



ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Anthony Julius

Anthony Julius is a solicitor-advocate at the London law firm, Mishcon de Reya, and a Visiting Professor at Birkbeck College, London University. He is the author, among other works, of *T.S. Eliot, anti-Semitism and literary form*, and is completing a history of English antisemitism, to be published by Oxford University Press in Autumn 2009.

ABOUT ZWORD

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[www.z-word.com](http://www.z-word.com)

or contact the editors at:

[info@z-word.com](mailto:info@z-word.com)

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ESSAY

# False Confessions: How Anti-Zionists Incriminate Zionism

By Anthony Julius

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*Theodor Herzl, featured in an early example of Zionist graphic art.*

THE WISH TO HAVE bad Jews confess, to catch them owning up to their mysterious, murderous crimes, lies behind the relentless torturing of them in medieval legal proceedings to “confess correctly,” and the fictions of voluntary and involuntary Jewish admission and self-condemnation that litter the history of antisemitism. The *Protocols* are merely the most completely realised product of just such a wish; there are many other such products. In the evolution of this trope of self-confessed wickedness, several distinct stages may be identified.

In each stage, the antisemites may be imagined responding to sceptics and people of goodwill: “Look the Jews *admit* it! They hate Gentiles and want to kill them or rule over them.” Here, for example, is a passage from a contemporary Islamist work, available in London: “The Jews admit that fashion is one of the three things they used to westernise our girls ...”<sup>2</sup> The statements attributed to Jews comprise simple acknowledgments of guilt as well as more complex self-incriminating statements. In many instances, the acknowledgments are just false and the statements are fabricated; in other cases, the acknowledgments are given too much weight and the meanings of the statements are misrepresented.

## From the Ancient World to the Modern: Four Stages

The *Gospels*, and in particular *Matthew*, comprise the *first stage*. A combination of direct speech and ostensibly authoritative citation or quotation from Jewish teachings serves to incriminate both Judaism and the Jews themselves.

The chief priests, the elders, and the Jewish multitude all respond to Pilate's "I am innocent of the blood of this just person," with a ready, glad assumption of responsibility for Jesus' death, "His blood be on us and on our children." It is a confession of guilt, binding on all the generations. Somewhat earlier, in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus says, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say ...'" (5:43-44). The impression given is that Jesus is quoting from the Hebrew Scriptures. But while the instruction "love thy neighbour" is indeed a quotation from *Leviticus* (19:18), the instruction "hate thine enemy" is a complete invention.<sup>3</sup>

### "Where, [antisemites] wondered, could this hatred of Christians be found in authoritative Jewish texts?"

The *second stage* coincides with the first appearance of the blood libel. Its promoters relied in part on reported or mendacious admissions by Jewish converts,<sup>4</sup> and in part on admissions extracted from Jews under extreme torture. The 13th century French monk Thomas Cantimpratanus wrote that the Jews use Christian blood as a means of cure, and that it must be true because "I heard that a very learned Jew, who was converted to the faith of our times, [had said words to that effect]."<sup>5</sup>

In his extended polemic against the Jews,  *Fortalitium Fidei* (1464), the Spanish Inquisitor, Alonso Espina, claims that the truth of the blood libel was confirmed to him by a "Jew by the name of Emanuel."<sup>6</sup> In addition to relying upon Theobald of Cambridge, Thomas of Monmouth gives a self-incriminating speech to one of William's murderers:

"... the detection of the truth [of William's death] will bring a very extreme peril upon us all. Indeed, through the fault of our imprudence, and not undeservingly, our race will be utterly driven out from all

parts of England, and – what is even more to be dreaded – we, our wives and our little ones will be given as prey to the barbarians, we shall be delivered up to death, we shall be exterminated, and our name will become a reproach to all people for ever."<sup>7</sup>

He does not merely admit the crime, he implicates the whole of Anglo-Jewry in its commission, and he prescribes their punishment - extermination. The Jews write their own death sentence, thereby exculpating their victims of blame when they execute it.

Antisemites were left unsatisfied with admissions of misanthropy from individual Jews. Where, they wondered, could this hatred of Christians be found in authoritative Jewish texts? This question prompted the *third stage*, an assault on the *Talmud*.

In Christian Europe,<sup>8</sup> the earliest such assaults, mostly conducted by converted Jews,<sup>9</sup> occurred during the same period that the blood libel took hold in the medieval imagination. By the beginning of the 16th century, the association of the Jews with their books was absolute.<sup>10</sup> Proof of the Jews' iniquity could thus be found in the iniquity of these books.

