Eirigi. “Stop the Slaughter in Gaza”, Youtube video, January 11, 2009, https://www.youtube.com/watch?hl=en-GB&gl=GB&v=y4GJoeHIU_w&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishrepublican.net%2Fforum%2Fshowthread.php%3Ft%3D25847.

Northern Ireland Statistics & Research Agency, “Census: Key Statistics for Northern Ireland 2012”, accessed November 30, 2017, <https://www.nisra.gov.uk/statistics/2012-census/results>.

Northern Ireland Statistics & Research Agency, “Northern Ireland Census: Key Statistics 2001”, prepared by National Statistics Publications, accessed November 30, 2017, <https://www.nisra.gov.uk/statistics/2001-census/results>.

“About”, Northern Ireland Friends of Israel, accessed December 4, 2017, <https://nifriendsofisrael.wordpress.com/about/>.

“About: What are Our objectives?” Irish Christian Friends of Israel, accessed December 4, 2017, <http://www.icfi.ie/about-us>.

“Israel’s Settlements Have No Legal Validity, Constitute Flagrant Violation of International Law, Security Council Reaffirms”, *United Nations*, accessed December 5, 2017, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sc12657.doc.htm>.

“Northern Ireland”, What we do, MI5 – The Security Service, accessed November 29, 2017, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/northern-ireland>.

“Our Vision”, About Us, DUP, accessed November 22, 2017, <http://www.mydup.com/about-us>.

“Wave of terror”, Foreign Policy, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed November 29, 2017, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Terrorism/Palestinian/Pages/Wave-of-terror-October-2015.aspx>.

“Welcome to Shalom Congregation of Northern Ireland”, Shalom Messianic Congregation of Northern Ireland, accessed December 04, 2017, <https://shalommessianiccongregation.weebly.com/>.

Documentary

Smith, Ithamar Handelman. *Shalom Belfast?*, television, directed by Eamonn Devlin, Itai Levi & Ithamar Handelman Smith, (Belfast: BBC Northern Ireland, 2012), Documentary.

Secondary Sources

Books

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2006.

Akenson, Donald H. *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel and Ulster*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Aridan, Natan. *Britain, Israel and Anglo-Jewry 1949-57*. London: Routledge, 2004.

Barth, Fredrik, ed. “Introduction” in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 1998.

Brenchley, Frank. *Britain, the Six-day War and its Aftermath*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005.

Clark, Victoria. *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Clayton, Pamela. *Enemies and Passing Friends: settler ideologies in twentieth century Ulster*. London: Pluto Press, 1996.

Cleary, Joe. *Literature, Partition and the Nation State: Culture and Conflict in Ireland, Israel and Palestine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Cox, Michael, Adrian Guelke, Fiona Stephen, eds. *A farewell to arms?: Beyond the Good Friday Agreement*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Cronin, David. *Balfour's Shadow: a Century of British Support for Zionism and Israel*. London: Pluto Books, 2017.

Devin, Guillaume. “International Solidarity” in *International Encyclopaedia of Political Science*, edited by Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Leonardo Morlino, 1320-1322. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2011.

Eliash, Shulamit. *The Harp and Shield of David: Ireland, Zionism and the State of Israel*. London: Routledge, 2007.

- Giugni, Marco, Florence Passy, eds. "Political Altruism and the Solidarity Movement: An Introduction" in *Political Altruism? Solidarity Movements from an International Perspective*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001.
- Guardia, Anton La. *Holy Land, Unholy War*, Croydon: John Murray, 2002.
- Guelke, Adrian, ed. "The politics of imitation: the role of comparison in peace processes", in *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict: Advancing Peace in Deeply Divided Societies*, 168-183. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004.
- Hempton, David. *Religion and political culture in Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hollis, Rosemary. *Britain in the Middle East During the 9/11 Era*. London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Holmes, Finlay. *Our Presbyterian Heritage*. Belfast: Publications Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1985.
- Kee, Robert. *Ireland: A History*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, 1980.
- Kropotkin, Petr. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. Rookhope: Aziloth Books, 2017.
- Lambert, Robert. "Extremist Nationalism in Europe and Support for Israel" in *The Battle for Public Opinion in Europe*, edited by Daud Abdullah, Ibrahim Hewitt, 197-239. London: MEMO Publishers, 2012.
- Louis, Roger. "British Imperialism and the End of the Palestine Mandate" in *The End of the Palestine Mandate*, edited by Roger Louis, Robert W. Stookey. London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1986.
- Louvet, Marie-Violaine. *Civil Society, Post-Colonialism and Transnational Solidarity: The Irish and the Middle East Conflict*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- McEvoy, Joanne. *The Politics of Northern Ireland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.
- McGarry, John. *Northern Ireland and the Divided World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- McKee, Alan. *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2002.
- Mitchell, Thomas G. *Native vs Settler: Ethnic Conflict in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and South Africa*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Nally, Claire, John Strachan. *Advertising, Literature and Print Culture in Ireland, 1891-1922*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.
- O'Malley, Pdraig. "Northern Ireland and South Africa: "Hope and History at a Crossroads", in *Northern Ireland and the Divided World*, edited by John McGarry, 276-309. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Peres, Shimon. *David's Sling: The Arming of Israel*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.
- Perligner, Arie. *The Roots of Terrorism: Middle Eastern Terrorism*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 2006.

