

Trudy Gold | Trotsky and Jabotinsky

- [Wendy] Yeah.

- Wendy, I've had a couple of questions as how it all started. I mean, while we're waiting, I think we've got a couple more minutes. Do you want to tell people how it started? Because it's really unbelievable.

- Well, we've been going now since the 27th of April.

- Yeah, it's unbelievable, isn't it?

- And it really started to keep my parents occupied, you know? And also to keep Trudy occupied. We were in South Africa and I could see the days were going to be long and lockdown was going to be for a long time. And Trudy, you were in Cornwall and it was dark, and dreary, and miserable, and I thought, "Oh, let's put these two together."

- And it worked. It worked.

- Yeah, it worked. So it started off with my aunt and my uncle Izzy and Buscha Kirsch, and then my parents and myself, and then I extended to the children and then to my close circle of friends. There were about 20 of us initially, my very , very... Who we are all on our WhatsApp together. And then I could see that everybody was enjoying it, so they asked if they could extend it to their friends, and to their friends, and to their friends. And it's been fun actually growing this university, and it's been fun welcoming all of you, and it's been a wonderful learning experience. And also, I think during these very, very dark and dismal times, to know that you belong to a family, and that you're not alone, and that all you need to do is just reach out to us, never ever feel completely desperate, 'cause we are here, this time will pass, and here we are. So on that note, 27 years of-

- Thank you, Wendy. Thank you very much.

- I want to thank you all, really for always being there, for volunteering, for stepping up to the plate. And I want to give a special shout out, of course, to my team, to Judi, and to Kylie, and to Shawna, and to Corey who started it all those months ago. And then a special, special shout out to Dennis Davis, our Dennis Davis Judge, who really, really was behind me and spurred me on and called, and suggested, and volunteered. And then also to the wonderful faculty, Trudy, and David, and Patrick, and everybody, I hope I haven't left anybody out, the team. So, okay...

- And thank you to you, my darling. You made it happen. All right, shall I start now?

- Yeah, over to you. Thanks.

- Okay. Can you see me, Judi? Judi? Okay. Well, good evening, everyone. And you might wonder why I've brought Trotsky and Jabotinsky together, and to make it even more powerful, Trotsky Lev Davidovich Bronstein. Lev is lion. Vladimir Jabotinsky Ze'ev, is wolf. The lion and the wolf. This idea of pairing, I first became interested in it when I read Isaiah Berlin's "Against the Current", and he brought together Marx and Disraeli. Fascinating. What on earth did they have in common? Well, he made them have a lot in common. They both came from Jewish backgrounds, they were both very alienated characters.

One, he said, wanted to take on the world and win, and the other one wanted to destroy the existing order and change it forever. And this particular lecture came out of a long conversation with my great mentor, Professor Robert Wistrich, to whom I owe so much. And Robert's PhD thesis was actually on Trotsky, and his father had escaped the onslaught of the Nazis by running into Russia with the family, and was put in a gulag by Stalin. Robert came to England when he was five and basically studied in England, but he was always fascinated... His father became very anti-communist because of his treatment by Stalin, but he was always interested in Jews on the left. So this is how this situation arose, and the more you bring it together, they were very, very similar. Now, what do I mean by that?

I'm talking about their personalities. Well, to start with, let's look at the dates. Trotsky was born in 1879, and he is murdered by Stalin's agents in 1940. Jabotinsky was born in 1880, and he dies having had a heart attack at a Betar meeting in New York, in 1940. So they're of a very similar age. They both come from the Ukraine. Trotsky's family, those of you who've been studying with me for a while, if you go back in Czarist history, and remember, they're both born in the last years of the Czarist Empire. From 1880 to 1914, the Czarist Empire is really beginning to crumble. They're both there in that terrible period, and they both come from Odessa. Well, Trotsky's family, although they lived on a farm outside Odessa, his mother had been born in Odessa, and he comes to study in Odessa, whereas Jabotinsky was also born in Odessa.

Now, Odessa was a very, very special city, and those of you who have been on lockdown for a while will remember, I hope, that I actually gave a whole session on Odessa. Odessa of course, was in the Pale of Settlement, and we've looked at the maps, it was right on the edge of the Pale. Back in the reign of Catherine the Great, and I'm giving an advertisement here, but over the Christmas break, I'm going to give a presentation on Catherine the Great, it's actually a present to Francis, because Francis really finds her an interesting character. But it was Catherine the Great who extended the empire down to Odessa. It was her, really, her boyfriend, her lover, who had... More about him later, who'd conquered the area. And Di Richler built the most extraordinary city.

It's a very beautiful city, Odessa, with its incredible steps. I'm sure those of you who love film would've seen "Battleship Potemkin", and the scene with the carriage on the steps. It has a marvellous opera house. Jabotinsky, as a writer, wrote about it very... Actually, he was a great writer, and he wrote about the opera house. He wrote many, many books. Both of them, so let's

go back to them, they were both incredibly clever, they were both very attractive in their own ways, they were both very... I'm going to say this, I'm sure there are people on this Zoom who will love Jabotinsky and hate Jabotinsky. Trotsky, I think, is a far more complicated figure. But basically, they appeared to many people to be arrogant. They were, as I said, attractive, clever. They stood alone and they walked the world. And I think the other point about both of them, I think in terms of their own outlook on the world, they were giants.

In their own way, they were giants. Now, the difference between the two of them, as they grew to manhood and they witnessed the appalling conditions that people lived in, Trotsky decides to save the world, and Jabotinsky decides to try and save the Jews. And I've discussed this with you before, what I find is a great tragedy is that they never met. Well, as far as we know, they never met. I think that's rather odd because they were for quite a long time, in the same city. The city was a third Jewish, it was a seaport, it was very much the freest part of the empire. Now, I'm not going to spend too much time on their biographies, I'm more interested in their ideas. There are so many books on Trotsky and Jabotinsky. Unfortunately, most of them are very partisan. I think if you want to read Trotsky, probably read Robert Wistrich. But of course, he himself wrote his autobiography and his great disciple, Deutscher, wrote a huge three volumes on Trotsky. And here you see that young, sensitive face.

Thank you, Judi. I'm going to interject here, none of these lectures that I've given would have been possible without Judi. It's not just the slides, she's held my hand through all sorts of things, so thank you, Judi. And look at that young, sensitive face and the man we know as he got old. So coming back to the two of them, a little bit of biography then. With Trotsky, as I said, his grandfather, in return for tax concessions, went to farm not far from Odessa, in Yanova. Now the father, Trotsky's father, he became quite wealthy, he was, if you like, a gentleman farmer, but he was becoming more and more remote from his Jewish upbringing, but he married a woman from Odessa who was most traditional.

