

- Good evening, everyone. And today, you can see the title, "Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism: The Virus Spreads." Now, before I go any further, I often quote Karl Popper to you. And remember what he said about the use of words. He said, "The 20th century will no longer be about philosophy. It's always going to be about the use of words." So, how do we define anti-Semitism? How do we define anti-Zionism? So, I actually for Zionism, the word Zionism, because we need to know what it is before we can decide whether we're against it. "The Shorter Oxford Dictionary," "A movement for, originally, the reestablishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine, and since 1948, development of the state of Israel." Now, another one, "Zionism is a movement for the reestablishment and now the development of a Jewish nation in Israel established as a political organisation in 1897." Another definition, "Oxford Dictionary," "Post-'48, Zionism, belief that the state of Israel has a right to exist and that Jews have a right to self-determination." So, Zionism then is a pretty clear definition. Zionism is a movement for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine and the maintenance of a Jewish state. So, what does anti-Zionism mean? Anti-Zionism, of course, is incredibly ambiguous. What on Earth does it mean? Does it mean that you are against the establishment of the state of Israel? Does it mean that you accept the establishment of the state of Israel and the creation of the state of Israel? This is what I'm coming onto 'cause it's a wrong definition. Many people who describe themselves as anti-Zionist say that what they object to is the policies of Israel. Now, to me, that is not anti-Zionism. Am I anti-British if I say to you I do not like some of the policies of the British government? Am I anti-France because I say I do not like the policies of the French government? So, consequently, already there's a muddle. If we're going to accept the dictionary definitions of Zionism, the creation and establishment of a Jewish state, then anti-Zionism, to me, means those who are opposed to the establishment and the creation of a Jewish state. The criticism of the state of Israel is something completely separate. And can I say that I'm not talking politics today because that is a completely different subject. What I want to look at is how, to quote Jonathan Sacks, "First, they hated our religion. Then, they hated our race. Then they hated our nation." Now, give me a definition of anti-Semitism. The term was first coined by a German journalist, Wilhelm Marr, in 1878 when he created the League of Anti-Semites. "An anti-Semite is someone who dislikes the Jewish race, is hostile to the Jewish race, commits pogroms against the Jewish race." That is an anti-Semite, and never be fooled by the notion, "Well, doesn't that also include Arabs?" Let me say from the first, I think these definitions of race are absolute balderdash, personally, but the point is I'm giving you the definition of a term as it was coined by the man who created it. Anti-Semitism is a dislike of Jews. Now, so those are the two terms that I want to talk about. And what we have seen happening since the creation of the state of

Israel, and what I looked at with you last week is how much of the anti-Zionist rhetoric in terms of criticism of the state of Israel, the cloaking of the state of Israel with imperialism, or with Titoism, with Trotskyism, of course, came out of Russia. Today, anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are both serious problems.

Now, anti-Semitism, where does it come from? If we're going to take Jonathan Sacks's definition, it begins with anti-Judaism. You can talk about pre-Christianity. You can talk about the problems that some of the Greeks and the Romans had with the Jews because of their separatism. But the real thrust, all historians agree with this, the real thrust is it's the notion of the deicide in Christianity and the Jews becoming the pariahs of the Christian world and to a lesser extent a problem in Islam. It is the world of monotheism. Then, of course, in the middle of the 19th century, in that whole swathe of isms that develop, the various nationalisms, anti-Semitism emerges as a racial movement. Today, much of the criticism of the Jews is applied within the term anti-Zionism. And unfortunately, that doesn't mean there isn't still violent anti-Semitism. One of the problems we face, of course, is that you still have right-wing fascist anti-Semitism. And I'm not in any way negating that because today I'm going to be talking about more anti-Zionism on the extreme left. Islamic anti-Semitism, I don't believe there was any problem for an Arab living in Palestine to be against the establishment of the state of Israel prior to 1948. That is not anti-Semitism. That is a valid kind of anti-Zionism as far as I'm concerned if you do not want the establishment of the state of Israel. However, today, I believe it actually cloaks, in the main, anti-Semitism. Also, you have Islamic anti-Semitism, and with the left, you have to look at, and I'm talking now about the extreme left. Let's be careful here. You have to talk about, where's the line between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism? And I think it's the extreme left's anti-Semitism/anti-Zionism that today, for many Jews, is the most upsetting because, let's face it, the left has always had a rather proud stand of taking the side of the oppressed, rights for women. So, the notion is, and I think many Jews have found this very bewildering, and when I use the word Jew, again, we have a problem with definition. Am I talking about someone who ascribes to being a Jew by religion, by cultural attachment, by an affiliation to the Jewish nation at the other end of the Mediterranean? So, that in itself, I think, does muddy the waters in terms of how the outside world defines Jew, anti-Semitism, and anti-Zionism. Hannah Arendt, of course, does point, in "The Origins of Totalitarianism," to the rise of anti-Semitism on the left and in socialist and social democratic parties. And of course, this we find it from Karl Marx onwards. And what's that about? It's the notion that the Jews are a people who work together as a coherent group. Consequently, even though Marx, by his enemies, is seen as a Jew, Marx can be virulently anti-Jewish because he saw the Jews as the tools and the spawn of capitalism. So, it is there how, and also, though, please never forget the influx of Jews into the revolutionary parties. Unfortunately, many of those

characters on the extreme left were quite marginalised. There is a nasty phenomenon called Jewish self-hatred. The term was first coined by a man called Theodor Lessing. And unfortunately, when people from a minority group feel the prejudice of the other, and they don't get any benefit from the other, quite often, they turn against the group that they are perceived to be part of. It must be said, though, that the majority of the Jews in the West were liberal or left wing right up to the '70s, regardless of wealth. You know, they were the heirs of a liberal tradition, regardless of religion, regardless of ethnicity. And generally, the Western socialist left did adhere to the tradition of the Enlightenment.

