

# Audio file

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## Transcript

00:00:00

Ladies and gentlemen.

00:00:02

Welcome to an Avi event. You know it's an Avi event because whenever you see this big a mob descending on the investcorp lecture theatre.

00:00:12

Nine out of time, 10 times it's going to be obviously in that's lured you here. The 10th time might be Elon Pape.

00:00:20

My name is Eugene Rogen and I like to bask in the deflected glory of Avi Schlein. So on any occasion I get to share this stage with Avi.

00:00:30

I seize the opportunity with both hands.

00:00:33

Now, when you've written as many books as Abhishek.

00:00:38

You might think that people would take it for granted. Oh.

00:00:42

Another book by Abisha.

00:00:44

If truth be told.

00:00:47

The appearance of a new.

00:00:49

Shang book.

00:00:50

Please.

00:00:51

A literary occasion, and it's a historic occasion, and it's a part of the history of the community that Abby has been a part of since 1987. We've.

00:01:01

Such pride in our ties to the life and the career, the scholarship and the ideas of abisha.

00:01:08

And certainly in the time since I was admitted to the Augustus Fellowship, through no small effort on the part of Avi Schleg who served on that search committee.

00:01:21

He'll tell you that as director of the Middle East Centre, I've.

00:01:24

His boss.

00:01:25

None of.

00:01:25

It.

00:01:26

Since I come here, I have been in.

00:01:27

Shadow of Abhishek, indeed. Abhishek is everything I want to.

00:01:31

When I grow up.

00:01:36

The thing about Avi is that as he.

00:01:40

Ages mature.

00:01:44

He grows soft.

00:01:46

And so the book that he has just published, unlike his previous hard hitting books.

00:01:52

Strikes you with the softness of its tone and title.

00:01:57

I'm glad he was able to find a publisher and so I'm going to give Craig a moment to speak on behalf of the publishing house, but I would just want to say that, though I know it sounds like he's taking a soft pedal approach to the issue of Israel and Palestine.

00:02:11

That you will nonetheless join me in.

00:02:13

The adherence.

00:02:15

Of genocide in Gaza.

00:02:17

Are we in this book has managed to capture the outrage that has fueled the student protests here in Oxford as around North America and in Europe. He has spoken truth to power.

00:02:33

With the courage of his convictions and with an articulate brilliance that has made him listened to by people around the globe.

00:02:44

It has made him many enemies that he stands up to better with more courage than anyone I know.

00:02:51

And I know that this will be a book that, in capturing his thought on this moment with his voice.

00:02:58

Will be a record of this time that we will refer back to as one of those who stood up and described the evil that's been unrolling with clarity, with power and with persuasion.

00:03:05

I.

00:03:13

We're very proud.

00:03:15

With no humour attached to be tonight coming together to celebrate the publication of genocide in Gaza, I'd like to invite his publisher Craig to come and say a few words about Irish.

00:03:27

Pages Chris, ag, Chris.

00:03:30

Chris AG would like call you Craig. Oh, that's even better.

00:03:31

Ag.

00:03:32

Greg, it's OK.

00:03:34

OK. Can we just you?

00:03:35

Got the surname correctly passed.

00:03:38

I would like to invite Chris Ag August, publisher of all these new books, to say a few words on behalf of the publisher, Chris, over to you.

00:03:45

Just to pick up on Eugene, it's perhaps better to say softer.

00:03:51

Soft. Ironically, so my name is Chris Agee. I'm the publisher and editor of the Irish Pages Press.

00:03:52

Yeah.

00:03:59

A warm welcome. A very warm welcome to this very important British launch of genocide in Gaza, Israel's long War on Palestine.

00:04:10

We're honoured and delighted to publish this truly major work of the highest importance and relevance.

00:04:20

We're also very proud that the book has been published by our All Ireland press, based in Belfast, since Ireland is certainly the most pro Palestinian nation in Western Europe.

00:04:36

As a friend once remarked, well, Ireland is the natural ally ally of all anti colonial struggles. End Quote.

00:04:47

In addition to Abby's brilliant and incisive essays, I should note that the forward is by Francesca Albanese, UN Reporter on the Occupy Palestinian territories, and there's a coda republishing the opening and deeply moving.

