## Off The Cuff

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## They're literally a load of fascists



**ZIONISTS ARE A LOAD OF FASCISTS.** This is the trope increasingly used by today's antisemites. Grotesque comparisons are made between the policies of Hitler's Third Reich and those of the modern Zionist state. The comparisons are irrational and require no evidence.

Consequently, we are told that Gaza is a "concentration camp", that the Jewish state is embarked on "genocide" – the physical murder of the entire Arab population of Gaza and the West Bank. No evidence is forthcoming to support these assertions. There is no 'Wannsee Conference', no 'Adolf

Eichmann', no transports to 'Treblinka' or 'Sobibor', no 'einsatzgruppen', no mass burial pits in the forests or the deserts. Today, evidence is deemed unnecessary given the slaughter of the innocents in Gaza.

The left-wingers that make these assertions, are concerned solely with the welfare of women and children, and yet cannot explain, why they failed to mobilise mass marches against the bombing of Mosul in 2017-18 in which 9,000 civilians were killed, or why the deaths of children by the bushel in Yemen, do not demand mass demonstrations on the streets. No, it seems only when Jews are the 'culprits' that mass mobilisations are deemed necessary. Only when Jews and the Jewish state is in the frame, do the 'humanitarians of the left' become irate in the defence of international law, and the need to call out their enemies as "fascists".

Of course, the scream, "Fascist!", has become a general term of abuse on the left, widely used against anybody who refuses to be on "the right side of history".

The "right side of history" is, by the way, to be found in opposition to 'imperialism', to 'apartheid', and to Jewish nationalism, on the one hand, and enthusiastic support for the anti-imperialist 'essence' of the Muslim Brotherhood, on the other. Islamism and Islamists are "on the right side of history" because they are the enemies of the West throughout the world. The Islamist stance on the rights of women, on the murder of homosexuals, and the prohibition of religious freedom, and freedom of speech, are all pushed to one side, in order for these so-called socialists to 'discover' the 'progressive kernel' at the heart of Hamas and Hezbollah – which is their violent opposition to imperialism and the Jewish state.

This is the context in which many on the left attempt to associate Zionists with the Nazi Party of Adolf Hitler. Despite heroic armed Jewish resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto, in Auschwitz, and in the forests of Belorussia and Ukraine, there are numerous instances where Jewish leaders and Jewish

committees negotiated with the SS and other Nazi authorities in the thirties and forties. Jewish police were deployed in ghettos by the Germans, and Jewish leaders often cooperated in selecting those who were the next to be transported to extermination camps. Indeed, Jews cleared the gas chambers of corpses in order to facilitate the next batch of murders. The Zionist leader, Rezso Kasztner, even negotiated directly with Adolf Eichmann to save 1700 prominent Hungarian Jews from deportation to Auschwitz.

This Jewish 'collaboration' was always conducted at gun point, and the suggestion of a 'common purpose' between Zionists and Nazis is utterly obscene.

Now, assertions of Zionism's Nazi roots are not new, so I make no apology for reproducing in full, "Zionism and Jews". This is an OffTheCuff column I published six years ago in April 2017 in which I took issue with the antisemitism of veteran left-winger, Ken Livingstone:-

"THE HAAVARA AGREEMENT between the German government and the Jewish Agency was signed on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1933. It was the result of talks between the Zionist Federation of Germany and the Nazi authorities. It was a complex arrangement that allowed German Jews to migrate to Palestine with the value of around fifty per cent of their assets. Thus, it enabled Jews fleeing from the fascists in Germany to meet the income threshold demanded by the British civil administration in Jerusalem for Jews entering Mandate Palestine.

This 'transfer agreement' was controversial at the time because it enabled the Nazis to circumvent the worldwide boycott of German goods organised and supported by Jews in North America and Europe, including most Zionist organisations based in Poland.

Around sixty thousand German Jews were able to escape from Nazi persecution by moving to Palestine under the terms of this agreement. The Nazis toyed with a number of schemes for forcing Jews out of Germany before they embarked on the process of mass murder in the autumn of 1941.

It is this agreement and the various Nazi schemes for the deportation of Jews that has led Ken Livingstone to claim that Hitler's government was in some sense in league with Zionism. It is claimed that the Zionists "worked with the Nazis" to facilitate the transfer of Jews from Europe to Palestine. Specifically, Livingstone, has repeatedly insisted that "Hitler supported Zionism . . . before he went mad and ended up killing six million Jews."

Evidently, the emigration and deportation policies of Hitler's government aimed initially at ridding Germany, and then Europe at large, of Jews at no stage embraced support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Mandate Palestine, Madagascar, or anywhere else. Hitler did not support Zionism.

Throughout the period of Nazi domination, in addition to Jewish armed resistance and heroic risings and rebellions, Zionist and other Jewish community leaders negotiated and haggled with the fascists in desperate attempts to save as many of their people as possible. It is these contacts and agreements that Livingstone wants to characterise as "Zionist cooperation with the Nazis".

Furthermore, the idea that the massacre of the Jewish populations of entire villages, towns, and cities, by einsatzgruppen, ably assisted by the police, local militias, and the Wehrmacht, was produced by 'Hitler's madness' is certainly bizarre. The attribution of the cycle of unparalleled mass killings, carried out over a four-year period involving the active participation of hundreds of thousands of Europeans of many different nationalities, to Hitler's disordered state of mind demonstrates Livingstone's feeble grasp of the period and of the depth and extent of anti-Semitism in European culture.