So, where else would Jews feel at home? Can we see the first slide, Judy? Yeah, okay. I mentioned last week, from 1948 onwards, you will remember that Russia was one of the countries that supported the state of Israel. And really up to 1967, it was embattled little Israel in the West. In the communist world, things had changed, not just because of Stalin and Khrushchev but in terms of the political arena. A lot of the Arab states were no longer feudal monarchies, and Russia was looking for alliances. And in the '50s and in the '60s, for example, with Nasser, he was very much dependent on Russian arms. And you begin to see Arabs beginning to study in Russia. And Russia is also courting the Third World, the emerging Third World. And then, of course you have the '60s. I mean, the CND had actually been created in 1958 in a Methodist church hall in England, in London. So, already the youth are in protest. Think about music, think about Elvis Presley, think about the Beatles. Think about the sexual revolution, young people post-World War II breaking away from the old conventions of class, the privileged groups in the main. Vietnam, the Vietnam War was an incredible break. Also, you begin to see the rise of protest movements. In 1964, the PLO was created, rival camps, one in Riyadh, the other one in Cairo. You see the emergence of the Baader-Meinhof Gruppe, the Japanese Red Army, the Provisional IRA, and they all work together. You have these extreme protest groups who are, as it were, challenging the old order, many of them using terror tactics. The great tragedy of Israel in terms of the left, where does it all go wrong? It goes wrong with the Six-Day War, and that is one of the most extraordinary issues in history. I'm sure many of you here listening today remember the Six-Day War. No news came out of Israel. We really did think that perhaps Israel had been destroyed and then that incredible victory. And on day three, you saw the Israeli army in, and you saw the blowing of the shofar at the Western Wall. And there were services of thanksgiving in the Christian world, but Israel didn't have much time to feel secure and safe. What happens is, and it's summed up by Saul Bellow, that frightening comment when he said, "If Israel had lost the war, the West would've sent 30,000 blankets to the surviving Jewish orphans." But Israel wins a victory, and Israel then becomes the proud possessor of a large swathe of the Palestinians. Because the Palestinians who had fled or left Israel in 1948, what had happened to them? A large percentage were in Gaza, which King Farouk

had sealed off, but the largest percentage were on the West Bank, which was controlled by Jordan. But he'd only, but the king of Jordan, first Abdullah, had not integrated them into Jordan. They were, in the main, in refugee camps. And it's at this stage in 1967 the leadership was taken over by Yasser Arafat. And if you think within this whole protest movement, all of a sudden embattled little Israel is now along with the other supreme powers, America, remember, becomes the enemy, the Western democracies. These are the enemy. We are now fighting for the rights of the Third World. We are fighting for the oppressed. This is the beginning of a huge movement against colonialism saying that colonialism was very evil. And ironically, the propaganda begins here that Israel is a colonialist, white, racist state. The fact that Israel is made up of people from 52 different countries of all shades of hue is irrelevant. Israel is now on the wrong side. And it wasn't helped, of course, by the Suez campaign when Israel had sided, for its own reasons, with the British and the French.

So, and it comes, can we see the next slide please, Judy? And of course, it really comes to the fore in the United Nations Security Council Resolution of 1975, which actually says Zionism is a form of racism. Now, the origins were actually two years earlier, a coalition of Communist and a Arab states. It goes back really to December '73 when the General Assembly had passed a resolution on apartheid, an unholy alliance, quote, "between Portuguese colonialism, South African racism, Zionism, and Israeli imperialism." Now, this is the first time that it hits the United Nations in '73. And now, there is the resolution. Zionism is a form of racism. Daniel Moynihan, who was the American ambassador, he said, "The UN, which began its life as an anti-Nazi alliance, should 30 years later find itself on the way to becoming the centre of anti-Semitism." And also, those who went for it, and remember it's Africa. Every African country had broken off diplomatic relations with Israel after '67. They're in the Soviet camp. They're sending their people to Russian universities, as are the Arabs. The Arabs are becoming more politicised, the Arabs of Palestine. Now, whether it's the people or whether it's their leadership is a very interesting question. And also, this is the growth of anti-colonialism. It's an ideology now in world politics, and it's very much associated, and we must remember this, with the emerging Black nations and with the emerging Arab world. And what the UN resolution does, it effectively couples Israel with South Africa, and there is an alliance between Israel, and South Africa, and Rhodesia, and the only remaining states in Africa and Asia still, quote, "dominated by whites, European whites." Israel is now seen as a colonial state dominated by whites.

