QUOTATION DATE	AUTHOR	CIRCUMSTANCES	QUOTE	REFERENCES
– EVOKED DATE				
1615	Brightman, Thomas (1562-1607)	A clergyman and influential Bible commentator, he was one of the early Protestant progenitors of the Zionist project.	What, shall they return to Jerusalem again?There is nothing more certain: the prophets do everywhere confirm it and beat upon it. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Brightman	Thomas Brightman, Shall They Return to Jerusalem Again? (1615), quoted by Ilan Pappe, Ten Myths about Israel, Verso, 2017.
15 Mar. 1819	,	Second President of the United States (from 1797 to 1801), in a letter to a Jewish traveler of the time, Mordechai Noah, wanted a "restoration" of the Jews in Judea with a view to their conversion.		Complete text of the letter in Writings from the New Nation 1784-1828 (online) Some Zionist sources put fancy nationalist additions to it.
20 Apr. 1819		Chateaubriand, an ultraroyalist conservative writer and diplomat, gives alms to the Catholic myth of the exile to the Jews of Jerusalem, and hopes for a military adventure of the Holy Alliance.	When one sees the Jews scattered over the earth, according to the word of God, one is undoubtedly surprised; but to be struck with supernatural astonishment, one must find them in Jerusalem; one must see these legitimate masters of Judea enslaved and strangers in their own country; one must see them awaiting, under all the oppressions, a king who must deliver them	Chateaubriand, Panorama de Jérusalem, Le Conservateur, Vol. III, 30th issue, arril 20, 1819, pp. 177-183 https://journals.openedition.org/bcrfj/7235?file=1 quoted by llan Pappe, Ten Myths about Israel, Verso, 2017.
1835	Fourier, Charles (1772-1837)		"The restoration of the Hebrews would therefore be a fine prize for M.M. de Rothschild; they could, like Ezra and Zerubbabel, lead the Hebrews back to Jerusalem and re-establish the throne of David and Solomon there, to found a Rothschild dynasty upon it. The omen seems a dream and nothing is easier to bring about in six months under the protection of all the monarchs."	
	Cooper, Anthony Ashley (Lord) (1801-1885)	Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, English statesman, on the occasion of the opening of a British embassy in Jerusalem (in reference to Luke 21-24)	The ancient city of the people of God is about to resume a place among the nations, and England is the first of the Gentile kingdoms that ceases to tread her down!	Michel J. Pragai, Faith and Fulfilment, ed. Vallentine, Mitchelle 1985, p. 45.
1838	Lindsay, Alexander (Lord) (1812- 1880)	Scottish aristocrat known as an art historian and collector, in a book where he develops an authentic pre-Zionist discourse	It is possible that, in the changes of the Turkish Empire, Palestine may again become a civilized country, under Greek or Latin influences; that the Jewish race, so wonderfully preserved, may yet have another stage of national existence opened to them; that they may once more obtain possession of their native land, and invest it with an interest greater than it could have under any other circumstances [] Many I believe entertain the idea that an actual curse rests on the soil of Palestine, and may be startled therefore at the testimony I have borne to its actual richness. No other curse, I conceive, rests upon it, than that induced by the removal of the ancient inhabitants, and the will of the Almighty that the modern occupants should never be so numerous as to invalidate the prophecy that the land should enjoy her Sabbaths so long as the rightful heirs remain in the	(London), 1838. Google

			land of their enemies. Let me not be misunderstood: richly as the valleys wave with corn, and beautiful as is the general aspect of modern Palestine, vestiges of the ancient cultivation are every where visible – waste and unreclaimed districts constantly intervene between the Oases of fertility— while, except immediately round the villages, the hills, once terraced and crowned with olive trees and vines, are uniformly bare or overgrown with wild shrubs and flowers;— proofs far more than sufficient that the land still enjoys her Sabbaths, and only waits for the return of her banished children, and the application of industry, commensurate with her agricultural capabilities, to burst once more into universal luxuriance, and be all that she ever was in the days of Solomon."	
30 July 1853	Anthony Ashley (Lord) (1801-1885)	Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, English statesman, one of the founders of Christian Zionism, in a letter to British Foreign Minister George Hamilton Gordon	[The region is] a country without a nation [which should be matched to] a nation without a country Is there such a thing? To be sure there is, The ancient and rightful lords of the soil, the Jews!	G. Finlayson, <i>The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury</i> , Recent College Publishing (2004), p. 441. Numerous other quotes.
1862	Hess, Moses (1812-1875)	Considered as the first Jewish political Zionist, claims the existence of an "indelible" racial difference	Jewish noses can't be re-shaped and black, curly Jewish hair can't be changed into blond hair or combed straight by christening. The Jewish race is a basic one and reproduces itself in its integrity despite climatic influences. The Jewish type has itself always remained the same throughout the course of the centuries. [] It's no use Jews and Jewesses denying their origin by being christened and disappearing into the great sea of Indo-Germanic and Mongol tribes. The Jewish type cannot be exterminated.	``
1876	Cooper, Anthony Ashley (Lord) (1801-1885)	Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, English statesman, in an address to the British Parliament in 1876	Syria and Palestine will before long become very important The country needs capital and population. The Jews can give it both. And has not England a special interest in promoting such restoration? It would be a blow to England if either of her two rivals should get hold of Syria Does not policy there exhort England to foster the nationality of the Jews and aid them to return To England then naturally belongs the role of favoring the settlement of Jews in Palestine.	Quoted by James W. Zogby, American Arab Institute, 1974 (PhD). https://www.un.org/unispal/do cument/auto-insert-199670/
1880	Oliphant, Laurence (1829-1888)	"Her Royal Highness" Queen Victoria "as a token of deep gratitude for the sympathy and cordial interest shown by Her	The next questions which naturally presented themselves to my mind were [] the class of pcople who should be invited to come as colonists. The objection to foreigners who were at the same time Christians seemed insurmountable [] The idea, therefore, of colonising with European Christians was speedily dismissed. The possibility of finding, under the auspices of such a Company, an asylum for the thousands of Moslem refugees, who, driven from their homes in Bulgaria and Roumelia, were starving in various parts of the empire, also suggested itself; but [] The chances of remuneration, therefore, were not likely to tempt capitalists, while European sympathies in favour of poor Moslems were not sufficiently strong to make it likely that the charitable public would come forward to a sufficient extent in favour of any such enterprise. There was, in fact, only one race in Europe who were rich, and who did not, therefore, need to appeal to Christian capitalists for money to carry through the whole undertaking [] It was thus that I found myself, by a process of deduction, compelled to turn for the locality of the colony to Palestine, and for the colonists to the Jews. The more I examined the project from this point of view, the more desirable on political grounds did it appear.	Laurence Oliphant The Land of Gilead, with excursions in the Lebanon, Blackwood, 1880, pp. xv-xvii (available as a fac simile)
1882	Pinsker, Leo (1821-1891)	German-speaking Polish Jewish doctor, supporter of integration and then of the Zionist idea,	Judeophobia is a psychic aberration. As a psychic aberration it is hereditary, and as a disease transmitted for two thousand years it is incurable.	Leo Pinsker, Autoemanzipation: ein Mahnrufan seine Stammesgenossen, von einem russischen Juden,

July 1882		exposing anti- Semitism as a hereditary defect Promoter of modern Hebrew, speaking	The thing we must do now is to become as strong as we can, to conquer the country, covertly, bit by bit We will not set up	Berlin, 1882, pp.4-5. Leo Pinsker, Autoémancipation, Lettre d'un juif russe à ses frères. Mille et Une nuits editions, no 504, p.17 https://archive.org/stream/chr istiansandjew012720mbp/chr istiansandjew012720mbp_djv u.txthttp:// www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ jsource/Zionism/pinsker.html Quoted by Benny Morris, Victimes, Histoire revisitée du
	1922)	about the expansion of Jewish settlements	committees so that the Arabs will know what we are after, we shall act like silent spies, we shall buy, buy, buy.	conflit arabo-sioniste, Complexes, 2003, pp 63-64.
1886	Birnbaum, Nathan (1864-1937)	Inventor of the concept of Zionism, from which he distanced himself after 1898	The insights and mental dispositions of a nation may not he explained otherwise than by the natural sciences. "Race is everything," said our great race-member, Lord Beaconsfield [Benjamin Disraeli]. In the uniqueness of race, the uniqueness of the nation is enfolded. National variation is founded on racial differences. It is by virtue of race that the German or the Slav feels different from the Jew. In this antagonism one must look for the explanation that the Germans produced in the Song of the Nibelungen, while the Jew created the Bible	Nationalism and Language (1886). Quoted by Raphael Falk, Zionism and the Biology of Jews, Springer, 2006, p. 50
1890	Collectif	From a Bedouin tribe on the lands of what became Rehovot, in a petition addressed to the Istanbul government	Lately, the supreme government has sold the place to certain people of the land. We did not protest since the new owners of the land clearly knew that the place was cultivated and handled by us for many centuries but, still in this condition, the land was suddenly sold to a group of foreign Jews [Asralin] who arrived with funds They began to expel us from the land we lived on the farm, which was ours since the times of our fathers and grandfathers, was forcefully taken from us by the strangers who do not wish to treat us according to the accepted norms among tillers of the soil, and according to basic human norms or compassion. In short, they will not accept us, even as their slaves.	"New documents reveal early Palestinian attitudes toward Zionist settlements" http://www.haaretz.com/news/features/new-documents-reveal-early-palestinian-attitudes-toward-zionist-settlements-1.475085
1890	Ginsberg, Asher (Ahad Ha'am) (1856-1927)	Realizing that real Zionism is going to the front lines of war, both internally and externally Date and circumstances unclear	[But if things continue the way they are]the society that I envision, if my dream is not just a false notion, this society will have to begin to create itself in the midst of fuss, noisiness and panic, and will have to face the prospects of both internal and external war	Quoted by Tony Kushner and Alisa Solomon, <i>Wrestling with</i> <i>Zion</i> , Grove Press, 2003, p. 16.
1891	Ginsberg, Asher (Ahad Ha'am) (1856-1927)	his first visit to Palestine in 1891. This text presented is a composite of several translations/quotes	We who live abroad are used to believe that almost all Eretz Yisrael is now uninhabited desert and whoever wishes can buy land there as he pleases. But this is not true. Throughout the country it is difficult to find fields that are not sowed. Only those sand fields or stone mountains that would require the investment of hard labor and great expense to make them good for planting remain uncultivated and that's because the Arabs do not like working too much in the present for a distant future. Therefore, it is very difficult to find good land for cattle. And not only peasants, but also rich landowners, are not selling good land so easily [] We who live abroad are accustomed to believing that the Arabs are all wild desert people who, like donkeys, neither see nor understand what is happening around them. But this is a grave mistake. The Arab, like all the Semites, is sharp minded and shrewd. All the townships of Syria and Eretz Yisrael are full of Arab merchants who know how to exploit the masses and keep track of everyone with whom they deal – the same as in Europe. The Arabs, especially the urban elite, see and understand what we are doing and what we wish to do on the	Ahad Ha'am, <i>Truth from</i> Palestine, quoted in Tom Segev, <i>One Palestine,</i> complete, Holt/Metropolitan, 2000, p. 104.

			le de la companya de	Г
1891	Smilansky, Moshe (1874- 1953)	Member of the first wave of colonization in Palestine, reporting a dialogue between two settlers of the	land, but they keep quiet and pretend not to notice anything. For now, they do not consider our actions as presenting a future danger to them. Should time come when life of our people in Palestine imposes to a smaller or greater extent on the natives, they will not easily step aside. We must surely learn, from both our past and present history, how careful we must be not to provoke the anger of the native people by doing them wrong, how we should be cautious in our dealings with a foreign people among whom we returned to live, to handle these people with love and respect and, needless to say, with justice and good judgment. And what do our brothers do? Exactly the opposite! The Jews were slaves in the land of their Exile, and suddenly they find themselves with unlimited freedom, wild freedom that only a country like Turkey [the Ottoman Empire] can offer. This sudden change has planted despotic tendencies in their hearts, as always happens to former slaves ['eved ki yimlokh – when a slave becomes king – Proverbs 30:22]. They deal with the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, beating them disgracefully for no good reason, and even boast about their actions. There is no one to stop the flood and put an end to this despicable and dangerous tendency. Our brothers indeed were right when they said that the Arab only respects he who exhibits bravery and courage. But when these people feel that the law is on their rival's side and, even more so, if they are right to think their rival's actions are unjust and oppressive, then, even if they are silent and endlessly reserved, they keep their anger in their hearts. And these people will be revengeful like no other. "We should go east, into Transjordan. That would be a test for our movement." "Nonsense isn't there enough land in Judea and Galilee?" "The land in Judea and Galilee is occupied by the Arabs."	Shlomo Sand, Comment la terre d'Israël fut inventée, p.254. Tom Segev, referring to: "Complete works of Ahad Ha'am » (Heb) Tel Aviv, Dvir, 1949, p.24 Wikipedia Wikiquotes from Wrestling with Zion https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Ahad_Ha%27am In the steppe, Works, Vol. 1, 1891-1893 (Tel Aviv, undated), p. 206. Quoted by Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for
		two settlers of the "Lovers of Zion" (Hovevie Tzion) in 1891	"Well, we'll take it from them." "How?" (Silence.) "A revolutionary doesn't ask naive questions." "Well then, Revolutionary,' tell us how." "It is very simple. We'll harass them until they get out Let them go to Transjordan." "And are we going to abandon all of Transjordan?" asks an anxious voice. "As soon as we have a big settlement here we'll seize the land, we'll become strong, and then we'll take care of the Left Bank [of the Jordan River]. We'll expel them from there, too. Let them go back to the Arab countries. »	the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 9.
1891	Ginsberg, Asher (Ahad Ha'am) (1856-1927)	In his book The Truth from Palestine (renamed A truth from the Land of Israel in 1953), commenting on his first visit to Palestine in 1891.	"There are now about ten colonies standing for some years, and no one of them is able to support itself wherever I strived to look, I did not manage to see even one man living solely from the fruit of his land In Palestine, as in all lands, the tiller of	Quoted by Haim Gerber, Zionism, Orientalism, and the Palestinians, Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. XXXIII, automne 2003, p. 23.
1894		A year before Theodor Herzl's book "The State of the Jews", Mark Twain published a sequel to the adventures of Tom Sawyer, Tom Sawyer Abroad, in which only "paynim" (pagans) existed in the Holy Land, a land which Jews and Christians	- A crusade is a war to recover the Holy Land from the paynim." - "Which Holy Land?" - "Why, the Holy Land—there ain't but one." "What do we want of it?" "Why, can't you understand? It's in the hands of the paynim, and it's our duty to take it away from them." "How did we come to let them git hold of it?" "We didn't come to let them git hold of it. They always had it." "Why, Tom, then it must belong to them, don't it?" "Why of course it does. Who said it didn't?" I studied over it, but couldn't seem to git at the right of it, no way. I says:	Mark Twain, <i>Tom Sawyer Abroad</i> https://www.gutenberg.org/fil es/91/91-h/91-h.htm

		had to take over	It's too many for me, Tom Sawyer. If I had a farm and it was mine, and another person wanted it, would it be right for him to —" "Oh, shucks! you don't know enough to come in when it rains, Huck Finn. It ain't a farm, it's entirely different. You see, it's like this. They own the land, just the mere land, and that's all they DO own; but it was our folks, our Jews and Christians, that made it holy, and so they haven't any business to be there defiling it. It's a shame, and we ought not to stand it a minute. We ought to march against them and take it away from them." "Why, it does seem to me it's the most mixed-up thing I ever see! Now, if I had a farm and another person—" "Don't I tell you it hasn't got anything to do with farming? Farming is business, just common low-down business: that's all it is, it's all you can say for it; but this is higher, this is religious, and totally different." "Religious to go and take the land away from people that owns it?" "Certainly; it's always been considered so."	
2 June 1895	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	On the first day of his diary	"In Paris, as I have said, I achieved a freer attitude towards anti-Semitism, which I now began to understand historically and to pardon. Above all, I recognized the emptiness and futility of trying to 'combat' anti-Semitism." In Paris also gewann icn ein freieres Verhältnis zum Antisemitismus, den ich historisch zu verstehen und zu entschuldigen anfing. Vor Allem erkannte ich die Leere und Nutzlosigkeit der Bestrebungen "zur Abwehr des antisemitismus.	Herzl, <i>Briefe und Tagebücher</i> , Propylaen, 1983, p.46.
2 June 1895	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	On the first day of his diary	« Anti-Semitism has grown and continues to grow - and so do I » Deutsche Fassung: Der Antisemitismus ist gewaschen, wächst weiter – und ich auch.	Herzl, <i>Briefe und Tagebücher</i> , Propylaen, 1983, p.46.
12 June 1895	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)		When we occupy the land, we shall bring immediate benefits to the state that receives us. We must expropriate gently the private property on the estates assigned to us. 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. The property owners will come over to our side. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discretely and circumspectly. Let the owners of immovable property believe that they are cheating us, selling us things for more than they are worth. But we are not going to sell them anything back. Deutsche Fassung: Bei der Landnahme bringen wir dem Aufnahmestaate gleich Wohlfahrt zu. Den Privatbesitz der angewiesenen Ländereien müssen wir sachte expropriiren. Die arme Bevölkerung trachten wir unbemerkt über die Grenze zu schaffen, indem wir ihr in den Durchzugsländern Arbeit verschaffen, aber in unserem eigenen Lande jederlei Arbeit verweigern. Die besitzende Bevölkerung wird zu uns übergehen. Das Expropriationswerk muss ebenso wie die Fortschaffung der Armen, mit Zartheit und Behutsamkeit erfolgen. Die Immobilienbesitzer sollen glauben, uns zu prellen, uns über dem Werth zu verkaufen. Aber zurückverkauft wird ihnen nichts.	T. Herzl, Complete diaries, 12 juin 1895. Full quote by Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 9
12 June 1895	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Explaining the usefulness of allying oneself with the anti-Semites to carry out	It would be an excellent idea to call in respectable, accredited anti-Semites as liquidators of property. To the people they would vouch for the fact that we do not wish to bring about the impoverishment of the countries that we leave. At first they must	

		the Zionist project	not be given large fees for this; otherwise we shall spoil our instruments and make them despicable as 'stooges' of the Jews. Later their fees will increase, and in the end we shall have only Gentile officials in the countries from which we have emigrated. The anti-Semites will become our most dependable friends, the anti-Semitic countries our allies. We want to emigrate as respected people. Deutsche Fassung:	Tagebücher, Propylaen, 1983, pp.113-114.
			Eine vortreffliche Idee wäre es, anständige und accreditirte Antisemiten zu den Vermögens-Liquidatoren heranzuziehen Sie wären vor dem Volk unsere Bürgen, dass wir keine Verarmung der verlassenen Länder herbeiführen wollen. Anfänglich dürften sie dafür nicht reichlich bezahlt werden, sonst verderben wir uns die Instrumente, machen sie als »Judenknechte« verächtlich. Später werden ihre Bezüge wachsen, endlich werden wir in den verlassenen Ländern nur christliche Beamte haben. Die Antisemiten werden unsere verlässlichsten Freunde, die antisemitischen Länder unsere Verbündeten. Wir wollen als geachtete Freunde fortziehen.	
14 Feb. 1896	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	In his book The Jewish State	« We should there form a part of a wall of defense for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism. We should as a neutral state remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence. »	T. Herzl, <i>Complete diaries</i> (ed. R. Patai), New York, 1960, p. 45.
14 Feb. 1896	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Developing the thesis, taken up by all Zionists, of an inevitable anti- Semitism due to the Jews of Eastern Europe	The Jewish Question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not exist, it is carried by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution. This is the case in every country, and will remain so, even in those highly civilized- for instance, France- until the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis. The unfortunate Jews are now carrying the seeds of Anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America.	T. Herzl. <i>Der Judenstaat</i> , p.6 (p.74). https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25282/25282-h/25282-h.htm
14 Feb. 1896	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Assuring that states will get rid of anti- Semitism by getting rid of Jews	The Governments of all countries scourged by Anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want.	T. Herzl. <i>Der Judenstaat</i> . https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25282/25282-h/25282-h.htm
14 Feb. 1896	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Establishing the principle that there is no Jewish state without a guarantee of a colonial power	An infiltration is bound to end badly. It continues till the inevitable moment when the native population feels itself threatened, and forces the Government to stop a further influx of Jews. Immigration is consequently futile unless we have the sovereign right to continue such immigration.	T. Herzl. <i>Der Judenstaat</i> . https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25282/25282-h/25282-h.htm
14 Feb. 1896	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Explaining that anti- Semites, in addition to the States, will contribute to the Jewish State by financing it	Not only poor Jews, but also Christians who wanted to get rid of them, would subscribe a small amount to this fund.	T. Herzl. <i>Der Judenstaat</i> . https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25282/25282-h/25282-h.htm
1897	Nordau, Max (1849-1923)	thinker, organizer of the first Zionist Congresses, addressing Theodor Herzl Date is inaccurate	But there are Arabs in Palestine! I didn't know that! We are committing an injustice.	Quoted by Amos Elon <i>The Israelis : Founders and Sons</i> (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), but this author achnowledges that the citation is dubious: /www.nybooks.com/articles/2 002/12/19/israelis-palestinians-what-went-wrong/
1897	Stoddard, John Lawson (1860-1931)	American traveler and popular writer, Christian Zionist, author after Lord	At present Palestine supports only 600,000 people but, with proper cultivation, it can easily maintain 2.5 million. You are a people without a country; there is a country without a people. Be united. Fulfill the dreams of your old poets and patriarchs. Go	John L. Stoddard. Lectures: Illustrated and Embellished with Views of the World's Famous Places and People,

		Shaftesbury, of the formula "a land without people for a people without land".	back, go back to the land of Abraham.	Being the Identical Discourses Delivered During the Past Eighteen Years under the Title of the Stoddard Lectures, Vol. 2. 1897. Quoted by Haaretz https://www.haaretz.com/1.48 81370
July 1897	Nordau, Max (1849-1923)	Zionist leader very close to Theodor Herzl, in an article published in the Zionist newspaper Die Welt, aiming to completely dissociate Zionism from the Jewish religion	Zionism has nothing to do with theology; and if a desire has been kindled in Jewish hearts to establish a new commonwealth in Zion, it is not the Torah or the Mishnah that inspire them, but hard times.	Quoted by Aviezer Ravitsky, Messianism, Zionism and religious radicalism. Univ. Of Chicago Press, 1993, p.93.
11 July 1897	Collectif	Decision of the 8th Convention of American Rabbis, Montreal, July 6-11, 1997	Resolved, That we totally disapprove of any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish state. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission, which from the narrow political and rational field has been expanded to the promotion among the whole human race of the broad and universalistic religion first proclaimed by the Jewish prophets. Such attempts do not benefit, but infinitely harm our Jewish brethren where they are still persecuted, by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are at home, and of which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens. , and addresses itself to the continuous growth of peace, justice and love in the human race, to a messianic time when all men will recognize that they form "one great brotherhood" for the establishment of God's kingdom on earth.	Central Conference of American Rabbis. Yearbook VII, 1897. p. XII. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi /pt? id=mdp.39015070165769;vie w=1up;seq=229
Aug. 1897	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Giving in his diary his opinion on the delegates of the 1st Zionist congress that he convened	The fact is – that I conceal from everyone – that I have only an army of schnorrers [scroungers]. I am in command only of youths, beggars ans sensation mongers.	Theodor Herzl, <i>Diaries</i> . Quoted in <i>Theodore Herzl: A Biography</i> , Philadelphia: Jewish Publication society of America, 1962, 227f.
29 Aug. 1897	Nordau, Max (1849-1923)	thinker, co-organizer of the first Zionist	More industrious and more able than the average European, not to speak at all of the inert Asiatic and African, the Jew is condemned to the most extreme pauperism, because he is not allowed to use his powers freely.	https://en.wikisource.org/ wiki/ Address_at_the_First_Zionist _Congress
3 Sep. 1897	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	At the end of the first Zionist Congress in Basel	Were I to sum up the Basle Congress in a word which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly it would be this: At Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it.	Herzl, T., <i>The complete diaries</i> , Vol. II, p 581. http://www.palestineremembe red.com/Acre/Famous-Zionist-Quotes/Story643.html
Oct. 1897	Von Hohenzollern, Friedrich (Wilhelm II) (1859-1941)	Emperor of Germany, annotating a report on the first Zionist congress sent by ambassador Christan von Tattenbach	Let the Mauschels (Yids) go to Palestine, the sooner they move off the better. I shall not put obstacles in their way.	Quoted by Isaiah Friedman, Germany, Turkey and Zionism, Transaction Publishers, 1998, pp. 58-59.
15 Oct. 1897	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	In his weekly magazine, Die Welt, attacks in violent and contemptuous - not to say racist - terms the anti-Zionist	Yid is anti-Zionist. We have known him for a long time, and just merely to look at him, let alone approach or, heaven forbid, touch him was enough to make us feel sick. But our disgust, until now, was moderated by pity; we sought extenuating historical explanations for his being so crooked, sleazy, and shabby a specimen. Moreover, we told ourselves that he was, after all, our	Adresses, p.167. Lawrence Dreyfus, Wagner and the

		term, rendered in English by Yid), to which he opposes the Zionist Jew - such as himself -	has rejected us. But who is this Yid, anyway? A type, my dear friends, a figure that pops up time and again, the dreadful companion of the Jew, one for the other. The Jew is a human being like any other, no better and no worse. The Yid, on the other hand, is a hideous distortion of the human character, something unspeakably low and repulsive. Where the Jew experiences pain or pride, the Yid feels only craven fear or twists his face into a sardonic grin The Yid is the curse of the Jews In our own day, even a flight from religion can no longer rid the Jew of the Yid. Race is now the issue - as if the Jew and the Yid belonged to the same race. But go and prove that to the anti-Semite. To him, the two are always and inextricably linkedAnd then came Zionism. Both Jew and Yid had to take a stand, and now for the first time, the Yid rejects our community. The Yid is anti-Zionist! This is one of the first and most beneficial consequences of the movement. We'll breathe more easily, having got rid once and for all of these people whom, with furtive shame, we were obliged to treat as our fellow tribesmen Watch out, Yid. Zionism might proceed like William Tell and keep a second arrow in reserve. Should the first shot miss, the second will serve the cause of vengeance. Friends, Zionism's second arrow will pierce the Yid's chest.	165-6, quoting Ernst Pawel, The Labyrinth of Exile: A Life of Theodor Herzl, 1990, pp. 345-6. https://labourbriefing.org/blog/2019/7/30/zionist-ambivalence-and-real-antisemitism. Partially quoted by Thomas Suarez, Comment le terrorisme a créé Israël, Investig'action, 2018, pp. 46-47 (for the french translation).
22 Oct. 1897	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Draft of Herzl's letter to the Kaiser of October 22, 1897	petty people of the present.	Yohanan Manor, Naissance du sionisme politique, Julliard, 1981, p 137. https://archive.org/stream/Th eCompleteDiariesOfTheodor Herzl_201606/ TheCompleteDiariesOfTheod orHerzlEngVolume2_OCR_dj vu.txt
1898	Syrkin, Nachman (1868-1924)	One of the creators of the KKL/JNF, in his book The Jewish Problem and the Jewish Socialist State		http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Nachman_Syrkin
28 Feb. 1898	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	In a letter sent to his English friends before the creation of the English Zionist Federation	From the first moment I entered the Movement my eyes were directed towards England, because I saw that by reason of the general situation of things there was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied.	Paul C. Merkley, <i>The politics</i> of Christian Zionism, 1891-1948, Psychology Press, 1998, p.46
28 Aug. 1898	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Speaking at the 2nd Zionist Congress in Basel in 1998 to tackle the generally anti-Zionist Jewish (religious) communities	speak for you too, distinguished Congress members, when I propose capturing the Jewish communities as one of our next	Moshe Manuhin, Not by Might nor by Power. The Zionist Betrayal of Judaism (1965), Open Road Media, 2017, p.90. https://mondoweiss.net/2017/ 09/jewish-atonement- zionism/ https://books.google.fr/books ?id=jSPYDQAAQBAJ&pg
14 Oct. 1898	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Endorsing the suggestion of his associate Max Bodenheimer, specifying for the limits of the State of	Area: from the Brook of Egypt to the Euphrates. Stipulate a transitional period with our own institutions. A Jewish governor for this period. Afterwards, a relationship like that between Egypt and the Sultan. As soon as the Jewish inhabitants of a district amount to [2/3?] of the population, Jewish administration goes in force politically, while local government (communal autonomy)	Theodor Herzl, Complete Diaries, Vol.II, Page 711, T. Herzl, Gesammelte Zionistische Werke, Tel Aviv,

		the Jews	always depends on the number of voters in the community These are Bodenheimer's ideas, in part excellent.	colonie ? EPO, 2003, p.31 https://archive.org/stream/Th eCompleteDiariesOfTheodor Herzl_201606/ TheCompleteDiariesOfTheod orHerzlEngVolume2_OCR_dj vu.txt
1899	Trietsch, Davis (1870- 1935)	and El-Arish, in a	I would suggest to you to come round in time to the "Greater Palestine" program before it is too late the Basle program must contain the words "Great Palestine" or "Palestine and its neighboring lands" otherwise it's nonsense. You do not get ten million Jews into a land of 25,000 Km2.	Oskar KA Rabinowicz, Jewish Cyprus Project, New York, Herzl Press, 1962, p.17.
1899	Scheersohn, Sholom Dovber (1860-1920)	the religious Lubavitch	We must not heed them [the Zionists] in their call to achieve redemption on our own, for we are not permitted to hasten the End even by reciting too many prayers, much less so by corporeal stratagems, that is, to set out from exile by force.	https://www.tabletmag.com/ sections/israel-middle-east/ articles/zionisms-new-boss Aviezer Ravitsky Messianism, Zionism and religious radicalism. Univ. Of Chicago Press, 1993.
1st Mar. 1899	Khalidi, Yusuf	Mayor of Jerusalem, former Arab deputy in the Turkish parliament, after having taken note of the conclusions of the Basel congress, adjures Chief Rabbi of Paris Zadok Kahn in these terms	In the name of God, let Palestine be left alone!	Yohanan Manor, Naissance du sionisme politique, collection Archives, Julliard, 1981, p 206. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Y ousef_al-Khalidi
1st Mar. 1899	Khalidi, Yusuf	Mayor of Jerusalem, in the letter to Chief Rabbi of Paris Zadok Kahn	All those who know me know that I make no distinction between Jews, Christians and Muslims We really have the same father. Politically, moreover, Jews and Arabs will do well to support each other to be able to resist the invasions of the other races It is therefore pure folly on the part of Dr. Herzl, whom I consider a man and a talented writer, to imagine that even if it were possible to obtain the consent of His Majesty the Sultan, they would one day succeed in taking over Palestine Translated from French	Yohanan Manor, <i>Naissance</i> du sionisme politique, Collection Archives, Julliard, 1981, p.216
1900	Drumont, Edouard (1844-1917)	Founder of the newspaper La Libre Parole, antidreyfusard, nationalist and anti-Semitic, author of La France juive (The Jewish France, 1886), seeing a departure of Jews in Palestine in a positive light.	To this people which is a people, Dr. Herzl wants to give back a homeland, and I don't mind as long as that homeland is not mine.	Edouard Drumont, Le peuple juif, Paris, librairie antisémite, 1900, p.37, quoted by Charbit, Les intellectuels français et Israël, Editions de l'éclat, 2009, p.36.
Dec. 1901	Zangwill, Israel (1864- 1926)	Taking up the propaganda of the Christian Zionists (before becoming an opponent of the choice of Palestine for a Jewish national project)	Palestine is a country without a people; the Jews are a people without a country.	Israël Zangwill, <i>The return</i> from Palestine, New liberal review II, Dec. 1901, p. 627.
11 Jan. 1902	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Expressing his admiration for the colonial adventurer	You are the only man who can help me nowit is a big-some say, too big –thing. To me, it does not seem too big for Cecil RhodesYou are being invited to help make history. That	T. Herzl, <i>The Complete</i> Diaries of Theodore Herzl (New York Herzl Press and

1903	Lenin,	Cecil Rhodes, the founder of Rhodesia, in a draft letter written in his diary Expresses his	cannot frighten you, nor will you laugh at it. It is not in your accustomed line; it doesn't involve Africa, but a piece of Asia Minor, not Englishmen but Jews. But had this been on your path, you would have done it by now. How, then, do I happen to turn to you, since this is an out-of-the-way matter for you? How indeed? Because it is something colonial., and because it presupposes an understanding of a development that requires 20 to 30 years[Y]ou, Mr. Rhodes, are a visionary politician or a practical visionary I want you to put the stamp of your authority on the Zionist plan and to make the following declaration to a few people who swear by you: I, Rhodes have examined this plan and found it correct and practicable. It is a plan full of culture, excellent for the group of people for whom it is directly designed, and quite good for England, for Greater Britain Absolutely untenable scientifically, the idea that the Jews form a	
1903		absolute opposition to a premise of Zionism	separate nation is reactionary politically that is precisely what the Jewish problem amounts to: assimilation or isolation? And the idea of a Jewish "nationality" is definitely reactionary	
Aug. 1903	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Talking about his meeting with the Russian pogromist Viatcheslav Plehve. According to the remarks reported by Herzl to Chaim Zhitlovsky, who rejected these conditions	I have just come from Plehve. I have his positive, binding promise that in 15 years, at the maximum, he will effectuate for us a charter for Palestine. But this is tied to one condition: the Jewish revolutionaries shall cease their struggle against the Russian government. If in 15 years from the time of the agreement Plehve does not effectuate the charter, they become free again to do what they consider necessary.	Samuel Portnoy, Vladimir Medem, the life and soul of a legendary Jewish Socialist, Ktav, 1979, pp. 295-98. Quoted by Lenni Brenner, Zionism in the Age of the Dictators, Croom Helm, 1983, p. 15.
8 Aug. 1903	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	In his discussions with the pogromist Vyacheslav Plehve, who doubted the Zionists' ability to attract the Jewish masses	Help me to reach land sooner and the revolt will end. So will the defection to the Socialists.'	Raphael Patai (ed.), The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, vol.IV, p.1526.
1904	Herzl, Theodor (1860-1904)	Shortly before his death, repeating that England is the key to Zionism date and exact circumstances not identified	With England as a starting point we may be sure that the Zionist idea will soar further and higher than ever before.	Quoted by Dominique Vidal, Antisionisme= antisémitisme ? Libertalia, 2019, p. 18
June 1904	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	Founder of the "revisionist movement", ideological ancestor of the Israeli "right", tutelary figure of the Likud, celebrated in many streets and avenues in Israel. Writing in a Russian publication, he glorifies "ethnic" segregation and a racialist vision of humanity and the "Jewish people".	We do not believe in spiritual assimilation. It is inconceivable, from the physical point of view, that a Jew born to a family of pure Jewish blood can become adapted to the spiritual outlooks of a German or a Frenchman. A Jew brought up among Germans may assume German custom, German words. He maybe wholly imbued with that German fluid but the nucleus of his spiritual structure will always remain Jewish, because his blood, his body, his physical-racial type are Jewish. [] The spiritual assimilation of peoples whose blood is different is impossible of effectuation. It is impossible for a man to become assimilated with people whose blood is different from his own. In order to become truly assimilated he must change his body. He must become one of them in blood he must bring into the world over a period of many scores of years, a greatgreat-grandson in whose veins only a minute trace of Jewish blood remained There can be no assimilation as long as there is no mixed marriage [] An increase in the number of mixed marriages is the only sure and infallible means for the destruction of nationality as such. All the nations that have	Vladimir Zhabotinskii, <i>Pismo</i> ob avtonomizme (A Letter on Autonomy)' no. 6, june 1904. Full text in Lenni Brenner, 51 documents, Zionist collaboration with the Nazis, Barricade, 2002, pp 7-20.

June 1904	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	Founder of the "revisionist movement", ideological ancestor of the Israeli "right", tutelary figure of the Likud, celebrated in many streets and avenues in Israel. Writing in a Russian publication, he glorifies "ethnic" segregation and a racialist vision of humanity and the "Jewish people".	disappeared (apart from those who were massacred) were swallowed up in the chasm of mixed marriages [] autonomy in the Golah [exile] is likely to lead to the complete disappearance of the Jewish nation as such from the face of the earth [] Just imagine when our offspring will be living at peace among a strange people These conditions will lead naturally and freely to an increase in mixed marriages this will mean the inception of complete assimilation [] Without those physical roots, the spiritual flower is bound to wither This will mark the end of the battle waged by the Jewish people for national existence [] Only those can call themselves "nationalists" who desire to preserve national integrity for the everlasting and at all costs [] A preservation of national integrity is impossible except by a preservation of racial purity, and for that purpose we are in need of a territory of our own where our people will constitute the overwhelming majority. If you should ask me in a sense of revolt and outrage: but surely in that case you want segregation at all costs! I would answer that one must not be afraid of words and not of the word "segregation." The poet, the scholar, the thinker must cut himself off and remain alone with himself No creativeness is possible without segregation The nation, too, must create a creative nation is in need of segregation it will not keep them to itself but will place them on the common international table for the general good, and so its segregation will be looked upon with favor by humanity. The sense of national specificity lays in the man's "blood," in his physical-racial type, and only there.	Vladimir Zhabotinskii, <i>Pismo</i> ob avtonomizme, Evreiskaia zhizn' no. 6 (1904): 116. Quoted by Marina Mogilner Sacrificial postcoloniality: Russian contexts of the anti-imperial nationalism of Vladimir Jabotinsky https://cseees.unc.edu/files/2014/10/Mogilner.doc
1905	Plekhanov, Gueorgui (1856-1918)	Russian Marxist leader, about the Bundists, in an interview by Vladimir Jabotinsky	They are Zionists afraid of seasickness.	Quoted by Nathan Weinstock, <i>Le pain de</i> <i>misère</i> , La Découverte, 1984.
1905	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	In his tribute to Theodor Herzl Translated into English with the racist word Yid The exact source in Russian is to be specified.	Yid wants to conceal his identity from strangers and, therefore, the Hebrew should look the world straight in the eye and declare: "I am a Hebrew!" »	Antisemite ? 25 octobre 2018 https://medium.com/@rossel son/theodor-herzl-visionary- or-antisemite-97bfbe92980
16 Sep. 1905	Epstein, Yitzhak (1862-1943)	Writer and linguist established in Palestine in 1886, speaking during the 7th Zionist congress	"Among the difficult questions connected to the idea of the renaissance of our people on its soil there is one which is equal to all others: the question of our relations with the Arabs We have FORGOTTEN one small matter: There is in our beloved land an entire nation, which has occupied it for hundreds of	In his book <i>The Hidden Question</i> (1907). Quoted by Benny Morris, <i>Righteous Victims</i> , Vintage, 2001, p.57.

