



## **Interview With Roger Waters: Musical Genius, Political Activist, Accused Anti-Semite**

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**Glenn Greenwald (GG):** Good evening, it's Wednesday, November 1st. Welcome to a new episode of System Update, our Live Daily Show that airs every Monday through Friday at 7 p.m. Eastern, exclusively here on Rumble, the free speech alternative to YouTube. Tonight, the musician Roger Waters really doesn't need much of an introduction. His band Pink Floyd, is one of the most successful and influential in the history of all rock music. Albums like *The Dark Side of the Moon* and *The Wall* have become among the best selling and most well known albums in the last six or seven decades. But Waters is often at least as well known these days, if not more so for the political stances he takes. He has certainly become an extremely controversial figure, especially over the last couple of years, as he has been an outspoken voice against the US and NATO war in Ukraine and a constant critic of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the occupation of Gaza. He has become someone who has been widely vilified in Western media circles and in establishment institutions of media as being an extremist, as being an anti-Semite, essentially, every term that could be cast on him, including pro-Russian and pro-Kremlin, have been applied to him as a means to discredit him.

He is currently here in Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro, where he is performing as part of his global tour. He started off in the Brazilian capital, Brasilia, and then he came to Rio de Janeiro today for a show on Saturday night. And we were able to sit down with him here in the studio for a fascinating and often contemplative and widespread discussion about many different issues, both political and personal. He came to Rio Janeiro in 2018 as part of his tour back then, and I was able, along with my husband, David Miranda, to spend a fair amount of time with him during the entire week that he was in Rio and got to see a side of him that I think most people don't see, especially those who are subject to the vilification campaign. It really, I think, shed light for me on how to think about, understand and process the views of Roger Waters. And I

wanted to sit down with him so that those of you who watch the show could hear the same sort of perspective, the same kind of reasoning and where his views are coming from that I heard. We spend some amount of time talking about things that you would expect us to talk about, like the Israeli war in Gaza and the role of the US and the West in supporting it, the ongoing war in Ukraine, a little bit about the war in Syria, but a lot of it too, was about his musical career. The reason why he has decided to enter these very choppy and controversial political waters, what is it about him that compelled him to do so, even though it has resulted in a lot of difficulties for him and career loss, including the loss of a contract with his music company, criminal investigations in Germany that tried to claim that his performance of The Wall, which was always a satire of tyrannical despots, was somehow a glorification of Nazi-sm, only for that to spread, including into Brazil, where the Brazilian government warned him that if he came here and tried to perform The Wall with that uniform, he could run afoul of Brazilian law and would have federal police agents at his shows making sure that he was in compliance. The Brazilian government backed off of that.

But he has been a person who has been kind of a lightning rod on a variety of issues that we cover here in our show, including free debate and the weaponization of antisemitism and what happens to you when you oppose American wars and Western foreign policy. And I really kind of did not expect the interview to go the way that it did. He was very reflective, very contemplative, in a very honest way, oftentimes emotional. And it was an interview that I really enjoyed conducting. I really enjoyed listening to it. And I think you'll really enjoy the interview as well. We're excited to show you my discussion in Rio de Janeiro with Roger Waters.

**GG:** Roger, welcome back to Rio de Janeiro. And it's great to see you. I'm so happy you took the time to talk to us today.

**Roger Waters (RW):** Thank you very much. I'm happy to be here.

**GG:** Sure. So you're in Rio because it's part of a global tour for your show? And I've seen interviews, you playfully referring to this as your first farewell tour, I guess, kind of slightly mocking musicians who say, this is my last tour, and then they never seem to go away.

**RW:** Well spotted.

**GG:** What's that?

**RW:** Well spotted.

**GG:** I'm just wondering, though, do you have any sense that you're kind of thinking about stopping at least these intense global tours, or are you going to keep going for as long as you like it and as long as you can?

**RW:** I probably will stop fairly soon. Whether this will be the very last one, I don't know. I've only done one show in South America so far, which was Brasilia a few days ago, and it does take more energy to play to 40,000 people or 60,000 people than it does in like a 15 or 16,000 seat arena. It unquestionably [does]. But I try to stay fit – touch wood – I'm reasonably fit. Only had COVID once in Europe touring there. We did 43 dates I think, or 40 in Europe. So who knows?

**GG:** Well, last time you were here was 2018 and my husband David Miranda and I were able to spend a fair amount of time with you. And one of the things I remember both of us talking about was kind of marveling at how much energy it takes, not only doing the show, we saw that show and, you know, it's like intense physical work on top of the music, but one of the things we saw was that you're not someone who just gets to a city and stays in your hotel. You were seeing a lot of communities, meeting with a lot of political activists, with kids. So you're at least from what I could tell, you are somebody who comes to a place and gets to learn it, as much as you can. What are your impressions of Brazil as a country? Rio de Janeiro as a city?

**RW:** The thing I was thinking – Oh, by the way, I met Lula.

**GG:** Oh, you did?! Well on this trip?

**RW:** In Brasilia. Yeah, the day before the show.

**GG:** Because the last time you were here, he was in prison I believe. About to go to prison or already in prison.

**RW:** I think, correctly, in prison. And they wouldn't let me, obviously.

**GG:** Right.

**RW:** They were very keen on the idea of locking me up in Curitiba.

**GG:** Yes, they were.

**RW:** Because I think it was the day before the presidential election. And they said, if you say anything political after 10:00, you're going to prison.

**GG:** So that was before this trip.

**RW:** That was 2018. Right. And so I was a bit sneaky. I went all right, at 9:55, wherever we are in the show, you stop the tape, we stop and I am going to do a political bid. And we're getting to do it for four and a half minutes and then we're going to stop.

**GG:** I remember that. You did the exact thing in Rio when really observing the 10:00, cut off while mocking it at the same time. How was the meeting with Lula?

**RW:** Fabulous. You know, we go on like a house on fire, as you would so expect. We're roughly the same age and we have fairly similar politics. And I did follow the whole thing, you know, with the previous election here with the Bolsonaro one and so I followed the weird political polarization in this country, where they are so close; the election that Lula won, 2022.

**GG:** Yeah, it was like not even 2 points.

**RW:** And that's very interesting to me because this could almost be a global phenomenon. And, you know, it's what you get when people are in desperate straits, I think, you get polarization because everybody is so uncomfortable. And don't get me started on, you know, neoliberal, Milton Friedman, Chicago boys, capitalism.