And we know that Trotsky went to Lebder Village, Bronstein, let's give him back his name. He went to a traditional cheder, he hated it, and he... You see, there's a problem with Trotsky, because he's an idea ideologue, he always said he didn't have much Jewish background. And you know, the accidents of history, as I said, I've been teaching in the Hampstead area for a long, long time, and going back to the early eighties, one of my students was a woman called Vera Brainess. Those of you who come from London, I don't know if any of you will remember her, she ran Youth Aliyah at the end of the war, she was a formidable woman. And I was giving a lecture on Trotsky, what do I know? I've just read lots and lots of books.

And she said to me... And I said, "All the received wisdom, he didn't know much about his Jewish origins," and that's what he himself wrote. And she said, "You are wrong, Trudy. He was my father's Hebrew teacher in Odessa." Did Trotsky create for himself a kind of... A fantasy? What happens is, he was very interested in the farm and all the people he met, he becomes very interested in all the peasants. He spoke Russian. In Odessa, the majority of Jews spoke Russian. As I said, it was the most modern city in the Pale, it was full of lots of nationalities. And

although there was oppression of the Jews, many of them lived a much freer life, so it's important to remember this. He goes to school in Odessa, and very early on, he begins to realise that he's got to do something to help everyone.

We know that at school, he was top of the class, he hated physical... He went to a gymnasium, he hated physical sports, he didn't like art, but apart from that, he was good at everything, he was top in all the subjects. And he, very early on, becomes involved in revolutionary activities. He becomes a brilliant orator as a young man, and he is then arrested. You think of the crackdown, in 18... When he was born in 1880, Alexander III was on the throne. He dies in 1894, and that is the time of Nicholas II, the last of the czars and the weakest of the czars, who was also, by the way, a notorious anti-Semite. Trotsky is involved in all sorts of revolutionary activities, and he finishes up in prison. In prison, he marries his Jewish girlfriend.

A rabbi marries them, because if you marry, think about bourgeois considerations and how these young people thought. But if you marry, you are exiled to Siberia. So he and his first wife go off to Siberia, he produces two sons. And in Siberia, it's really the university of left-wing thought, because who's been exiled? All the young revolutionaries. And what happens in Siberia is he continues his work, he continues his ideas, and he really gets to know a lot of interesting people. Evidently, the name Trotsky comes from his jailer. He then escapes from Siberia. He knows about the international revolution, there's a lot of communication. He goes to Paris where he meets another woman who he later marries. He comes to London. Why does he come to London? In a little house, a little flat in a house around the back of King's Cross Station, there was a man called Lenin, and his wife Krupskaya.

He bangs on their door, they'd never met before, but of course, he wants to meet the great Lenin, the leader of the group. He comes in and he works with Lenin on his publication, "Iskra", The Spark. He's becomes more and more involved in revolutionary politics, and at that stage, the revolutionary groups, so many of the leadership were young people like Trotsky of Jewish birth. Now let me say this very carefully, Trotsky had decided to throw away all his Jewishness. He was never religious. It appears that the family, as I said, there wasn't much Jewish content, whether he had the language as well, I can only tell you the story I knew, we know he is a brilliant linguist. He could speak and write in many different languages.

But many of these young revolutionaries, they were the outsiders. It's what Isaac Deutscher, in his fascinating book, "The Non-Jewish Jew", and they're all recommended on the book list that Judi has sent to you, these people are what Deutscher calls the non-Jewish Jews. The Jews as it were, who transcend their own background, who transcend the world. But was there within them, and this is for you to think about, some sort of messianic dream to create a better world? At the time of the Kishinev pogrom, there was a terrible pogrom in Kishinev in 1903, it's going to seriously affect Trotsky, it seriously affects Jabotinsky. And I'll talk about Jabotinsky's reactions later. As far as Trotsky is concerned, and he was very touched by the pogrom. And he, in graphic detail, because he was also a journalist, he described the pogrom.

But he believed the best way to stop antisemitism was to destroy the old corrupt order. And this seemed to have been a dream shared by all these young revolutionaries. But within the revolutionary movement, there was a lot of infighting. The Bund, the Jewish labour Bund, which came out of Eastern Europe, was also very much committed to revolution. But what they wanted was a Jewish autonomous region where Yiddish would be their language and they would fight for a revolution, but once it's all over, they wanted their own autonomy. The huge infighting between the Bund, which was entirely Jewish, and Trotsky and his group, which of course wanted international revolution. Trotsky wasn't quite sure which group, whether it was the Mensheviks or the Bolsheviks he wanted to go with, but grad...

He quarrels with Lenin. But they are all there in 1905 for the phoney revolution, 1905 after the disastrous Russo-Japanese War. And you may recall a fascinating little incident I talked about last week. Jacob Schiff, whose money created the joint, he actually supported the Japanese in their war effort against Russia because of the antisemitism. So there are so many strange coincidences. But in 1905, because of the poverty and the horror of the Russia-Japanese war... Can you imagine, Manchuria is where they're fighting, men and equipment sent to the front at a time of starvation, and the city's under a ghastly, autocratic rule. There was a revolution, but it wasn't yet the time. The troops come back from the front, the revolution's over, Trotsky goes to Vienna, where basically, for the next seven years, he's going to live.

He's in Vienna for seven years, really mixing with very interesting people. He was part of the edge of Freud's circle. Just imagine what Vienna must have been like at that period. And of course, all of the Bolsheviks are completely anti-war. And when the revolution occurs, when the fir... In 1917, there is a liberal revolution in Russia. Many of you will know about it, we've covered it or I'm sure you've all read about it. And Helphand, better known as Parvus, a Jewish entrepreneur and communist socialist, he actually does a deal with the German Secret Service, and they smuggle Lenin, they smuggle 30 people into Russia on a train, two-thirds of them of Jewish birth. And this is of course, the signal for the Bolshevik Revolution. Trotsky joins Lenin, they are now one, the divisions are over, and they managed through brilliance, absolute... It's a handbook of how to take power. They take over Russia.

And then of course, as we've already discussed, civil war breaks out all over Russia with the whites. In the Ukraine of course, it is still Suzuki's army. Poland... Just imagine the turmoil after the collapse. And it's Trotsky, the extraordinary Trotsky, who becomes the great military man and out of the Red Guards, creates the Red Army. The Red Army, which finally manages to pull off the defeats of the majority of the rival groups. They are stopped by the Poles and have to negotiate the Treaty of Riga. But going back, it was Trotsky who was made commissar for foreign affairs, who signs the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which brings Germany out of the war. And you may remember I showed you that picture of Trotsky actually signing with the German High Command. Now, Trotsky went from battlefield to battlefield on his famous train, he was a brilliant orator, he was a magic man. Now, what is interesting though, once they have taken power, this is where we have a problem.