1908	Smilansky, Moshe (1874- 1953)	Activist settler, presented as a supporter of an agreement with the Palestinians, revealing his deep racism	years and has never thought to leave it We are making a GREAT psychological error with regard to a great, assertive, and jealous people. While we feel a deep love for the land of our forefathers, we forgot that the nation who lives in it today has a sensitive heart and loving soul. The Arab, like every man, is tied to his native land with strong bonds." Let us not be too familiar with the Arab fellahin lest our children adopt their ways and learn from their ugly deeds. Let all those who are loyal to the Torah avoid ugliness and that which resembles it and keep their distance from the fellahin and their base attributes.	http://www.palestineremembe red.com/Acre/Famous-Zionist-Quotes/Story653.html Yosef Gorny, Zionism and the Arabs, 1882-1948 (Oxford Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 50 and 62, quoted by Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinans, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p.7.
1909	Dizengoff, Meir (1861- 1936)	Future Mayor of Tel- Aviv	How can Jews, who demand emancipation in Russia, rob the rights of, and act selfishly toward, other workers upon coming to Eretz Yisrael?	Benny Morris, Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflir arabo-sioniste, Complexes, 2003, p. 65.
1909		Showing in his youth that he shared – with an additional metaphysical layer - the racialist views of most of the founders of Zionism	[B]lood is a deep-rooted nurturing force within individual man [] the deepest layers of our being are determined by blood [] our innermost thinking and our will are colored by it. Now he finds that the world around him is the world of imprints and of influences, whereas blood is the realm of a substance capable of being imprinted and influenced, a substance absorbing and assimilating all into its own form [] The people are now for him a community of men who were, are, and will be — a community of the dead, the living, and the yet unborn — who, together, constitute a unity [] That his substance can, nevertheless, become a reality for the Jew is due to the fact that his origin means more than a mere connection with things past; it has planted something within us that does not leave us at any hour of our life, that determines every tone and every hue in our life, all that we do and all that befalls us: blood, the deepest, most potent stratum of our being.	Martin Buber, Judaism and Jews, 1908, cited by Shlomo Sand, The Invention of the Jewish People, Verso, p.260.
1910		Damascus deputy in the Ottoman parliament, kaymakam (governor) of Nazareth, describes in the newspaper Al Karmil (Haifa) the mechanics of the state embryo placement, seven years before the Balfour declaration	[The Zionists] do not mix with the Ottomans, and do not buy anything from them. They own the Anglo-Palestine Bank which makes loans to them at a rate not exceeding 1 percent per annum. Every village has set up an administrative office and a school, every kaza (district) a central administration, and every district has a general administrator. They have a blue flag in the middle of which is a Star of David, and below that is a Hebrew word meaning "Zion," because in the Torah Jerusalem is called the "Daughter of Zion." They raise this flag instead of the Ottoman flag at their celebrations and gatherings; and they sing the Zionist anthem. They have deceived the government with lying and falsehood when the enroll themselves as Ottoman subjects in the registers, for they continue to carry foreign passports which protect them; and whenever they go to the Ottoman courts, they produce their own passports and summon foreign protection; they settle their claims and differences amongst themselves with the knowledge of the administrator, and they do not turn to the government. They teach their children physical training and the use of arms; you see their houses crammed with weapons, among them many Martini rifles. They have a special postal service, special stamps, etc., which proves that they have begun setting up their political aims and establishing their imaginary government. If the government does not set a limit to this torrential stream, no time will pass before you see that Palestine has become a property of the Zionist Organization or its associates or of the nation mentioned above [the Jews].	Drawn from <i>Criticism of Zionism in the Ottoman press</i> , 1910 – 1914, translated in English by Michelle Campos http://users.clas.ufl.edu/tsore k/az.pdf
1911		In an article "Beyond the Waiting Line", originally in Russian,	Let us draw for ourself, drastically different from the racial nature of its neighbors. It should occupy continuous and clearly bounded territory from time immemorial; it is best if on this	Marina Mogilner, Sacrificial postcoloniality: Russian contexts of the anti-imperial

		describes his fascist- like vision of the nation	territory there are no alien minorities that would thin out its national unity. It should have an original language, a native language that is not borrowed from anyone – at least, the fact and moment of borrowing would be impossible to trace It should possess a national religion – not a borrowed one, but a native, home-made one, like the religion of the Hindus or, at least, of Jews. Finally, it is supposed to have a single historical tradition, common to all its parts, that is a complete commonality of historical emotional experiences from the most immemorial antiquity.	nationalism of Vladimir Jabotinsky. https://cseees.unc.edu/files/2 014/10/Mogilner.doc Additional sources: Goldberg, To The promised land, Penguin, 2009, pp. 180-81, and Virginia Tilley, The One state Solution, Univ. Michigan Press, 2005, p. 175. Indicate 1913, even 1933.
May 1911	Al-Tâjî al- Farûqî, Sulaymân (1882-1958)	Ramle's representative to the first Palestinian anti- Zionist party, in the newspaper Filastin	The source of the deceitfulness that we experience like a flood and which is more frightening than walking alone in dead or night. Not only this: it is also an omen of our future exile from our homeland and of [our] departure from our homes and property.	Quoted by Elias Sanbar, Figures du Palestinien, NRF, 2004, p.92. Neville Mandel. The Arabs
				and Zionism before World War I, U. California Press, 1976, pp. 121–122.
18 May 1911		Damascus Deputy in the Ottoman Parliament, Kaymakam (Governor) of Nazareth	Al-Asali declared that the Zionists intented « to create a strong state, for after having taken possession of the land they will expel the inhabitants either by force or by the use of wealth. »	Al-Muqtabas, N°691, May 18, 1911, quoted by Rashid Khalidi, <i>L'identité</i> <i>Palestinienne</i> , La Fabrique, 2003, p.63.
1912	Ben-Zvi, Yitzhak (1884-1963)	Future 2nd President of Israel, speaking about the left-wing split of the Poale Zion group, which supported the class struggle. The real date is possibly 1921	Whenever we come across a contradiction between national and socialist principles, the contradiction should be resolved by relinquishing the socialist principle in favour of the national activity. We shall not accept the contrary attempt to solve the contradiction by dispensing with the national interests in favour of the socialist idea.	Yitzhak Ben-Zvi in: Achduth No 16, Tel-Aviv 1912. quoted by Machover/ Offenberg, Zionism & Its Scarecrows, Khamsin 6. https://www.matzpen.org/engl ish/1978-10-10/zionism-and- its-scarecrows-moshe- machover-and-mario- offenberg/
Mar. 1912	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	Future President of the World Zionist Congress and then the first President of the State of Israel, in front of a Berlin audience.	each country can absorb only a limited number of Jews, if she doesn't want disorders in her stomach. Germany already has too many Jews.	Quoted by Lenni Brenner, Zionism in the Age of the Dictators, Croom Helm, 1983.
1913	Ruppin, Arthur (1876- 1943)	Then director in Palestine of the colonization financed by the Zionist Organization, future director of the Jewish Agency, expressing the racialist and racist ideas that he professed all his life	been separated for 2,000 years, shows that the Jews have remained unchanged, and that in the Jews of to-day we may say we have the same people who fought victoriously under King David, who repented their misdeeds under Ezra and Nehemiah, died fighting for fieedom under Bar-Kochba, were the great carriers of trade between Europe and the Orient in the early Middle Ages Thus the Jews have not only preserved their great natural racial gifts, but through a long process of selection these gifts have become strengthened. The terrible conditions under which the Jews lived during the last 500 years necessitated a bitter stmggle for life in which only the cleverest and strongest survived. The result is that in the Jew of to-day, we have what is in some respects a particularly valuable human type. Other nations may have other points of superiority, but in respect of intellectual gifls the Jews can scarcely be surpassed by any nation.	Arthur Ruppin, <i>The Jews of Today</i> (1913). Cited by Shlomo Sand, <i>The Invention of the Jewish People</i> , Verso, pp. 262-263.
1913	Ruppin, Arthur (1876- 1943)	Then director in Palestine of the colonization financed	It is perhaps owing to this severe process of selection that the Ashkenazim are to-day superior in activity, intelligence and scientitic capacity to the Sephardim and	Arthur Ruppin, <i>The Jews of Today</i> (1913). Cited by Shlomo Sand, <i>The Invention</i>

		by the Zionist Organization, future director of the Jewish Agency, theorizing a superiority of Jewish Ashkenazi	Arabian Jews, in spite of their common ancestry	of the Jewish People, Verso, p. 263.
1913	Ruppin, Arthur (1876- 1943)	Then director in Palestine of the colonization financed by the Zionist Organization, future director of the Jewish Agency, expressing his hostility to non- Ashkenazi Jews	But the spiritual and intellectual status of these Jews is so low that an immigration en masse would lower the general cultural standard of the Jews in Palestine and would be bad from several points of view	Arthur Ruppin, <i>The Jews of Today</i> (1913). Cited by Shlomo Sand, <i>The Invention of the Jewish People</i> , Verso, p. 263.
1913	Ruppin, Arthur (1876- 1943)	Then director in Palestine of the colonization financed by the Zionist Organization, future director of the Jewish Agency, inspired by biological suprematism	"It is certain, however, that by intermarriage the race-character is lost, and that descendants of a mixed marriage are not likely to have any remarkable gifts."	Arthur Ruppin, <i>The Jews of Today</i> (1913). Cited by Shlomo Sand, <i>The Invention of the Jewish People</i> , Verso, p. 263.
1913	Tolkovsky, Shmuel (1886-1965)	From the mochav of Rehovot, talking about the HaShomer militia	We Jews who ourselves suffered from persecution and ill- treatment for thousands of years, from us a minimally human approach could have been expected, not to beat unarmed and innocent people with a whip, out of mere caprice.	Sylvain Cypel. Les emmurés, La Découverte, 2005, p. 123. Benny Morris <i>Righteous</i> <i>Victims</i> , Vintage, 2001.
1913	Ginsberg, Asher (Ahad Ha'am) (1856-1927)	Russian Jewish writer and philosopher, in a letter written in 1913	Apart from the political danger, I can't put up with the idea that our brethren are morally capable of behaving in such a way to humans of another people, and unwittingly the thought comes to my mind: if it is so now, what will be our relation to the others if in truth we shall achieve at the end of times power in Eretz Yisrael? And if this be the Messiah: I do not wish to see his coming.	by Palestine Remembered.
1914	Smilansky, Moshe (1974- 1953)	Activist settler, presented as a supporter of an agreement with the Palestinians, revealing his deep racism	We must not forget that we are dealing here with a semi-savage people, which has extremely primitive concepts. And this is his nature: If he senses in you power, he will submit and will hide his hatred for you. And if he senses weakness — he will dominate you Moreoverthe developed among the Arabs values which are nor common among other primitive people to lie, to cheat, to harbor grave (unfounded) suspicions and to tell tales and a hidden hatred of the Jews. These semites — they are antisemites.	Benny Morris, Victimes. Histoire revisitée du conflit
1914	Rosen, Pinhas (1887- 1978)	Became the first Minister of Justice of Israel, writing in 1914 that Palestine was (for Zionists)	an institute for the fumigation of Jewish vermin.	Felix Rosenblüth, Feldbrief aus dem Osten, Der Judishe Student, 1914, p. 74, quoted by Joachim Doron, Classic Zionism and modern antisemitism: parallels and influences (1883-1914), Studies in Zionism 8, Autumn 1983. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13531048308 575843?journalCode=fjih19
1914	Ben-Zvi, Yitzhak (1884-1963)	"Socialist" Zionist, leader of Poalei Zion, who became the second president of Israel in 1952, in a letter to the editorial	It should have been the case that the Jewish bourgeoisie would be chauvinistic, and would demand only Jewish labor. We, the socialists, should have been more moderate. Tending towards internationalism, we should have demanded that workers be employed without regard to national and religious differences. In reality, we see exactly the opposite taking place.	Gershon Shafir, Land, Labour and the Origins of the Israeli- Palestinian Conflict. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989, p.45

		board of Haachdut		Quoted by Benny Morris: Righteous Victims, p. 51; Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo-sioniste, Complexes, 2003, p.65.
12 Feb. 1914	Sharett, Moshe (1894- 1965)	Future second Prime Minister of Israel, later described as a "moderate", in a letter sent from Istanbul to his friends in Tel Aviv	We have forgotten that we have not come to an empty land to inherit it, but we have come to conquer a country from people inhabiting it, that governs it by the virtue of its language and savage culture. Recently there has been appearing in our newspapers the clarification about "the mutual misunderstanding" between us and the Arabs, about "common interests" [and] about "the possibility of unity and peace between the two fraternal peoples." [But] we must not allow ourselves to be deluded by such illusive hopes for if we cease to look upon our land, the Land of Israel as ours alone and we allow a partner into our estate, all content and meaning will be lost to our enterprise.	Letter sent from Istambul, published by Haaretz on dec. 1, 1995. Quoted by Benny Morris Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo- sioniste, Complexes, 2003, p. 108.
12 Nov. 1914	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	In a letter to C.S. Scott, publisher of the Manchester Guardian	We can reasonably say that should Palestine fall within the British sphere of influence, and should Britain encourage Jewish settlement there, as a British dependency, we could have in twenty to thirty years a million Jews out there, perhaps more; they would develop the country, bring back civilization to it and form a very effective guard for the Suez Canal.	Chaim Weizmann, <i>Trial and Error</i> , New York, Harper, 1949, pp. 177-178.
1916	Zangwill, Israel (1864- 1926)	Jewish writer from Great Britain and spokesman of the Zionist movement, which he left in 1905, speaking to Zeev Jabotinsky in 1916	If you wish to give a country to a people without a country, it is utter foolishness to allow it to be the country of two peoples. This can only cause trouble. The Jews will suffer and so will their neighbours. One of the two: a different place must be found either for the Jews or for their neighbours.	Quoted by Yosef Gorny, Zionism and the Arabs, 1882–1948, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, p. 271.
1916	Borochov, Dov-Ber (1881-1917)	The main ideologist who diverted Marxism towards the Zionist "Labour", who was never a proletarian, in a barely disguised version of anti-Semitism.	remain a proletarian. He will grab at the first opportunity to advance to a higher rung in the social ladder."	Ber Borochov <i>Le</i> développement économique du peuple juif, 1916. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrar y.org/quot-the-economic- development-of-the-jewish- people-quot-ber-dov- borochov
1917	Motzkin, Leo (1867-1933)	Zionist leader between the 1st Congress in Basel and the Haavara Agreements with the Nazis in 1933, early follower of the "transfer" of the Palestinians	Our thought is that the colonization of Palestine has to go in two directions: Jewish settlement in Eretz Israel and the resettlement of the Arabs of Eretz Israel outside the country. The transfer of so many Arabs may seem at first unacceptable economically, but is nonetheless practical. It does not require too much money to resettle a Palestinian village on another land.	Alexander Bein, <i>The Mozkin Book</i> , WZO publications, 1939, p.164.
20 May 1917			We have [the Jewish people] never based the Zionist movement on Jewish suffering in Russia or in any other land. These suffering have never been the mainspring of Zionism. The foundation of Zionism was, and continues to be to this day, the yearning of the Jewish people for its homeland, for a national centre and a national life. (last sentences not found).	Chaim Weizmann <i>Naissance</i> d'Israël. Gallimard (6th ed., 1957), p. 236.
4 June 1917	Cambon, Jules (1845- 1935)	Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a letter to Nahum	Sir, « You were good enough to present the project to which you are devoting your efforts, which has for its object the development of Jewish colonization in Palestine. You consider	Henry Laurens <i>La question de Palestine</i> Tome I, Fayard, 2002, p.349.

		Sokolov, Weizmann's partner (unpublished letter at the time), giving official support to the myth of the "rebirth of Jewish nationality", i.e. to Zionism	that,circumstances permitting,and the independence of the Holy Places being safeguarded on the other hand,it would be a deed of justice and of reparation to assist,by the protection of the Allied Powers,in the renaissance of the Jewish nationahty in that Land from which the people of Israel were exiled so many centuries ago. The French Government, which entered this present war to defend a people wrongfully attacked, and which continues the struggle to assure the victory of right over might, can but feel sympathy for your cause,the triumph of which is bound up with that of the Allies. I am happy to give you herewith such assurance.	Ronald Sanders, <i>The high</i> walls of Jerusalem, Holt Rinehart Winston, 1983, p. 534.
2 Nov. 1917	Balfour, Arthur (Lord) (1848-1930)	Balfour Declaration	Dear Lord Rothschild, I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His	Many references.
1918	Ben Gurion,	In a book in which	Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet. "His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation. (signed) » it must be said, to the credit of the Turks, that their rulers	David Ben Gourion and
	1973) et Ben- Zvi, Yitzhak (1884-1963)	they totally ignore the contemporary Armenian genocide	behaved toward the conquered with a degree of tolerance and generosity which is unparalleled in the history of the Christian peoples of the period.	Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, Eretz Israel (Poalei Zion, New-York, 1918), quoted by Yair Auron, The banality of indifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide, Rutgers Univ. Press, 2000, p. 324.
20 Sep. 1918	, ,		serious effort to mitigate the age-old miseries created for Western civilization by the presence in its midst of a Body which it too long regarded as alien and even hostile, but which it was equally unable to expel or to absorb.	Introduction to Nahum Sokolow's book <i>History of</i> <i>Zionism</i> , Longmans, 1919. https://archive.org/stream/hist oryofzionism01soko#page/n3 9/mode/2up
Dec. 1918	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	Talking about the ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods in a letter to his wife, shortly after his arrival in Jerusalem	There's nothing more humiliating than 'our' Jerusalem. Anything that could be done to desecrate and defile the sacred has been done. It is impossible to imagine so much falsehood, blasphemy, greed, so many lies. It's such an accursed city, there's nothing there, no creature comforts [It] hasn't a single clean and comfortable apartment.	Tom Segev One Palestine, complete, Holt/Metropolitan, 2000, p. 71.
1919	Ruppin, Arthur (1876- 1943)	In a book published in 1919, expresses a wish for "racial selection" among the Jews destined to colonize Palestine	"Since we want to fully develop what is Jewish in us in Palestine, it would of course be desirable if only "race Jews" came to Palestine." Deutsche Fassung: "Da wir gerade das, was in uns jüdisch ist, in Palästina voll entwickeln wollen, so wäre es natürlich wünschenswert, wenn nur "Rassejuden" nach Palästina kämen."	Arthur Ruppin Die Auslese des Menschenmaterials für Palästina. In Der Jude. Eine Monatschrift, n°8-9, 1918-1919, p. 373-383, https://sammlungen.ub.unifrankfurt Quoted by Eitan Bloom, Arthur Ruppin and the production of Pre-Israeli Culture, Brill, 2011, p.97.
1919		British Zionist leader, in an article for the Zionist Organization, in response to Woodrow Wilson's	, ,	Quoted by Karl Sabbagh, Palestine, History of a lost nation, Grove Press, 2008, p.114.

		desire for democracy in war treaties	what would happen? The numerical majority in Palestine is [Palestinian] Arab, not jewish. Qualitatively, it is now a simple fact that the Jews are now predominant in Palestine, and given proper conditions they will be predominant quantitatively also in a generation or two. But if the crude conception of democracy were to be applied now, or at some early stage in the future to Palestinian conditions, the majority that would rule would be the arab majority, and the task of establishing and developing a great jewish Palestine would be definitely more difficult.	
1919	Zangwill, Israel (1864- 1926)	At a public meeting, talking about Palestinian Arabs	Many are semi-nomad, they have given nothing to Palestine and are not entitled to the rules of democracy.	Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 14.
1919	`	Chaim Weizmann to the British Prime Minister Lloyd George in 1919, outlining the "minimum requirements for the realization of a Jewish national home"	the boundaries cannot be drawn exclusively on historic [biblical] lines our claims to the north are imperatively demanded by the requirements of modern economic life." "The whole economic future of Palestine is dependent upon its water supply for irrigation and for electric power, and the water supply must mainly be derived from the slopes of Mount Hermon, from the headwaters of the Jordan and from the Litany [sic] river [of Lebanon] [We] consider it essential that the Northern Frontier of Palestine should include the Valley of the Litany, for a distance of 25 miles above the bend, and the Western and Southern slopes of Mount Hermon	Letter of Chaim Weizmann to David Lloyd George, published in Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, London, November 16 1973, p. 22, quoted by Jeffrey Dillman, « <i>Le pillage</i> <i>de l'eau dans les territoires</i> <i>occupés</i> », Revue d'études palestiniennes, n° 35, Spring 1990, p. 39.
26 Jan. 1919	George (Lord) (1859-	of India, President of the Council, commenting on Chaim Weizmann's "Jewish	out for a Jewish Government, if not at the moment then in the near future What all this can mean except Government I do not see. Indeed a Commonwealth as defined in my dictionary is	British Government, Public Record Office Cabinet No. 800/215 (1919). Reproduced in: Doreen Ingrams, <i>The</i> <i>Palestinian Papers</i> , London, John Murray, 1972.
23 Feb. 1919	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	To US Secretary of State Lansing at the Paris Peace Conference	I defined the Jewish national home to mean the creation of an administration which would arise out of the national conditions of the country always safeguarding the interests of non-Jews of the country with the hope that by Jewish immigration Palestine would ultimately become as Jewish as England is English.	Chaim Weizmann, <i>Naissance</i> d'Israël, Gallimard, 1957, pp.282-283 Trial and error (1949), p.305
	al-Hachimi, Fayçal (Emir)	Said "Faisal of Arabia", in a letter - written by T.E. Lawrence - in favor of Zionist projects, sent to Felix Frankfurter the day after the Paris conference.	The Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through: we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.	Complete letter in Chaim Weizmann <i>Naissance</i> d'Israël, Gallimard, 1957, pp 284-285. http://amislam.com/feisal.htm
June 1919		Addressing the Va'ad Zmani (temporary executive body of the Yishuv), asserting the incompatibility of Zionism with its Arab environment, while denying that the land is Arabic	Everybody sees a difficulty in the question of relations between Arabs and Jews. But not everybody sees that there is no solution to this question. No solution! There is a gulf, and nothing can fill this gulf. It is possible to resolve the conflict between Jewish and Arabs interests [only] by sophistry. I don't know what Arab will agree that Palestine should belong to the Jews – even if the Jews learn arabic. And we must recognize this situation. We, as a nation, want this country to be ours; the Arabs, as a nation, want this country to be theirs.	Caplan, N., 1978, Palestine Jewry and the Palestine question, 1917-1925, p. 42, quoted by Benny Morris Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo-sioniste, Complexes, 2003, p. 108.
11 Aug. 1919	Arthur (Lord)	In a private memorandum to the British Cabinet dated	The contradiction between the letters of the Covenant [of the League of Nations] and the policy of the Allies is even more flagrant in the case of the 'independent nation' of Palestine than	British Government, Public Record Office Cabinet No. 27/23 (1918). Reproduced by

29 Aug.	Collective	August 11, 1919, expresses that the great powers do not care about the Palestinians - 90% of the population at the time - and that with help, Zionism will help solve the "Jewish problem".	in that of the 'independent nation' of Syria. For in Palestine we do not propose to even go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country though the American [King-Crane] Commission is going through the form of asking what they are. The Four Great Powers [Britain, France, Italy and the United States] are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, and future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land. In my opinion that is right. What I have never been able to understand is how it can be harmonized with the [Anglo-French] declaration, the Covenant, or the instruction to the [King-Crane] Commission of Enquiry. I do not think that Zionism will hurt the Arabs, but they will never say they want it. Whatever be the future of Palestine it is not now an 'independent nation', nor is it yet on the way to become one. Whatever deference should be paid to the views of those living there, the Powers in their selection of a mandatory do not propose, as I understand the matter, to consult them. In short, so far as Palestine is concerned, the Powers have made no statement of fact which is not admittedly wrong, and no declaration of policy which, at least in the letter, they have not always intended to violate. If Zionism is to influence the Jewish problem throughout the world Palestine must be made available for the largest number of Jewish immigrants If that principle is to rule, and so the wishes of Palestine's	Doreen Ingrams, <i>The Palestinian Papers</i> , London, John Murray, 1972. Foreign Office No. 371/4183 (1919). Link https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk%3ABalfour_Declaration%2FArchive_1? oldformat=true (discussion) which refers to Edward Saïd.
29 Aug. 1919	Collective	Report of the American King-Crane Commission of 1919 in Palestine (published in 1922)	If that principle is to rule, and so the wishes of Palestine's population are to be decisive as to what is to be done with Palestine, then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine-nearly nine tenths of the whole-are emphatically against the entire Zionist program. The tables show that there was no one thing upon which the population of Palestine were more agreed than upon this. To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted, and of the people's rights, though it kept within the forms of law () No British officer, consulted by the Commissioners, believed that the Zionist program could be carried out except by force of arms. The officers generally thought that a force of not less than 50,000 soldiers would be required even to initiate the program.	Complete King-Crane report: http://www.hri.org/docs/king- crane/syria-recomm.html
21 Sep. 1919	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	Speech to the English Zionist Federation	By a Jewish national home, I mean the creation of such conditions that has the country has developed, we can pour in a considerable number of Immigrants, and finally establish such a society in Palestine that Palestine will be as Jewish and England is English, or America american.	Litvinoff, ed., <i>The letters and papers of Chaim Weizmann</i> , vol. 1, Series B, pp. 256-57. See also Nur Masalha <i>Expulsion of the Palestinians</i> , Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 41.
15 Oct. 1919	Churchill, Winston (1874-1965)	Envision that the Zionists will charge Britain with ethnic cleansing Undescribed context	There are the Jews, whom we are pledged to introduce into Palestine, and who take it for granted that the local [Palestinian] population will be cleared out to suit their convenience.	Martin Gilbert, Winston S. Churchill, Vol.4, 1916-1922, London, William Heinemann, 1975, p. 484, quoted by Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 15.
1920	Nordau, Max (1849-1923)	Co-organizer of the first Zionist congress in Basel, explaining that as early as 1897, the term Heimstatte (National Home) had been chosen rather	I did my best to persuade the claimants of the Jewish state in Palestine that we might find a circumlocution that would express all we meant, but would say it in a way so as to avoid provoking the Turkish rulers of the coveted land. I suggested Helmstatte as a synonym for state It was equivocal, but we all understood what it meant. To us it signified Judenstaat then and it signifies the same now.	Quoted by Sykes, Crossroads to Israel, Collins, 1965, p. 24. Quoted by Elias Sanbar, Figures du Palestinien, NRF, 2004, p. 91

		than Judenstaat (Jewish State) in order to make it less frightening		
1920	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	Speaking of an "Arab problem" in a letter to Lord Balfour	The issue known as the Arab problem in Palestine will be of merely local character and, in effect, anyone cognizant of the situation does not consider it a highly significant factor.	Yosel Gorny, Zionism and the Arabs, 1882-1948: A study of Ideology, Clarendon Press, 1987, p.110, quoted by Norman Finkelstein, Mythes et réalité du conflit israélopalestinien, Aden, 2007, p.60.
1920	Gordon, Aharon David (1856-1922)	Zionist ideologue pronouncing (for other Jews) the return to the land, expressing his contempt for the Jewish diaspora	[W]e are a parasitic people. We have no roots in the soil, there is no ground beneath our feet. And we are parasites not only in an economic sense, but in spirit, in thought, in poetry, in literature, and in our virtues, our ideals, our higher human aspirations. Every alien movement sweeps us along, every wind in the world carries us. We in ourselves are almost non-existent, so of course we are nothing in the eyes of other people either.	Gordon, A. <i>The whole people of Israel</i> , in Writings (1920). Quoted by Zeev Sternhell <i>Aux origines d'Israël</i> , Fayard, 1996.
1920	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Advocates peaceful methods of colonization at a time when Jews are only 10% of the population of Palestine	Under no circumstances must we touch land belonging to fellahs or worked by them. Only if a fellah leaves his place of settlement, should we offer to buy his land, at an appropriate price.	Shabtai Teveth, Ben-Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs: From Peace to War, London: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 32.
1920	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Developing Zionist reasons for strictly separate development	The assets of the Jewish National Home must be created exclusively through our own work, for only the product of the Hebrew labor can serve as the national estate.	Shabtai Teveth, Ben-Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs: From Peace to War, London: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 66.
1920	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	In a speech to non- Zionist Jews entitled "On the Beauty of the Jewish Revival", he said	We will establish ourselves in Palestine whether you like it or notYou can hasten our arrival or you can equally retard it. It is however better for you to help us so as to avoid our constructive powers being turned into a destructive power which will overthrow the world. Deutsche Fassung: Wir werden in Palästina sein, ob ihr wollt oder nicht. Ihr könnt unser Kommen beschleunigen oder verzögern, es ist aber besser Für euch uns mitzuhelfen, denn sonst wird sich unsere aufbauende Kraft in eine zerstörende verwandeln, die die Welt in Gärung bringen wird.	Published in Judische Rundschau, No. 4, 1920. Quoted in German by J.G. Burg (Josef Ginsburg) in "Historisches Archiv 1416. J.G.Burg: Verschwörung Des Schweigens. Nr. 1416",1970. (https://archive.org)
1920	Kook, Abraham Yitzhak (1865-1935)	Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Palestine (1919-1935), inspirer of today's religious Zionism, in his book Orot (Lights)	The difference between the Jewish soul, its self, its inner desires, its overflow, its character, its standing, and that of all the nations, at all their levels, is greater and deeper than the difference between the human soul and the soul of an animal. Between the latter, there is merely a quantitative distinction; between the former, an essential qualitative distinction pertains.	Abraham Kook, <i>Orot</i> , Jerusalem, 2005, 156, no. 10. Quoted by Shlomo Sand <i>Comment j'ai cessé d'être juif</i> Flammarion, 2013, p. 103. Comments by Balk: http://www.hakirah.org/Vol %2016%20Balk.pdf
1920	Ginsberg, Asher (Ahad Ha'Am) (1856-1927)	"National" writer of Russian origin, commenting on the proposals to make Palestine a large federation (with the Palestinians)	Better to die in the Exile than to die here and be buried in the land of fathers, if that land is considered the 'homeland' of the [Palestinian] Arabs and we are strangers in it.	Tom Segev, One Palestine, complete, Holt/Metropolitan, 2000, p. 285.
1920	Zangwill, Israel (1864- 1926)	After having popularized Shaftesbury's formula on "the land without people", he	If Lord Shaftesbury was literally inexact in describing Palestine as a country without a people, he was essentially correct, for there is no Arab people living in intimate fusion with the country, utilising its resources and stamping it with a characteristic impress; there is at best an Arab encampment.	Israel Zangwill, <i>The voice of Jerusalem</i> (1920, reprinted 2005). Quoted by Nur Masalha, <i>Expulsion of the Palestinians</i> , Institute for

		participates in the alternative fairy tale, Palestinians are passing nomads		Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 6.
1920	Einstein, Albert (1879- 1955)	Alas, showing his agreement - tinged with racialism - with a postulate of Zionism, the 'inevitability' of the separation of the Jews from the nations as a whole.	Nations with racial differences appear to have instincts which work against their fusion. The assimilation of the Jews to the European nations among whom they lived, in language, in customs, and to some extent even in the forms of religious organisation, could not eradicate the feeling of a lack of kinship between them and those among whom they lived. In the last resort, this instinctive feeling of lack of kinship is referable to the law of the conservation of energy. For this reason it cannot be eradicated by any amount of well-meant pressure.	Leon Simon, About Zionism: Speeches and Lectures by Professor Einstein, Albert, Londres, The Soncino Press, 1930, p. 32. Quoted by Solomon Goldman, Crisis and Decision (1938), p.116. http://www.zionism- israel.com/Albert_Einstein/Al bert_Einstein_about_zionism. htm
1920	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	President of the Histadrut (1921-28), polemicizing against Moshe Smilansky of the Farmers' Federation, who preferred Palestinian employment The date is unclear.	it is for this petty profit, not a twentieth of net income, that he would foist on the colonies the evil of mixed labour, which can only provoke trouble on national and social fronts alike.	David Ben Gurion, <i>Rebirth</i> and <i>Destiny</i> , philosophical library, 1954, p. 74. http://azvsas.blogspot.fr/2015/08/tom-watson-mp-supporter-of-israeli.html
1920	Zangwill, Israel (1864- 1926)	Having returned from the failure of his territorialist option, he found himself in the general racist current.	We cannot allow the Arabs to block so valuable a piece of historic reconstruction And therefore we must generally persuade them to 'trek.' After all, they have all Arabia with its million square miles There is no particular reason for the Arabs to cling to these few kilometers. 'To fold their tents' and 'silently steal away' is their proverbial habit: let them exemplify it now.	Israel Zangwill <i>The Voice of Jerusalem</i> , 1920. Quoted by Nur Masalha, <i>Expulsion of the Palestinians</i> , Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 14, and Benny Morris: <i>Righteous Victims</i> Vintage, 2001, p. 140.
1920	Gordon, Aharon David (1856-1922)	Zionist ideologue, taking up the colonialist discourse on the "Terra Nullius" to conquer	Our country, which had been a land of milk and honey, and at any rate carries the potential for high culture, has remained desolate, poorer than other civilized countries and empty—this is sort of confirmation of our right to the land, a sort of hint that the country has been awaiting us.	A.D. Gordon, Avodatenu me- ata [Our Tasks Ahead, 1920] Ha-uma veha-avoda [Nation and labor], Jerusalem, The Jewish Agency, 1952, 244. Quoted in Jewish Topographies, Ashgate, 2008.
July 1920	Meiersohn, Yaakov (-)	Leader of the communist tendency of Poale Zion, during its congress in Vienna	In Palestine, there is no unsettled land at allI am stating quite frankly and clearly that up till now there is not a single dunum of bought land in Palestine which has not been cultivated before by Arabs.	Y. Meiersohn <i>Nach der 5</i> Poale Zion Conferenz. Vienna, 1920
July 1920	Frumkin, Esther (1880- 1943)	Leader of the Jewish section of the Soviet Communist Party, speaking at the 2nd Congress of the 3rd International	We are concerned with the Zionists in Palestine, who, under the pretext of founding an independent Jewish state, oppress the working population and force the Arabs living in Palestine under the yoke of the English, whereas the Jews are only a minority there. This matchless lie must be stamped out and indeed most vigorously, as the Zionists are working in every country, approaching all the backward Jewish working masses and trying to create groups of workers with Zionist tendencies (Poalei Zion), who have recently been endeavouring to adopt a communist phraseology. [] The Communist International must oppose this movement most vehemently.	Quoted by Machover et Offenberg, Zionism and its scarecrows, Khamsin 6. https://www.matzpen.org/engl ish/1978-10-10/zionism-and- its-scarecrows-moshe- machover-and-mario- offenberg/
31 Aug. 1920	Churchill, Winston (1874-1965)	Speaking of the unpopularity of the "mandate" attributed to the Europeans by the League, in a letter	It is an extraordinary thing that the British civil administration should have succeeded in such a short time in alienating the whole country [Iraq] to such an extent that the Arabs have laid aside the blood feuds they have nursed for centuries and that the Sunni and Shia tribes are working together.	Martin Gilbert, <i>Winston S. Churchill</i> , Companion part 2: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1978, p. 1199.

		(not sent) to Lloyd George		
1921	Zangwill, Israel (1864- 1926)	Active member of the first Zionist congresses, in an autobiography that explains the reason for his break with Zionism in 1904.	But my third step on the road of reality was not taken so far as documents easily at hand testify till 1904, when I appear to have become fully aware of the Arab peril, and in a speech made in New York to have honestly drawn attention to it as the outstanding obstacle to Zionism. There is, however, a difficulty from which the Zionist dares not avert his eyes, though he rarely likes to face it. Palestine proper has already its inhabitants. The pashalik of Jerusalem is already twice as thickly populated as the United States, having fifty-two souls to every square mile, and not 25 per cent, of them Jews; so we must be prepared either to drive out by the sword the tribes in possession as our forefathers did, or to grapple with the problem of a large alien population, mostly Mohammedan and accustomed for centuries to despise us. This is an infinitely graver difficulty than the stock anti-Zionist taunt that nobody would go to Palestine if we got it; that everybody would want to be Ambassador in Paris; a joke that rather lost its point in the Dreyfus days." Here is the crux of the situation. But the Zionists did avert their eyes.	Israel Zangwill, <i>The Voice of Jerusalem</i> , Macmillan, 1921, p.87. https://archive.org/stream/voicejerusalemza00zang/voicejerusalemza00zang_djvu.txtQuoted by Henry Laurens <i>L'invention de la Terre sainte</i> , Fayard, 1999, Tome I, p. 208.
1921	Gordon, Aharon David (1856-1922)	Influential member of the Zionist labor movement, in a public letter		Aharon Gordon, Letters to the diaspora (1921), p. 560, Quoted by Zeev Sternhell, The founding myths of Israel, Princeton Univ. Press, p. 72.
1921	JEWISH CHRONICLE	the colonizers when speaking of the Palestinians following	Imagine the wild animals in a Zoological Gardens springing out of their cages and killing a number of spectators, and a commission appointed to enquire into the causes of the disaster reporting first and foremost that the animals were discontented with and hostile to the visitors who had come to see them! As if it were not the business of the keepers to keep; to know the habits and dispositions of the animals, and to be sure that the cages were secure!	Quoted by Alain Gresh, Israël, Palestine, vérités sur un conflit , Fayard, 2001, p. 79.
1921	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	In front of an American audience, talking about the nomination of Herbert Samuel as British governor in Palestine	« Perhaps I am partly responsible for the Samuel chapter. In this gathering there is no-one who had more to do with and was more pleased at the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel than I. Samuel is our friend, and has worked loyally with us from the first moment. At our request, fortified by our moral support, he accepted the difficult position. () But he is our Samuel; he is a product of our Judaism. »	Joseph M.N. Jeffries, Palestine, The Reality, Longman Green, 1939, p.371. The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, (1983), Paper 64, p. 331. (Googlebook)
1921	Klatzkin, Jacob (1882- 1948)	Editor-in-chief from 1909 to 1911 of Die Welt, the official organ of German Zionism	We Jews are aliensa foreign people in your midst and we.wish to stay that way. A Jew can never be a loyal German, whoever calls the foreign land his Fatherland is a traitor to the Jewish people.	· · ·
1921	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	Leader of the fascist revisionist tendency, in response to the condemnations of his alliance with the Polish pogromist	In working for Palestine, I would even ally myself with the devil.	Walter Laqueur, A History of Zionism, Schocken Books, 1976, p. 123; and Joseph B. Schechtman, Rebel and Statesman: The Jabotinsky, Vladimir Story, Thomas

		Petlioura		Yoseloff, Inf., 1956, p. 399.
1st Sep. 1921	Buber, Martin (1878-1965)	At the 12th Zionist Congress in Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), accepting all the beginnings of Zionism but recoiling from its consequences, he rejected with horror the methods of nationalist domination from which he himself had suffered	Our national desire to renew the life of the people of Israel in their ancient homeland however is not aimed against any other people. As we enter the sphere of world history once more, and become once more the standard bearers of our own fate, the Jewish people, who have constituted a persecuted minority in all the countries of the world for two thousand years, reject with abhorrence the methods of nationalistic domination, under which they themselves have so long suffered. We do not aspire to return to the land of Israel with which we have inseparable historical and spiritual ties in order to suppress another people or to dominate them.	http://buber.de/material/ peacetalks
1922	Communist International	Newly created, erects a principle contrary to those of the KKL/JNF	We must fight without commiseration all tendencies which defend colonization and which have socialism in name only When European workers in the colonies create separate organizations for themselves alone, they participate in colonization and act against international proletarian solidarity They must try to organize the local workers with them. Translated from French	Quoted by Lucas Catherine, Israël, la dernière colonie ? EPO, 2003, p. 51.
1922	Blumenfeld, Kurt (1884- 1963)	German Zionist leader, advising (Jewish) Minister Rathenau (assassinated by the Nazis in April 1922) in the early days of the Weimar Republic	Under no circumstance does a Jew have the right to represent the affairs of another people.	Nathan Weinstock, <i>Le</i> sionisme contre Israël, Cahiers libres Maspéro, 1969, p. 144. N. Weinstock, <i>Zionism – a</i> false messiah, London 1979, p.135.
8 May 1922		Expressing, in accordance with the central thesis of Zionism, what the Zionist policy from 1933 to 1945 would be about the anti-Semitic massacres in Europe	We owe it to ourselves to be cruel. Let us once master the situation and we will be able to say: let the massacres happen, but we, we save the Yishuv before all else, we uphold its future because today it is in the Yishuv, and only there, that the destiny of our people is alive.	Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, Zionist leadership, May 8, 1922, quoted by Georges Bensoussan, <i>Histoire du</i> <i>Sionisme</i> , Fayard, 2002, p.781. English version in Jacqueline Rose, The Question of Zion, Princeton Univ. Press, 2005, p. 114.
Dec. 1922	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	At the 3rd convention of Ahdut Ha'avoda in Haifa in December 1922	[] The possibility of conquering the land is liable to slip out of our grasp. Our central problem is immigration and not adapting our lives to this or that doctrine. [] We are conquerors of the land facing an iron wall, and we have to break through it. [] How can we run our Zionist movement in such a way that [we] will be able to carry out the conquest of the land by the Jewish worker, and which will find the resources to organise the massive immigration and settlement of workers through their own capabilities? The creation of a new Zionist movement, a Zionist movement of workers, is the first prerequisite for the fulfillment of Zionism. [] Without [such] a new Zionist movement that is entirely at our disposal, there is no future or hope for our activities.	Zeev Sternhell, The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State, Princeton Univ. Press, 1998; p.21
4 Nov. 1923	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	Leader of the so- called "revisionist" fascist movement, attacking any moral objection to Zionism	In the first place, if anyone objects that this point of view is immoral, I answer: It is not true: either Zionism is moral and just ,or it is immoral and unjust. But that is a question that we should have settled before we became Zionists. Actually we have settled that question, and in the affirmative. We hold that Zionism is moral and just. And since it is moral and just, justice must be done, no matter whether Joseph or Simon or Ivan or Achmet agree with it or not. There is no other morality.	« The Iron Wall » O Zheleznoi Stene in Rassvyet, November 4, 1923. https://www.marxists.org/hist ory/etol/document/mideast/iro nwall/ironwall.htm
4 Nov. 1923	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	Leader of the so- called "revisionist" fascist movement,	Zionist colonization, even the most restricted, must either be terminated or carried out in defiance of the will of the native population. This colonization can, therefore, continue and	« The Iron Wall » O Zheleznoi Stene in Rassvyet, November 4, 1923

		dotting the i's and crossing the t's on how to move forward with the colonization of settlements	develop only under the protection of a force independent of the local population – an iron wall which the native population cannot breakthrough. This is, in toto, our policy towards the Arabs. To formulate it any other way would only be hypocrisy.	https://www.marxists.org/hist ory/etol/document/mideast/iro nwall/ironwall.htm
1925	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	In the text "The Iron Law" of 1925	If you wish to colonise a land in which people are already living, you must provide a garrison for the land or find a benefactor who will maintain the garrison on your behalf Zionism is a colonizing adventure and therefore it stands or falls on on the question of armed force.	Shahak Papers, N°31, Collection on Jabotinsky: His life and excepts from his writings, p.16.
Aug. 1925	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	In a speech without future at the 14th Zionist World Congress in Vienna, he said	Palestine must be built up without violating the legitimate interests of the Arabs not a hair on their heads shall be touched. The Zionist Congress must not confine itself to platonic formulae. It has to learn the truth that Palestine is not Rhodesia and that 600,000 Arabs live there, who before the sense of justice of the world have exactly the same right to their homes in Palestine as we have to our National Home.	Chaim Weizmann A Biography by Several Hands. New York: Atheneum, 1963 https://archive.org/stream/ch amweizmannabio006459mbp /chamweizmannabio006459 mbp_djvu.txt Walter Laqueur A history of Zionism, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972 https://erenow.com/modern/a -history-of-zionism/10.php
1926	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	Father of the revisionist movement, explaining (like most of the colonists of the time) that the Jews	Short version: « Jews, thank God, have nothing in common with the East. We must put an end to any trace of the Oriental spirit in the [native] Jews of Palestine. »	Quoted by Alain Gresh https://blog.mondediplo.net/2 006-11-29-Judaisme- sionisme-et-fantasmes-III
		have nothing to do with the East.	Long version: "We Jews have nothing in common with what is called the 'Orient,' thank God. To the extent that our uneducated masses have ancient spiritual traditions and laws that call the Orient, they must be weaned away from them, and this is in fact what we are doing in every decent school, what life itself is doing with great success. We are going in Palestine, first for our national convenience, [second] to sweep out thoroughly all traces of the 'Oriental soul.' As for the [Palestinians] Arabs in Palestine, what they do is their business; but if we can do them a favor, it is to help them liberate themselves from the Orient."	Short English version: Vladimir Jabotinsky, <i>The East</i> , published in 1926, quoted by Giladi, <i>Discord in Zion: Conflict between Ashkenazi and Sepharadi Jews in Israel</i> , London: Scorpion Publishing Ltd., 1990, p. 209. Long version (undated):
				Tom Segev, One Palestine Complete, Holt, 2001, p. 151.
1927	Günther, Hans Friedrich Karl (1891-1968)	Influential propagandist of Nazi "racial science" in a 1927 book. Günther had a friendly meeting with the Zionist leader Arthur Ruppin in 1933	A worthy and evident solution of the Jewish question lies in that separation of the Jews from the Gentiles, that withdrawing of the Jews from the Gentile nations, which Zionism seeks to bring about. Within the European peoples, whose racial compositions is quite other than that of the Jews, these latter have the effect (to quote the Jewish writer Buber) of a "wedge driven by Asia into the European structure, a thing of ferment and Disturbance.	Günther, Racial Elements of European History, 1927. Quoted by Etan Bloom, Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture, p.333. http://acdc2007.free.fr/gunthe
1929	Katznelson,	Ally of Ben Gurion,	« Zionist enterprise is an enterprise of conquest" and that "it is	r1927.pdf Ben-Ami, Shlomo <i>Scars of</i>
1323	Berl (1887- 1944)	one of the founding intellectuals of Zionism, following the 1929 riots.	by no chance that I use military terms when speaking of settlement. »	War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy. Oxford University Press, 2006, p.12.
		No precise origin		
1929	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	During a meeting of the Histadrout	I must rise up with all my strength against [joint organisation] and [the claim] that there is no place for the demand of Hebrew Labor at one hundred percent in the colony. I believe that we must fight especially for one hundred percent [] I'm not afraid to say that we must seize the moment for several things: strengthening the Hagana, accelerating the [Zionist] enterprise, and also for imposing Hebrew Labor.	for Hebrew Labour: A Window on Histadrut Tactics and Strategy. Journal of Palestine Studies 120, No. 4 (Eté 2001), pp. 39-54.
				Quoted by Lucas Catherine,

				Israël, la dernière colonie ? EPO, 2003, p.51.
1929	Ben-Zvi, Yitzhak (1884-1963)	Future 2nd president of Israel, he sees in the Palestinians descendants of Jews converted to Islam.	The vast majority of the peasant farmers do not have their origins in the Arab conquerors, but rather, before then, in the Jewish farmers who were numerous and a majority in the building of the land.	Quoted by Shlomo Sand Comment le peuple juif fut inventé, Fayard, 2008, p. 260.
				https://www.haaretz.com/1.50 06910
1929	Shaw, Walter (1863-1937) (commission)	1929 British Shaw Commission of Inquiry	The Arabs have come to see in Jewish immigration not only a menace to their livelihood but a possible overlord of the future.	Quoted by Walid Khalidi. Revue d'études palestiniennes n° 28 Summer 1988.
				https://www.britannica.com/biography/Walter-Shaw
7 Sep. 1929	Judah (1877- 1948)	First President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in a letter to Chaim Weizmann	A Jewish Home in Palestine built up on bayonets and oppression [is] not worth having, even though it succeed, whereas the very attempt to build it up peacefully, cooperatively, with understanding, education, and good will, [is] worth a great deal, even though the attempt should fail.	Nations?: The Life and Legacy of Judah L. Magnes, Brinner Rischin ed., p.189 (Googlebook) Complete text in http://123pab.com/blog/2009/ 01/Why-he-rejected-a- militaristic-Zionism-Letter- from-Judah-Magnes-to- Chaim-Weizmann- September-7-1929.php
25 Nov. 1929	Einstein, Albert (1879- 1955)	In a letter to Chaim Weizmann, takes the opposite view of the objectives of real Zionism	Should we be unable to find a way to honest cooperation and honest pacts with the Arabs, then we have learned absolutely nothing during our 2,000 years of suffering and deserve all that will come to us, [] Should the Jews not learn to live in peace with the Arabs, the struggle against them will follow them for decades in the future.	Quoted by Ronald W. Clark Einstein; the life and times, World Pub. Co., 1971, p. 402. https://www.haaretz.com/isra el-news/.premium-when-einstein-was-a-holy-land-ladies-man-1.5301392
4 Dec. 1929	Beilinson, Moshe (1889- 1936)	Writer, journalist and spokesperson for Ben Gurion's Labour Party, writes	There is a fundamental and decisive difference between the situation of the Arabs as a nation and that of the Jews as a nation. Palestine is not needed by the Arabs from the national point of view. They are bound to other centres. There, in Syria, in Iraq, in the Arabian Peninsula lies the homeland of the Arab people.	Beilinson, Moshe, Right over Palestine, Davar, December 4, 1929, quoted by Yosef Gorny Zionism and the Arabs, 1882-1948, p. 214, then by Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 20.
1930	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Explaining in 1930 his "socialist" conception of the right to colonization in the form of a pro domo plea	is entitled to enjoy the fruits of labor, and do with its talents as it pleases. it has no right to prevent others from doing the same, or to close the doors leading to nature's gifts in the faces of others. The five million inhabitants of Australia have no right to close the gates of their continent—which they alone cannot fully exploit—and so exclude the masses of desperate people seeking a new place to work. This is the principle behind the right of free migration, championed by international socialism.	
26 Feb. 1930	Freud, Sigmund (1856-1939)	In response to a request for him to sign a petition condemning the Arab (Palestinian) riots of 1929 against Zionist colonization	"Dear Sir, I cannot do as you wish. I am unable to overcome my aversion to burdening the public with my name, and even the present critical time does not seem to me to warrant it. Whoever wants to influence the masses must give them something rousing and	Freud's Letter to Dr. Chaim Koffler Keren HaYassod, Vienna: 26 February 1930 http://www.freud.org.uk./arab- israeli.html.

			inflammatory and my sober judgment of Zionism does not permit this. I certainly sympathize with its goals, am proud of our University in Jerusalem and am delighted with our settlement's prosperity. But, on the other hand, I do not think that Palestine could ever become a Jewish state, nor that the Christian and Islamic worlds would ever be prepared to have their holy places under Jewish care. It would have seemed more sensible to me to establish a Jewish homeland on a less historically-burdened land. But I know that such a rational viewpoint would never have gained the enthusiasm of the masses and the financial support of the wealthy. I concede with sorrow that the baseless fanaticism of our people is in part to be blamed for the awakening of Arab distrust. I can raise no sympathy at all for the misdirected piety which transforms a piece of a Herodian wall into a national relic, thereby offending the feelings of the natives.	https://blogs.mediapart.fr/yva n-najiels/blog/040610/freud- sur-israel-fevrier-1930
			view, am the right person to come forward as the solace of a people deluded by unjustified hope."	
30 May 1930		An important Zionist figure, creator of Brit Shalom, in favor of a bi-national state AND of a transfer of Palestinians to Syria,	Land is the most necessary thing for establishing roots in Palestine. Since there are hardly any more arable unsettled	Ruppin's letter to Hans Kohn, quoted by Simha Flapan Zionism and the Palestinians, Croom Helm, 1979, pp 172- 73 et 189.
		,		Rachid Khalidi <i>Blaming the Victims</i> (Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens, eds.), Verso, 1988, p. 216; Benny Morris <i>Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflit arabosioniste</i> , Complexes, 2003, p.77.
July 1931	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	Telegraph Agency -	I have no understanding of and no sympathy for the demand for a Jewish majority in Palestine. Majority does not guarantee security, majority is not necessary for the development of Jewish civilisation and culture. The world will construe this demand only in the sense that we want to drive out the Arabs.	
7 Aug. 1931	David (1886- 1973)	Exalting his notion of a national workers' socialism, two years before National Socialism took power in Germany	Our movement has always stood for the socialist idea that the party of the working class, unlike the parties of other classes, is not only a class party concerned solely with the affairs of its class but a national party responsible for the future of the entire people, and not just a sector but the nucleus of the future nation.	David Ben-Gurion, <i>The Split in Zionism and the Labor Movement</i> (7 August 1931, in Hebrew), in From Class to Nation, p. 220. Quoted by Zeev Sternhell, <i>The Founding Myths of Israël</i> , Princeton Univ. Press, 1998, p. 131
15 Apr. 1933	Abdul Hadi, Tarab (1910- 1976)	Leader of the Arab Women's Association (AWA) during a visit by General Allenby	The Arab ladies ask Lord Allenby to remember and tell this to his government The mothers, daughters, sisters of the Arab victims are gathered here to make the world witness the betrayal of the British. We want all the Arabs to remember that the British are the cause of our suffering and they should learn from the lesson.	and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's
21 June 1933	Prinz, Joachim (1902-1988)	An executive member of the German Zionist Federation, he left	Zionism (since 1897) was the first to disclose to the Jews the nature of the Jewish question. Zionist insight also enabled Jews to understand anti-Semitism, which they had fought until then	Memorandum of the German Zionist Federation to the Nazi party, June 21, 1933. Quoted

