

## Appendix IV: Myths & Frequently Asked Questions

### Myth #1: This is an ancient war between Jews and Muslims.

The Israel-Palestine conflict actually began quite recently. Jews and Palestinians had traditionally coexisted with little if any conflict between them before Zionist immigration began. European settlers started purchasing land from absentee Arab owners for exclusive Jewish labor and settlement, leading to the dispossession of the non-Jewish peasants living on that land.<sup>15</sup>

This is not a conflict of the Jewish people versus the Muslim people. First of all, 20% of Palestinians worldwide are Christians, and they are subject to the same restrictions as their Muslim counterparts. Israel has a strong peace movement calling for an end to the mutually-destructive Occupation, and many Jews find Zionism itself antithetical to Jewish principles.



*Hasidic Jews protest Zionism in Washington DC.*

### Myth #2: Jewish Israelis are the descendants of the original inhabitants of Israel/Palestine.

Before the Hebrews first migrated there around 1800 B.C., present-day Israel/Palestine was inhabited by Canaanites. The Jewish kingdoms ruled for 414 years, just one of many periods in the land of Canaan. Palestinians are the descendents of intermarried Canaanites and Arabs who arrived in the 600s.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Don Peretz, *The Arab-Israel Dispute* (New York: Facts on File, 1996); As cited in *The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*, published by Jews for Justice in the Middle East, third edition. [www.cactus48.com](http://www.cactus48.com)

<sup>16</sup> *The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*, published by Jews for Justice in the Middle East, third edition. [www.cactus48.com](http://www.cactus48.com)

Genetic studies have shown that Sephardic Jews (descendents of Canaanites who migrated to the Iberian peninsula and then to North Africa and the Middle East) are actually closer to Palestinians than they are to Ashkenazi Jews (concentrated in Eastern Europe). This is because Ashkenazi Israelis are largely the descendents of Turkic khazars (of Slavic ancestry) who converted to Judaism in the 700s or 800s, not the descendents of Canaanites. According to geneticist Dr. Mazin Qumsiyeh, “the Zionist concept of ‘return’ is flawed, at least with respect to Ashkenazi Jews ... Return implies that one’s ancestors originated from the area in question.”<sup>17</sup>

The idea that anyone has claim to land based on blood or religion rather than geography is inherently problematic and dangerous, but for those inclined to argue on the basis of ancient inheritance, it is instructive to know that Palestinians have as much—if not more—ancestral claim to the land as Jews do.

### **Myth #3: The Palestinian refugee problem was created when Palestinians fled on radio orders from Arab leaders to move out of the way of an attack.**

When Zionist and Israeli state and army archives were declassified in the 1980s, the myth that Palestinians left their homes voluntarily in 1948 was refuted by Israeli historians, who monitored countless broadcasts and found “not a single order or appeal, or suggestion about evacuation from Palestine, from any Arab radio station, inside or outside Palestine, in 1948.” In fact, the only Arab orders recorded were for Palestinians to stay put.<sup>18</sup> Israeli historian Ilan Pappé writes:

It is ironic that the “orders from above” theory should enjoy a kind of afterlife in the U.S. The Zionist community [there] is actually rather insulated from the complex public debate about Zionism in Israel. Our U.S. pro-Israel crowd looks a little backward when they keep repeating these myths. They are still digging out the same debating points they used thirty and forty years ago. They are perhaps more an embarrassment than a help to Israel’s cause.<sup>19</sup>

### **Myth #4: Israel is a democracy.**

Israel is the state of the Jewish people, not the state of its citizens. Non-Jewish citizens are excluded from many things granted automatically to Jews. Palestinian citizens of Israel are largely prevented from buying or leasing 93% of the land in Israel, much of it owned by the Jewish National Fund and thus exclusively reserved for Jews. Although they pay taxes, Palestinian citizens of Israel living in non-Jewish neighborhoods receive only a fraction of the resources and services granted to Jewish neighborhoods. Palestinian citizens of Israel *are* allowed to vote, and they can even run for office, unless they run on a platform advocating that Israel become the state of all of its citizens rather than the state only of the Jews, in which case they can be disqualified.<sup>20</sup> A 1989 High Court case challenging the law

<sup>17</sup> Qumsiyeh, pp. 20-29.

<sup>18</sup> Erskine Childers, British researcher; As quoted in Sami Hadawi, *Bitter Harvest* (Scorpion Publishing Ltd, 1983); As cited in *The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*, published by Jews for Justice in the Middle East, third edition. [www.cactus48.com](http://www.cactus48.com)

<sup>19</sup> Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006).