This is what Wistrich said, that Trotsky was an idealist, and he was an ideologue, but when he took power, he was totally ruthless in the suppression of many things and was responsible for a huge loss of life. As from a Jewish point of view, it was Trotsky who was the main motivation behind the Yevsektziyas, just as he had been the main person to go against the Bund. He now, in the Yevsektziyas, they're called the Jewish Sections, it's his ideas that lead to the breakdown of Jewish life in Russia. Just as Christian life was broken down, never forget, religion is the opium of the masses. You cannot have a religion, there is a new religion now. We are one people, one folk. Now, Trotsky was... A herem was pronounced on him by many rabbis, but the Yevsektziyas, they beavered away at Jewish life.

Hebrew was prohibited, Zionism was outlawed. Why do you need Zionism? There was a wonderful quotation that the Bund were merely Zionists who suffered from seasickness. What the international revolutionaries wanted was one whole people. And we're talking about a world of people. If you think of the first line of the communist manifesto that had been written by the grandson of rabbis on both sides, Karl Marx, "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains." And Trotsky's view was always permanent revolution from country, to country, to country. Anyway, when Trotsky... Lenin suggested that Trotsky become minister for home affairs, and Trotsky said, "You can't do that because of my Jewish background." Ironically, the majority of the leadership at that time, were of Jewish birth. When Lenin became ill and he had a stroke, Trotsky was the natural successor.

And this is where Trotsky, the brilliant demagogue, the orator, the man of huge brain, and this is where he is totally outmanoeuvred by a wily, clever bureaucrat. And of course, that was Stalin. Stalin did things that Trotsky couldn't be bothered to do. He ran the party and he had his own people in place, and he understood the weakness of human nature. He did a deal with two other Jews, Zenoviev and Kamenev, and what they do is they marginalise Trotsky. Even though he has his supporters, he is gradually marginalised to the extent that he's exiled from the party. He is then finally thrown out of Russia. He becomes a nomad, he goes to Turkey, he goes to Scandinavia, and he finally finishes up in Mexico where he is given haven. But Stalin's hatred of Trotsky, Trotsky is written out of history. And there are, if you look at pictures of Stalin's reign, I'm calling it a reign, he was a czar, and in the early days, who do you think took the parade in Red Square? It was Lenin and Trotsky.

Trotsky was actually written out of the history books, he was written out of all the photographs. And in Mexico, he continues to rail. He's still very important because he had a lot of supporters. Jaffe, who was his aide, actually committed suicide in 1927. Trotsky had a lot of supporters, but Stalin in the end, pushes and pushes and pushes, and he's assassinated by Stalin's agents. And I'm going to leave the biography and evaluate later, because now I'd like to come on to the other fascinating character. Can we see the next slide, Judi, if you don't mind? There you have him. Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky. And this is what he said about Odessa; "Out of the void, had this city been established 100 years earlier, before my birth, in a dozen languages did its inhabitants speak, yet none of them did they fully master. I have never seen such an easygoing city."

Now, Jabotinsky, as I said, he was born in 1880, his father was a relatively prosperous merchant, but he died when Jabotinsky was only six years old. And his mother was more and more impoverished, and she finished up opening a stationary shop. He was a very clever boy. He went to a gimnazium, he learnt many languages, but he leaves school at 17, and by which time he's already writing for Odessa newspapers, and though he has enough to travel to Bern to study, and then to Rome. And both Rome and Bern had a very interesting impact on him. He develops his ideas and he also becomes a very important novelist. I mentioned that he wrote about the Opera House. He also wrote, I think probably his most important book is "Samson", and that should give you a clue to the man.

Now, Jabotinsky, just like Trotsky, was horrifically aware of the Kishinev pogrom. As a writer, he wrote fictions, the kind of thing that Herzl wrote. We don't see them much in the papers today. They are generally 5,000 words of cultural ideas. And Jabotinsky had written from Rome, he had written from Bern. He was brilliant at the snapshots of Jewish life in Odessa. He was acutely aware of the Kishinev pogrom, he was aware of the plight of his people, he was playing around with Zionism, and you know what he wrote? He wrote, "I don't like Jews very much, but I'm one of them." He writes this when he is very young. "My fortunes will rise and fall with them, so basically, I'm going to do everything I can to help." Do you see these two young, brilliant men? Trotsky wants to save the world, and in the end, his colleagues slap him in the face. And what happens to Trotsky in Stalin's Russia?

Stalin uses antisemitism against Trotsky, which is fascinating. But, going back to Jabotinsky. Jabotinsky, he attends the sixth Zionist Congress, where Herzl is defeated over the Uganda offer. If you remember, the British had offered the homeland in Uganda. He quickly makes his mark in the Zionist organisation. He decides to devote all his time to Zionism. After Herzl's death in 1904, there's kind of a power vacuum. And in 1906, Weitzman and Jabotinsky come together to try and make peace in the Zionist organisation. What will be the direction? By this time, it's settlement on the land, the Second Aliyah, the people who created the Kibbutz Movement, the Moshavim, the cornerstone laid for Tel Aviv in 1989. Or should it be Herzl in diplomacy? And they make peace. And then, Jabotinsky goes to Constantinople to work with the community there. He is very interested in the Young Turk Revolution.

He is the editor of three different newspapers, one in Hebrew, one in Yiddish, and one in Turkish. The man was a marvel at languages. And in 1914, where you have Trotsky in Vienna, thinking that the war is just a capitalist war, and what's it going to do to the ordinary folk? You have Jabotinsky thinking, "What side should we take?" And this huge division in the Zionist organisation, should we abstain? Don't forget, there were German Zionists, some even went back to Germany to fight. In the end, the British... I beg your pardon, the Turks solved the problem because they began to exile Jews in Palestine, to Egypt. British held Egypt. Why? Because... Well, you can work it out, can't you? Just think what happened to German Jews in London. They were interned. They were interned as Russians and enemy aliens, and many of them congregated in Alexandria. Now, Jabotinsky's philosophy.