16 Aug. 1933	Ruppin, Arthur (1876-	Germany for the USA in 1937 and took on the highest responsibilities in the world Zionist organizations. Advocating to convince the Nazis of the equality between the Zionist vision of the Jewish nation and the 'Aryan' nation Racist theorist of Zionism, writing in his	only apologetically. The unsolved Jewish question was recognized as the basic cause of anti-Semitism [] Zionism has no illusions about the difficulty of the Jewish condition, which consists above all in an abnormal occupational pattern and in the fault of an intellectual and moral posture not rooted in one's own tradition. [] Zionism believes that a rebirth of national life, such as is occurring in German life through adhesion to Christian and national values, must also take place in the Jewish national group. [] On the foundation of the new state, which has established the principle of race, we wish so to fit our community into the total structure so that for us too in the sphere assigned to us, fruitful activity for the Fatherland is possible.[] Our acknowledgment of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities. Precisely because we do not wish to falsify these fundamentals, because we, too, are against mixed marriage and for maintening the purity of the Jewish group [] Thus, a self-conscious Jewry here described, in whose name we speak, can find a place in the structure of the German state, because it is inwardly unembarrassed, free from the resentment which assimilated Jews must feel at the determination that they belong to Jewry, to the Jewish race and past. We believe in the possibility of an honest relationship of loyalty between a groupconscious Jewry and the German state. Through Dr. Georg Landauer I traveled to Jena on August 11 to meet Prof. Hans F.K. Günther, the founder of National-Socialist	by Lucy Dawidowicz, <i>A</i> Holocaust Reader, Berhman House, 1976, pp. 151-2. Amos Morris-Reich Arthur Ruppin's Concept of Race
	1943)	diary	race theory. The conversation lasted two hours. Günther was most congenial but refused to accept credit for coining the Arian-concept, and agreed with me that the Jews are not inferior but different, and that the Jewish Question has to be solved justly.	Israel Studies 11, 2004. http://img2.timg.co.il/Commu naFiles/38845410.pdf
1934	Prinz, Joachim (1902-1988)	An executive member of the German Zionist Federation, he left Germany for the USA in 1937 and took on the highest responsibilities in the world Zionist organizations. Promoting a relationship of separation of the 'Jewish race' within the 'Aryan' state".	The meaning of the German Revolution for the German nation will eventually be clear to those who have created it and formed its image. Its meaning for us must be set forth here: the fortunes of liberalism are lost. The only form of political life which has helped Jewish assimilation is sunk. [] (The Jews) have been drawn out of the last secret recesses of christening and mixed marriages. We are not unhappy about it. In their being forced to declare themselves, to show real determined courage, to stand by their community, we see at the same time the fulfilment of our desires. [] The theory of assimilation has collapsed. We are no longer hidden in secret recesses. We want assimilation to be replaced by a new law: the declaration of belonging to the Jewish nation and Jewish race. A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can only honored and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind. Having so declared himself, he will never be capable of faulty loyalty towards a state. The state cannot want other Jews but such as declare themselves as belonging to their nation. It will not want Jewish flatterers and crawlers. It must demand of us faith and loyalty to our own interest. For only he who honors his own breed and his own blood can have an attitude of honor towards the national will of other nations.	
1934	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a letter to Palestinian nationalist leader Moussa Alami	We do not want to create a situation like that which exists in South Africa, where the whites are the owners and rulers, and the blacks are the workers. If we do not do all kinds of work, easy and hard, skilled and unskilled, if we become merely landlords, then this will not be our homeland.	Quoted by Shabtai Teveth, Ben-Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs: From Peace to War, Oxford Univ. Press, 1985, p. 140.
1934	Bialik, Haim Nahman (1873-1934)	Poet celebrated by 220 place names in Israel, speaking in 1934 at a press conference at the Hebrew University of	(1)"Hitlerism has perhaps saved German Jewry, which was being assimilated into annihilation. At the same time, it has made the world so conscious of the Jewish problem, that they can no longer ignore it"(2) "I too, like Hitler, believe in the power of blood idea."	Bialik, Chaim Nachman. 1934. "The Present Hour." Young Zionist, vol. 4. 6-7. (1) Quoted by Etan Bloom, Arthur Ruppin and the

		Jerusalem		production of Pre-Israeli Culture, Brill, 2011, p.347.
				(2) Quoted by Raphael Falk, Zionism and the Biology of Jews, p. 5.
28 Feb. 1934	von Bülow- Schwante, Vicco (1891- 1970)	Head of the Sonderreferat Deutchland of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in charge of "Jewish questions", he explains, in this circular to the diplomatic missions, the sympathy of the Nazi regime for the Zionist project	actively promoted from now on by the National Socialist government. In particular, certains amounts of money will be made available for transfer of Jews prepared to emigrate. For this purpose, official german authorities are cooperating fully sine ira et studio with Jewish organisations, especially in the promotion of emigration to Palestine.	
1935	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	Speech given in 1935	I am afraid that we replace today the concept of rescue of Jews with that of redemptionWhen I consider if these men [German refugees] can fit in the style of life we are creating hereI should say sincerely: NoZionism is eternal life, whereas the rescue of thousands of Jews is not for me but temporary lives.	From an English version, translated from Hebrew by Noah Sissani (http://www.liberal.org.il/index .php/english-articles/2-ze-ev-jabotinsky-brief-biography) from a paper of Daniel Doron in Haaretz, October 4, 1991
15 May 1935	Heydrich, Reinhard (1904-1942)	The infamous future "protector" of Bohemia	The Jews in Germany fall into two groups: the Zionists and those who favor being assimilated. The Zionists adhere to a strict racial position and by emigrating to Palestine they are helping to build their own Jewish state. The assimilation-minded Jews deny their race and insist on their loyalty to Germany or claim to be Christians, because they have been baptized, in order to overthrow National Socialist principles. [] "The time cannot be far distant when Palestine will again be able to accept its sons who have been lost to it for over a thousand years. Our good wishes together with our official good will go with them.	Das Schwarze Korps, official periodical of the Schutzstaffel
J	Ben Hillel Ha Cohen, Mordechai (1856-1936)	Zionist journalist, co- founder of Tel Aviv, expressing his contempt for the Palestinians	in Palestine any other part that can compete with us culturally. The great majority of the country's residents are fellahs and Bedouin, all of them wild, whom world culture has still not reached. It will be a long while before they learn to live lives in which there is no robbery, thievery, and larceny; lives in which they feel shame and embarrassment at walking around halfnaked and barefoot; lives of possessions and property and established boundaries; lives in which there is a need for level sidewalks and paved roads, organized schools and charitable institutions, courts without bribery, and so on.	Hacohen, journal, 9 Av 5695 (Heb), National Library, Ms division, C514. [En] Quoted by Tom Segev, One Palestine, Complete, Holt Paperbacks, 2001, p. 150. [Fr] Quoted by Alain Gresh, Israël, Palestine, vérités sur un conflit, Fayard, 2001, p. 78.
27 Aug. 1935	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Writing about the boycott of Nazi Germany in the Davar daily newspaper	Zionism bears the obligations of a state; it therefore cannot initiate an irresponsible battle against Hitler as long as he remains a head of state.	Hava Eshkoli-Wagman, Yishuv Zionism : Its attitude to Nazism and the Third Reich reconsidered , Modern

				Judaism, 19:1 (02/1999), pp 25-6, quoted by Ilan Pappe La propagande d'Israël. Investig'action, 2016.
Sep. 1935	von Bülow- Schwante, Vicco (1891- 1970)	Head of the Sonderreferat Deutchland of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in charge of "Jewish questions", he explains, in a letter to the minister of the Interior	On the basis of German Jewish policy and its foreign policy implications, there exists no reason to paralyse Zionist tendencies in Germany because Zionism does not contradict the National Socialist goal of gradually eliminating the Jews from Germany.	Quoted by Francis Nicosia, The Third Reich and the Palestine Question, Tauris, 1985, p. 54.
15 Sep. 1935	Collectif	In the introduction, published in 1939, to the so-called "Nuremberg" racist laws of 1935	If the Jews had a state of their own in which the bulk of their people were at home, the Jewish question could already be considered solved today, even for the Jews themselves. The ardent Zionists of all people have objected least of all to the basic ideas of the Nuremberg Laws, because they know that these laws are the only correct solution for the Jewish people too [].	Die Nürnberger Gesetze, 5. Auflage, Berlin 1939, pp. 13- 14. Quoted by Machover/ Offenberg, Zionism & Its Scarecrows, Khamsin 6. https://www.matzpen.org/engl ish/1978-10-10/zionism-and- its-scarecrows-moshe- machover-and-mario- offenberg/
26 Sep. 1935	Heydrich, Reinhardt (1904-1942)	The infamous future "protector" of Bohemia, expressing his perfect agreement in principle with Zionism.	In the context of its Weltanschauung, National Socialism has no intention of attacking the Jewish people in any way. On the contrary, the recognition of Jewry as a racial community based on blood, and not as a religious one, leads the German government to guarantee the racial separateness of this community without any limitations. The government finds itself in complete agreement with the great spiritual movement within Jewry itself, the so-called Zionism, with its recognition of the solidarity of Jewry throughout the world and the rejection of all assimilationist ideas. On this basis, Germany undertakes measures that will surely play a significant role in the future in the handling of the Jewish problem around the world.	Reinhardt Heydrich, in Das Schwarze Korps. Quoted by F. Nicosia, <i>The Third Reich</i> and the Palestine Question, Tauris, 1985, pp. 56-57. https://books.google.fr/books ?id=Ph8xDwAAQBAJ
10 Dec. 1935	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Letter to Eichenberg	Without Hebrew labor there is no way to absorb the Jewish masses. Without Hebrew labor, there will be no Jewish economy; without Hebrew labor, there will be no [Jewish] homeland. And anyone who does anything counter to the principle of Hebrew labor harms the most precious asset we have for fulfilling Zionism.	CZA S25/7188 Quoted by Tom Segev One Palestine, complete, Holt/Metropolitan, 2000, p. 288.
31 Dec. 1935	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Describing the task of the Jewish Agency's commission in charge of German Jewish problems	the job of the commissionwas not to deal with the rights of the Jews in Germany. This commission's job was to discuss the question of the Jews in Germany only from the aspect of their immigration to Palestine [] The commission's job was to discuss the Zionist aspect of the question and not to deliberate on measures to be taken in support of the rights of the Jews in the Diaspora.	Moshe Machover & Mario Offenberg, Zionism and its scarecrows, in Khamsin 6, London, 1978, p. 39, quoted by Lucas Catherine, Israël, la dernière colonie? EPO, 2003, p. 57.
Apr. 1936	Ludwig, Emil (1880-1948)	Biographer of Jewish origin, known in the 1920s, now a Zionist, interviewed in the USA by a Zionist friend.	Hitler will be forgotten in a few years, but he will have a beautiful monument in Palestine. You know", and here the biographer-historian seemed to assume the role of a patriarchal Jew – "the coming of the Nazis was rather a welcome thing. So many of our German Jews were hovering between two coasts; so many of them were riding the treacherous current between the Scylla of assimilation and the Charybdis of a nodding acquaintance with Jewish things. Thousands who seemed to be completely lost to Judaism were brought back to the fold by Hitler, and for that I am personally very grateful to him.	Lenni Brenner, Zionism in the Age of the Dictators, Croom Helm, 1983.
5 May 1936	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Explains the goal of "100% apartheid" in a meeting of the National Council of Yishuv	If we want Hebrew redemption 100%, then we must have 100% Hebrew settlement, a 100% Hebrew farm, and 100% Hebrew port.	Ben Gourion, David , Zichronot (Memoirs), Vol. 3, p. 163 (1971). Quoted by Nur Masalha, <i>Expulsion of the</i> <i>Palestinians</i> , Institute for

				Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 24.
19 May 1936	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Shortly after the beginning of the great Palestinian revolt, during a meeting of the Mapaï party, clearly expressing the stakes of colonization a homeland "for them" or "for us".	not their view is correct [] They see [Jewish] immigration on a giant scale [] they see the Jews fortify themselves	Shabtai Teveth Ben Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs, from peace to war, 1985, p.105. Quoted by Benny Morris Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo-
19 May 1936	Menahem (1863-1941)	Delegate of Moscow to the first Zionist Congress, President of the KKL/JNF (Jewish National Fund)	I would very much like the Arabs to go to Iraq. And I hope they will go there sometime agricultural conditions in Iraq are better than in the Land of Israel because of the quality of the soil. Secondly, they will be in an Arab state and not in a Jewish state. We cannot remove them from here. Not only because we cannot, even if an exchange has been carried out between the Greeks in Asia Minor and the Turks, between Turkey and Greece. But today they would not accept this. What we can demand today is that all Transjordan be included within the Land of Israel on condition that Transjordan would either be made available for Jewish colonization or for the resettlement of those Arabs whose lands [in Palestine] we would purchase. Against this, the most conscientious person could not argue For the Arabs of the Galilee, Transjordan is a province this will be for the resettlement of Palestine's Arabs. This is the land problem Now the Arabs do not want us because we want to be the rulers. I will fight for this. I will make sure that we will be the landlords of this land because this country belongs to us and not to them	Nur Massalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 51.
20 May 1936 1917	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	President of the Zionist Executive, questioned by Arthur Ruppin on the circumstances of the Balfour Declaration of 1917	The British told us that there are some hundred thousand negroes [kushim in Hebrew] and for those there is no value.	Weizmann, quoted by Arthur Ruppin in: Yosef Heller, Bama'avak Lamedinah, Jerusalem, 1984, p.140. Quoted by Nur Masalha in Le droit au retour, Sindbad Actes Sud, p. 21.
6 June 1936	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a letter to the executive of the Jewish Agency, explains its concept of "peace", a truce in view of a new war	We don't need agreement with the Arabs in order to keep the peace in Palestine. Peace is, without doubt, extremely important to us. You cannot build a country in a state of permanent war. But for us peace is a means to an end. Our end is the full realization of Zionism. That is the only reason we need peace. The Jewish people will not agree, nor should we, to a peace agreement that is not directed to that end.	David Ben Gurion, <i>My talks</i> with Arab Leaders, Jerusalem, 1972, p. 80.
9 June 1936	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a letter to the executive of the Jewish Agency	A comprehensive agreement is undoubtedly out of the question now. For only after total despair on the part of the Arabs, despair that will come not only from the failure of the disturbances and the attempt at rebellion, but also as a consequence of our growth in the country, may the Arabs possibly acquiesce in a Jewish Erez Israel.	David Ben Gurion, <i>My talks</i> with Arab Leaders, Jerusalem, 1972, p. 80.
11 July 1936	David (1886- 1973)	considerations	"I never felt hatred of the Arabs and none of their actions ever awakened vengeful emotions in me » But « The destruction of Jaffa, the city and the port, will happen and it will be for the best." "This city, which grew fat on jewish immigration and settlement, is asking for destruction when it swings a hatchet over the heads of its builders and benefactors. When Jalla falls into hell I will not be among the mourners."	Tom Segev: One Palestine, complete, Holt/Metropolitan, 2000, p. 383.
	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In his diary (Zichronot), about a speech held on	We do not suggest that we announce now our final aim which is far reaching – even more so than the Revisionists who oppose Partition. I am unwilling to abandon the great vision, the final	David Ben Gurion, <i>Memoirs</i> (Heb.), volume III, page 467. Quoted by Noam Chomsky,

		October 13th	vision which is an organic, spiritual and ideological component of my Zionist aspirations.	The Fateful Triangle, Pluto Press, 1983,161.
1st Nov. 1936	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	During a meeting preceding the Peel Commission, proposing a transfer of Palestinians to the Transjordan (considered as part of Israel's Lands)	Why can't we purchase land there [Transjordan] for Arabs who want to settle in Transjordan? If it is permitted to transfer an Arab from the Galilee to Judea, why is it forbidden to transfer an Arab from the Hebron area to Transjordan, which is far closer? () Even the High Commissioner [Sir Arthur Wauchope] has agreed to this on condition we provide the transferees with land and money and we agreed to this.	Agency, S100/20B, quoted by Benny Morris Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo-sioniste, Complexes, 2003, pp 160-161 Chaim Simons A Historical Survey of Proposals to Transfer Arabs from Palestine 1895 - 1947 (2004). http://www.palestineremembe red.com/download/Palestinia n-Transfer-Chaim-Simons.pdf
1937	Rosenberg, Alfred (1893- 1946)	Theorist of Nazism	Zionism must be actively supported in order to move a significant number of German Jews to Palestine, or simply out of Germany.	Munich, 1937, p. 153. Quoted by Francis Nicosia Zionism and antisemitism in Germany, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008, p. 25.
1937	Peel, William (1867-1937) (Commission)	In its report, it states the following about Jewish education in the Yishuv	The idea that they are to share their life in any way with the Arabs, that they are growing up to be fellow-citizens with Arabs in a common Palestinian State, is only recognized in the teaching of a little Arabic in the secondary schools; and that provision, excellent in itself, is wholly insufficient as long as the rest of the teaching is inspired by a purely Jewish rather than Palestinian objective. So far, in fact, from facilitating a better understanding between .the races, the Jewish educational system is making it more and more difficult as, year by year, its production of eager Jewish nationalists mounts up.	Royal Committee for Palestine 1937 #5479 complete report, official version in Arabic. White Paper, 1937, p. 440. https://palestinianmandate.fil es.wordpress.com/2014/04/c m-5479.pdf
1937	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Writing in support of the Peel Commission's partition project during a speech at a Labour Party meeting	The acceptance of partition does not commit us to renounce Transjordan. One does not demand from anybody to give up his vision. We shall accept a state in the boundaries fixed today –	Ben Gurion's <i>Memoirs</i> , vol.4, p.151. Quoted by New Outlook (Tel Aviv), 1977, then by Chomsky, <i>The Fateful Triangle</i> , Pluto Press, 1983. Simha Flapan, <i>The birth of Israel, Myths and realities</i> Croom Helm,1987, pp 52-53.
1937	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a commentary on the Peel Commission's proposal, reported by Moshe Dayan, recalls that the goal of Zionism is the total colonization of Palestine.	Among ourselves there can be no debate about the integrity of the Land of Israel, and about our ties and right to the whole of the Land When a Zionist speaks about the integrity of the Land, this can only mean colonization [hityashvut] by the Jews of the Land in its entirety. That is to say: from the viewpoint of Zionism the real touchstone is not confined to whom this or that segment of the Land belongs to politically, nor even to the abstract belief in the integrity of the Land. Rather, the aim and touchstone of Zionism is the actual implementation of colonization by the Jews of all areas of the Land of Israel.	Haymarket Books, 2012.
7 Jan. 1937	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Before the Peel Royal Commission	Our right in Palestine is not derived from the Mandate and the Balfour declaration. It is prior to that. I believe it was said by the Chairman of the Royal Commission, or perhaps one of his colleagues, that the Mandate is our Bible () but I say on behalf of the Jews that the Bible is our Mandate ()	Anita Shapira, Ben Gourion and the Bible: The creation of a Historical Narrative? Alpayim 14, 1997, p. 214 Exact quotation in: https://fr.scribd.com/documen

			Often quoted as: "The Mandate is not our Bible, but rather the Bible is our Mandate"	t/287215993/Ben-Gurion- Testimony-to-Peel- Commission
12 Mar. 1937	Churchill, Winston (1874-1965)	In a testimony before the Peel Commission on Palestine, reveals the racist and "white supremacist" basis of his support for the Zionist project (the testimony was only published in 1982)	I do not admit that the dog in the manger has the final right to the manger, even though he may have lain there for a very long time. I do not admit that right. I do not admit, for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America, or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to those people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher grade race, or, at any rate, a more worldly-wise race, to put it that way, has come in and taken their place.	Martin Gilbert "Winston S. Churchill Companion Volume 5, Part 3: The Coming of War, 1936-1939", Houghton Mifflin, 1982, pp. 608, 616.
June 1937	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a letter to Moshe Sharett, quoted twice by Ben Gurion's biographer, in slightly different forms	Were I an Arab, and Arab with nationalist political consciousness I would rise up even more vigorously, bitterly, and desperately against an immigration liable in the future to hand the country and all of its Arab inhabitants over to Jewish rule. What Arab cannot do his math and understand that immigration at the rate of 60,000 a year means a Jewish state in all of Palestine.	Quoed by Shabtai Teveth, Ben Gourion, the burning Ground, 1886-1948, Houghton Mifflin School, 1987, p. 544. Again in John Marsheimer et Stephen Walt, The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy, Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2008, p. 98 Slightly different quote in Shabtai Teveth, Ben Gourion and the Palestinian Arabs. From peace to war, Oxford Univ.Press, 1985, pp. 171-172.
12 June 1937	Sharett, Moshe (1894- 1965)	Relating a dinner with the American Consul General in Jerusalem George Wadsworth	We talked about the question of partition in connection with Transjordan. Wadsworth said that it was known to him that the [British] Government was very impressed by the proposal contained in the memorandum that we had submitted to the [Peel] "Royal Commission" concerning the transfer of the [Palestinian] Arabs from the Western Eretz Yisrael [i.e. Palestine] to Transjordan in order to evacuate the place for new Jewish settlers. They saw this proposal as a constructive plan indeed.	Sharett, Yoman Medini, vol. 2, pp 187-88. Quoted by Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 56.
12 June 1937	Ussishkin, Menahem (1863-1941)	Delegate of Moscow to the first Zionist Congress, President of the Jewish National Fund	We cannot start the Jewish state with a population of which the Arabs living on their lands constitute almost half Such a state cannot survive even half an hour	Protocol of the meeting of the executive of the Jewish Agency, vol 28, n°53. Benny Morris, Victimes. Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo-sioniste, Complexe, 2003, pp. 163-164. Nur Masalah Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p.111.
July 1937	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	Before the 20th Zionist Congress of 1937, referring to his testimony before the Peel Commission	The hopes of Europe's six million Jews are centered on emigration. I was asked: "Can you bring six million Jews to Palestine?" I replied, "No." From the depths of the tragedy I want to save young people [for Palestine]. The old ones will pass. They will bear their fate or they will not. They are dust, economic and moral dust in a cruel world Two millions, and perhaps less; "Scheerith Hapleta" – only a branch will survive. They had to accept it. The rest they must leave to the future – to their youth. If they feel and suffer, they will find the way, "Beacharith Hajamin" [at the end of times].	Dr Weizmann's Political Address – 20th Zionist Congress, New Judaea, London, August 1937, p. 215. Quoted by Lenni Brenner, Zionism in the Age of the Dictators, Croom Helm, 1983.
7 July 1937	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	In a letter to Arthur Balfour's niece, Amy Paterson	The kingdom of David was smaller. Under Solomon it became an empire. Who knows? C'est le premier pas qui coûte.	Weizmann Letters (1946), vol.18, p.146. Quoted by Marius Schattner, Histoire de la droite israélienne, Complexes, 1991, p. 166. Details in Yoram Hazony, The Jewish

				State: The Struggle for Israel's Soul Basic Books, 2000, p. 393.
12 July 1937	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Expressing its wish to take over the Peel Commission's proposal for partition (2 incomplete versions)	The compulsory transfer of the Arabs from the valleys of the proposed Jewish state could give us something which we have never had, even when we stood on our own during the days of the First and Second Temples: [a Galilee almost free of non-Jews] We are being given an opportunity which we never dared to dream of in our wildest imagination. This is more than a state, government, and sovereignty—this is a national consolidation in a free homeland if because of our weakness, neglect or negligence, the thing is not done, then we will have lost a chance which we never had before, and may never have again.	David Ben-Gurion, Zichronot, vol.4, p.297-299, July 12, 1937. Quoted in Shabtai Teveth, Ben-Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs, Oxford Univ. Press, 1985; pp 180-182.
18 July 1937	Magnes, Judah (1877- 1948)	President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and advocate for a binational state, in the aftermath of the British proposal for partitioning	With the permission of the Arabs we will be able to receive hundreds of thousands of persecuted Jews in Arab lands [] Without the permission of the Arabs even the fourhundred thousand [Jews] that now are in Palestine will remain in danger, in spite of the temporary protection of British bayonets. With partition a new Balkan is made []	The New York Times, July 18, 1937.
Aug. 1937	Lavi, Shlomo (1882-1963)	Labour leader, delegate to the 12th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th Zionist Congresses, then member of the Knesset, at the 20th Congress	[The] transfer of Arabs out of the country in my eyes is one of the most just, moral and correct things that can be done.	Quoted by Lucas Catherine, Israël, la dernière colonie? EPO, 2003, p. 86 Quoted by Saree Makdisi Palestine inside out, Norton, 2008, p.245
7 Aug. 1937	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	During a debate in the Zionist Assembly during the Peel Commission debates (English text completed with partial citations)	In many parts of the country new settlement will not be possible without transferring the Arab fellahin it is important that this plan comes from the [British Peel] Commission and not from us The transfer of population is what makes possible a comprehensive settlement program. Fortunately for us, the Arab people have enormous desolate areas. Jewish power, which grows steadily, will also increase our possibilities to carry out the transfer on a large scale. You must remember, that this system embodies an important humane and Zionist idea, to transfer parts of a people to their country and to settle empty lands [Transjordan and Iraq]. We believe that this action will also bring us closer to an agreement with the Arabs.	Sylvain Cypel. Les emmurés, La Découverte, 2005. Benny Morris, Victimes. Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo- sioniste, Complexe, 2003, p.162. Eugene Rogan & Avi Shlaïm The War of Palestine Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001, p. 43.
	(1890-1968)	Leader of the Mapaï party, criticizing the reservations of the delegates of Hachomer Hatza'ir to the "transfer" of Palestinians	Isn't it evacuation which has been continuing our work in the country for the last 40-50 years? Didn't we transfer Arabs from D'ganya, Keneret, Merhavya, and Mishmar Haemek? I do remember the nights on which Shmuel Dayan [the father of Moshe Dayan] and I were called to Merhavya to help "Hashomer" [a paramilitary organization of Zionist settlers established in 1909 carrying out [Arab] evacuation. What was the sin in that? I also know that even before the proposal of a 'Hebrew State' appeared, a plan had already been worked out by one Jewish colonization company to transfer Arabs from known villages in the Galilee to Transjordan Why is artificial commotion being created around this matter? Members of Hashomer Hatza'ir are saying by the establishment of a Hebrew state we are creating a barrier between us and the Arabs. Isn't such a barrier already existing and permanent in the country? Aren't we building exclusive train stations, an exclusive post service, exclusive government office, an exclusive sea port, exclusive roads, and an exclusive economy as far as possible?	Protocols of the 20th Zionist Congress, August 8, 1937, pp 124-25. Quoted by Nur Masalha, <i>Expulsion of the Palestinians</i> , Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 75.
17 Sep. 1937	Prinz, Joachim (1902-1988)	An executive member of the German Zionist Federation, he left Germany for the USA	Everyone in Germany knew that only the Zionists could responsibly represent the Jews in dealings with the Nazi government. We all felt sure that one day the government would arrange a round table conference with the Jews, at which – after	Joachim Prinz, Zionism under the Nazi Government, The New Palestine; Young Zionist (London, November

		. 4007		1007) 10 0 1 11 1
			the riots and atrocities of the revolution had passed – the new status of German Jewry could be considered. The government announced very solemnly that there was no country in the world which tried to solve the Jewish problem as seriously as did Germany. Solution of the Jewish question? It was our Zionist dream! We never denied the existence of the Jewish question! Dissimilation? It was our own appeal! In a statement notable for its pride and dignity, we called for a conference to consider the status of the Jewish status [] Nothing! We were not even given an answer.	1937), p.18. Quoted by Lenni Brenner <i>51 documents</i> . <i>Collaboration with the Nazis</i> , p.100.
5 Oct. 1937	Ben Gurion,	Letter to his son Amos	"Dear Amos,	Text established by the
	David (1886- 1973)	(This translation considers that the words scratched out of the manuscript were indeed scratched out by Ben Gurion).	I was not angry at you, but I was very sorry indeed that there was no reply from you. I cannot accept the excuse that you have no time. I know you have a lot of work at school, in the field, and at home, and I am happy that you are so preoccupied with your studies. But it is always possible to find free time if necessary, not only on Sabbath days but even during weekdays. Your excuse that I keep moving from one country to another is not convincing. You can write to me in London. Here they [the Jewish Agency office] always know where I am, and they are efficient in forwarding my mail. As to the question of my membership in the executive committee [of the Jewish Agency], I shall explain to you in person if I meet you in Tel Aviv upon my return. Here what I want to talk about is the conflict you are experiencing between your reason and your emotions with regard to the question of the state. Political matters should not be a question of emotions. The only thing that should be taken into account is what we want and what is best for us, what will lead to the objective, and which are the policies that will make us succeed and which will make us fail. It seems to me that I, too, have "emotions" [quotation marks in original. Hebrew: regesh]. Without these emotions I would not have been able to endure decades of our hard work. It definitely does not hurt my feelings [regesh] that a state is established, even if it is small. Of course the partition of the country gives me no pleasure. But the country that they [the Royal (Peel) Commission] are partitioning is not in our actual possession; it is in the possession is a small portion, less than what they [the Peel Commission] are proposing for a Jewish state. If I were an Arab I would have been very indignant. But in this proposed partition we will get more than what we already have, though of course much less than we merit and desire. The question is: would we obtain more without partition? If things were to remain as they are [emphasis original]. A unified Eretz Israeli	Institute of Palestine Studies, Beyrouth http://www.palestineremembe red.com/download/B-G %20LetterTranslation.pdf Many partial quotations may be found.

This is because this increase in possession is of consequence not only in itself, but because through it we increase our strength, and every increase in strength helps in the possession of the land as a whole. The establishment of a state, even if only on a portion of the land, is the maximal reinforcement of our strength at the present time and a powerful boost to our historical endeavors to liberate the entire country. We shall admit into the state all the Jews we can. We firmly believe that we can admit more than two million Jews. We shall build a multi-faceted Jewish economy-- agricultural, industrial, and maritime. We shall organize an advanced defense forcesuperior army which I have no doubt will be one of the best armies in the world. At that point I am confident that we would not fail in settling in the remaining parts of the country, through agreement and understanding with our Arab neighbors, or through some other means.

We must always keep in mind the fundamental truths that make our settlement of this land imperative and possible. They are two or three: it is not the British Mandate nor the Balfour Declaration. These are consequences, not causes. They are the products of coincidence: contingent, ephemeral, and they will come to an end. They were not inevitable. They could not have occurred but for the World War, or rather, they would not have occurred if the war had not ended the way it did.

But on the other hand there are fundamental [emphasis original] historical truths, unalterable as long as Zionism is not fully realized. These are:

- 1) The pressure of the Exile, which continues to push the Jews with propulsive force towards the country
- 2) Palestine is grossly under populated. It contains vast colonization potential which the Arabs neither need nor are qualified (because of their lack of need) to exploit. There is no Arab immigration problem. There is no Arab exile. Arabs are not persecuted. They have a homeland, and it is vast.
- 3) The innovative talents of the Jews (a consequence of point 1 above), their ability to make the desert bloom, to create industry, to build an economy, to develop culture, to conquer the sea and space with the help of science and pioneering endeavor. These three fundamental truths will be reinforced by the existence of a Jewish state in a part of the country, just as Zionism will be reinforced by every conquest, large or small, every school, every factory, every Jewish ship, etc. Our ability to penetrate the country will increase if we have a state. Our strength vis-à-vis the Arabs will likewise increase. The possibilities for construction and multiplication will speedily expand. The greater the Jewish strength in the country, the more the Arabs will realize that it is neither beneficial nor possible for them to withstand us. On the contrary, it will be possible for the Arabs to benefit enormously from the Jews, not only materially but politically as well. I do not dream of war nor do I like it. But I still believe, more than I did before the emergence of the possibility of a Jewish state. that once we are numerous and powerful in the country the Arabs will realize that it is better for them to become our allies. They will derive benefits from our assistance if they, of their own free will, give us the opportunity to settle in all parts of the country. The Arabs have many countries that are underpopulated, underdeveloped, and vulnerable, incapable with their own strength to stand up to their external enemies. Without France, Syria could not last for one day against an onslaught from Turkey. The same applies to Iraq and to the new [Palestinian] state [under the Peel plan]. All of these stand in need of the protection of France or Britain. This need for protection means subjugation and dependence on the other. But the Jews could be equal allies, real friends, not occupiers or tyrants over them.

Let us assume that the Negev will not be allotted to the Jewish state. In such event, the Negev will remain barren because the Arabs have neither the competence nor the need to develop it or make it prosper. They already have an abundance of deserts but not of manpower, financial resources, or creative initiative. It is very probable that they will agree that we undertake the development of the Negev and make it prosper in return for our financial, military, organizational, and scientific assistance. It is also possible that they will not agree. People don't always behave according to logic, common sense, or their own practical advantage. Just as you yourself are sometimes split conflicted between your mind and your emotions, it is possible that the Arabs will follow the dictates of sterile nationalist emotions and tell us: "We want neither your honey nor your sting. We'd rather that the Negev remain barren than that Jews should inhabit it." If this occurs, we will have to talk to them in a different language and we will have a different language—but such a language will not be ours without a state.

This is so because we can no longer tolerate that vast territories capable of absorbing tens of thousands of Jews should remain vacant, and that Jews cannot return to their homeland because the Arabs prefer that the place [the Negev] remains neither ours nor theirs. We must expel Arabs and take their place. Up to now, all our aspirations have been based on an assumption – one that has been vindicated throughout our activities in the country – that there is enough room in the land for the Arabs and ourselves. But if we are compelled to use force – not in order to dispossess the Arabs of the Negev or Transjordan, but in order to guarantee our right to settle there – our force will enable us to do so.

Clearly in such event we will have to deal not only with the Arabs living in Eretz Israel, since it is very probable that Arabs from the neighboring countries will come to their aid. But our power will be greater, not only because we will be better organized and equipped, but also because behind us stands a force still greater in quantity and quality. This is the reservoir of the millions in the Diaspora. Our entire younger generation of Poland, Romania, America, and other countries will rush to our aid at the outbreak of such a conflict. I pray to God that this does not happen at all. Nevertheless the Jewish state will not rely only on the Jews living in it, but on the Jewish people living in every corner of the world: the many millions who are eager and obliged [emphasis original] to settle in Palestine. There are not millions of Arabs who are compelled or willing to settle in Palestine. Of course it is likely that Arab adventurers and gangs will come from Syria or Iraq or other Arab countries, but these can be no match for the tens and hundreds of thousands of young Jews to whom Eretz Israel is not merely an emotional issue, but one that is in equal measure both personal and national.

For this reason I attach enormous importance to the conquest of the sea and the construction of a Jewish harbor and a Jewish fleet. The sea is the bridge between the Jews of this country and the Jewish Diaspora – the millions of Jews in different parts of the world. We must create the conditions that will enable us in times of necessity to bring into the country in our own ships manned by our own seamen, tens of thousands of young men. Meanwhile we must prepare these young men while they are still in the Diaspora for whatever task awaits them here. I am confident that the establishment of a Jewish state, even if it is only in a part of the country, will enable us to carry out this task. Once a state is established, we shall have control over the Eretz Israeli sea. Our activities in the sea will then include astonishing achievements.

Because of all the above, I feel no conflict between my mind and emotions. Both declare to me: A Jewish state must be

			established immediately, even if it is only in part of the country. The rest will follow in the course of time. A Jewish state will come. My warm greetings [Hebrew: Shalom Rav].	
21 Nov. 1937		Director of an Institute at the Jewish National Fund (KKL/JNF), at a meeting of the "Transfer Committee" after July 1937		Protocols of the Committee for Population Transfer, Weitz Diary, p.381. Central Zionists Archives, Quoted by Nur Massahah Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p.97.
22 Nov. 1937	Weitz, Yosef (1886-1972)	KKL/JNF leader and Chair of the Transfer Committee, explaining that	the transfer of Arab population from the area of the Jewish state does not serve only one aimto diminish the Arab population. It also serves a second, no less important, aim which is to advocate land presently held and cultivated by the [Palestinian] Arabs and thus to release it for Jewish inhabitants.	Michael Palumbo, <i>La</i> Catastrophe palestinienne, p.
1938	Einstein, Albert (1879- 1955)	In a speech to the National Labor Committee for Palestine in New York City	I should much rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish state. Apart from the practical considerations, my awareness of the essential nature of Judaism resists the idea of a Jewish state with borders, an army, and a measure of temporal power I am afraid of the inner damage Judaism will sustain.	Albert Einstein, <i>Out of My Later Years</i> , Philosophical Library, 1950; and in Ideas and Opinions, Crown Publishers, New York, 1954, p. 190.
1938	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a note to the Jewish Agency Circumstances to be specified	After we become a strong force, as the result of the creation of a state, we shall abolish partition and expand to the whole of Palestine The state will only be a stage in the realization of Zionism and its task is to prepare the ground for our expansion into the whole of Palestine by a Jewish-Arab agreement The state will have to preserve order not only by preaching morality but by machine guns, if necessary.	Simha Flapan <i>The birth of Israel</i> Pantheon Books, 1987, p.22. Quoted by Norman Finkelstein <i>Mythes et réalités.du conflit israélopalestinien</i> , Aden, 2007, p. 179, Ralph Schoenman, <i>L'histoire cachée du sionisme</i> , Selio, 1988, p.93, Noam Chomsky, <i>The Fateful Triangle</i> , South End Press, 1996.
1938	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Speech in 1938 No specific circumstances	Let us not ignore the truth among ourselves politically we are the aggressors and they defend themselves The country is theirs, because they inhabit it, whereas we want to come here and settle down, and in their view we want to take away from them their country Behind the terrorism [by the Arabs] is a movement, which though primitive is not devoid of idealism and self sacrifice.	Quoted in Simha Flapan, Zionism and the Palestinians, 1979, pp.141-2, and Noam Chomsky, The Fateful Triangle, Pluto Press, 1983, pp.91-2.
Apr. 1938	Wise, Stephen (1874-1949)	Rabbi, leader of the American Jewish Congress and main spokesman for Zionism in the USA, in a letter addressed to elected Democrats in the aftermath of the Anchluss	It may interest you to know that some weeks ago the representatives of all the leading Jewish organisations met in conference to discuss the President's proposal and other proposals which have been made to waive the immigration barrier it was decided that no Jewish organisation would at this time, sponsor a bill which would in any way alter the present immigration laws.	Published in the USA under the title <i>Jews in Action</i> by the Jewish People's Committee (undated), p.7. Quoted by Lenni Brenner, <i>Zionism under the Age of the</i> <i>Dictators</i> , Croom Helm, 1983, p.149.
	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Commenting before the executive of the Jewish Agency on his wishes for the Jewish Rescue Conference that was about to open in Evian	I do « not know if the conference will open the gates of other countries But I am afraid [it] might cause tremendous harm to Eretz Yisrael and Zionism Our main task is to reduce the harm, the danger and the disaster and the more we emphasize the terrible distress of the Jewish masses in Germany, Poland and Rumania, the more damage we shall cause [to Eretz Israel and Zionism] » « So be silent.»	Quoted by Dan Kurzman Ben-Gurion: Prophet of Fire, Simon and Shuster, 1983. https://fr.scribd.com/doc/3912 4578/Ben-Gurion https://www.nytimes.com/198 7/07/12/books/I-ben-gurion-szionism-255687.html
9 June 1938		During an executive meeting of the Jewish	The critical problem is a parliamentarism in the Jewish state and in the transition period to it it is necessary that an institution	Protocol of the Jewish Agency meeting of June 9

	1965)	Agency, stresses the importance of a reduction in the number of Palestinians during a period of transition to absolute Jewish rule	of government should be set up, and one of its functions will be to prepare the parliamentary regime. In this transition period also we will know who are the [Palestinian] Arabs who would agree to remain as citizens of the Jewish state and their number would certainly be much smaller than we think today. By the reduction of the [Palestinian] Arabs on the one hand and Jewish immigration in the transition period on the other, we will ensure an absolute Hebrew majority in a parliamentary regime.	Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, pp. 108-109.
	Katznelson, Berl (1887- 1944)	One of Mapai's top leaders comments on what would happen if the Peel Partition Plan is implemented.	There is the question of how the army, the police, and the civil service will function and how a state can be run if part of its population is disloyal[and the Palestinian Arabs will get equal rights as Jews if] only a small minority of Arabs will remain in the country.	Protocol of the Jewish Agency meeting of June 9 1938, vol. 28, n°53, CZA, quoted by Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 115.
12 June 1938	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a joint meeting of the Jewish Agency and the Committee for Zionist Action	With compulsory transfer we [would] have a vast area [for settlement]I support compulsory transfer. I don't see anything immoral in it.	CZA, S100/24B Quoted by Benny Morris, Victimes. Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo-sioniste, Complexe, 2003, p.137.
	Ussishkin, Menahem (1863-1941)	Director of the Jewish Agency, at a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive on the recommendation of the Peel Commission	There is no hope that this new Jewish State will survive, to say nothing of develop, if the Arabs are as numerous as they are today.	CZA Executive Proceedings, 12 June 1938 quoted by Michael Palumbo, <i>The</i> <i>Palestinian Catastrophe</i> , Quartet Books, 1989, pp. 1-2.
12 June 193	Ruppin, Arthur (1876- 1943)	Leading Zionist planner at a Jewish Agency executive meeting	I do not believe in the transfer of the individual, I believe in the transfer of entire [Palestinian] villages.	CZA Executive Proceedings, 12 June 1938, quoted by Nur Masalha Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p.113. Also: Tom Segev, One Palestine, complete, Holt/Metropolitan, 2000, p.405.
12 June 1938	Ussishkin, Menahem (1863-1941)	Head of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization, at a meeting of the Jewish Agency's executive committee, advocates that the British should proceed with the expulsion of 60,000 Palestinian families	But If you ask me whether it is moral to take 60,000 families from the places in which they presently reside and transfer them to a different location, while giving them of course all the means for [re]settlement - then I will tell you that it is moral, for if it is possible to rob the Jewish People of nine-tenths of its historic homeland (including Transjordan), to deny them any foothold there and to forbid them to go and settle and purchase [land] there -and this after all the hopes instilled in us and all the commitments undertaken by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations' Mandate etc. etc. If all this is moral, then to give us one small stretch [of land] and to take a part of the Arabs and transfer and settle them in a better-off manner [than that in which they are today] is as moral as can be. I am prepared to stand before the Lord and the League of Nations and defend the morality of the matter. But it is not the question of morality that is at issue here but rather that of practicality; and I say here that we Jews cannot undertake this Only the British government could carry out the forcible removal and for this two things are required: a strong hand by England and Jewish money. As far as the money is concerned, I am certain that if England will use a strong hand the Jewish money will be found. We will approach world Jewry at large and say that we must remove from here 60,000 Arab families in order to release land for the Jews and for this millions are needed in the form of loans or contributions I am talking about transfer to Tranjordan and not to the Arab state west of [River] Jordan.	of the JAE and the Political Committee of the Zionist Actions Committee, 12 June 1938, p. 25/6009, quoted by Efraïm Karsh Fabricating Israel History (Ed. 2), p.41 https://books.google.fr/books?id=m6vauybn-TsC&pg=PA41&lpg=PA41&dq=Menahem+Ussishkin+if+you+ask+me+if+it+is+moral&source=bl&ots=3J0f_wOM_Q&sig=HlbiFm-sG862TbvZQIFXKKTYFMQ&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiKtu7yy9rXAhWBEVAKHV5jACQQ6AEIJjAA#v=onepage&q=Menahem%20Ussishkin%20if%20you%20ask%20me%20if%20it%20is%20moral&f=false