**GG:** Yeah, that's one of the things Bolsonaro brought in is this kind of hardcore austerity. I mean, I've you know, I've definitely been a critic of Lula's domestic politics, like a lot of people have, but on the foreign stage, I think he is one of the most important voices because he is steadfastly independent of the United States, he insists on this kind of neutral peacemaking role, both in Ukraine and now in this new war. But let me ask you, one of the things I saw, I saw a video of your show in Brasilia, the first one you did. And at the beginning you addressed the people that you describe as those who say, Oh, I love Pink Floyd's music so much, but I can't stand Roger's politics.

**RW:** Yeah.

**GG:** And the message you had for them was basically, Oh, go fuck off to the bar. And when I heard that, I thought, Oh, that's basically just being very defiant and sticking your middle finger up at those people. But then I also know that you have this new song, The Bar, that is about dialog and trying to foster free debate and the like. So what is that message that you intended to convey with that?

**RW:** Well, if you actually listen, because it is the recording of me speaking to the announcement, this is the same recording that when we were on the road here; it's quite clear from the tone of my voice that it's a joke.

**GG:** Yep.

**RW:** I'm not actually telling people to go sit at the bar, if they don't agree with my poetry. And obviously audiences all over North America and all over Europe, that they get it completely and they all roar either with laughter or with appreciation or with something. So I have succeeded in that. It is a good piece of theater to do that. I'm sad to say that – we have it translated in Portuguese and Spanish – and I don't know why both languages here in Brazil, but and then they haven't translated fuck off.

**GG:** Exactly. It's just said kind of remove yourself...

**RW:** Retire...

**GG:** Yeah. Retire or remove yourself, I noticed that as well.

**RW:** Yeah, well, I only just noticed it and said what the fuck is that? "retirate" cannot be fuck off.

**GG:** This is not how you express yourself. It's very British. It's like: Oh, kindly retire to the bar. Which is most definitely not how you speak.

**RW:** But the song –that will be the title of my next album. I'm already thinking and talking to Gus Seyffert. We've just walked together on a new version of Dark Side of the Moon that I made as a sort of homage to the 50 year old version of it. And it is out now and it's doing very well, I'm happy to say. People get it, which I wasn't sure.

**GG:** What is it that you want them to get from that song?

**RW:** From the new record of Dark Side of the Moon?

**GG:** No, from The Bar.

**RW:** Oh, The Bar. Yeah. We're going on to The Bar. Well, The Bar is the song that I wrote during COVID, and I was spending a lot of time sitting at home at the piano and, you know, and kind of mucking around and also feeling mildly depressed about what's going on in the world and feeling the pain everywhere and responding to it. And I started to write about what it's like to meet people who you don't know as well as meeting your friends. So the idea is if you go to the bar, the pub in England it would be, obviously, you go to the pub and you meet your friends and you can have a drink and chat, but you also meet strangers often. Because people feel that they can join in with the conversation that's going on. So you meet people who have different opinions to you and you exchange opinions with them, but you feel safe. You don't feel like you often do, or I often do. That if you say something that they, that the man doesn't like, you're liable to be dragged off and locked up. Julian Assange, our good

friend Julian Assange, a case in point, they're killing him. Yeah. And they're trying to extradite him to the United States where they will kill him; fast, slow, we don't know. But that's what they're trying to do for speaking out. Okay. He wasn't in a bar, and he did organize a series of techniques to disseminate information to people who need it. But for that which is not a crime, while you know this, I mean, you are willy nilly a publisher doing this. This is a TV station, so you're publishing. And for publishing the truth about things to be a crime for which you can be dragged off across the ocean and locked up forever and so because they disapprove of your opinion or your desire to share information with the general public, that's a big thing.

**GG:** Well, let me just interject there and ask you, though, because there was a report this week that came out in Globo that David and I were the target of a legal spying by the Brazilian sort of CIA or FBI, the intelligence agency of being during the Bolsonaro years. For three years they were reading our emails and telephone calls. And one of the things I said when I was responding to the story on this show was I talked about how on some level when you're attacked and the target of reprisals by power centers, on some level, even though it's not easy and can cause a lot of stress in your life, it's a tribute to the fact that you're being effective. And whenever that has happened in my career, when they tried to prosecute me or do anything like that, I've taken it on like that. I certainly think that's true of Julian. The reason he's in prison is because he's the most important journalist of our generation. And I'm wondering as somebody who has been targeted with all sorts of character smears and attacks that I think have escalated in the last couple of years, the last 18 months and I want to ask you about that and why. But I'm wondering, are you able to, even though the difficulty of that, maintain that understanding that it's in part because you have expressed views that are threatening to people in power?

**RW:** Absolutely. What you're talking about with me is the accusations of anti-Semitism.

**GG:** Yes.

**RW:** It's because they have no answer to the argument; you cannot defend the state of Israel and the genocide that's going on today and tomorrow and the day after. Unless somehow you and I and all those good people who I met this morning in Rio who care about human rights, intervene in some way to create enough of a noise, a loud enough choir for them to go: Hang on a minute. Maybe this isn't the best thing for me. Which is because that's where politicians live, they live in a world of how much goodness is going to do me. In my view, that's only my view. So you are right. It is to some extent, and it shows that you at least have a platform and the people listen to it and that it is one that they do not want people to hear. And my platform is tiny. It's Paris, 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Because I made a little video thing on the 11th of this month, I was so devastated after the 7th, the nights and then nights and then the bombardments increased in Gaza. So I said what, how do you respond to that? I actually made a little video and it's had a few million views now. So quite a lot of people have

seen it. And basically I'm sitting there like that and I'm going, this is very simple. Either you believe in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or not. So it's a very small question. You know, so if I'm sitting opposite of Netanyahu or somebody and he would start talking – hold on a minute: Do you believe in the Universal Declaration of those 30 articles or not? Well... No, do you or don't you? Because if you do, you cannot be following the foreign policy and domestic policy that you do because you don't. You believe in human rights for you.

**RW:** But not for them.

**GG:** And the irony of this is a lot of these concepts of protecting civilians and the laws of war and crimes against humanity came after World War Two as a response to the fact that we had these two horrific wars. And as weapons are getting more potent, we decided we needed, we couldn't just say, Oh, in one war, everything is fair game. We needed concepts that everybody was bound by. And it was in part a response to the Holocaust and the murder of Jews, although not only. And so to watch Israel then kind of turn around and become the leaders in insisting that that framework be abandoned or that it doesn't really apply to them is the height of irony. But let me ask you, because you've always been a critic of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, and the blockade of Gaza and the treatment of Palestinians, and you've always been called anti-Semitic for that reason, as any of us who defend Palestinians.

**RW:** I am an opponent of the whole Zionist exercise.

**GG:** Right. But in my perception, these attacks on you have gotten a lot more escalated and a lot uglier and a lot more widespread and a lot more intense; so let's say the last 18 months. And you're not just somebody who speaks on Israel, you speak on the dirty war about the CIA in Syria and the US NATO war in Ukraine. First of all, do you agree it's gotten worse? And if so, why do you think that's happening?