<sup>20</sup> For information about discrimination against Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, see p. 169 or visit [www.Adalah.org](http://www.Adalah.org) or [www.MossawaCenter.org](http://www.MossawaCenter.org)

found that “it is necessary to prevent a Jew or Arab who calls for equality of rights for Arabs from sitting in the Knesset [Israeli Parliament] or being elected to it.” One Justice stated that a political party should be disqualified if it advocates “a state, as all democratic states, of the totality of its citizens, without any advantage to the Jewish people as such.”<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, more than one third of the people living under Israeli rule are denied Israeli citizenship and the rights and protections that come along with it, including the right to participate in the government that controls their lives. These are the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The government in which non-Jews in the Occupied Territories *can* participate is not allowed to do basic things like control its people’s own borders, security, or finances.

It is worth noting that Israel *is* a democracy for Jews. In other words, Israel is an ethnocracy.

### **Myth #5: The return of the Palestinian refugees would mean the displacement of Jewish Israelis, and is therefore impossible.**

Dr. Salman Abu Sitta, a former member of the Palestinian National Council and the founder of the Palestine Land Society, has conducted extensive research on the possibility of refugees returning to their villages, many of which no longer exist. At an international convention on the right of return in July of 2006, he clarified his findings in five illustrative points:

- The land of the refugees, roughly 93% of present-day Israel, is currently inhabited by 1.5% of Israeli Jews.
- Of the more than 500 Palestinian villages from which the refugees were expelled, 90% are still vacant (many planted over with trees), 7% are partially built-over, and just 3% are completely built over—those in Tel Aviv and West Jerusalem.
- A full 97% of the refugees live within 62 miles of their homes, and 50% of them live within 25 miles. Many can see their land from their camps but cannot go there.
- The population density of Gaza is roughly 15,500 people/square mile, while Gaza’s refugees’ land nearby is practically empty—fewer than 16 Israelis/square mile. There are fewer Jews in the half of Israel closest to Gaza (from Ramleh to Eilat) than the population of a single Gaza refugee camp. Israel has welcomed as many Russian immigrants as there are Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and Gaza combined, and has been clear that it would make room for millions more Jewish immigrants if such a possibility arose.<sup>22</sup>

The issue is not about space; it’s about demographics. The issue is that allowing Palestinian refugees to return would alter the ethnic character of Israel.

### **Myth #6: Israel has no genuine partner for negotiations or peace.**

The most common example cited as “proof” that Palestinians don’t want peace is Yasser Arafat’s rejection of the offer presented by Israeli Prime Minister Barak at Camp David in

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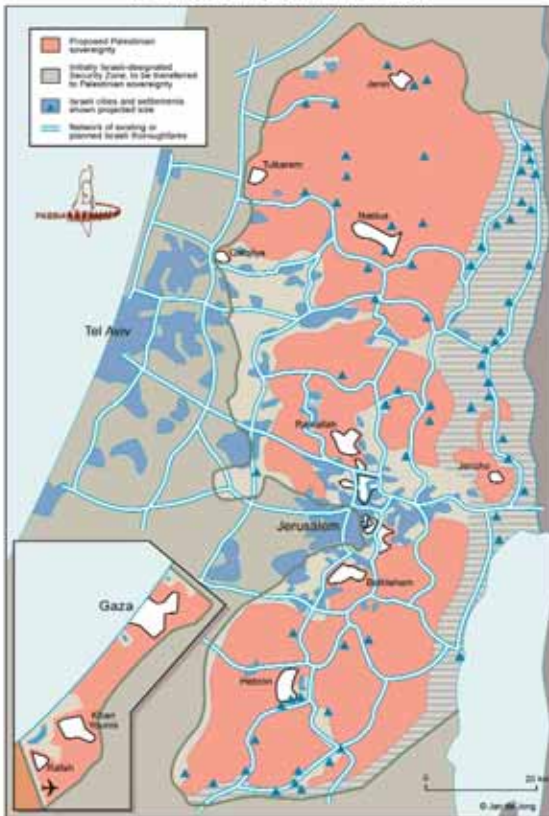
<sup>21</sup> Shapiro, *Jerusalem Post* (December 15, 1989); *Yediot Ahronot* (December 15, 1989); As cited in Chomsky, *Fateful*, p. 507

<sup>22</sup> *Al-Awda’s 4<sup>th</sup> International Convention* (San Francisco: July 2006). [www.al-awda.org/abusitta.html](http://www.al-awda.org/abusitta.html)

2000. Widely perceived as generous, in fact the proposal fell far short of Israel's responsibilities to the Palestinians under international law in numerous ways:

- The proposal suggested that Israel annex 10% of the West Bank, including some of its most fertile and water rich areas, also home to more than 80,000 Palestinians.
- The proposal kept Israel in control of the West Bank's border with Jordan, thereby creating a defacto Palestinian island within Israel.
- The proposal offered the Palestinians control over the Arab sections of Jerusalem, but kept all of the city—as well as 85.3% of settlers—under Israeli sovereignty.
- The proposal specified that the Palestinian state would not control airspace or water, and could not have an army.
- The proposal cut the Palestinian state into three separate cantons: the Gaza Strip, the north West Bank, and the south West Bank. Gaza had no clear territorial link to the West Bank.