00:05:04

Statement by Irish barrister Bliniane Crawley Casey and South Africa's case against Israel.

00:05:13

At the World Court of Justice in the matter of Israel's genocide in Gaza.

00:05:19

A statement which went instantly viral across the global media.

00:05:25

There's also a portfolio of colour photos of children and gather during the war entitled A Bloody War Against Children taken by gazin photographers in the midst of the slaughter.

00:05:39

Also, a portfolio of powerful coloured art images by David Rhodes and illustrative featured Peter Rowe. Excuse me.

00:05:45

Phi, who is here? Peter, raise your hand.

00:05:51

Poetic Justice, Craig and Peter.

00:05:57

Sorry about that, I looked.

00:05:58

At them, so long, and it's not as.

00:06:00

First name. Right. OK, Dave, after heater loads and an illustrative section of coloured maps.

00:06:03

I.

00:06:08

Gaza, beautiful in their own terrible way, this book will be on sale after the event. Please consider buying it not only for yourself, but for a friend or two. Anyway, without further ado.

00:06:24

Abby shlain. Abby.

00:06:31

Thank you. It's a very pleasure to see so many of you here. And also in the overflow in the boardroom.

00:06:43

I've been a university teacher for 54 years and I've given many.

00:06:51

Lectures. But I'm always nervous when I'm being introduced because the first public lecture I gave when I was a young lecturer at Reading University was the to the Fabian.

00:07:05

To awaiting Fabian society and the chairman said. I'm I'm not going to give you a long and boring speech because we have doctor Schlang here for this.

00:07:24

So.

00:07:26

I'm going to talk about a bit.

00:07:27

The book.

00:07:29

Genocide in Gaza, Israelis long War on Palestine. But first I have to thank a few people who helped me along the way and first and foremost.

00:07:42

Eugene.

00:07:44

For liking and endorsement for the book or suggesting this event and for charity.

00:07:53

Eugene is one of my oldest and dearest friends.

00:07:58

And he was also my boss that he sent for the last 30 years. He's been very useful to me because I could say that some of my best friends are Americans.

00:08:11

But I can no longer say that because eugenia's been naturalised.

00:08:18

From now on, it's Walter Ambrose. Who is.

00:08:22

Going to be.

00:08:22

I.

00:08:27

Then I'd like to say Jenny Williams.

00:08:32

The administrator of the Centre for Organising these events so efficiently.

00:08:41

I'd like to thank my wife Gwen, who is with us here. She's my severest, but also my most constructive critic and our daughter, Tamara. I mean the publisher.

00:08:57

Who is also?

00:08:59

Pro Palestinian activists and the three of us said March in March is in London.

00:09:09

In protest against the genocide in Gaza to show solidarity with the Palestinians.

00:09:17

This book is an Irish book. It was published, as you heard, by Irish Cages Press.

00:09:25

And increase AG is the editor of the literary journal Irish Pages, which I once published an article.

00:09:35

On Israel, the arrogance of power and that was the beginning of our friendship.

00:09:42

It was Chris who came up with the idea of this collection of essays and it persuaded me to go ahead with it.

00:09:51

And he was insistent on genocide in the title. And the third time I hesitated. In fact, I refused to have genocide in the title. Genocide is a very big word.

00:10:04



And I wasn't ready, but as the genocide unfolded, I became fully convinced that the word genocide is fully just is fully justified. And also like to think.

00:10:20

Chris's son, Jacob AG, who is the managing editor.

00:10:24

Of the press.

00:10:28

Jacob edited the book. He took care of all aspects of production.

00:10:34

Of the mass.

00:10:36

Of Peter Wells, images of the first Israeli assault on Gadda Gadda Operation Cast Lead.

00:10:45

And of the collection of photos at the end on children in war.

00:10:50

And Jacob also mediated between his dad and me.

00:11:00

He has very strong views and so do I and he had many arguments and both of us are Lewis, Terrence and Jacob had the job of keeping the sheep on an even keel.

00:11:15

England and Ireland.

00:11:19

Then I would like to thank Jamie Viner, who's not here. He's my former student. He did my Enfield auction on the ARB Israeli conflict and then went on to do a PhD thesis with Jacob Yaka.