**RW:** I think they're getting frightened. And I think critics of that whole area of international politics get scared of people telling the truth. And I try to be as careful as I can to read as much, to make sure I'm educated on whatever it is that I happen to be talking about. That is something, as I've explained before, that I learned from my mother. One specific incident was I'm 13 years old and I'm trying to figure something out and my mother looks at me and she thinks that boy is trying to figure something out. So she says, Come here. She said, What are you...? Oh, it's just something. She said, You're going to come across lots of difficult, knotty problems during your life, Roger. This is what you do if you take my advice. Okay, Mum, What is it? She said you read whatever it is you're trying to figure out. Read, read. Read all sides of the story. Don't just read...

**GG:** ...the things that...

**RW:** Read everything. And ground yourself in it. For instance, if it's an international issue, look at the geography, read the history, find out... When you've done that, you've done all the heavy lifting. The hard work is over. Well, what do I do then? And she said, The next bit is easy. You do the right thing. And there was a schoolmaster in this thing in the town hall in Rio today. And he was talking about working with his children, about education and things like that. And I remembered. I said my mother was a teacher a lot like you, you know. And you are teaching your children in your school exactly the same thing that she tried to teach me when I was a teenager. Anyway, I'm digressing.

**GG:** But what I wanted to ask you is, you know, when I speak to, say, younger people who are entering journalism or finding a public platform for the first time, and they ask me for advice, I always try to tell them, look, when you get attacked in these ways that are ugly and unjust and unfair, do your best not to take them personally because it's just how the game is played. The reason that's happening is because you're saying things that they find threatening and they don't want to engage to the argument. As you said, they want to destroy your reputation. But as somebody who has been called anti-Semitic thousands of times in the last two and a half weeks or so by condemning Israel's aggression in Gaza, I know that's easier said than done. So I'm wondering, are there times even when you have the confidence when having done all this reading and you have the confidence that what you're doing is right when these attacks and these accusations bother you?

**RW:** Sure. When they come close to succeeding, as, for instance, on my European tour recently, the Germans, the Israeli lobby in Germany, which is extremely powerful in Germany, you know, that made public protests for Palestine illegal. It's illegal in Germany.

**GG:** And in France. Just all pro-Palestine protest banned.

**RW:** Yeah, it's all illegal. So they're very hard on it. And they tried to cancel my tour in Germany. Moi!

**RW:** Cancel him.

**RW:** What? What are you talking about? And on the grounds that I – two grounds. One, that I'm a raging anti-Semite. And two, that I glorify the Third Reich. What? On what to base that? On his works of art. There you see, he is dressed in a leather coat. And I think, Well, hold on a minute. It's satire. You know, this is theater.

**GG:** Which everyone has known. Everyone knows The Wall. Everyone knows that character that you've been doing for years and suddenly they decided to pretend you were paying tribute to dictators and Hitler.



**RW:** I've been doing it for 40 years, you morons. You know, what are you talking about? And yeah, I had to go to court to get them off my back, because in the Festhalle in Frankfurt, the local council had canceled my show. And I said, You can't do that. And luckily I went to court and I won the case and we did do the show. But on the back of those attacks, the ADL, which is an American organization, the Anti-Defamation League, that's been there for – I mean, I'm happy to say I've survived a number of presidents or directors with that. I had lots of to and fro with Abe Foxman when he was still working. Jonathan Greenblatt, the new bloke, I hardly know – whatever. What did Jonathan Greenblatt the new bloke? I'm making a new record of Dark Side of the Moon Redux, it's called. And I've done a deal with BMG, which is Bertelsmann Music Group, and they're going to release it. Because Sony, my record label, didn't want to release it because it would be seen to be in competition with what Pink Floyd are doing for the 50th... I don't care. BMG is a good record company. Greenblatt got about ten different organizations like – I've forgotten what they are called, the one in Canada. It doesn't matter. From all over, Stand With Us and Creative something [Community] For Peace. You know, all of those they're all Israeli lobby; hasbara organising. They wrote a joint letter to Bertelsmann, the parent company of BMG, and said, You cannot work with this man. He's an anti-Semite. And if you do, we're going to remind the public that you collaborated with the Nazis in World War Two. That threat, they threaten them with that.

**GG:** No, it's such a potent threat.

**RW:** So it's vengeance. Bertelsmann, did they say fuck you Jonathan Greenblatt? We're a proper company and this is a great artist and we have his publishing and we supported him and he's wonderful, you know, makes great records... No, they didn't. They went okay, and they fired me, boom. Well, when that happens and they're sniffing around the door in parliament, no less, in England, some awful MP's stood up in Parliament and suggested that my shows in the O2 in London and in Manchester should be canceled. Just because of this blah blah. So, yes. So that was to answer your question. Yeah, it is uncomfortable at those points, particularly having a recording contract removed from under your nose because the ADL, they're a protection racket. The ADL is a protection...

**GG:** I know, they openly say if we accuse you of anti-Semitism and you pay us \$500,000, as they did with that NBA star Kyrie Irving, who recommended a book, and then they said, Oh, there's a way out of it. Just pay us \$500,000 for all these...

**RW:** Which is pitiful, obviously.

**GG:** Yeah. I mean, it's so blatant and out in the open and they're exploiting what, you know, obviously are these very strong and valid residual feelings about the Holocaust to essentially go around bullying this way by just threatening to destroy people's reputations unless you paid them. And that is classic extortion. There is I don't know if you saw I think we chatted about it briefly, but all of that made its way to Brazil because here in Brazil, there are a lot of

debates about the extent to which free speech should be permitted, whether things that are called hate speech or disinformation ought to be criminalized and barred and there's a kind of pro censorship movement, I think, in Brazil that is similar to Western Europe, but in some way even worse. And when that was happening, the justice minister here in Brazil, Flavio Dino, said, We think that if Roger Waters wants to come here and wear that uniform, he may very well end up being arrested. And what happened was the Brazilian left who are supporters of yours and obviously the base of Lula's government went ballistic and said, What do you – It was the first time I heard them with a backlash against censorship, and only then did they rescind it; did he say, like, obviously we're going to consider the context of what the message is. Have you had any kind of messaging or communication from the Brazilian government about the possibility that you're being watched? I think they said they're going to put federal agents at your show.

