

HATE AND ERRORS

**A
REPORT
ON A
MODERN
ANTISEMITIC
FRAUD**

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Executive Summary

This report investigates the standard of the research underlying the book *'State of Terror'* by Thomas Suarez, published last year.

The author makes a great play of the thoroughness of his research. The book was given glowing endorsements by Professor Ilan Pappé and Baroness Jenny Tonge. The publisher's website says of *State of Terror*: *'This book has been turned down by a number of publishers because of the sensitivity of its subject matter'*.

Two researchers undertook this project, separating different elements of the workload to avoid duplication. The primary sources of the author were retraced, dozens of the files at the National Archives in Kew were examined and several of the key cited writings purchased and analysed. For both guidance and clarity, contact was made with academics and historians who specialise in the subject matter.

The findings of this research were brutal. The distortion created within the book's argument is drawn from every level of error imaginable. The author made basic historical research mistakes, such as an overreliance on, and disproportionate inclusion of, ideologically selected material. In addition - and more worryingly - the source material for the most part contradicts the author's writing. And finally, there are several clear examples of such total distortion and inversion of meaning that it is difficult to conclude anything other than deliberate intent.

The book is dripping with racial hatred against Jews.

We conclude that in our opinion, this book is an antisemitic fraud. We do not use that phrase lightly.

Worryingly, the author is about to embark on a tour of the United States. He has recently finished peddling this hatred in Scotland. He has spoken at universities in the United Kingdom. The book was honoured with a launch inside a meeting room in the House of Lords.

This raises important questions that must be addressed. How is it that such a badly put together distortion, riddled with historical inaccuracy, misquotes and racial hatred, is being welcomed by any part of our society? Just a rudimentary check brought to light unacceptable errors that warranted further investigation. The additional factcheck uncovered an unsupportable pyramid of fictions. Has truth lost all meaning? How can a University Professor endorse such a book?

We are sure that the sheer scale of the shoddy research and blatant manipulations described in this report will shock those who read it. Perhaps almost as much as it shocked those who uncovered it.

David Collier and Jonathan Hoffman
4 September 2017

1: Introduction

'*State of Terror*' by Thomas Suarez was published in August 2016 by Skyscraper Publications. Skyscraper Publications is owned by Karl Sabbagh. '*State of Terror*' was launched at an event at the Mosaic Rooms, with follow up events at the House of Lords and SOAS University in London.¹

In his presentation of his book at public meetings, Suarez makes a big play of the thoroughness of his research: Five years of work, reading 430 files in the UK's National Archives; 680 endnotes in 69 pages and 124 references in his bibliography.

Some book reviews were glowing, with anti-Israel activist site Mondoweiss calling it '*a substantial work of historical scholarship*'.² Publishers Weekly suggested Suarez '*passionately and meticulously exposes the terrorism committed by Zionist groups*'.³

The Suarez book '*State of Terror*' is built on nine pillars. Some of these are truly absurd:

- **#1. That the book was built on diligent research**
- **#2. That Zionist terror was the reason for Partition**
- **#3. That Zionist actions were part of a 'master plan', rather than a reaction to events**
- **#4. That Zionists and Jews were two different groups, with little or no intersection**
- **#5. That Zionists had no respect for human life, least of all that of Jews**
- **#6. That between 1933 & 1949, the Jews of Europe had somewhere to go, other than Palestine**
- **#7. That the British were impartial observers**
- **#8. That 1948 was not a civil war, but rather Zionist aggressors picking a fight with peaceful Arabs**
- **#9. That the Hagana (always*) secretly supported the actions of the Irgun (and Stern*)**⁴.

To anyone with a grounded knowledge of the Mandate period, it was immediately obvious that there were issues with the historicity detailed in the book. Both authors of this study quickly identified several key problems.⁵

However, random criticism over specific events plays into the hands of authors of revisionist material, precisely because it permits deflection and does not seriously focus on the central issue: the way primary source material has been carefully selected or distorted. As Benny Morris suggests in his dissection of Ilan Pappé '*Those who falsify history routinely take the path of omission. They ignore crucial facts and important pieces of evidence while cherry-picking from the documentation to prove a case.*'⁶

¹ See <http://www.skyscraperpublications.com/news>

² <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/10/terror-thomas-suarez/>

³ <https://www.publishersweekly.com/978-1-56656-068-9>

⁴ Edited from original report 7/9/17. Suarez's intention is to erase the ideological differences between the groups and blur time periods. Some (esp. post-1945) Hagana / Irgun cooperation is acknowledged

⁵ Hoffman <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-protocols-of-the-elders-of-soas-pal-soc/> and Collier <http://david-coller.com/soas-palestine-society-evil-zionists-control-world/> Hoffman followed up with a detailed critique on Amazon https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/customer-reviews/R17GPRZ5J8ZZYL/ref=cm_cr_getr_d_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=191107203X

⁶ See Morris discussing falsification of history <https://newrepublic.com/article/85344/ilan-pappe-sloppy-dishonest-historian>

For this reason we concluded that a more thorough study into the book was necessary, with the intention of walking in Suarez's footsteps and checking the source material he accessed. The aim of the research was to verify the sources claimed as the foundations of the central nine pillars. The work was split between the two researchers, both to increase the number of source files accessed, and to avoid duplication.