6 Aug. 1938	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	Leader of the so-called "revisionist" Zionist movement and spiritual father of Likud, proposing Zionism as the only alternative to the Nazi danger (the slogan appears on one of the reception walls of the Jabotinsky Institute in	Eliminate the Diaspora or the Diaspora will surely eliminate you.	12 June 1938, vol. 28, n°53, CZA, quoted by Nur Masalah, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p.112 http://www.zionism-israel.com/hdoc/bund_jabo.htm Cité par Jean-Pierre Filiu, Main basse sur Israël, La Découverte, 2019, p.147
Oct. 1938	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	Tel Aviv). In the autumn issue of the official British publication New Judea, reporting on a statement made in Poland	Palestine cannot absorb the Jews of Europe. We want only the best of Jewish youth to come to us. We want only the educated to enter Palestine for the purpose of increasing its culture. The other Jews will have to stay where they are and face whatever fate awaits them. These millions of Jews are dust on the wheels of history and they may have to be blown away. We don't want them pouring into Palestine. We don't want Tel Aviv to become another low-grade ghetto.	New Judea, Fall, 1937; Ben Hecht: A Child of the Century, Simon & Schuster, 1954, Signet edition, 1955, p. 498. Quoted by Yakov Rabkin, Au nom de la Torah, une histoire de l'opposition juive au sionisme, Presses Univ. Laval, 2004, p. 206.
26 Nov. 1938	Gandhi (Mahatma) (1869-1948)	In a text in the newspaper Harijan exposing his position on the "Arab-Jewish question".	But my sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The sanction for it is sought in the Bible and the tenacity with which the Jews have hankered after return to Palestine. Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood? Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanction but that of the last war. Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their national home. The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French. If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will? This cry for the national home affords a colourable justification for the German expulsion of the Jews.	Excerpt from My Non-violence by Mahatma Gandhi, edited by Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhaya - Ahmedabad : Navajivan Publishing House – 1960.
7 Dec. 1938	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	One month after the Nazi Kristallnacht pogrom, in a speech delivered in London (meeting of MAPAM leaders)	If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by transporting them to Eretz Yisrael, then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the People of Israel.	Yoav Gelber, Zionist Policy and the Fate of European Jewry (1939-42), Yad Vashem Studies, vol.XII, p.199. Quoted by Lenni Brenner, Jews in America Today, London, 1986, p.167, by Lucas Catherine, Israël, la dernière colonie? EPO, 2003, by Benny Morris Righteous Victims, p. 162. and Lenni Brenner, Perdition

				(Ithaca Press, 1987), p.76
17 Dec. 1938	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Letter to the Zionist Executive expressing the fear that Palestine might not be the only solution to the rescue of European Jews	The Jewish problem now is not what it used to be. The fate of Jews in Germany is not an end but a beginning. Other anti-Semitic states will learn from Hitler. Millions of Jews face annihilation, the refugee problem has assumed world-wide proportions, and urgency. Britain is trying to separate the issue of the refugees from that of Palestine. It is assisted by anti-Zionist Jews. The dimensions of the refugee problem demand an immediate, territorial solution; if Palestine will not absorb them another territory will. Zionism is endangered. All other territorial solutions, certain to fail, will demand enormous sums of money. If Jews will have to choose between the refugees, saving Jews from concentration camps, and assisting a national museum in Palestine, mercy will have the upper hand and the whole energy of the people will be channelled into saving Jews from various countries. Zionism will be struck off the agenda not only in world public opinion, in Britain and the United States, but elsewhere in Jewish public opinion. If we allow a separation between the refugee problem and the Palestinian problem, we are risking the existence of Zionism.	Arie Bober (de.) The Other Israel, Anchor Books, 1972, p.103.
Aug. 1939	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	During the XX Zionist congress held in Geneva one month before World War II	Call me an anti-Semite, but I must say is : we are choked with shame with what is going on in Germany, Poland and America — that Jews don't have the courage to fight. Can we not be brave anywhere in the world ? We don't belong to that Jewish people. We don't want to be that sort of Jew.	Quoted by Tom Segev A State at Any Cost – The Life of David Ben Gurion, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2019.
29 Aug. 1939	Tabenkin, Yitzhak (1887-1971)	Charismatic leader of the kibbutz movement, admirer of the Stalinist and Nazi ethnic cleansings	are a particularly valuable feature.	Yitzhak Tabenkin, <i>Diary</i> , dated August 29 1939. Eyal Kafkafi Truth or Faith (1992) (Hebrew) Quoted by Israel Shahak, <i>The New Israeli Historians</i> . Shahak Reports #150, Feb. 12 1995.
Sep. 1939	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Pronounced by Ben Gurion at the beginning of World War II Date and circumstances unclear	we shall fight the White Paper as though there was no war.	As quoted by Michael Bar Zohar, Ben Gurion, the Armed Prophet, Prentice Hall, 1968, p.63.
11 Sep. 1939	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Speaking before the executive committee of Histadrut against the recruitment of Jews into the allied troops	For me, Zionist considerations take precedence over Jewish sentiments, and I only heed Zionist considerations in this matter — that is, what is required for Eretz Israel. And even if my Jewish feelings urge me to go to France, I shall not do so, and I think we should act according to Zionist considerations and not merely Jewish considerations, for a Jew is not automatically a Zionist.	Labor Movement Archives, section 4, folder 29. Quoted by Zeev Sternhell, <i>The Founding Myths of Israel,</i> Princeton Univ. Press, 1998, p.31.
12 Sep. 1939	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Twelve days after the outbreak of World War II, Ben Gurion indicated what the Zionist objective in this war would be: to establish a Jewish state.	We are at the beginning of the war if the war continues for long we shall feel its impact in Eretz Yisrael too and we shall face difficult and complicated situations; we need a political compass to direct our path in this dark confusion. In my opinion, this political compass corresponds to striving for the establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz Yisrael.	Sept. 12, 1939. Quoted in The Nazi Holocaust. Bystanders to the Holocaust,
9 Nov. 1939	Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880-1940)	A Zionist leader with a fascist leaning, for a long time opposed to the idea of the necessity and even usefulness of a transfer, even if not forced. At the end of the 1930s his views	There is no choice: the Arabs must make room for the Jews in Eretz Yisrael. If it was possible to transfer the Baltic peoples, it is also possible to move the Palestinian Arabs.	Yossi Melman and Ran Ravid, <i>Expelling Palestinians</i> , The Washington Post, Feb. 7, 1988. Quoted in Nur Masalha <i>Expulsion of the</i> <i>Palestinians</i> , Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992. Discussed by par Chaim

		T		
		changed. In the notes of a meeting with Shlomo Klinger, a member of the presidency of the New		Simons.
26 Nov. 1940	Katznelson, Berl (1887- 1944)	Zionist Organization, he writes Berl Katznelson, the ideological leader of the labor movement, wrote to Shaul Avigur, one of the leaders of the Haganah, the day after the shipwreck of the Patria, caused by the Haganah and which claimed 250	[the 1920 fall of] Tel-Hai », thus trying to assign to the event foundational national status. He added that the Patria operation	https://www.haaretz.com/ israel-news/.premium-the- hidden-terror-attacks-of-the- haganah-israel-s-pre-state- militia-1.8914765
	Katznelson, Berl (1887- 1944)	victims Publisher of the daily Davar, violently attacks Polish Jews in the territories conquered by the Soviet Union, showing where his priorities are heading.	[They are] unable to fight even for a few days for small things like Hebrew schools. In my opinion, that is a terrible tragedy, no less than the trampling of Jewry by Hitler's jackboots.	Katznelson Writings 5 :12-13. Quoted by Zeev Sternhell, The founding myths, Princeton Univ. Press, 1998, p50.
20 Dec. 1940	Weitz, Yosef (1890-1972)	National Fund (KKL/JNF), one of the main architects of the "transfer" and destruction of Palestinian villages in 1948. In his diary (conversation with Zalman Lifschitz)	country for both [Arab and Jewish] peoples in this country. No 'development' will bring us closer to our aim to be an independent people in this small country. After the Arabs are transferered, the country will become wide and spacious for us; with the Arabs staying the country will remain narrow and restricted. When the war is over, and the English have emerged victorious and when the judging nations sit on the throne of law, our people should bring their petitions and claims before them; and the only solution is the Land of Israel, at least the western land of Israel [i.e. Palestine since Transjordan is the eastern portion], without Arabs. There is no room here for compromises. The Zionist enterprise so far, in terms of preparation and paving the way for the creation of the Hebrew state in the Land of Israel, has been fine and good in its own time, and could do with 'land buying' - but this will not bring about the State; that must come all at once, in the manner of a Salvation (this is the secret of the Messianic idea). There is no way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, to transfer all of them, save perhaps for Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the old Jerusalem. Not one village must be left, not one [Bedouin] tribe. The transfer must be directed at Iraq, Syria, and even Transjordan. For this goal funds will be found An only after this transfer will the country be able to absorb millions of our brothers and the Jewish problem will cease to exist. There is no other solution.	Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, pp. 131-132) Also: Benny Morris, The Birth of the Palestine Refugee Problem, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 54; Edward Said, Zionism from the standpoint of its victims, Vintage, 1979, p.100.
13 Feb. 1941	Weitz, Yosef (1890-1972)	Director of the Jewish National Fund (KKL/JNF), in his diary dated February 13, 1941.	Without taking action to transfer population, we will not be able to solve our question by land buying.	Weitz Diary A246/7. Entry of Feb. 13 1941, p.1117. Central Zionist Archives. Quoted by Nur Masalah <i>Expulsion of the</i> <i>Palestinians</i> , Institute for Palestine Studies, p. 133.
15 Oct. 1941	David (1886- 1973)	In a memo titled "Contours of Zionist Politics", he wrote	at that - is hardly imaginable.	Ben Gurion Archives, CZA Z4-14632,15 octobre 1941, quoted by Benny Morris Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflir arabo-sioniste, Complexes, 2003, p. 189.
9 June 1942	Guinness,	Expressing in the	The Zionist claim has raised two burning issues: firstly, the	Thomas Suarez Comment le

	Walter [Lord Moyne] (1880-1944)	British House of Lords his hostility to the Zionist project. This hostility led to his assassination in Cairo on 6 November 1944 by two Lehi terrorists. The bodies of the two assassins are now buried at the "Monument of Heroes" in Jerusalem.	demand for large-scale immigration into an already overcrowded country, and, secondly, racial domination by these newcomers over the original inhabitants. » () « If a comparison is to be made with the Nazis it is surely those who wish to force an imported régime upon the Arab population who are guilty of the spirit of aggression and domination. [The] proposal that Arabs should be subjugated by force to a Jewish régime is inconsistent with the Atlantic Charter, and that ought to be told to America.	Investig'Action, 2019, p. 127. Complete transcript: https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1942/jun/09
Dec. 1942	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Fewer Jews in	The catastrophe of the European Jewry is not, in a direct manner, my business The destruction of European Jewry is the death-knell of Zionism.	Morris, Benny Righteous Victims Vintage, 2001, pp. 162-163; Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflit arabo- sioniste, Complexes, 2003, p.183.
1943 2 Nov. 1917	Storrs, Ronald (Sir) (1881-1955)	The first British governor of Jerusalem, comments on the British logic behind the decision of the Balfour Declaration of 1917.	Even though the land could not yet absorb sixteen million, nor even eight, enough could return, if not to form the Jewish State (which a few extremists publicly demanded), at least to prove that the enterprise was one that blessed him that gave [Britain] as well as him that took [Zionism] by forming for England a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism.	Orientations or Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs, 1937, p.364. Ronald Storrs, Orientations, definitive edition, Londres, 1943, p. 345. Quoted by Moshe Mashover in Israeli conflicts and resolution, 2012, p. 270.
18 Jan. 1943	Gruenbaum, Yitzhak (1879-1970)	Chairman of the Rescue Committee of the Jewish Agency during World War II, addressing the Zionist Executive Committee in response to Rabbi Ishe Meir Levin d'Agudat Yisrael	Let them say that I am anti-SemiticLet them say what they want. I will not demand that the Jewish Agency allocate of a sum of 300,000 or 100,000 pounds sterling to help European Jewry. And I think that whoever demands such things is performing an anti-Zionist act.	Yitzhak Gruenbaum and Others at the Zionist Executive Committee; Gruenbaum, <i>Days of</i> <i>Destruction</i> , p.68.
18 Feb. 1943	Gruenbaum, Yitzhak (1879-1970)	Chairman of the Rescue Committee of the Jewish Agency, in an address to the Zionist Executive Council	When they asked me, as chairperson of the Jewish Agency's Rescue Committee, couldn't you give money out of the United Jewish Appeal funds for the rescue of Jews in Europe, I said, 'NO!' and I say again, 'NO!' Not one cow here for ten thousand Jews in Germany. One should bravely resist this wave which pushes the Zionist activities to secondary importance.	Yitzhak Gruenbaum, Statement to Zionist Executive Council on the Holocaust and On the Reaction. (18.2.1943) published in Beeyemei Khurban Veshoah, (In <i>Days</i> of Holocaust and Destruction) Tel Aviv, 1946, pp. 68/9.
1944	Buber, Martin (1978-1965)	Advocating colonization as intense as possible but against all likelihood, without "establishing a majority"	We need for this land as many Jews as it is possible economically to absorb, but not in order to establish a majority against a minority.	Martin Buber <i>The meaning</i> of <i>Zionism</i> , in Mendes-Flohr, A land of two peoples, p. 183. Quoted by Rose, <i>The question of Zion</i> , Princeton Univ. Press, 2005., p. 74.
Mar. 1944	Tabenkin, Yitzhak (1887-1971)	the kibbutz movement, summarizing the imperial objective	revival [I hope] that some day the Arabs will be content to change their place of residence and will depart from here to another place.	http://www.knut-rognes.no/Th eRabinFileIsraelShahak.html
Oct. 1945	Arendt, Hannah (1906-1975)	In her book "Zionism Reconsidered", she wrote	Only folly could dictate a policy which trusts a distant imperial power for protection, while alienating the goodwill of neighbours.	Quoted by Fabrice Garniron, Quand le Monde, Elya Editions, 2013, p.311.

10 Nov. 1945	Truman, Harry (1884- 1972)	President of the USA, in front of the Arab ambassadors	I'm sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism: I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents.	William Eddy, F.D.R. meets with Ibn Saud, American Friends of the Middle East, NY, 1954, p. 36
8 July 1947	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Before the UN commission (UNSCOP) that came to investigate in Palestine	We are ready to consider the question of a Jewish state in a significant part of Palestine all the while reaffirming our right to the whole of Palestine.	Quoted by Sylvain Cypel. Les emmurés, La Découverte, 2005. Quoted by Arno Mayer Plowshares into Swords, Verso, 2008, p.196 [https://thecharnelhouse.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Arno-JMayer-Plowshares-into-Swords-From-Zionismto-Israel-1.pdf]
9 July 1947	Maimon, Yehuda Leib (Fishman) (1875-1962)	Rabbi, member of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in his testimony before the UN Commission of Inquiry in 1947	The Promised Land extends from the River of Egypt to the Euphrates. It includes parts of Syria and Lebanon.	Walter Lehn ed., Zionism and Racism, Tripoli, 1977, p.149 http://eaford.org/publications/1/ZIONISM%20& %20RACISM.pdf Quoted by Ralph Schoenberg The Hidden History of Zionism, Veritas Press, 1988.
28 Nov. 1947	Weizmann, Chaim (1874- 1952)	On November 26, 1947, in New York, on the occasion of his 73rd birthday, Weizmann reassured the good consciences three days before the vote of the UN General Assembly. This did not prevent him from becoming the first president of Israel in the aftermath of the ethnic cleansing (Nakba) of 1948.	"The life-blood of a society is justice. There must not be one law for the Jew and another for the ArabsIn saying this, I do not assume that there are tendencies toward inequality or discrimination. It is merely a timely warning which is particularly necessary because we shall have a very large Arab minority. I am certain that the world will judge the Jewish State by what it will do with the Arabs, just as the Jewish people at large will be judged by what we do or fail to do in this state where we have been given such a wonderful opportunity after thousands of years of wandering and suffering."	http://pdfs.jta.org/1947/1947- 11-26_275.pdf
30 Nov. 1947	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)	Leader of the terrorist group Irgun (later Prime Minister), the day after the vote on UN Resolution 181	The Partition of Palestine is illegal. It will never be recognized Jerusalem was and will for ever be our capital. Eretz Israel will be restored to the people of Israel. All of it. And for Ever.	Menachem Begin, <i>The Revolt</i> , Schuman, 1951, ed. 1977: p. 433. Quoted by Avi Schlaim <i>The Iron Wall</i> , <i>Israel and the Arab World</i> , Norton, 2001, p. 25.
3 Dec. 1947	David (1886- 1973)	and its "acceptance" by Israel	Every school child knows that there is no such thing in history as a final arrangement — not with regard to the regime, not with regard to borders, and not with regard to international agreements.	Diaries. Quoted by Simha Flapan, Birth of Israel, myths and realities, Croom Helm, 1987, p.13.
1947	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Speech to the Central Committee of Histadrut, expressing the Zionist "democratic" conception and the coming ethnic cleansing	from the Jews of Jerusalem, who will also be citizens of the state). The Jewish state, at the time of its establishment, will be about a million people, almost 40 percent non-Jews. Such a composition does not provide a stable basis for a Jewish state. This fact must be seen in all of its clarity and acuteness. Such a composition does not even give us absolute assurance that control will remain in the hands of the Jewish majority () The can be no stable ans strong jewish state as long as it has a jewish majority of only 60 percent.	David Ben Gurion, <i>War Diaries</i> [hebrew], vol.1, p.22, quoted by Nur Masalha <i>Expulsion of the Palestinians</i> , Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p.176. Morris, Benny, <i>The Birth</i> , p. 28
1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Replying to Pinhas Rosen on the issue of borders on the eve of	Rosen: "There's the question of the borders, and it cannot be ignored." Ben-Gurion: "Anything is possible. If we decide here that there's	Amnon Kapeliouk, le Monde Diplomatique, dec. 1986. Also Tom Segev, 1949, <i>The</i>

		independence. Israel has still not declared borders	to be no mention of borders, then we won't mention them. Nothing is a priori." Rosen: "It's not a priori, but it is a legal issue. Ben-Gurion: "The law is whatever people determine it to be."	First Israelis, Owl Books, 1998, p. Xviii
1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	From an Israeli government protocol [that would have been] translated from Hebrew by Israel Shahak. No precise source or date. Probably after the proclamation of the Jewish state.		Charley Reese Truth or Myth about Israel? Read between Quotation Marks, The Orlando Sentinel (June 13, 1999), republished under the title What Israeli Historians Say About 1948 Ethnic Cleansing by the WRMEA, Sept. 1999 (https://www.wrmea.org/1999-september/behind-themyths-what-israeli-historianssay-about-1948-ethnic-cleansing.html)
1st Jan. 1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Exposing its doctrine of reprisals	There is no question as to whether a reaction is necessary or not. The question is only time and place. Blowing up a house is not enough. What is necessary is cruel and strong reactions. We need precision in time, place and casualties. If we know the family -[we must] strike mercilessly, women and children included. Otherwise the reaction is inefficient. At the place of action there is no need to distinguish between guilty and innocent. Where there was no attack — we should not strike.	Ben Gurion's diary, Jan. 1St 1948, quoted by N. Chomsky, The fateful triangle, Pluto Press, 1983, p.182.
Feb. 1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Addressing the leaders of the Jewish National Fund in early February	The war will give us the land. Concepts of 'ours' and 'not ours' are peace-time concepts only, and they lose their meaning during war.	Meron Benvenisti, Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, note 7, p.120.
3 Feb. 1948	Forrestal, James (1892- 1949)	U.S. Secretary of Defense (1947-1949), who committed suicide or was defenestrated on May 22, 1949, exposing to Roosevelt the means used to obtain the partition vote for Palestine on November 29, 1947.	The method that had been used by people outside the Executive branch of the government to bring coercion and duress on other nations in the General Assembly bordered closely on scandal.	James Forrestal, February 3, 1948, quoted in <i>The Forrestal</i> <i>Diaries</i> , Walter Millis ed., 2015.
7 Feb. 1948	David (1886- 1973)	President of the Jewish Agency and mastermind of the Nakba, speculating from February 1948 on a large-scale ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian territory	When you enter the city through Lifta and Romema, through Mahaneh Yehuda, King George Street and Mea Shearim -there are no Arabs. One hundred percent Jews. Ever since Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans - the city was not as Jewish as it is now. In many Arab neighbourhoods in the West you do not see even one Arab. I do not suppose it will change. And what happened in Jerusalem and in Haifa - can happen in large parts of the country. If we persist it is quite possible that in the next six or eight months there will be considerable changes in the country, very considerable, and to our advantage. There will certainly be considerable changes in _the demographic composition of the country.	Gershon Rivlin and Elhanan Oren, The War of Independence, pp. 210-211. Cited by Ilan Pappe, The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine, OneWorld, 2006, p. 68.
29 Feb. 1948	Pearson, Drew (1897- 1969)	American journalist, reporting on a few behind-the-scenes operations to push through - on the third attempt - the partition resolution of Palestine	A lot of people used their influence to whip voters into line. Harvey Firestone, who owns rubber plantations in Liberia, got busy with the Liberian Government; Adolphe Berle, Advisor to the President of Haiti, swan that vote Few know it, but President Truman cracked down harder on his State Department than ever before to swing the UN vote for the partition of Palestine. Truman called Acting Secretary Lovett over to the	Drew Pearson, Chicago Daily, Feb. 9 1948.

		of November 29, 1947	White House on Wednesday and again on Friday warning him he would demand a full explanation of nations which usually line up with the United States failed to do so on Palestine.	
Mar. 1948	Collectif	Excerpts from Plan D, the "Dalet Plan," which set Zionist military objectives before the proclamation of the State of Israel	« The objective of this plan is to gain control of the areas of the Hebrew state and defend its borders. It also aims at gaining control of the areas of Jewish settlement and concentration which are located outside the borders [of the Hebrew state] against regular, semi-regular, and small forces operating from bases outside or inside the state. [] These operations can be divided into the following	Walid Khalidi - Text of Plan Dalet (Plan D) 10 March 1948 Journal of Palestine Studies. V XVIII Number 1, 1988. Quoted by Elias Sanbar,
			categories: Destruction of villages (setting fire to, blowing up, and planting mines in the debris), especially those population centers which are difficult to control continuously; mounting search and control operations according to the following guidelines: encirclement of the village and conducting a search inside it. In the event of resistance, the armed force must be destroyed and the population must be expelled outside the borders of the state. »	Figures du Palestinien, NRF, 2004, p. 196. https://www.ampalestine.org/palestine-101/history/original-documents/text-of-plan-dalet-plan-d-10-march-1948
14 Mar. 1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a letter to Moshe Sharett	It is now clear, without the slightest doubt, that were we to face the Palestinians alone, everything would be all right. They, the decisive majority of them, do not want to fight us, and all of them together are unable to stand up to us, even at the present state of our organization and equipment.	Simha Flapan <i>The birth of Israël, myths and realities,</i> Croom Helm, 1987, p.73.
Apr. 1948	Weitz, Yosef (1890-1972)	In his diary, in April 1948	I have drawn up a list of Arab villages which in my opinion must be cleared out in order to complete Jewish regions. I have also drawn up a list of land disputes that must be settled by military means.	Yosef Weitz, <i>Diary</i> 1948: 2358, quoted by Nur Masalha <i>The Bible and Zionism, Zed</i> Books, 2007, p. 52.
	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Galilee attributed to the Palestinian state in 1947	about 100,000 Arabs still now live in the pocket of Galilee. Let us assume that a war breaks out. Then we will be able to cleanse the entire area of Central Galilee, including all its refugees, in one stroke. In this context let me mention some mediators who offered to give us the Galilee without war. What they meant was the populated Galilee. They didn't offer us the empty Galilee, which we could have only by means of a war. Therefore if a war is extended to cover the whole of Palestine, our greatest gain will be the Galilee. It is because without any special military effort which might imperil other fronts, only by using the troops already assigned for the task, we could accomplish our aim of cleansing the Galilee.	Israel? Read between Quotation Marks. Quoted by Charley Reese, WRMEA, septembre 1999, https://www.wrmea.org/1999- september/behind-the-myths- what-israeli-historians-say- about-1948-ethnic- cleansing.html
6 Apr. 1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Speaking to the Zionist Action Committee, said that the war and the depopulation of the Palestinians will not stop at the borders of the partition plan	We will not be able to win the war if we do not, during the war, populate upper and lower, eastern and western Galilee, the Negev and Jerusalem area. I believe that war will also bring in its wake a great change in the distribution of the Arab population.	David Ben-Gurion, Behilahem Yisrael, [As Israel Fought], Tel Aviv, Mapai Press, 1952, pp. 86-87.
20 Apr. 1948	Lund, Roscher (1899-1975)	Norwegian UN expert in Palestine, giving Zionists his assessment of the military situation at the beginning of the Nakba	The Jews, by virtue of the large reserve of trained and war- experienced army officers, have an incalculable advantage over the Arabs The issue in Palestine will be decided by force, and [the Jews] have a reasonable chance of success.	Meeting between Chaim (Vivian) Herzog and Colonel Roscher Lund, 20 April 1948. Quoted by Simha Flapan <i>The</i> birth of Israël, myths and realities Croom Helm, 1987, p.191.
1st May 1948	Arendt, Hannah (1906-1975)	Hostile to territorial Zionism, warns that after the Arab-Israeli War	And even if the Jews were to win the war, its end would find the unique possibilities and the unique achievements of Zionism in Palestine destroyed. The land that would come into being would be something quite other than the dream of world Jewry, Zionist and non-Zionist. The 'victorious' Jews would live surrounded by	Hannah Arendt <i>To Save the Jewish Homeland</i> . In Commentary, May 1948, p.403.
			a hostile Arab population, secluded inside ever-threatened borders, preoccupied by matters of defence to a degree that would submerge all other interests and activities . The growth of	https://www.commentarymag azine.com/articles/to-save- the-jewish-homelandthere-is-

			a Jewish culture would cease to be the concern of the whole	still-time/
			people; social experiments would have to be discarded as	Sun-ume/
			impractical luxuries. Political thought would centre on military strategy; economic development would be determined exclusively by the needs of war. And all this would be the fate of	http://excerpts.numilog.com/books/9782742748983.pdf
			a nation that – no matter how many immigrants it could still absorb and how far it extended its boundaries – would still remain a very small people greatly outnumbered by hostile neighbours.	https://www.lrb.co.uk/2019/04 /18/adam-shatz/trumps- america-netanyahus-israel
14 May 1948		Day of Israel's proclamation of independence. This text stating a principle of equality has never been integrated into the corpus of Israeli laws and even less realized, except for the reception of Jews alone.	We declare that, with effect from the moment of the termination of the Mandate being tonight, the eve of Sabbath, the 6th lyar, 5708 (15th May, 1948), until the establishment of the elected, regular authorities of the State in accordance with the Constitution which shall be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than the 1st October 1948, the People's Council shall act as a Provisional Council of State, and its executive organ, the People's Administration, shall be the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, to be called "Israel." The State of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration and for the Ingathering of the Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations	La création de l'État d'Israël, La documentation française, Paris, Dalloz, 1993.
14 May 1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Excerpt from the text of the declaration of independence read by Ben Gurion on the afternoon of May 14, 1948, calling for "preserving peace" while hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were killed or expelled	WE APPEAL - in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months - to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.	Official Sources
24 May 1948		In his personal notes. More drunk with power than ever after a meeting with his counsellors, he is already anticipating 1967	We should prepare to go over to the offensive. Our aim is to smash Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Syria. The Achilles heel of the Arab coalition is the Lebanon. Muslim supremacy in this country is artificial and can easily be overthrown. A Christian State ought to be set up there, with its southern frontier on the river Litani. We would sign a treaty of alliance with this State. Thus when we have broken the strength of the Arab Legion and bombed Amman, we could wipe out Transjordan; after that Syria would fall. And if Egypt still dared to make war on us, we would bomb Port Said, Alexandria and Cairo. This will be the revenge for what they (the Egyptians, the Aramis and Assyrians) did to our forefathers during biblical times.	Text based upon three translations: by Bar-Zohar [1] and [2] who indicates May 21, and by Ilan Pappe [3]. [1] Michael Ben-Zohar Ben-Gurion, A Biography, Delacorte, New York, 1978. [2] Ben Gourion, Zichronot, 21 Mai 1948, quoted by Michael Bar-Zohar The Armed Prophet, Berker, 1967, p. 133. [3] Ben Gourion, Zichronot, 24 mai 1948, quoted by I. Pappe, The Ethnic cleansing
28 May 1948	Weitz, Yosef (1890-1972)	KKL-JNF leader in a meeting with newly appointed Foreign Minister Moshe	« Transfer—post factum; should we do something so as to transform the exodus of the Arabs from the country into a fact, so that they return no more? His (Shertok's) answer: he blesses any initiative in this matter. His opinion is also that we	of Palestine, Oneworld, 2006, p. 144. Weitz Diary, A 246/13, entry dated 28 May 1948, p. 2403, CZA). « M.S. » (Moshe Shertok)
		Shertok (Sharett) to formalize the "transfer	must act in such a way as to transform the exodus of the Arabs into an established factbut the Foreign Minister wanted first to	'[Talk] with Yosef Weitz', 28 May 1948, ISA FM 2564\20

		committee" to make the expulsion of Palestinians irreversible.	consult with Ben-Gurion and Finance Minister Eliezer Kaplan. » According to Shertok, Weitz suggested that " a three-person committee" composed of 'Ezra Danin, Elias Sasson (who headed the Arab Affairs Department of the Jewish Agency), and himself, be appointed to "work out a plan of action directed [at achieving] the transfer goal."	Quoted by: Ilan Halévy, Sous Israël, Ia Palestine, Le sycomore, 1978, p.34. Benny Morris, 1948 and After; Yosef Weitz and the Transfer Committees, 1948- 9, Middle Eastern Studies, 1986, pp. 89-144. Edward Said Zionism from the viewpoint of its victims, Social Text, 1979, p. 41. https://www.palestinerememb ered.com/Acre/Famous- Zionist-Quotes/Story691.html http://www.palestinechronicle .com/palestine-through- history-a-chronology-i/
1	Sharett, Moshe (1894- 1965)	2nd "moderate" president of Israel. During the same ministerial meeting where Ben Gurion said "I don't want those who run away to come back I will be for them not to come back, even after the war".	To my mind this is the most surprising thing: the emptying of the country by the Arab community. In the history of the land of Israel this is more surprising than the establishment of the Hebrew State itself This has happened amidst a war that the Arab nation declared against us, because the Arabs fl ed of their own accord—and their departure is one of those revolutionary changes after which history does not revert to its previous course, as we see from the outcome of the war between Greece and Turkey. We should be willing to pay for land. This does not mean that we should buy holdings from each and every [Arab]. We shall receive assets and land, which can be used to help settle Arabs in other countries. But they do not return. And this is our policy: they do not return.	Yigal Elam, <i>The Executors</i> , Keter, 1990 (heb), p. 31 Sandy Tolan <i>The Lemon Tree</i> , Bloomsbury, 2006, p.92 Gabriel Piterberg https://newleftreview.org/issu es/II10/articles/gabriel- piterberg-erasing-the- palestinians.pdf
12 July 1948	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	Commenting in his service book of July 12-13, 1948 on the way Ben Gurion gave the order to expel the Palestinians from Lydda	While the fighting was still in progress, we had to grapple with a troublesome problem, for whose solution we could not draw upon any previous experience: the fate of the civilian population of Lod and Ramle, numbering some 50,000. Not even Ben-Gurion could offer any solution, and during the discussions at	Yitzhak Rabin, New York Times, October 23 1979. According to Elias Sanbar, Figures du Palestinien, NRF, 2004, who provide the full quotation.
	Yitzhak (1922, 1995)	As the general leading "Operation Dany", an ethnic cleansing operation to expand the Jewish state, giving the order to implement the expulsion order given the same day with a simple wave of the hand	The inhabitants of Lydda must be expelled quickly without attention to age 2. Implement immediately.	Benny Morris <i>The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem</i> 1947–1949. Cambridge University Press., 1989, p. 207.
17 July 1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Note in his diary	We must do everything to ensure that they never do return!	David Ben-Gurion, Zichronot (Diary), 18/7/1948. In Michael Bar Zohar Ben-Gurion: the Armed Prophet, Baker, 1957, p. 157, confirmed by http://electronicintifada.net/bl

18 July 1948		On his first visit to	Why are there so many Arabs? Why didn't you expel them?	ogs/asa-winstanley/old-will- die-and-young-will-forget-did- ben-gurion-say-it Michael Bar-Zohar, <i>Ben-</i>
	David (1886- 1973)	Nazareth		Gurion - A political Biography, Tel-Aviv, 1975, vol.2, p.776.
24 July 1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In an inconsequential statement two months after the proclamation of Israel, just before he became the leader of the thieves	It turns out that most of the Jews are thieves I say this deliberately and simply, because unfortunately it is true. People from the Jezreel Valley stole! The pioneers of the pioneers, parents of Palmach [pre-state commando force] children! And everyone took part in it, Baruch HaShem, the people of [Moshav] Nahalal! This is a general blow. It's appalling, because it shows a basic flaw. Theft and robbery – and where does this come to us from? Why have the people of the land – builders, creators, pioneers – come to deeds like this? What happened?	Adam Raz, Looting of Arab Property in the War of Independence, Carmel Publishing House (Hebrew). Quoted by Gideon Levy, Even Ben-Gurion Thought 'Most Jews Are Thieves', Haaretz, October 4, 2020. https://israelpalestinenews.or
				g/even-ben-gurion-thought- most-jews-are-thieves- haaretz/
Aug. 1948	Cohen, Faivel (-) (no data)	Letter from Faivel Cohen, from the Upper Galilee kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch, describing the incitement by the KKL/JNF to destroy the neighboring village Al-Sanbariyya emptied of its population.	I spoke to a number of members from [Kibbutz] Ma'ayan Baruch and nearby kibbutzim and I got the impression that there exists the possibility that there is a desire to destroy the villages and [the Arabs'] houses so that it will be impossible for the Arabs to return to them. A week ago a representative of the JNF [possibly Yosef Nahmani] came to visit. He saw that in the village of al Sanbariya several houses were still standing, albeit without roofs. He told the secretariat of the kibbutz to destroy the houses immediately and he said openly that this will enable us to take the village's lands, because the Arabs won't be able to return there. I am sorry to say the kibbutz agreed immediately without thinking about what they were doing 102	Quoted by Benny Morris, <i>The Birth of the Palestinian Problem Revisited,</i> Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005, p. 357
16 Aug. 1948	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Develops his visions in an interview with Times Magazine (read in full!)	them will come here, but I expect several million, and with natural increase I can quite imagine a Jewish state of ten million.""Can that many be accomodated within the U.N. partition boundaries of Israel?""I doubt it." () "We would not have taken on this war merely for the purpose of enjoying this tiny state. »	Time Magazine, August 16, 1948, p. 25. http://users.cyberone.com.au/myers/bengur48.html http://eindpunt.blogspot.com/2014/07/david-ben-gurions-interview-in-time.html
Oct. 1948	Magnes, Judah (1897- 1948)	Former president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Reportedly pronounced shortly before his death on October 27, 1948. Quoted by the anti-Semite Douglas Reed without source, date or precise circumstances.	Refugees should never be made use of as a trump in the hands of politicians. It is deplorable, incredible even, after all that the Jews in Europe have gone through, that an Arab problem of displaced persons should be created in the Holy Land .	http://www.sweetliberty.org/ issues/israel/zionist2.html
Nov. 1948	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)	Leader of the terrorist organization Irgun, declaration in the United States during his visit to the United States at the end of November 1948.		lesson of Palestine. Middle East journal, vol 3, Oct. 1949, n°4, pp 381 - 382.

Dec. 1948	Einstein, Albert (1879- 1955)	Commenting, with Hanna Arendt and twenty-six others, on the creation of Herut, the party of Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir, and ancestor of the Likud of Ariel Sharon and Benjamin Netanyahu	Among the most disturbing political phenomena of our time is the emergence in the newly created State of Israel of the Freedom Party (Herut), a political party closely akin in its organization, method, political philosophy and social appeal to the Nazi and Fascist parties.	Letter to the New York Times, Dec. 1948, protesting the reception of Menachem Begin in the US.
1949 2 Nov. 1917	Koestler, Arthur (1905- 1983)	Writer, commenting on the "extravagance" of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 (extravagance approved by Koestler)	improbable political documents of all time. In this document one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third. No second thoughts can diminish the originality of this procedure. It is true that the Arabs in Palestine lived under Turkish overlordship; but they had been living there for centuries, and the country was no doubt "theirs" in the generally accepted sense of the word. It is true that the Arabs had vast underpopulated territories at their disposal and the Jews had none; that the Arabs were a backward, the Jews a forward, people; and that the latter claimed to have received	Arthur Koestler, Analyse d'un miracle, Calmann-Lévy, 1949. Quoted by André Larteguy Mourir pour Jérusalem, p. 366. Arthur Koestler, Promise and Fullfilment, Macmillan, 1949, p.4. https://archive.org/stream/pro miseandfulfil006754mbp/pro miseandfulfil006754mbp_djv u.txt
1949	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In all his dialogues with western interlocutors	Israël did no expel even one Arab.	Quoted by Benny Morris, Victimes, histoire revisitée du conflit arabo-sioniste Complexe, 2003, p. 283.
1949	Horowitz, David (1899- 1979)	Director General of the Ministry of Finance of Israel, in consultation with Ben Gurion. (date and circumstances unclear)	The population in the camps is becoming a sort of second nation, a rebellious nation which views us as plutocrats. This is incendiary material, eminently useful to Herut and the Communists. It's dynamite The immigrants are in some ways taking the place of the Arabs. There is also a special attitude emerging on our part toward them; we are beginning to harbor an attitude of superiority.	Tom Segev, 1949, <i>The First Israelis</i> , Owl Books, 1998, p. 161.
Mar. 1949	Buber, Martin (1878-1965)	Jewish philosopher, addressing David Ben Gurion in March 1949. The translation indicates 'diaspora' when it is about exile.	We will have to face the reality that Israel is neither innocent, nor redemptive. And that in its creation and expansion, we as Jews have caused what we historically have suffered; a refugee population in Diaspora.	Numerous quotations.
11 Apr. 1949	Harry (1884- 1972)	the Palestine Conciliation Commission, in an inconsequential manifestation of mood		towards Palestine and Israel since 1945. Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995, p.76. Also in Landis The Palestinian Refugees. Old Problems, New Solutions, Univ Oklahoma Press, 2001, p.78.
5 June 1949	Zrubavel, Yaakov (1886-1967)	Head of the Middle East Department of the Jewish Agency, talking about Oriental Jewish immigrants		Protocols of the Zionist Executive, quoted by Tom Segev, 1949, the First Israeli, p.156.
16 June 1949	Eytan, Walter (1910-2001)	Co-Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs,	My main purpose was to begin to undermine the protocol of 12 May, which we had signed only under duress of our struggle for admission to the U.N. Refusal to sign wouldhave immediately	Eytan to Sharett, Documents, vol.4, doc.74. Quoted by llan Pappe, <i>The making of the</i>

12 May 1949		explaining in June 1949 the deception to get Israel admitted to the UN	been reported to the Secretary-General and the various governments. I felt the important thing was to begin to get the commission used to the idea that the protocol was not the main thing and that we should sooner or later base ourselves on the armistice arrangments.	Arab-Israëli Conflict, 1947- 1951, Tauris, 1994, p.212.
July 1949	Gruenbaum, Yitzhak (1879-1970)	Member of the Knesset, during the debate on the emigration of Yemeni Jews, in a speech mimicking the Nazi discourse on "lice- bitten Jews".	Why do we have to put an end to the Yemen Diaspora and bring over people who are more harm than use? By bringing Yemenites, 70% of whom are sick, we are doing no good to anybody. We are harming them by bringing them into an alien environment where they will degenerate. Can we withstand an immigration of which 70% are sick?	Tom Segev, 1949, <i>The First Israelis</i> , Owl Books, 1998, p. 185.
13 July 1949		During a session of the "Knesset Committee for the Constitution, Law and Justice", he called Moroccan Jews "savages", but soon recovered as follows	They tell me that there are thieves among them. I am a Polish Jew, and I doubt if there is any Jewish community which has more thieves than the Polish ones.	Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, 13/7/49, Ben Gurion Estate, Quoted by Tom Segev, 1949, The First Israelis, Owl Books, 199, p. 157.
29 July 1949	Lifshitz, Zalman (1900-1950)	Chairman of the Committee created eleven days earlier to erase the Arab toponymy of Palestine	Just as the Bedouin of the Negev did not sink roots in that place, so also are the names not rooted there	Israel State Archives, Brawer Archive, quoted by Meron Benvenisti, Sacred Landscape, Univ. Of California Press, 2000, p. 18.
26 Dec. 1949	Collectif	Text of the (Israeli) Refugee Resettlement Agency about the Palestinians who remained on the soil of Palestine, now Israel	There must be as few Arabs on as few lands as possible []. The ideal would be for them to leave the country. And since it is impossible, and not at all desirable, to transfer them to the interior of the country, the lesser evil would be to concentrate them in the large villages. It could happen that, as a result of this transfer, a large number of them simply decide to leave. Translated from French	Elias Sanbar, <i>Figures du Palestinien,</i> NRF, 2004, p. 230.
		No well established		
1950	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a speech in 1950 exalting the exceptionalism of the "Jewish people"	We are perhaps the only 'non-conformist' people in the world We do not fit the general pattern of humanity: Others say because we are flawed. I think [it is] because the general pattern is flawed, and we neither accept it nor adapt to it	Gil Merom, Israel's National Security and the Myth of Exceptionalism, Political Science Quarterly, 1999, Vol. 114, No. 3, p.411.
	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a writing showing his total identification between "spirituality" and nationalism	the rebirth and resurgence of the Jewish people," he proclaimed in an address delivered in Jerusalem in 1950, two years after the	Ben Gurion, <i>The Forefathers</i> of the Jewish Nation, typescript, Jerusalem, 1950, p.1. Quoted by Rose, <i>The question of Zion</i> , Princeton Univ. Press, 2005, p. 46.
	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a speech to young Israelis	Our supreme quality, our intellectual and moral advantage, singles us out even today, as it did throughout the generations.	Gil Merom, Israel's National Security and the Myth of Exceptionalism, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 114, No. 3, p.411.
1950	Lourie, Arthur (1903-1978)	Personal secretary of Chaim Weizmann who became Consul General in New York, in a letter to Walter Eitan, Israeli Foreign Ministry, proposes to minimize the number of refugees	if people become accustomed to the large figure and we are actually obliged to accept the return of the refugees, we may find it difficult, when faced with hordes of claimants, to convince the world that not all of these formerly lived in Israeli territory. It would, in any event, seem desirable to minimize the numbersthan otherwise.	(ISA FM 2564/22). Benny Morris, The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-49, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989, p. 297.