00:11:36

On the myth of the new anti.

00:11:41

And he's a very brilliant scholar who had written some important papers. One is called secrets and lies. The untold story behind the IHRA definition of anti.

00:11:56

And another paper is called the politics of the definition. How the IHRA working definition of anti-Semitism is being.

00:12:11

Jamie is my co-author for the art long article on Israel's Road to genocide. He did most of the research for this important chapter.

00:12:26

Because to prove genocide you have to prove the intent and he has a database based of Israeli statements indicating the intent to genocide this.

00:12:39

Book is a collection of essays published in different places over the last 15 years, plus 3 new articles or chapters that I will specifically for this collection.

00:12:55

One is on Benjamin Netanyahu's war against Palestinian statehood.

00:13:01

The second one is the one I co-authored with Jamie Viner on Israel's road to genocide.

00:13:10

The 3rd chapter is on genocide Joe. The actual title is.

00:13:18

Green light to Genocide Joe Biden in the war in Gaza. The context.

00:13:23

For all.

00:13:24

The papers in this collection is settler colonialism. Zionism is a settler colonial movement.

00:13:33

In Israel is a settler colonial state, and the logic of settler colonial, settler colonialism.

00:13:39

Is the elimination of the enemy.

00:13:43

The elimination of the natives.

00:13:47

Noam Chomsky once observed.

00:13:51

That.

00:13:52

Central colonialism is the most extreme and vicious form of imperialism.

00:14:00

The Palestinians for the last century have been at the receiving end of Zionist settler colonialism on the one hand, and Western imperialism on the other hand, first under Britain and then under.

00:14:15

America.

00:14:16

Britain is responsible for the Israeli Palestinian conflict.

00:14:21

In one of my exam essays, I had a quotation from Professor Rogan from his book *The Arabs, the history and the conflict* and the quote was the exact question was the Israeli Palestinian conflict.

00:14:36

Made in Britain, Uncurbed Professor Rogan, in brackets and any student if any student had said had disputed. So. So this was a quote. And then I said discuss if any student.

00:14:52

Had disputed the code, they would have failed.

00:14:56

I.

00:14:59

We.

00:15:01

Yet there is very little public awareness in this country of Britain's historical in the loss of understand.

00:15:11

Set the colonialism leads to the ethnic cleansing of the natives.

00:15:20

Ethnic cleansing is not just a one off event, it's a process. The big event happened in 1948. Three quarters of a million Palestinians became refugees in the name Palestine was wiped off the map.

00:15:36

But the.

00:15:39

This was an akba in the Nakba is ongoing and it is reaching new climax in the war in Gaza.

00:15:48

Let me start with the definition of genocide.

00:15:54

From the Convention for the Prevention of genocide, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to.

00:16:07

Destroy the whole or part, the national, racial or religious.

00:16:14

Such as a killing, members of the Group B causing serious bodily or mental harm, tremendous of degree.

00:16:24

And see deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction.

00:16:36

Israel fulfils all of these criteria and it's therefore a genocide of state.

00:16:47

The two best parts of the talk were not written by me.

00:16:54

First part of the forward is written by Francesca the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and the occupied territories.

00:17:03

In Dakota, at the end of the book.

00:17:08

Was written by.

00:17:11

Bring your knee holy.

00:17:16

Who is sitting with us here?

00:17:19

In its real pleasure and an honour to have here.

00:17:24

I'll come back.

00:17:25

To her contribution to her iconic speech a bit later. But first I want to talk about Francesca Venezia's forward.

00:17:37

In brilliant reports to the United Nations.

00:17:43

Francesca Van is a has always insisted on explaining Israel today in its historical context, in the context that she gives is settler colonialism, she.

00:17:56

Does everyone knows that Israel is an apartheid state? But it's not enough to say it's an apartheid state? You have to explain why it is an apartheid thing and the reason is that it's a set settler colonialist.

00:18:10

For her, therefore.

00:18:13

Genocide is the epilogue of a tragedy foretold.

00:18:20

There is nothing joyous, she says. Equally the horrors of genocide, and I agree.

00:18:28

Francesca unequivocally condemned the Hamas led attack.