A leading figure in this distinct assault on Jews and Judaism was one Johann Andreas Eisenmenger. His *Judaism Exposed* (1711) was an immense work of misrepresentation, mistranslation, and (on occasion) fabrication. It went through many editions. Its essential argument was that the Jews are permitted by their religion to commit any excess against non-Jews, whom they are taught to hate. They regard all non-Jews as Amalekites.<sup>11</sup> He wrote, in support of a particular libel on Jews, "I heard it myself from a convert."<sup>12</sup>

A century and a half later, Eisenmenger's work was plagiarised by August Röhling, a Professor of Theology at the German University in Prague, in his *Talmud Jew* (1871). It went through six printings between 1871 and 1877.<sup>13</sup> (One Catholic group alone distributed no less than 38,000 copies of the sixth reprint *gratis* in Westphalia).<sup>14</sup> He gave evidence in 1883 at the Tisza-Eszlar blood libel trial that Jews practise ritual murder.<sup>15</sup> Röhling enjoyed the protection and patronage of the local Archbishop.<sup>16</sup> Then, in 1885, Rabbi Joseph S. Bloch (1850-1923) accused him of incompetence and of fabricating texts. Röhling sued the rabbi for libel, but fled the city just a few days before the trial was due to begin.<sup>17</sup>

The defaming of the *Talmud* has been a practice of antisemites, aided by renegade Jews, from the Middle Ages

right up to the Nazi period and beyond.<sup>18</sup> Defamatory publications with titles such as “The Fruits of the Torah-Inspired Ideology of Israel” and “Judaism from a Theoretical and Practical Perspective: An Anthology from the Torah and the Talmud,” now circulate widely in the Arab and Muslim world and are now being exported back to the West.<sup>19</sup>

Towards the end of the 19th century, the *fourth stage* was reached, the allegation of a world Jewish conspiracy. It wasn’t enough that Jews were said to plot the murder of Christian children; it wasn’t even enough that their religion was said to have instructed them to hate non-Jews; their plotting and their hatred had also to be directed towards some immense goal – nothing less than global domination. This too relied on fabrication, and of the most radical kind.

“Incriminating quotations are a staple of anti-Zionism.”

An entire memorandum was composed by agents of Tsarist Russia and attributed to the Jews, the *Protocols* - a “how to conquer the world book” in 24 short chapters. This too went through many editions, and – notwithstanding several books and even legal actions exposing its utter falsity – it remains in circulation today. Henry Ford alleged that during the First World War a “prominent Jew” had once confided in him that the Jews controlled the world through their control of gold, and that only the Jews could stop the war. Ford was foolish enough, upon being challenged, to offer the name of this Jew, who then successfully sued him for libel.<sup>20</sup> (Statements made by the anti-Semitic Henry Ford are attributed to “the Jewish Harry Ford” in a book found at the London offices of the Muslim World League).<sup>21</sup>

In addition, a fresh kind of fabrication emerged – the apparent endorsement by prominent figures of positions taken by antisemites. Benjamin Franklin, for example, was said to have denounced the Jews as “vampires” and called for their expulsion from the United States. A Nazi “research” institute fabricated this document.<sup>22</sup>

### The Fifth Stage: Anti-Zionism

We are now in the *fifth stage*. Incriminating quotations are a staple of anti-Zionism. These quotations are partly the old ones, mostly updated by substituting “Zionist” for “Jew,”<sup>23</sup> and partly new ones. They are a mix of fabricated quotations (including fictitious endorsements from prominent figures such as Nelson Mandela), and genuine quotations that are given undue weight. These quotations serve as substitutes for reasoned argument.

On one website (miftah.org), in an item entitled “In Their Own Words,” one may read the following: “Following is a compilation of selected quotations from prominent Israeli and Zionist figures that embodies the discourse of hatred, racism, and rejection that nurtured Israeli society throughout the short existence of Israel.”<sup>24</sup> On the website, “San Francisco Independent Media,” there is an article entitled “23 Reasons to Condemn Zionism,” all of which comprise incriminating quotations.

Among the most frequently cited of the genuine quotations is this one from Herzl, taken here from Tariq Ali’s book *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (London, 2003), but to be read in many other places too:<sup>25</sup>

[Ethnic cleansing] had always been part of the Zionist project. In 1895, Herzl wrote in his diary: “We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our country ... Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly.”<sup>26</sup>

This and related incriminating quotations are deployed to make a case that this is what all Zionists thought; this was integral to Zionism; this was the master plan; it would have been implemented in 1948 regardless of context; present-day Israelis are guilty; the state has no legitimacy therefore.

The historian Derek J. Penslar has given this diary entry of Herzl’s<sup>27</sup> particularly close attention.<sup>28</sup> His argument, in summary, is as follows. Herzl addressed the question of the Palestinian Arabs on three principal occasions: in the diary entry of 12 June 1895 quoted above; in a draft charter he prepared in 1901, under which owners of land bought for occupation by Jews may be resettled elsewhere; and in his novel *Altneuland* (“Old New Land”) (1902). Each reflects a

distinct perspective on transfer / Arab rights in the Jewish state. None was acted upon; none defined Zionist policy.

The diary entry, according to Penslar, was a “narcissistic fantasy,” composed during his “celebrated manic fit;”<sup>29</sup> the draft charter was never even debated, let alone executed, and in any event assumed that the Jews would be subject to Ottoman rule. The novel was a fantasy of a different, more public kind, anticipating a substantial, though subordinate Arab presence in the imagined Jewish State. Notwithstanding what Penslar describes as the “voyeuristic zeal”<sup>30</sup> with which the diary entry typically is now seized upon, it is no more than one moment in a much greater and more complex story.