Rowse, Tim. "Nation", in *Identity and Belonging*, edited by Kate Huppertz, Amie Matthews and Mary Hawkins, 99-113. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.

Smith, Christian, Katherine Sorrell, "On Social Solidarity", in *The Palgrave Handbook of Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity: Formulating a Field of Study*, edited by Vincent Jeffries, 219-247. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.

Shepard, Naomi. *Ploughing sand: British rule in Palestine 1917-1948*. London: John Murray, 1999.

Storey, Michael L. *Representing the Troubles in Irish Short Fiction*. Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004.

Urwin, Margaret. *A State in Denial: British Collaboration with Loyalist Paramilitaries*. Cork: Mercier Press, 2016.

Wolffsohn, Michael. *Eternal Guilt? Forty Years of German-Jewish-Israeli Relations*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

Journal Articles

Abrams, Mark. "British Opinion and Recognition of Israel", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13, no.1, (1949): 128-130.

Andrews, Abigail "Constructing Mutuality: The Zapatistas' Transformation of Transnational Activist Power Dynamics", *Latin American Politics and Society*, 52, no.1, (2010): 89-120.

Ashworth, Jacinta, Ian Farthing, "Churchgoing in the UK", *Tearfund Report*, (2007): 1-50.

Arar, Rawan. "International solidarity and ethnic boundaries", *Nations and Nationalism*, (2017): 1-22.

Barnes, J. A. "Durkheim's Division of Labour in Society", *Man*, 1, no.2, (1966): 158-175.

Brown, Kris, Roger MacGinty, "Public attitudes toward Partisan and Neutral Symbols in Post-Agreement Northern Ireland," *Identities*, 10, no.1, (2010): 83-108.

Bruce, Steve. "Fundamentalism and Political Violence: The Case of Paisley and Ulster Evangelicals", *Religion*, 31, no. 4, (2001): 387-405.

Churchill, Lindsey. "Transnational Alliances: Radical U.S. Feminist Solidarity and Contention with Latin America, 1970-1989", *Latin American Perspectives*, 36, no. 6, (2009): 10-26.

Deb, Basuli. "Cutting Imperial Feminisms towards Transnational Feminism Solidarities", *Meridians*, 13, no. 2, (2016): 164-188.

Doyle, John. "Irish Nationalism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict", *Working Papers in International Studies: Centre for International Studies*, (2007): 2-12.

Drake, C.J.M. "The provisional IRA: a case study", *Terrorism and Violence*, 3, no. 2 (1991): 43-60.

Erskine, Hazel. "The Polls: Western Partisanship in the Middle East", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 33, no. 4, (1969): 627-640.

Finlayson, Alan. "Loyalist Political Identity After the Peace", *Capital & Class*, 23, no. 3, (1999): 47-75.

- George, Alan. ““Making the Desert Bloom” A Myth Examined”, *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 8, no. 2, (1979): 88-100.
- Harris, Lyndsey. “Implications of a strategic analysis: the operational strategy of Loyalist paramilitaries”, *Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 4, no.1, (2012): 4-25.
- Hill, Andrew, Andrew White. “The Flying of Israeli Flags in Northern Ireland” *Identities* 15, no.1, (2008): 31-50.
- Hill, J. Michael. “The Origins of the Scottish Plantations in Ulster to 1625: A Reinterpretation”, *Journal of British Studies*, 32, no. 1, (1993): 24-43.
- Khalili, Laleh. “Standing with My Brother’, Hizbullah, Palestinians, and the Limits of Solidarity”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49, no. 2, (2007): 276-303.
- Landolt, Patricia. “The Transnational Geographies of Immigrant Politics: Insights from a Comparative Study of Migrant Grassroots Organizing”, *The Sociological Quarterly*, 49, no.1, (2008): 53-77.
- Litvinoff, Barnet. “The Fall from Grace of Zionism”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 10, no. 1, (1980): 185-187.
- Lochery, Neill. “The British Foreign Office and Israel: At a Crossroads in 1976”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 46, no. 4, (2010): 497-512.
- Moore, Ronnie, Andrew Sanders, “Formations of Culture: Nationalism and Conspiracy Ideology in Ulster Loyalism”, *Anthropology Today*, 18, no. 6, (2002): 9-15.
- Muldoon, Orla, Karen Trew, Jennifer Todd, Nathalie Rougier, Katrina McLaughlin, “Religious and National Identity after the Belfast Good Friday Agreement”, *Political Psychology*, 28, no. 1, (2007): 89-103.
- Owen, Jean. “The Polls and Newspaper Appraisal of the Suez Crisis”, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21, no. 3, (1957): 350-354.
- Pallis, Elfi. “The Likud Party: A Primer”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 21, no. 2, (1992): 41-60.
- Patke, Rajeev. “Partition and its aftermath: Poetry and history in Northern Ireland”, *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 46, no. 1, (2010): 17-30.
- Ramon, Shulamit, Jim Campbell, Jane Lindsay, Patrick McCrystal and Naimeh Baidoun, “The Impact of Political Conflict on Social Work: Experiences from Northern Ireland, Israel and Palestine”, *British Journal of Social Work*, no. 36, (2006): 435-450.
- Rolston, Bill. “Brothers on the Walls: International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals”, *Journal of Black Studies*, 39, no. 3, (2009): 446-470.
- Roy, Sara. “Reconceptualising the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Key Paradigm Shifts”, *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 41, no. 3, (2012): 71-91.
- Salomon, Gavriel. “Lessons from Research on Peace Education in Israel/Palestine”, *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 1, no. 1, (2013): 1-15.
- Seidel, Timothy. “Occupied territory is occupied territory’: James Baldwin, Palestine and the possibilities of transnational solidarity”, *Third World Quarterly*, 37, no. 9, (2016): 1644-1660.