1950	Sharett, Moshe (1894- 1965)	Second "moderate" President of Israel	The refugees will find their place in the diaspora. Through natural selection, some will survive, others won't. The majority will become the dregs of the human race and melt into the poorest strata of the Arab world.	(Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Refugees dossier, n° 2444/19). Quoted by Alain Gresh and Dominique Vidal, <i>Palestine</i> 47: un partage avorté, Complexe, Bruxelles, 1994.
1950	Hyamson, Albert (1875- 1954)	Influential Zionist who became Commissioner for Migration in Palestine in 1921, described in 1950 the situation he experienced in the 1920s	[Arab] landowners who lived in Paris, Beirut or Cairo, whereby the moral – if not the legal – rights of the tenants, who had been resident on that land all along, were ignored The sellers, who had no local interests at all, were of course keen to sell at as high a price as possible. They very quickly found a way to dodge the law (*) by means of a small payment In order to get the tenants to abandon the land before it was transferred, they paid them small sums of money with which they could settle some of their debts to the moneylenders So everyone was completely satisfied: the sellers, the buyers and understandably the moneylenders, but of course the tenants only for a limited time.	Albert Montefiore Hyamson, Palestine Under the Mandate, 1920-1948, Methuen, London, 1950, p.87.
			* According to the new legislation – at the beginning of the 1920's – the transfer of lands was forbidden if the tenant's interests were not ensured by leaving him enough land to guarantee his own and his family's livelihood.	
Apr. 1950	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	At a meeting of the army high command, explaining that the Jewish 'rabble' must be 'rebuilt'	« The ingathering of the exiles brings us the rabble," he stated. "Putting that rabble through a melting pot, reconstructing it in a human, Jewish, Israeli and afterward military way – that is the basis of soldiering." Even before military training, "the young person from those countries has to be educated to sit on the toilet like a person, to wash, not to steal, not to grab an Arab girl and rape her and murder her – all this precedes the other things. Without it, the military training and education they receive is worthless.	http://www.haaretz.com/ israel-news/.premium- 1.673297? =&ts=_1500717241185
19 Oct. 1950	(1890-1972)	Director of the KKL/JNF, expresses in his diary his racist fear of Oriental Jews	While I was speaking with Yosef Shprintsak, he expressed anxiety about preserving our cultural standards given the massive immigration from the Orient. There are indeed grounds for anxiety, but what's the use? Can we stop it?	Josef Weitz <i>Diary</i> , Sept. 9, 1950, quoted by Tom Segev, 1949, the First Israelis, The Free Press, 1986, p.156.
27 Nov. 1950	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Referring to Yemeni Jews in a letter to the first Israeli Chief of Staff, Yigael Yadin	This tribe is in some ways more easily absorbed, both culturally and economically, than any other. It is hardworking, it is not attracted by city life, it has—or at least, the male part has—a good grounding in Hebrew and the Jewish heritage. Yet in other ways it may be the most problematic of all. It is two thousand years behind us, perhaps even more. It lacks the most basic and primary concepts of civilization (as distinct from culture). Its attitude toward women and children is primitive. Its physical condition poor. Its bodily strength is depleted and it does not have the minimal notions of hygiene. For thousands of years it lived in one of the most benighted and impoverished lands, under a rule even more backward than an ordinary feudal and theocratic regime. The passage from there to Israel has been a profound human revolution, not a superficial, political one. All its human values need to be changed from the ground up.	Tom Segev, 1949, The First Israelis (Owl Books, 1998), p. 186-187.
12 Feb. 1952	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	Israel's Minister of Defense and Foreign Affairs on February 12, 1952 on Radio Israel	It lies upon the people's shoulders to prepare for the war, but it lies upon the Israeli army to carry out the fight with the ultimate object of erecting the Israeli Empire.	Moshe Dayan (Minister od Defense and Foreign Affairs of Israel), Feb. 12 1952. Israel Radio.
1st Oct. 1952	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	(no primary source) During meetings in his office with senior Israeli officials	We have no connection with the Arabs. Our regime, our culture, our relations, is not the fruit of this region. There is no political affinity between us, or international solidarity.	Quoted by Avi Shlaïm, Israel, the great powers and the Middle East crisis of 1958, Journal of Imperial and

				Commonwealth History, Londres, mai 1999.
1953 1950	Samuel, Maurice (1895-1972)	soon as possible after	There was a confused filling up by immigrants, which was neither Zionism nor rescue An artificially created panic took tens of thousands of Jews who did not need to come at that time. and who, without a strong stimulant or without cajolery, would not have come. We did the impossible to stimulate and further stimulate immigration. [] We needed as many Jews as possible in the shortest possible time to discourage the Arabs from trying to get their revenge. We needed the maximum number of Jews, in shambles, everywhere and everywhere, in good shape or not, convinced or simply cajoled because it was necessary to fill without delay the places emptied by the thousands of Arabs who had abandoned their homes. [Google translation]	Maurice Samuel Level sunlight, Knopf, 1953. Quoted by Yakov Rabkin, Au nom de la Torah, Presses univ. Laval, 2004, p. 46.
1953	Unidentified / Non identifié	In an article in the 1953 Davar daily newspaper	I shall not be ashamed to confess that if I had the power, as I have the will, I would select a score of efficient young men — intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with the desire to help redeem Jews — and I would send them to the countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jews, and plague Jews with anti-Semitic slogans such as 'Bloody Jew', 'Jews go to Palestine' and similar intimacies. I can vouch that the results in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel from these countries would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears.	Quoted by Alfred Lilienthal, The other side of the coin, Devin-Adair, New York, p. 47.
1953	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Addressing Ariel Sharon, who had just killed 69 Palestinian civilians in Kibya in 1953 by locking them up and blowing up their homes; as reported by Sharon		As told by Ariel Sharon in an interview for the documentary The 50 Years War: Israël and the Arabs (1999). Quoted by Chad McCoy Endgame, Lulu.com, 2005, p.331. (Ebook) 2nd. version: Warrior, the autobiography of Ariel Sharon, Simon and Shuster, 1989, p. 91.
1954	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Evoking the beginnings of Zionist colonization in 1917	And we were not just working, we were conquering, conquering a land. We were a company of conquistadores.	David Ben Gurion, Rebirth and Destiny of Israel, Philosophical Library, N.Y., 1954, p. 9.
1954	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Weighing, in retrospect, in his own way, the harm caused to the Jews by the genocide of the Jews of Europe	Hitler harmed more than the Jewish people, whom he knew and hated: he caused damage to the Jewish state, whose coming he did not foresee. He destroyed the country's main support and central force. The state appeared and did not find a nation that had awaited it.	·
1954	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	He himself indicates that the Palestinians were driven out in 1848 before the creation of Israel and the entry of Arab troops	New Jerusalem was occupied, and the guerrillas were expelled from Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberias, Safad while still the Mandatory was present. It needed sagacity and self-control not to fall foul of the British army. The Hagana did its job; until a day or two before the Arab invasion not a settlement was lost, no road cut, although movement was seriously dislocated, despite express assurances of the British to keep the roads safe so long as they remained. Arabs started fleeing from the cities almost as soon as disturbances began in the early days of December 1947. As fighting spread, the exodus was joined by bedouins and fellahin, but not the remotest Jewish homestead was abandoned and nothing a tottering Administration (meaning the British Mandatory) could unkindly do stopped us from reaching our goal on May 14, 1948 in a State made larger and Jewish by the	

			Haganah.	
27 Feb. 1954	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Letter from David Ben Gurion to Moshe Sharett, then Prime Minister of Israel, urging him to implement a plan to dismember and destabilize Lebanon. Intended to remain confidential, this letter was nevertheless published, despite the protest of the Israeli government, by David Ben Gurion's son, in 1979, as an appendix to his posthumous memoirs.	Haganah. « To Sharett, Moshe The Prime Minister Sdeh Boker February 27, 1954 Upon my withdrawal from the government I decided in my heart to desist from intervening and expressing my opinion on current political affairs so as not to make things difficult for the government in any way. And if you hadn't called on me, the three of you, yourself, Lavon and Dayan, I would not have, of my own accord, expressed an opinion on what is being done or what ought to be done. But as you called me, I deem it my duty to comply with your wishes, and especially with your own wish as Prime Minister. Therefore, I permit myself to go back to one issue which you did not approve of and discuss it again, and this is the issue of Lebanon. It is clear that Lebanon is the weakest link in the Arab League. The other minorities in the Arab States are aU Muslim, except for the Copts. But Egypt is the most compact and solid of the Arab States and the majority there consists of one solid block, of one race, religion and language, and the Christian minority does not seriously affect their political and national unity. Not so the Christians in Lebanon. They are a majority in the historical Lebanon and this majority has a tradition and a culture different from those of the other components of the League. Also within the wider borders (this was the worst mistake made by France when it extended the borders of Lebanon), the Muslims are not free to do as they wish, even if they are a majority there (and I don't know if they are indeed, a majority) for fear of the Christians, The creation of a Christian State is therefore a natural act; it has historical roots and it will find support in wide circles in the Christian world, both Catholic and Protestant. In normal times this would be almost impossible. First and foremost because of the lack of initiative and courage of the Christians. But at times of confusion, or revolution or civil war, things take on another aspect, and even the weak declares himself to be a hero. Perhaps (there is never any ce	y-iWpQLGz5TzZJDxxw/Israel %27s%20Sacred %20Terrorism_djvu.txt
			The goal will not be reached of course, without a restriction of Lebanon's borders. But if we can find men in Lebanon and exiles from it who will be ready to mobilize for the creation of a Maronite state, extended borders and a large Muslim population will be of no use to them and this will not constitute a disturbing factor. I don't know if we have people in Lebanon-but there are various	
Apr. 1954	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a text or statement dated December 12, 1948, confirms that in April, the Zionists	ways in which the proposed experiment can be carried out » As April began, our War of Independence swung decisively from defense to attack. Operation 'Nachson'was launched with the capture of Arab Hulda near where we stand today and of Deir Muheisin and culminated in the storming of Qastel, the great hill	Ben Gurion, <i>Rebirth and Destiny of Israel</i> N.Y.: Philosophical Library, 1954, p. 106.
1948		went into a war of	fortress near Jerusalem.	

		conquest		
16 May 1954	Moshe (1915-	Israeli Chief of Staff, for whom butchering Lebanon is child's play	According to him [Dayan] « the only thing that's necessary is to find an officer, even just a Major. We should either win his heart or buy him with money, to make him agree to declare himself the savior of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, will occupy the necessary territory, and will create a Christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani southward will be totally annexed to Israel and everything will be all right. If we were to accept the advice of the Chief of Staff we would do it tomorrow, without awaiting a signal from Baghdad.	
22 Dec. 1954	1965)	Moderate" Prime Minister, in his newspaper, following the hijacking of a civilian plane by Israel	What shocks and worries me is the narrow-mindedness and the shortsightedness of our military leaders. They seem to presume that the State of Israel may or even must-behave in the realm of international relations according to the laws of the junglethe long chain of false incidents and hostilities we have invented, and so many clashes we have provoked.	Quoted by Livia Rokach Israel's Sacred Terrorism, AAUG Press, 1980, p.21. Tony Greenstein. http://azvsas.blogspot.com/2 016/02/israel-saudi-arabia- seek-partition-of.html
27 Apr. 1955	David (1886-	During the Independence Day Rally at Ramat Gan Stadium	Our future does not depend on what the nations [goyim] say, but what the Jews do.	David Ben Gurion, <i>Vision and Redemption</i> (Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 1958, 5:171.
26 May 1955	Moshe (1894- 1965)	Minister for Foreign Affairs 1948-1956, and Prime Minister 1954-1956, commenting on Moshe Dayan's words on the desire for a new war	The conclusions from Dayan's words are clear: This state has no international worries, no economic problems. The question of peace is nonexistent. It must calculate its steps narrow-mindedly and live on its sword. It must see the sword as the main, if not the only instrument with which to keep its morale high and to retain its moral tension. Towards this end it may, no—it 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 Ben Gurion himself said it would be worth while to pay an Arab a million pounds to start a war.	1955. Published in Livia
12 Oct. 1955	Menachem	Terrorist one day then leader of the Herut party, declared before the Israeli parliament	I deeply believe in launching preventive war against the Arab States without further hesitation. By doing so we will achieve two targets: firstly, the annihilation of Arab power; and secondly, the expansion of our territory.	Michael Jansen Battle of Beirut: Why Israel Invaded Lebanon", Zed Press, 1982.
1956		2nd "moderate" President of Israel, in his notebooks, shortly before his resignation in 1956	I have learned that the state of Israel cannot be ruled in our generation without deceit and adventurism. These are historical facts that cannot be altered In the end, history will justify both the stratagems and deceit and the acts of adventurism. All I know is that I, Sharett, Moshe, am not capable of them, and I am therefore unsuited to lead this country.	Israël. Myths and realities,
1956	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Conversation with Nahum Goldmann	'I don't understand your optimism,' Ben-Gurion declared. 'Why should the Arabs make peace? If I were an Arab leader I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: THEY THINK we have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs. We come from Israel, it's true, but two thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been anti-Semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? 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. So it's simple: we have to stay strong and maintain a powerful army. Our whole policy is there. Otherwise the Arabs will wipe us out.'	David Ben Guurion (Prime Minister of Israel). In: Nahum Goldmann, <i>Le paradoxe juif</i> , p 121. Complete quote in: John Marsheimer and Stephen Walt, <i>The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy</i> , Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2008, p. 96.
1956	Rabin, Yitzhak	In a meeting with Ben Gurion, shortly before	Most of them [the Palestinians on the West Bank] can be driven out. If the numbers were smaller it would be easier, but the	Quoted by Amir Oren Book : Rabin backed transfer of

		his appointment to the Army Northern Command	problem can be solved in principle. It would not be a humane move, but war in general is not a humane matter.	Arabs in '56. Haaretz, 1st juillet 2005. https://www.haaretz.com/1.49 16642
29 Apr. 1956	Moshe (1915- 1981)	Moshe Dayan, then Chief of Staff, speaks at the funeral of the soldier King Rotberg. Without denying the injustice perceived by the Palestinians, he updates Jabotinsky's speech on the "Iron Wall" to be maintained indefinitely to preserve Zionist domination.	() Let us not hurl blame at the murderers. Why should we complain of their hatred for us? Eight years have they sat in the refugee camps of Gaza, and seen, with their own eyes, how we have made a homeland of the soil and the villages where they and their forebears once dwelt. () A generation of settlement are we, and without the steel helmet and the maw of the cannon we shall not plant a tree, nor build a house () We mustn't flinch from the hatred that accompanies and fills the lives of hundreds of thousands of Arabs, who live around us and are waiting for the moment when their hands may claim our blood. We mustn't avert our eyes, lest our hands be weakened. That is the decree of our generation. That is the choice of our lives — to be willing and armed, strong and unyielding, lest the sword be knocked from our fists, and our lives severed ()	When Moshe Dayan delivered the defining speech of Zionism (full translation) https://www.timesofisrael.co m/when-moshe-dayan- delivered-the-defining- speech-of-zionism/
June 1956		Moshe Dayan, addressing Ben Gurion before the Suez expedition	France will only give us weapons if we help it seriously in the Algerian question. Serious help means killing Egyptians, nothing less.	In Mordechai Bar On. Challenge and Quarrel: The road to the Sinai campaign – 1956 (hebrew), ed. Hamerkaz Lemoresheret Ben-Gurion, Beersheva, 1991. Quoted by Avi Shlaim, The Iron Wall, Norton, 2001, p. 164.
1958	(1878-1965)	Zionist "leftist" philosopher, indicating the limits of his criticism of real Zionism	I have accepted as mine the state of Israel, the form of the new Jewish community that has arisen from the war. I have nothing in common with those Jews who imagine that they may contest the factual shape which Jewish independence has taken.	
2 June 1958		In front of a Jewish audience in New York (while propagating the myth of the 'return to Palestine').	When we [followers of the prophetic Judaism] returned to Palestinethe majority of Jewish people preferred to learn from Hitler rather than from us.	Jewish Newsletter, June 2, 1958
3 Aug. 1959		In a letter to Judge Moshe Etzioni	An Ashkenazi gangster, thief, pimp or murderer will not gain the sympathy of the Ashkenazi community (if there is such a thing), nor will he expect it. But in such a primitive community as the Marrocans - such a thing is possible	Ben Gurion to Etzioni, Aug. 3, 1959. Quoted by Tom Segev, 1949, <i>The First Israelis</i> , Owl Books, 1998, p. 157.
Jan. 1961	Buber, Martin (1878-1965)	Famous philosopher who was a supporter of a binational state, in the magazine Ner of the binationalist group Ichud (Unity).	Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred. It is bound to bring complete ruin upon us. Only then will the old and young in our land realize how great was our responsibility to those miserable Arab refugees in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought from afar; whose homes we have inherited, whose fields we now sow and harvest; the fruit of whose gardens, orchards and vineyards we gather; and in whose cities that we robbed, we put up houses of education, charity, and prayer while we babble and rave about being the 'people of the book' and the 'light of the nations.'	Martin Buber. In Thud's Ner, January-February 1961.
4 Apr. 1961	•	Ben Gurion's Advisor for Arab Affairs from 1960 to 1963 Date inaccurate	With one hand we take what we give them with the other. We give them tractors, electricity, and progress, but we take land and restrict their movement Were there no Arab students, perhaps it would be better. If they [Arabs] would remain hewers of wood perhaps it would be easier to control them.	Zeev Schiff, If I Were an Arab, Haaretz, April 4, 1961 Quoted by Ian Lustick, Arabs in the Jewish State, Univ. Texas Press, 1980, p.68.
12 May 1961 	Childers, Erskine Barton (1929- 1996)		There was not a single order, or appeal, or suggestion about evacuation from Palestine from any Arab radio station, inside or outside Palestine, in 1948. "There is repeated monitored record of Arab appeals, even flat orders, to the civilians of Palestine to	Erskine Childers, <i>The Other Exodus</i> , The Spectator Magazine, London, May 12 1961, quoted by Nadine

1948		time the absence of Arab call to leave in 1948, based on radio archives	stay put.	Picaudou, Les Palestiniens, un siècle d'histoire, ed. Complexes, Bruxelles, 1997, p.115.
Oct. 1961	Meir, Golda (1898-1978)	Speech to the Knesset	Any one who speaks in favor of bringing the Arab refugees back must also say how he expects to take the responsibility for it, if he is interested in the state of Israel. It is better that things are stated clearly and plainly: We shall not let this happen.	Reported in Ner, october 1961.
23 Nov. 1961	Verwoerd, Hendrik (1901-1966)	Former Prime Minister of South Africa, in the daily Rand Daily Mail	Israel is not consistent in its new anti-apartheid attitude they took Israel away from the Arabs after the Arabs lived there for a thousand years. In that, I agree with them. Israel, like South Africa, is an apartheid state.	Rand Daily Mail, 23 nov. 1961 Quoted by Uri Davis, <i>Israeli</i> <i>Apartheid, possibilities for the</i> <i>struggle within</i> , Zed Books, 2003, p. 87.
1963 1933	Arendt, Hannah (1906-1975)	Evoking, at the end of the Eichmann trial of 1961, the attitude of the Zionist leaders towards Nazism in the 1930s	During its first few years, Hitler's rise to power appeared to the Zionists chiefly as 'the decisive defeat of assimilationism'. The Zionists could, for a time, at least, engage in a certain amount of non-criminal cooperation with the Nazi authorities; the Zionists too believed that 'dissimilation', combined with the emigration to Palestine of Jewish youngsters and, they hoped, Jewish capitalists, could be a 'mutually fair solution' The result was that in the thirties, when American Jewry took great pains to organize a boycott of German merchandise, Palestine, of all places, was swamped with all kinds of goods 'made in Germany'.	Hannah Arendt <i>Eichmann à Jérusalem</i> , Gallimard, 1966; <i>Eichmann in Jerusalem</i> », Penguin Book, pp 59-61.
1963	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	Then Minister of Agriculture, imagining the fate of the Bedouins in Haaretz	We should transform the Bedouins into an urban proletariat – in industry, services, construction, and agriculture. 88% of the Israeli population are not farmers, let the Bedouin be like them. Indeed, this will be a radical move which means that the Bedouin would not live on his land with his herds, but would become an urban person who comes home in the afternoon and puts his slippers on. His children will get used to a father who wears pants, without a dagger, and who does not pick out their nits in public. They will go to school, their hair combed and parted. This will be a revolution, but it can be achieved in two generations.	Quoted by Donald McIntyre End of the road for the Bedouin, The Independent, Nov. 29, 2005.
1964	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Explaining that the genocide of the Jews of Europe was less serious than the reduction in the number of European immigrants to Israel	Hitler, more than he hurt the Jewish people, whom he knew and detested, hurt the Jewish State, whose coming he did not foresee. He destroyed the substance, the main and essential building force of the Jewish state. The state arose and did not find the nation which had waited for it.	Ben Gurion Netzah Israel, Ayanot, 1964, p. 23. Quoted by Tom Segev 1949, The First Israelis, The Free Press, 1986, p.157.
14 Jan. 1964 2 Nov. 1917	J .	President of the Anglo-Israeli Association, referring to the development and consequences of the 1917 Balfour Declaration.	For my part, as a life-long Zionist, I never had any doubt that the creation of a National Home for the Jews must result in the establishment of the State of Israel and that the consequences of this must be faced. I thought, and said long ago, that a steadilly increasing immigration of Jews from all over the world to a country the size of Wales, without great natural resources, was quite unrealistic unless accompagnied by some This could, and should, have been carried out between thirty and forty years ago by the British government, on lavish lines, when they had both the power and the money to do it. How, otherwise, could they hope to implement the pledges they had given?	Jewish Chronicle, January 14, 1964, p. 7. Quoted by Nur Masalha, <i>Expulsion of</i> <i>the Palestinians</i> , Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 16.
June 1964 1948	(1926-?)	A Zionist officer who fought in 1948, describing some of the methods used to drive out an unarmed population.	as uncontrolled panic spread through all Arab quarters, the Israelis brought up jeeps with loudspeakers which broadcast recorded 'horror sounds'. These included shrieks, wails and anguished moans of Arab women, the wail of sirens and the clang of fire-alarm bells, interrupted by a sepulchral voice calling out in Arabic: 'Save your souls, all ye faithful: The Jews are using poison gas and atomic weapons. Run for your lives in the name of Allah'.	Source: Marine Corp Gazette, June 1964. http://www.cpcml.ca/francais/ Lmlq2018/Q48019.HTM http://izayid.tripod.com/Norm anSpectorJune16_01.htm
1965	Tabenkin, Yitzhak	Ideologist and leader of the secular kibbutz	I was afraid there was a Holocaust coming upon us, and I saw that it was inevitable. I am more afraid of assimilation. Is there	Protocols of the 26th Zionist Congress, Jerusalem, 1965.

	(1987-1971)	movement, expresses the idea that a dead Jew is better than an assimilated Jew.	anything more terrible than the destruction of Jews? Assimilation is part of the destruction of Jews. A Jew who is destroyed will not assimilate.	
5 Oct. 1965	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	Interviewed by Robert Moskin of Look	those [Jews] from Morocco had no education. Their customs are those of Arabs. They love their wives, but they beat them. Maybe in the third generation something will appear from the Oriental Jew that is a little different. But I don't see it yet. The Moroccan Jew took a lot from the Moroccan Arabs and I don't see much we can learn from the Moroccan Arabs The culture of Morocco I would not like to have here. And I don't see what contribution present [Jewish] Persians have to make We do not want Israelis to become Arabs. We are in duty bound to fight against the spirit of the Levant, which corrupts individuals and societies, and preserve the authentic Jewish values as they crystallized in the [European Diaspora.	The Silenced History of the IDF's 'Mizrahi Problem' https://www.haaretz.com/.pre mium-the-silenced-history-of-the-idf-s-mizrahi-problem-1.5392070
				Sammy Smooha, Israel, Pluralism and Conflict, Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1978, pp. 86-88. Quote and partial translation: Lucas Catherine, Israël, Ia dernière colonie? EPO, 2003, p. 103.
29 Dec. 1965	Adenauer, Konrad (1876-1967)	In an interview with ZDF television. "Jewish People", "Jewish Power in America", a collaboration with Israel based on barely concealed anti-Semitism	The power of the Jews even today, especially in America, should not be underestimated. And therefore I have very deliberately and very consciously – and that was always my opinion – put all my strengh, the best I could, to bring about a reconciliation between the Jewish people and the German people.	Konrad Adenauer on "the power of Jews", ZDF broadcast "Zur Person", interview with Günter Gaus, 29.12.1965, https://www.youtube.com/wat ch?v=9CaaQywraXw
1966 1949	Allon, Yigal (1918-1980)	Labor leader, leader of the Union of Labor tendency, former general during the Nakba, says aloud his regret that he did not drive out more Palestinians in 1948.	Ina new war, we must avoid the historic mistake of the War of Independence [the 1948 war] and must not cease fighting until we achieve total victory, the territorial fulfillment of the Land Of Israel.	Histoire revisitée du conflit
1967	Glubb, John Bagot (Sir) (1897-1986)	British Commander of the Arab Legion from 1941 to 1956 serving British and Jordanian interests.	It is quite essential vividly to grasp the unique conditions of the struggle in Palestine. We have witnessed many wars in this century, in which one country seeks to impose its power on others. But in no war, I think, for many centuries past, has the objective been to remove a nation from its country and to introduce another and evidently different race to occupy its lands, houses and cities and live there. This peculiarity lends to the Palestinian struggle a desparate quality which bears no resemblance to any other war in modern history.	John Bagot Glubb The Middle East Crisis: A Personal Interpretation, Hodder & Stoughton, 1967, p.41
1967	Amit, Meir (1921-2009)	General, leader of Mossad in 1967	There is going to be a war. Our army is now fully mobilized. But we cannot remain in that condition for long. Because we have a civilian army our economy is shuddering to a stop. We don't have the manpower right now even to bring in the crops. Sugar beets are rotting in the earth. We have to make quick decisions If we can get the first blow in our casualties will be comparatively light	Dennis Eisenberg, Uri Dan and Eli Landau, <i>The Mossad:</i> <i>Israel's Secret Intelligence</i> <i>Service</i> , New American Library, 1978, pp. 160-161.
June 1967	Eshkol, Levi (1895-1969)	Then Prime Minister of Israel, speaks of Israel's intention to take permanent control of Gaza	The costal area [Gaza] will never be returned to Egypt.	Numerous quotations

		exact date and circumstances to be specified		
June 1967	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	In front of the UN	On the fateful morning of June 5, when Egyptian forces moved by air and land against Israel's western coast and southern territory, oar country's choice was plain. The choice was to live or perish, to defend the national existence or to forfeit it for all time.	Quoted by Norman Finkelstein Mythes et réalités du conflit israélo-palestinien, Aden, 2007, p. 207
7 June 1967	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	The day of the conquest of al-Khalil / Hebron in June 1967, according to the testimony of Louis Nir	Well done, now give it back to them	https:// www.theguardian.com/uk/ 2001/oct/28/northernireland
7 June 1967	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	Responding to the Chief Rabbi of the army Shlomo Goren who had called to blow up the Dome of the Rock	Who needs a Jewish Vatican?	Quotd by Sylvain Cypel Israël contre les Juifs, La Découverte, 2020.
8 June 1967		Anti-Semitic collaborator under the german occupation of France, author in 1942 of a violently anti-Semitic book, The Rubble, condemned to death after the french Liberation and then pardoned. Not having abandoned his anti-Semitism, but	1967: "The cause of Israel is there that of all Westerners. It would have surprised me if I had been prophesied in 1939 that I would one day wish for the victory of a Zionist army. But that's the solution I find reasonable today." And 1969: ." savor the historical paradox that has led the Jews of Israel to defend all the patriotic, moral, and military values that they have fought most violently for a century in their adopted country." Translated from French	Rebatet, Rivarol, June 8, 1967 and September 25, 1969.
10 June 1967	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a radio statement on June 10, 1967, sees that Israel will impose apartheid in the occupied territories.	Israel, he said, better rid itself of the territories and their Arab populations as soon as possible. If it did not Israel would soon become an Apartheid State. Demography [he said,] was a greater danger than not having the territorial depth the right wing was always claiming Israel needed to defend itself.	According to Hirsh Goodman "Let Me Create a Paradise, God Said to Himself", Harper Collins, 2005, p. 78. https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/david-ben-gurion-like-kerry-warned-of-future-apartheid/
15 June 1967	Eshkol, Levi (1895-1969)	Then Prime Minister, during an inter- ministerial meeting	If it were up to us, we'd send all the Arabs out to Brazil	https://www.haaretz.com/ israel- news/.premium.MAGAZINE- if-it-were-up-to-us-wed-send- all-the-arabs-out-to-brazil- 1.5473677
15 June 1967	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	Then Minister of Foreign Affairs, during an inter-ministerial meeting	We are sitting here with two populations, one of them endowed with all the civil rights and the other denied all rights. This is a picture of two classes of citizens that is hard to defend, even in the special context of Jewish history. The world will side with a liberation movement of that one and a half million.	Archives, unclassified in 2018 : http://www.dailystar.com.lb/G etArticleBody.aspx? id=406325
19 June 1967	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs, repeating Zionism's contempt for the application of international law	If the General Assembly were to vote by 121 votes to 1 in favor of Israel returning to the armistice lines (pre June 1967 borders) Israel would refuse to comply with the decision.	New York Times, June 19 1967.
10 Aug. 1967	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	In a statement reported by the Jerusalem Post, caressing the Zionist	If one possesses the Bible, if one considers oneself as the people of the Bible, one should also possess the Biblical lands, those of the Judges and the Patriarchs, of Jerusalem, of Hebron, of Jericho and other places as well. I do not thereby set forth a	Quoted, in part, by Gérald Bronner, <i>La pensée extrême</i> , PUF 2016.

		dream of "keeping everything" after the Six Day War	political programme but, what is more important, the means of realizing the ancestral dream of a people. The foreigner must understand that, aside from ail the strategic importance for Israel of the Sinai, of the Golan Heights to the Straits of Tiran, and of the mountains to the west of the Jordan, these regions are situated at the heart of the Jewish history.	nts
1967	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	Paving the way for all annexations in the aftermath of the Six		Moshe Dayan, Jerusalem Post Oct. 8, 1967.
		Day War		[In most english sources, this quote is attributed to David Ben Gurion, who would have written it at the eve of Israel's independance day, and quoted by Michael Bar Zohar, The Armed Prophet, Prentice Hall, 1967, p.133.
	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	to Shimon Peres, about refugees in the	"Let us approach them [the Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories] and say that we don't have a solution, and you will continue living like dogs, and whoever wants will go, and will see how this procedure will work out. For now, it works out. Let's say the truth. We want peace. If there is no peace, we will maintain military rule and we will have four to five military compounds on the mountains, and they will sit ten years under the Israeli	Noam Chomsky, Middle East Diplomacy: Continuities and Changes. Z magazine, 12/1991. http://www.zmag.org/chomsk y/articles/z9112-mideast- diplo.html
		occupied territories.	military regime.() In five years we may have 200,000 less people - and that is a matter of enormous importance."	Also quoted in: Noam Chomsky <i>Deterring</i> <i>Democracy</i> , Hill & Wang, 1992, p. 434.
				The Newsweek, Oct. 17 1967 source seems fanciful, Yossi Belin's source (https://adamhollandblog.wor dpress.com/2009/02/04/quoting-chomskys-misquotes/) looks more serious.
	Eshkol, Levy (1895-1969)	In a dialogue with Levy Eshkol a year and a half before she succeeded him as Prime Minister, exposes the problem of coming to seize the Palestinian territories, but without Palestinians	Golda Meir: « What are we going to do with a million Arabs?" Levy Eshkol, upon thinking: « I get it, you want the dowry, but you don't like the bride!" Golda Meir: « My soul yearns for the dowry, and to let someone else take the bride. »	Quoted by Nathan Thrall <i>The Past 50 Years of Israeli Occupation. And the Next.</i> In Casualties of War, NY Times, 2020, p.167.
1967 5 June 1967	Weitz, Yosef (1890-1972)	1967 and recommends the 1948 "solution", to reduce the occupied population	After (some) years, consequent to the UN decision to partition the country, the War of Independence broke out to our great happiness, and in its course a double miracle took place: a regional victory and the escape of the Arabs. In the Six Day War only one great miracle took place: a tremendous territorial victory but the majority of the population of the liberated territories remained 'fixed' to their places, which can cause the destruction of the foundations of our state. The demographic problem is the most acute, especially when to its numerical weight is added the weight of the refugees.	
	(1895-1969)	Prime Minister, in a statement to Yediot Ahronot	The Egyptian layout in the Sinai and the general military build up there testified to a military defensive Egyptian set-up, south of Israel.	Quoted by Greg Felton <i>The</i> Host and the Parasite, Dandelion Enterprises, 2010, p.29
5 June 1967				

Nov. 1967	Allon, Yigal (1918-1980)	Former commander of the Palmach, Deputy Prime Minister in 1967, he called for a new ethnic cleansing on the scale of the Nakba.	Is this the way to occupy Hebron? A couple of artillery bombardments on Hebron and not a single 'Hebronite' would have remained there. Is this the way to occupy [East] Jerusalem [without driving most of the Arabs out].	Nur Masalha A land without a people, Faber and Faber, 1997, p. 179, quoting Tzvi Shiloah Ashmat Yerushalayim [The Guilt of Jerusalem] (1989), pp. 53 et 281. Shiloah pointed out that Allon's commentary was also valid for Nablus (p.54).
27 Nov. 1967	De Gaulle, Charles (1890-1970)	At a famous press conference	As we know, the voice of France was ignored and Israel did attack and in six days achieved all of its objectives. Now it (Israel) is organizing on the territories it has taken an occupation which necessarily involves oppression, repression and expulsions, and these are met with a resistance which it in turn calls terrorism.	Public video
28 Feb. 1968	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	Then Chief of Staff of the army. Interview in the daily Le Monde	I do not believe that Nasser wanted war. The two divisions which he sent into Sinai on May 14 would not have been enough to unleash an offensive against Israel. He knew it and we knew it.	"Le Monde", Feb. 28, 1968.
14 May 1967 5 July 1968	Dayan,	Then Minister of	Our fathers had reached the frontiers recognized in the partition	London Sunday Times, June
3 July 1900		Defense, in front of the young people of the kibbutzim	plan. Our generation reached the frontiers of 1949. Now the Six- Day War generation carried these frontiers to Suez, Jordan, and these Golan Heights. This is not the end. For after the present	25 1969. Quoted by Haroub Othman Yes, in my Lifetime (Mkuti na Nyota – Codesria), 2014, p.238 (online)
7 July 1968	1981)	Then Minister of Defense, announcing the Zionist program in the aftermath of the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza	During the last 100 years our people have been in a process of building up the country and the nation, of expansion, of getting additional Jews and additional settlements in order to expand the borders here. Let no Jew say that the process has ended. Let no Jew say that we are near the end of the road.	Ma'ariv, July 7 1968.
6 Dec. 1968	Menachem	Mocking Labour who would like a solution to the "demographic problem" without abandoning any important center of Palestinian population Source not found	"Labor] tells us that more than a million Arabs will be added to the 320,000 Arabs and Druze in divided Israel if we refuse to share the western land of Israel [Mandate Palestine] But when we talk about the Gaza Strip, which has a population of 340,000 Arabs, they all say to us today: It was ours and it was taken from us, but we will stay there forever When we talk about the Golan Heights, they tell us: it will be ours, and we will not let it go. When we speak of the unified Jerusalem, where 70,000 Arabs live, they say, all of them, it has been unified and will never be divided again. When we speak of al-Khalil, mount al-Khalil and its inhabitants, who are more than 80,000 Arabs, they say, it is ours. When we speak of Qalqylia and its 9,000 Arab inhabitants, they say, it is ours. Tel Aviv was bombed from this city." Then Begin performs a very simple calculation, to conclude that the Labor Party map includes almost one million Arabs, but excludes only 440,000 Arabs, who "because of them, they make us fear the demographic danger." He adds, "If this assumption is correct, to say that with the figure of one million, we will have an equality between the number of Arabs and Jews, after 20 years, without the 440,000, we will get there, let's say, in 27 years. Is that the demographic problem? A people that lives for 7 years?" Translated from French	alyses/Sionisme-transfert-et-
1969	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	Then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel, expressing his racist views towards	One of the great apprehensions which afflict us when we contemplate our cultural scene is the danger lest the predominance of immigrants of Oriental origin force Israel to equalize its cultural level with that of the neighboring world. So	Abba Eban, Voice of Israel, Horizon Press. 1969. Quoted by Sammi Smooha, Israel: Pluralism and Conflict. Univ.

		Mizrahi Jewish immigrants (and Arabs in general).	far from regarding our immigrants from Oriental countries as a bridge on our way to integration in the Arabic-speaking world, our object should be to infuse them with an Occidental spirit, rather than to allow them to drag us into an unnatural Orient.	of California Press, 1978, p. 88.
1969	Meir, Golda (1898-1978)	In a Mapai meeting to support Israel's right to colonize the occupied territories	For me the supreme morality is the the jewish people has a right to exist. Without that there is no morality in the world.	Benny Morris Victimes, Histoire revisitée du conflir arabo-sioniste, Complexes, 2003, p. 374.
		approximate date		
1969	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	Two years after the conquest of 1967, already announces the project of annexations Precise date and	The settlements established in the territories are there forever, and the future frontiers will include these settlements as part of Israel.	Quoted by Noam Chomsky The Fateful Triangle, Pluto Press, 1983.
		circumstances missing		
1969	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)	In response to a question about 'recognition of the existence of a Palestinian people' at Kibbutz Mapam of Ein Haroresh	My friend, take care. When you recognize the concept of 'Palestine', you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahoresh. If this is Palestine and not the Land of Israel, then you are conquerors and not tillers of the land. You are invaders. If this is Palestine, then it belongs to a people who have lived here before you came. Only if it is the Land of Israel do you have a right to live in Ein Hahoresh and in Deganiyah Bet. If it is not your country, your fatherland, the country of your ancestors and of your sons, then what are you doing here? You came to another people's homeland, as they claim, you expelled them and you have taken their land.	Quoted by Ariel Bober in Matzpen's text <i>The Other</i> <i>Israël</i> , Doubleday, 1972 http://www.marxists.org/
8 Mar. 1969	Meir, Golda (1898-1978)	New York Times interview	How can we return the occupied territories? There is nobody to return them to. We can't send it to Nasser by parcel post.	Date as confirmed in a Sept. 21 1969 paper of the New York Times https://www.nytimes.com/196 9/09/21/archives/palestinians -role.html
Apr. 1969 1948	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	Talking to students of the Haifa Technion about the Palestinian villages destroyed in 1948	All our settlements are built on the ruins of Palestinian villages. Yes, we have not only erased them to the ground but also erased their names from the history books. So you have your valid reasons for fighting them against us. Our problem is not how to get rid of them but how to live with them. If I were a Palestinian myself I would probably be a fighter in Al Fatah.	Erich Fried, Die israelische Tragödie Konkret, 1973, n°21, 46f, quotded by Norman Paech Kein Frieden im Nahen Osten
			Alle unsere Siedlungen sind erbaut auf den Ruinen palästinensischer Dörfer. Ja wir haben sie nicht nur ausradiert bis auf den Boden sondern auch ihre Namen aus den Geschichtsbüchern ausradiert. Sie haben also ihre triftigen Gründe für den Kampf den sie gegen uns führen. Unser Problem ist nicht wie wir sie loswerden sollen sondern wie wir mit ihnen leben können. Wenn ich selbst ein Palästinenser wäre ich wäre wahrscheinlich ein Kämpfer in Al Fatah.	http://www.tlaxcala-int.org/article.asp?reference=21279
4 Apr. 1969 env. 1925	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	Talking about the creation of settlements in the period 1921-1927 on land purchased in the valley of Marj Ibn Amir / Jezreel. Often quoted incomplete about the villages destroyed after 1948	We came to this country which was already populated by Arabs, and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is a Jewish state here. In considerable areas of the country we bought lands from the Arabs Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these Arab villages, and I do not blame you because geography books no longer exist, not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either Nahlal arose in the place of Mahlul; Kibbutz Gvat in the place of Jibta; Kibbutz Sarid in the place of Huneifis; and Kefar Yehushu'a in the place of Tal al-Shuman. There is not one single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population.	Speech at the Technion, Haifa, Haaretz, April 4 1969.

15 June 1969	Meir, Golda (1898-1978)	Prime Minister of Israel, the Palestinians have never existed.	There were no such thing as Palestinians. When was there an independent Palestinian people with a Palestinian state? It was either southern Syria before the First World War, and then it was a Palestine including Jordan. It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist.	Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel, June 15 1969. Sunday Times (June 15 1969), The Washington Post (June 16 1969)
15 Nov. 1969 1921	HaCohen, David (1898- 1984)	Leader of the Mapai ("socialist" party), in a speech to the Mapai secretariat, referring to his student years in London (1919-1922) (reconstructed text)	I remember being one of the first of our comrades to go to London after the First World War There I became a socialist When I joined the socialist students – English, Irish, Jewish, Chinese, Indian, African – we found that we were all under English domination or rule. And even here, in these intimate surroundings, I had to fight my friends on the issue of Jewish socialism, to defend the fact that I would not accept Arabs in my trade union, the Histadrut; to defend preaching to housewives that they not buy at Arab stores; to defend the fact that we stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there To pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes; to attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash the Arab eggs they had bought; to praise to the skies the Kereen Kayemet [Jewish Fund] that sent Hanlon to Beirut to buy land from absentee effendi [landlords] and to throw the fellahin[peasants] off the land – to buy dozens of dunams from an Arab is permitted, but to sell, God forbid, one Jewish dunam to an Arab is prohibited; to take Rothschild, the incarnation of capitalism, as a socialist and to name him the "benefactor" – to do all that was not easy. And despite the fact that we did it – maybe we had no choice – I wasn't happy about it.	Haaretz, November 15 1969. Quoted by Nur Masalha, Expulsion of the Palestinians, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992, p. 25 Quoted by Michel Warschawski, Israël Palestine, le défi binational, Textuel, 2001, p. 32, which indicate Nov. 15 1968. English version:: https://www.matzpen.org/engl ish/1972-02-10/introduction/
31 Jan. 1970	Russell, Bertrand (1872-1970)	In his last message, read at the International Conference of Parliamentarians in Cairo	The development of the crisis in the Middle East is both dangerous and instructive. For over 20 years Israel has expanded by force of arms. After every stage in this expansion Israel has appealed to "reason" and has suggested "negotiations". This is the traditional role of the imperial power, because it wishes to consolidate with the least difficulty what it has already taken by violence. Every new conquest becomes the new basis of the proposed negotiation from strength, which ignores the injustice of the previous aggression. The aggression committed by Israel must be condemned, not only because no state has the right to annexe foreign territory, but because every expansion is an experiment to discover how much more aggression the world will tolerate.	http://www.connexions.org/ CxLibrary/Docs/CX5576- RussellMidEast.htm
31 Jan. 1970	Russell, Bertrand (1872-1970)	Message to the International Conference of Parliamentarians in Cairo (Feb. 70), written just before his death (excerpt)	The tragedy of the people of Palestine is that their country was "given" by a foreign Power to another people for the creation of a new State. The result was that many hundreds of thousands of innocent people were made permanently homeless. With every new conflict their number have increased. How much longer is	New York Times, Feb. 23, 1970 https://russell-j.com/1502MFBR.HTM
1971	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	No "Jewish people"? This is what Ben Gurion thinks about the "mixed multitude" that arrived in Palestine	The exiles that are being uprooted and ingathered in Israel do not yet constitute a people, but a mixed multitude and human dust without a language, without education, without roots, and without being able to draw upon a tradition and a vision of a nationThe transformation of this human dust into a cultured, independent nation bearing a vision is no easy task, and the difficulties involved are no less than those of economic absorption.	David Ben-Gurion, Yihud ve- yiud: Devarim al bithon yisrael, Ma'arakhot, Tel Aviv, 1971. Oz Almog, The Sabra - A Profile, Am Oved, 1997, p. 143.