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### “More typically, outright fabrications are combined with genuine but misleading quotations”

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But the interpretation of the diary entry does not end here. The historian Efraim Karsh, noting that the entry makes no express mention of either Arabs or Palestine, concludes that Herzl in fact had South America in mind, and not Palestine. A careful reading of his diaries for that month reveals, says Karsh, that Herzl did not consider Palestine to be the future site of Jewish resettlement at all.<sup>31</sup> The question of Zionism and “transfer” may not, then, be resolved by incriminatory quotations – or, for that matter, exculpatory ones (of which, incidentally, there would appear to be far more).<sup>32</sup>

More typically, outright fabrications are combined with genuine but misleading quotations:

Unlike [Tony Blair], the Israelis at least are honest. “We must use terror, assassination, intimidation, land confiscation and the cutting of all social services to rid the Galilee of its Arab population,” said Israel’s founding prime minister, David Ben-Gurion. Half a century later, Ariel Sharon said, “It is the duty of Israeli leaders to explain to public opinion . . . that there can be no Zionism, colonisation or Jewish state without the eviction of the Arabs and the expropriation of their

lands.” The current prime minister, Ehud Olmert, told the US Congress: “I believe in our people’s eternal and historic right to this *entire* land [his emphasis].”<sup>33</sup>

In this column by the radical journalist John Pilger, quotations from Ben Gurion (Israel’s first and most revered Prime Minister,) Ariel Sharon (its most reviled one,) and Ehud Olmert (at that time, the current one,) are meant to be indicative of what “Israelis” intend. When these Prime Ministers speak, Israel speaks, and Zionism speaks.

The quotations amount to a confession of iniquity. The foundation of the State, and its continued existence, is predicated on criminality – frankly acknowledged, or “honest,” criminality. Pilger’s piece is both an instance of a certain kind of “new anti-Zionist” discourse and an instance of a contemporary journalism that is typically polemical, bitter and dismissive.<sup>34</sup> Pilger is well known for the extravagance of his rhetoric, and to take him with more than a certain degree of seriousness is to lack seriousness oneself (to borrow a formulation of Henry James’s).<sup>35</sup> But in this column, what he writes is a fraud on the reader.

Of his three quotations, the first is a fabrication. Neither Ben Gurion nor anybody else said those words. They have been circulating on anti-Zionist websites for a while, attributed to one Israel Koenig.<sup>36</sup> Koenig was author of the “Koenig Report”<sup>37</sup> a paper prepared by an Israeli civil servant in the mid-1970s regarding the Arabs of Galilee. The then government repudiated Koenig’s paper. It is in many respects an ugly document,<sup>38</sup> but nowhere in it does he write the words attributed to him (or anything like these words).

It is most likely that the fabrication came into existence over time, probably in the following way. There were rumours of the existence of the report before it was leaked to the newspapers, where it was published as a scoop. Hostile, inaccurate précis of the report were doubtless already in circulation. Over time, these précis became more and more inaccurate, more and more hostile to its author. At some point, someone decided to put inverted commas around the précis, at which point it ceased to be a false summary of the report and became instead a false quotation *from* it.

The second quotation is a misattribution, and a misrepresentation of its true, contextual meaning. It is taken from an op-ed column in the Israeli daily newspaper *Yediot Ahronot* of July 4 1972. At the time, Ariel Sharon was head of the IDF’s southern command. Even given Israel’s relatively open political culture, it would have been surprising to



find him publicly calling for the eviction of Arabs from their homes and for the expropriation of their land.

He did not do so (though it is common enough in anti-Zionist discourse falsely to attribute blood-curdling statements to him).<sup>39</sup> Yeshayahu Ben-Porat, a journalist and commentator, in fact wrote the words. In the column from which the quotation has been taken, Ben-Porat called on the government to recognise honestly the implications of occupation.<sup>40</sup> Though some anti-Zionist websites make the same mistake in attribution as Pilger does,<sup>41</sup> most of them that use this quotation mistakenly attribute it to one “Yoram Bar-Porath,”<sup>42</sup> relying on the

### “In due course, the editor of the *New Statesman* acknowledged the errors in Pilger’s column”

authority of an article by the French Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy, in the *Journal of Historical Review*.<sup>43</sup> Others misattribute it to Yoram Ben-Porath, a Hebrew University professor of economics and a leading figure in the Israeli peace movement who died in the early 1990s.<sup>44</sup>

The third quotation is a correct attribution, but a misrepresentation so egregious that it reverses Olmert’s meaning. Ehud Olmert is – in the language of Israeli politics – a “prince” of the right-wing Revisionist Zionist movement. He is the son of one of the leaders of the Irgun pre-independence militia and an MK for Begin’s Herut Party. The young Olmert was undoubtedly raised to believe in the Jewish people’s historic right to the Land of Israel, and to oppose any arguments to the contrary. The Irgun’s symbol showed the map of the “greater” land of Israel – mandatory Palestine and Transjordan – with a rifle in a clenched fist superimposed. Its motto “Rak Kach” – “Only Thus” makes the point even clearer.