**RW:** Ho, ho, I did notice that story as it came up. And I confess that I was somewhat disgruntled. I thought, Well, hold on a minute, my mate Lula, who I tried to go and visit in prison, is the body president. He's just a minister, is conniving with others in this nonsense, because the powers that are behind these attacks – it's worse in Argentina or in some other countries. You know, the Israeli lobby is very, very powerful. And I mean, what's happened to me over the last 20 years or so is the thing that pisses me off most, if I'm honest about it, and I'm honest about it, for instance, I was involved in a charity because I was asked to work for a thing called Stand Up For Heroes. So it was stand up, it was comedians going to the Beacon Theater once a year in New York and raising money for badly wounded vets. And they, Bob and Lee Woodruff are the names of the lovely couple who were on it. And they asked me if I would sing a song or something. And I went, Oh, I'm not sure I want to be standing on the stage, showing off around all these people with no arms and legs, you know. And they said, Well, we're having a cocktail party at the Natural History Museum. Would you come along? And so I went, Yeah, okay, I can do that. Sure. And have a look and meet you people. So I walked into the big room with whales in it and stuff, and there were all these vets and whatnot, and there was one bloke sitting in a wheelchair, no legs and only one arm looking a bit on his own. He is dressed blue, so a marine. So I went over and I walked up and I kind of stood by his chair and I went, Hello, how are you? You've got a drink or whatever? And it was a bit like that. And then he looked at me and then he went and recognized me. Anyway, it's... And I went, Yeah it is. His name is Dom. I'm good friends with this man now. And he went and before he could think about anything, he went, Wow, I play the guitar. And I thought, That's a bit strange, you know? And he saw me. He saw me thinking that. And he went, Well, I used to play the guitar. And I went, Yeah, well, I was just about to get into whatever the hell we were going to talk about, right? When he went, I don't play the guitar anymore. And I went, No, obviously... And he went, Now I play the drums.

**GG:** Yeah.

**RW:** When he had nothing here. Here. Here was from there; he had a little stump. He had a prosthesis on it with a hole in the end for a drum stick. And he's a bloody good drummer.

**GG:** And you have seen him drum, since?

**RW:** Yeah. He's in a band called The Brazilian. It's him and a guy called Tim Connolly. And a bloke, I am not going to be able to produce the names of the other two guys who are in the band now. But Gee Smith and I used to go to Walter Reed every couple of weeks and work with these guys, and we put on a show at the Beacon. This was the point of the story. Then we did it again. The next year. We moved into the theater upstairs at Madison Square Garden and the next year, which was 2014. So we did it '12, '13 and we were about to do it '14 when suddenly, it was the middle of the summer, I realized I hadn't had a phone call. And I thought, That's odd. So I called a guy called Andrew, I've forgotten his name, who had produced those two shows and said, Why haven't I had the phone call asking me about dates in early November to do stand up? And he went a bit quiet. I went, Get your ass over here, I need to know. And he came over. They said, We won't give you a single dollar more money if you work with Roger Waters. He's an anti-Semite. But what about the band? What about the wounded man? Fuck them. They can't be on because if they are, people will ask, But where is Roger? Who was the bloke called Cohen? who paid them \$1,000,000,000 so he didn't have to go to prison?

**GG:** Oh, I don't know. I don't know what story you mean.

**RW:** Well, he was, he was an exchange in control or what? He, it was insider trading. It was a big insider trading. Find out and I'll send you his name.

**GG:** Yeah, I have seen...

**RW:** It is a long time – it's ten years ago now.

**GG:** Oh Steve Cohen it is. I hear from the control.

**RW:** Steve Cohen. Yeah. He was the big sponsor of that year's thing. He said, Not a penny.

**GG:** Oh, that is who basically said no Roger Waters. So first of all, let me just ask you about these issues with anti-Semitism for a second. You talked about the horror and sickness and disgust you feel watching what the Israelis are doing in Gaza. And I have to say, for me, and maybe it's just a byproduct of things I focus on, but I honestly don't recall anything that has made me sicker or more disgusted than seeing the level of suffering that's taking place in Gaza right now and knowing that we're only at the beginning, way closer to the beginning than the end. It's one of the worst crimes, if not the worst one I've seen in my life. But when the attack on October 7th in Israel happened from Hamas, what was your reaction to that?

**RW:** Let's wait and see what happens, was my first reaction. My second reaction was how the hell did the Israelis not know this was going to happen? And I'm still a little bit down that rabbit hole. I mean, didn't the Israeli army in those ten or eleven camps hear the bangs when they blew up whatever they had to blow up to get across the border? There's something very fishy about that.

**GG:** Yeah, we had an Israeli Knesset member on, who said it seems inconceivable. This is one of the most surveilled places on the planet. And there's obviously going to be a lot of investigation, maybe not an honest one, but Israelis are angry about that as well. What I'm asking about, though, is do you think what Hamas did on October 7th can be justified?

**RW:** Well, A) we don't know what they did do. But, was it justified for them to resist the occupation? Yes. But again, it's what you said. It's the Geneva Conventions. They're absolutely legally and morally bound to resist the occupation since 1967. It's an obligation.

**GG:** But are there limits on the way in which they can resist?

**RW:** As I said in the statement that I put out after, I said if war crimes were committed, I condemn them. And I don't care who it is.

**GG:** Here we are now three weeks or so after. Do you think there's been evidence that's emerged that suggests they committed those?

**RW:** There may have been individuals. I was reading a news story this morning, Grayzone, our friend Max Blumenthal. So there's a long story which I've read this morning, but the Haaretz have finally come out with figures of how many people were actually killed and who they were..

**GG:** On that day...

**RW:** On that day, yeah. And so probably the first 400 were Israeli military personnel; that is not a war crime.

**GG:** No, clearly. Everyone thinks military officials or military targets or soldiers in Israel are..

**RW:** Well it depends if you believe in the Geneva Conventions.

**GG:** Right.

**RW:** Or the United Nations.

**GG:** But what about targeting civilians, conducting that?

**RW:** No, of course. No, of course not. No, of course, I don't condone that. But the thing was thrown out of all proportion by the Israelis making up stories about beheading babies. They even got the president of the United States, dotard that he is, to claim that he had seen photographs.

**GG:** ...of the beheaded babies.

**RW:** ...the beheaded baby, yes.

**GG:** And then admitted that he actually did not. Yeah. I mean.

**RW:** I mean, you know, it's...But what we do know is whether it was a false flag operation or not or whatever, whatever happened and whatever story we're going to get to and we don't know if we will ever get much of the real story. It's always hard to tell what actually happened. They're calling it their 9/11. What the hell happened on the American 9/11? Nobody knows. Over clearly, the official narrative has huge holes in it. And anyway, let's not go into 9/11.

**GG:** But I guess when people – there are two kinds of people I think, who raise anti-Semitism accusations against not only you, but people like you. Where I would say, in your case, one is because you criticize the Israeli government. The other is the claim that you seem to value Palestinian lives more than Israeli lives.