There are nearly 700 endnotes. A sample selection technique developed by auditors was used, relying on the likelihood that the probity of the whole can be inferred from a sufficiently large sample. The selected sample was not random. To test the accuracy of the claims in the book, the focus was on the most negative of Suarez's findings - for example:

- * the claim that UN Resolution 181 was a 'scam' because '*no Israeli leader had any intention of honouring Partition*';
- * the claim that Jewish orphans in post-war Europe were kidnapped by Zionists;
- * the claim that Zionist leaders sabotaged plans to create a Safe Haven outside Palestine for Jewish Displaced Persons;
- * the claim that that Israel destroyed the Iraqi Jewish community;

In effect, the sample specifically attacked the underlying pillars of the Suarez book. In addition, the test was the **research accuracy** rather than the details of individual incidents. Had we done the latter, Suarez would probably welcome an attack that would focus on events. This could take the discussion down a 'rabbit hole' where an individual Zionist action could become an argument over subjective opinion. This would be a pure diversion. **It is the standard of research and underlying premise that is the focus of our work.**

Key issues within the book were identified. The National archives at Kew were then accessed to check the use of these sources. Several key works cited in the *State of Terror* were also purchased for this research.

This paper has three aims:

- i. It assesses whether Suarez has drawn the correct message from the source documents⁷;
- ii. It identifies examples of facts in the source documents being ignored, if they do not suit his argument.⁸
- iii. It identifies examples of assertions unsupported by source material.

(The images in this paper are reproduced with the permission of the National Archives)

⁷ Suarez has placed extracts from some of his archival source documents online at paldocs.net. In addition, we accessed dozens of archive files in several visits to the National Archives at Kew.

⁸ In a review of Ilan Pappé's work, Benny Morris claims that '*those who falsify history routinely take the path of omission. They ignore crucial facts and important pieces of evidence while cherry-picking from the documentation to prove a case.*' See '*Liar as Hero*', Benny Morris in New Republic, 17 March 2011 <https://newrepublic.com/article/85344/ilan-pappe-sloppy-dishonest-historian>

2: The First Quote

As a lead into the introduction (page 7), Suarez uses a quote that draws parallels between Jewish action and that of the Nazis: *'A Nazi is a Nazi he be a Jew or otherwise'*, it begins.

Suarez states the quote is from a *'protest by the Jewish socialist group Hashomer Hatzair, 13th March 1946, at a secret meeting of the Hagana'*.

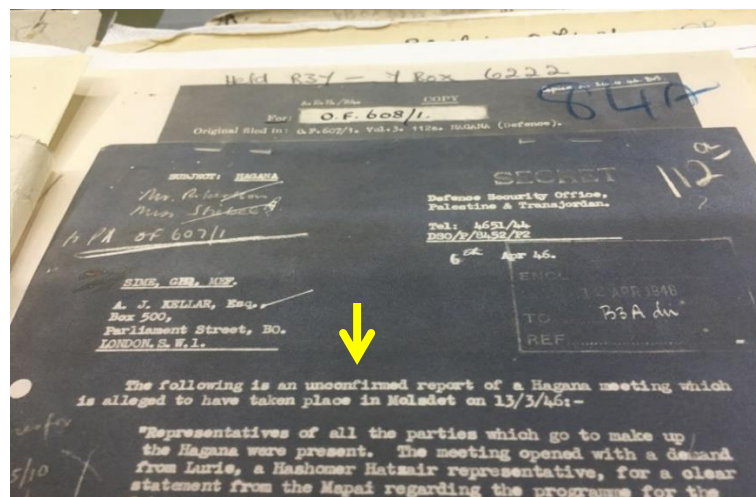
It is referenced with endnote #2. Endnote #2 (page 339) gives two sources for the quote - both are in the National Archives at Kew: KV 5/34, 112a and ('see also' Suarez instructs) FO 371/68504, 17-18.

We accessed both these files. It took some time to find the quote. The FO document is about a Parliamentary Question in 1948, immediately after - and concerned with - the events of Deir Yassin. Pages 17 and 18 were both read. However, these have nothing to do with any meeting in 1946; the quote appears to be wrongly referenced.

KV 5/34 only had documents numbered up to '90', so the '112a' page reference was clearly wrong. It meant working through the documents individually to find the correct one. It was eventually found - the correct document number was 84a, dated 6 April 1946. It had a separate marking of '112a' that is unconnected to the present filing system (hence the mistake in the Suarez book). It begins thus:

'The following is an unconfirmed report of a Hagana meeting which is alleged to have taken place in Moledet on 13/3/1946'

The quote then appears within this unconfirmed report at the bottom of the second page.



Note how the letter begins with the warning it is 'unconfirmed'. It would be difficult to both read the letter and fail to acknowledge this aspect of it. Image - The National Archives UK KV 5/34

Thus, Suarez sets the tone for the rest of the book. To quote from an unconfirmed report without clearly identifying it as such, is at best academically sloppy and at worst downright deceitful. It is clearly misleading, and presents something that may not have happened as fact, because the author would prefer it to be true.

This type of selective distortion recurs throughout.

3: The Very First Archive Listing

Towards the back of the book (page 335), as part of his sources, Suarez has four pages of files from the National Archives that he claims to have accessed. It is a daunting list of 430 files (there will be more on this later). The very first archive file mentioned is ADM 116/3690. It is used in five separate endnotes (#86, #92, #94, #96 and #387). We called up the file to check whether Suarez's claims for it as evidence for his statements were justified.

Endnotes #92, #94 and #96 principally relate to pages 53-54 of the Suarez book. The file, ADM 116/3690, is an Admiralty file containing reports of proceedings of HMS REPULSE and HMS MALAYA, that were stationed at Haifa. The events are from 1938. The backdrop is the growing desperation of Jews fleeing Europe and several years of Arab violence)⁹.

The file has been stripped of historical context by Suarez and the content misrepresented.