Pilger’s choice of Olmert’s words is entirely consistent with this heritage. But what Olmert went on to say, in this speech given to a joint meeting of the US Congress, gave the lie to Pilger’s account of his views. He expressly surrendered the ambition that Pilger attributes to him.<sup>45</sup> “We have to relinquish part of our dream to leave room for the dream of others, so that all of us can enjoy a better future.”

This sentence does not figure in Pilger’s exposition.<sup>46</sup>

Pilger’s sequence of quotations was almost certainly lifted from an article written by Edward S. Herman, posted on the Internet some 12 or so days before his own column appeared in the *New Statesman*. Herman is a long-time writing-partner of Noam Chomsky’s.<sup>47</sup> And so the incriminatory quotations are recycled. In due course, the editor of the *New Statesman* acknowledged the errors in Pilger’s column. Pilger added his own note to the acknowledgment:

“The academic source for a quotation of David Ben-Gurion I used in my piece now believes it is incorrect. This referred to the expulsion of the Arab population from the Galilee in 1948. It is worth adding that the sentiments expressed were not extraordinary. Ben-Gurion, in his war diaries and elsewhere, showed an obsession with the expulsion or compulsory transfer of the Palestinians from their homeland. The Israeli historian Benny Morris wrote: “arriving at the scene, David Ben-Gurion, Israel’s first prime minister, was asked by General Allon, ‘What shall we do with the Arabs?’ Ben-Gurion, wrote Morris, “made a dismissive, energetic gesture with his hand and said, ‘Expel them.’”<sup>48</sup>

Saying nothing about the quotations attributed to Sharon and Olmert, Pilger withdraws the one attributed to Ben-Gurion, and substitutes another one. Almost certainly, this statement is correct. *But* it does not relate to the “Arabs” in general. It relates instead to the Arab population of Lydda and Ramle, two Arab towns on the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and it was made during the 1948 war.<sup>49</sup>

Arab irregulars had been using the towns as bases to attack Jewish convoys and nearby settlements, and barring the main road to Jerusalem to Jewish traffic. “Operation Dani” was undertaken to put a stop to this hostile activity, and to drive out the Arab Legion units stationed there. The operation was a success, but while Ramle surrendered, the IDF was not quite able to pacify Lydda. The sentences in Morris’s essay that immediately precede the passage quoted by Pilger make this clear:

“There was shooting in Lydda. According to the best account of that meeting, someone, possibly Allon, proposed expelling the inhabitants of the two towns. Ben-Gurion said nothing, and no decision was taken.”<sup>50</sup>

Then, Morris continues, after the meeting was over, Ben-Gurion made the gesture attributed to him, and orders were given to transport the inhabitants of the towns towards the Arab Legion lines.

But that is not the end of the story. As the expulsions were taking place, the Israeli Minister for Minority Affairs arrived and was shocked by what he saw. The following day he reported to Foreign Minister Shertok. Shertok and Ben-Gurion then agreed guidelines for IDF behaviour towards the civilian population. Inhabitants who wished to leave would be free to do so; the Israeli authorities would not be obliged to procure food for those who remained; women, children, the sick and the aged must not be forced to leave; monasteries and churches are not to be damaged.

“There was bitter argument within the government throughout the War, and then its immediate aftermath, about the handling of the civilian Arab population”

These guidelines were converted into an order to the IDF operational HQ. A week before, the IDF’s deputy chief of staff had issued an order to the entire army, “outside of actual hostilities it is forbidden ... to expel Arab inhabitants ... without special permission or an express order from the Defence Minister in every specific case. Anyone violating this order will be put on trial.”<sup>51</sup>

Neither this order, nor the later guidelines, was effective to halt the exodus from Lydda and Ramle, partly because the IDF remained bent on expulsion, and partly because the inhabitants hoped to find safety behind Arab lines. It was, Morris writes, “an extended period of suffering for the refugees.” Many of the Israelis who witnessed the expulsion wrote about it with shock and dismay, and for one it evoked the memory of the exile of Israel following the destruction of the Second Temple.<sup>52</sup>


Many of the refugees reached Amman; about 70,000 encamped at Ramallah, where the conditions were dire. The expulsions had strategic benefits for the IDF: they hampered any counter-attack by the Arab Legion; they burdened the resources of Transjordan; they removed from Tel Aviv the threat of a large, hostile Arab population; they demoralized the enemy.