Projection of the West Bank Final Status Map presented by Israel, Camp David, July 2000



- The proposal denied Palestinian refugees their right to return to their homes and land to live in peace with their neighbors.<sup>23</sup>

Arafat's rejection of Barak's offer does not seem so shocking when you see a map of what the final effect would have looked like. President Jimmy Carter writes about Camp David: "There was no possibility that any Palestinian leader could accept such terms and survive, but official statements from Washington and Jerusalem were successful in placing the entire onus for the failure on Yasir Arafat."<sup>24</sup> Even Barak's foreign minister Shlomo Ben-Ami—a key player at Camp David—later admitted publicly: "If I were a Palestinian I would have rejected Camp David as well."<sup>25</sup>

One could argue that Arafat *should have* agreed to the proposal because now the Palestinians are even worse off, but that's not a logic I hear employed by many Palestinians I've talked to. Most of them say they would prefer being forced into oppression than signing away their rights to freedom. Maybe this way they can still hope for change.

<sup>23</sup> Boston Coalition for Palestinian Rights, 2002. [www.bcpr.org/break.html](http://www.bcpr.org/break.html)

<sup>24</sup> Carter, 152.

<sup>25</sup> John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby: Mearsheimer and Walt Respond to Criticisms," *London Review of Books* (May 11, 2006); As cited by Scholars for Peace in the Middle East. [www.spmc.net](http://www.spmc.net)

In fact, Israel has been offered peace in exchange for compliance with international law several times, and rejected each offer. Here are some examples:

- In the mid-1970s, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) endorsed a comprehensive peace with Israel in exchange for its full withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. Israel rejected the offer.<sup>26</sup>
- In March 2002, Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah, along with all 21 other members of the Arab League, proposed not only peace but normal relations and regional integration with Israel in exchange for an end to the Occupation and a “just solution” to the refugee problem. Israel rejected the offer.<sup>27</sup>
- Israel effectively rejected the Saudi Initiative a second time when the proposal was included as part of the “Roadmap” announced by the UN. Wrote Carter, “The Palestinians accepted the road map in its entirety, but the Israeli government announced fourteen caveats and prerequisites, some of which would preclude any final peace talks.”<sup>28</sup>

The Palestinians long ago joined the international consensus advocating two states based on the 1967 borders, shared Jerusalem, and a just solution for the refugees. Fatah recognized Israel’s right to exist and renounced terrorism in 1988.<sup>29</sup> Hamas has also announced its willingness to establish peace with Israel along its internationally recognized borders. Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh told *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*:

If Israel withdraws to the 1967 borders, then we will establish a peace in stages. We will establish a situation of stability and calm which will bring safety for our people ... a long-term hudna [ceasefire].<sup>30</sup>

Israel has refused to negotiate with the democratically elected Palestinian government of Hamas for three official reasons: (1) failure to renounce violence, (2) failure to recognize and abide by previous agreements, and (3) failure to recognize the right of a state besides one of its own to exist in historic Palestine. Interestingly, Israel is guilty of all three of the very things for which it faults Hamas.<sup>31</sup>

### **Myth #7: Palestinian textbooks incite hatred against the Jewish people.**

There is a widely held belief that Palestinian textbooks demonize Israelis and teach Palestinian children to hate Jews. This particular myth originated with Itamar Marcus, an Israeli settler who founded an organization called the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace. Marcus’ claims have been refuted by Israeli, American and European studies that examined the actual content of Palestinian texts.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Finkelstein, *Image*, p. 176.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, at xxi.

<sup>28</sup> Carter, p. 159.

<sup>29</sup> PASSIA 2007.

<sup>30</sup> Yitzhak Ben-Horin, “We don’t want to throw them into the sea,” *Israel News* (February 25, 2006). [www.ynetnews.com](http://www.ynetnews.com)

<sup>31</sup> See pp. 329-330 for an elaboration on this point.

<sup>32</sup> Len Traubman, “Reports on Palestinian kids’ hatred grossly exaggerated,” *Jewish News Weekly of Northern California* (February 6, 2004).