Jabotinsky was... He was a romantic, he was a liberal in many ways, but he did believe in a fighting force. And I should have mentioned, in Odessa, he'd organised Jewish fighting forces. I've mentioned to you many times, the whole Bar Kokhba Ben Zakkai debate. What is the future of the Jewish people? And if you go back to biblical times, we were a greater warlike people. There is a fascinating poem of B. Alec's after the Kishinev pogrom, that pogrom that totally affected those two men, and what did the last stanza say? It talks about... Instead of talking about the horror of the pogrom and blaming the perpetrators, B. Alec, what he does is he blames the Jewish men who crouch behind caskets and watch it all happening. And he screams at them, "Were you once the sons of the Maccabees, the signs of the lions, the seeds of the saints?" Now, this is totally exaggerated, there were Jewish self-defense groups, but what is happening is, are we Bar Kokhba? Are we Ben Zakkai?

We have been much too passive in the diaspora. And what happens is Jabotinsky teams up with Joseph Trumpeldor and they found the Zion Mule Corps, a fighting force that fights with the British. Jabotinsky reckons the British are going to win. He's very charismatic, he gets on well with all sorts of interesting characters. He then comes to London and he creates the 37th and 38th Royal Fusiliers. This is out of young Russian Jews, they take the salute, but the the Lord Mayor of London takes the salute and they go to Palestine under Colonel Patterson, and Jabotinsky is left-tenant Jabotinsky. The British soldiers called him Juga Whiskey. Campaign after campaign, he was the first Jew to cross the Jordan, he was decorated by the British for bravery, and he's in Palestine during the military administration. The British of course, win. And before a High Commissioner can arrive in Palestine, there is British military rule. And it has to be said that many of the British officers had previously come from Russia.

At the end of the war, the British government had sent troops to fight Trotsky. The protocols of the elders of Zion was in full pelt. There was a lot of antisemitism amongst the officer class, there were Muslim-Jewish associations created, and the leaders of Palestinian Arabs were spending a lot of time really awakening Arab national consciousness. And it culminated in the Nabi Musa riots. Nabi Musa, it's Moses. It's the Feast of Nabi Musa, the similarities between Islam and Judaism are fascinating, and there are riots and there are murders. And Jabotinsky organises self-defense groups, Haganah, in Jerusalem, and he's imprisoned for 15 years by the British military authorities. Now, when the High Commissioner comes to Palestine, Herbert Samuel, a Jew and a Zionist, there is a moratorium and Jabotinsky is let out. But he has learnt his lesson as far as he's concerned, he can no longer trust the British, and he realises that the Jews have to go for statehood.

At the end of the First World War, I've described to you quite graphically, the horror situation in Poland, in the Ukraine, in Lithuania, and of course later on, as Hitler comes to power, how is Jabotinsky going to cope with it all? And then, and this is presentations I'm going to give next year, Churchill comes to Palestine as the Colonial Secretary. And in order to create what he hopes will be peace between the Jews and the Arabs, he cuts off two-thirds of the mandate that have been awarded to the British in Palestine and creates Transjordan. Jabotinsky says, "This is a betrayal." The British remember, had issued the Balfour Declaration. His Majesty's



government views with favour, the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, care to be taken that it should not inhibit the rights of the cities of people already living there or the rights of Jews in any other countries.

As far as Jabotinsky is concerned, we want land both sides of the Jordan. Now, what happens is there is going to be a continual rift in the party. The man who has emerged as the champion of Zionism is of course, Chaim Weizmann, who had once been a close friend of Jabotinsky's. They've lived together for a while in London. Now, Weizmann believed that the British would come through. He believed in the honour of Britain. He had lots of friends in the British government, and he believed softly, slowly, slowly, slowly. It wasn't Jabotinsky's nature. He is aware of the horrors of what his people are experiencing in Poland, in the Lithuania, in the Ukraine, although, and this is very controversial, he did support Ukrainian independence. He believed that nationhood was the natural condition of any people.

And gradually, the rift between him and Weizmann becomes deeper and deeper. And politically, the Histadrut, which is founded in 1920, comes more and more under the control of the socialist Zionists, Ben Gurion, later on, Golda Meir, etc. Jabotinsky is ideologically opposed to them. He was in fact, called a fascist by them. Now, I'm not going to go that debate, I personally do not believe he was ever. I would never use that word about Jabotinsky. But the point is, there is a huge division now between the two. He's on the Zionist executive, but the infighting, the infighting becomes dire. Since when can Jews ever agree with each other? But after the cutting off of Transjordan and the creation of a mandate with an Arab leader, Abdullah, Jabotinsky feels that the British have betrayed them.

What then happens is the blood between the two groups become worse, and Jabotinsky actually creates his own organisation. And he's a brilliant orator, he travels particularly in Poland and Lithuania, trying to encourage young Jews to leave. And he founds his own organisation, Betar. Betar is partly an anachronism of... What's the word? You know what I mean. Acronym of Joseph Trumpeldor, who tragically died in Tel Hai, fighting for Zionism. Or it's the last stand, Betar of the zealots. But whatever, he creates his own organisation and his young men funnel to Palestine, whereas the Yeshiv itself, most of the people coming in the Third Aliyah, are socialist Zionists. So there's a clash of ideology, there is a clash of temperament, and the situation is exacerbated in 1929 when there are riots at the Western Wall. Later on, next term, I will be elaborating on all of this, but today, I wanted to bring these two extraordinary men together.

Basically, I think it was mainly stirred up by the British. A group of religious Jews set up a mechtza at the Western Wall. The mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj-Amin al-Husseini, who was the leader of Palestinian Arabs, he was a fanatical Palestinian nationalist, he didn't want any Jewish immigration into Palestine, he said it's a violation of a Muslim holy place, and he has also to be said that extremists within Betar were whipping up the mob, they wanted it a fight. And it really does turn into something incredibly ugly where the Arabs go on the rampage, and there are murders in Jerusalem and in Hebron. Jabotinsky is on a fundraising tour in South Africa at the time, and the British rescind his visa.

He is never again to be allowed into Palestine. Now, there are some who say that he was a ruthless cosmopolitan anyway. He lived much of his time in Paris in the 14th of Rondsomere. Later, he's going to establish the Union of Zionist Revisionists in Paris. Sometimes he's in London, in Belsize Park. And this ruthless cosmopolitan had an incredible amount of charm. He lived a very simple life. So did Trotsky. They were personally incorruptible in terms of money and that kind of thing. And he consolidates his cause. Now, he is more and more aware as the dark clouds become more and more gloomy, think Europe, think Europe the late twenties, think the Wall Street crash, he becomes more and more convinced that a catastrophe is looming. Trotsky's analysis of that catastrophe is of course, that this is decaying capitalism.