**RW:** That's absolute patent nonsense.

**GG:** That is what I was going to say. What is your...

**RW:** It is complete rubbish. No, I don't. This is the whole point of the difference between my platform and the Israeli government's. I believe in equal human rights for all our brothers and sisters all over the world, irrespective of their ethnicity, religion or nationality; all of them. the Israeli government doesn't. For instance, just in that locale, there, what we could call the Holy Land if we wanted to. They consider the people of the Jewish religion to have a completely different set of rights to everybody else. This is fundamentally important. That's why in my message, I go: Do you subscribe to the idea of equal human rights or not? Because as soon as you don't, you are a Nazi. And I know people go, Ohh you can't say that.

**GG:** The Nazi ideology is not unique to Germany. It could be anybody who adopts that view that some human life is more valuable than others.

**RW:** Anybody who is a supremacist. It is whatever you want to call it, a fascist... Or you just say, Oh, he, she, they are those people who consider themselves superior to them. That's why they call them animals. That's why they dehumanize them. That's why they are committing genocide on the – today. I'm sorry to grind my teeth, but I...

**GG:** No, it's horrific. I know.

**RW:** This is the most horrific thing in your life. It is in my life. I'm 80 years old. This is the most horrific thing to happen in front of my eyes. And yet the government of the United States of America, where I ...

**GG:** And of the U.K..

**RW:** The U.K., I don't live there anymore. But all the vessel states in the European community are all just giving the Israelis a carte blanche...

**GG:** Why?

**RW:** To murder...

**GG:** Why are they doing that?

**RW:** Well, you tell me, Glenn. I don't get it. It has something to do with some kind of political expediency that I don't understand.

**GG:** Well, just about two weeks ago, we interviewed Professor Stephen Walt, and then yesterday we interviewed Professor John Mearsheimer, both of whom co-wrote the book *The Israel Lobby* in 2006. Which purported to explain where this kind of influence comes from. And they were very clear that it's not just the standard obvious response of, well, there's a lot of American Jews and Western Jews who exercise a lot of political influence. There's also you going to Congress as one of my friends who's a journalist, Lee Fong did, and we interviewed him last night, too. And he went and interviewed a bunch of members of Congress and said, Why is your posture that you want to give the Israeli government anything it wants, that there's no criticism permitted, that they'll never say no to the Israelis, what kind of country has that posture toward others? And a lot of them will openly say it's because we believe religiously that Israel has to be strong, because only then can Jesus return and have this rapture like event.

**RW:** So they are Christian fascists.

**GG:** Well, they're quite yeah, they're hard core Christian Zionists who somehow are Christians and yet don't value Palestinian life.

**RW:** Well, because they don't subscribe to my view, which is that we're all equal, we're brothers. And we're all African. It was 150 thousand years ago, there were very few of us and we were from Africa and we spread out over this world and, you know, various of us settled in different places and because of the weather and because we intermarried, some of us look different from others, but we now know because of the genome, human genome, we know that we're all cousins, we're all related. And my goodness, particularly the Jewish people who claim that their ancestors are from the Holy Land are incredibly closely related to the Palestinians whose ancestors were – they are all Semites there. If they would have geographical associations with Israel and or Palestine, then they are all cousins, they're close cousins. So this is bizarre. And you know what? I think it simply has to do with wealth and power. Those are the two defining...

**GG:** Well, why is there this close relationship with Israel, this kind of obsessive support for it, to promote wealth and power in the West?

**RW:** Well, they need to promote disharmony all over the world. The United States foreign policy is basically about promoting disharmony as best it can, creating mayhem, causing wars like the one in Ukraine, which you've spoken to Mearsheimer or whatever, and you've done your reading. You know the history, you know the history of Ukraine. You know, that Khrushchev did all that when the USSR was going in 1955 or 56 or whenever it was, the Ukraine was; you know, all of this stuff. But most people have no idea. Most people buy the idea that Russia unprovoked invaded Ukraine on February 24th, 2022, or whenever it was.

**GG:** I saw an interview with George Lucas, the producer and director of Star Wars, among other things, and he was being interviewed by James Cameron, it was probably about ten years ago. I don't know if you ever seen this, but he was confessing something amazing, which was that when he made Star Wars the empire that he had in mind that everybody was supposed to root against was the United States and the scrappy kind of guerrillas who were using inferior weapons, but had this kind of spirit that would let them bring down the empire where the North Vietnamese. And the film was released in 1976. Imagine what Americans would have thought had they known that. And it was kind of this very subversive message buried in Star Wars. Were there political themes or political messages from the start in Pink Floyd's music, as you saw them in the 60's and 70's?

**RW:** Let me tell you this. I think, you know, because at the beginning of a career, '65, '66, whatever, when Syd came up to London and to share an apartment with me and blah, blah, blah, and Syd started to write songs, thank goodness, and great songs, they were, were we very politically motivated? Not in terms of the music that we were doing. Basically, we were a blues band. We branched out mainly because of Syd's songwriting. I've got a bike, you can ride it if you like. It's got a basket, a bell that ring. And things to make it look good. I'd give it to you if I could, but I borrowed it. We don't need to go there into kind of a weird seminar

about what a great songwriter Syd was. Was I political? Yeah, I was, I marched from Aldermaston to Trafalgar Square once and from Finchingfield to Trafalgar Square once. I was the chairman of the Young Socialists in Cambridge when I was 15 years old and also of the YCND and blah bla blah. My parents, my father was dead, he was killed and my mother was a communist up until '56 when she left in protest of the Russian invasion of Budapest in 1956. So, yeah, my background is steeped in an attachment. You know, the bottom drawer of the desk in our front room was full of hidden, forbidden books with photographs of what Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz were like when, in the case of Auschwitz, when the Russians went in and freed everybody who wasn't a Nazi. And so one of my mum's best friends, Claudette Kennedy, you know, she's got the Auschwitz thing on her wrist and she was in a state of total turmoil and terror. And I was this little kid watching this going on. Her kids were never allowed out of her sight because she was so...

**GG:** Traumatized.

**RW:** I'm getting quite emotional even thinking about it because even talking about Claudette Kennedy and her children of 75 years ago brings up into me what's happening in Gaza today. When you see that Al-Jazeera chief holding his dead son in his arms, they killed his whole family. And that happened to family after family after family. And Joe Biden and Rishi Sunak are going, Oh, they have a right to defend. What the fuck are you talking about? Defend themselves. This is arrant nonsense and everybody knows it. By the way, if you go back and read Lord Balfour's letter from 1917, it's only that long. It's not, it is that long. And the first bit says: Her Majesty's government looks with favor on the plan for making a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine, British mandate Palestine. And then the second paragraph says, So long as that in no way interferes with the religious or civil rights of the indigenous people, who non-Jewish, who are now living there. That's the second half of the both of that. And I know you're "hmm" me.