Now, I'm concentrating on Britain to look at the growth of the left. Why? Because, as Moynihan pointed out, it's actually on the left that you see, on the left in Britain that you really see the growth of anti-colonialist policies on the left. And I'll be looking at a few examples of individuals to sort of home my point. Racism and racial

discrimination had also become part of the platform. A British student union, April '74, the National Union of Students passed a resolution that they had the policy of no platforming. If someone's views were, in inverted commas, "racist," they couldn't speak. "Conference recognises the need to refuse any assistance to openly racist and fascist organisations and to deny them a platform by any means if necessary." Now, at this stage, it was condemned by the Association of University Teachers. It was condemned by the rather wonderful Shirley Williams, who was one of the three Labour ministers who refused to speak while this policy was in place. And this is what she said. And I'm speaking personally now. I am so worried about this movement in universities today. And I think what she said is just as applicable. "The greatest single threat to education is not the theories of one political side or another but a crude-faith fanaticism, which says it doesn't wish to listen to beliefs it does not want to hear." Now, let me qualify that. If it is incitement to race hatred or murder, of course, it has to be banned. But that's dealt with in the courts anyway. I think, once you get into a world where you platform, you are on a very slippery slope to totalitarianism. And within 18 months of the UN resolution, you begin to see discussions on whether to ban Zionists from the campus. It turns into a national campaign, which became a serious problem for Jewish students. And it's actually, and who are the main problems on the campuses for the Jewish students? The socialist worker parties, the parties of the Trotskyite left, and I'll come onto that in a minute. This is a quote from the "Socialist Worker" newspaper. This is about York University. "We support," this is 1975. "We support, unconditionally, the right of the Jewish society to exist as a cultural and religious body within the students' union. We support, unconditionally, the right of all people and all races to live and participate freely in a secular state in Palestine. It is because we oppose racism that we oppose an openly Zionist and racist state." And of course, the problem really arises because the broad left, remember Israel up until 1967 was the Labour Party. The left in Israel were in power. But in 1977, Begin comes to power. And then, of course you have the war in Lebanon. And that was total fodder for the left and for all the problems. And just to continue on this tack, but I'll be going back to the '80s in a minute, can we come to the next slide? This is the Durban Conference of 2001. This is the World Conference Against Racism. It was held in South Africa under the auspices of the United Nations. And Mary Robinson was the high commissioner, the Irish one. What they wanted to talk about, compensation for slavery, and the issue of apartheid, and compensation for child slavery, very worthy objects. But the whole issue, of course, of Zionism came up because of the militant Arabs. The US actually threatened to boycott, and after four days, America and Israel withdrew. They were criticised for doing so by both Jesse Jackson, and Mbeki, and Amnesty International, saying, "By withdrawing because of Zionism, you are letting down all the victims of racism." And they began more and more to push the idea that Zionism is built on a theory of racial supremacy. Tom Lantos, he said, "The conference is

wrecked by Islamic and Arab extremists." And in the end, the conference did decide to reject language that implicitly accused Israel of racism because, back in 1991, the 1975 resolution was declared null and void in the end in 1991. But one of the problems is this whole notion has not really gone away. And of course, though, the conference was totally overshadowed because, three days later, you had that terrible attack in New York, 9/11. That will interest some of you, the Institute for Global Jewish Affairs was created as a response to Durban, and Bernard-Henri Levy, the great French philosopher, he wrote "The Left in Dark Times."

Okay, can we go on please, Judy? Yeah, this was the World Conference. This is the Arab Lawyers Union. I can show you hundreds and hundreds of these kind of cartoons because what I tried to show you last week, and I think we pretty well took that on, that the imagery coming out of Russia, which has been taken on by extremism, the extremist Arab world, is this equation of the Star of David with the swastika. So, I want to talk a little bit about the Socialist Workers Party in London. Can we go onto the next slide while I'm talking? Yeah, I'll talk, and then we'll come onto him in a minute because he is so representative of the kind of thoughts that I'm giving you. The Socialist Workers Party, it was founded by supporters of a man called Tony Cliff. He was an international socialist. They kept on changing their names. Now, Tony Cliff had actually been born Yigael Gluckstein. And he came from an immigrant Jewish family, very left wing. He is a follower of Trotsky. He became an opponent of Zionism, and he was, in fact, imprisoned by the British. He met Chanie Rosenberg, who was a South African immigrant. They lived together in Tel Aviv, came to England in 1947. He lived most of his time in Ireland. He was very much on the left. He didn't believe the Jewish state should have been established. He was totally against the accepted order. Now, it then morphs into the Worker's Revolutionary Party. And by the 1970s, it's getting a lot of support from high-level celebrities on the liberal left, people like Corin and Vanessa Redgrave. They actually met with Libyan officials in 1977 and issued a joint statement opposing Zionism, American imperialism, and Sadat. Why? Because you remember, Sadat had made peace with Israel. Their paper was called "The New Line." It was actually funded by Libya and Saddam Hussein's Iraq. And it's full of notions of Zionist plotters who take over the world. This is what they said about the invasion of Lebanon. "It's a graveyard with the help of U.S. paymasters." They used the word "the final solution." You've got to remember these are the words that have come out of Russia. They used the Holocaust terminology to describe Israel and Lebanon. Quote, unquote, "Beirut is the gas chamber of the Palestinians, horrid gas weapons, Nazi-style barbarism of Zionism and imperialism and linking the trio together of Begin, Thatcher, and Reagan." Ken Livingstone, who I'm going to talk about in a minute, he said, "The Lebanon War, the international struggle against Zionism and imperialism." He denounced the Labour Party. Remember, these are the extreme left, "for its silence over Lebanon, where Israel slaughtered thousands and