There was bitter argument within the government throughout the War, and then its immediate aftermath, about the handling of the civilian Arab population. It was the biggest expulsion operation of the 1948 war. It was also a consequence of the war. Indeed, so far from it being State policy, it was implemented behind the Cabinet’s back.<sup>53</sup> Israel never adopted a general policy of expulsion, which explains why 160,000 Arabs remained, and became citizens in 1949 (accounting for more than 15% of the population).<sup>54</sup>

A criminal justice system that relies on confessions can make the police corrupt and prosecutors lazy.<sup>55</sup> It is also the mark of state terror: during the Soviet Great Terror of the 1930s, confessions were highly prized, and obtained by various coercive means, including torture.<sup>56</sup> The practice of incriminatory quotation in political debate is also dangerous, if not as lethal. It is not, of course, confined to anti-Semitic discourse,<sup>57</sup> nor is it limited to one side in the Israel-Palestinian conflict.<sup>58</sup> Quotations can never be substitutes for the hard work of analysis and exposition.<sup>59</sup>

Even when the quotation is genuine, it is almost always made to do more work than can properly be expected of it. Certainly, no single statement, nor even some dozen or so statements, can be adequate to encompass the entire history and ideology of Zionism. The history is too complex, and the ideology too fractured, for this to be possible.

There is a related tendency in anti-Zionist polemicising to detach complicating statements from Zionism’s discursive history, in order to preserve an adverse judgment, unrelieved, unmitigated. Tariq Ali, for example, refers only to Ahad Ha’am as “the Jewish thinker” when he cites him as “demoli[shing]” the “Zionist fundamentalist myth” that Palestine was a land without a people for a people without a land.<sup>60</sup> But Ahad Ha’am was himself a Zionist, and the criticism was part of the self-interrogation of the movement. Jacqueline Rose has written whole books on Zionism that do little more than endeavour to alienate from Zionism whatever she finds valuable within it – and the strain shows.<sup>61</sup>

This is the opposite of the self-incrimination move; it misrepresents self-interrogation as external critique, the better to maintain Zionism’s own essential wickedness. To preserve the character of anti-Zionism’s indictment of a Zionism of its own construction, the plurality of Zionist perspectives must be reduced to a discreditable singularity. 