24 Jan. 1971 1928	Meir, Golda (1898-1978)	Prime Minister, in an interview with The Observer about what the Jewish union Histadrut was in 1928	Other version: The dying exiles being rounded-up in Israel are not yet tantamount to a nation, but to sub-human riffraff, with no langage, no education, no roots. Transforming humanoïd raw-material into a cultural nation is no esay task. » Then [1928] I was put on the Histadrut Executive at a time when this big labor union wasn't just a trade union organization. It was a great colonizing agency.	quoted in Uri Davis, <i>Utopia Incorporated</i> , Zed Books, 1977. https://electronicintifada.net/c
25 Mar. 1971	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In an interview by John McCook Roots for Saturday Review, in a realistic vision of the future of the "Jewish State".	Peace, real peace, is now the great necessity for us. It is worth almost any sacrifice. To get it, we must return to the borders before 1967. If I were still prime minister, I would announce that we are prepared to give back all the territory occupied in the six-day war except East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights-Jerusalem for history's sake and the Golan for security". () Sinai? Sharm el Sheik? Gaza? The West Bank? Let them go," Ben-Gurion is quoted. "Peace is more important than real estate. We don't need the territory. With proper irrigation we now have enough land right here in the Negey to care for all the Jews in	ontent/histadrut-israels-racist-trade-union/8121 The Saturday Review, April 3, 1971, pp 14, 16. Quoted in Malcolm Kerr, <i>The elusive peace in the Middle East,</i> State Univ. of NY Press, p.98, full quote taken from the fac simile of Ossowo
				papers? nid=1978&dat=19710325&id =hWEiAAAAIBAJ&sjid=e6sF AAAAIBAJ&pg=1055,283307
15 Oct. 1971	Meir, Golda (1898-1978)	Prime Minister at the time, Golda Meir, although an atheist, makes her religion when it comes to justifying Israel.	This country exists as the fulfillment of a promise made by God Himself. It would be ridiculous to ask it to account for its legitimacy.	Le Monde, Oct. 15, 1971. Quoted by Alain Gresh, Dominique Vidal; <i>Proche-</i> <i>orient, une guerre de 100</i> <i>ans,</i> Editions sociales, 1984.
1972 1948	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)	Admitting that in 1948, Zionists, especially the Irgun terrorists under his leadership, were already attacking the territory planned for the "Arab State" before the proclamation of Israel	In the months preceding the Arab invasion, and while the five Arab states were conducting preparations, we continued to make sallies into Arab territory. The conquest of Jaffa stands out as an event of first-rate importance in the struggle for Hebrew independence early in May, on the eve [that is, before the alleged Arab invasion] of the invasion by the five Arab states.	Menachem Begin <i>The</i> Revolt, 1972, p.348. Quoted by Clifford A. Wright, Facts and Fables, Routledge, 1988 (online).
1972	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a book. Ben Gurion offered 100 lirot to every woman for the birth of her 10th child	Any Jewish woman who, as far as it depends on her, does not bring into the world at least four healthy children is shirking her [sacred] duty to the nation.	David Ben Gurion, Israel: a personal history, Sabra Books, 1972, p.839. Quoted by Jacqueline Rose The Question of Zion, Princeton Univ. Press, 2005, p.51
1972	Ben Gurion, David (1886- 1973)	In a pure senile denial of the existence of the Palestinians chased by him during the Nakba, in front of Israeli television	Those who fled from the country, who told them to flee? Where do these million and two hundred thousand refugees come from? They were never in our territory. This whole business is a sham.	www.televizia.net. Quoted by Simone Bignall & Paul Patten, <i>Deleuze and the</i> <i>Post-Colonial</i> , Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2010, p. 226.
1972	Herzog, Chaim (1918- 1997)	Nine years before his election as President of Israel, summarizes Israeli diplomacy	I do not deny the Palestinians any place or stand or opinion on every matter. But certainly I am not prepared to consider them as partners in any respect in a land that has been consecrated in the hands of our nation for thousands of years. For the Jews of this land there cannot be any partner.	Amnon Kapeliouk, <i>Israel: la fin des mythes</i> , Albin Michel, 1975, p. 220. Quoted by Noam Chomsky <i>Deterring Democracy, Afterword</i> , 1992 edition. http://chomsky-must-read.blogspot.com/2008/03/d

				d-after-s13.html
	Fatah/ Al- Fateh	In its 1972 platform, the main PLO organization, Fatah, called for a "unitary, democratic and non- sectarian" state for all of Palestine, without elaborating further.	Al-Fateh aims at the establishment of a unitary, democratic, non- sectarian Palestine State in which all individuals and groups will have equal rights and obligations, irrespective of race, color or creed. [] Al-Fateh does not intend to solve the Palestine problem by creating a "Jewish one." But it also cannot see peace achieved in this area at the expense of the Palestinians.	The Palestine Liberation Movement – Al-Fateh http://www.freedomarchives.o rg/Documents/Finder/DOC12 _scans/12.palestine.national.l iberation.pdf
1972	Weizman, Ezer (1924- 2005)	General, Chief of Operations, IDF General Staff, about the 6 Day War	There was never a danger of extermination. This hypothesis had never been considered in any serious meeting.	Haaretz, March 29, 1972.
5 June 1967 29 Mar. 1972 5 June 1967	Hod, Mordechai (1926-2003)		Sixteen years planning had gone into those initial eighty minutes. We lived with the plan, we slept on the plan, we ate the plan. Constantly we perfected it.	Haaretz, March 29, 1972. Quoted by Alfred M. Lilienthal, <i>The Zionist</i> <i>Connection</i> , New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1978, pp. 558- 559
4 avril 1972 5 June 1967		Former head of military intelligence, and future president of Israel, about the 6-day war	There was no danger of annihilation. Israeli headquarters never believed in this danger.	Maariv, April 4 1972.
4 avril 1972	Bar-Lev, Haïm (1924- 1994)	General, Chief of General Staff, IDF, talking about the 6 Day War	We were not threatened with genocide on the eve of the six-day war, and we had never thought of such a possibility.	Maariv, April 4, 1972
14 avril 1972	Bentov, Mordechaï (1900-1985)	Former Minister, about the 6 Day War	« All this story about the danger of extermination [of Israel in June 1967] has been a complete invention and has been blown up a posteriori to justify the annexation of Arab territory. » Also given as: "The entire story of the danger of extermination was invented in every detail, and exaggerated a posteriori to justify the annexation of new Arab territory. »	Al-Hamishmar, April 14, 1971 [Al Hamichmar, April 14 1972; Le Monde, June 3 1972 for the 2nd version]
	Peled, Mattityahu (1923-1995)	General, from the IDF General Staff, about the 6-day war	All those stories about the huge danger we were facing because of our small territorial size, an argument expounded once the war was over, had never been considered our calculations prior to the unleashing of hostilities. While we proceeded towards the full mobilization of our forces, no person in his right mind could believe that all this force was necessary to our defence against the Egyptian threat. To pretend that the Egyptian forces concentrated on our borders were capable of threatening Israel's existence does not only insult the intelligence of any person capable of analyzing this kind of situation, but is primarily an insult to the Israeli army.	Le Monde, June 3, 1972
14 July 1972		President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has the authority to recall what Zionism is all about	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, colonialization or Jewish State without the eviction of the Arabs and the expropriation of their lands.	Yediot Aharonot, July 14, 1972. (quote wrongly attributed to Ariel Sharon)
17 July 1972	Meir, Golda (1898-1978)	Before the 75th Convention of the Zionist Organization of America		Meir Warns American Jews of Dangers of Assimilation. JTA, July 17, 1972, https://www.jta.org/1972/07/1 7/archive/meir-warns- american-jews-of-dangers-of- assimilation
27 Sep.	Meir, Golda	Prime Minister,	The frontier [of Israel] is where Jews live, not where there is a	Quoted by Geoffrey Aronson,

1972	(1898-1978)	speaking to Jewish immigrants from the USSR in the Golan Heights	line on the map.	Palestinians and the Intifada. Creating facts on the West Bank, Kegan Paul International, 1990, p. 14.
1973	Dan, Uri (1935-2006)	Journalist, admirer of Ariel Sharon, at the time when the latter, seeing his military career blocked,	Those who rejected him as chief of staff will get him in due time as defense minister. And those who will reject him as defense minister will get him as prime minister.	https://www.vanityfair.com/ news/2002/01/israel-ariel- sharon Quoted by Uri Avnery, <i>The</i>
		founded the Likud.		Bang and the Whimper, Sept 3, 2005.
1973	Avidan, Abraham (Zemel) (-)	Rabbi of the central command of the army, nicknamed 'Zemzl', writing in a pamphlet (prefaced by General Yona Efrati of the central command) on the right to kill any non-Jewish and non-impotent person	When our forces encounter civilians during the war or in the course of a pursuit or a raid, the encountered civilians may, and by Halachic standards even must be killed, whenever it cannot be ascertained that they are incapable of hitting us back. Under no circumstances should an Arab be trusted, even if he gives the impression of being civilized.	Reproduced in Haolam Hazeb, May 15, 1974. Quoted by Edward Said, Zionism from the standpoint of victims, Social Text, 1979, p.34. https://racismandnationalcon sciousnessresources.files.wo rdpress.com/2008/11/ edward-said-zionism-from- the-standpoint-of-its- victims.pdf
31 Mar. 1973	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	In an article for the Jewish liberal journal Congress Bi-Weekly, presents what will serve as artillery against any opponent of Israel	One of the chief tasks of any dialogue with the Gentile world is to prove that the distinction between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism is not a distinction at all.	Quoted by Noam Chomsky, The Task Ahead Is Enormous, and There Is Not Much Time, https://www.jacobinmag.com/ 2019/07/noam-chomsky- interview-climate-change- imperialism
Sep. 1973	Meir, Golda (1898-1978)	In an interview, expresses the baseline of the most despicable Zionist racism	We can forgive the Arabs for killing our children. We cannot forgive them for forcing us to kill their children. We will only have peace with the Arabs when they love their children more than they hate us.	60 Minutes Interview, Sept. 1973. Contested: https://www.haaretz.com/gold a-meir-s-gems-did-she-really-say-that-1.5371930 Quoted by: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/golda-meir-quotes-on-israel-and-judaism
2 Nov. 1973	Yehoshafat (1921-1994)	to surrender	We must define our position and lay down basic principles for a settlement. Our demands should be moderate and balanced, and appear to be reasonable. But in fact they must involve such conditions as to ensure that the enemy rejects them. Then we should manoeuvre and allow him to define his own position, and reject a settlement on the basis of a compromise solution. We should then publish his demands as embodying unreasonable extremism.	Maariv, Nov. 2, quoted by David Hirst, <i>The Gun and the Olive Branch</i> , p. 183.
30 Nov. 1973	Leibowitz, Yeshayahu (1903-1994)	commenting on the	The guideline of our policy has always been the idea that a permanent situation of no peace and of a latent war is the best situation for us, and that it must be maintained at all costs As regards foreign and security policy, this has been that we are becoming stronger year by year in a situation of impending conflict where it is possible that actual fighting may break out from time to time. Such wars will usually be short and the results guaranteed in advance, since the gap between us and the Arabs is increasing. In this way we shall move on from occupation to further occupation. As its authors anticipated, this criminally mischievous policy has prevailed for twenty-five years. It has led us into the crisis we are living through today now that all the assumptions of that policy have collapsed We have not been seeking peace for twenty-five years—all declarations to that effect have been no more than coloured statements or deliberate lies. There is of course no assurance that we could have made	Yeshayahu Leibowitz, 30 Novembre 1973, quoted by David Hirst <i>The Gun and the</i> <i>Olive Branch</i> , Faber and Faber, 1987, p.388.

			peace with the Arabs if we had wanted to. However, it has to be heavily emphasized that we have not only made no attempts to seek peace, but have deliberately and with premeditation, sabotaged every possibility of doing so.	
Dec. 1973	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	These remarks were made by Abba Eban in the aftermath of the Geneva talks that followed the Yom Kippur War	The Arabs never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity.	As quoted by the Jerusalem Post of Nov. 18, 2002.
1974	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	Abba Eban, Foreign Minister of Israel, before the Israeli press Date and exact circumstances to be specified	Now that the states of black Africa have broken with us in such a brutal manner [], we are free from the duty of discretion that we have so faithfully respected until now []. That is why we can now say everything we think. Just a few weeks ago a study by Professor Baker was published in Great Britain which, among other things, compares the history of Jews and of the Blacks in the United States, showing the differences in development, under similar circumstances, between the races that differ in terms of intelligence and other traits, Benabdallah reports. The question raised is whether the inferiority of Blacks is the outcome of the difficult circumstances they experienced for generations (chronic malnutrition, etc.) or whether it is their cause. In spite of the objections made by the progressives, who describe studies of this type as 'racist,' it appears that there is a hereditary difference in the intellectual level of a person whose father lived in the jungle and that of another whose ancestors were rabbis.	Ferocity, the Genocides of Non-Whites and Non-Aryans from 1492 to Date, Codesria,
1976	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	In an interview shown in the film "Rabin in his own words", where he compares colonies to cancer	I don't say with certainty that we won't reach [the point of] evacuation, because of the [Palestinian] population. I don't think it's possible to contain over the long term, if we don't want to get to apartheid, a million and a half [more] Arabs inside a Jewish state.	http:// www.timesofisrael.com/in- 1976-interview-rabin-likens- settlements-to-cancer-warns- of-apartheid/
7 Sep. 1976		From the Ministry of the Interior, in a report for Yitzhak Rabin on Galilee in which he advocates the internal colonization of Galilee	"Expand and deepen Jewish settlement in areas where the contiguity of the Arab population is prominent, and where they number considerably more than the Jewish population; examine the possibility of diluting existing Arab population concentrations. Special attention must be paid to border areas in the country's northwest and to the Nazareth region. The approach and exigency of performance have to deviate from the routine that has been adopted so far. Concurrently, the state law has to be enforced so as to limit "breaking of new ground" by Arab settlements in various areas of the country."	The Koenig Report (1976) on Handling the Arabs of Israël, Israël Koenig, Ministry of Interior; Section 1: The Demographic Problem; published in Swasia vol III No. 41, 15 October 1976, pp. 1-8 (Koenig report in israeli newspaper Al Hamishmar of Sept. 7 1976). Quoted in <i>The Edward Said Reader</i> , p. 163. https://epdf.pub/edwardsaid.html
1977	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)	Speaking of his damned soul Ariel Sharon	If he gets the chance, he'll surround the Knesset with his tanks.	Quoted by Uri Avnery, <i>The</i> Bang and the Whimper, 3/9/2005
1977	Etzioni, Moshe (1908- 1998)	Judge of the Supreme Court of Israel, interviewed by Amnesty International on the rate of confessions (indicator of torture)	The Arabs in any case – if they are arrested – do not take much time before they confess. It's part of their nature.	Amnesty International Newsletter, September 1977. Quoted by Noam Chomsky & Edward Herman, <i>The</i> Washington Connection and Third World Fascism, Spokesman Press, 1979
17 June 1977	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	Representative of Israel to the United Nations	Propaganda is the art of persuading others of what one does not believe oneself.	Abba Eban <i>Arab Hopes and Israeil Fears</i> , New York Times, June 17 1977. https://www.nytimes.com/197 7/06/17/archives/arab-hopes-and-israeli-fears.html

Content of the free world of					Quoted by Norman Finkelstein, Mythes et réalités du conflit israélo- palestinien, Aden, 2007.
Menachem (1913-1992) May Carter at the White House, exploiting the relationship with Christian Zonism and biblical religious roots	17 July 1977	Menachem	Loubavitch Rabbi Schneerson in New York City before his meeting with Jeremy	meetings. I do not call them 'fateful' meetings, because the people of Israel, the Jewish People, are an eternal people, and their lot and future are not dependent on a political meeting with	hbad.org/therebbe/article_cd o/aid/1257812/jewish/The- Israeli-Prime-Ministers- Jewish-Pride.htm sur
Nathan (1913-1980) turned proponent of negotiations with the PLO, about Zionist contribution to the Nazi project on the Jews Stem, 1940-1948, Pressa de la Renaissance, 1976, p. 98.	19 July 1977	Menachem	with US President Jimmy Carter at the White House, exploiting the relationship with Christian Zionism and	names. You have eleven places with the name Hebron; five with the name Shiloh and seven with the name Bethlehem. Can you imagine a governor in one of these states prohibiting Jews from living in these cities? The Israeli government also cannot prohibit	Akiva Eldar, Les seigneurs de la terre, Seuil, 2013, p. 88.
Yeshayahu (1925-) the Six Day War date undetermined (1930-1995) Gur, Mordechai (1930-1995) General, Chief of Staff (2—Is is true (during the March 1978 Israeli invasion of the Army from 1974 Lebanon) that you bombarded agglomerations [of people] to 1978, justifying state terrorism without hesitation Do you think that I pretend not to know what we have done all these years? What did we do the entire length of the Suz Canal? A million and a half refugees Since when has the population of South Lebanon become so sacred? They knew porfectly well what the terrorists were doing. After the massacre at Avivim, I had four villages in South Lebanon bombed without authorization. Q—Without making distinctions between civilians and non-civilians? A—What distinction? What had the inhabitants of Irbid (a large town in North Jordan, principally Palestinian in population) done to deserve bombing by us? Q—But military communiques always spoke of returning fire and of counter-strikes against terrorist objectives? A—Please be serious. Did you not know that the entire valley of the Jordan had been emptied of its inhabitants as a resuit of the war of attrition? Q—Then you claim that the population ought to be punished? A—Of course, and I have never had any doubt about that. When I authorized Yanouch [diminutive name of the Commander of the Northern Front, responsible for the Lebanese opération] to use aviation, artillery and tanks [in the invasion] I knew exactly what I was doing. It has now been thirty years, from the time of our Independence War until now, that we have been fighting against the civilian [Arab] population which inhabited the villages and towns, and every time that we do it, the same question gets		Nathan (1913-1980)	turned proponent of negotiations with the PLO, about Zionist contribution to the Nazi project on the Jews	additional advantage in that they would fulfil one of her avowed aims, namely, to rid Europe of the Jews.	Israela: Histoire du Groupe Stern, 1940-1948, Presse de la Renaissance, 1978, p. 98.
Mordechai (1930-1995) of the Army from 1974 (1930-1995) state terrorism without hesitation A—I am not one of those people who have a selective memory. Do you think that I pretend not to know what we have done all these years? What did we do the entire length of the Suez Canal? A million and a half refugees! Really: where do you live? We bombarded ismalia, Suez, Port-Said, and Port Fouad. A million and a half refugees Since when has the population of South Lebanon become so sacred? They knew porfectly well what the terrorists were doing. After the massacre at Avivim, I had four villages in South Lebanon bombed without authorization. Q—Without making distinctions between civilians and noncivilians? A—What distinction? What had the inhabitants of Irbid (a large town in North Jordan, principally Palestinian in population) done to deserve bombing by us? Q—But military communiques always spoke of returning fire and of counter-strikes against terrorist objectives? A—Please be serious. Did you not know that the entire valley of the Jordan had been emptied of its inhabitants as a resuit of the war of attrition? Q—Then you claim that the population ought to be punished? A—Of course, and I have never had any doubt about that. When I authorized Yanouch [diminutive name of the Commander of the Northern Front, responsible for the Lebanese opération] to use aviation, artillery and tanks [in the invasion] I knew exactly what I was doing. It has now been thirty years, from the time of our Independence War until now, that we have been fighting against the civilian [Arab] population which inhabited the villiang gaainst the civilian [Arab] population which inhabited the villiang gaainst the civilian [Arab] population which inhabited the villiang sand	1978	Yeshayahu	of Sector South, about the Six Day War		OT. Quoted by Alfred M. Lilienthal, <i>The Zionist</i> Connection, Dodd, Mead &
1980 Sharon, Ariel Passing by helicopter I want the Arabs to see Jewish lights every night 500 meters Quoted by Emmanuel Sivan,		Mordechai (1930-1995)	of the Army from 1974 to 1978, justifying state terrorism without hesitation	Lebanon) that you bombarded agglomerations [of people] without distinction? A—I am not one of those people who have a selective memory. Do you think that I pretend not to know what we have done all these years? What did we do the entire length of the Suez Canal? A million and a half refugees! Really: where do you live? We bombarded Ismalia, Suez, Port-Said, and Port Fouad. A million and a half refugees Since when has the population of South Lebanon become so sacred? They knew pcrfectly well what the terrorists were doing. After the massacre at Avivim, I had four villages in South Lebanon bombed without authorization. Q—Without making distinctions between civilians and noncivilians? A—What distinction? What had the inhabitants of Irbid (a large town in North Jordan, principally Palestinian in population) done to deserve bombing by us? Q—But military communiques always spoke of returning fire and of counter-strikes against terrorist objectives? A—Please be serious. Did you not know that the entire valley of the Jordan had been emptied of its inhabitants as a resuit of the war of attrition? Q—Then you claim that the population ought to be punished? A—Of course, and I have never had any doubt about that. When I authorized Yanouch [diminutive name of the Commander of the Northern Front, responsible for the Lebanese opération] to use aviation, artillery and tanks [in the invasion) I knew exactly what I was doing. It has now been thirty years, from the time of our Independence War until now, that we have been fighting against the civilian [Arab] population which inhabited the villages and towns, and every time that we do it, the same question gets asked: should we or should we not strike at civilians? »	1978, quoted by Edward Said, Zionism from the standpoint of victims,

	(1928-2014)	over the Netzarim settlement in the Gaza Strip	from them.	The lights of Netzarim , Haaretz, July 11 2003 https://www.haaretz.com/1.47 54537
1980	Eitan, Rafael (Rafoul) (1929-2004)	Chief of Staff of the Israeli army, making genocidal remarks during a meeting of the high command in Gaza in 1980	We have to do everything to make them (the Arabs) miserable so they'll leave. All the Arabs are the same. They should all be finished off.	Leslie Susser, Why does Rabin want this man in his coalition?, "The Jerusalem Report", April 7,1994, p. 24.
26 Feb. 1980	Hess, Israel (1935-1997)	Rabbi of Bar-llan University, in an article on the obligation to "exterminate Amalek". The article caused no protest but the rabbi had to resign later on.	We are all obligated to carry out genocide.	Bat Kol, 26 février 1980. Quoted by Shulamit Aloni, Haaretz, 19 septembre 2004
1981	Dayan, Moshe (1915- 1981)	Explains in 1976 to a young journalist, Rami Tal, the technique for provoking violent "reprisals" before 1967 following a response to graduated provocations.	the Golan Heights]. After all, I know how at least 80 percent of	mur de fer, Buchet Chastel,
4 Aug. 1981	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)		against civilian Arab populations; the air force operated against	Menahem Begin, Letter, Haaretz, August, 4, 1981; cited in Edward Herman, The Real Terror Network, (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1982), p. 77.
16 Aug. 1981	Eban, Abba (1915-2002)	Former Israeli ambassador to the UN and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eban outbids Menachem Begin in qualifying Israel's genocidal acts		Abba Eban, Morality and warfare, The Jerusalem Post, August 16, 1981, cited in Edward Herman, The Real Terror Network, (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1982), p. 77.
1982	Harkabi, Yehoshafat (1921-1994)	Former General Commander of Military Intelligence and Professor of Strategy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem	of its policies and can allow itself to confront the world. Any	Yehoshafat Harkabi, David A. Altshuler <i>The Bar Kokhba</i> <i>syndrome: risk and realism in</i> <i>international politics</i> ", Rossel Book, 1982, p.177.
5 June 1982	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)	Ex-terrorist, Likud leader, Prime Minister, explaining to some of his ministers that Lebanon must be invaded	Believe me that the alternative is Treblinka. And we have decided that there will be no more Treblinkas.	Sylvain Cypel, L'État d'Israël contre les Juifs, La Découverte, 2020, p.207.

8 June 1982	Cohen, Benjamin (1921-2000)	Tel Aviv University, in a letter to the French historian Pierre Vidal- Naquet	I am writing to you while listening to a transistor that has just announced that "we" are in the process of "realizing our objectives" in Lebanon: to insure "peace" for the residents of Galilee. These lies worthy of Goebbels make me mad. It is clear that this savage war, more barbaric than any of those preceding it, has nothing to do with the attempt in London or the security of Galilee Jews, sons of Abraham Jews, victims themselves of so much cruelty, how can they become so cruel? The greatest success of Zionism is the déjudaisation of Jews.	Le Monde, June 8 1982.
25 June 1982	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)		Begin described them [the Palestinians] as 'beasts walking on two legs'.	Quoted by Amnon Kapeliouk, Begin and the "Beasts, New Statesman, 25 June 1982 (verified source).
5 Aug. 1982	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)	In a letter to Ronald Reagan, Menachem Begin compares Beirut to Berlin and Arafat to Hitler, claiming a "right to massacre"	'Now, may I tell you dear Mr. President how I feel these days. I feel as a prime minister empowered to instruct a valiant army facing 'Berlin' where, amongst innocent civilians, Hitler and his henchmen hide in a bunker deep beneath the surface.'	https://www.upi.com/ Archives/1982/08/05/Begin- compares-Arafat-to-Hitler/ 2671397368000/
21 Aug. 1982 5 June 1967	Begin, Menachem (1913-1992)	Israel at the time of	In June 1967, we again had a choice. The Egyptian army concentrations in the Sinai did not prove Nasser was really about to attack us. We must be honest with ourselves. We decided to attack him.	Begin, Menachem, The New York Times, Aug. 21, 1982.
16 Mar. 1983	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	of ethnically cleansing	[Israel will] create in the course of the next 10 or 20 years conditions which would attract natural and voluntary migration of the refugees from the Gaza Strip and the west Bank to Jordan. To achieve this we have to come to agreement with King Hussein and not with Yasser Arafat.	David Shipler, in the New York Times of April 4 1983, quoting the remarks of Meir Cohen-Avidov to the Committee of Foreign Afairs and Defence of the Knesset of March 16.
14 Apr. 1983	Eitan, Rafael (Rafoul) (1929-2004)	Chief of Staff of the IDF (Israeli army), before the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Not to be confused with the director of the Mossad of the same name.	for every incident of stone-throwing by Arab youths, 10 settlements should be built. "When we have settled the land," he was quoted as saying, "all the Arabs will be able to do about it will be to scurry around like drugged roaches in a bottle.	David Shipler, New York Times, April 14, 1983, p. A3.
Dec. 1983 June 1967	Shahak, Israel (1933- 2001)	Human Rights League, Bergen Belsen survivor, commenting on the emergency laws passed after the 1967	Hitler's legal power was based upon the 'Enabling Act', which was passed quite legally by the Reichstag and which allowed the Fuehrer and his representatives, in plain language, to be what thev wanted, or in legal language, to issue regulations having the force of law. Exactly the same type of act was passed by the Knesset [Israeli's Parliament) immediately alter the 1967 conquest granting the Israeli governor and his representatives the power of Hitler, which they use in Hitlerian manner.	Palestine, vol. 12, December 1983 (loose source)
1984 1939	Rilov, Nissan (1922-2007)	seen in 1939	The first act was to plough the land to affirm the fait accompli. Then the second action was undertaken: to drive the Palestinians out of the village, after destroying their houses. To tell the truth, that's when I became aware of what we were being made to do. It is close to my home that such an operation took place (): Palestinian women throwing themselves and their children against our tractors, against the horses. It was an act of barbarism, it was difficult to describe it otherwise. In fact, I really started to crack in 1939. There was a real famine and the Palestinians who were driven out of their homes were the first to be affected. Sometimes, at night, some of them would dare to come and steal vegetables from the land that had belonged to them. This triggered new mobilizations against those who dared to touch the good of the Jews. A shot	Maurice Rajfus. Retours d'Israël, L'Harmattan, 1987, p. 289. See Akiva Orr, Homage to Nissan Rilov, http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/22 7/1/20070312_orr_homage_t o_nissan_rilov.pdf

			for a carrot! The strategy was to set up ambushes in the vegetable gardens outside the villages On that occasion we attacked a Palestinian peasant working in his own field. Of course, I was already little motivated after the sessions of destruction of the villages that I had little appreciated. After these exactions, we were asked to indulge in a real assassination. Translated from French.	
1984	Navon, Yitzhak (1921-2015)	One of the leaders of the Mapaï party, who became "moderate" President of Israel (1978-1983) during the 1984 election campaign.	The very point of Labor's Zionist program is to have as much land as possible and as few Arabs as possible!	Nur Masalah <i>A Land without</i> a People, Faber & Faber, 1997, p. 179, quoting Bernard Avishai, <i>The tragedy of Zionism</i> , Straus & Giroux, 1985, p. 340.
Nov. 1985	Yehoshua, Avraham (1936-)	Israeli novelist, laying the Palestinians the equation accept your minority status or leave. Conflicting or incomplete quotations depending on the sources.	You, the Israeli Arab, or the Palestinian with an Israeli citizenship, you are a minority here, you will remain a minority, as the Basques are in Spain and the Corsicans in France but the state is a Jewish state as Spain is a Spanish state.	Yehoshua, A. B. (1985). The mistake of the left: Yaron London interviews. Politika, p.10 (Hebrew). Quoted by Dan Soen (2002) Democracy, The Jewish-Arab Cleavage and tolerance education in Israel. https://vdocuments.mx/democracy-the-jewish-arab-cleavage-and-tolerance-education-in-israel.html Quoted by Lucas Catherine, Israël, la dernière colonie? EPO, 2003, p.218.
1986	Netanyahu, Benzion (1910-2012)		Terrorism is the first general attack on a free society that the enemies of freedom plan to carry out. When they achieve their goal, the fall of this country into the hands of its terrorist assailants, such a country becomes a satellite of Soviet Russia and a new base for its political expansion.	Benzion Netanyahu, Terrorists and Freedom Fighters, In: Terrorism: How the West Can Win, Washington, 1986, p.29. Quoted by Jean-Pierre Filiu Main basse sur Israël, La Découverte, 2018, p.40.
17 Jan. 1986	Mordechai (1929-2010)	Sephardic Chief Rabbi of Israel, commenting on the attempt by a Palestinian to buy an apartment owned by the KKL/JNF (Jewish National Fund) in Jerusalem.		Haaretz, Jan. 17, 1986
1987 1982	Oz, Amos (1939-2018)	In a collection of essays. He ironically mocks Menachem Begin and his justifications for the invasion of Lebanon in 1982.	Our sufferings have granted us immunity papers, as it were After what all those dirty goyim have done to us, none of them is entitled to preach morality to us. We, on the other hand, have carte blanche, because we were victims and have suffered so much. Once a victim, always a victim, and victimhood entitles its owners to a moral exemption.	In <i>The slopes of Lebanon</i> , Chatto, 1990, p.37. (original: Mi Mordot HaLevanon).
1987	Zeevi, Rehavam (1926-2001)	advocate of the	Zionism is in essence the Zionism of transfer. The transfer of the Jewish nation from the diaspora to Zion and the transfer of the Arabs from lands neighboring Palestine, who came here to enjoy the fruits of the prosperity that the Jews brought to this land. And now the time has come for the third transfer, the separation of	

		Palestinian PFLP in 2001.	peoples, so that they will stop murdering each other.	1.72123
1988 1973	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	Rabin indicates the limited objectives of	The Yom Kippur war was not fought by Egypt and Syria to threaten the existence of Israel. It was an all-out use of their military force to achieve a limited political goal. What Sadat wanted by crossing the canal was to change the political reality and, thereby, to start a political process from a point more favorable to him than the one that existed. In this respect, he succedeed.	Quoted by Donald Neff, Warriors trilogy on U.S. Middle East Handbook, Amana Books, 1988, p. 306.
1988	Harkabi, Yehoshafat (1921-1994)	in 1988, explains that	Israel is the criterion according to which all Jews will tend to be judged. Israel as a Jewish state is an example of the Jewish character, which finds free and concentrated expression within it. Anti-Semitism has deep and historical roots. Nevertheless, any flaw in Israeli conduct, which initially is cited as anti-Israelism, is likely to be transformed into empirical proof of the validity of anti-Semitism. It would be a tragic irony if the Jewish state, which was intended to solve the problem of anti-Semitism, was to become a factor in the rise of anti-Semitism. Israelis must be aware that the price of their misconduct is paid not only by them but also Jews throughout the world.	Yehoshafat Harkabi <i>Israel's Fateful Hour</i> , Harper & Row, 1988, pp 219-220.
1988	Leibowitz, Yeshayahu (1903-1994)	Israeli Orthodox scientist, moralist and historian, in an article entitled "Forty years later".	What many call "the undivided Land of Israel" is not, and can never he, the state of the Jewish people, but only a Jewish regime of force. The state of Israel today is neither a democracy nor a state abiding by the rule of law, since it rules over a million and a half people deprived of civil and political rights. That a subjugated people would fight for its freedom against the conquering ruler, with all the means at its disposal, without being squeamish about their legitimacy, was only to be expected. This has been true of the wars of liberation of all peoples. We call the acts of the Palestinians "terrorism" and their fighters "terrorists." Rut we are unable to maintain our rule over the rebellious people only by actions regarded the world-over as criminal. We refer to this as "policy" rather than "terror" because it is conducted by a duly constituted government and its regular army.	Yeshayahu Leibowitz, <i>Human Values and the Jewish State</i> , Harvard Univ. Press, 1992, pp. 243-244.
1988	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	During an election debate in 1988, showing the general's shell under the politician's tie	« They also know: 260 Palestinians were killed in the last two months!" he proclaimed to boisterous applause from his audience. "7,000 were wounded!" Rabin bragged. "18,000 were arrested!" He continued boastfully, "5,600 are currently in prison. Are these trivial numbers? Are these trivial numbers?"	https://www.youtube.com/ watch? v=TiSR9Xcv1mc&feature=rel ated Quoted by Max Blumenthal http://www.alternet.org/world/i -would-see-gaza-drown-sea- remembering-true-yitzhak- rabin-20-years-after-his- assassination-0
Jan. 1988	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	Former General turned Minister of Defense, gives informal instructions to army commanders about young Palestinian stone- throwers	Break their bones!	Quoted by Paul Grossrieder, Director-General of the Red Cross, Critique Internationale N°16, july 2002, and many other sources.
31 Jan. 1988		U.S. Secretary of State from 1973 to 1977 then influential consultant, talking about the 1st Palestinian Intifada, according to a memo whose content has not been denied by the person concerned; translating the extremism of	In summarizing Mr. Kissinger's points, the memo said: "Israel should bar the media from entry into the territories involved in the present demonstrations, accept the short-term criticism of the world press for such conduct, and put down the insurrection as quickly as possible - overwhelmingly, brutally and rapidly." 'Throw Out Television' Paraphrasing Mr. Kissinger, the memo said: "The insurrection must be quelled immediately, and the first step should be to throw out television, a la South Africa. To be sure, there will be international criticism of the step, but it will dissipate in short order. "As he put it, 'There are no awards for losing with moderation.'"	http://www.nytimes.com/ 1988/03/05/world/kissinger- urged-ban-on-tv-reports.html Journal of Palestine Studies, Summer 2002, pp 99-101.

		organized American Zionism		
5 Feb. 1988	Leibowitz, Yeshayahu (1903-1994)	Israeli Orthodox scientist, moralist and historian, compares Israel's behavior in the occupied territories to that of the Nazis outside Germany.	We are already behaving in the Occupied Territories, in the West Bank, Gaza and Lebanon in the same way as the Nazis did in their Occupied Territories in Czechoslovakia and the West. We have not yet set up concentration camps as they did in the East but how terrible is the situation that we have to mention this fact as the thing to differentiate us from the Nazis.	Yeshayahu Leibowitz <i>On the Whole World'</i> Michael Shesher, Keter, p. 78, Hadashot, Feb. 5 1988.
3 Apr. 1988	Shamir, Yitzhak (1915-2012)	Former Lehi terrorist, then Prime Minister, in a speech from Herodion to Jewish settlers	We say to them from the heights of this mountain and from the perspective of thousands of years of history that they are like grasshoppers compared to us. [] Anybody who wants to damages this fortress will have his head smashed against the boulders and the walls.	New York Times, April 1st 1998, Quoted in Adrian Hamilton Grasshoppers ready to jump on racist Israël, The Observer, April 3, 1988.
24 Aug. 1988	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	Advocates 'humane' ethnic cleansing, rotting life to make people leave.	You don't simply bundle people onto trucks and drive them away. I prefer to advocate a more positive policy to create, in effect, a condition that in a positive way will induce people to leave.	
6 June 1989	Ginsburg, Yitzhak (1944-)	Extremist Israeli rabbi, concluding in court that killing is not a crime if the victims are non-Jews.	« We have to recognize that Jewish blood and the blood of a goy are not the same thing. », adding : « Any trial that assumes that Jews and Goyim are equal is a travesty of justice. »	New York Times, June 6 1989, p. 5.
	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	Then Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Bar Ilan University	Israel should have exploited the repression of the demonstrations in China, when world attention focused on that country, to carry out mass expulsions among the Arabs of the territories.	Hotam, 24 novembre 1989. Quoted by Elfi Pallis, <i>The</i> <i>Likud Party, a primer</i> , J. of Palestine Studies 21:2
24 Dec. 1989	Tutu, Desmond (1931-2021)	South African Archbishop, during a Christmas visit to Jerusalem	If I were to change the names, a description of what is happening in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank could describe events in South Africa. I am against violence but I am also against repression.	Alan Cowell Tutu, Visiting Jerusalem, Backs Palestinian Statehood. N.Y. Times, Dec. 24 1989.
1990 Mar. 1948	UN / ONU	Indicates that the Dalet Plan (1948) was already aimed at 'controlling' the Palestinian territories beyond the space allocated for a 'Jewish state' in 1947.	In March 1948, Haganah High Command prepared a comprehensive operational Plan 'D', replacing plans 'A', 'B' and 'C' which had governed Haganah strategy in previous years. Zero hour for Plan D was to arrive when British evacuation had reached a point where the Haganah would be reasonably safe from British intervention and when mobilization had progressed to a point where the implementation of a large-scale plan would be feasible. The mission of Haganah was as simple as it was revolutionary: 'To gain control of the area allotted to the Jewish State and defend its borders, and those of the blocs of Jewish settlements and such Jewish population as were outside those borders, against a regular or pararegular enemy operating from bases outside or inside the area of the Jewish State.	Nathaniel Lorch, <i>The Edge of the Sword: Israel's War of Independence</i> , 1947-1949 (New York, Putnam, 1961), p. 87. Quoted in <i>Origins and Evolution of the Palestine Problem</i> , 1917-1988, UN, New-York, 1990, pp. 144-145.
	Kollek, Teddy (1911-2007)	Mayor of Jerusalem (including East Jerusalem) from 1965 to 1993, interviewed by the daily newspaper Maariv after the assassinations of the esplanade of the mosques	out. We said over and over that we would equalize the rights of the Arabs to the rights of the Jews in the city - empty talk. [] Never have we given them a feeling of being equal before the law. They were and remain second - and third-class citizen [] [As mayor of Jerusalem, I] nurtured nothing and built nothing [for the Arabs]. For Jewish Jerusalem I did something in the past 25 years. For [Arab] East Jerusalem? Nothing! What did I do? Nothing! Sidewalks? Nothing. Cultural Institutions? Not one. Yes, we installed a sewage system for them and improved the water supply. Do you know why? Do you think it was for their good, for their welfare? Forget it! There were some cases of cholera there, and the Jews were afraid that they would catch it, so we installed [a] sewage and a water system against cholera	Summary of the quotation by B'Tselem: https://www.btselem.org/download/199505_policy_of_discrimination_eng.doc
Nov. 1990	Shamir,	Statement by former	The past leaders of our movement left us a clear message to	Radio Service of Jerusalem.

	Yitzhak (1915-2012)	Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, at a memorial service for former Likud leaders in Tel Aviv, November 1990.	keep Eretz Israel from the Sea to the Jordan River for future generations, for the mass aliya [immigration], and for the Jewish people, all of whom will be gathered into this country.	Uncontroversial quote
1991	Begin, Benyamin (Benny) (1943-)	Son of Menachem Begin, an important voice of Likud in 1991	In strategic terms, the settlements (in Judea, Samaria and Gaza) are of no importance. () They constitute an obstacle, an unsurmountable obstacle to the establishment of an Arab state west of the river Jordan.	Elfi Pallis, <i>The Likud Party : A Primer</i> , Journal of Palestine Studies, hiver 1992, pp 45-46.
				Paul Findley <i>Deliberate Deceptions.</i> (1995), p.159.
5 May 1991	Menuhin, Yehudi (1916- 1999)	Famous violinist and conductor. Excerpt from his speech at the Knesset for the reception of the Wolf Prize	Those who live by the sword shall die by the sword and terror and fear provoke terror and fear. Hatred and contempt are fatally infectious One fact is surely abundantly clear, namely this wasteful governing by fear, by contempt for the basic dignities of life, this steady asphyxiation of a dependent people should be the very last means to be adopted by those who themselves know too well the awful significance, the unforgettable suffering of such an existence It is unworthy of my great people, the Jews.	https://blog.sami- aldeeb.com/2017/01/27/ sami-aldeeb-pour-une- republique-cananeenne/ #_ftn8
14 Feb. 1992	Shamir, Yitzhak (1915-2012)	The former terrorist, now Prime Minister, has repeated many times what he was practicing	For Eretz Yisrael it is permissible to lie. OR it is permissible to lie for the sake of the Land of Israel	Avishai Margalit, <i>The Violent Life of Yitzhak Shamir</i> , The New York Review of Books, 5/14/92. https://www.haaretz.com/opin ion/yitzhak-shamir-a-liar-we-can-be-proud-of-1.5191102 Quoted by Yossi Sarid Old lies, new lies, Haaretz, Feb. 14 1992.
27 June 1992	Shamir, Yitzhak (1915-2012)	Immediately after his defeat in the elections, in an interview with the newspaper Maariv, indicating the path actually followed after the Oslo Accords	I would have conducted negotiations on autonomy for 10 years and in the meantime we would have reached half a million people" in the West Bank.	https://www.nytimes.com/ 1992/06/27/world/shamir-is- said-to-admit-plan-to-stall- talks-for-10-years.html
2 Sep. 1992	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	Then Prime Minister, to a delegation from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy in Jerusalem	I would like Gaza to sink into the sea. But since that is not going to happen, a solution must be found to the problem of the Gaza Strip.	Many sources
1993	Oz, Amos (1939-2018)	"Imagining" the other, if not being in solidarity with them, expressing an indifference equal to the 'old yishuv' and the 'pioneers'.	The new Jews were no more familiar to me [than the old kind], perhaps less. They were just the opposite, but I never saw them; they were not to be seen in Jerusalem. They were far away. They breed in the kibbutzim, in the Palmach, in the Negev and Galilee. Always elsewhere. They were tough and blond and tender and powerful and uncomplicated. They toiled over the land all day and in the evening, made wild love to the kibbutz girls, and then later at night picked up their submachine guns, and dashed out to smash the hostile red Indians or Arabs, before calling it a day.	Amos Oz, 1993. "Imagining the Other," The Writer in the Jewish Community: An Israeli-North American Dialogue, pp. 115-123. Quoted by Gabriel Piterberg, The returns of Zionism, Verso, 2008, p.52.
3 Dec. 1993	Oz, Amos (1939-2018)	Expressing its agreement for a "very small demilitarized entity" that will be easy to break if the Palestinians are not satisfied with it	The two peoples are finally about to come to terms with the simple fact that they are two peoples and that, for both of them, the country is their homeland What if they cheat? And what if they take whatever we give them and demand more, still exercising violence and terror? If worse comes to worse, if it turns out that the peace is no peace, it will always be militarily easier for Israel to break the backbone of a tiny, demilitarized Palestinian entity than to go on and on breaking the backbones	Jerusalem Post, 3/10/1993 http://www.wrmea.org/1993- november-december/the-plo- israeli-agreement- breakthrough-to-peace-or- sellout-of-the-century-august- 25-october-1-19.html

			of eight-year-old stone-throwing Palestinian kids From a Zionist perspective, it may be that in the future, people will regard 1993 as the end of our I00 years of solitude in the land of Israel. This may be the end of the prologue for Zionism and now, perhaps, it's time to begin the Israel story proper: to consolidate Israel as a safe, stable, legitimate home for the Jewish people and its Arab citizens, a focus of creative energies and a source of blessing for Israel's neighbors—including the Palestinians.	
27 Feb. 1994	Perrin, Yaacov (-)	Rabbi, leading the funeral service of Baruch Goldstein who had massacred 29 Palestinians in the allbrahimi mosque of al-Khalii/Hebron	One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail.	New York Times, Feb. 28, 1994, p. 1.
27 Feb. 1994	Goldstein, Baruch (1956-1994)	Tombstone of Baruch Goldstein, who killed 29 people and wounded 125 in the al-Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron / al-Khalil on February 25, 1994.	Here lies the saint, Doctor Baruch Kapal Goldstein, blessed be the memory of the righteous and holy man, may the Lord revenge his blood, who devoted his soul for the Jews, Jewish religion and Jewish land. His hands are clean and his heart is clear. He was killed as a martyr of God on the 14th of Adar, Purim, in the year 5754.	Many sources
20 Nov. 1994	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	In the aftermath of a Hamas attack in Tel Aviv	We cannot keep having this mixture of Jews and Arabs. We have to stop the blurring. There has to be a separation, not just a technical closure. We have to decide on separation as a philosophy.	https:// www.greenleft.org.au/ content/rabin-turns-hamas- attacks-against-plo The Jewish Press, Oct. 28 – Nov. 3 1994, p. 107.
21 Aug. 1995 ——— 1956	Biro, Arieh (1927-2006)	Former Israeli Brigadier General, talking about the massacres of the 1956 Sinai War	We did not know what to do with them [surrendered Egyptian POWs in 1956]. There was no choice but to kill them. This is not such a big deal if you take into consideration that I slept well after having escaped the crematories of Auschwitz.	The New York Times, Aug. 21, 1995.
30 Sep. 1995	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	In CNN's Evans and Novack program of September 30, 1995, expressing its opposition to a sovereign Palestinian State	I seek peaceful coexistence between Israel as a Jewish state, not all over the land of Israel, or most of it; its capital, the united Jerusalem; its security border with Jordan rebuilt; next to it, a Palestinian entity, less than a state, that runs the life of Palestinians. It is not ruled by Israel. It is ruled by the Palestinians. This is my goal, not to return to the pre-Six Day War lines but to create two entities, a separation between Israel and the Palestinians who reside in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. And they will be differenta entity that rules itself."	Hanieh and Cook, Road Map. See also Akiva Eldar, On the Same Page, Ten Years On, Haaretz, Nov. 5, 2005. Transcript:https://merip.org/2 003/05/a-road-map-to-the- oslo-cul-de-sac/
5 Oct. 1995	Rabin, Yitzhak (1922-1995)	Speech to the Knesset, defines his Bantustan project	We would like this to be an entity which is less than a state, and which will independently run the lives of the Palestinians under its authority.	http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA- Archive/1995/Pages/PM %20Rabin%20in %20Knesset-%20Ratification %20of%20Interim %20Agree.aspx
1996	Brinker, Menachem (1935-2016)	Academic and co- founder of "Peace Now", showing the limits of so-called "left- wing" Zionism.	If the right of way back of refugees and the recognition of a moral and legal responsibility towards them is the price to pay for peace, then I'd prefer to give up any agreement.	Quoted by Catherine Dupeyron, Le Monde, https://www.lemonde.fr/archiv es/article/2000/07/21/selon- les-deux-opinions-publiques- un-accord-ne-mettrait-pas- fin-au-conflit- historique_3713524_181921 8.html
11 Feb. 1996	Barak, Ehud (1942-)	Then Foreign Minister Ehud Barak, addressing the American Zionists by recycling a colonial	We still live in a modern and prosperous villa in the middle of the jungle, a place where different laws prevail.	https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/mfa- archive/1996/pages/fm %20barak-%20address %20to%20njcrac%20- %20feb%2011-

		metaphor to justify		%201996.aspx
1996	Peres, Shimon (1923-2016)	Israel's violence. Becoming Prime Minister after Yitzhak Rabin, explicitly locks Oslo agreements	only the capital for the Jews and it is first-class nonsense to create something like Berlin. Israel's agreement to the Oslo Accords was intended to remove Jerusalem from any negotiations. Other compromises are necessary in order to avoid the need for compromises over Jerusalem.	Peres, The Jerusalem Post, Feb. 13, 1996. Quoted by Meir Margalit, http://www.pij.org/details.php ?id=172
26 Apr. 1996	Ginsburg, Yitzhak (1944-)	Originally from the USA, influential leader of one of the mystical currents of Judaism, the Derech Chaim movement.	If a Jew needs a liver, can you take the liver of an innocent non- Jew passing by to save him? The Torah would probably permit that. Jewish life has an infinite value. There is something infinitely more holy and unique about Jewish life than non- Jewish life.	Published in Jewish Week (New York). Quoted by Shahak and Mezvinsky Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel (2nd edition), Pluto Press, 2004, p.62.
21 Feb. 1997	Shamir, Yitzhak (1915-2012)	Former Lehi terrorist then former Prime Minister	The settlement of the Land of Israel is the essence of Zionism. Without settlement, we will not fulfill Zionism. It's that simple.	Maariv, Feb. 21, 1997
Oct. 1997	Oz, Amos (1939-2018)	Israeli writer, writing in a phase of lucidity	A state cannot be Jewish, just as a chair or a bus cannot be JewishThe state is no more than a tool, a tool that is efficient or a tool that is defective, a tool that is suitable or a tool that is undesirable. And this tool must belong to all its citizens — Jews, Moslems, Christians The concept of a 'Jewish State' is nothing other than a snare.	Amos Oz, in A Laden Wagon and an Empty Wagon? Reflections on the Culture of Israel, Free Judaism, October 1997, p. 5 [Hebrew], quoted by Yoram Hazony in The Jewish State, Cambridge Univ. State, 2012, p. 338.
4 Dec. 1997	Mandela, Nelson (1918-2013)	In his speech during the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People	We know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians; without the resolution of conflicts in East Timor, the Sudan and other parts of the world.	Full quote in https://resisteralairdutemps.bl ogspot.com/
7 Feb. 1998	Miller, Haim (1963-)	Haredi vice-mayor of Jerusalem, acting as mayor in the absence of Ehut Olmert	I don't sign orders to destroy the house of Jews, only of Arabs.	Yediot Aharonot, Feb. 7, 1998.
7 Mar. 1998	Barak, Ehud (1942-)	-	If I were a Palestinian at the right age, I would have joined one of the terrorist organizations at a certain stage.	Israeli TV, many references https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/ Ehud_Barak
29 Apr. 1998	Peres, Shimon (1923-2016)	Explaining in his own way that Zionism is a project that never comes to fruition.	Zionism is a path, not an outcome. It is a journey. When you reach your destination, it is post-Zionism. Translated from French	Shimon Peres, Le Figaro, April 29 1998. http://evene.lefigaro.fr/citation s/mot.php? mot=aboutissement
5 May 1998	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	Speaking at the WINEP symposium in Washington. Two Zionist versions, one talking about the Bible, the other not. Which one is lying?	VERSION #1 « The Oslo agreement is very important for the Palestinians, as it is the only official agreed-upon document they have. The Jews have another document, a much older one—the Bible. But Israel understands the importance of the Oslo agreement to the Palestinians, as it is the only agreement they possess.» VERSION #2 « The Oslo agreement and the Wye Memorandum are very important for the Palestinians since they are the only official, agreed-upon, documents they've got. »	Source version 1: https://www.washingtoninstitu te.org/policy-analysis/view/br eaking-the-deadlock-options- for-the-future-part-ii Source version 2 https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/Foreig nPolicy/MFADocuments/Year book12/Pages/ 34%20Security%20and %20Coexistence- %20address%20by %20Infrastruc.aspx
23 July 1998		A great Palestinian intellectual, opposed	The tragedy of the Palestinian people [] is nothing less than a concerted attempt at ethnic cleansing. The main difference	Edward Said, After the final acre, Al-Ahram, n° 387, 23-

