



given to one group and not to the other. All of the pillars of apartheid are defined in international conventions against apartheid. All of those pillars are in place in Israel. What is remarkable is that the South Africans who have now sent multiple delegations to Palestine have repeatedly pointed out that Israeli apartheid is worse than South African apartheid ever was.

I want to go back to fascism because, of course, the only way you can maintain a system of apartheid, a system of settler colonialism, a system of Zionist racism and exclusion is through permanent repression at all levels. That includes, of course, the repression of free speech and political mobilization, political organization, and civil and political rights that we've been discussing, but it also means actual permanent physical repression. So, Israel has always been a police state. It's been a police state right from the start. It was founded on ethnic cleansing, violence, and terrorism, and that is all documented.

When we talk about fascism in Israel, we want to say that the only way this system can be reproduced from one day to the next is through an all-out police state. And that police state really came into existence in 1948, and it has never gone anywhere. Now, it's evolving from a police state into an outright fascist system. So, you're getting even the breakdown of democratic constraints for the Jewish population itself.

One of the definitions of fascism is extra-democratic or extra-legal mechanisms of ruling when democratic or consensual mechanisms break down. So, of course, there were always extra-legal terroristic mechanisms of control over the Palestinians, but Israeli Jews enjoyed within their own Jewish rights minimal amounts of democracy, and that's being broken down. I'm not just referring to removing the power of the Supreme Court in Israel to control the executive — which is the actual government in Israel, and the current government is the most extreme rightwing fascist we've ever seen, literally, since 1948. But the other thing going on, I want to reiterate, is that the civil and political rights of Israeli Jews are now simply being undermined. As I pointed out, you can be arrested for simply condemning the genocide. For any dissent right now, mobs of people will attack you.

**Could you please explain the concept of racial nationalism, which Israel was built**

**upon and centered around right from its inception? How did this ideology come to be and what does it entail, particularly in terms of creating an ethnically homogeneous nation?**

Absolutely. Racial nationalism is an ideology that swept through Europe in the late 1800s. It's an ideology that says that all peoples on the planet are divided into biologically determined racial groups and that each biologically determined racial group has its historic homeland, its historic territory, a place from where it has always been from and evolved, and that these territories should be biologically or racially pure. So, this was an ideology that, of course, underpins Nazism. That's the first example that comes to mind. The Nazi program said there was a biologically pure German race that belongs to German soil. So, here's the whole ideology of blood and soil and defending that soil with blood, and the mythology that the pure-blooded German Aryan race goes back to Teutonic tribes thousands of years ago.

This is known as racial nationalism, and it swept Europe. It was not just limited to the most egregious example of Nazism. There was also French racial nationalism, which said there's a biologically pure French group that belongs to the French soil and dates back to the Gauls and the Roman times. Then there's the Saxons, of course. The Anglo-Saxon racial nationalist ideology first emerged in England and then in the United States. We had our own version of racial nationalism in the 1800s, which became known here as the Manifest Destiny, claiming that the Anglo-Saxon race transplanted into the Americas was destined to create its racial national empire.

But here's the point: Zionism grows out of, and is an integral part of, this racial nationalism. Zionism is the Jewish version of this historic racial nationalism. We have studied the whole history of Zionism and have all the historical records. It says that Jews are a specific race, a biologically distinct race. And now, before we continue this explanation, I want to fast-forward to the second decade of the 21st century and point out its absurdity: right now, Zionists are becoming desperate and are talking about a Jewish gene, as if human beings are biologically categorized into biological races on the basis of genes. So, they're absolutely desperate to perpetuate this absurd Zionist ideology.

But let me go back to the story. So, early Zi-

onism says that Jews are a particular race of people, and they're a race that, just like racial nationalism calls for, needs their own land and their own territory. Let's remember that Theodore Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement, once said that they needed a territory anywhere in the world, and he first proposed Argentina. He also proposed Uganda. The only reason that Zionists then focused specifically on Palestine was that other early Zionists of this racial nationalist movement said, "Well, we need to somehow legitimate creating a nation for a Jewish race, and the way we can find that legitimacy is through the Old Testament."

This mythology that Jews all over the world originally occupied and owned and lived in Israel and were displaced by the Romans and then wandered the world until they would come back home is the Zionist mythology. It actually has nothing whatsoever to do with the historical record. First of all, we know that Judaism is an ancient religion originating in what was today's Palestine and other parts of the Middle East. But Judaism spread through conversion from 200 BCE to 300 AD — that 500-year period — into the larger Mediterranean area into North Africa, into what is today southern Yemen, into Iran, and so forth. It spread through conversion. So, you never had a single Jewish tribe or anything of the sort. And then, in the eighth century, the Khazar Empire, which ruled the land between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, converted to Judaism.

The empire had Slavic origin. Today's Russians, Slavic and Eastern Europeans, and Ukrainians are their descendants. The rulers of the Khazar Empire adopted Judaism completely through conversion because they wanted to carve out their political autonomy as an empire, and, in order to do so, they wanted to distinguish themselves from the Arab empires, the Persian empires, and the Byzantine empires that were Christian and Muslim. Therefore, they adopted Judaism, and that's the biggest way that Judaism spread around the world. Judaism has always been a faith community, not a people, much less a race. Human races don't exist. We're all the same biological race.

So, the Zionist project was to create the myth of the Jewish people, a Jewish race, which then, through this racial nationalist ideology, needed a specific homeland. The legitimizing discourse for all of that became the Old Testament and, therefore, specifically Palestine.

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