Whether deliberately or due to misunderstanding of the historical setting, Suarez seeks to convey an image of Zionist violence against a near-passive Arab community.

Thus, the British diary entries become distorted. For example, Suarez suggests (page 54) that immediately following an Irgun attack on a market, the British increased their presence and imposed a curfew *'to prevent further attacks'*. The clear inference here is that the British needed to protect Arab civilians. But the document makes clear the real reason for the imposition of the curfew:

'to check measures of retaliation which were feared from the Arabs'.

This truth has been conveniently erased from history by Suarez. In the pages that follow of the file document are these entries:

- That a barbed wire fence was being built because Arab gangs were smuggling weapons;
- That on Friday 8 July there were six shooting incidents against Jews;
- That in Haifa on the 8 July one Jew was stabbed, and there were two shooting incidents against Jews. Also, three bombs were thrown, one at a Jewish bus, one damage unknown and one at another bus killing four Jews;
- On the 12 July, that a curfew needed to be imposed on Balad Ash Sheikh because residents had ambushed a Jewish bus;
- Also on 12 July, several cases of arson were reported. In **all** cases it was suspected arson of Jewish property. And two Jews were stabbed.

There is no need to list dozens of further relevant entries. Suarez totally sidesteps persistent Arab violence against Jews. Perhaps the entry of the 10 August best contextualises the situation:

'In Haifa things continued quiet. Incidents go on occurring that in England would be the subject of headlines in the papers, but here they have come to be regarded as a matter of course.'

⁹ For examples of Arab 1930s violence, see the 1933 Palestine Riots, the 1931-1935 'armed struggle' of Izz ad-Din al-Qassam and the 1936-1939 'Arab Rebellion'. Most comprehensive works on 1930s Palestine discuss these events. For reading see eg Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1881-1999* (pages 121-160)

Throughout the document there is also constant talk of Arab gangs descending from the hills, supplied by weapons they are smuggling across the border. Many local Arab villages were suspected of violence against the British and Jews.

This comment was also ignored by Suarez (entry 31 July)

'If therefore on any given day, the Arabs contrive to let off steam by a number of stonings, bomb throwings and so on, without getting tit-for-tat, the atmosphere is likely to be easier, than if they are themselves the victims'.

Proactive Arab violence and an inference that Arabs, rather than Jews were the community most likely to perpetuate violence – which entirely negates the overarching theme of his book; namely, that the Jews were almost always the aggressors.

This is an extract from the ADM 116/3690 file. It is a list of incidents reported as *'having occurred over the whole of Palestine on Friday 8th July (1938)'*:

To... C in C Med. (R) Admiralty, A.C.Q. From... Repulse.

The following is a summary of incidents reported as having occurred over the whole of Palestine on Friday 8th July.

Shooting incidents :- 4 at police, 6 at Jews, 1 at Arabs.
 Murders :- 3 Arabs. Stonings :- Police 1, Jews 2. Railway line mines :- 2. Oil line cut :- 1. Road ambushes :- 2. Telephone wires cut :- 3. Damage to orange groves :- 1 (200 trees destroyed.)

The situation at Haifa remains fairly quiet. Yesterday, Saturday's incidents were :- 1 Jew stabbed, 2 shooting incidents at Jewish Colonies in neighbourhood, 1 fire in a Jewish wood store. To-day, Sunday, 3 bombs have been thrown in Haifa: 1 early this morning at a Jewish bus, 1 during forenoon in main street, damage unknown and 1 this afternoon at a bus killing 4 Jews.

The curfew is being reduced and to-night is only being imposed between 2100 and 0400.

T.O.O. 1640 10th July. T.O.D. 2148/10/7/38.

Between page 53 and 55 of his book, Suarez lists events that took place between 6 and 26 July 1938 in Haifa. It would be difficult for a historian to read these extracts, write two whole pages about violent events in Haifa, and miss completely (by accident) all the Arab attacks on Jews. Suarez is blind to all of them. The next extract confirms that the curfew that Suarez implies is in place to stop further Jewish attacks, is explicitly mentioned as being related to fears of Arab retaliation.

7.- Since the bomb outrage, which must almost certainly have been committed by Jews of the Revisionist party, curfew from 1900 until daylight had been in force. This it was proposed to continue for a day or two, at least! to endeavour to check measures of retaliation which were feared from the Arabs. Conditions at the moment were quiet.

4: Revising History: The Ben Gurion Quote

On page 28 Suarez says that Ben Gurion argued thus:

‘Rather than seeing all the Jewish children in Germany escape to England, it was better that half of them should be slaughtered by the Nazis in order to get the surviving half to be settlers in his colonial project’.

Endnote #24 has the precise quote (December 7, 1938). It is a hugely offensive canard, as **camera.org** has explained¹⁰ – deriving from taking a single quote out of context and ignoring other comments made by Ben Gurion that directly contradict this interpretation.

Most importantly in December 1938 Ben Gurion **did not know** about the impending Holocaust that was to come. He **did not know** that Jewish children who could not escape from Occupied Europe would lose their lives. Ben Gurion used the word ‘save’, but to interpret this as the saving of life is entirely wrong.