And if we destroy decaying capitalism, that even in exile, he hates Stalinism, and he hates the fact that Stalin is whipping up antisemitism, but he believes that it's decaying capitalism. Jabotinsky is very much for the particular. He sees that the Jews are becoming more and more the scapegoats of a society under threat, and he sees this terrible plague that he thinks will attack the Jewish people. And meanwhile, the Haganah, which was the underground army of the Yeshiv, there were a group of commanders after the Arab riots of 1929-30, they said, "We got to go more onto the offensive." And although it was a much smaller organisation than Haganah, out of the Haganah was created the Irgun.

A man called David Raziel, who later will lose his life fighting for the British in Iraq, he leads the Haganah, but Jabotinsky is its spiritual leader, he's its mentor. And some groups within the Irgun become more and more extremists, particularly a group led by a man called Abbu Ahimeir. Now, in 1933, of course, all hell breaks loose because Hitler comes to power in Germany. And Haim Arlosoroff, who is the very important socialist Zionist, he goes to Germany to negotiate the Haavara Agreement. And we've discussed this before, and I'm sure we'll come back to it again, it was an agreement to allow German Jews out of Germany without having to pay the flight tax. It was good for the Germany economy and it fulfilled the needs of Jews trying to get out. Now, this is so complicated, Hitler wanted a Judenrein Reich, and up until 1941, that meant the expulsion of the Jews. The Jews of Palestine wanted immigrants. It has been so twisted, this agreement, just as the Kastner Affair later on, which I alluded to yesterday, has been so twisted. This is not complicity, this are people fighting without power, to save.

But the problem was Jabotinsky and his people spoke out, you do not deal with the devil. Abbu Ahimeir, who was an extremist, he wanted Jabotinsky to take the post El Duche. Jabotinsky thought he was mad. But the point is that bad blood culminates when, tragically, Arlosoroff is shot. Two revisionists were brought into custody by the British, they were acquitted because two Arabs were already in custody, said they'd done it, but the bad blood never healed. This is the beginning of the real bad blood between the groups. Ironically, in '82, Begin, who saw himself as a follower of Jabotinsky, he really was, he had a commission of inquiry which did exonerate Stavsky and Rosenblatt. And Stavsky in particular, in the war, was a great hero, rescuing Jews in Europe. But this gives you a notion...

The way I look at it, and I'm trying to be a peacemaker here, I see a tragedy, and how do you deal with a tragedy? So after '33, you have Weizman who still believes the British will come through, there was a hiccup in 1930, but he managed to overcome it, but he still believes the British will come through. Finally... Now, Jabotinsky had made a very powerful speech. He had said, "Statehood is the normal condition of a people. The Albanians have a state, the Bulgarians have a state. Stop pussy-footing around." But I'm using my words, not his. "What we need is a state now." Jabotinsky believed if the Jews had a state, they could solve the problem of Jewish homelessness, which is actually true, because Hitler wanted a Judenrein Reich.

But Hitler comes to power in Germany, and as you all know, because of the Wall Street crash, it becomes more and more difficult for Jews to find the homeland, and the horror really continues. And then, the British have one go at solving the problem, and they create Appeal Commission, and Jabotinsky actually gives evidence before the Appeal Commission, and I just want to find it. Yes, so does Weizman, but I just want to read you what he said. He's giving evidence in London. He talks about, "I assure you..." It is a long speech and it's a wonderful speech. And remember, he was a great literary man. "I assure you," he says, "You face here today, the Jewish people with its demands, and Oliver Twist, who has unfortunately no concessions to make. What can be the concessions? We have to save millions, many millions.

I don't know whether it's a question of rehousing one-third of the Jewish race, half the Jewish race, or a quarter of the Jewish race. I do not know, but it is a question of millions. Certainly, the way out is to evacuate those portions of the diaspora which have become no good, which hold no promise of any possibility of a livelihood. The point when the Jews will reach a majority, will not be the point of saturation," because, he's saying, with a million more Jews in Palestine, you could already have a Jewish majority, and there are certainly 3 or 4 million in the east who are virtually knocking on the door, asking for salvation. And he uses Oliver Twist as an example. He says, "Oliver Twist, when he asks for more, what's he really saying?

I want enough to sustain a boy of my age." He said with us and the Arabs, with the Arabs, it's appetite, with us, it's starvation. Save the Jewish people. Weizman also made an unbelievable plea. So in this, they were together and they become more and more desperate after the Évian Conference, you can just imagine. Now ironically, you have Trotsky in Mexico. Trotsky is also writing about... He still believes in permanent revolution, he is a focus of revolution, but he's becoming more and more aware of the antisemitism and he's wondering whether there should be another solution. He says this, "The world..." This is excerpts from the imperialist war. "The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting 100 extra refugees becomes a major problem for such a world power as the United States. In an era of aviation, telegraph, telephone, radio, and television, travel from country-to-country is paralysed by passports and visas.

The period of the wasting away of foreign trade and the declined domestic trade is at the same time, the period of monstrous intensification of chauvinism and especially antisemitism. In the epoch of its rise, capitalism took the Jewish people out of the ghetto and utilised them as an

instrument in its commercial expansion. Today, decaying capitalist society is striving to squeeze the Jewish people from its paws. 17 million individuals out of the 2 billion populating the globe, that is less than 1%, can no longer find a place on our planet. And the vast expansive land and the marvels of technology, which has also conquered the skies for man as well as the earth, the bourgeoisie has managed to convert our planet into a foul prison." He actually, in another article, he talks about the extermination of the Jews. So ironically, these two characters from completely different backgrounds, accept, I should say, different paths, as far as the Jewish question was concerned. They both saw the impending doom.

Now, Jabotinsky becomes more and more desperate. Poland, ironically, is allowing the Irgun to set up training camps. Why? Because as I mentioned to you the other day, the Polish government after the death of Pilsudski, was desperately antisemitic. That's one way of getting the Jews out. Avraham Stern, who was a young member of the Irgun at that time, later on, he's going to break away and form his own group, the Stern Group, or better known as the Lehi, he goes to Italy to see if he can make deals with Mussolini. This is fascinating. When does the time come that you are prepared to deal with the devil? Now, I've already mentioned... And Jabotinsky has one last throw of the dice, he actually talks about, in 1939, an armed uprising against the British, and he will break the rule and come to Palestine to lead the revolt. But of course, it comes to nothing.

And in May, 1939, the British issue the white paper on Palestine, which limits Jewish immigration to 15,000 a year. And whoever has the majority, has the state, so in '39, the British slammed the door on Zionism. And here you see the desperation, and Jabotinsky... Neither Jabotinsky nor Trotsky live to see... They smell the inferno, but they don't live to see it. As I said, they both die in 1940. To me, they're both tragic figures in many ways. I think Trotsky was an idealist, but once he took power, he became so ruthless that he lost the ability to see human beings. He became incredibly ruthless. But I still think within him, and this is Wistrich's point, in many ways, this notion of trying to save the world is Jewish messianism. So the question is, how much does it come from that?