seized the nation," quote, unquote. By April '83, the Trotskyite, "The New Line" begins to talk about the Jewish world conspiracy, and they say, "It extended from Jews in Margaret Thatcher's cabinet to the newly appointed chairman of the BBC, Stuart Young." I don't know if David Young is listening tonight, but he was, inverted commas, one of the loveliest men I've ever known, "he was part of that cabal," and of course, his brother, who tragically died young, was the chairman of the BBC. So, you see how all this, in fact, they were both the children of Ukrainian immigrants, who just did incredibly well and gave so much to Britain. But you see how it's been twisted. A Jew in public life has to be in allegiance with Israel according to the extremists. This is Robert Wistrich, "Was this the anti-imperialism of idiots, indistinguished from anti-Semitism?" Now, this is where it is anti-Semitism because they are accusing British Jews of being part of a world conspiracy. And of course, the situation escalates when Ken Livingstone becomes leader of the GLC. He had his own paper, "The Herald." He suggested that the Zionists had betrayed the Jews in the Holocaust to achieve their own ends. They were not interested in saving the Jews of Europe but in stealing Palestine from the Arabs, that old canard, that evil canard, which I talked about last time when I talked about how the Russians, for their own ends, had twisted things like the Haavara Agreement, the Kasztner Affair. This is absolutely, to me, who has so many friends amongst Holocaust survivors, I just find that this is just beyond, it is porn. This is real porn. "The Herald," this is Ken Livingstone, who became mayor of London, remember, promoted the theme, I'm quoting, "Jews pull the strings in Washington and London." Once you get to Blair's government, he had an attack on Michael Levy, who of course was the Middle East envoy, and kept on spewing out that it's New Labour, Blair, and the American policy is being shaped by the U.S. lobby. In fact, "The Guardian" newspaper published an article by Desmond Tutu about the all-powerful Jewish lobby, comparing it with Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini. Idi Amin, oh, I don't want to say anymore about him, he said it was a force for evil in the world. So, unfortunately, swathes of left and liberal opinion buy into all of this. This is Tam Dalyell, MP. "Blair is surrounded by," this is 2003. "Blair is surrounded by a sinister cabal of Jewish advisors who instigated the Iraq War, Straw, Mandelson, and Levy." And the point was the Palestinian Solidarity Campaign, which becomes very important, it's going to be backed by elements of the Church of England, the Methodists. There's 70 million of them worldwide. And to quote Robert Wistrich, "Their report could have been written by Hamas." And this is Robert again. "Israel doesn't fit easily with the liberal left consensus and reverence for international organisations, which say that Zionism is colonialism." Now, the Palestinian Solidarity Campaign had been founded in 1982 during the war, and later, it was incorporated into the Solidarity Campaign of 2004. Its stated goals, the right of return of the Palestinians, no mention whatsoever of the Jews of the Arab world, Israel's total withdrawal from Occupied Territories. And then they said, "We are opposed to all forms of racism, including anti-Jewish

prejudice." And it begins to promote the boycott of Israeli goods. They ran workshops on how to deal with Zionist arguments. What do you do with those who call you an anti-Semite? What will boycotting Israeli goods achieve? Now, who were patrons of this? Geoffrey Bindman, who was a human rights lawyer, Julie Christie, Jeremy Corbyn, Bruce Kent, Ilan Pappé, Jenny Tonge. Jenny Tonge was a Liberal peer, remember that terrible disaster in Haiti, Israelis were the first in to help, and she was suspended from the Liberal Party for saying they were harvesting body parts. There were lots of trade, Tony Benn was also a patron, trade union affiliates, the National Union of Teachers, Unite, UNISON. And these are the characters who ordered the disruption of the performance by the Israeli film. In 2012, they interrupted a performance of the Habima at the Globe Theatre. And this is very much the boycott.

So, in 2002, there was a huge pro-Palestinian rally led by Corbyn. He was the first MP to call for a boycott of Israel. And what was fascinating about this particular rally was that the Muslim Brotherhood were handing out leaflets. So, the left, the extreme left is hand in glove now, are marching along with Hamas, who stands, in theory, for everything that they are against. They are misogynistic. They are homophobic. And yet, the left, the extreme left, by a slight of hand, can march with them. The Association of University Teachers, 2005, 40,000 members boycotted two Israeli universities, Bar-Ilan and Haifa. That was actually stopped by international pressure. Again, this is Robert Wistrich again. "Britain leads the pack in boycott and academic isolation of Israel." And he talks about how jihadi radicalism is linked to American, it's linked to America and also to anti-Semitism. Now, the Stop the War Coalition, they were responsible for the biggest march in peacetime in England, 100,000 people. It was launched at a meeting chaired by Lindsey German of the Socialist Workers Party. The steering committee were George Galloway, Tam Dalyell, Jeremy Corbyn, Tariq Ali, and Harold Pinter. And basically, it was to gather everyone who wanted to stop the Iraq War. So, who was part of it? The CND, the Muslim Association of Britain, the Labour left, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Alliance for Workers Liberty. It was very much dominated ideologically by the Socialist Workers Party. But people who went along with it were Greenpeace, the Liberal Democrats, the Scottish National Party, 450 affiliates against the racist backlash. And there were demonstrations, of course, against George Bush, against Guantanamo Bay. And in fact, following the bombings in London, the Socialist Workers Party held a peace vigil condemning the bombings but said the only way to stop them is to withdraw from Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestine. "When we have justice, we will have peace." This was the headline in their rag after the bombings in London. In a rally in Trafalgar Square in 2008, which is the five-year anniversary of Iraq, "Parliament belongs to the past. The streets belong to the future," said Tony Benn, the Stop the War Coalition now. So, it goes on and on. And following the terrible Paris attacks in 2015, "The New Line," "Paris reaps the whirlwind of Western