From a Zionist perspective presuming that Jewish persecution would follow Jewish communities anywhere they settled outside of ‘Israel’, Ben Gurion would probably be suggesting that it would be better to bring half to safety in Israel, than replace one diaspora persecution with a temporary respite in another diaspora community. Presumably he meant temporarily ‘saving from persecution’ or ‘from antisemitism’. It should also be remembered in 1938, Britain itself was hardly clear of fascist movements itself.¹¹

Yet Suarez frames the canard by stating that in July 1938 “*Nazi intentions were already terrifyingly clear*” (bottom of page 27). This is an historically incorrect statement that has absolutely no academic merit. Nobody knew at that time what was about to happen. In July 1938, even the Nazis didn’t know where their actions would lead them. The ‘Final Solution’ did not begin until June 1941¹². It was only in November 1942 that the Zionist leadership became aware of the systematic slaughter of Jews¹³. **To falsely endow Ben Gurion with this foresight, in order mendaciously to claim that he was willing to let Jewish children be slaughtered, is beyond revolting.**

This is a clear example of Suarez rewriting history to facilitate the demonisation of Zionism (as Suarez understands it). It perfectly encapsulates the decontextualisation of the historical record that is a hallmark throughout the book.

¹⁰ http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=55&x_article=1566

¹¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Union_of_Fascists

¹² <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005151>

¹³ David Cesarani ed, *Final Solution* (page 271)

5: UN Resolution 181, 1947-1948 and the Civil War

UN Resolution 181 was the General Assembly resolution in 1947 which partitioned the area of Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs.

On page 13 Suarez writes '*UN Resolution 181 can fairly be described as a scam Both British and US intelligence warned that no Israeli leader had any intention of honouring Partition*'

Suarez does this because even though history records Zionist acceptance of 181, and Arab rejection, he needs to lay the entire blame for the upcoming conflict (and the result of the conflict) on the Zionists (his Pillars #2 and #8, see page 4 above).

CAB 129/21 (his source document) does NOT show that '*no Israeli leader had any intention of honouring Partition*'. It is a 1947 Cabinet paper on the UNSCOP proposals. It suggests that there would be civil disobedience ('*Jewish terrorism*') if Partition did not propose a viable Jewish-majority State.

The bias of the writer can be seen by the fact that he refers to '*the injustice of the present plan*'.

WO 261/571 is cited by Suarez as evidence (in paldocs.net but not in the book) that '*the British and the Americans knew with certainty that the Palestinians would not get the state they were promised*'.

What it **actually** shows is the opposition felt by Abdullah of Transjordan to the Mufti's proposal for a Palestinian government in exile. FO 371/68648 (cited as evidence for the above assertion in paldocs.net but not in the book) similarly describes Abdullah's possible intentions. Note that **neither of these two documents suggests any intention** by the Jewish leaders to stand in the way of an Arab State resulting from Partition – contrary to Suarez's assertion (in paldocs.net) that the Zionists were striking a 'deal' with Abdullah.

In further evidence of sloppiness or dishonesty, Suarez uses half quotes which distort the message entirely. Witness his use (page 242, no endnote) of the quote from WO 261/571: '*It does not appear that Arab Palestine will be an entity*'

Suarez goes on to mention (page 242) that the British were already aware that the Jews were 'collaborating' with Abdullah of Jordan. But what the report in WO 261/571 actually said was this:

12. As events are at the moment it does not appear that Arab Palestine will be an entity, but rather that the Arab countries will each claim a portion in return for their assistance, unless King Abdullah takes rapid and firm action as soon as the British withdrawal is completed.

In other words the reason that Palestine may not be an 'entity' is because the Arabs, who had vowed to destroy the Jewish state, would simply divide up the spoils.

Not only is this nothing to do with the Zionists, but in this scenario, it was the intention of the Arab states to divide the Jewish area up amongst themselves too.

Efraim Karsh called it the Arab 'scramble for Palestine'¹⁴, when discussing the same quote. Karsh - using the same documents in historical context - surmised that the Arabs simply did not view Palestine as a separate entity but rather intended to divide all the lands - including any Jewish territory they captured - amongst invading Arab forces. This is the difference between the way a document is used by a historian and the way a half-quote is abused by a propagandist.

Furthermore, given the Arab declaration to destroy the Jewish state, it is odd that Suarez describes Zionist attempts to negotiate with Abdullah, who had control of the Jordanian Legion - the most powerful of the Arab nations' armies - in deceptive terms.¹⁵ Surely trying to stave off conflict and annihilation would have been the natural thing for the Jews to do. Suarez both pushes the idea that the Zionists sought all the lands of the Jordan whilst at the same time suggesting that they were 'collaborating' with Jordan to avoid conflict. **They could not have done both.** These inconsistent theories recur throughout the book, with Suarez unscrupulously picking whichever of the contradictory arguments best supports the particular message he is trying to convey at the time.

FO 371/80273 is also cited to show that the Zionists were minded to ignore Resolution 181 and try to "set up a Jewish state in all of Palestine and Transjordan". **It shows nothing of the kind.** It simply reports the perception of a British diplomat in Amman. Writing in early 1950, s/he says that - at the end of the Mandate - it was generally assumed that Transjordan would absorb the Eastern part of 'Arab Palestine'; that this was resented by some Arabs; but that many Arabs were moving of their own volition to Amman.

FCO 141/14286 is also relevant to the civil conflict. The file contains weekly intelligence reports from early 1948. Suarez uses it in no fewer than 14 endnotes, grabbing at details of violent Jewish activity. **But his choice of material is highly selective.** On page 250, Suarez says (as of the beginning of February 1948):

'There were to be sure, no Arab armies in Palestine and there would not be for another three and a half months'.