And Jabotinsky, who... In many ways, I mean, Weizman said he was the most un-Jewish of all of us. Weizman said he was very chivalrous, he was actually a European gentleman rather than... Remember, Weitzmann, who came from Eastern Europe, was far more a man of the people. But Jabotinsky, I mean, he was at home in Russian literature, he was probably intellectually happiest sitting in the cafes of Paris, debating ideas. But in the end, one tried to save the world, one tried to save the Jews. And Jabotinsky though, he... The spark that he lit, just as the spark that Weitzmann and Ben Gurion lit, is the politics of the state of Israel today. And a personal story that was told to me by Felic Shaft, Felic, in the early days, he changed his opinions, but he was a great supporter of Jabotinsky. And he reported on a Jabotinsky rally in Krakow. And the students so loved Jabotinsky that when his carriage came into town, they unhooked the horse and they pulled him to the local hotel.

He actually gave the address at the Saxon Hotel. Oh, and by the way, he also wrote a lexicon

on Hebrew, how to speak Hebrew in 750 words. And he gave a speech, and Felic said he could speak for four hours and they were absolutely gripped. And a young man came to the front who made a very powerful speech, and evidently, Jabotinsky put his hands on him and said, "You are my future," and that was Begin. But according to Felic, he had this kind of electrifying side to his personality. And Trotsky must have had it too, because if you think of how he whipped up his men, you know, the Red Army, which he created, so they were people who walked the world. You know that quote from Julius Caesar where Mark Antony says, "He doth bestride the narrow world like a colossus. Why we petty men do appear beneath his huge feet, to find ourselves dishonourable graves." I mean, they were both, of course, magnificent.

They were both flawed. I actually think that the horror that Trotsky unleashed, in many ways, negated his ideas. But the great irony of Trotsky, the man who was the internationalist, he so much wanted to create an international world. And yet, so much of the antisemitism that was whipped up in Europe in the twenties and thirties, was because the leader of the Red Army, and many of his associates, were in fact, Jews. So it's not just how you define yourself, it's how the outside world defines yourself. But going back to Jabotinsky, of course, in New York, his secretary was the young Benzion Netanyahu, who's written a very interesting book on Jabotinsky. And of course, he had a huge influence on his four sons.

So the Jabotinsky, Weitzman, Ben Gurion debate, Begin debate, goes on. And it later, of course, the ramifications in the kinetic, but much more about that next year. So I'm going to stop there, I hope I haven't whistled through it too quickly. I know a lot of you know a lot about these characters, but I'm going to try and take questions. Okay, Wendy?

- Thank you, Trudy. No, fantastic.

Q&A and Comments:

- Let's see what questions we've got. Let's go. A lot of people are just saying very nice things. Let's see. Yeah, I'm... They're all nice things people are saying. Have we got any questions? From Jen Kaplan, "Has Trotsky been rewritten back into Russian history?" A little bit, but not enough. You've got to remember also, that Trotsky has his followers all over the world. The tragedy of the Trotskyites is they are so deeply antisemitic. They're not just anti-Zionist, they're antisemitic. I mean, Corbin would call himself a Trotskyite. I beg you, if you want one book on the subject, I've recommended it, it's Robert Wistrich's "From Ambivalence to Betrayal". I think that Trotsky would be horrified by what his disciples have done. People like Tariq Ali, who saw himself as a Trotskyite, crosses the line. "Jabotinsky appears directed and diplomatic," this is from Romain, "and what was unique, it was about his ability to manage both ways of being." Yes, he was an extraordinary man.

Now this is from Joe, "I would like to hear about... We've had so much about the Ashkenazim, what about the Sephardim?" You'll be very pleased to know that Wendy and I have been discussing this. It is not my field of expertise, but we will be calling in colleagues, and I promise

you, you will have many lectures on Sephardi Jewry. As Wendy said, look, we're going to be in lockdown tragically, for quite a long time. Now, this is from Jonathan, "Jabotinsky studied in Italy." Yes, of course he did. "He described the condition of European Jews as a frozen stampede." Yes, Jonathan, what a wonderful expression. Thank you for bringing that in. "Why was Jabotinsky imprisoned?" He was imprisoned because he led self-defense groups, the Haganah, against the Arab riots under the eyes of the British, so he broke mandate law, so he was sentenced to 15 years. But when Herbert Samuel arrived, he let him out on a moratorium. The mufti of Jerusalem was also sentenced, but he managed to escape. "Did Jabotinsky know Begin?" Yes, I've just said he did.

He laid his hands on his shoulders and said, "You are my future." Now, this is from Betty. "Professor Steven Burke of Union College has told his lifelong students that Truman said he'd never met a man he admired more than Chaim Weitzman, who was brought to the White House by Eddie Jacobson." Yes, you see what is so fascinating about the Zionist movement, you had lions, they fought, of course, they fought each other. Jabotinsky the wolf. Look, Weitzman in his own way, was also an incredible hero. We would spend a lot more time on these characters. As Wendy said to me often, it's biography, biography. I will be looking at Weitzman in a lot of detail. Yeah, he and Jabotinsky quarrelled over the way to deal with it.

That's the point, they both wanted to save the Jewish people. When Weitzman gave evidence to the Appeal Commission, he said exactly the same thing, but he said there are 6 million under threat. Yeah, he was a great man. He went for diplomacy. It broke his heart when the British issued the white paper, and that's really when he lost his position. Ben Gurion takes over. And this is from somebody telling me Jabotinsky has a big following in South Africa. I know. You know how I know? Because I'm getting a lot of wonderful letters. Thank you. Oh, yes. Yes, there is a villa close to Istanbul. Yes, that's where he was. Yes. Did Jabotinsky and Orde Wingate ever collaborate or know each other? That's a very good question. Frank has said yes. Now, they might have known each other, but they wouldn't have known each other in Palestine because Jabotinsky wasn't allowed back. But remember, Wingate was a great Zionist and he... Yes, Frank says yes, I'm sure he does.

You'd have to check that reference, Frank. Mark Rosen told, "What is the best book on Jabotinsky?" Oh my goodness, I have a real problem on this, Mark, because they're all written, they're either very anti or very pro. The same with Trotsky. What I will do after the holidays, because Wendy and I are insistent that Judi gets three days of rest. I mean, she's been working so hard for us. What I will do is I will give you a list of books. I don't think anybody has successfully managed to be non-partisan on either of them. "How did Trumpeldor lose his arm?" He lost an arm actually fighting in the Russian army. "I heard that some years ago, a great grandson of Trotsky was in a yeshiva in Jerusalem." There are lots of stories. I know that not many of the Trotsky family survived, but one did, and I think that one of Trotsky's descendants did become a right-wing Zionist, yes. Yes, this is from Leonard. "Am I implying that till 1941, Hitler was pro-expulsion for Judenrein rather than murder extermination?" Yes, yes, yes. This is totally historical.