support for extremist violence in Middle East." Now, Corbyn actually went to many of these events right up until the time he became leader of the opposition. Okay, now, let's talk a bit about Jeremy Corbyn because I think, if we begin to understand some of these characters, and I hope this is helpful for those of you who live in America, because, as Robert said and many others, and there's a very good book by David Hirsch, "The Left's Jewish Problem." May I say that Britain really did lead the pack in this kind of rhetoric, and unfortunately, it does seem to be bleeding over into the States and Canada. So, what's his background? He's born in 1949. He's been a member of Parliament since 1983. He was for Islington North. He was leader of the party in 2015. He had been representative of various trade union parties, Haringey Council in '74, national chairman of Stop the War Coalition. Now, he comes from Wiltshire. He's the youngest of four sons of a very middle-class family. His parents were peace campaigners. They met at a rally against Franco during the Spanish Civil War. He had a terribly middle-class prep school and grammar school education. He joined the Young Socialists. He joined CND. He wasn't very bright. He left the polytechnic after quarrelling with his tutors. And I should mention that I was quite involved in CND in my teenage years, and I got to know, I didn't know him, but I got to know a lot of characters liked him, and they swallowed an ideology. Speaking personally, I am terrified of ideology, that an ideology, be it the left, the extreme left or the extreme right, which says, "We have all the answers." So, he leaves after a quarrel with his tutors. Like many of these individuals, he decides he's going to work his way into power. Elected to Haringey Council, worked for Tony Benn, chair of the Constitutional Labour Party. He allowed Tariq Ali to join. Tariq Ali was a Trotskyite revolutionary figure at university. He opposed the militant tendency, was expelled from the party for being extremist. He was against that. He joined the Socialist Campaign Group. He was arrested outside South Africa House. He wrote a weekly column for the "Morning Star," which is the communist newspaper. And in 2015, he said, "The 'Star' is the most precious and only voice we have in the daily media." He invited two convicted Provisional IRA members and Gerry Adams to Westminster three weeks after the Brighton bombing, very pro-IRA. And following an ambush and death of nine IRA members, he attended their commemoration. Quote, "I'm happy to commemorate all those who died for an independent Ireland." According to the "Sunday Times," involved in 72 events connected to Sinn Fein, monitored by MI5. He supported the campaign to overthrow the conviction of two Palestinian Arabs involved in the 1994 bombing of the Israeli embassy. The convictions were upheld in the High Court of Justice and in the European Court of Human Rights. Between 1979 and 1999, he was the Labour MP who voted most against the Labour whip. He hosted a show called "Press TV" on Iranian television. He was paid 20,000 a year according to the Register of Members' Interests in the House of Commons. He's a leading member of the Palestinian, he was a leading member of the Palestinian Solidarity Campaign. He called it Apartheid Israel. At a Stop the War meeting in 2009, he invited

friends from Hamas and Hezbollah to an event in Parliament. He said, "Hamas is an organisation dedicated to the good of the Palestinian people." And he demanded the decommissioning of Israel's nuclear capacity. He also, after he was elected, did go to a seder of an extreme group within the extreme left, who believe that Israel is a racist state. And at their seder, where they sung "Palestine must be free from the Jordan to the sea," he was present at that. And I think the problem with Jeremy Corbyn, he probably doesn't think he is a racist. Now, why do I say that? Because he has fought anti-racism all his life. And what he does not understand that the kind of anti-Zionism, that the kind of anti-Zionism he actually puts forward is actually, in my view, anti-Semitism. But I really think, along with John McDonnell and so many of his colleagues, they really think that they are on the side of right. And that's one of the problems we have with them.

Anyway, I'm running out of time, Judy. So, I was going to talk to you about Roald Dahl. So, shall we just look at his face? And I promise you I'll find, can we go on, Jude? Judy? Yeah. I'm just tantalising you. As you could understand, there's a huge problem with Roald Dahl. Can you go past Lenny Brenner as well? Go past Ken Livingstone. Except let me quote, "Let's remember, let's remember that when Hitler won his election in 1932, his policy what the Jews should be moved to Israel, he was a supporter of Zionism. This is before he went mad and ended up killing 6 million Jews." Very close friend of Jeremy Corbyn, very much the same kind of background, worked his way through the party and trade union machines, became mayor of London. In my gallery of horror, shall we see the next one? George Galloway. Well, those of you who come from Britain will know a lot about George Galloway. He created the Respect Party. He is a very dangerous individual. He is a total ideologue and a brilliant speaker. More about him later.