But the following are extracts from FCO 141/14286:

December 1947:

- *'The Arabs are leaving the country with their families in considerable numbers and there is an exodus from the mixed towns to the rural areas. The Jewish public is scarcely less nervous'.*

January and February 1948

- That on top of 'widespread assaults on Jews continue', weekly intelligence reports began to detail armed forces entering the Mandate area. They then state that the arrival of 'Fawzi al-Quwakji' (head of the Arab Liberation Army) had 'complicated matters';

¹⁴ Efraim Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism - A History* (section on the Contemporary Middle East)

¹⁵ Ilan Pappé refers to them as 'the strongest army in the Arab world' (*The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, page 44)

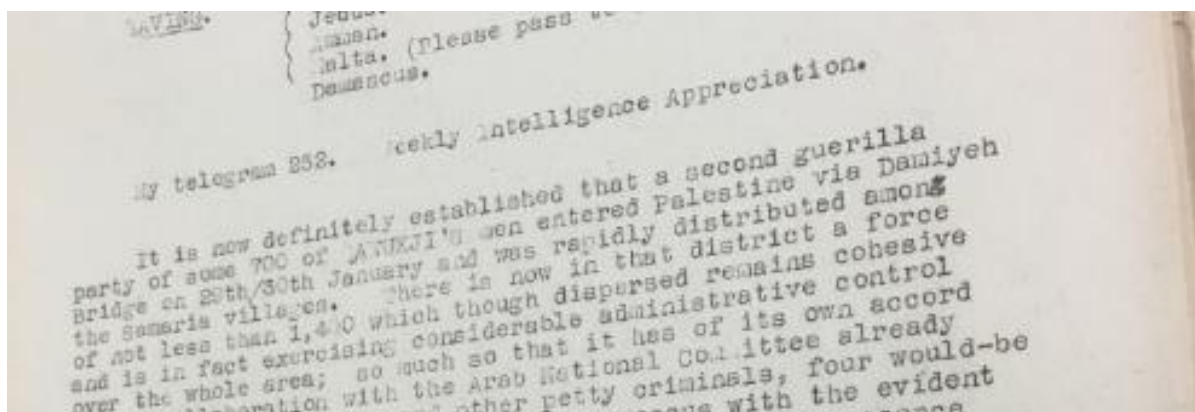
- That a second party of 700 men entered Palestine at the end of January;
- That intelligence estimates were that the Jews were *'unlikely to be able to hold their own outside of their defence perimeters'*.
- That at least 1400 volunteer Arab fighters were based in the Samaria district alone;
- That in February there was a steady influx of mainly Syrian and Lebanese fighters. And one single incursion was said to involve between 1,000 - 2,000 fighters;
- Telegram 272 (23 February 1948) listed the total number of fighters believed to have crossed the border: Galilee 1000, Haifa 200-300, Samaria 3-4,000, Jerusalem 500-800 (estimate), Jaffa 200, Gaza 100.

March 1948 (telegram 783)

- *'It is becoming increasingly apparent that the Yishuv and its leaders are deeply worried about the future. The intensification of Arab attacks on communications and particularly the failure of the Kfar Etzion convoy has brought home the precarious position of Jewish communities both great and small which are dependent on supply lines running through Arab controlled country.'*

And Suarez certainly ignored this telegram in April (number 937, 30 April 1948)

- *'The Arabs of the large towns, who have borne the brunt of recent Jewish offensive action are much more bitter against the British. Fear breeds recrimination and they are perhaps willfully blind to the fact that for months past, they and their press have clamoured for the entry of the foreign Arab guerilla bands, which having successfully stirred up the Jews are now proving quite unable to protect the local Arabs from the Jewish reaction.'*
- *'In their hearts, they must realise that their much vaunted 'Liberation Army' is poorly equipped and badly led... They feel their monetary subscriptions have been squandered and they themselves misled. They must fix the blame on someone and who more deserving than the British.'*
- *'Many of their so-called leaders are fleeing the country and the Effendi class generally do not seem ashamed of watching the contest from the sidelines.'*



Telegram 252, Weekly Intelligence Appreciation, 7/2/1948. Discussing a second guerilla party of 700 who had entered Palestine. This extract is from file CO 141/14284. This file was selectively used by Suarez in 15 separate endnotes.

Other files, connected to the Arab state discussions, were also not accessed by Suarez. Perhaps he was not interested in looking at files that might bring context to Jewish activity. But these files would

be crucial in deciding whether the Arab threats were genuine. Files FO 371/68364 FO 371/68365 and FO 371/68366 all detail troop movements, the infiltration by irregular forces and the intentions of the Arab states in the period from Partition to invasion. None of this was relevant to the type of picture it seems Suarez deliberately set out to portray.

In FO 371/68365 for example, there are several telegrams about Arab irregular troop movements. There are also reports of an interview with King Abdullah in early January 1948, in which he was informed by the British that

‘in most incidents, Arabs were the aggressors’

There is also a telegram from Amman (dated 15 January 1948) already mentioning numerous towns of Transjordan being *‘crowded with refugees’*. Evidence of mass voluntary Arab flight three months before the implementation of ‘Plan Dalet’.

In further support of the Zionist historical position, Sir Alexander Cunningham sent a telegram on 31 January 1948 regarding the Arab irregular forces that had entered the Mandate area. He pointed out that

‘once these parties are in Palestine, they are very difficult to deal with without armed conflict.’

That armed conflict of course, was being forced on the Jews who were finding it more difficult to bring supplies to the towns and kibbutzim as the convoys were attacked with increasing success.

As Suarez almost entirely whitewashes Arab violence from the pages of history, he makes another error that highlights the blatant bias and shoddy research behind *‘State of Terror’* (contrary to Suarez’s Pillar #1, see page 4 above).

On page 246, Suarez deals with events that took place on New Year’s Eve 1947 at Belad Esh Sheikh. To set the scene, he disassociates this from the events of the Irgun bombing and massacre of Jewish workers at the refinery on 30 December. Almost all sources confirm the connection between the massacre of Jews in Haifa and the motivation for this revenge attack. The files he references draw the connection, Benny Morris draws the connection – **but Suarez chooses not to mention it.**¹⁶ But it gets worse.