- 1 The author-editor of a transcript of the Trent proceedings noted the first admission of guilt by one of the Jewish victims: "Thereafter he confesses correctly." Initially, the Jews just did not know what to say. From the transcript: "He was asked whether he saw the murdered boy. *Joaff*: In the ditch. *Podestà*: *Think again. Joaff*: In the antechamber of the synagogue." See R. Po-Chia Hsia *Trent 1475* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 45, and 84-85 (italics added).
- 2 See Denis MacEoin *The Hijacking of British Islam* (London, 2007), p. 73.
- 3 See Milton Himmelfarb *The Jews of Modernity* (New York, 1973), p. 199. The editors of the Authorised Version do their best with "hate thine enemy," citing a verse in *Deuteronomy* about the Ammonites and Moabites, "Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days." This falls somewhat short of a duty to hate them (23:6). More importantly, it precedes the celebrated verse: "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land" (23:7).
- 4 A late 19<sup>th</sup> century Austrian champion of the blood libel, the parish priest, Joseph Deckert, boasted that he had in his possession the letters of a converted Jew who had been a witness to several ritual murders. See Joseph Bloch *My Reminiscences* (New York, 1973), pp. 387, 395.
- 5 Hermann L. Strack *The Jew and Human Sacrifice* (London, 1909), pp. 174-175.
- 6 B. Netanyahu *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York, 2001, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), pp. 826-827. It was once thought, erroneously, that Espina himself was a convert (*op. cit.*, p. 947). See also, on the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek Orthodox monk, and (as he alleged) former Jew, Neophytos, author of *The Confutation of Judaism and its Customs*, Jacob Barnai "Blood libels' in the Ottoman Empire of the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries," in Shmuel Almog, ed., *Antisemitism Through the Ages* (Oxford, 1988), p. 192.
- 7 Augustus Jessopp and M.R. James, eds., *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 25 (my italics).
- 8 Attacks on the *Talmud* by Karaite and Muslim theologians preceded the Christian attacks by several centuries. See Judah M. Rosenthal "The Talmud on Trial," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 47 (1956), pp. 63-64.
- 9 Steven F. Kruger *The Spectral Jew* (Minneapolis, MN, 2006), p. 181. "The number of learned converts in the 13<sup>th</sup> century who put their knowledge of the Talmud and their zeal for conversion at the disposal of the Church was steadily on the increase. These converts collected all the polemical arguments and charges which they found in the writings of various adversaries of Talmudic Judaism of previous generations." Judah M. Rosenthal "The Talmud on Trial," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 47 (1956), p. 62.
- 10 Sander L. Gilman *Jewish Self-Hatred* (Baltimore, MD, 1986), p. 33.
- 11 Walter Laqueur *The Changing Face of Antisemitism* (New York, 2006), p. 59.
- 12 Elisheva Carlebach *Divided Souls* (New Haven, 2001), p. 214.
- 13 Peter Pulzer *Jews and the German State* (Detroit, MI, 2003), p. 140. A Catholic group distributed 38,000 copies of the sixth reprint *gratis* in Westphalia alone.
- 14 Peter Pulzer *Jews and the German State* (Detroit, MI, 2003), p. 140.
- 15 See Robert S. Wistrich *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (Oxford, 1990), p. 281.
- 16 Jan Herben "Thomas G. Masaryk, Jews and Antisemitism," in Benjamin Epstein, trans., *Thomas G. Masaryk and the Jews* (New York, 1949), p. 9.
- 17 For a full account of the affair, as told by the defendant, see Joseph Bloch *My Reminiscences* (New York, 1973), pp. 84-135. For a while, antisemites did not refer to him. From a speech for the defence at the 1899 Polna ritual murder trial: "Today, antisemites no longer refer to this 'scholar,' Röhling is no longer a great man." Ernst Rychnovsky "The struggle against the ritual murder superstition," in Benjamin Epstein, trans., *Thomas G. Masaryk and the Jews* (New York, 1949), p. 199.
- 18 Walter Laqueur *The Changing Face of Antisemitism* (New York, 2006), p. 153; Abraham H. Foxman *Never Again?* (New York, 2003), pp. 9-10; Ira B. Nadel *Joyce and the Jews* (London, 1989), pp. 118-119; Charles H.H. Wright "The Jews and the Malicious Charge of Human Sacrifice," *The Nineteenth Century*, November 1883, LXXXI, pp. 772-778.
- 19 Dr Sayyah Azzam, a Brigadier General in the Syrian Army is but one among many active in the Arab world propagating these defamations: "Every Jewish child is educated in the Talmud. What is it comprised of? These studies teach that any crime against a non-Jew is permitted and legitimate; they also teach that an interaction with a non-Jew must be handled with cheating, forgery, robbing, and perjury ... The Talmud teaches the Jewish soldier not to show any mercy to any gentile – that is, a non-Jew, be it a man, woman or child, or an elderly person ... Racism, which has become a moral basis for the Jews, is ancient ... The Israelis behave as if they were the masters of the world, as if the whole earth is nothing but a factory owned by a Jewish capitalist ...etc. etc." See Itamar Radai "From Father to Son: Attitudes to Jews and Israel in Asad's Syria," *Analysis of Current Trends in Antisemitism*, no. 29, The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007, pp. 15-20. See also Rivka Yadlin *An Arrogant Oppressive Spirit: Anti-Zionism as Anti-Judaism in Egypt* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 87-88. And see Abraham H. Foxman *Never Again?* (New York, 2003), pp. 9-10.
- 20 Neil Baldwin *Henry Ford and the Jews* (New York, 2001), pp. 164, 236-237.
- 21 See Denis MacEoin *The Hijacking of British Islam* (London, 2007), p. 73.
- 22 See Gabriel Schoenfeld *The Return of Antisemitism* (San Francisco, 2004), pp. 15-16.
- 23 For example, in a book published in Egypt in 1960, one "Rabbi Taunitus," a convert to Christianity, reports, "Zionists believe that Christian blood is essential for the performance of several religious rites." Y. Harkabi *Arab Attitudes to Israel* (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 272-273, and see also pp. 274-275.
- 24 "In Their Own Words," 11 March 2003. <http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=1837&CategoryId=21>.
- 25 See, for example, Edward W. Said "Zionism from the standpoint of its victims," in Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons* (Minneapolis, 1997), p. 25. "One can learn a great deal," writes Said, "from pronouncements made by strategically important Zionist leaders ..." (*op. cit.*, p. 32).
- 26 *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (London, 2003), p. 94. The diary entry had been circulating for some time. See Fawwaz Trabulsi "The Palestine Problem: Zionism and Imperialism in the Middle East," *New Left Review*, No. 57, Sept.-Oct. 1969, p. 55.
- 27 See Raphael Patai, ed., *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1960), Vol. I, p. 88.
- 28 Derek J. Penslar, "Historians, Herzl and the Palestinian Arabs," *Israel in History* (London, 2007), pp. 51-61.
- 29 Derek J. Penslar, "Historians, Herzl and the Palestinian Arabs," *Israel in History* (London, 2007), pp. 52, 57-59.
- 30 "Historians, Herzl and the Palestinian Arabs," *Israel in History* (London, 2007), p. 60.