In response to pressure from Congress to investigate the issue, the US government commissioned the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information to convene a team of professional educators—Israeli, Palestinian and American—to explore the allegations. Their 2003 report concluded: “[The Palestinian] textbooks do not incite against Israel or against peace” and “the overall orientation of the curriculum is peaceful despite the harsh and violent realities on the ground.... Religious and political tolerance is emphasized.”<sup>33</sup>

In Europe, the prestigious Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research facilitated research into the allegations. The Hebrew University’s Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace and the Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture have published studies on the texts. Committees of the US Senate and the European Parliament have both held hearings on the matter. It seems no people’s textbooks have been subjected to as much scrutiny as those of the Palestinians.

Yet time and again, independently of one another, researchers have found no incitement to hatred in Palestinian textbooks. It seems the original allegations were based on Egyptian or Jordanian textbooks and false translations.<sup>34</sup> A Middle East Working Group of the European Union found the textbooks “free of inciteful content ..., constituting a valuable contribution to the education of young Palestinians.”<sup>35</sup>

If anyone’s textbooks deserve scrutiny, perhaps it’s those of the Israelis. Professor Dan Bar-Tal of Tel Aviv University concluded from a study of 124 textbooks that “over the years, generations of Israeli Jews [have been] taught a negative and often delegitimizing view of Arabs.” Bar-Tal reported two major themes of Arab characteristics. One implied a “primitiveness” and an “inferiority in comparison to Jews.” The other presented Arabs as violent, brutish, untrustworthy, cruel, fanatical, treacherous, and aggressive.<sup>36</sup>

In an article entitled, “Learning all the wrong facts,” *Haaretz* reporter Akiva Eldar cites numerous studies concluding that many Israeli textbooks not only dehumanize Arabs, but are entirely devoid of the word “Palestinian.” Also alien to many educational materials was the Green Line to distinguish Israel from the Palestinian territories. Those maps that do outline the West Bank often refer to it as “Judea and Samaria” or “Palestine-*Eretz Yisrael*,” i.e. part of the “Land of Israel.” Some official Israeli maps include Israeli settlements but *exclude* Palestinian towns, even those within Israel.<sup>37</sup>

### **Myth #8: Israel only uses violence as a last resort, to defend itself and to prevent terror attacks.**

Human rights organizations have documented extensive disproportionate and indiscriminate use of force by the Israeli army over 40 years. For example, according to *Amnesty International*, most of the children killed by soldiers in 2002 were attacked “when there was no exchange of fire and in circumstances in which the lives of the soldiers

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<sup>33</sup> “Reviewing Palestinian Textbooks and Tolerance Education Program,” *Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information*, submitted to the Public Affairs Office US Consulate General (Jerusalem, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> Roger Avenstrup, “Palestinian textbooks: Where is all that ‘incitement?’” *International Herald Tribune* (December 18, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> Akiva Eldar, “Reading, writing, and propoganda,” *Haaretz* (September 10, 2004).

<sup>36</sup> Traubman, *Jewish Weekly News of Northern California*.

<sup>37</sup> Akiva Eldar, “Learning all the wrong facts,” *Haaretz* (December 9, 2004).

were not at risk.”<sup>38</sup> *B'tselem*, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, described the situation as follows:

In every city and refugee camp that they have entered, IDF soldiers have repeated the same pattern: indiscriminate firing and then killing of innocent civilians, intentional harm to water, electricity and telephone infrastructure, taking over civilian houses, extensive damage to civilian property, shooting at ambulances and prevention of medical care to the injured.<sup>39</sup>

Israel also uses humiliation tactics, as in the town of Halhul where town notables and other men were taken from their homes to the town square by soldiers in the middle of the night, where they were “ordered to urinate and [defecate] on one another, and also to sing *Hatikva* [‘The Hope,’ the national anthem of Israel] and to call out ‘Long Live the State of Israel.’ ... Some were even ordered to lick the earth.” Other Palestinian detainees and civilians have reported being forced to crawl on all fours and bark like dogs. Children were made to slap their parents. Soldiers wrote numbers on the arms of Palestinian prisoners on Holocaust Remembrance Day.<sup>40</sup> Israeli settlers reportedly “caught an old man who had protested when his lands were taken and shaved off his beard—just what Polish anti-Semites did to Jews.”<sup>41</sup>

### **FAQ #1: There are many terrible things happening around the world. Why should Americans care so much about this particular conflict?**

Whether they know it or not, Americans are deeply involved in the Israel/Palestine conflict because they are Israel’s financial sponsors. US tax-payers are funding Israel’s aggression and therefore have a right and a responsibility to demand that those tax dollars not be used to violate international law and human rights.