Suarez records the events from the National Archive WO 275/64 and details the action in a 21 line endnote #491 (page 392). In the endnote, he then instructs readers to look at the ‘detailed record’ of events such as this in both CO 537/3855 and WO261/573.

Suarez records that *‘the Jewish agency’s militia massacred sixty Palestinians in Belad esh Sheikh, including many women and children’*.

However all but one of the files Suarez cites suggest that **only fourteen to seventeen people died at Belad esh Sheikh**. However Suarez **chose to ignore these sources, instead** going with Ilan Pappé and claiming that sixty died, even though Pappé is not the primary source for the research and the primary source (Benny Morris - see *The Birth of the Palestine Refugee Problem* and *The Birth of the Palestine Refugee Problem Revisited*) is far less certain about the figure. **It appears that Suarez simply picked the highest casualty count available.**

¹⁶ Morris suggests the Belad esh Sheikh attack was because the Hagana could not let the refinery massacre go unpunished (Morris, 1948 (page 103))

The final file referenced by Suarez (CO 537/3855) is the Criminal Investigation Department reports. The file provides the most accurate account available of the casualty count, listing only nine deaths, and even has a list of the names of all the dead and injured with their ages. It even updated the casualty count, as severely injured people died. There is no other source as well-informed or accurate as this.

If Suarez were a true researcher, or a historian searching for the truth, he would have realised he had 'discovered' not just a discrepancy with the historical record, but what appears to be a superior contemporary document. Perhaps because the account in CO 537/3855 negates the 'massacre' story, Suarez **chose to ignore it and used Ilan Pappé instead.**

The Suarez description of the beginning of the civil conflict is also heavily distorted. After partition, the Arab street exploded in violence, with battles opening across the mandate area. Like most anti-Zionist revisionists, Suarez is uncomfortable with the early part of the civil conflict. The period between December and March 1948, when the Jews were suffering setbacks and large casualties, were unsure of success and when Arab violence was at a peak, are distinctly uncomfortable for him. He swiftly wants to reach April 1948, where the Zionist offensive began in preparation for the Arab armies invading in May. (All this context is missing in the Suarez book).

He describes the first days in December 1947 thus (page 241):

'Scattered ethnic violence marked the first several days after the UN vote. There were bombings of Palestinian homes, café, bus queues and a cinema and there was more of the anti-Jewish violence that had begun to resurface by mid-August'.

However, to blame the Jews, Suarez needs to belittle the Arab attacks, so he says most Palestinians wanted to *'get on with their lives'* (as if the Jews didn't want to) and he relies on carefully selected quotes from the last High Commissioner of Palestine - Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham - to describe the Arab attacks as *'spontaneous and unorganized'* suggesting the main weapons were *'sticks and stones'*.

This clearly distorted narrative is destroyed by the very files which Suarez has accessed and cited – all of which detail intensive Arab violence and until March/April 1948, an ever growing desperation within the Jewish leadership. Interestingly, and perhaps not accidentally, Suarez appears to have been less thorough in searching and accessing those files from this, the earlier part of the civil conflict. Take file WO 275/65. It details events in the build-up to the Partition on 29 November and the initial violence following the vote.... From WO 275/65 – 1 December 1947:

North sector - *Two Jewish buses attacked, one with rifles, one probably with small homemade bomb.*

Central sector - *A bus was attacked near Lydda by Arab youth with automatic fire and a small bomb (which failed to explode). Another bus near Petach Tikva also attacked.*

The archive sources provide similar stories when discussing casualties. By 14 December 1947, in the first two weeks after Partition, there were eighty-four Jews dead, with fifty more seriously injured (WO 275/65). By late April, the reported numbers between 30 November 1947 and 26 April 1948 were Jews 990 dead, Arabs 1051 dead (FCO 141/8742 – also not on Suarez's file list).

(17) The following casualties were reported to police between 29th November, 1947 and midnight on 25/26.4.48 :

	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>
Jews	990	1,902
Arabs	1,051	2,365
Other civilians	33	34
Unidentified persons ...	9	-
Military	116	272
British Police	29	72
Arab Regular	10	28
Jewish Regular	2	29
Arab T.A.P.	13	37
Jewish T.A.P.	1	2
J.S.P.	30	36
Arab S.P.C.	3	12
Jewish S.P.C.	3	10
Jewish prisoners	-	5
T.J.F.F.	3	4
Arab Legion	5	19
	<u>2,298</u>	<u>4,827</u>

Casualty count from reported police incidents, covering the period from the Partition vote until 26 April 1948

Endnote #471 provides ample evidence of all manner of error, distortion, misrepresentation, inverting the message of archive documents and blatant antisemitism.

This section covers events at the end of November 1947, immediately following Resolution 181. Suarez describes the Jewish celebration of the vote (bottom of page 236) and the Jewish media response to it (top of page 237). Endnote #471 covers both items and directs us to four files as the source material: FCO 141/14286, FCO 141/14284, WO 261/571 & WO275/79. Only these four files are referenced.