I am not giving you an off-the-wall theory here. Every historian would accept that, every serious historian. The facts speak for themselves. Look, at the end of 1938, Eichmann set up an immigration bureau in Vienna to rob the Jews, to neglect them out, and they set up one in Berlin in 1939. There were all sorts of plans before it came to the murders. After the invasion of Poland, there was ghettoization, horror, starvation, but not yet a plan of total extermination, that begins with the invasion of Russia. But even after the invasion, a few Jews did manage to get out of Germany. The answer is yes, two-thirds of German Jewry survived, remember? Because they managed to get out. It's a terrible thing, Leonard, because what I do think, if you want to understand Israel and the people who've created Israel, be they left or right, they had to live with this.

And from a Zionist point of view, just remember, I never talk politics, but I will say this, when Netanyahu visited Paris after those terrible murders, what did he say to them? "Come home." And also, if you think about the Bar Kokhba Ben Zakkai debate, which is overbalanced a bit, in my view, you know, the fact that they didn't believe the Jews had ever been resistors since the diaspora, that's not actually true. When you examine resistance in the Sheol, it's extraordinary how much resistance there was, but this notion that we must be physically strong at all costs. And a colleague of mine, he sometimes opens his lectures, he was a brilliant lecturer, he put a picture, two pictures on the screen. One would be of the Liberation of Belsen, and the other was the Israeli army with the chief rabbi blowing the shofar.

Do you remember the chief rabbi of Israel blowing the shofar at the Western Wall in 1967? 22 years between the two. That's interesting. Yes. "Trudy," this is from Tony, "We've been reciting Next Year in Jerusalem for centuries, had we had a homeland anyway, could you give some colour as to how much the genocide would've been reduced?" Well, obviously, if there'd been somewhere, that would've solved the problem of a Judenrein Reich. Well, I suppose the answer is that, Tony. Yeah, that's what we have to live with today, don't we?

- Trudy? Sorry, Trudy. I just want to say that I have to jump off now 'cause it's three o'clock, but just to say that we are working on a website, and it'll be sometime early in the year. We're not quite sure when, it'll take a while. That wasn't the objective in the beginning, but now...

- What have we created, Wendy?

- We're now rethinking the vision. So I'm going to love a leave you, Trudy, and Judi.

- [Judi] I'm still online, so Wendy, if that's okay, we can carry on, Wendy.

- Okay, Wendy, be safe and thank you for everything you've retrieved.

- [Judi] And we'll see you on Sunday for Judge Dennis Davis.

- [Wendy] Yeah, we'll see you then.

- Let me go on, because I've lost my place now, so I'm just jumping on. "Was Trotsky cruel against the Jews?" This is from Robert. Well, the Yevseksiyas did break down Jewish life in Russia. He used terror as an instrument. Of course he did. By breaking down Jewish life in Russia, he stopped Judaism as much as possible, so to any religious Jew, yes, that was very, very cruel. Yeah. This is from Karen, "The concept of ticking alarm is operative for both Trotsky and Jabotinsky." Can I have a request, please? Not now, but next time people ask questions, can you say what country you come from? Lila Levine, "Is there any evidence that after Hitler invaded Poland, the Polish government asked the Jews to help them?" Well, you see, the Jews of Poland were Polish citizens, and of course, some of them were in the army, of course they were, but the trouble was Poland was overrun in three weeks. The Warsaw ghetto held out longer. "We call Jabotinsky ruthless. Did he institute the killing of any peoples or groups?"

That's a very good question, David. His followers, the Irgun, and if the Lehi are his followers, it's a very difficult point that, they did, they did use tactics, but did Jabotinsky? Good point. I've got to think about that. Now, this is interesting. "Bob Briscoe, the Irish Nationalist and later the first Jewish Lord Mayor of Dublin, introduced Jabotinsky to the Irish leader, Eamon de Valera." Actually, we've got an interesting lecture on this in January. A colleague is going to give a lecture on Zionism and the Irish. You see, what we are doing is bringing in people with their own expertise. "Please elaborate why Jabotinsky was jailed." Glen, I think I've answered that. He was jailed because he led the Haganah riots against the British army in Palestine, and the British were in charge, and they didn't want a rival force.

This is from Ellie, "So much to absorb." Okay, so sadly, I don't know so much about these star crossed heroes. Ellie, we're in lockdown for a long time, I'll be giving you... I will be sending book lists, but I'm not going to bug Judi until after the 27th, but obviously, I'm going to be referring back. One of the things that interests me is teaching about pairs, so I am going to look at great figures who I think are very similar, because I still think, although they're ideologically different, I think in personality, they were very similar. This is from Melvin, "What date did Palestinian Jews migrate to Alexandria?" It wasn't they migrated, Melvin, they actually were expelled by the Turks as enemy aliens. "How did Jabotinsky end up in the British army?" That was from Andrew. He created the 37th and 38th Royal Fusiliers under Colonel Patterson. He was very charismatic, he had lots of friends in high places, and he believed if he created regiments out of east end Russian Jewish boys who weren't naturalised and they fought with the British, he believed in a Jewish army fighting for a Jewish state.

Okay? Let's fight with the British. At first, he thought the British would come through and be honourable. Remember, he wrote "Samson", it's about a military hero. Nancy, "Is it true that Ben Gurion wouldn't allow Jabotinsky to be buried in Jerusalem?" I'm afraid it is. There was terrible bad blood, which culminates in an incident called the Altalena. Jabotinsky's body was not reinterred until 1965, where now he does lie in the place he requested to lie in the state of Israel. Sarah Merron. Hello, Sarah. "I love the way you talk about next term and next year.



Wishing all of us a good 2021." Yes, can I just say, I know it's a terrible time for most of us and we're all feeling isolated and alone, and this is a really bad time, but what I think and it's certainly done me wonderful things, having this international community and the letters I'm receiving, I really feel that we are linking, and I think that's important.