		Zionist way	between Bosnia and Palestine is that ethnic cleansing in the former took place in the form of dramatic massacres and slaughters which caught the world's attention, whereas in Palestine what is taking place is a drop by drop tactic in which one or two houses are demolished daily, a few acres are taken here and there every day, a few people are forced to leave. No one pays much attention.	25.7.1998
27 Oct. 1998	Shamir, Yitzhak (1915-2012)	In an interview, explains that without the terrorism of which he was a leader; Israel might never have come into existence.	My reply is that had I not acted as I did, it is doubtful that we would have been able to create an independent Jewish State of our own.	http://fr.danielpipes.org/ 9840/entretien-avec-yitzhak- shamir http://www.danielpipes.org/63 31/yitzhak-shamir-a-lifetime- of-activism
15 Nov. 1998	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	Ariel Sharon, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, at a meeting of the far-right Tsomet party.	Everyone there should move, should run, should grab more hills, expand the territory. Everything that's grabbed will be in our hands, everything that we don't grab will be in their hands.	AFP, Nov. 15, 1998.
Jan. 1999	Collectif	Platform of the Likud government, known as the "Likud Charter".	The Government of Israel flatly rejects the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state west of the Jordan river.	http://www.france- palestine.org/ article11172.html
3 Feb. 1999	Barak, Ehud (1942-)	At the Herzliya conference	« As long as in this territory west of the Jordan river there is only one political entity called Israel it is going to be either non-Jewish, or non-democratic," Barak said. "If this bloc of millions of Palestinians cannot vote, that will be an apartheid state. »	https:// www.theguardian.com/ world/2010/feb/03/barak- apartheid-palestine-peace
2000	Israel, Steve (-)	Educator of the Jewish Zionist Education Department	In the activity carried out by Zionist emissaries, we see a certain tension inherent in the Zionist attitude towards the Diaspora. Since ideological Zionism does not believe in the long-term survival of Jewish life outside Israel, those Zionist shlihim who are sent from Israel to work in the Jewish Diaspora communities and who invest themselves in this educational and cultural work, therefore want to succeed only to a certain extent.	Steve Israël, Les relations Israël-diaspora, cours du Département d'éducation sioniste juive http://www.jafi.org.il/educatio n/100/french/concepts/isdias 08.html (archived link)
			Translated from French	
2000	Tibi, Ahmad (1958-)	Leader of palestinian israeli's Ta'al party, elected as Knesset member since 1999. The first occurrence of his say is unknown.	Israel is a democracy for Jews and a Jewish state for Arabs	https://www.jpost.com/ Magazine/Features/A- minority-view
Aug. 2000	Yossef, Ovadia (1920-2013)	Sephardic Chief Rabbi of Israel. In his Saturday evening sermon, about peace with the Palestinians	"How can you make peace with a snake?" "Those evildoers, the Arabs — it says in the Gemara [Talmud] that God is sorry he ever created those sons of Ishmael."	http://www.ynetnews.com/ articles/0,7340,L- 3138779,00.html
Aug. 2000	Yossef, Ovadia (1920-2013)	Sephardic Chief Rabbi, resuming the religious rationalization of the genocide of the Jews of Europe. Saturday sermon.	The six million Holocaust victims were reincarnations of the souls of sinners, people who transgressed and did all sorts of things which should not be done. They had been reincarnated in order to atone.	https:// www.independent.co.uk/ news/world/middle-east/ rabbi-says-holocaust-victims- were-reincarnations-of- sinners-711547.html
5 Aug. 2000	Ovadia (1920-2013)	Sephardic Chief Rabbi	God regrets having created these Ishmaelites [Arabs].	Sylvain Cypel. Les emmurés, La Découverte, 2005, p.101
28 Aug. 2000	Barak, Ehud (1942-)	Then Prime Minister	The Palestinians are like crocodiles, the more you give them meat, they want more.	Reported by the Jerusalem Post, Aug. 30 2000 Quoted in https://www.liberation.fr/plane te/2000/08/30/israel-le-

				bestiaire-antipalestinien-s- allonge_335552
12 Oct. 2000	Sanbar, Elias (1947-)	Palestinian participant in the negotiations around the Oslo Accords, expresses in this interview with Zeev Sternhell his hope - his illusions - that Zionists may comply with international law	() There will be no peace until the Israelis realize the extent of the sacrifice felt by the Palestinians, who have agreed to give up part of their land in exchange for peace. If the Israelis do not measure this, we will remain in misunderstanding. It is important to know: the Palestinians did not sign this peace because they think that Palestine is not their country. They did it knowing that it is their country and that peace is worth the division of their homeland into two states If we want to resolve the problem, it is imperative to separate the political dimension - the object of negotiation - from the symbolic dimension - which I accept but which is not negotiable. () We cannot say to the Palestinians: you must share the esplanade of the Mosques because the Israelis are moved. They will never accept it. Negotiation must at all costs confront the real question: that of the occupation. In 1967, the West Bank, which includes East Jerusalem, was occupied. There are rules of international law, the Geneva Conventions. Resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations. If we want to solve the problem, it is essential to return to these texts. For the rest - access to the holy places [the Wailing Wall], to the Jewish quarter, everything can be discussed.	Le Nouvel Observateur n°
31 Oct. 2000	Barghouti, Mustafa (1954-)	Palestinian leader of al-Mubadara, in an interview with French journalist Sylvain Cypel	By shooting at us so strongly, the Israeli army pushes us to react with weapons. This would be a major mistake. But Arafat will go to the guerrillas. What prevents him from launching an appeal to the people: next Friday, general strike, everyone on the roads, not a weapon, not a stone in hand, all in Jerusalem? What would the Israelis do: shoot peaceful crowds? But Arafat will not. He is incapable of thinking in terms of popular mobilization. He knows only "armed struggle" or secret diplomacy. And if the Palestinians demonstrated today, there would be thousands of "Down with the Occupation" banners, but also a few "Down with Arafat." That's why he will go to armed struggle.	Sylvain Cypel. Les emmurés, La Découverte, 2005. Interview, Oct. 31 2000.
16 Nov. 2000	Barak, Ehud (1942-)	Prime Minister (for another 2 months), on	If we thought that instead of 200 Palestinian fatalities, 2,000 dead would put an end to the fighting at a stroke, we would use	Quoted by Associated Press, Nov. 16 2000.
		the radio	much more force,	https://www.theguardian.com/ world/2000/nov/16/israel2
2001	Shohat, Moshe (-)	Head of the "Educational Authority for Bedouins" created in 1981	Bedouins are a bloodthirsty people who commit polygamy, have 30 children, and continue to expand their illegal settlements by taking over state lands. In their culture, they relieve themselves outdoors and don't even know how to use the toilet.	Quoted by Ben White, Palestinians in Israel, pp. 54- 55; Etre palestinien en Israël, La Guillotine, 2015, p.78.
25 Mar. 2001	(1928-2014)	On Israeli radio, criticizing the coming of the Mitchell Commission, which he calls a "historical error"	Israel may have the right to put others on trial, but certainly no one has the right to put the Jewish people and the State of Israel on trial.	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/mi ddle_east/1241371.stm
10 Apr. 2001	Shimon (1923-2016)	In the vein of all the declarations on the incomparable uniqueness of the genocide of the European Jews, and to flatter Turco-Israeli relations	We reject attempts to create a similarity between the Holocaust and the Armenian allegations. Nothing similar to the Holocaust occurred. It is a tragedy what the Armenians went through, but not a genocide.	Reported by Turkish Daily News, April 10 2001. Yair Auron, <i>The Banality of Denial</i> , Rutgers Univ. Press, 2003.
12 Apr. 2001	Yossef, Ovadia	Sephardic Chief Rabbi of Israel, during	It is forbidden to be merciful to them. You must send missiles to them and annihilate them. They are evil and damnable. [] The	Haaretz April 12 2001

		1		
	,	a sermon	Lord shall return the Arabs' deeds on their own heads, waste their seed and exterminate them, devastate them and vanish them from this world.	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/mi ddle_east/1270038.stm
13 Apr. 2001	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)		The war of independence is not over yet — 1948 was only the first chapter.	Ari Shavit, <i>Sharon is Sharon is Sharon</i> , Haaretz magazine, April 13 2001.
		Original text not found. Incomplete English quote		https://archipel.uqam.ca/4428 /1/M12292.pdf
10 May 2001	Katsav, Moshe (1945-)	President of Israel originating from Iran	There is a huge gap between us (Jews) and our enemies, not just in ability but in morality, culture, sanctity of life, and conscience. They are our neighbors here, but it seems as if at a distance of a few hundred meters away, there are people who do not belong to our continent, to our world, but actually belong to a different galaxy.	The Jerusalem Post, May 10 2001
27 Oct. 2001	Yossef, Ovadia (1920-2013)	Sephardic Chief Rabbi, on the occasion of the commemoration of the destruction of the first temple in the 7th century B.C.E.	In the old city of Jerusalem they (Palestinians) are swarming like ants. They should go to hell — and the Messiah will speed them on their way.	Sylvain Cypel. Les emmurés, La Découverte, 2005, p.101. https://www.france24.com/fr/ 20131007-israel-ovadia- yossef-rabbin-shass- politique-religion-deces
10 Nov. 2001 1973	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	In response, in 1973, to journalist Winston Churchill, grandson of the Prime Minister, asking him what to do with the Palestinians	We'll make them a pastrami sandwich. We'll insert a strip of jewish settlements in between the Palestinians, and than another strip of jewish settlements right across the West Bank, so that in 25 years, neither the United Nations nor the USA, nobody, will be able to tear it apart.	Cited by W. Churchill at the National Press Club of October 10 2001.
14 Dec. 2001	Landau, Uzi (1943-)	Interior Minister in the Sharon government, member of the far- right Yisrael Beiteinu party	The Oslo accords are not the solution, they are the problem We will never accept a Palestinian state, it would be a catastrophe [] I prefer a Hamas laid bare to a Palestinian Authority that masks its intentions. At least then things are clear [] That would be a fight to the death between us and the Palestinians, since as long as the Palestinians have hope the terrorism will not end'.	Quoted by Daniel Bensaid Un nouveau théologien, BH Levy, Lignes, 2008, p. 101.
27 Dec. 2001	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	Relating a phone call to French president Jacques Chirac, as related to journalist Alain Louyot in December 2001.	So, in a very friendly way, I told him: 'Mr. President, you have to understand us, here, it's as if we are in Algeria. We have no place to go. And besides, we have no intention of leaving.	https:// www.independent.co.uk/ voices/commentators/fisk/ ariel-sharon-robert-fisk- 6112586.html
25 Jan. 2002		the IDF", he is inspired by the Nazis	If our job is to seize a densely packed refugee camp or take over the Nablus casbah, and if this job is given to an [Israeli] officer to carry out without casualties on both sides, he must before all else analyse and bring together the lessons of past battles, even – shocking though this might appear – to analyse how the German army operated in the Warsaw ghetto.	Independant, March 30 2002, quoting an interview with
1st Mar. 2002	Oz, Amos (1939-2018)	Taking up the classic Zionist comparison between Palestinians and Nazis, for 1948 and the present	As I wrote this book [on 1948], it became horribly clear to me how much we are standing with our backs against the wall, in a profound way. But it's the same for the Palestinians. What makes it so hard is that, in this place, you have two peoples with their backs against the wall. To me, personally, I discovered that what happened to my Uncle David and Aunt Malka and to my cousin Daniel in Vilna [during the Holocaust] was very close to what was happening to us in Jerusalem. It was a hairsbreadth away, very close.	Haaretz, March 1st 2002.
3 Mar. 2002	Ben-Yair, Michael (1942-)	Attorney General of Israel from 1993 to 1996	We enthusiastically chose to become a colonial society, ignoring international treaties, expropriating lands, transferring settlers from Israel to the occupied territories, engaging in theft and finding justification for all these activities. [] we established an apartheid regime in the occupied territories immediately following their capture. [] The intifada is the Palestinian people's war of national liberation.	Michael Ben-Yair <i>The War's</i> Seventh Day, Haaretz, March 2, 2002. https://www.haaretz.com/1.52 37968

20 Mar. 2002	Eitam, Efraim (Effi) (1952-)	Former Minister of Construction and National Infrastructure	I am saying that the Israeli Arabs are in large measure the ticking bomb beneath the whole democratic Israeli order inside the [1967] Green Line. Even today, in the Galilee and the Negev, a de facto autonomy of theirs is being created, which could in practice turn Israel into the bubble of Metropolitan Tel Aviv. Into a kind of pipe-state: a country of the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv-Haifa road. Therefore, I say that the State of Israel today faces an existential threat that is characterized by being an elusive threat, and elusive threats by their nature resemble cancer. Cancer is a type of illness in which most of the people who die from it die because they were diagnosed too late. By the time you grasp the size of the threat, it is already too late to deal with it.	Ari Shavit, <i>Dear God, this is Effi</i> , Haaretz, March 20 2002. https://www.haaretz.com/1.52 27062
27 Mar. 2002	Martin (1946-)	Military historian and professor at the University of Jerusalem, in an interview designed to "get the message out" about the Israeli nuclear threat, officially denied, should any state challenge ethnic cleansing	We possess several hundred atomic warheads and rockets and can launch them at targets in all directions, perhaps even at Rome. Most European capitals are targets for our air force Let me quote General Moshe Dayan: "Israel must be like a mad dog, too dangerous to bother." I consider it all hopeless at this point. We shall have to try to prevent things from coming to that, if at all possible. Our armed forces, however, are not the thirtieth strongest in the world, but rather the second or third. We have the capability to take the world down with us. And I can assure you that that will happen, before Israel goes under.	Elsevier (Netherland), # 17, April 27 2002, pp. 52-53. Reproduced by many sources in 2003.
23 June 2002	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	Appealing to Nationalist Mysticism in an Address to the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem	We have one secret weapon, which is perhaps the main one which promises the chance of victory, and we must strengthen it. This secret is in your hands—in the hands of those who are here and in the hands of those who are not here—the spirit, and that is what will be decisive in the war in which we find ourselves. The spirit will be decisive but not when it is alone. All of the artillery and airplanes will be of no help if a spirit does not rise up in us; until today, this spirit has given us the power to endure and with it, we will be victorious.	Quoted by Virginia Tilley, <i>The One State Solution</i> , Univ. Michigan Press, 2005, p. 175.
27 July 2002 July 1994	Frankenthal, Yitzhak (1951-)	Founder of the Bereaved Parents Forum, whose son was killed by Hamas in 1994.	The Palestinians cannot drive us away - they have long acknowledged our existence. They have been ready to make peace with us; it is we who are unwilling to make peace with them. It is we who insist on maintaining our control over them; it is we who escalate the situation in the region and feed the cycle of bloodshed. I regret to say it, but the blame is entirely ours. I do not mean to absolve the Palestinians and by no means justify attacks against Israeli civilians. No attack against civilians can be condoned. But as an occupation force it is we who trample over human dignity, it is we who crush the liberty of Palestinians and it is we who push an entire nation to crazy acts of despair.	https://forum.hardware.fr/ hfr/Discussions/Actualite/ conflit-quelle-israel- sujet_6682_17.htm https://www.theguardian.com/ world/2002/aug/07/comment Quoted by Lytta Basset, Paroles matinales, Labor & Fides, 2003, p.36
14 Aug. 2002	Aloni, Shulamit (1928-2014)	Member (Meretz) of the Knesset, one of the very few Israeli personalities to have denounced the occupation regime, interviewed by Democracy Now	Amy Goodman: « Your voice is a voice of criticism we don't often hear in the United States. Often when there is dissent expressed against policies of the Israeli government, people here are called anti-semitic. What is your response to that as an Israeli Jew? » Shulamit Aloni: « Well, it's a trick, we always use it. When from Europe somebody is criticizing Israel, then we bring up the Holocaust. When in this country people are criticizing Israel, then they are anti-Semitic. And the organization is strong, and has a lot of money, and the ties between Israel and the American Jewish establishment are very strong and they are strong in this country, as you know. And they have power, which is okay. They are talented people and they have power and money, and the media and other things, and their attitude is "Israel, my country right or wrong," identification. And they are not ready to hear criticism. And it's very easy to blame people who criticize certain acts of the Israeli government as anti-Semitic, and to bring up the Holocaust, and the suffering of the Jewish people, and that is to justify everything we do to the Palestinians. »	Israel's First Lady of Human Rights: A Conversation with Shulamit Aloni. Democracy Now. https://www.dailymotion.com/video/xvcbby

1st Sep. 2002	Meridor, Dan (1947-)	Minister of Strategic Affairs under Sharon (more than 50% "Arabs", no bi-national state, but an apartheid state)	divisions, then in the long term we face a danger on the demographic plane », since if there was one day « a 50 percent Arab population, then it would no longer be a Jewish State, but a	Quoted by Daniel Bensaid Un nouveau théologien, BH Levy, Lignes, 2008, p. 101.
3 Sep. 2002	Yaalon, Moshe (1950-)	Israeli Chief of Staff, explaining that with regard to the colonized Palestinians, he prefers targeted destruction and assassinations to mass expulsion or genocide.	you are attacked externally, you see the attack, you are wounded. Cancer, on the other hand, is something internal. Therefore, I find it more disturbing, because here the diagnosis is critical.[] There are all kinds of solutions to cancerous manifestations. Some will say it is necessary to amputate	Ari Shavit <i>The Ennemy</i> Within. Interview of Aug. 30 2002 with Haaretz. Taken up by Le Monde, Sept. 3 2002. https://www.haaretz.com/1.50 00032
12 Sep. 2002	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	In front of the Committee on Government Reform of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., lying to push for the invasion of Iraq	There is no question whatsoever that Saddam is seeking and is working and is advancing toward the development of nuclear weapons, no question whatsoever. [] And make no mistake about it, if and once Saddam has nuclear weapons, the terror network will have nuclear weapons.	https://www.govinfo.gov/ content/pkg/CHRG- 107hhrg83514/html/CHRG- 107hhrg83514.htm. Quoted by Max Blumenthal, <i>The Management of</i> <i>Savagery,</i> Verso, 2019, p.107.
18 Sep. 2002	Primor, Avi (1935-)	Vice President of Tel Aviv University, explaining Sharon's strategy	Without anyone taking notice, a process is underway establishing a 'Palestinian state' limited to the Palestinian cities, a "state" comprised of a number of separate, sovereign-less enclaves, with no resources for self-sustenance. The territories of the West Bank and Gaza remain in Israeli hands, and its Palestinian residents are being turned into "citizens" of that "foreign country."	Avi Primor, Sharon's South African strategy, Haaretz, Sept. 18, 2002. https://www.haaretz.com/1.51 14449
1st Oct. 2002	Said, Edward (1935-2003)	Palestinian-American intellectual, making an observation whose deep roots he has also analyzed		Edward Said, <i>Punishment by detail</i> , Monthly Review, Oct 1st, 2002. https://monthlyreview.org/200 2/10/01/punishment-by-detail/
2003	Elon, Binyamin (Benny) (1955-2017)	Minister (Moledet Party) in the Sharon Government	If you are nor happy to transfer them, so we make their life so bitter that they will transfer themselves willingly.	Quoted by Shulamit Aloni in Murder of a population under cover of righteousness. Haaretz, March 6, 2003. https://www.ynetnews.com/ar ticles/0,7340,L-
16 May 2003	De Klerk, Frederik (1936-)	Former President of South Africa, in an interview with Haaretz	what apartheid originally wanted to achieve is what everybody now says is the solution for Israel and Palestine, namely - partitioning, separate nation states on the bases of ethnicity, different cultures, different languages.	3230556,00.html Aviva Lori <i>Now it's your turn,</i> Haaretz, May 16, 2003. https://www.haaretz.com/1.53 71358
10 juiin 2003	Mor-Yosef, Yehoshua (-)	Spokesperson for Yesha, the settlers' lobby group in the West Bank	If we are evacuated, we'll return the night after and establish 10 new outpost.	Yehoshua Mor-Yosef, June 10 2003, AP.
22 June 2003	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	Statement to the Israeli Cabinet, June 22, 2003	Settlements can be built, but there is no need to talk about it and come out dancing every time a building permit is given. Let them build but without talking.	Yediot Aharonot, June 23 2003.
7 July 2003	Lieberman, Avigdor (1958-)	Israeli Minister of Transport, on Israeli radio, suggesting drowning the imprisoned	proposal to provide buses to take the Palestinian prisoners that Israel releases to a place 'whence they will not return'. » According to another report, Lieberman said « the prisoners should be drowned in the Dead Sea and he would provide the buses to take them there.	https:// www.nouvelobs.com/ monde/ 20030707.OBS3298/un- ministre-israelien-prefererait-

Palestinans					
(1937-2012) portfolior in the Sharon government, in a select committee, commenting on the law prohibiting the resultation of Palestinian families.				Dead Sea if possible, since that's the lowest point in the world."	Quoted by AFP. Lieberman Blasted for Suggesting Drowning Palestinian Prisoners https://www.haaretz.com/1.54 94052
Meron (1934-) Jerusalem from 1971 are confronting each other; the basic story is that of natives and a severe critic of the entire colonial process.	29 July 2003		portfolio in the Sharon government, in a select committee, commenting on the law prohibiting the reunification of		A Wall Through Arab Families, Challenge (N°82),
Meron (1934-) of Jerusalem, author of Sacred Landscape (2000) and the Arabic language because it is here. It is the land. And I really am an eno-Canaante. I love everything that springs from this soil. Whereas the right, certainly, but the left, too, hates Arabs. The Arabs bother them- they complicate things. The subject generates moral questions and that generates cultural unease. >> 13 Nov. 2003 (1945-) (194	8 Aug. 2003	Meron	Jerusalem from 1971 to 1978, who became a severe critic of the entire colonial	are confronting each other; the basic story is that of natives and settlers. It's the story of natives who feel that people who came from across the sea infiltrated their natural habitat and	Two-state Solution (2 of 2) https://www.haaretz.com/1.53
2003 (1945-) minister's office, in an interview with Haaretz Palestinians are uninterested in a negotiated, two-state solution, because they want to change the essence of the conflict from an tartuggle against 'occupation,' in their parlance, to a struggle for one-man-one-vote. That is, of course, a much cleaner struggle, a much more popular struggle - and utilimately a much more powerful one. For us, it would mean the end of the Jawish state. » () « The formula for the parameters of a unilateral solution are: To maximize the number of Palestinians; not to withdraw to the 1967 border and not to divide Jerusalem. » Quoted in Lapid lambasts 'barbaric settlers', Haaretz, Dec. 19, 2003; Authority, in a speech given at the Herzliya conference Staff, in response to Knesset (1950-) Moshe (1950-) Wallon Wal	8 Aug. 2003	Meron	of Jerusalem, author of Sacred Landscape (2000)	I am truly a native son of immigrants, who is drawn to the Arab culture and the Arabic language because it is here. It is the land. And I really am a neo-Canaanite. I love everything that springs from this soil. Whereas the right, certainly, but the left, too, hates Arabs. The Arabs bother them - they complicate things. The subject generates moral questions and that generates cultural	& Haim Hanegbi, <i>Cry, the beloved two-states solution</i> (part 2), Haaretz. https://www.haaretz.com/1.53
Yitzhak (1937-) Rafael Arms Development Authority, in a speech given at the Herzliya conference Yaalon, Moshe (1950-) Maman, Avraham (-) Maman, Avraham (-) Maman, Avraham (-) Maman, Avraham (-) Rafael Arms Development Authority, in a speech given at the Herzliya conference Telation to its Muslim population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population] have turned into a factory for the production of a backward population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population] have turned into a factory for the production of a backward population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population] have turned into a factory for the production of a backward population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population] have turned into a factory for the production of a backward population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population] have turned into a factory for the production of a backward population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Serving the Negev's Bedouin population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Serving the Serving the Negev's Bedouin population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Serving the Serving the Negev's Bedouin population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Serving the Negligation] book and Religation, Be Milital Palestinians in Israel, per Serving the Neglig		(1945-)	minister's office, in an interview with	Palestinians are uninterested in a negotiated, two-state solution, because they want to change the essence of the conflict from an Algerian paradigm to a South African one. From a struggle against `occupation,' in their parlance, to a struggle for one-manone-vote. That is, of course, a much cleaner struggle, a much more popular struggle - and ultimately a much more powerful one. For us, it would mean the end of the Jewish state. » () « The formula for the parameters of a unilateral solution are: To maximize the number of Jews; to minimize the number of Palestinians; not to withdraw to the 1967 border and not to	Jews, Minimum Palestinians' Haaretz, Nov. 13 2003. https://www.haaretz.com/1.47
Moshe (1950-) Response to Knesset members about a Jewish Israeli wounded by the army Maman, Avraham (-) Councillor of Nazareth Avraham (-) Release to encircle and suffocate the Palestinian city of Nazareth. The leaders of the city should stop this invasion before the city is no longer Zionist and nationalist I am not a racist and I have never been one, but many Jewish families are afraid that Arabs will start relationships with their daughters. Ben White, Palestinians in Israel, pp. 54-55. Etre palestinien en Israël, La Guillotine, 2015,	Dec. 2003	Yitzhak	Rafael Arms Development Authority, in a speech given at the Herzliya	relation to its Muslim population. The delivery rooms in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva [serving the Negev's Bedouin population] have turned into a factory for the production of a	'barbaric settlers', Haaretz, Dec. 19, 2003; Jonathan Cook, <i>Blood and Religion</i> , Ben White, Palestinians in Israel, pp. 54- 55. Ben White, Etre palestinien en Israël, La
Avraham (-) Illit, a so-called "city of development" created to encircle and suffocate the Palestinian city of Nazareth. Illit, a so-called "city of development" created to encircle and suffocate the Palestinian city of Nazareth. Illit, a so-called "city of no longer Zionist and nationalist I am not a racist and I have palestinien en Israel, pp. 54-55. Etre pal		Moshe	response to Knesset members about a Jewish Israeli	the army deals differently with the Palestinians. Soldiers feel threatened by Palestinians and open fire when they feel	archive/ 2003/12/2008410141456179
8 Jan 2004 Qurei Ahmed Then Prime Minister This is an apartheid solution to put the Palestinian in cantons Wafa Amr Palestinian PM	2004		Illit, a so-called "city of development" created to encircle and suffocate the Palestinian city of	no longer Zionist and nationalist I am not a racist and I have never been one, but many Jewish families are afraid that Arabs	Israel, pp. 54-55. Etre palestinien en Israël, La
The least apartition of the partition of all destinant in cartesia.	8 Jan. 2004	Qurei, Ahmed	Then Prime Minister	This is an apartheid solution to put the Palestinian in cantons.	Wafa Amr Palestinian PM

	(1937-)	of the Palestinian Authority, conscious that Israel only wants one apartheid state	Who can accept this? We will go for a one-state solution There's no other solution. We will not hesitate to defend the right of our people when we feel the very serious intention to destroy these rights.	says two state solution in danger, Reuters, 8/01/2004; Virginia Tilley, <i>The One State</i> <i>Solution</i> , Univ. Michigan Press, 2005, p.188.
	(1956-)	Palestinian from Israel, founder of the Balad party, exiled since 2007	Zionist colonialism inhabits the space between two extinct models those provided by South Africa and French practice in Algeria. It is not a blend of the two, but rather a distillation of the worst in each.	Al Ahram Weekly, Jan. 8 2004 http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/ar chive/2004/672/op10.htm
	Boim, Ze'ev (1943-2011)	Deputy Minister of Defense	What is it about Islam as a whole and the Palestinians in particular? Is it some form of cultural deprivation? Is it some genetic defect? There is something that defies explanation in this continued murderousness.	https://www.haaretz.com/ 1.4725638 Quoted by Ben White, <i>Palestinians in Israel</i> , pp. 54- 55. <i>Etre palestinien en Israël,</i> La Guillotine, 2015.
	Hazan, Yehiel (1968-)	Member of the Knesset, Likud	It is well known that Arabs have been slaughtering and murdering Jews for more than a generation. I think this it is in their blood. It is something genetic.	https://www.haaretz.com/ 1.4725638
	Haetzni, Elyakim (1926-)	Former member of the Knesset, from the colony of Kiryat Arba	One cannot decide to carry out a pogrom, and this is a pogrom: We are taking our soldiers and policemen to carry out a pogrom, to destroy houses, to drag people out of their homes, to remove the bones of the dead from the cemeteries. Democracy cannot do such things according to the rules of democracy itself. A local newspaperman came to me and asked me, « And what if there's a majority? » I told him: « We are five in a boat and there's no food. We are going to die of starvation, and decide by a referendum, four against one, to eat you. Does that obligate you? Will you still day 'democracy'? »	Nadav Shragai <i>Split right</i> down the middle, Haaretz, March 18 2004. Quoted by Virginia Tilley, <i>The One State Solution</i> , Univ. Michigan Press, 2005, p. 57.
	Bush, George W. (1946-)	In an official letter to Ariel Sharon, expresses the agreement of the United States to endorse the results of colonization.	In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli populations centers, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949, and all previous efforts to negotiate a two-state solution have reached the same conclusion. It is realistic to expect that any final status agreement will only be achieved on the basis of mutually agreed changes that reflect these realities.	Quoted by Virginia Tilley, <i>The One State solution</i> , Univ. Michigan Press, 2005, p. 128.
21 May 2004 1948	Pundak, Yitzhak (1913-2017)	Brigadier General, explaining 56 years after the events that it was nothing more than ethnic cleansing	There were two hundred villages [in the front] and they are gone. We had to destroy them, otherwise we would have had Arabs here [namely in the southern part of Palestine] as we have in Galilee. We would have had another million Palestinians.	Haaretz, Pundak, May 21 2004. As quoted by llan Pappe, <i>The Ethnic Cleansing</i> of Palestine, One World Publications, 2006, p.6.
	(Effi) (1952-)	General infamous for his hyper-violence. He was proposed in 2020 by Minister of Higher Education Ze'ev Elkin to head the Yad Vashem memorial	the ones with evil in their heads. Not only blood on their hands but evil in their heads.	2004. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/05/31/among-the-settlers https://charleroi-pourlapalestine.be/index.php/2020/11/03/un-partisan-dugenocide-en-passedacceder-a-la-direction-dumemorial-de-lholocauste-enisrael/
	Feiglin, Moshe (1962-)	Settler in the West Bank and Likud deputy	You can't teach a monkey to speak and you can't teach an Arab to be democratic. You're dealing with a culture of thieves and robbers. Muhammad, their prophet, was a robber and a killer and a liar. The Arab destroys everything he touches.	Jeffrey Goldberg Among the Settlers The New Yorker, May 31 2004 https://www.newyorker.com/ magazine/2004/05/31/among
9 July 2004	Collectif	Opinion of the International Court of	The Court is not convinced that the construction of the wall along the route chosen was the only means to safeguard the interests	-the-settlers

		Justice on the Wall	of Israel against the peril which it has invoked as justification for that construction.	https://www.icj-cij.org/public/fi les/case-related/131/131- 20040709-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf
9 July 2004	Collectif	Opinion of the International Court of Justice on the Wall	The Court has reached the conclusion that the construction of the wall by Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory is contrary to international law.	International Court of Justice, July 2004
				https://www.icj-cij.org/public/fi les/case-related/131/131- 20040709-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf
Oct. 2004	Ezra, Gideon (1937-2012)	Minister of Internal Security	There are Arab citizens in the State of Israel. This is our greatest sorrow.	Quoted by Ben White, Palestinians in Israel, pp. 54- 55. Etre palestinien en Israël, La Guillotine, 2015,
6 Oct. 2004	Weissglas, Dov (1946-)	Advisor to Sharon, Ariel, in an interview with Haaretz	The significance of the disengagement plan is the freezing of the peace process. And when you freeze that process, you prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state, and you prevent a discussion on the refugees, the borders and Jerusalem. Effectively, this whole package called the Palestinian state, with all that it entails, has been removed indefinitely from our agenda. And all this with authority and permission. All with a presidential blessing and the ratification of both houses of Congress.	Plan Aims to Freeze the Peace Process, Haaretz, Oct. 6, 2004. https://www.haaretz.com/1.47
8 Oct. 2004		Ariel Sharon's adviser, in an interview by Haaretz, explains in substance that the withdrawal from Gaza is the monkey's money for the USA to turn a blind eye to the colonization of the West Bank.	The disengagementsupplies the amount of formaldehyde that's necessary so that there will not be a political process with the PalestiniansThe political process is the evacuation of settlements, it's the return of refugees, it's the partition of Jerusalem. And all that has now been frozen. The withdrawal in Samaria [northern West Bank] is a token one. We agreed to it only so that it wouldn't be said that we concluded our obligation in Gaza On the other hand, in regard to the large settlement blocs, thanks to the disengagement plan, we have in our hands a first-ever American statement that they will be part of Israel. In years to come, perhaps decades, when negotiations will be held between Israel and the Palestinians, the master of the world will pound on the table and say: We stated already ten years ago that the large blocs are part of Israel.	Dov Weissglass, Haaretz, Oct. 8 2004. https://www.haaretz.com/1.47 10587
28 Nov. 2004 ——— Sep. 1982	Eitan, Rafael (Rafoul) (1929-2004)	Israeli Chief of Staff, about the Sabra and Shatila massacre in Beirut in 2002	On the eve of the Sabra-Chatila massacre, in September 1982, he promised, with his famous sense of humor, that "the Phalange [Israel's Christian allies in Lebanon] will organize tiny little houses for the Palestinians." On another occasion, as a senior officer, he said, "It's a pleasure to see how the Arabs are killing one another," and also, "To punish parents for their sons' deeds works well with Arabs."	Quotes given by Gideon Levy: https://www.haaretz.com/inju stice-to-raful-s-memory- 1.141566
Dec. 2004	JNF/KKL	In its reply to a petition to the Israeli Supreme Court by Adalah, the Legal Center for Minority Rights in Israel, the JNF/KKL asserts a right to discrimination.	JNF trusteeship is not and cannot be given or granted to the entire Israeli public. JNF trusteeship is preserved solely for the Jewish people, on whose behalf it was founded and acts [] As a landowner, the JNF is not a public body which acts on behalf of all the citizens of the state. Its loyalty is to the Jewish people and its responsibility is to it alone. As the owner of JNF land, the JNF does not have to act with equality towards all citizens of the state.	www.adalah.org/eng/ publications/makan/ hc9010.pdf https://www.adalah.org/uploa ds/oldfiles/eng/publications/m akan/hc9010.pdf
13 Dec. 2004	Hazan, Yehiel (1968-)	Knesset Member of Parliament, Likud, expressing his stupid contempt for earthworms	The Arabs are worms. You find them everywhere like worms, underground as well as above.	Cited by AFP, reproduced by Le Monde Diplomatique, June 2009
4 Apr. 2005	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	In a preparatory meeting for a racist "family reunification" law, justifying the law that prohibits spouses of Palestinians in	There's no need to hide behind security arguments [when justifying this law preventing Palestinian spouses of Israelis from becoming Israeli citizens] There is a need for the existence of a Jewish state.	Aluf Benn Legislation seeks to hinder citizenship for Palestinians, Non-Jews Haaretz. https://www.haaretz.com/1.47 87171

		1		
		Israel from acquiring Israeli citizenship		
30 June 2005	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	Speech at the "Cesarea 2005" conference, explaining the reasons for the redeployment out of Gaza	We decided what our priorities were - we are withdrawing from the Gaza Strip - an area where there was no chance of establishing a Jewish majority, and which would clearly, in any final agreement, not be part of the State of Israel. At the same time, we are directing the majority of our efforts to areas which are most crucial to ensuring our existence - the Galilee, the Negev, Greater Jerusalem, the settlement blocs and the security zones.	Israeli government website, June 30, 2005. https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/pressro om/2005/pages/address %20by%20pm%20sharon %20to%20the%20caesarea %202005%20conference %2030-jun-2005.aspx
July 2005	Yossef, Ovadia (1920-2013)	Sephardic Chief Rabbi of Israel, establishing a divine accounting during a Saturday evening sermon	"There was a tsunami and there are terrible natural disasters, because there isn't enough Torah study Black people reside there [New Orleans]. Blacks will study the Torah? [God said] let's bring a tsunami and drown them." "Hundreds of thousands remained homeless. Tens of thousands have been killed. All of this because they have no God." "Bush was behind Gush Katif [the Gaza settlement bloc]. He encouraged Sharon to expel Gush Katif We had 15,000 people expelled here, and there 150,000. It was God's retribution God does not short-change anyone."	http://www.ynetnews.com/ articles/0,7340,L- 3138779,00.html
22 July 2005	Sharon, Ariel (1928-2014)	During a visit to the illegal colony of Ariel	I want to make it clear that this block will always remain a part of Israel and there will always be territorial contiguity between the Ariel bloc and the rest of Israel.	Alternative Information Center, News from Within, July – August 2005, p.7.
9 Aug. 2005	Peres, Shimon (1923-2016)	Explains a fundamental reason for Israel's "disengagement" from Gaza	We are disengaging from Gaza because of demography.	Interview by BBC-Newsnight of Aug. 9 2005.
6 Sep. 2005	Mofaz, Shaul (1948-)	Minister of Defense, during a tour of the West Bank	Show no pity to anyone, even if it causes traffic holdups and anger.	Haaretz, https://www.haaretz.com/1.49 40039
	Olmert, Ehud (1945-)	In his New Year's greetings, expressing a wish to avoid South African-style apartheid	The choice is between a Jewish state on part of the Land of Israel, and a binational state on all of the Land of Israel.	Many quotations, various translations.
6 Feb. 2006	Khaled (1956-)	Two months after Hamas won the Palestinian elections in the occupied territories, its leader indicated the possibility and conditions for a long-term truce with Israel. In the following months, Israel and its supporters ignored these efforts and stepped up the repression.	If Israel withdrew to the 1967 borders and recognised the rights of the Palestinian people - including the right of those in the diaspora to return to their land and to East Jerusalem and to dismantle the settlements - Hamas can then state its position and possibly give a long-term truce with Israel, as Sheikh Yassin said. This is a position that Hamas could take but only after Israel recognises the right of the Palestinians, to show and confirm its willingness to withdraw to the 1967 borders.	Transcript: Khaled Meshaal interview. BBC News. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4693382.stm
14 Feb. 2006 July 2000	Ben Ami, Shlomo (1943-)	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, chief negotiator at Camp David in 2000. In a debate with Norman Finkelstein on "Democracy Now".	Camp David was not the misssed opportunity for the Palestinians, and if I were Palestinian I would have rejected Camp David, as well.	Democracy Now! Norman Finkelstein and Former Iraeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben Ami Debate: Complete Transcript. February 14 2006. Quoted by Naomi Klein, The Shock Doctrine, Metropolitan Books, 2007, p. 434.
1st May 2006	Aloni, Shulamit	Knesset member (Meretz), one of the	Israel is an occupying power that for 40 years has been oppressing an indigenous people, which is entitled to a	Shulamit Aloni "Indeed there is Apartheid in Israel", Yediot

	(1928-2014)	few Israeli personalities to have denounced the occupation regime.	sovereign and independent existence while living in peace with us. We should remember that we too used very violent terror against foreign rule because we wanted our own state. And the list of victims of terror is quite long and extensive. We do limit ourselves to denying the [Palestinian] people human rights. We not only rob of them, of their freedom, land and water. We apply collective punishment to millions of people and even, in revenge-driven frenzy, destroy the electricity supply for one and half million civilians. Let them "sit in the darkness" and "starve." Through its army, the government of Israel practices a brutal form of Apartheid in the territory it occupies. Its army has turned every Palestinian village and town into a fenced-in, or blocked-in, detention camp. All this is done in order to keep an eye on the population's movements and to make its life difficult. Israel even imposes a total curfew whenever the settlers, who have illegally usurped the Palestinians' land, celebrate their holidays or conduct their parades.	Acharonot, May 1, 2006.
3 May 2006	Katsav, Moshe (1945-)	President of Israel - coming from Iran-, in a commentary on violence in some sectors of society	At times I feel we did an injustice to the Ethiopian population by bringing them to the country	https://www.ynetnews.com/ articles/0,7340,L- 3224160,00.html
21 July 2006	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	Explaining that the Irgun terrorists responsible for King David's bloodbath were "freedom fighters".	It's very important to make the distinction between terror groups and freedom fighters, and between terror action and legitimate military action. imagine that Hamas or Hezbollah would call the military headquarters in Tel Aviv and say, 'We have placed a bomb and we are asking you to evacuate the area'.	Ned Parker and Stephen Farell, <i>British Anger at Terror</i> <i>Celebration,</i> The Times, July 21 2006, quoted by Jean- Pierre Filiu, <i>Main basse sur</i> <i>Israël. Netanyahou et la fin</i> <i>du rêve sioniste</i> , La Découverte, 2019, p. 38.
13 Oct. 2006	Tamir, Naftali (1944-)	Israeli Ambassador to Australia, in an interview with the daily newspaper Haaretz	We are in Asia without the characteristics of Asians. We don't have yellow skin and slanted eyes. Asia is basically the yellow race. Australia and Israel are not - we are basically the white race. We are on the western side of Asia and they are on the southeastern side.	https://www.ynetnews.com/ articles/0,7340,L- 3314548,00.html https://www.haaretz.com/1.48 73924
17 Mar. 2007		Israeli Palestinian, who served as Minister of Science, Culture and Sport from March 2007 to March 2009.	I fail to understand how an enlightened, sane Jew allows himself to ask a Muslim person with a different language and culture, to sing an anthem that was written for Jews only.	Majadele refuses to sing national anthem. Ynetnews, 17 March 2007.
4 Aug. 2007	Sheetrit, Meir (1948-)	Interior Minister, flattering anti-black racism, about the prospect of more Falashas immigrating to Israel	Who needs them? They are all Christians. We need to take care of the future of Israel and this immigration will never finish.	Sheetrit: Falash Mura aliya must end. https://www.jpost.com/israel/s heetrit-falash-mura-aliya- must-end
29 Nov. 2007	Olmert, Ehud (1945-)	Interviewed by Haaretz at the end of the Annapolis "negotiations".	If the day comes when the two-state solution collapses, and we face a South African-style struggle for equal voting rights (also for the Palestinians in the territories), then, as soon as that happens, the State of Israel is finished.	https://www.haaretz.com/ 1.4961269
2008	Katorza, Michal (-)	KKL/JNF leader in charge of park signage, recognizing the function of parks, well known to Palestinians	A large portion of JNF Parks are on lands where palestinian villages used to stand, and the forests are there to camouflage this.	Interview with Michal Katorza in Eretz Israel Shelanu, 32 [Hebrew]. Quoted by Noga Kadman, <i>Erased from Space</i> <i>and Conciousness</i> , Indiana Univ. Press, 2015, p. 43.
2008	Dahan, Nissim (1955-)	Head of a local council appointed by the Ministry of the	We want to Judaize the Wadi Ara area The state wants to put this place in order so that the Arabs won't rear their heads.	Ben White, Palestinians in Israel, pp. 54-55. Etre palestinien en Israël, La