00:18:34

That targeted Israeli civilians. So do I.

00:18:38

The theft attack does not justify Israel's response. It certainly does not justify genocide.

00:18:46

Genocide is a process, not an act, and it takes place in stages. Those stages were evident in Gaza in the early stages of the war and.

00:19:01

And they have gone.

00:19:03

Unchecked and unpunished.

00:19:08

The international community.

00:19:11

Stands atop a pretty precipice, says Francis.

00:19:19

The impunity afforded to Israel is now shredding the principles of international law.

00:19:26

Ether International community face to all the Israel accountable in its way.

00:19:32

In the wake of its unrelenting violence, it will have broken the very foundations of international law, is developed over the last century.

00:19:42

Francesca concludes by saying that my book is a reminder of the pressing responsibility that we all share to confront the reality of genocide and to do something about it.

00:20:00

The code to the book the conclusion of the book.

00:20:04

Is by linear mean Coe. Once again, I would like to welcome you, Julia.

00:20:13

She's the Irish barrister who appeared before the International Court of Justice.

00:20:21

As part of the South African delegation, the charges were against him.

00:20:36

A speech lasted 31 minutes. It made a deep impression on everyone who heard it, and it went viral, and now linia is a legend.

00:20:51

Bing is an expert on genocide, which is dealt with other cases of genocide, and not just with this one.

00:21:00

In her speech, she listed previous jurisdictions established by the court and argued that.

00:21:09

The imminent risk of death and destruction of the Palestinians in Gaza made it imperative for the Court to act.

00:21:20

She suggested that the very reputation of international law hangs in the balance.

00:21:27

The Geneva Convention, she argued. If you do more than illegal precedent.

00:21:34

It is fundamentally about morality.

00:21:38

She quoted the General Assembly resolution of 1946 that made this clear.

00:21:45

Her genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups, as homicide is a denial of the right to live of individual human beings.

00:21:58

Such, you know, in this country, tomorrow, tomorrow, law and to the spirit and aims of the United Nations UN quote.

00:22:09

Linear very generously agreed for the text of iconic speech.

00:22:15

Remarkable speech to be included as the coda to this collection of essays.

00:22:22

Whoever her presence here makes this more of an Irish book.

00:22:30

As you know, Ireland is the most pro Palestinian country in Europe.

00:22:39

And Ireland has recently recognised Palestine as a state.

00:22:44

And his crease AG says.

00:22:47

Ireland is an actual ally of all anti colonial struggles.

00:22:54

So in good company.

00:22:58

And Ireland is also a literally a literary superpower.

00:23:05



Copies of the book will be given to many members of the Irish government.

00:23:12

This collection of essays.

00:23:15

Includes 2 reports that I wrote as an expert on Israel Palestine. One report was to the International Criminal Court. In one report, the other report was to the international.

00:23:30

Court of Justice.

00:23:33

Now, in 2019, Vishala Hassanu, a former student of mine here.

00:23:41

And a friend made a submission to the International Criminal Court.

00:23:47

Urging investigation of Israel for war crimes because the then chief prosecutor Sutu Ben Suda.

00:23:57

Had been sitting on this she for four years. She initiated an initial probe but then sat on the fence for four years and I think that this submission prompted.

00:24:11

To launch a full scale, a full investigation of Israeli.

00:24:16

War crimes.

00:24:19

My paper on Israel in the country of King Gaza was annexed to this submission. He gave the background to Israel's treatment of Gaza.

00:24:32

Dealt with the 2005 Israeli disengagement from Gaza.

00:24:40

In a series of subsequent military offences.

00:24:45

It's a blow by blow count of the history of this country, but it is also an analysis of the ideology and mindset that Israel that made Israel the serial.

00:24:59

War criminal.

00:25:02

The second report I wrote for the ICJ, it's a request of the country government.

00:25:10

The General Assembly has asked the ICJ for.

00:25:14

An advisory opinion about the legal status of the occupation the country government chose to make comprehensive submission. They had the firm of lawyers in Boston they prepared.

00:25:30

A dossier which was 370 pages long.

00:25:35

And they also asked Rashid Khalidi and me to write reports about the historical background.