The US government also perpetuates the conflict by preventing the United Nations from taking decisive action against Israel’s crimes. A University of Cambridge study found that the US veto has ensured that Israel enjoys “virtual immunity” from the enforcement measures typically adopted by the UN against countries committing identical violations of international law.<sup>42</sup> According to President Carter:

The United States has used its U.N. Security Council veto more than forty times to block resolutions critical of Israel. Some of these vetoes have brought international discredit on the United States, and there is little doubt that the lack of a persistent effort to resolve the Palestinian issue is a major source of anti-American sentiment and terrorist activity throughout the Middle East and the Islamic world.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> “Killing the Future,” *Amnesty International*, pp. 1-2, 16; As cited in Finkelstein, *Chutzpah*, p. 113.

<sup>39</sup> “A Deadly Pattern,” *B'tselem*, press release (March 12, 2002); As cited in Qumsiyeh, p. 117.

<sup>40</sup> Zvi Barel, *Haaretz* (January 20 & 30, 1983); Edward Walsh, *Washington Post—Boston Globe* (February 18); David Richardson, *Jerusalem Post* (February 18); Aharon Bachar, “Do not say: We did not know, we did not hear,” *Yediot Ahronot* (December 3, 1982); As cited in Chomsky, *Fateful*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>41</sup> “The Gangrene of the Occupation,” *Al Hamishmar* (February 19, 1982); As cited in Chomsky, *Fateful*, p. 142.

<sup>42</sup> Mark Weller and Dr. Barbara Metzger, “Double Standards,” *Negotiations Affairs Department, Palestinian Liberation Organization* (September 24, 2002); As cited in Finkelstein, *Image*, p. xviii.

<sup>43</sup> Carter, pp. 209-210.

## **FAQ #2: Why does the US continue to give Israel so much aid and political support?**

The main reasons for US support of Israel can be summed up as follows:

1. The second most-powerful lobby in the US is the “Zionist Lobby” (often mislabeled the “Jewish Lobby” even though it is composed of many non-Jews, and many Jews oppose it), led by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).<sup>44</sup> Described in the *New York Times* as “the most important organization affecting America’s relationship with Israel,”<sup>45</sup> AIPAC has more than 100,000 US members and an annual budget of as much as \$40 million,<sup>46</sup> which it uses to promote US policy aligned with Israeli interests. AIPAC has successfully defeated numerous senators who were perceived to be insufficiently pro-Israel.<sup>47</sup> Senator William Fulbright once wrote:

AIPAC ... and its allied organizations have effective working control of the electoral process. They can elect or defeat nearly any congressman or senator that they wish, with their money and coordinated organization.<sup>48</sup>

University of Chicago professor John Mearsheimer and Harvard professor Stephen Walt published a controversial article entitled “The Israel Lobby,” outlining various ways in which the lobby’s control over US politics actually functions to the detriment of US strategic interests.<sup>49</sup>

2. Some argue that the US would never pursue another country’s interests above its own and that US support for Israel is due to the countries’ twin interests in military and spin-off development projects and the storage and base facilities that Israel provides for US forces targeting oil-rich countries in the region.<sup>50</sup>

Still others believe that it is a combination of the Zionist Lobby and US strategic interests that perpetuates US support for Israeli violations of international law.

3. No small number of American industries are profiting from US support for Israel. Most notable among these are US arms manufacturers. In addition to American weapons that are donated to Israel, two-thirds of US financial aid to Israel is earmarked for purchase of more US arms.

Other groups profiting from the conflict include the oil industry, Arab leaders, and US elected representatives who receive generous election donations for maintaining the status quo or increasing US unconditional support for Israel.<sup>51</sup>

4. Finally, American public opinion about Israel tends to be sympathetic for two reasons: First, people are rightfully sensitive to the tragic plight of Jews throughout history.

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<sup>44</sup> Daniel Kurtzman, “AIPAC listed 2<sup>nd</sup> most powerful group on Fortune list,” *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix* (November 28, 1997).

<sup>45</sup> As cited on AIPAC’s homepage: [www.aipac.org](http://www.aipac.org)

<sup>46</sup> “AIPAC Holds National Meeting Amid Spy Scandal Investigation,” *Democracy Now!* (May 25, 2005).

<sup>47</sup> Mitchell Kaidy, “Tiny Israel’s Giant U.S. Lobby Goes Unmentioned in Campaign Finance Hearings,” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (December 1997), p. 42.