And let me say, though, please don't think because I'm concentrating today on the extreme left because I'm interested in more the transforming of anti-Zionism into anti-Semitism, it's there on the extreme right as well. I'm not negating that. It's just, today, I am looking at the extreme left because the next thing, I think, I want to talk about is "Perdition." So, can we look at Jim Allen please? Jim Allen, yeah. Now, Jim Allen, he was a working-class Manchester lefty, went to work at 13, Workers Revolutionary Party, becomes very close to Ken Loach, who I'm also going to talk about. Ken Loach, who is the so-called intellectual of the extreme left, became part of the Socialist Labour League, the Workers Revolutionary Party, international socialist, Marxist group involved very close to George Galloway. Ken Loach was seen as the guru of the Labour left. He has always advocated the academic boycott and cultural boycott on Israel. So, can we go on now to the play "Perdition"? Right, because I think I can pull it all together in this play. It was a stage play by Allen and directed by Ken Loach. Now, Ken Loach, another fascinating character, born in Warwickshire, born in 1936, went to grammar school, RAF. He did law at

Oxford. He became very much part of the experimental theatre, career in dramatic arts. He was an actor in rep and then became a director for the BBC, becomes one of the new wave of directors, gritty working-class life, films like "Up the Junction," "Cathy Come Home," very interested in working-class conflicts, totally opposed to capital punishment, fought against the fact that abortion was illegal. He wrote plays about homelessness, unemployment, social services, mental health, feature films. He directed a brilliant film called "Poor Cow," "Kes," which became number seven in a list of best films of Britain of the 20th century, very much in a partnership with Jim Allen. He made films on Northern Ireland, on the Spanish Civil War. He was very interested in interracial love affairs. He won a BAFTA Outstanding British Film. He also won the Palme d'Or in Cannes. So, you're looking at a serious filmmaker, very, very popular, and then, "Perdition." Now, "Perdition" is a total perversion of the Kasztner Affair. It has phrases like "the Zionist knife in the Nazi fists. To save your hides," quoting, "you practically led them to the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Israel was founded on the pillars of Western film." Now, Allen was influenced by Lenni Brenner, "Zionism in the Age of the Dictators." And Allen said it's the most lethal attack on Zionism ever written because it says quite plainly that privileged Jewish leaders collaborated in the extermination of the Jews. Again, it's that terrible canard, which is so evil, that the Jews themselves were complicit in the murder. It was actually in, and it was also tied into a fictitious libel trial in London of Dr. Yaron. Both Martin Gilbert and David Cesarani, the two great historians, they both said the play is deeply anti-Semitic. And Max Stafford-Clark, who was the artistic director at the Royal Court, he rejected the accusation of anti-Semitism but said continuing with the play would cause great stress, I'm quoting, "to certain sections of the community." Loach went on to say it's because of pressure from Jews such as Lord Weidenfeld and Lord Goodman. And he told a reporter for the Worker's Revolutionary Party, quote, "I haven't tangled with the Zionist lobby before. What is amazing is the strength of its organisation and the power of their lobby." Jim Allen also said that Labour, it is a plot of the Jews. More about Ken Loach, actually, he offered security for Julian Assange. Of course, when he skipped, he lost his bail. He very much supported the trade unions and socialist coalition in the London Assembly. He's very much part, he is the guru of the left. He asked, in 2007, for San Francisco to boycott Israeli associations. He didn't want any financial support from any Israeli source for any festival. He joined 54 international figures on Israel's 60th birthday, quote, "Celebrating Israel is tantamount to dancing on Palestinian graves." And he actually published 8th of May, 2008, this is in the "International Herald Tribune," "Israel feeds feelings of anti-Semitism. Nothing has been a greater instigator of anti-Semitism than the self-proclaimed Jewish State." Deconstruct that. If some of you want to do something really interesting over the break, please take that statement. "Nothing has been a greater instigator of anti-Semitism than the self-proclaimed Jewish state." He, of course,

endorsed Jeremy Corbyn's leadership build. He was actually expelled from the party in 2001. So, the last thing, actually, can we go on? I want to give you a couple of more quotes. This is a letter he wrote to "The Guardian." "As its first director, I can say that the essential story tells of collaboration of some Zionists with the Nazis in Budapest in 1944 was not challenged and stands as historic fact. The torrent of misinformation about the play came from those who objected to the political critique of Zionism and the consequent dispossession of the Palestinians. The charge of anti-Semitism is the time-honored way to deflect anti-Zionist arguments." And can we just come to the last quote please? This is "New Line Magazine," "A graveyard with the help of American paymasters, a final solution, Beirut is a gas chamber for the Palestinians."

Now, and I can go on, and on, and on. I think I've given you enough to set the picture. So, the last area that I want to bring to your attention is, in many ways, for me, the most painful, using all this Nazi imagery to talk about Israel, but something else. Can we go back to the title page? I don't really want that left on the screen to upset people if you don't mind, Judy. What has happened to Holocaust studies? On one level, one would've felt that we could be more hopeful. In 2000, the first ever conference of the new millennium held in Stockholm, in fact, the Wallfisch family all played, it was pulled together by the Swedish government. 60 different countries attended. They sent either foreign ministers or heads of state. And because the Swedes had actually uncovered a lot of anti-Semitism in Sweden, and the prime minister believed that, if he put serious Holocaust education in place, it might lessen it. And so, the ITF was formed, which is now IHRA. I was there at the meeting as one of the British delegates. So, I was there in the beginning, and the idea was that every country in the scenario of the war would have a Holocaust Memorial Day. Britain chose the 27th of January, and one of the clauses was that it was to fight anti-Semitism. And Holocaust studies is on the core curriculum in Britain, the worst case scenario, four, 40-minute sessions. But something has gone strangely wrong. Is it because of what Howard said? They can never forgive us the Holocaust because what seems to be happening more and more at Holocaust commemorations, Corbyn and his ilk want Genocide Memorial Day. The Palestinians make reference to the Nakba as their Holocaust. The point is the Holocaust, I think, and we've just had a terrible incident with the Anne Frank Trust, the Holocaust is being more and more de-Judaized. Now, let me say very, very carefully, the slave trade was a monstrous thing. All these things are monstrous things. When people act with total inhumanity, it's monstrous. But I think the issue that now the Holocaust is being, if you like, de-Judaized is a serious issue. Not only is Israel more and more on the extreme left, seen as, inverted commas, "a Nazi state," but the commemoration of the dead is now sort of lumped together with every other tragedy and something else. Nobody is studying Jewish history. That's why I'm so glad that Wendy took this huge initiative. Yes, your generation maybe, but there