00:25:43

Rashid Holiday wrote a report on settler colonialism from 1917 to 1967.

00:25:52

And I will to report on the diplomacy of the Israeli Palestinian conflict since 1967.

00:26:01

The the reports are about 50 pages deep, so Alex says nearly 100 pages long.

00:26:10

In my part of the report I made try to make 3 points.

00:26:18

One is that the PLO and subsequently Hamas.

00:26:22

Steadily moderated political programme.

00:26:26

And Hamas, of course, both accepted the two state solution. The PLO famously, by signing the Oslo Accord.

00:26:36

Secondly.

00:26:39

I argue that Israel is diplomatically intrusive and that Israel has defeated every international plan for the peaceful resolution of this conflict.

00:26:50

And certainly I argued that the international community is badly laid down. The Palestinians from 1947 onwards.

00:27:03

The rest of the book is mostly about Gaza. By my count, the current wall is the 8th Israeli military offensive in Gaza since Operation Cast lead.

00:27:17

Of 2008.

00:27:20

I want to pick on just one episode in this history of which I have some private knowledge and it's the ceasefire of 19 of 2008.

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And the operate operation cost lab that's followed it in December.

00:27:40

But first, a bit of about the background.

00:27:45

In.

00:27:46

2005 Israel we grew unilaterally from the Gaza Strip, Israel said. This was a contribution to peace, but it was nothing of the sort. It was a unilateral measure by Israel undertaking what was considered.

00:28:02

Israel's interest in the withdrawal of 8000 settlers from Gaza's followed by introducing more and more settlers to the West Bank and the consolidation of Israeli control.

00:28:14

Over the way.

00:28:16

The Israelis said they gave the Gazans an opportunity to turn their enclaves into the Singapore of the Middle East. This is a kind of talk that gives goods by bad names.

00:28:32

In January 2006, Hamas won fair and free election. It won an absolute majority. No one can dispute.

00:28:44

And he proceeded to form a government, a moderate government that offered Israel negotiations on a long term ceasefire. Israel refused to negotiate. Israel refused to recognise the government or to negotiate.

00:28:48

I.

00:28:59

A truce?

00:29:00

An.

00:29:01

Israel resorted to a series of measures to undermine the government.

00:29:07

The United States and European Union, to their eternal shame, join Israel in refusing to recognise the democratically elected government and in economic warfare to undermine.

00:29:22

In 2007.

00:29:22

You.

00:29:25

Hamas and Fatah form a national unity government, a very moderate government, which renewed the offer of long term.

00:29:37

Negotiations for a long term peace.

00:29:40

Northern truth. Once again, Israel refused to negotiate, and then, as we know from the Palestine Papers, the cache of diplomatic papers that were.

00:29:54

Revealed by Al Jazeera 1600 documents.

00:29:59

You know that there was a plot against Hamas, a plot in which participated Fatah, Israel, America and Egyptian intelligence, and there was a secret Gaza committee.

00:30:16

Whose aim was to isolate weakened and overthrow and topple the government. The Hamas government in Gaza.

00:30:25

America in Israel, Umm and encourage Fatah to stage a coup.

00:30:31

Hamas, we emptied the coup by seizing power in Gaza. Power in Gaza in 2007.

00:30:40

After Sahama sees power in Gaza.

00:30:44

Israel imposed a blockade of the street. A blockade is a form of collective punishment which is prescribed.

00:30:52

By international law, the blockade of Gaza didn't start after the Hamas attack. It started 17 years.

00:31:01

Now to the episode.

00:31:04

In 2008.

00:31:07

A mass fired rockets on the southern Israel and the Israeli army retaliated.

00:31:15

Egypt negotiated a ceasefire in June 2008.

00:31:21

And the terms of the ceasefire was complete stopping of hostilities by both sides, and Israel had to gradually scale down the blockade and allow more and more goods to go into Gaza.

00:31:38

Ceasefire what?

00:31:41

In the six in the six months before June 9, 2008, the average rockets, the average number of rockets fired from Gaza on Israel was 179.

00:31:56

In the five months after June 9th, 2008, the average number was three rockets a month. So Hamas observes a ceasefire and enforced it on the other.