<sup>48</sup> J. William Fulbright, *The Price of Empire* (London: Pantheon Books, 1989), p. 183; As cited in Qumsiyeh, p. 168.

<sup>49</sup> John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby,” *London Review of Books* (March 23, 2006).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, at xiii.

<sup>51</sup> See Qumsiyeh, *Sharing the Land of Canaan*, pp. 203-204 for details about each of these groups.

Against this historic backdrop, people are resistant to criticizing Israel and seeing Jews as anything other than the victims.

Second, although American tax-payers give more foreign aid to Israel than to any other country in the world, many remain largely ignorant of the uses of this aid and therefore do nothing to change it. This is due in large part to what many—myself included—perceive as a US mainstream media pro-Israel bias, which is documented extensively by the organization *If Americans Knew*. One of the group’s studies found that the Associated Press reported deaths of Israeli children even more often than they occurred but failed to cover 85% of the deaths of Palestinian children. Another study on the *San Francisco Chronicle* made 30 mentions of Israeli children dying for every 20 who died (i.e., some deaths were reported more than once), but reported on only 1 in 20 deaths of Palestinian children. Studies on the *New York Times*, ABC, CBS, NBC, and other media sources revealed similar trends. Stories about torture, hunger strikes, Israeli refuseniks, and the Palestinian nonviolence movement were also grossly underreported. As long as Americans remain ignorant of Israeli’s atrocities, they are unlikely to pressure their government to stop funding them.<sup>52</sup>



*It is not surprising that most Americans remain ignorant of Israel’s crimes given the prevalence of media asserting claims like the one below (which I encountered at a Washington DC metro station in June 2007). The subtitle reads: “What kind of a society raises six-year-olds on dreams of suicide/homicide and hatred? A society that targets Israel. **They target Israel because Israel shares America’s values**—democracy, freedom of religion, women’s rights, a free press, scientific achievement and a burgeoning, open economy. By supporting Israel’s struggle against terror, **you are helping defend the cause for freedom**, not just in Israel, but here in America and throughout the free world. —ISRAEL. The front line of the free world.”*

<sup>52</sup> [www.IfAmericansKnew.org](http://www.IfAmericansKnew.org)

## Appendix V: Quotations from Prominent Figures

### Early Zionist leaders on the fulfillment of Zionism

*We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for them in the transit countries while denying any employment in our country. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discretely and circumspectly.*<sup>53</sup>

—Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, 1897

*We must expel the Arabs and take their places and if we have to use force to guarantee our own right to settle in those places—then we have force at our disposal.*<sup>54</sup>

—David Ben-Gurion, Israel’s founding father and first prime minister, 1937

*In Palestine we do not propose to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants ... The four great powers are committed to Zionism and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.*<sup>55</sup>

—Lord Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, author of the Balfour Declaration, promising a “homeland for the Jews” in Palestine, 1919

*Zionist colonization, even the most restricted, must either be terminated or carried out in defiance of the will of the native population.*<sup>56</sup>

—Vladimir Jabotinsky, founder of revisionist Zionism, 1923

*I support compulsory transfer. I do not see in it anything immoral ... The Arabs will have to go, but one needs an opportune moment for making it happen, such as a war.*<sup>57</sup>

—David Ben-Gurion, Israel’s founding father and first prime minister, 1937

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<sup>53</sup> Raphael Patai, *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1961), p. 88; As cited in Finkelstein, *Image*, p. 176, footnote 19.

<sup>54</sup> Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of Palestinians*, p. 66; As cited in “What leading Israelis have said about the Nakba,” *Institute for Middle East Understanding* (May 9, 2007).

<sup>55</sup> Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine*; As cited in *The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*, published by Jews for Justice in the Middle East, third edition. [www.cactus48.com](http://www.cactus48.com)

<sup>56</sup> Vladimir Jabotinsky, *The Iron Wall: We and the Arabs*; As cited in Qumsiyeh, p. 75.

<sup>57</sup> Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006).

## During the War of 1948

*In the Negev we will not buy land. We will conquer it.*<sup>58</sup>

—David Ben-Gurion, Israel's founding father and first prime minister

*These operations can be carried out in the following manner: either by destroying villages (by setting fire to them, by blowing them up, and by planting mines in their rubble), and especially those population centers that are difficult to control permanently; or by mounting combing and control operations according to the following guidelines: encirclement of the villages, conducting a search inside them. In case of resistance, the armed forces must be wiped out and the population expelled outside the borders of the state.*<sup>59</sup>