**GG:** No, I'm not "hmm" you in the sense that I want you to stop. I'm "hmm" you and sense that I agree and I understand and I want people to hear this.

**RW:** Even then and that's a year after Mr. Sykes and Mr. Picot had drawn the arbitrary shape of Iraq and Syria and all those things in the middle of the bloody First World War. So yeah, what I'm saying is that Zionism failed before it started because it was not a desert. It was a flourishing, cosmopolitan, many different faiths and peoples and [inaudible], and it had exchanged hands umpteen times and the Ottomans and the Crusaders and maybe King David at some point, who knows? But this was not an empty spot on the map where you could take a few million people and say there you are and now built.

**GG:** And there were all kinds of peaceful and thriving interactions between Muslims and Jews and Palestinians.



**RW:** Always.

**GG:** So obviously, there's a group of people who think that simply to be opposed to Zionism, a brand new ideology that didn't even exist until the beginning of the 20th century, is to be anti-Semitic. And part of me even hates kind of asking you about this accusation because I feel like I'm dignifying it when I do. But the other side makes me feel like, look, people have heard this about you and so I think it's important to always give you the opportunity to defend yourself, even though I wish that wasn't necessary, but it is.

**RW:** Do you know how many people there are in the world who know whether I'm an anti-Semite or not?

**GG:** A small portion.

**RW:** One. Do you know who that is?

**GG:** You.

**RW:** Exactly. I live in this body. This is my heart. You think I wouldn't know if I was an anti-Semite? What? We know what our feelings are.

**GG:** But I want to ask you about that, because this moment that you just had a few minutes ago where you got emotional thinking about a Holocaust survivor, these books that you said you read and were obviously moved by about the horrors of Auschwitz and the like. Do you have and have you always had Jewish people in your life who are important in your life?

**RW:** Yeah, of course.

**GG:** Like I said, I even hate asking that, but I think it's... I want people to know that.

**RW:** [00:53:31] Yes, of course I have. And you know what, so here is a weird thing. Part of the accusations, there was some weird saxophone player who played in my band for about 3 minutes in 2002 or some 20 years ago, and came out and was explaining all kinds of weird stuff which I didn't recognize at all in any way. Why am I telling you this? I know why because this came out into conversation here, because a guy I'm not going to tell you who he is, but there's a guy who's working for me in my crew now. He's been working for me for well over 20 years. And I was talking to my production manager about another kid who was an Israeli kid who was on the crew for the whole off The Wall tour that I did. And who had concerns about some of the things I would say about Israel. He was an Israeli, obviously Jewish. And so he confronted me about it and I talked to him and I've got a lovely letter he wrote when he left saying this was the best years I have ever spent in my life. I don't agree with you about absolutely everything, but I admire you. And I really look forward to seeing

you again and blah blah and stuff like that. And my production manager said, Well, yeah, like, and then he mentioned another name. And I went, who? And then I went, Oh, and mentioned a specific job. And see, the guy said, You know, he's Jewish. And I said no, I know I did. It never crosses my mind what somebody's religion is, or their ethnicity. I couldn't care less. It's just that's how I know; that's how I'm the one person who knows whether Roger Waters is an anti-Semite. And I'm not.

**GG:** [00:55:28] I guess that you do talk about other issues Syria and Ukraine and U.S. foreign policy, Western foreign policy, a lot of different things, but this is an issue of great passion for you, as I can see here, watching you talk about it.

**RW:** [00:55:40] They are killing them, they are committing genocide.

**GG:** [00:55:41] Why is this issue – how did this become such an important issue to you of the sort of very different types of human suffering on the planet?

**RW:** [00:55:51] It is no more important to me than the Rohingyans or all the slaughter in Indonesia after Suharto of anybody who was communist for him, they just killed them and threw them in the river... That's no worse than the Israelis bombing Gaza. It's exactly the same. It's murdering people for gain is what it is, is either gain of power or gain of their property or gain of their land. It's stealing something and it disgusts me, whoever or whatever it is. And I wasn't there at the time. But for instance, the United States, we know that there was a genocide of the Native American people, not just in North America, here as well, I mean, the Portuguese in this country or, you know, in in Argentina or wherever.

**GG:** [00:56:48] Yeah, those who colonized Brazil.

**RW:** [00:56:51] That is settler colonialism and that was disgusting. And what further down from it was slavery. And that was disgusting, too. And we're still living with the aftermath of those ideologies, which were disgusting. And they came from Europe and they were disgusting. And we're only just now like my meeting this morning in Rio de Janeiro here, when they gave me a medal for caring about human rights. You know, this one guy stood up and made a speech and he's from the Landless Workers. WTS [MST], you know, and you go, Come here, brother, let me give – because I've written about you. I know what you're trying to do to save your country from the Bolsonaros of this world who want to sell it so they can put the money in their back pocket and piss off somewhere. Or stay there and run the police force and have people killed or whatever they do. I mean, I'm maybe being ugly unkind, but...

**GG:** [00:57:53] No, I think it's, I mean, I think it's important that people see this kind of strain that drives you on Israel and Palestine is a strain that drives you to comment on a lot of things. And I want to ask you, there are, you know, musicians, kind of just cultural celebrities

in general who avoid doing what you're doing for obvious reasons. You know, Michael Jordan famously or notoriously said when asked why he never comments on political controversy, he said Republicans buy sneakers, too. And I want to know, like, was there a point when you had to debate, like, am I going to alienate people with political views who might otherwise like my music? Or was it just this instinct in you top given by your mother or maybe other influence to say, No, I'm always going to kind of do what I feel right regardless of the consequences or the harm it might have for my career?

**RW:** [00:58:43] No, they almost got to me recently this year when I was 79 years old, thinking about, oh my God, can I wear the leather coat or not? Or will they cut my balls off and feed them to the wolves? And I'll be a homeless old man shivering in a fucking blanket, you know, by the road. They're scary because they're so vicious and they will stop at absolutely nothing.

**GG:** [00:59:10] So do you regret sometimes wading into these debates, given all that?

**RW:** [00:59:15] No. No, because I actually said this to the people there this morning in the meeting, and I don't know if they got it or not. But every year I make the same New Year's resolution and I have done for maybe ten years or so. And because I finally figured out what it is and it is this: I resolve for the forthcoming year, I'm going to carry on doing the best I can. So there's no: Do I mean that or trying to do the best I can? It's not the best I can because I always think it's a terrible burden to put on yourself or anyone else. You have to do your best. No, you don't. You have to do the best you can. So I don't know if that's relevant, but it's relevant to me.