- 31 “Benny Morris and the Myths of Post-Zionist History,” in Edward Alexander and Paul Bogdanor, eds., *The Jewish Divide Over Israel* (London, 2006), pp. 251-252.
- 32 Benny Morris makes 3 points about the concept of “transfer” in Zionist thinking. *First*, the Zionist leadership throughout never adopted the idea as part of the movement’s political platform; nor did it ever figure in the platforms of any of the major Zionist parties. *Second*, the Zionist leaders generally said, and believed, that a Jewish majority would be achieved in Palestine, or in whatever part of it became a Jewish state, by means of massive Jewish immigration, and that this immigration would also materially benefit the Arab population (which it generally did during the Mandate). *Third*, transfer was resurrected and pressed by Zionist leaders at particular historical junctures, at moments of acute crisis, in response to Arab waves of violence that seemed to vitiate the possibility of Arab-Jewish co-existence in a single state, and in response to waves of European anti-Semitic violence that, from the Zionist viewpoint, necessitated the achievement of a safe haven for Europe’s oppressed and threatened Jews. *By contrast*, during the 1930s and 1940s, the espoused policy of the leader of the Palestinian Arab national movement, the Muslim cleric Haj Amin al Husseini, was frankly expulsionist about the Yishuv. See “The ignorance at the heart of an innuendo: And now for some facts,” *The New Republic*, May 2006.
- 33 John Pilger “The real threat we face is Blair,” *New Statesman*, 21 August 2006.
- 34 See John Lloyd *What the Media Are Doing To Our Politics* (London, 2004), p. 102.
- 35 See “Charles Baudelaire,” *Selected Literary Criticism* (London, 1968), p. 55. James was referring to Poe.
- 36 See, e.g., “The true face of Israel: Let’s learn from history and see how new generations are raised.” <http://truefaceofisrael.blogspot.com/>; “In Their Own Words,” 11 March 2003. <http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=1837&CategoryId=21>. “Israeli madness in Gaza: Same old game,” Aljazeera.com, [http://www.aljazeera.com/me.asp?service\\_ID=11410](http://www.aljazeera.com/me.asp?service_ID=11410). “Have you seen these Jewish quotes?,” Stormfront.org, 13 May 2002 (logo, “White Pride World Wide”). <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=21968>.
- 37 Israel Koenig “The Koenig Report,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. VI No. 1, Autumn 1976. Though the report was secret, it was leaked, and appeared in an Israeli newspaper on 7 September 1976. The version in the Journal is an English translation.
- 38 For a critical analysis, see Ahmad H. Sa’di “The Koenig Report and Israeli policy towards the Palestinian minority, 1965-1976: old wine in new bottles,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Summer 2003.
- 39 In September 2001, Syria Terms, an English language official gazette mainly communicating abroad the Syrian regime’s position, published “Zionism Reproduces Nazism,” quoting Sharon as claiming, “If I became Prime Minister, I would wipe out all Arabs, kill every newborn Palestinian baby and knife the abdomen of every woman who is pregnant from an Arab. Those dogs should not be close to the chosen people of God.” Itamar Radai “On the Road to Damascus: Bashar al-Asad, Israel, and the Jews,” *Posen Papers in Contemporary Antisemitism*, No. 9, The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007, p. 13.
- 40 This is the passage: “It is the duty of the leadership... to tell the public, openly and bravely, truths which have been obscured and blurred over time. One truth is that there is no Zionism, and no settlement activity, and no State of Israel, without displacement of Arabs and seizing and fencing off their lands. Another truth is that, in the war against the Arabs – including the terrorists – Israel has never undertaken and could never undertake to harm *only* [his emphasis] regular or irregular combatants. And a third truth is that, given the assumptions above, Israel has tried in the past, and will surely continue to try in the future to avoid, as far as is possible, killing innocent civilians and displacing Arab inhabitants outside of legally constituted instructions and arrangements.” Yeshayahu Ben-Porat continued to probe and question. In 1973, he and a number of colleagues published a stinging indictment of the failure of Israel’s leaders accurately to predict the coming of the Yom Kippur War.
- 41 See, for example, “The Jewish State’s Final Solution: The Assault on Gaza (James Petras),” July 2006. <http://canadiandimension.com/articles/2006/07/17/568/>.
- 42 See, for example, “In Their Own Words,” 11 March 2003. <http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=1837&CategoryId=21>. Zachary Wales “Looking for Shalit,” 1 July 2006, The Electronic Intifada. <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article4882.shtml>.
- 43 Roger Garaudy “The myth of a Land without a people for a people without a land,” “Institute for Historical Review,” [http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v18/v18n5p38\\_Garaudy.html](http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v18/v18n5p38_Garaudy.html).
- 44 Obituary (“Yoram Ben-Porath, 55; A Top Israeli Academic”), *New York Times*, 19 October 1992. <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9E0CE4DA1439F93AA25753C1A964958260>.