This is, no doubt, why he greets the assertion that his repeated claim that "Hitler supported Zionism" amounts to anti-Semitism, with sneering dismay. Livingstone's disbelief is also strengthened by his long record of opposition to racism in all its forms. True, he fell out with leaders of the Orthodox Jewish community when as the leader of the Greater London Council in the early eighties he quite rightly refused to allow religious authorities to decide which Jewish organisations should be awarded council grants. But for Livingstone the idea that he hates Jews or promotes Jew-hatred is frankly absurd. He simply doesn't grasp the reason for all the fuss.

In this he has much in common with a great many people on the British left, both those in the Labour Party, and those who, for one reason or another are forced to linger outside its warm embrace.

The problem is that despite many decades of supporting nationalism, and nationalists of different stripes in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for a large cohort of socialists Jewish nationalism remains beyond the pale. Although the left in Britain has frequently defended 'anti-imperialist' dictatorships and 'socialist' forms of repressive government, they are prepared to express unbridled hatred and opposition when the perpetrators are Jews. It is as if Jewish nationalists are alone among nationalists in attacking national minorities, supporting militarist modes of repression, and promoting reactionary social policies.

The argument appears to turn on the idea that the Jewish state, Israel, is a client of imperialism. The Jews also benefit from the support of the powerful 'Jewish Lobby', which apparently determines the foreign policy of the United States and Britain. Strangely, none of this reasoning is applied to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which is also a client of the United States. After all Pakistan is a confessional state, founded for and by a specific religious community, which systematically discriminates against citizens who do not conform to the religious strictures, of its constitution and laws, and is in league with Islamists of one stripe or another from Saudi Arabia to Blackburn.

The reason for the difference is that Palestinians in particular, and Muslims in general (with the exception of Saudi and Gulf State rulers), are seen as potentially or actually anti-imperialist, in complete contrast to Jews who are seen as the prosperous and often wealthy supporters and beneficiaries of imperialism.

It is at this point that it becomes crucial for those on the left who hate Jewish nationalism to insist that they are the enemies of 'Zionism' not of 'Jews' as such. It is the 'Zionists' who are the enemies of the Palestinians and the left, not Jews. By insisting upon this distinction they hope to be able to rebuff suggestions that they're anti-Semitic.

Ken Livingstone recently explained the distinction in the *Morning Star*.

"The Labour Party needs to clearly distinguish between prejudice against Jews, which is totally unacceptable, and criticism of Israeli aggression, on which freedom of expression should be respected."

Jews and Zionists are indeed not synonymous – some Jews are anti-Zionist or simply not Zionists, while others enthusiastically support the state of Israel. However, by insisting that, alone among the peoples of the world, the Jews have no right to nationhood, no right to found and defend a state, the left are insisting upon a peculiar type of Jewish exceptionalism. The Scots, the Irish, the Catalans, Kurds, Armenians, and many others, may strive and even achieve statehood but the Jews should not. In fact, they should not defend their state. On the contrary, they must dissolve it.

For many on the left the solution to the manifest oppression of the Palestinians by the government of Israel is the destruction or dissolution of the Jewish state. Israel must be removed from the map so that "From the River to the Sea, Palestine Will Be Free!"

This strikes me as anti-Jewish. The nice distinction employed by many on the left between Jews who are Jewish nationalists, and those Jews who are not –

between Zionists and Jews – appears to me to be formally correct, but practically meaningless. My scepticism is strengthened further by the extent to which the left is prepared to ally itself with Hezbollah and Hamas, both movements that explicitly talk about the destruction of Jews and the Jewish state.

Indeed, the policy of all significant Palestinian organisations is to destroy the ethnic foundation of the Jewish state by ensuring that all Palestinian Arabs living in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt should have the right to 'return' to what is now Israel. This right to 'return' is insisted upon regardless of whether those in question have ever lived there or not. This position is consistent with the belief of many on the left in Britain that the result of the war of 1948, which the Palestinians lost, should be unravelled, and the Jewish state should be dissolved in favour a Palestinian state which would cover all of what is now Gaza, Israel, and the occupied territories of the West Bank.

This new 'one-state solution', the anti-Zionists argue, would allow Jews and Palestinians to live in close harmony side-by-side, overcoming, at a stroke, more than a century of bloody struggles for possession of the same tract of land.

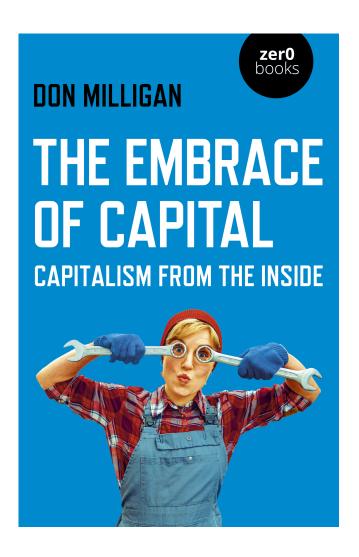
It is this wholly implausible 'one-state solution' arising from the collapse, destruction, or dissolution, of the Jewish state, which the left, along with its Palestinian and Islamist allies choose to canvas, that gives rise to the notion that anti-Zionists are by and large anti-Jewish. If Livingstone and those on the left who agree with him want to stop being regarded as anti-Semites they need to stop allying themselves with those who call for the destruction of the Jewish state.

Certainly, Livingstone needs to stop attempting to blackguard Jewish nationalists by spurious assertions about their cooperation with the Adolf Hitler. But, his freedom to attack the occupation of the West Bank, the oppression of Palestinians by the Israel Defence Force, and the racist Jewish settlers (in what they call Judea and Samaria) is not in jeopardy.

However, those who seek the destruction or dissolution of Israel, those who refuse to acknowledge the right of the Jewish state to defend itself, or to exist at all, most assuredly enter the realm of anti-Semitism, regardless of their assertions that it is "the Zionists", and not "the Jews" who they have in their sights."

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