Shapiro, Shlomo. "The Intellectual Foundations of Jewish National Terrorism: Avraham Stern and the Lehi", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25, no. 4, (2013): 606-620.

Tessler, Mark. "The Political Right in Israel: Its Origins, Growth, and Prospects", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 15, no. 2, (1986): 12-55.

Tugwell, Maurice. "Politics and propaganda of the provisional IRA", *Terrorism*, 5, no. 1-2, (1981): 13-40.

8. Appendix:

Figure 1. Bias prior to 2002 (Factiva Database)

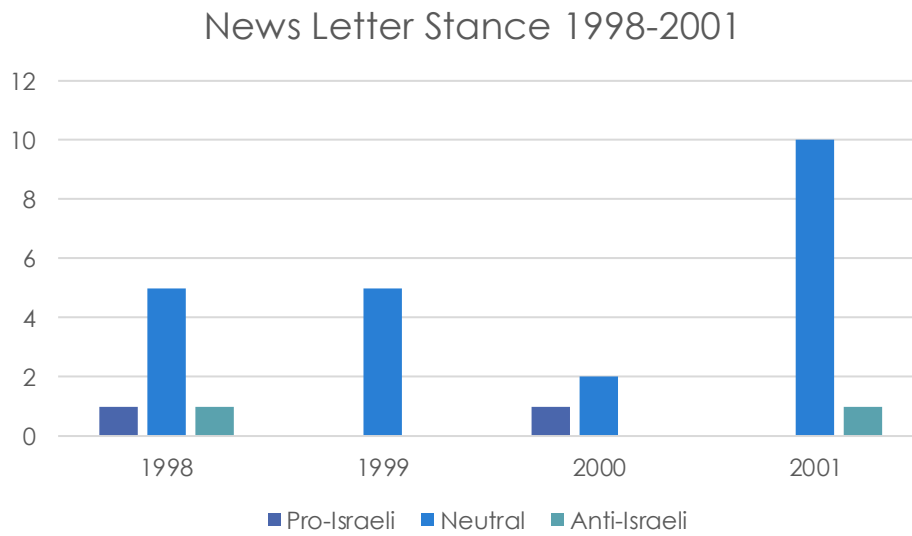


Figure 2. Bias 2002-Present (Factiva Database)

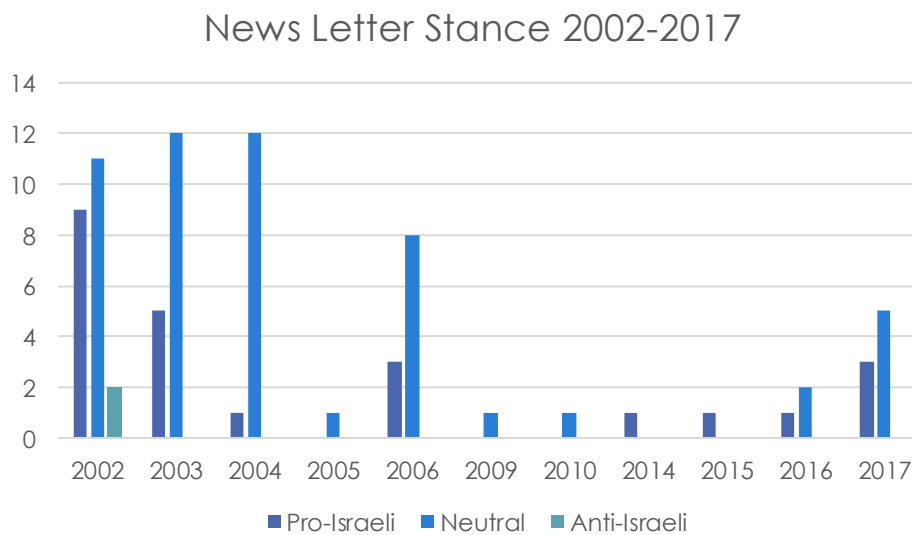


Figure 3. News Letter Online Archive Bias 2009-2017

Stance: Opinion Pieces and Articles 2009-2017