		1.6.2		0.311.00045
		Interior, speaking about the 'Judaization' of the Palestinian majority region of Wadi Ara (Great Triangle).		Guillotine, 2015.
2 Oct. 2008	(1957-)	colonial regimes in the face of any act of resistance: inflict maximum destruction and hope for calm.	demand long and expensive reconstruction processes. The strike must be carried out as quickly as possible, and must prioritize damaging assets over seeking out each and every launcher. Punishment must be aimed at decision makers and the power elite In Lebanon, attacks should both aim at Hizbollah's military capabilities and should target economic interests and the centres of civilian power that support the organization. Moreover, the closer the relationship between Hezbollah and the Lebanese Government, the more the elements of the Lebanese State infrastructure should be targeted. Such a response will create a lasting memory among Lebanese decision makers, thereby increasing Israeli deterrence and reducing the likelihood of hostilities against Israel for an extended period. At the same time, it will force Syria, Hizbollah, and Lebanon to commit to lengthy and resource-intensive reconstruction programmes	https://www2.ohchr.org/englis h/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/12se
3 Oct. 2008	Gadi (1960-)	2009 in Gaza.	What happened in the Dahiye Quarter of Beirut in 2006, will happen in every village from which shots are fired on Israel. We will use disproportionate force against it and we will cause immense damage and destruction. From our point of view these are not civilian villages but military bases. This is not a recommendation, this is the plan, and it has already been authorized.	Gadi Eisenkot, I have incredible power, I'll have no excuse, Yedioth Ahronoth (Hebrew), Quoted by Steven Chovanec, Crimes against humanity. Israel « Own Words ». https://www.globalresearch.ca/crimes-against-humanity-israels-own-words-we-must-expel-arabs-we-struck-civilians-they-deserved-it/5394936
2009 1936	(1935-2009)	Publisher of the Palestinian Encyclopedia, about the call of Prince Abdullah and the Imam of Yemen to end the 1936 strike	Sadly, the statement was signed by Prince Abdullah and the Imam of Yemen. They appealed to the Palestinians to end the strike. They said their ally Britain would resolves the issues. Britain was given a chance to prove its 'good intentions'. Unfortunately, to this day we're still discussing UN resolutions and American and European initiatives to give the West a chance to prove its good intentions. As if 70 years has not been enough to convince us that the West has no good intentions.	Interview, Video Palestine Remix Al-Nakba 2, al- Jazeera. Uncertain date for the l'interview.
19 Jan. 2009	Livni, Tzipi (1958-)	In a statement to the Israeli media at a time when more than 1,000 Palestinians in Gaza have already died	Israel demonstrated real hooliganism during the course of the recent operation, which I demanded.	Israel Channel 10 news, <i>Livni</i> warns Hamas, Jan. 19 2009; quoted by PCATI, <i>No Second</i> Thoughts, p. 28.
25 Jan. 2009	(1945-)	Prime Minister of Israel, reassures the army one week after the end of the massacres in Gaza (December 27, 2008-January 18, 2019): as in the past, no prosecution is to be feared. This began with a ban on	The state of Israel will completely back anyone that acted in its name. The commanders and soldiers sent to Gaza should know they are safe from various tribunals and Israel will assist them on this front and defend them, just as they protected us with their bodies during the Gaza operation	Israel prepares legal defense of soldiers. CNN, Jan. 25, 2009 http://edition.cnn.com/2009/ WORLD/meast/01/25/gaza.le gal.defense/

	publishing photos or information about the identity of the leaders of units engaged in the fighting in Gaza. The faces of the soldiers were blurred.		
(1962-)	Then Deputy Prime Minister and deputy of the Shas religious party, openly advocating the escalation of violence.	We have to determine a price tag for every rocket fired into Israel. () Even if they fire at an open area or into the sea, we must damage their infrastructures and destroy 100 houses.	Raanan Ben-Zur, Yishai: Destroy 100 houses for each rocket fired," Ynet, Feb. 2 2009, http://www.ynetnews.com/arti cles/0,7340,L- 3665517,00.html
Netanyahu, Benzion (1910-2012)	Netanyahu, former personal secretary of right-wing leader	here. There is a Jewish people and an Arab population there is no Palestinian people, so you don't create a state for an imaginary nation they only call themselves people in order to	http:// www.promisedlandblog.com/ ?p=803
Begin, Benyamin (Benny) (1943-)	Minister Without Portfolio	If the two-state solution is the only solution, then there is no solution.	http://www.haaretz.com/ benny-begin-two-state- solution-is-no-solution- 1.277706
Atias, Ariel (1970-)	Member of the Religious Zionist Party Shah	[the Arabs] that, to say the least, does not love the state of Israel If we go on like we have until now, we will lose the Galilee. Populations that should not mix are spreading there.	Ben White, <i>Palestinians in Israel</i> , pp. 54-55. <i>Etre palestinien en Israël</i> , La Guillotine, 2015. https://www.haaretz.com/1.5072677
Michaeli, Anastassia (1975-)	Member of Parliament for Yisrael Beiteinu	Judaism is at the basis of why we have this country to begin with. It's not just a religion.	Israel's politician as Super Woman, Forward, July 15 2009.
Shapira, Yitzchak (1944-)	Kahanist rabbi of Od Yosef Chai Yeshida in Yitzhar settlement, in a book published in 2009 (English title: The King's Torah)	There is a reason to kill babies [on the enemy side] even if they have not transgressed the seven Noahide Laws because of the future danger they may present, since it is assumed that they will grow up to be evil like their parents. And in this situation the attack should be directed at them and not just indirectly while attacking adults. It is also permitted to kill the children of the [evil] leader [of the enemy] in order to put pressure on him, if hurting the children will prevent the evil king from acting out his evilness	Matthiew Wagner. Book advocating killing gentiles who endanger Jews is hard to come by Jerusalem Post, Nov. 11, 2009. https://www.jpost.com/Jewish -World/Book-advocating- killing-gentiles-who- endanger-Jews-is-hard-to- come-by
Yossef, Ovadia (1920-2013)	Sephardic Chief Rabbi, about Muslims, during a Saturday evening sermon	They're stupid. Their religion is as ugly as they are.	http:// www.timesofisrael.com/5-of- ovadia-yosefs-most- controversial-quotations/
Tutu, Desmond (1931-2021)	South African Archbishop, in a letter to Emily Schaeffer for Berkeley students	I have been to the Occupied Palestinian Territory, and I have witnessed the racially segregated roads and housing that reminded me so much of the conditions we experienced in South Africa under the racist system of Apartheid.	https://ujfp.org/IMG/pdf/ 52f31668-933d-154c.pdf https://www.greenleft.org.au/ content/archbishop-tutu- boycotting-israel-right-and- moral
Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	During a family's visit to the settlement of Ofra in 2001, Netanyahu explained that everything is allowed thanks to	BN: Today, everyone understand the slogan « The settlements are here ». It is everywhere. What is the difference? What do you think Arafat wants? He wants one big settlement that is called Tel Aviv. As far as they are concerned, I think, the territorial waters are also theirs. That they want us to be pushed into the sea is obvious, but only further away The main thing	https://www.haaretz.com/ 1.5149019 https://www.youtube.com/wat ch?v=6TG0vdzrmt4
	Netanyahu, Benzion (1910-2012) Begin, Benyamin (Benny) (1943-) Atias, Ariel (1970-) Michaeli, Anastassia (1975-) Shapira, Yitzchak (1944-) Yossef, Ovadia (1920-2013) Tutu, Desmond (1931-2021) Netanyahu, Benyamin	information about the identity of the leaders of units engaged in the fighting in Gaza. The faces of the soldiers were blurred. Yishai, Eli (1962-) Then Deputy Prime Minister and deputy of the Shas religious party, openly advocating the escalation of violence. Netanyahu, Benzion (1910-2012) Father of Benyamin Netanyahu, former personal secretary of right-wing leader Vladimir Jabotinsky, in an interview for the Maariv newspaper Begin, Benyamin (Benny) (1943-) Atias, Ariel (1970-) Religious Zionist Party Shah Michaeli, Anastassia (1975-) Shapira, Yossef, Oyadia (1944-) Yisrael Beiteinu Michaeli, Kahanist rabbi of Od Yizchak (1944-) Yisrael Beiteinu Michaeli, Cahanist rabbi of Od Yisrael Beiteinu Member of Parliament for Yisrael Beiteinu Shah Member of Parliament for Yisrael Beiteinu Member of Parliament for Yisrael Beiteinu Souf Chai Yeshida in Yitzhar settlement, in a book published in 2009 (English title: The King's Torah) Yossef, Sephardic Chief Rabbi, about Muslims, during a Saturday evening sermon Tutu, Desmond (1931-2021) South African Archbishop, in a letter to Emily Schaeffer for Berkeley students Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-) Ofra in 2001, Netanyahu explained	information about the identity of the leaders of units engaged in the fighting in Gaza. The faces of the soldiers were blurred. Yshai, Eli (1962-)

			Palestinian Authority, causing them to fear that everything is about to collapse. Fear is what brings them to Settler: Hold on, but then again, the world will say that we are	
		secretly taken video	Settler: Hold on, but then again, the world will say that we are agressors. BN: They can say whatever they want Settler: Aren't you afraid of what they'll say, Bibi? BN: No - especially today, with the US. I know how they are. America is something you can easily manoeuver and move in the right direction. And even if they say something So then they say something. So what? 80 % Americans support us! It's absurd! We have such support there, and here we are thinking what we should do « if ». Look, I wasn't afraid to maneuver [the Clinton administration]. I wasn't afraid to confront Clinton. I wasn't afraid to go against the UN. Settler: What happened with the Oslo accords? BN: The Accords, which were ratified by Parliament, I was asked before the (1996) elections: « Will you fulfill them? » I said: « Yes, subject to reciprocity and minimizing pull-outs». But how one can minimize the [obliged] pull-outs? I gave my own interpretation of the agreements, in such a way that will show me to stop the race back toward the 1967 borders. How did I manage to do this? Nobody decided what « Military Facilities » are. So I also defined them as being security zones. The entire Jordan valley, for me, is a « Military Facility ». Nobody has Settler: Yes, like the Bet She'an valley. BN: You see, go figure. But there there was the question of who defines these « Military Facilities »? I received a letter from (Secretary od State Warren) Christopher to me and to Arafat at the same time, saying that Israel, and Israel alone, will define the « Military Facilities », their locations and size. Now, they didn't want to give this letter so I refused to ratify the Hebron Accords (of 1997), I stopped the government meeting and I said « I won't sign ». And only when the letter has arrived, during that meeting, to me and to Arafat, I signed the Hebron Accords. Or ratified it, if to be exact, it was already signed. Why is this important? Because at that very moment, in fact, I halted the fulfillment of the Olso agreements. It's bette	
			is the choice we are facing. You gave 2 %, but you stopped the withdrawal, rather than 100 %. The wisdom is not to be there and break, but rather to be there and pay the minimum.	
·	Bennett, Naftali (1972-)	At the time leader of the Zionist-religious party Our Home, addressing in a typically racist manner the Palestinian deputy of Israel Mohamed Tibi during a televised meeting	l'Il say it loud and clear: This land was ours long before Islam was even createdl'Il say it again. This land is ours. The land of Israel belongs to the Jews, long before you discovered the holy Quran. So, do me a favor: It's ours When you were still climbing trees, we had here a Jewish state.	https://www.tabletmag.com/ sections/israel-middle-east/ articles/zionisms-new-boss
Oct. 2010	Yossef, Ovadia (1920-2013)	Sephardic Chief Rabbi of Israel, during his Saturday night sermon, on different dates	"Goyim were born only to serve us. Without that, they have no place in the world – only to serve the People of Israel." "In Israel, death has no dominion over them With gentiles, it will be like any person – they need to die, but [God] will give them longevity. Why? Imagine that one's donkey would die, they'd lose their money. "This is his servant That's why he gets a long life, to work well for this Jew." "Why are gentiles needed? They will work, they will plow, they will reap. We will sit like an effendi and eat That is why gentiles were created."	Quoted at the time of his death by The Times of Israel http://www.timesofisrael.com/5-of-ovadia-yosefs-most-controversial-quotations/
28 Apr. 2011	Kahlon, Moshe (1960-)	Minister of Finance, then Minister of Communications, at a meeting with Likud	We should annex all the territories that same day,	https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=ZsW03rNMyOk http://www.haaretz.com/israel

24 May 2011	Pagay Miri	youth on what Israel should do if the Palestinians declare their independence. Minister of Culture	The Land of Israel belongs to the Jewish People, and not only to	-news/.premium-1.630465
24 May 2011	(1965-)	and Sports, then Minister of Transportation, recalling the goal of Zionism	the Jews who live in that land.	articles/0,7340,L- 4072989,00.html
19 July 2011	Gazit, Shlomo (1926-2020)	Former Major General and Director of the Jewish Agency, who became a member of Yesh Din.	In the present situation, unfortunately, there is no equal treatment for Jews and Arabs when it comes to law enforcement. The legal system that enforces the law in a discriminatory way on the basis of national identity, is actually maintaining an apartheid regime.	https://www.haaretz.com/ 1.5030856
Jan. 2012	Shaked, Ayelet (1976-)	Minister of Justice. On Channel 2, answering the question " " When your husband the pilot is at the controls of his plane, would you like him to violently bomb the Arabs?	hope he'll be pounding the Arabs hard with bombs?" *Laughter* "Yes."	http://www.haaretz.com/ misc/iphone-article/.premium- 1.655941
May 2012	Shteinman, Aharon Leib (1913-2017)	Spiritual leader of the Degel Hatorah faction of the United Torah Party - a member of the government at the time - explaining that the world was created for people who study Torah, the others being murderers, thieves or fools	Today they say there are eight billion people in the world. And what are they all? Murderers, thieves and senseless. Did God create the world for these murderers? The world was created for the righteous people who study Torah. That is the purpose of creation The nations of the world have no redeeming qualities.	https://www.ynetnews.com/ articles/0,7340,L- 4232004,00.html
18 May 2012	Silvan (1958-)	'negotiations' with the Palestinians in 2015, talking to Likud activists in 2012.	We are all against a Palestinian state, there is no question about it.	www.huffingtonpost.com/ 2015/05/18/silvan-shalom- israel- palestine_n_7309072.html https://www.haaretz.com/hblo cked?returnTo=https%3A %2F%2Fwww.haaretz.com %2F.premium-minister-who- opposed-2-states-to-lead- talks-with-pa-1.5363634
31 May 2012	(1962-)	Israeli Interior Minister, in a call to protect the "Zionist dream" against migrants	I sound like a racist, a benighted man or a xenophobe, but I'm motivated by love for my country and the knowledge that I don't have another country.	Israeli minister inflames racial tensions with attack on 'infiltrators'. The Guardian, 31 May 2012. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/may/31/israeliminister-racial-tensions-infiltrators
3 June 2012	Yishai, Eli (1962-)	Minister of the Interior, member of the ultra- Orthodox Sephardic Shas party, speaking about migrants from Africa, and exalting a so-calld Jewish "racial purity »	Muslims that arrive here do not even believe that this country belongs to us, to the white man. I will continue the struggle until the end of my term, with no compromises [I will use] all the tools to expel the foreigners, until not one infiltrator remains.	Interview, Maariv, June 4 2012 https://mondoweiss.net/2012/ 06/israeli-interior-minister-on- african-immigrants-most-of- those-people-arriving-here- are-muslims-who-think-the- country-doesnt-belong-to-us-

				46 6 4
16 July 2012	Hotovely, Tzipi (1978-)	Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netanyahu	We need to demand sovereignty over all parts of Judea and Samaria, and nothing less than that.	the-white-man/ Quoted by Piotr Smolar, Le Monde, June 16, 2015.
		government in 2015		https://www.youtube.com/wat ch?v=Mut2v4Ts_tg
25 Aug. 2012	Yaalon, Moshe (1950-)	Minister of Defense, before an assembly of rabbis	The Palestinian threat harbours cancer-like attributes that have to be severed and fought to the bitter end.	https:// www.theguardian.com/ world/2002/aug/27/israel
	Danon, Danny (1971-)	Minister of Science, Technology and Space	The long-term vision is to apply Jewish sovereignty over the Jewish communities [settlements] of Judea and Samaria, and I am proud of it.	https:// www.huffingtonpost.com/ 2012/09/13/danny-danon- israeli- kness_n_1882341.html? guccounter=1
	Danon, Danny (1971-)	Minister of Science, Technology and Space, in an interview on Israel National Radio	Enough with the two-state-solution. Land-for-peace is over. We don't want a Palestinian State. We need to apply Israeli sovereignty over all Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria [the occupied West Bank].	http:// www.israelnationalnews.com/ News/News.aspx/ 160469#.VWN759pVikp
17 Nov. 2012	Yishai, Eli (1962-)	Then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, deputy of the religious party Shas, white supremacist and homophobe.	We must blow Gaza back to the Middle Ages destroying all the infrastructure including roads & water.(1) And/or: The goal of the operation is to send Gaza back to the Middle Ages. Only then will Israel be calm for forty years. (2)	(1) The Yeshiva World News, LIVE BLOG DAY 4: Operation Pillar of Defense, November 17, 2012: http://www.theyeshivaworld.com/news/headlines-breaking-stories/145581/live-blog-day-4-operation-pillar-of-defense-updated-530pm-il.html (2) https://www.haaretz.com/2012-11-17/ty-article/live-blog-idf-strikes-hamas-pms-office/0000017f-e758-dc7e-adff-f7fdc0f60000
31 Dec. 2012	Hotovely, Tzipi (1978-)	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netanyahu government of 2015	We are opposed to a Palestinian state [Netanyahu's 2009 declaration of support for a Palestinian state at Bar-llan University was] a tactical speech for the rest of the world.	http:// www.timesofisrael.com/likud- opposed-to-a-palestinian- state-says-hardliner-mk/
7 Jan. 2013	Bennett, Naftali (1972-)	Minister of Education, Jerusalem and Diaspora Affairs	There is not going to be a Palestinian state within the tiny land of Israel it's just not going to happen.	In an interview with Haaretz : https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/07/naftalibennett-interview-jewish-home
21 Jan. 2013	Bennett, Naftali (1972-)	Minister of Education	I will do everything in my power, forever, to fight against a Palestinian state being founded in the Land of Israel.	https:// www.newyorker.com/ magazine/2013/01/21/the- party-faithful
18 Mar. 2013	Danon, Danny (1971-)	Minister of Science, Technology and Space	We will act within the law to strengthen the settlements in Judea and Samaria, in the Negev and in the Galilee.	http:// www.timesofisrael.com/no- peace-partners-says- incoming-deputy-defense- minister/
20 Mar. 2013	Elkin, Ze'ev (1971-)	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	We will try to apply sovereignty over the maximum [of the occupied West Bank] that we can at any given moment It will take time to change people's awareness but in the end this will penetrate. And then, what seems today like a fairy tale will eventually become political reality, and the reality on the ground.	http:// www.timesofisrael.com/the- annexationist-who-now- heads-the-foreign-ministry/
6 June 2013	Danon, Danny (1971-)	Deputy Minister of Defence	Look at the government: there was never a government discussion, resolution or vote about the two-state solution If you will bring it to a vote in the government you will see the	http:// www.timesofisrael.com/ deputy-defense-minister-this-

			majority of Likud ministers, along with the Jewish Home [party], will be against it Today we're not fighting it, but if there will be a move to promote a two-state solution, you will see forces blocking it within the [Likud] party and the government.	government-will-block-any- peace-deal/
11 June 2013	Levin, Yariv (1975-)	Minister of Tourism and Relations with the Knesset, spokesman for the government coalition	We will try, slowly but surely, to expand the circle of settlements, and to afterwards extend the roads At the end of this process, the facts on the ground will be that whatever remains [of the occupied West Bank] will be merely marginal appendage. () Even when the prime minister [Netanyahu] spoke about the issue of two states, he didn't speak about a [Palestinian] state in the full sense. He spoke about a long range of conditions that he himself says there is no chance that they will be fulfilled in the near future due to the actions of the other side.	http:// www.timesofisrael.com/ coalition-chief-heading- caucus-that-seeks-to-retain- entire-west-bank/
11 July 2013	(1955-)	Minister of Transportation	I am opposed to a Palestinian state. It is unacceptable, mainly because of our rights to this land.	http://www.jpost.com/ Diplomacy-and-Politics/ Housing-Minister-says-ready- to-build-10000-homes-over- Green-Line-319453 http://www.agencemediapale stine.fr/blog/2015/10/14/avec -leurs-propres-mots-de- hauts-responsables- israeliens-sur-la-question- palestinienneu/
11 July 2013	Ariel, Uri (1952-)	Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development (colonist, former Secretary of the Yesha Council), at a Yesha meeting	We need to state clearly that there won't be a Palestinian state west of the Jordan River.	https://www.jpost.com/ Diplomacy-and-Politics/ Housing-Minister-says-ready- to-build-10000-homes-over- Green-Line-319453
21 July 2013	Bennett, Naftali (1972-)	Minister of Economy and leader of the Foyer Juif party, in a dialogue on a prisoner's release	I've killed lots of Arabs in my life – and there's no problem with that.	https://www.jpost.com/ diplomacy-and-politics/ bennett-under-fire-for- comments-about-killing- arabs-321467 https://alray.ps/en/index.php? act=post&id=1404
29 July 2013	Elkin, Ze'ev (1971-)	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	I certainly think a Palestinian state is no solution. And if I think a Palestinian state is no solution, that means I do want a Jewish presence here. Which raises the question: What do you do with the Palestinian population? And I don't think the answer to that question can be found right now. But a Palestinian state is no solution, not for us and I don't think for them either.	http:// www.timesofisrael.com/ deputy-fm-netanyahu-wrong- to-back-palestinian-state- and-its-hurting-him-in-likud/
30 July 2013	Gamliel, Gila (1974-)	Minister for Senior Citizens	I disagree with the word 'occupation.'The Gaza Strip can annex itself to Egypt, some of the Palestinians can annex themselves to Jordan. They have many countries.	http://www.al-monitor.com/ pulse/fr/originals/2013/08/ israeli-politician-annex- palestinians-jordan.html
30 July 2013	(1966-)	Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel, urging Jews to read the Torah (the Talmud) instead of watching basketball games	"Why do you care about whether the 'kushim' who get paid in Tel Aviv beat the kushim who get paid in Greece?"	https://www.haaretz.com/ jewish/brand-new-chief-rabbi- in-racist-gibe-1.5314783
1st Aug. 2013	Ben-Dahan, Eli (1954-)	Vice-Minister of Defense in 2013, Rabbi.	[Palestinians] are beasts, they are not human.	https://972mag.com/next- head-of-civil-administration- said-palestinians-are-sub- human/106533/
7 Aug. 2013	Gapso, Shimon (-)	Mayor of Nazareth Illith. Explaining in	Upper Nazareth is a Jewish city and it's important that it remains so. If that makes me a racist, then I'm a proud offshoot of a	Shimon Gapso If you think I'm a racist, then Israel is a

		the end of a well drunk evening, that he is the continuator of a long line of racists		racist state https://www.haaretz.com/opin ion/shimon-gapso-if-you- think-im-a-racist-so-be-it- 1.5318153
	Ariel, Uri (1952-)	Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development	With God's help we will continue building all the land of Israel and Jerusalem the capital It must be made clear that this is only the beginning. This melody can't be stopped We can and will market thousands of [settlement] apartments in [occupied East] Jerusalem and there are more than 10,000 apartments ready for marketing in Judea and Samaria.	https://www.haaretz.com/ housing-min-vows-more-wb- building-1.5319697
	Akunis, Ofer (1973-)	Minister Without Portfolio	I will oppose any outline that includes two states This is my ideological and historical position.	http:// www.israelnationalnews.com/ News/News.aspx/ 171321#.VWOSGtpViko
2013	Danon, Danny (1971-)	Minister of Science, Technology and Space	A deal giving up most of Judea and Samaria [the occupied West Bank] – the current Likud leadership will not accept that We [who oppose such steps] are the majority in the party.	https://www.jpost.com/ Diplomacy-and-Politics/ Lapid-hints-at-support-for- interim-deal-with- Palestinians-326429
24 Oct. 2013	Elkin, Ze'ev (1971-)	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs writing for a new periodical	Whoever objects to the 'two state' solution does not need to present an alternative solution because the basic situation is that this territory belongs to us.	http:// www.israelnationalnews.com/ News/News.aspx/ 173161#.VWTBGM_BzRY
8 Mar. 2014	Akunis, Ofer (1973-)	Minister of Science, Technology and Space (2019)	I resolutely oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state in the place where our nation was born.	http://www.jpost.com/ Features/Front-Lines/Politics- Stepping-out-of-Netanyahus- shadow-but-still-enjoying-the- shade-344602
10 Mar. 2014	Ariel, Uri (1952-)	Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, during a commemorative speech	not even one settlement in Judea and Samaria [the occupied West Bank] will be uprooted Israeli citizens [settlers] will only be under full Israeli sovereignty. And west of the Jordan River there will only be one state and that is the state of Israel.	Jerusalem Post, 10 March 2014
14 Mar. 2014	Levin, Yariv (1975-)	Minister of Tourism and Public Security, anticipating the apartheid law of 2018	A clear Israeli law willshow our insistence that we are a Jewish state.	http://www.pressreader.com/ israel/jerusalem-post/ 20140314
16 May 2014	Ariel, Uri (1952-)	Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, during a radio interview	I think that in five years there will be 550,000 or 600,000 Jews in Judea and Samaria [the West Bank], rather than 400,000 [now].	https:// www.theguardian.com/ world/2014/may/16/israel-uri- ariel-settlement-growth-west- bank
Nov. 2007	(1958-)	Former Minister of Justice, participant in the "negotiations" with the PA in 2007, speaking about her response to the request to include international law	I was the minister of justice. I am a lawyer But I am against law – international law in particular. Law in general.	http://www.aljazeera.com/ palestinepapers/ 2011/01/20111241653342917 15.html
30 June	Elitzur, Uri	Chief of Staff, writer	Why do we have to make up a new name for the war every other	English translation and

2014	(1946-2014)	and close advisor to	week, just to avoid calling it by its name. What's so horrifying	complete text in the
2002		with genocidal connotations proudly published 12 years later by Ayelet Shaked shortly before she was appointed Minister of Justice.	about understanding that the entire Palestinian people is the enemy? Every war is between two peoples, and in every war the people who started the war, that whole people, is the enemy. () Behind every terrorist stand dozens of men and women, without whom he could not engage in terrorism. Actors in the war are those who incite in mosques, who write the murderous curricula for schools, who give shelter, who provide vehicles, and all those who honor and give them their moral support. They are all enemy combatants, and their blood shall be on all their heads. Now this also includes the mothers of the martyrs, who send them to hell with flowers and kisses. They should follow their sons, nothing would be more just. They should go, as should the physical homes in which they raised the snakes. Otherwise, more little snakes will be raised there	Electronic Intifada : https://electronicintifada.net/b logs/ali-abunimah/israeli- lawmakers-call-genocide- palestinians-gets-thousands- facebook-likes
	Shaked, Ayelet (1976-)	Minister of Justice of the Netanyahu Government	The entire Palestinian people are the enemy, including its elderly and its women, it cities and its villages, its property and its infrastructure," and that, "they are all enemy combatants, and their blood shall be on all their heads.	Post on Facebook https://sputniknews.com/midd leeast/201606151041340333 -netanyahu-israel-palestine- peace-settlements/
2 July 2014	Perel, Noam (-)	Rabbi of Jerusalem, Secretary General of the World Bnei Akiva, using the Bible as a guide for a call to slaughter	The government of Israel is gathering for a revenge meeting that isn't a grief meeting. The landlord has gone mad at the sight of his sons' bodies. A government that turns the army of searchers to an army of avengers, an army that will not stop at 300 Philistine foreskins.	https://fr.globalvoices.org/ 2015/05/10/185768/ read more: http://www.haaretz.com/jewis h/news/.premium-1.602675
11 July 2014	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	At a press conference, made it clear that he could never under any circumstances approve a fully sovereign Palestinian state in the West Bank	I think the Israeli people understand now what I always say: that there cannot be a situation, under any agreement, in which we relinquish security control of the territory west of the River Jordan	Quoted by the Times of Israël http://www.timesofisrael.com/netanyahu-finally-speaks-hismind/
	Moshe (1962-)	Settler in the West Bank, leader of Manhigut Yehudit (Jewish Leadership), an offshoot of the Likud, for whom the "solution" is none other than the ethnic cleansing of the two million Palestinians in Gaza	Attack the entire 'target bank' throughout Gaza with the IDF's maximum force (and not a tiny fraction of it) with all the conventional means at its disposal. All the military and infrastructural targets will be attacked with no consideration for 'human shields' or 'environmental damage'. It is enough that we are hitting exact targets and that we gave them advance warning. Parallel to the above, a total siege on Gaza. Nothing will enter the area After the IDF completes the "softening" of the targets with its fire-power, the IDF will conquer the entire Gaza, using all the means necessary to minimize any harm to our soldiers, with no other considerations. Gaza is part of our Land and we will remain there forever Subsequent to the elimination of terror from Gaza, it will become part of sovereign Israel and will be populated by Jews. This will also serve to ease the housing crisis in Israel.	Moshe Feiglin, My Outline for a Solution in Gaza, op-ed for Arutz Sheva 7. IsraelNationalNews.com, on July 2014: http://www.israelnationalnews.com/Articles/Article.aspx/153 26.
20 July 2014	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	In an interview on CNN with Wolf Biltzer, developing with maximum cynicism that Hamas is responsible for Palestinian civilian deaths	I'm very sad. When I see that I'm very sad. We're sad for every civilian casualty. They're not intended. This is the difference between us. The Hamas deliberately targets civilians and deliberately hides behind civilians. They imbed their rocketeers, their rocket caches, their other weaponry, which they use to fire on us in civilian areas What choice do we have? All civilian casualties are unintended by us but actually intended by Hamas. They want to pile up as many civilian dead as they can because somebody said, and I mean, it's gruesome, but they use telegenically-dead Palestinians for their cause. They	Alex Kane and Phil Weiss. Hamas wants to pile up 'telegenically-dead Palestinians for their cause' — Netanyahu, on television http://mondoweiss.net/2014/0 7/telegenically-palestinians- television.html

			want- the more dead the better.	
•	Feiglin, Moshe (1962-)	Leader of Manhigut Yehudit (Jewish Leadership), an emanation of the Likud	"Oslo is finished" there are "no two states for two people; there is only one state for one nation." () « "turning Gaza into Jaffa," () [the Palestinian enclave can become] a "flourishing Israeli city with a minimum of hostile residents." () « "The city of Gaza and its suburbs will be rebuilt as Israeli touristic and commercial sites,"	Retake Gaza, put civilians in 'tent camps' http://www.timesofisrael.com/ knesset-member-retake- gaza-put-civilians-in-tent- camps/
14 Aug. 2014	Tutu, Desmond (1931-2021)	South African Archbishop, in an article written for Haaretz daily newspaper	The solution is more likely to come from that nonviolent toolbox we developed in South Africa in the 1980s, to persuade the government of the necessity of altering its policies. The reason these tools – boycott, sanctions and divestment – ultimately proved effective was because they had a critical mass of support, both inside and outside the country. The kind of support we have witnessed across the world in recent weeks, in respect of Palestine.	Desmond Tutu to Haaretz: This is my plea to the people of Israel https://www.haaretz.com/isra el-news/desmond-tutu-to- haaretz-this-is-my-plea-to- the-people-of-israel- 1.10494007
	Karanik, Amitai (-)	Major of the Israeli army, exposing the doctrine implemented against the Palestinians of Gaza	teach people to fight in a war, the civilian population is not supposed to be there, and if it is, I persuade it to keep away. In peacetime security, soldiers stand facing a civilian population, but in wartime, there is no civilian population, just an enemy.	BaYabasha, Ground Forces Journal. Avigail Bukobza: Involved fighting;October 2014, No. 29, page 62. Quoted by Al-Mezzan, Justice Denied, http://mezan.org/en/uploads/f iles/15361292681880.pdf
9 Nov. 2014	Adelson, Sheldon (1933-2021)	Casino magnate, donor to several U.S. Zionist organizations, friend of Trump and Natanyahu, in a conference in Washington	I don't think the Bible says anything about democracy. [God] didn't talk about Israel remaining as a democratic state Israel isn't going to be a democratic state — so what?	Josh Nathan-Kazis, Sheldon Adelson's Dismissal of Israeli Democracy draws Silence from Groups he backs. The Forward, Nov. 12, 2014.
3 Feb. 2015	Shaked, Ayelet (1976-)	Minister of Justice of the Netanyahu government, in a pre- election discussion. In coded language, "perfection" is the expulsion of the Palestinians.	We should manage the conflict and not give up on any centimetre of land. Yes, it's not perfect, but it's better than any other alternative.	https://www.jta.org/ 2015/02/03/israel/candidates- go-head-to-head-on-israels- future-and-in-english-too
	Lieberman, Avigdor (1958-)	Talking about Palestinians "citizens" of Israel, during an election rally	Whoever's with us should get everything – up to half the kingdom Those who are against us, there's nothing to be done – we need to pick up an ax and cut off his head.	https://www.haaretz.com/ lieberman-disloyal-israeli- arabs-should-be-beheaded- 1.5334458
15 Mar. 2015	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, meeting in Tel Aviv	They know that as long as Likud is in power, we won't divide Jerusalem, we won't make concessions, we won't withdraw from land.	http://www.ynetnews.com/ articles/0,7340,L- 4637305,00.html
16 Mar. 2015	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Benyamin Netanyahu (Head of Likud)	[Question: If you are reelected prime minister, there will be no Palestinian state?] "Indeed."	https://www.politico.com/ story/2015/03/benjamin- netanyahu-palestine-116103
25 May 2015	Akunis, Ofer (1973-)	Minister without portfolio, talking about the 'right' to a Land of Israel with undefined contours	My objection to a Palestinian state stems primarily from the fact that our right to the land is eternal and irrevocable. The Land of Israel is the property of the Jewish People and there is no people in the world that would surrender its motherland.	https://www.jpost.com/ Opinion/Yes-Mr-President- this-is-what-a-democracy- looks-like-404059
16 June 2015	Hotovely, Tzipi (1978-)	Deputy Foreign Minister of the Netanyahu government, in a	This land is ours. All of it is ours. We did not come here to apologise for that We expect as a matter of principle of the international community to recognise Israel's right to build homes for Jews in their homeland, everywhere.	Quoted by Piotr Smolar, Le Monde, 16 June 2015 Quoted by Mehdi Hasan

		1 1 1 1		1.11 // 12
		speech to Israeli diplomats		https://www.aljazeera.com/in depth/opinion/2015/05/state- palestine-israel-zionist- 150527070943455.html
21 Oct. 2015	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	During a speech before the World Jewish Congress, he cleared Hitler's name by inventing that the Mufti is the real author of the genocide of the Jews of Europe.	"Hitler didn't want to exterminate the Jews at the time, he wanted to expel the Jew ». And Haj Amin al-Husseini went to Hitler and said, 'If ou expel them, they'll all come here (to Palestine).' According to Netanyahu, Hitler then asked: "What should I do with them?" and the mufti replied: "Burn them."	https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=-Ju1w- iDR0o&feature=emb_logo Netanyahu: Hitler Didn't Want to Exterminate the Jews https://www.haaretz.com/isra el-news/netanyahu-absolves- hitler-of-guilt-1.5411578
25 Oct. 2015	Tzipi (1978-)	Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, approving a central project of the religious Zionists, the israeli control over the al- Haram ash-Sharif		https://www.haaretz.com/ israel-news/.premium-israeli- deputy-fm-i-dream-of-israeli- flag-on-temple-mount- 1.5413758
	(1952 -)	non-Jews "should not live in the land of Israel"	in Israel is to serve the Jewish population. Who will be the servers? Who will be our assistants? Therefore, we leave them here in the land.	160328-non-jews-should-be- expelled-from-israel-chief- rabbi
7 July 2016	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	At a press conference in Kigali with Paul Kagame, where he replays the false propaganda about a new Jewish genocide.	The Nazis had also begun to dehumanize the Jews long before they began the massacre of millions of our people. So today, when we see the leaders in Gaza calling for the killing of all Jews around the world, we all have a duty to speak out. Translated from French	https://fr.timesofisrael.com/ victimes-de-genocide-juifs-et- rwandais-se-comprennent/
6 Mar. 2017	Smotrich, Bezalel (1980-)	Vice-President of the Israeli Parliament, explaining the "substance" of the draft fundamental law "Israel, Nation State of the Jewish People"	A healthy person – who loves those who love him and hates those who hate him – doesn't turn the other cheek,	Sylvain Cypel, L'État d'Israël contre les Juifs, La Découverte, 2020, p.179.
22 May 2017	(-)	Brigadier General head of the army's Strategic Division, in response to journalist Bryan Bender about Israeli support to al- Qaeda and Daech		Bryan Bender Israeli Officers: You're Doing ISIS Wrong. Politico, 22/5/2017 https://www.politico.com/mag azine/story/2017/05/22/israeli -officers-to-trump-youre- doing-isis-wrong-215172
12 July 2017 Jan. 1988	Weisberg, Ori (1968-)	Soldier in 1988, now journalist, reacting to Yitzhak Rabin's order to break the arms of Palestinian fedayeen	Really? Breaking their bones would secure the future of the Jewish people? "Great," I heard myself say. "How will they build our houses with broken arms?"	Ori Weisberg, I Was An IDF Soldier During The First Intifada. It Changed Me Forever, Forward, https://forward.com/opinion/3 89148/i-was-an-idf-soldier- during-the-first-intifada-it- changed-me-forever/
29 Aug. 2017	Shaked, Ayelet (1976-)	Minister of Justice, in an attack on the Supreme Court, which had approved the deportation of African	Zionism should not continue, and I say here, it will not continue to bow down to the system of individual rights interpreted in a universal way that divorces them from the history of the Knesset and the history of legislation that we all know.	Revital Hovel, Justice Minister Slams Israel's Top Court, Says It Disregards Zionism and Upholding Jewish Majority, Haaretz, 29

		migrants but refused to imprison them for more than two months if they refused		Aug. 2017. Quoted by Sylvain Cypel, l'État d'Israël contre les Juifs, La Découverte, 2020, pp. 24, 87.
19 Oct. 2017	Spencer, Richard (1978-)	"White supremacist" leader promoting a "white" state in North America, who describes his "mission" as a kind of "white Zionism"	Israelis the most important and perhaps most revolutionary ethno-state, and it's one that I turn to for guidance.	https://www.splcenter.org/ fighting-hate/extremist-files/ individual/richard-bertrand- spencer-0 https://www.youtube.com/wat ch?v=u2XvwcNSDmw
23 Jan. 2018	Bergman, Ronen (1972-)	Israeli investigative journalist, in an interview on the occasion of the release of his book Rise and Kill First - The Secret History of Israel's Targeted Assassinations	I found that since WWII, Israel has used assassination and targeted killings more than any country in the West, in many cases endangering the lives of civilians.	New York Times, Jan. 23, 2018.
	Shaked, Ayelet (1976-)	In February 2018, then-Justice Minister Ayelet Shaked defended the Judaization policy in the face of criticism that it was racist and violated the human rights of Palestinian citizens of Israel	"I think that 'Judaizing the Galilee' is not an offensive term. We used to talk like that. In recent years we've stopped talking like that. I think it's legitimate without violating the full rights of the Arab residents of IsraelThere is place to maintain a Jewish majority even at the price of violation of rights.	Justice Minister: Israel Must Keep Jewish Majority Even at the Expense of Human Rights https://www.haaretz.com/isra el-news/justice-minister- israel-s-jewish-majority- trumps-than-human-rights- 1.5811106
10 Apr. 2018	Erdan, Gilad (1970-)	Minister of the "Ministry of Strategic Affairs", in charge of slander and repression against the BDS movement,	We have reached a level of insanity and delusion. Was it so boring in this country over the last day that this video needs to receive such exposure? To take a situation from the battlefield, when soldiers are under stress and explosive devices are being thrown at them and attempts are being made to infiltrate [the border], and to take their human response and judge them from the armchairs in Tel Aviv? No country in the world does such a thing. It would have been better if the [soldiers'] happy reactions were not circulated, but to judge them and conclude something there was wrong, is crazy.	Israeli Ministers Defend Soldiers Filmed Cheering in Sniper Video Haaretz, 10 avril 2018 https://www.youtube.com/wat ch?v=EjTkJIPKj80
11 June 2018	Kalner, Joseph (-)	Rabbi of the Bnei David Military Preparatory Academy in the settlement of Eli in the West Bank	All secular Jews are traitors and the state can do anything to sanction them, including putting a bullet through their heads."	Quoted by Shlomi Eldar, Israeli activists call out military academy for messianic teachings, Al- Monitor, Oct. 19, 2018. https://www.al-monitor.com/or iginals/2018/10/israel-naftali- bennett-idf-democracy- human-rights-religion.html
18 July 2018	Dichter, Avi (1952-)	Rapporteur of the Basic Law "Israel - Nation State of the Jewish People", explaining ingeniously that the purpose of this law is to make apartheid irreversible	We are enshrining this important bill into a law today to prevent even the slightest thought, let alone attempt, to transform Israel to a country of all its citizens	Ben White. Why has Netanyahu pushed through the nation state bill now? https://www.independent.co.u k/voices/netanyahu-israel- jewish-nation-state-bill-law- palestine-election- a8454776.html
	Netanyahu, Benyamin	During a renaming ceremony for the	The weak crumble, are slaughtered and are erased from history while the strong, for good or for ill, survive. The strong are	https://twitter.com/IsraeliPM/ status/

	(1949-)	Shimon Peres Negev Nuclear Research Center	respected, and alliances are made with the strong, and in the end peace is made with the strong.	Jonathan Cook <i>The Nakba Continues</i> , WRMEA, https://www.wrmea.org/israel-palestine/the-plan-to-make-unrwa-and-the-palestine-refugee-disappear.html
21 Feb. 2019	Berko, Anat (1960-)	Likud deputy, justifying relations with anti-democratic and identity-based regimes in Europe	They might be anti-Semites, but they're on our side.	https://www.haaretz.com/us- news/.premium-u-s-jews- netanyahu-has-now- endorsed-jewish-fascism-cut- your-ties-with-him-now- 1.6957970
9 Mar. 2019	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	Prime Minister, challenged on Instagram by actress Rotem Sala that there are Arab citizens who should be treated equally	Israel is not a state of all its citizens. According to the Nation-State Law that we passed, Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish People - and them alone,	https://www.newsweek.com/ netanyahu-israel-nation- state-jews-1358133
Apr. 2019	Redel, Giora (-)	Rabbi, head of the religious military school Bnei David, in a recording broadcast by Israel Channel 13 News	the fact that he's on the wrong side."	https://www.haaretz.com/ israel-news/trump-envoy- greenblatt-condemns-racist- remarks-by-israeli-rabbis-at- pre-army-yeshiva- 1.7190057Quoted by Sylvain Cypel, l'État d'Israël contre les Juifs, La Découverte, 2020, p. 117.
29 Apr. 2019	Kashtiel, Eliezer (-)	Rabbi paid by the State of Israel, director of the subsidized religious military school Bnei David located in the Eli settlement, teaching to consider all non-Jews as defective and promised to slavery	the best. They're glad to be slaves, they want to be slavesInstead of just walking the streets and being stupid and violent and harming each other, once they're slaves, their lives can begin to take shapeAll around us, we are surrounded by peoples with genetic problems. Ask a simple Arab 'where do you	Embracing racism, rabbis at pre-army yeshiva laud Hitler, urge enslaving Arabs. https://www.timesofisrael.com/embracing-racism-rabbis-at-pre-army-yeshiva-laud-hitler-urge-enslaving-arabs/https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9nCfs7AcTjc
1st July 2019	Peretz, Rafi (1956-)	Former helicopter pilot, leader of the Jewish Home Party, who became Israel's Minister of Education, during an interministerial meeting, compares mixed marriages to genocide.	Peretz said the assimilation of Jews around the world and mostly in the U.S. was "like a second Holocaust," and added that due to intermarriages in the last 70 years the Jewish people "lost 6 million people."	
4 Oct. 2019	Smotrich, Bezalel (1980-)	Minister of Transportation, in an attack against Israeli Arab lawmakers.	The Jews have been the most hospitable hosts since the days of our patriarch Abraham, and that is why you [the Palestinians] are still here. For now.	
22 Dec. 2019	Netanyahu, Benyamin (1949-)	In front of the Wailing Wall, in the presence of US Ambassador David Friedman,	"New edicts are being cast against the Jewish people - anti- Semitic edicts by the International Criminal Court telling us that we, the Jews standing here next to this wall in this city, in this country, have no right to live here and that by doing so, we are	https://www.reuters.com/ article/uk-icc-palestinians- israel-idUKKBN1YQ0KN

		referral to the International Criminal Court	"Pure anti-Semitism," Netanyahu said, Version Haaretz Speaking at the first Hanukkah candlelighting alongside U.S. Ambassador David Friedman at the Western Wall, Netanyahu said that "new decrees are imposed on the Jewish people. Anti- Semitic decrees of the International Court telling us, the Jews standing by this wall, by this mountain, in this city, in this land, that we have no right to live here, and that if we live here we commit war crimes. Blatant anti-Semitism."	https://www.haaretz.com/isra el-news/.premium-anti- semitic-decrees-netanyahu- slams-icc-prosecutor-s-call- to-probe-israel-1.8296871
18 Aug. 2020	Trump, Donald (1946-)	During the election campaign in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, marveling at the power of the early Zionists, the Christian Zionists		https:// www.independent.co.uk/ news/world/americas/us- election/trump-us-embassay- evangelicals-wisconsin-rally- a9675466.html?jwsource=em Quoted by Le Monde Diplomatique, september 2020.
7 May 2021	Hassan- Nahoum, Fleur (1973-)	Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem, justifying the evictions of palestinian families of Sheich Jarrah neighbourhood in Esat Jerusalem	This is a Jewish country. There's only one. And of course there are laws that some people may consider as favoring Jews — it's a Jewish state. It is here to protect the Jewish people.	https://www.nytimes.com/ 2021/05/07/world/ middleeast/evictions- jerusalem-israeli-palestinian- conflict-protest.html