**GG:** [01:00:10] What I was asking was, I mean, you know, I have noticed before, when I take a certain view or when I devote my journalism to a certain topic, you can see the material harm. You can see people who write to you and say, Oh, I'm so disappointed. I can't support your work anymore. I can't watch your show anymore. I'm so disappointed to learn either this or that and of course there's a part of you that says, maybe I would have been better off just not doing that, not having to speak about that. And I guess maybe it's a personality trait, but for me, I just don't have the ability to refrain. I don't want to go on and...

**RW:** [01:00:44] You are somebody who has to do the right thing like me. I don't know where you got your instruction from. Mine came from my mother. But it's like you were talking about early days of Pink Floyd and politics. You know, my story in Pink Floyd and it's a big, big part of the Pink Floyd story was when one day we were making in 1970, we were making an album called Metal, and it had a long track on it called Echoes, and I started writing lyrics to it, and the beginning of it was bit wishy washy and, you know, "Overhead the albatross, Hangs motionless upon the air" and reminds me of the frigate birds outside the [inaudible], which is beautiful. Anyway, and then I suddenly wrote this verse: two strangers passing in the street, by chance, two passing glances meet, and I am you and what I see is me. And do I take

you by the hand, and help us understand and something, sang, sang as we can – or whatever it is – And no one asks us to move on, And no one forces down our eyes, No one speaks and no one tries, No one flies around the sun". Sort of teenage and slightly [inaudible] for me, as those lyrics are, it gives me a slight shiver because it was my heart. This not an anti-Semitic heart that beats in my chest, telling me that there's something magical about the fact that we're all related and that we're human beings and that we have a responsibility to love one another and to try and figure this whole unholy mess out so that we're not murdering. The head of Al-Jazeera's children in the middle of the fucking night. So he has to go down there in the morning and... You obviously you never – if that happens to you, that's the end of your life in my view. You never, never, never going to get over it. And it's like, I watched again now Farah Nabulsi's little film, it's a 13 minute show and it's just called Gaza Nightmare [Nightmare of Gaza]. And she made it after the 2014, what was that? Cast Lead? I think it was that.

**GG:** [01:03:07] Oh, yeah. You mean the Israeli bombing of Gaza.

**RW:** [01:03:10] Yeah, yeah. And it's very, very moving and very, very descriptive. It's about a woman finding a way home, you know, through the bombed streets and arriving and seeing that there's a hole where her sister's house is and realizing that her baby's dead, you know, and that's happening all over Gaza now. And why? Because the Zionists want to steal that bit, but they want to steal everything. They want them gone. And they're quite; to give them their due, they make no bones about it. There is of course a resistance in Israel.

**GG:** [01:03:49] For sure.

**RW:** [01:03:50] A big resistance. But they don't get any grip on any seats of power. Gideon Levy sits there every day writing those incredibly moving columns about what they're doing, but they don't...

**GG:** [01:04:04] What's amazing is, I mean, before this whole thing happened with Hamas's invasion and like, Israel was kind of on the brink of a civil war. There's all this tension between the ultra-Orthodox and the secular Israelis, but also this idea that for a long time, the kind of thing that led American Jews in the West comfortably to support Israel was this dream of a two state solution. And now the most important parts of Netanyahu's government don't even pretend to want a two state solution. They want to drive the Palestinians out of the West Bank and Gaza and take it over and make it part of greater Israel.

**RW:** [01:04:37] They never did.

**GG:** [01:04:38] Those part people didn't. I mean, there were people who, Israelis who lost their lives, like Yitzhak Rabin and others pursuing peace. I think there were Israelis who were – but they're gone. They're marginalized. They're not the people in power any longer.

**RW:** [01:04:50] No, they're not. Well, they never really were in power, in my view, looking back at that piece of Israeli history. It's interesting, in Miko Peled's book, the general's son, which I'm sure you've read, but because his father was, I don't know if he was chief of staff or just very high up in the IDF after the '67 war, when they won that very fast with their sneak attack – let us not forget, we were not attacked by anybody. They attacked Syria and Egypt in the same minute, almost. But after it, this guy, Miko Peled's father, went to the cabinet and went, That's it. We've won. We're in a very strong position now. We can give Palestine their state. It's small, alright? But then we can live in peace. And they looked at one another and all burst out laughing. Are you insane? We're not giving them anything. We're not giving them a postage stamp. We're getting rid of them.

**GG:** [01:05:52] Yeah, I think I mean, when you look at what the Israelis are doing now with, you know, saying get out of northern Gaza at the same time pressuring Egypt to open that corner, they want to drive them into the Sinai.

**RW:** [01:06:02] Yeah.

**GG:** [01:06:06] Force them to live in tents and take over Gaza and rebuild it, pretending they're rebuilding it for them to come back. And of course, they're never going to come back. And that's going to become part of ...

**RW:** [01:06:11] They can go into partnership with Donald Trump. That was always his plan. Let's just turn Gaza into a golf course resort.

**GG:** [01:06:21] I just want to, in the time we have left, ask you a couple of questions about things a little bit unrelated but still related. I know you don't live in the UK anymore for reasons personally at least that I understand completely. But I've done a lot of work in my journalism involving the UK, sort of the Snowden story had a lot to do with the UK and I've kind of walked away from all the kind of elite cultures that I loathe. I think the British elite culture is the one I have the most contempt for. And when I was doing the Snowden story, the GCHQ was always the worst of the worst, worse than even the NSA. The British media were always most subservient. And when it comes to war, the British, the modern day British pundit and journalist and sort of politician seems to have an almost visceral arousal for talking about war. They like to think they're Churchillian. This is always the kind of need to posture as tough guys as these kind of people who are just so steadfast, stiff upper lip, this kind of mythology that has been fed to them. And every time there's a new war, they're the ones most aggressively demanding that their government support it. I don't know if you agree with that or not, but if you do, why is that? What explains that?

**RW:** [01:07:34] Maybe it's the Island People syndrome, the Little England Island People syndrome. Maybe it's the traumatic response to all those Danes and, you know, and Saxons

attacking. And then they attacked; then the Saxons eventually became the indigenous people. So the Brits originally, you had the Norsemen and they were constantly attacking this little piece of plum on the other side of Limoges. So maybe it's developed from that. And of course, there's a huge history as well of being the most successful colonialist, vicious, invading, stealing, plundering armies of all by far for hundreds of years. And so maybe they remember that as the good times, because I guess if you are the conquistadors, maybe there's something addictive about that. We don't know because we weren't there. I wasn't there.

**GG:** [01:08:44] But it gets passed down culturally, I think, through the generations.

**RW:** [01:08:48] And Churchill, you know, they built the mythology. Churchill was a complete asshole. Everybody knows it; who can read. This is the problem.