—From Operation Dalet, adopted by the Zionist leadership in 1948

*[Capturing the village] without a fight, [Zionist forces first] killed about 80-100 [male] Arabs, women and children. The children they killed by breaking their heads with sticks. There was not a house without dead.... One soldier boasted that he had raped a woman and then shot her. One woman, with a newborn baby in her arms, was employed to clear the courtyard where the soldiers ate. She worked a day or two. In the end they shot her and her baby.*<sup>60</sup>

—Eyewitness soldier of the massacre at Ad-Dawayima village in October of 1948

## Early Zionist leaders on Partition

*The debate has not been for or against the indivisibility of Eretz Israel [the "Land of Israel," including the West Bank and Gaza]. No Zionist can forgo the smallest portion of Eretz Israel. The debate was over which of two routes would lead quicker to the common goal.*<sup>61</sup>

*I have no doubt that our army will be among the world's outstanding—and so I am certain that we won't be constrained from settling in the rest of the country, whether out of accord and mutual understanding with the Arab neighbors or otherwise.*<sup>62</sup>

*After the formation of a large army in the wake of the establishment of the state, we will abolish partition and expand to the whole of Palestine.*<sup>63</sup>

—David Ben-Gurion, Israel's founding father and first prime minister, 1937

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<sup>58</sup> Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 170.

<sup>59</sup> The English translation is in Walid Khalidi, "Plan Dalet: Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, issue 1 (1988), pp. 4-20; As cited in Pappe, "The 1948 Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, issue 141 (2006).

<sup>60</sup> Morris, p. 230; As cited in Finkelstein, *Image*, p. 76.

<sup>61</sup> Quote from 1937. Arlosoroff memorandum; As cited in Chomsky, *Fateful*, p. 162.

<sup>62</sup> Yosef Gorny, *Zionism and the Arabs, 1882-1948: A Study of Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), p. 260; As cited and expanded in Finkelstein, *Image*, p. 15.

<sup>63</sup> Quote from 1937. Remi Kanazi, "Transferring the Truth," *AIC* (September 20, 2005).

*The partition of the Homeland is illegal. It will never be recognized.... It will not bind the Jewish people. Jerusalem was and will forever be our capital. Eretz Israel [the "Land of Israel," including the West Bank and Gaza] will be restored to the people of Israel. All of it. And forever.*<sup>64</sup>

—Menachem Begin, 6<sup>th</sup> Israeli Prime Minister, 1954

#### After the establishment of Israel

*In our country there is room only for the Jews. We shall say to the Arabs: Get out! If they don't agree, if they resist, we shall drive them out by force.*<sup>65</sup>

—Ben-Zion Dinur, Israeli Minister of Education and Culture, 1954

*Why should the Arabs make peace? If I was an Arab leader, I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them?... They only see one thing: we have come here and stolen their country. Why should they accept that? They may perhaps forget in one or two generations' time, but for the moment there is no chance.*<sup>66</sup>

—David Ben-Gurion, Israel's founding father and first prime minister, 1956

#### Leading up to the 1967 War and the Occupation

*[Israel must] invent dangers, and to do this it must adopt the method of provocation-and-revenge ... And above all—let us hope for a new war with the Arab countries, so that we may finally get rid of our troubles and acquire our space.*<sup>67</sup>

—Moshe Sharatt, Israeli Prime Minister in 1953-1955

*In the case of the new war, we must avoid the historic mistake of the War of Independence [1948 War] and, later, the Sinai Campaign. We must not cease fighting until we achieve ... the territorial fulfillment of the Land of Israel.*<sup>68</sup>

—Yigal Allon, Interim Prime Minister in 1969, Architect of the Allon Plan

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<sup>64</sup> Menachem Begin, "The Revolt" (New York: Schuman, 1951), p. 335; As cited in Chomsky, *Fateful*, p. 161

<sup>65</sup> *History of the Haganah*; As cited in Sam Bahour, "Israel at 58: A Failed Experiment," *Electronic Intifada* (May 15, 2006).

<sup>66</sup> Nahum Goldmann, *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978); As cited in *The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*, published by Jews for Justice in the Middle East, third edition. [www.cactus48.com](http://www.cactus48.com)

<sup>67</sup> Livia Rokach, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism* (AAUG Press, 1986); As cited in *The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*, published by Jews for Justice in the Middle East, third edition. [www.cactus48.com](http://www.cactus48.com)

<sup>68</sup> Michael Brecher, *Decisions in Crisis* (Berkeley: 1980), p. 100; As cited in Finkelstein, *Image*, pp. 195-196.