00:32:11

Groups such as Islamic Jihad.

00:32:15

But on the 4th of November 2008, Israel launched a way inside Gaza and killed 6 Hamas fighters. And that was the end of the ceasefire hostilities.

00:32:30

Were renewed.

00:32:32

Professor Robert Pastor was a senior advisor at the Carter Centre.

00:32:39

And you reported directly to President Carter and his talks with Israeli and Hamas officials during this period he met with Khalid Mashal senior Hamas official.

00:32:54

In Damascus.

00:32:57

And Mashallah gave him.

00:33:00

A recent proposal on how to restore the ceasefire.

00:33:05

The proposal was to restore the ceasefire on the original terms.

00:33:09

Not all of which Israel had observed that to restore the ceasefire, pastor went to Tel Aviv and met with Major General Amos in Gilad.

00:33:21

Senior official in the Defence ministry.

00:33:24

And he handed him the proposal.

00:33:29

Gilad said he would consult with the minister and give him an answer. That evening. There was no answer.

00:33:36

That evening, the next day, pastor called Gilan's office three times and got no response. On the 27th of December, Israel launched Operation Cast.

00:33:53

On his deathbed.

00:33:55

We'll get Pastor dictated an e-mail to Mary Elizabeth King, another close associate of our Jimmy Carter, and a friend of mine.

00:34:06

In the e-mail, she said.

00:34:08

Avi is fully authorised to use this in anything that he writes and he can attribute it to me it is an important moment in history.

00:34:20

That Israel needs to accept because Israel had an alternative to war in December 2008. In short, if all Israel wanted to do was to protect its.

00:34:35

Citizens.

00:34:37

From.

00:34:38

I must work at the time.

00:34:40

All it had to do was to follow Hamas's good example and observe the ceasefire.

00:34:48

Before his death.

00:34:50

Pastor asked a colleague of his together all the relevant documents and to send them to me and I received what was called the Hamas fire.

00:35:02

Which concerns everything that Robert Pastor had said to me.

00:35:07

On the basis of this file and all the other research that I've done, I can state with some confidence that Hamas is a very good record of honouring agreements, whereas Israel has the most terrible.

00:35:25

Israel never hesitates to violate any agreement the moment it no longer suits it, and we've had many examples of this in the last 15 months.

00:35:38



This brings me to the current situation in Gaza.

00:35:42

The chances are that Benjamin Netanyahu will not move to the second stage of the ceasefire.

00:35:51

But that he will renew the wall. He has a majority of only 63 in the 120 member Knesset.

00:36:01

In his far right.

00:36:04

And Fascist far-right Minister threatens to quit the government.

00:36:14

Is always not renewed.

00:36:16

If he quits and the government collapses, there will be another election in the spring and Netanyahu will be in a very weak position because he would have failed to achieve his principal aim, which is the eradication of Hamas.

00:36:32

Of command.

00:36:34

The new factor?

00:36:36

Saviour this president Trump, Trump said.

00:36:42

You know that America should take over Gaza.

00:36:46

There also needed cleaning up.

00:36:49

Note the imperial hubris. So the Palestinians are garbage that can be cleared, cleared away.

00:36:56

This is a call for mass expulsion of the.

00:37:02

Ethnic cleansing of guns.

00:37:05

American soldiers are not going to go to Gaza and do the job, do The Dirty job on the Israel, can implement the plan.

00:37:16

I.

00:37:16

And this is what the Israeli Government would like to do.

00:37:20

So Trump's intervention is a green light for Israel to carry out the ethnic cleansing of Gaza. Small wonder that the Israeli right welcome Trump's intervention.

00:37:35

Israel Israel cast the Minister of Defence announced yesterday the establishment of a new agency to assist the.

00:37:46

Inverted commas to assist the voluntary departure of the people from Gaza.

00:37:54

To conclude.

00:37:56

I'd like to quote again what? No chance.

00:38:00

He said central colonialism.

00:38:04

He's the most extreme and vicious form of imperialism.

00:38:08

This book is my modest personal contribution to the fight against Zionist settler colonialism, which has morphed into Zionist fascism against.

00:38:22

Brutal and racist American imperialism.

00:38:26

Thank you.