**GG:** [01:08:58] I mean, what he did with the treatment of India and just a lot of his comments about...

**RW:** [01:09:03] That was nearly 30 million people.

**GG:** [01:09:04] Yeah.

**RW:** [01:09:06] In a year.

**GG:** [01:09:06] So there's a couple more questions and then we'll end. But I think a lot of what we've been talking about has to do with an attempt to shut down debate. You wrote the song *The Bar* that's about that kind of debate, the ability to disagree without this recrimination. I think calling people like you anti-Semite is a way of trying to prevent there from being a real debate. Everybody now sees your example and knows, Oh, wait, if I speak up and criticize, that's going to happen to me. And I don't have the same ability that Roger Waters has to protect myself from it. It's a very effective means of closing debate. But another one that has become increasingly popular in the West is finding all sorts of ways to censor and control the flow of information over this innovation that was supposed to be the thing that would transform and liberate us, which was the Internet. And there's all kinds of justifications offered for why that needs to happen. There's too much hate speech. It's too toxic. There's a lot of disinformation and deceiving people. What is your view of the claim by governments, Western governments in particular, that they need to be able to control the limits of speech and political debates in order to protect people from hate speech and disinformation?

**RW:** [01:10:15] One of the few honest things, they say is that there's no way we could survive and do what we're doing because they wouldn't have made this, but they are destroying the planet and they're doing it hand over fist because all of this stuff – perpetual war, for instance, is a smokescreen that's covering up the thing though. We don't need wars to

destroy the planet. Climate change is doing it. If we don't go to the bar, sit down, what would you like? A half a bit of.. There. Right, what are we going to do about this and try and figure some things out and that the only way that the human race can find a way of organizing things so that most people have a roof over their heads and access to education and health care and all those things that mean a lot to all human beings is by cooperating with one another and tossing the profit motive out of the window because it doesn't belong in life with us. If, we gonna need a decent life where we can't have that much of theatral then nobody can, nobody can live. Where I live now in the United States, nobody can get from paycheck to paycheck except Elon Musk and Jeff Bezos and about four other oligarchs. I mean, I know I'm exaggerating...

**GG:** [01:11:33] No, but this inequality has exploded. And the wealth concentration, especially with COVID, got way worse. But let me ask you, as the last question, because this is what I wanted to end with anyway, which was, you know, we're talking about Israel and Gaza before and this idea that the Israelis don't even really pretend any longer to believe in a two state solution. And the question then becomes, well, do you have any optimism at all about how this conflict can end? But I want to ask you that more broadly about all the things we've talked about, the wars and the suffering and this inequality. Are you optimistic? And if so, why?

**RW:** [01:12:09] Am I optimistic? Not really. But the only way that we can change this is through people power, all the people power. And we are a majority. There's a verse in my song, The Bar, that says, Come on in here sister and sit a spell. You are most welcome in the bar - as helping the old homeless lady - We may seem few, but we are many. Have you been traveling far? – and we are many. But they control the media, so they control the narrative. And so, so long as they've got Rupert Murdoch, and a few other oligarchs telling us what we are allowed to and what we're not allowed to listen to, read and believe more is why all this stuff about Zuckerberg and his connections and Google's connections with the Pentagon and the CIA and the meetings that they have all the time and how they're making policy are terrifying beyond all belief. Because we've all read George Orwell, you know, and so and to truth speak [newspeak] and all of that. So how do we put our shoulders to that wheel and get the wheel to move, even enough that we haven't just completely abrogated, not abrogated, but got rid of our responsibility that we have as individuals to say: No. And human rights is the brick upon which we have to build because it's the only really sensible idea that has come since 1789 and the end of the divine right of kings. They literally believed in feudal times that there was God and then the King.

**GG:** [01:14:14] Until the Enlightenment. That was the central belief that humans...

**RW:** [01:14:19] And then the clergy, and then the nobles and then everybody else. And everybody else, the sans-culottes were irrelevant. Completely irrelevant. Well, the Enlightenment was us going, Hang on a minute, this doesn't make any sense of any of the

science that we actually know. And so how can we define that? Well, you do that by saying, No, this king is actually no more important than this serf in human terms. And this serf needs to have exactly the same rights under the law, not under God or under the King or under the nobles or under people who went to fucking Eton under the law as this guy. And we don't have that. And it's partly because the people who run the governments, particularly in the United States, refuse to subscribe to international law. They are not signatories to the Treaty of Rome.

**GG:** [01:15:18] Or the Hague or any of those things they charge Putin with. They just don't accept the legitimacy as applied to them.

**RW:** [01:15:26] Exactly. And they pick and choose. They cherry pick all of these rights issues. So that is if all of us went down the pub and went, Right, [inaudible], how many of you agree that you should have the same rights legally as everybody else in the world? That includes all the Chinese and the Russians, by the way. And do you think that we should all have the same rights under universal law? Yep. If we could get the world and look at it and give everybody a voting slate, I bet you there will be more hands go up than stay down; if you asked, we the people. So we the people have to be given our voice and acknowledge that like in the United States where I live, the system, political system is completely corrupt and broken down, has nothing to do with the will of the people or democracy or anything else, and is clearly at the moment, U.S. foreign policy is run by a group of, well, there's a dotard at the top. Poor Joe. I mean, he can hardly...

**GG:** [01:16:35] It's elder abuse, really. I mean.

**RW:** [01:16:37] It's elder abuse.

**GG:** [01:16:38] Well, I'm happy my questions survived the relentless assault that you watched at them. And actually, what I'm really most glad about having to sit down and talk to you is that so often there's a caricature of people created and it works because people who believe it don't really get to hear very much from or get to know the person who's being vilified and maligned. And so having gotten to know you some and then getting a chance to sit down in places like this and listen to you, I wanted other people to see what I've seen. And so I hope they will. And I'm so happy that we got to find some time to sit down and talk again.

**RW:** [01:17:15] Well, me too. I'm just going to say this one thing. I wrote a radio play about ten years ago, and it's about a small child in Northern Ireland and his grandfather is babysitting. Anyway, the kid has a nightmare. Grandfather goes in and the kid says, Grandpa, they're killing the children. And the grandfather says, No, no, no, that was in the Troubles that was years and years ago. He said, No, Grandpa, I'm not talking about here. I'm talking about over there. And the grandfather says we will go and find out. And the rest of the play is



about him finding out. And they want the answer to this question: Why are they killing the children? And that's the question I want answered today, by these motherfuckers.

**GG:** [01:18:03] Yeah, that is a question that I think is both vital and very difficult to answer. Thanks so much, I really appreciate talking to you.

**END**