are very few places now where you can get enough. I'm talking about our own people now. My biggest problem and my biggest hobbyhorse is our kids who go to university, and they don't know about this. Why should they? They're clever, they go to good schools, but this is the gap. So, when they go to universities, particularly as the, and look, let's face it, most nice, young students are liberal left because they take the case of the underdog, but they come against this image of Israel, and many of them have to hide under the parapet. So, what I'm saying to you is, my only message on this, I don't think you'll ever destroy anti-Semitism. But what I think we can do is we can educate our own children, and what we can do as much as possible, and it's not just setting up centres to study anti-Semitism, there's so much work done, and more will be done, is actually teacher training. It's training people, real historians who can tell our kids what's going on. It's only a small little thing, but to me, I think that would go a way to helping with a solution. Because what I'm saying to you now, in the year 2022, Israel is the pariah of the world. The UN passes more resolutions against Israel than any other nation. And as the Americans say, go figure. In the end, I'm left with Howard's statement. They cannot forgive us the Holocaust. So, what's happened, and as I said, it started very cynically in Russia, this movement to actually accuse Jews of participating in the Holocaust, which is about the most sick, ghastly accusation you can ever make. Yes, there are terrible wounds like Kasztner and Haavara, but they can be answered within the context of Jewish history. Kasztner was not a traitor to his people. I really do not believe that. And I know that Tommy Camoli, who I hope is listening today, his uncle, a great hero, who was chairman of the Rescue Committee, he paid with his life. He was murdered by the Arrow Cross. I think he would agree with me. But this is the kind of thing that's taken. It's almost, is it because of that 2,000-year history of Jew hatred in the Christian world and also the guilt of the Shoah? I'm going to stop there. I've thrown a lot of ideas at you, and I promise you that August is going to be a lot lighter. So, thank you very much. Hi, hi, Wendy, hello.

– [Wendy] Hi, yeah, I'm here. Thank you, Trudy.

– [Trudy] Yeah.

– [Wendy] Hmm? Are there any questions? Let's have a look. Many questions I see them.

Q & A and Comments

Q: Is Islam a Semitic religion?

A: Tim, it's a total misnomer. As I said to you, this whole notion of race is silly, frankly. But when Wilhelm Marr coined the phrase the League of Anti-Semites, he was only talking about Jews. Okay, so

Muslims cannot be victims of anti-Semitism.

Q: Does Zionism mean you want to go and live in Israel, or does it only refer to the right of Israel to exist?

A: Good question, Tim. Zionism means, if I'm going to take the "Oxford Dictionary," quote it, and comment, it means that you believe in the creation and maintenance of the state of Israel.

Q: Why is anti-Semitism equated to racism? Isn't anti-Judaism more accurate?

A: No, because anti Judaism is religious.

Q: Why is anti-Semitism equated to racism?

A: Because beginning in Russia, they kind of more and more tied up Israel as a white, colonialist, settler state.

Shelly, "There's a totally different Jewish culture from Eastern Europe than there is from Sephardic Jews, who have various cultures, Syrian Jews who tend to be business people and not professionals."

Yes, of course. Shelly, exactly, you know, the word Jew, we could spend a term analysing what the word Jew means, couldn't we?

"According to the Balfour Declaration, there were two states, and Jordan is the Palestinian country. Why does no one remember that?"

Because people do not know their history, Shelly. And I've recommended, many times, Martin Gilbert's history atlas if you want to look at the chicanery of the British in the First World War and how they carved up states out of the Turkish Empire. That's where you'll find it all.

Myrna, agreed too, "I am a Jewish Palestinian. We use the misnomer Palestinian." Yeah, good point. Presumably, you were born in Palestine before it became Israel. "What is a Jew should be limited to religious issues only. Look at Lockdown University. I'm guessing most of the participants are Jewish. We know who we are." What is a Jew should be limited to religious issues, and hold on. The problem is I'm not, what we do is irrelevant. It's how the outside world deals as well, isn't it? The word Jew is complicated for the outside world. The fact that the extreme left were blaming ministers in Blair's government, advisors to Blair because they happened to be Jewish, working for the British government accusing them of Zionist conspiracy, how do you deal with that in that kind of definition?

Michael, "The concept of a two-state solution for many people does not include a Jewish state as one of those states. Instead, it includes a Palestinian state and another that includes Israel but only with the addition of the 5 million or so Arab refugees. In other words, a two-

state solution does not allow for a Jewish state. A precondition for this two-state solution is that Israel must commit demographic suicide. Many non-Arab advocates of a two-state solution do not even realise that this is what Palestinians mean when they talk about a two-state solution."