So just as many of you are wishing us all a happy new year, may I take the opportunity of wishing you all a happy secular new year. Yes, this is from Kevin, "The Irgun had training camps in South Africa. The government saw them as being anti-British and were happy to look the other way." That's lovely information, Kevin. Yes, of course, I know that South Africa was a great... South African Jews, many of them, were great supporters of Betar. I've answered why the British jailed Jabotinsky. Did I know, this is from Ellie, that Trotsky's grandchildren have returned to orthodoxy? Yes, I think that's already been said. "What did Jabotinsky want to do with the Arabs of Palestine?" He was very interesting on it, actually. Oh, it's such a big question. He hoped there could be some sort of reconciliation, but he wanted it to be a Jewish state, but he wanted them to have rights within that state. But that's a huge question, David and Ella, please allow me to answer it when I get onto that period of history.

Some of you are asking such profound questions that I can't answer them quickly. "What role did Jabotinsky's wife play politically?" She was his help mate, she was a very interesting woman actually. More about that later on. This is from Freddy, he says, "A friend of mine, a leading intellectual in Mexico, recalls that Trotsky went to their home." Yes, and of course, his last affair was with Frida Kahlo. Yes, this is Dion Pinkus, that's saying the Marxist Enzo Traverso, yes, said Trotsky's later writings were most profound on antisemitism, more profound than Marxist thought produced. Do I agree? I definitely agree. We need more time on this. What I've really, I think, tried to do is give you a taster tonight, because I actually can manage... I could bore people to death on these subjects. And from Marcel, a lovely and happy new year. Jane talks about Hariff, who are hosting so many Sephardi lectures.

Yes, they are very good. And she mentions Lynn Julius, who will be lecturing for us when we come to the Sephardim. Yes, this is from Elli Strauss, yes, Weitzman didn't really... Truman didn't really want to meet Weitzman, but the story of Weitzman is amazing. Weitzman was a wonderful diplomat and he needed to get to the president, and Truman's old business pal was a Jew and his great friend who had total access, Eddie Jacobson, he had total access to the White House. Yes. Lynn Abel, one of the descendants. Now, Jabotinsky and his wife had one son who joined the... He joined the Irgun in America, a group called the Bergson Group, which I'll talk more about next year. And his son, Eric, went on to become a member of the Knesset. Yes. Again, you are asking about the Arab world. I promise we are arranging, not me because it's not my field of expertise, Wendy and I are already talking to people that you will have lectures on the Jews of the Arab world.

Of course. You see, what we are trying to do is to take us up in stages. We're going to look the at Americans of the 1880s, we have a course to cover the Shoah. And I want to do it in a very careful way and look more at the major themes rather than... I think you know enough facts, but

it's a very important point. And then of course, there's '45 to '48, there is the Jewish world, and there is so much, there is so much. Don't forget that Jewish history is eternal. This is a good question, "Was Churchill involved in the 15,000 limitation to Palestine?" He was not in power when that was instituted. I'm going to give two lectures in January on Churchill and the Jews. Now, this is from Ivan Shaw. This is an intriguing question. "My great-grandfather, Vladimir Tiomkin, was a great friend of Jabotinsky's, although their policies were different. Are you going to give a talk about him? Vladimir was the uncle of Dimitri Tiomkin, the Hollywood film composer."

Oh my goodness. I just love this group. This is a question from Norma, the British have never faced up to their part in the Shoah by closing the doors in 1939. What's your take on this question?" That's from Norma Vitali. Norma, I've got to beg indulgence on this question. I cannot answer it quickly. It will take a whole lecture to answer it, but we will be discussing it. From Michael Block who loves Jabotinsky, yes. And I promise you, Michael, I will be dealing with the Altalena incident. And from Michael, I got a real compliment. Thank you, Michael. You tell me I've dealt with Jabotinsky in a very fair way, that Jabotinsky was very modest and not arrogant. When you say he was modest, I think in his personal dealings he was very, very modest, but he did have an intellectual act... Well, he was intellectually great, that's what I'm saying. He had a huge mind. "Is Wikipedia a good source on Jabotinsky?"

They're not bad to start, but you really, for these two, you've got to go to the books. Jabotinsky family, wife. Yes, Jabotinsky had a lovely wife and a son. "What about the mothers of these great leaders?" I love it. I love it. You know, one of the sessions I want to do is the image of the Jewish mother. From Peter Levy, "Has Netanyahu been influenced by the legacy?" Oh, yes. His father was Jabotinsky's secretary. Now, whether he... A lot of people have said a lot of things in the name of Jabotinsky. Jabotinsky died in 1940. Okay. "What was the relationship between Herzl and Jabotinsky?" Interesting. Jabotinsky attended the 1903 Zionist Conference. He said he got to know Herzl, there's no evidence that he did. He was also a little bit of a fantasist. Herzl realised... You see, a lot of farsighted alienated individuals, and Herzl was another one, realised, because of the antisemitism in Europe, their... And remember, Herzl dies in 1904, their analysis was... You see, let me leave you with a question.

Define Jew for me. The French Revolution offered the Jews emancipation as a religious group. You are citizens of France, of the Jewish religion. This becomes the majority position of the Jews in Western and Central Europe and in America. In Eastern Europe, it never happened because of the Czar and the terrible Russian policies. So, what are you? Are you a Jew by religion? What if you... And you are a citizen of Britain, France, whatever. What if you wear your Judaism more and more lightly? Is it Jewish culture? Is it a peoplehood? But then, as a response to antisemitism and saying, "Look, we were a people once," you've got to see this within the whole range of 19th century nationalism. What are the requirements of the people? There were certain individuals who looked at antisemitism and said, "We are a nation actually. What we lack is geography. We once were a great nation."

So what I think you could all do if you've got the time, let's face it, we've got a lot of time, talk about it with your families. Try and work out what it means to be a Jew today.

- [Judi] A few more questions-

- [Trudy] I think we better stop there.

- [Judi] We're running out of time, yes.

- I think that's enough. Judi, before I go, Judi, we couldn't have done any of this without you. Thank you for everything, darling, and wish you a very happy festive season.

- [Judi] Thank you so much, Trudy, but we'll see everybody again on Sunday.

- On Sunday, and on Sunday, remember what I said to you, next week is fun week, is that not true, Judy?

- [Judi] It is a fun week and I'll send out all the details probably on Saturday afternoon, for Sunday and next week.

- And we start with Dennis Davis on Irving Berlin, "I'm Dreaming it as a White Christmas." Majority of the songwriters who created American popular culture were born Jewish, now that's an interesting story for you, and the man, "Easter Parade", and "I'm Dreaming of a White Christmas", was of course, Irving Berlin. So Dennis is starting with that, and I promise you a much more relaxing, fun week before we get back to the acute part of Jewish history. We have to do both. So God bless you all, be safe, and bye-bye.

- [Judi] Thank you, everybody. Bye-bye.