## Reflections on the 1967 War

*I do not think that Nasser wanted war. The two divisions he sent to the Sinai would not have been sufficient to launch an offensive war. He knew it and we knew it.*<sup>69</sup>

—Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's 5<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister, 1968

*In June 1967, we again had a choice. The Egyptian Army concentrations in the Sinai approaches do not prove that Nasser was really about to attack us. We must be honest with ourselves. We decided to attack him.*<sup>70</sup>

—Menachem Begin, 6<sup>th</sup> Israeli Prime Minister, 1982

*I know how at least 80 percent of all the incidents with Syria started. In my opinion, more than 80 percent ... It would go like this: we would send a tractor to plow ... in the demilitarized area, and we would know ahead of time that the Syrians would start shooting. If they did not start shooting, we would inform the tractor to progress further, until the Syrians, in the end, would get nervous and would shoot. And then we would use guns, and later, even the air force, and that is how it went.... We thought ... that we could change the lines of the cease-fire accords by military actions that were less than a war. That is, to seize some territory and hold it until the enemy despairs and gives it to us.*<sup>71</sup>

—Moshe Dayan, Israeli Defense Minister, 1976

## Quotes from modern Israeli leaders

*It is the duty of Israeli leaders to explain to public opinion, clearly and courageously, a certain number of facts that are forgotten with time. The first of these is no Zionism, colonialization [sic], or Jewish State without the eviction of the Arabs and the expropriation of their lands.*<sup>72</sup>

*Everybody has to move, run and grab as many hilltops as they can to enlarge the settlements because everything we take now will stay ours.... Everything we don't grab will go to them.*<sup>73</sup>

—Ariel Sharon, Israeli Prime Minister from 2001 to 2006

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<sup>69</sup> *Le Monde* (February 28, 1968); As cited in *The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*, published by Jews for Justice in the Middle East, third edition. [www.cactus48.com](http://www.cactus48.com)

<sup>70</sup> "Address by Prime Minister Begin at the National Defense College," *Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs* (August 8, 1982).

<sup>71</sup> "Interviews on the Golan Heights and on Jewish Settlements in Hebron," *Yediot Ahronot* (November 22, 1976); As cited in Finkelstein, *Image*, p. 187.

<sup>72</sup> Agence French Presse (November 15, 1998); As cited in "What leading Israelis have said about the Nakba," *Institute for Middle East Understanding* (May 9, 2007).

<sup>73</sup> Quote from 1998. *Ibid.*, at 147.

*The vision I would like to see here is the entrenching of the Jewish and the Zionist state.... I very much favor democracy, but when there is a contradiction between democratic and Jewish values, the Jewish and Zionist values are more important.*<sup>74</sup>

—Avigdor Lieberman, Israeli Minister of Strategic Threats, 2006

#### Former Israeli leader on Jewish resistance to British occupation

*Neither Jewish ethics nor Jewish tradition can disqualify terrorism as a means of combat ... First and foremost, terrorism is for us a part of the political battle being conducted under the present circumstances, and it has a great part to play ... in our war against the occupier.*<sup>75</sup>

—Yitzhak Shamir, 7<sup>th</sup> Israeli Prime Minister

#### Modern Israeli historian on the discrepancy between the collective understanding and the reality illustrated by these candid quotations

*When it comes to the dispossession by Israel of the Palestinians in 1948, there is a deep chasm between the reality and the representation. This is most bewildering, and it is difficult to understand how events perpetrated in modern times and witnessed by foreign reporters and UN observers could be systematically denied, not even recognized as historical fact, let alone acknowledged as a crime that needs to be confronted, politically as well as morally. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the ethnic cleansing of 1948, the most formative event in the modern history of the land of Palestine, has been almost entirely eradicated from the collective global memory and erased from the world's conscience.*<sup>76</sup>

—Ilan Pappé, prominent Israeli “New Historian,” 2006

#### Gandhi on Palestinian resistance

*I am not defending the Arab excesses. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in resisting what they rightfully regard as an unacceptable encroachment upon their country. But according to the accepted canons of right and wrong, nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds.*<sup>77</sup>

—Mahatma Gandhi

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<sup>74</sup> *Scotsman* (October 23, 2006); As cited in Ali Abunimah, “World silent as fascists join Israeli government,” *Electronic Intifada* (October 25, 2006).

<sup>75</sup> Yitzhak Shamir, *Hehazit*, LEHI, the “Stern Gang” (1943); translated in *Middle East Report* (1988); As cited in Chomsky, *Fateful*, pp. 485-486.

<sup>76</sup> Ilan Pappé, “The 1948 Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, issue 141 (2006).

<sup>77</sup> Martin Buber and Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, *A Land of Two Peoples* (University of Chicago Press, 2005); As cited in *The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict*, published by Jews for Justice in the Middle East, third edition. [www.cactus48.com](http://www.cactus48.com)