- 45 For thousands of years, we Jews have been nourished and sustained by a yearning for our historic land. I, like many others, was raised with a deep conviction that the day would never come when we would have to relinquish parts of the land of our forefathers. I believed, and to this day still believe, in our people’s eternal and historic right to this entire land. But I also believe that dreams alone will not quiet the guns that have fired unceasingly for nearly a hundred years. Dreams alone will not enable us to preserve a secure democratic Jewish state. Jews all around the world read in this week’s Torah portion: “And you will dwell in your land safely and I will give you peace in the land, and there shall be no cause for fear neither shall the sword cross through the Promised Land”. Painfully, we the people of Israel have learned to change our perspective. We have to compromise in the name of peace, to give up parts of our promised land in which every hill and every valley is saturated with Jewish history and in which our heroes are buried. We have to relinquish part of our dream to leave room for the dream of others, so that all of us can enjoy a better future. For this painful but necessary task my government was elected. And to this I am fully committed.” <http://www.pmo.gov.il/PMOEng/Communication/PMSpeaks/speechcong240506.htm>. One additional, small point. It will be noted that Pilger italicises “entire” in his quotation. Given that it was a speech, it would be odd for any word or passage to be italicised. There is no italicised emphasis in the official version of the text, on the Prime Minister’s website – contrary to Pilger’s suggestion. Olmert might indeed have emphasised “entire” when giving the speech; I do not know, and I suspect that Pilger doesn’t know either.
- 46 Compare: Kathleen Christison “Surrender vs. the Right to Exist,” *Counterpunch*, 27-29 May 2006. <http://www.counterpunch.org/christison05272006.html>.
- 47 “Back in 1948, David Ben-Gurion was clear that ‘We must use terror, assassination, intimidation, land confiscation, and the cutting of all social services to rid the Galilee of its Arab population.’ Fifty years later, in 1998, Ariel Sharon made the same point about the centrality of ethnic cleansing in Israeli policy: ‘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 that there is no Zionism, colonization or Jewish state without the eviction of the Arabs and the expropriation of their lands.' On May 24, 2006, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert told a joint session of congress that 'I believed and to this day still believe, in our people's eternal and historic right to this entire land.'" "Ethnic Cleansing: Constructive, Benign, and Nefarious (Kafka Era Studies, No. 1)." <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=10731>. When accessed on 26 March 2007, the passage was still there.
- 48 *New Statesman*, 3 October 2006. Pilger's comment follows upon an "Editor's note" which accepts that the first two quotations were "misattributed". The first quotation, as a fabrication, is a very special kind of misattribution.
- 49 To be precise: "Ben-Gurion, either by a hand gesture or by a gesture accompanied by an oral explanation, instructed Allon and Rabin to expel the civilian population (whether of Lydda alone or both towns is unclear)." Benny Morris "Operation Dani and the Palestinian Exodus from Lydda and Ramle in 1948," *Middle East Journal*, 40:1 (1986: Winter), p. 109.
- 50 Benny Morris "Operation Dani and the Palestinian Exodus from Lydda and Ramle in 1948," *Middle East Journal*, 40:1 (1986: Winter), p. 91.
- 51 Benny Morris "Operation Dani and the Palestinian Exodus from Lydda and Ramle in 1948," *Middle East Journal*, 40:1 (1986: Winter), p. 102.
- 52 Benny Morris "Operation Dani and the Palestinian Exodus from Lydda and Ramle in 1948," *Middle East Journal*, 40:1 (1986: Winter), p. 98.
- 53 Benny Morris "Operation Dani and the Palestinian Exodus from Lydda and Ramle in 1948," *Middle East Journal*, 40:1 (1986: Winter), p. 82.
- 54 Benny Morris "And now for some facts," *New Republic*, 8 May 2006.
- 55 No surprise, then, that according to the perverted Soviet Russian jurisprudence of the 1930s, "the defendants' statements in state crimes are inevitably regarded as the main evidence, the most important, crucial evidence." See Arkady Vaksberg *The Prosecutor and the Prey* (London, 1990), p. 161.
- 56 Alain Besançon *A Century of Horrors* (Wilmington, DE, 2007), p. 8.
- 57 Cf.: "Russia only desired peace. About this the fellow-travellers were adamant. Argument was widely conducted at this time by means of quotation: the blood-curdling threats of American generals and senators were scrupulously filed (if not always scrupulously used) while the Times of London was quoted as frequently 'admitting' Russia's desire for peace – the ply here being that if a 'bourgeois' paper 'admitted' such a fact then the evidence for it must be irresistible." David Cauter *The Fellow-Travelers* (London, 1988), p. 298.
- 58 "... the Israelis can always find some egregious Palestinian statement or poem calling for their destruction, which is then used to discredit any Israeli or Palestinian moderate who dares to claim that the Palestinians are ready to live in peace with a Jewish state." Thomas Friedman *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (London, 1998), p. 524.
- 59 Cf.: "[On the alleged antisemitism of the Black Panthers:] "There is no doubt that an assiduous search would reveal anti-Semitic statements by black militants, just as there is no doubt that the black movements have always welcomed support by Jews and other whites. There is also no doubt that by applying the same technique, one could 'prove' that Israel is a racist state bent on genocide [...] Some might interpret this as rather cynical and even deceitful. What is true in one case is no less true in the other." Noam Chomsky "Israel and the New Left," in Mordecai Chertoff, ed., *The New Left and the Jews* (New York, 1971), pp. 216-217.
- 60 Tariq Ali *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (London, 2003), p. 90. Adam Shatz, only slightly less awkwardly, refers to "the other Zionism" of Ahad Ha'am: *Prophets Outcast* (New York, 2004), p. 29.
- 61 For example, "Can you be a non-Zionist Zionist? Grossman, I think, comes close." Or, "I have ... wanted to revive the early Jewish voices – Martin Buber, Hans Kohn, Hannah Arendt and Ahad Ha'am, some of whom called themselves Zionists – who sounded the critique, uttered the warnings that have become all the more prescient today." *The Last Resistance* (London, 2007), pp. 121, 198.