Yes, Michael, I didn't really want to talk politics in this one, but what I would say is nobody talks about the right of the Jews of the Arab world to return. I cannot honestly think any of them would want to. But Lyn Julius, who is the expert on that, and her colleagues, I mean, if you look at what happened to the communities, Iraq, Syria, et cetera, there were pogroms. And don't forget that the leader that the Palestinians have have been the subject of tragedy. Their leader, remember was Hajj Amin al-Husseini, who spent the war with Hitler. There have been times on the road where there could have been peace.

- [Wendy] Trudy, I just want to jump in and say that I'm proud and happy to say that we have many non-Jewish participants on Lockdown University.

- [Trudy] Yeah.

- [Wendy] They're a truly integrated group, global group.

- I think that's how it should be. And that's how it should be.

- [Wendy] Yeah.

- Wendy, of course. And also, we've got many friends out there as well. I really do believe the majority of people are relatively liberal. I do. It's just that the it's the extremists, the ideologists, be they to the extreme left or the extreme right. That's the problem. I dunno what you think about that, Wendy.

- [Wendy] You're right, absolutely, no.

Q: Can you address the ways in which Israel contributed to anti-Israel views and played into the hand of left-wing anti-Zionism, in fact, that Israel was the principle supplier to South Africa and to the constant move to the right from Begin to Netanyahu?

A: Jonathan, I didn't want to discuss Israeli politics. I think it's a separate thing, and we've all got our views on this. What I'm saying is it doesn't negate Israel's right to exist as a state, and if the British get involved in a policy in Ireland that many people find absolutely abhorrent, does it lead to the same level of hostility to Britain in the councils of the world? That's the point I'm making.

Oh, this is, "Chanie Rosenberg was my cousin, though I've never met her. Grandfather was my great-grandfather." That's why I love this

thing. This is marvellous.

Yes, this is Monique. "In the late 1960s, the idea of Israel as a colonialist occupying power was marginal, held by such groups in America as the Young Socialist Alliance. And about the same time, the Soviet Union sent Yasser Arafat to General Giap of North Vietnam to learn how to present the newly minted Palestinian people as oppressed trying to regain their land. This belief has become mainstream in America and is no longer confined to the extreme left. There are of course degrees of anti-Zionism. Some believe Israel should not exist, while others purport to think that Israel along the Auschwitz lines. Abba Eban or '67 are an answer. The Palestinian ongoing request for their right of return as well as the slogan 'from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free' are calls for the end of Israel.

Q: How do you see all this trending over the next decade?

A: Wow, wow.

Thank you, Adrian. "You should get in that Nat Wolff on Lockdown." Yes, good, I will talk to Wendy about that. She has done things for Jewish Book Week, yeah.

Q: Why is the issue of Israel and Zionism so important for organisations and parties in the West?

A: You see, I happen to believe it's because that we live in the old world of Christianity, and even though Christianity has become secular, it doesn't matter. You know, we have been very strong in their consciousness for so long. If you think about it, the hymns or our hymns, Jerusalem, it's so much part of Western culture. That's the point. It can be benign as well. Look, I had to deal with a very dark subject today, and I really do not believe every Gentile is an enemy. I really don't. What I was trying to explain is how it's grown in the extreme left, and I also want to say a lot of good people can be seduced by these ideas because of the old anti-racism argument. What's happened is little Israel has been put into the corner as a racist, post-colonial, imperial state.

Q: Is there any connection with the British leftists and the anti-Semites of the British fascists of the 1930s and neo-fascists of 1962? Are the leaders from the same universities or the same social class?"

A: That is a very, very good question, and I'm going to have to give that a lot of thought rather than give you a, my hunch is no.

Q: This is from Roma. "The frightening anti-Semitic rhetoric in Canadian universities is beyond the pale. What a different academic environment from when I was an undergraduate. Having said the above, what can be done besides financially supporting Jewish unions on

campus?"

A: Educating them, really, really educating them. I don't mean sending in once in a while. I mean a proper education programme of Jewish history. That's why I'm so against the memorial in London. We don't need another memorial to the Holocaust. It's not going to solve the problem. I'm going to ask Anita Lasker-Wallfisch to come on and talk about it, I think.

Rod, "I believe you can't distinguish those that hate the Jews because of their culture, their religion, their race, their nature, their land, their state ties to capitalism, ties to communism. They're all the same. They're all Jew haters."

Yeah, but I don't think they're the majority world. That's what I'm trying to say to you.

This is from Maury Heller, and thank you for contacting me. You gave me some wonderful insights. "I've observed the far right and the far left holding hands, certainly mirroring one another's bigoted, fascistic views. We traditionally liberal Jews here in the States feel we have no place to go anymore."

Look, if there's any way of being, look, what I do know, the world is going through very, very uncertain times, isn't it? And we also know that prejudice comes to the fore when you're going through those kind of times. Monty, "A Hamas representative once said, 'There are no such people as Palestinians. They're Egyptians.'" Okay.

Mitsy, "The Israelis have often tried to make peace with the Arabs and made many concessions." She goes on to say how sad it all is. Yes, and the Arabs supported, well, let's be careful. The muftis supported Hitler. I don't think all Arabs supported Hitler.

- [Wendy] This is a very complicated subject. We can talk about it for hours and hours, and we look forward to hearing more from you.

- Okay, God bless, thank you very much.

- [Wendy] Thanks, everybody. Thank you, Judi. I'm glad you're feeling better, Judi.

- [Judi] Thank you, Wendy.

- [Wendy] Thanks, thanks, bye-bye, everyone.

- [Judi] Bye.