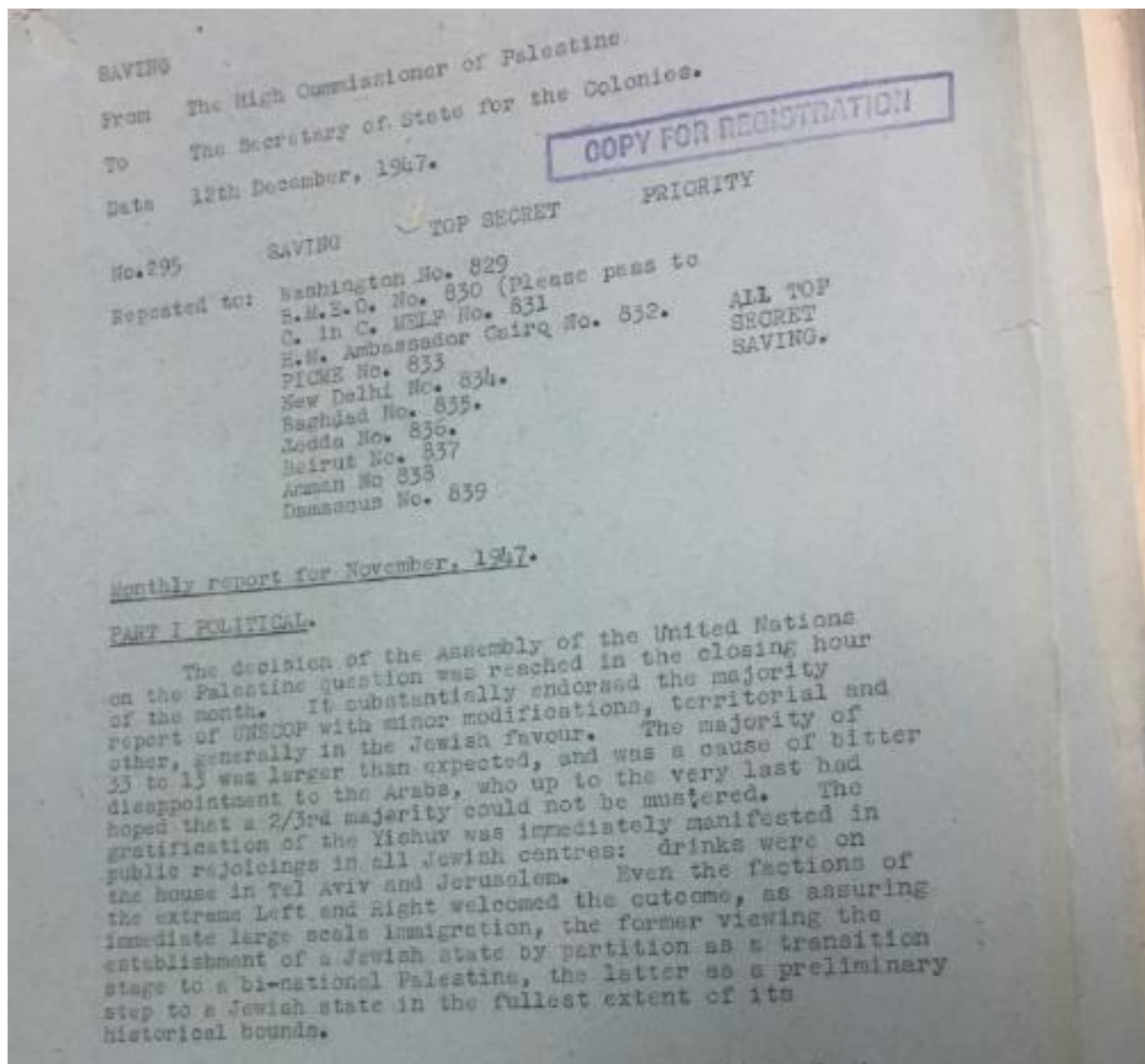
Suarez's description of the Jewish celebration is dripping with hate. It is almost as if almost seventy years after the event, Thomas Suarez wants to get involved and spoil the party.

Of interest to this research, he says this (page 236):

'What Cunningham described as "hysterical celebrations of victory" in the settlements following the passage of Resolution 181 were not about having won a Zionist state in more than half of Palestine. The celebrations were rather because 181 'was a preliminary step to a Jewish state in the fullest extent of its historical (biblical) bounds' .

What Suarez is saying is clear. The Jewish party was not about Resolution 181, but about what the Jews would manage to take, that had not been given to them: 'steal' in other words. Notice too, Suarez is not talking about some Jews, about Zionist leaders, or just attacking Zionist policy. Suarez has swept the brush on every Jew, 'hysterically celebrating' victory. Suarez would have you believe that **all** the Jews on the street are Zealots, land thieves and desperate to ethnically cleanse the Arabs. A clearly racist (anti-Jewish) and therefore blatantly antisemitic claim. But did he make it up, or was it in the files?

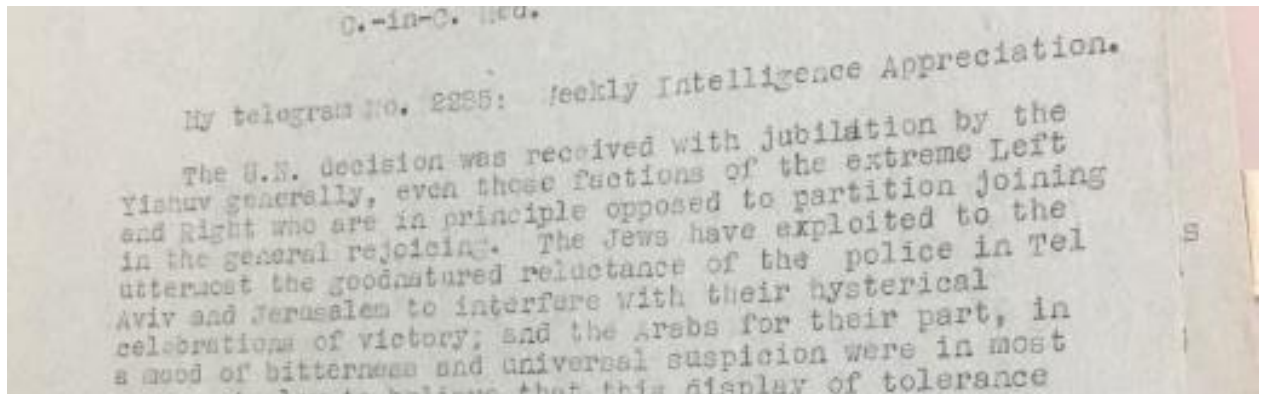
CO 141/14284 Monthly Report for November. Front page. Part one Political. Image below, relevant text on following page:



'The gratification of the Yishuv was immediately manifested in public rejoicings in all Jewish centres: drinks were on the house in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Even the factions of extreme left and extreme right welcomed the outcome, as ensuring large scale immigration, the former viewing the establishment of a Jewish state by partition as a transition state to a bi-national Palestine, the latter as a preliminary step to a Jewish state in the fullest extent of its historical bounds.'

Suarez has used the very quote from this text ('a preliminary step to a Jewish state in the fullest extent of its historical (biblical) bounds') and clearly he has negated this entire piece, which suggests widespread **rejoicing covering the entire political spectrum** - even by those who favoured a 'bi-National' state. Suarez extracts only the quote used to describe the 'extreme right', and then uses it to taint everyone.

The words ‘*hysterical celebrations*’ come from a weekly intelligence Telegram 2295 in CO 141/14286. It merely reinforces the same message even further:



There is no way these two statements can possibly be used to support what Suarez has said. **He has clearly distorted the source files to make a blatantly antisemitic claim.**

The next paragraph in the book relates to the media reports the following morning. Suarez comments thus:

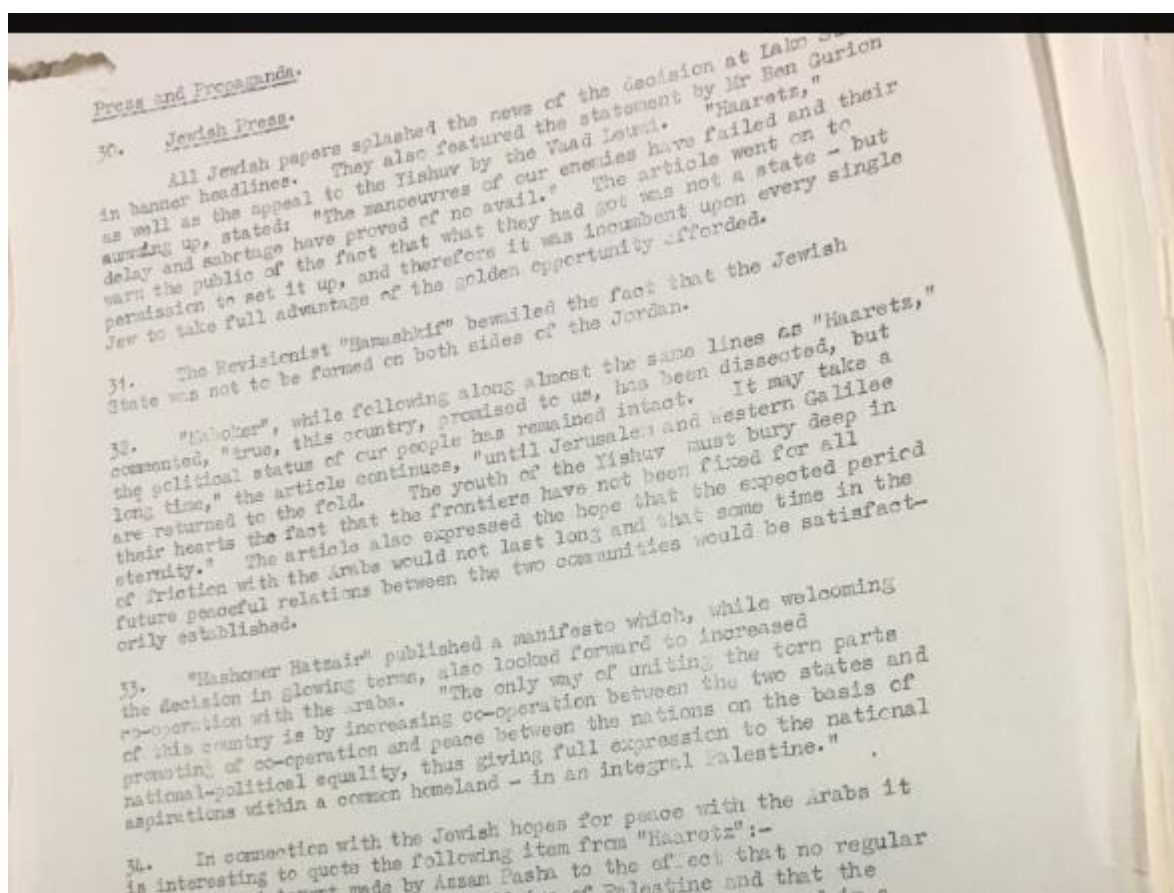
‘The various Hebrew media varied in tract, but their message was consistent; “The Youth of the Yishuv, as the newspaper ‘Haboker’ put it, “must bury deep in their hearts the fact the frontiers have not been fixed for all eternity”. This was the ever-present subtext as ‘vast crowds of rejoicing Jews swarmed the streets’.

In the book, this paragraph immediately follows the comments about the ‘*hysterical celebrations*’ merely being a ‘*preliminary step to a Jewish state in the fullest extent of its historical bounds*’.

It is then immediately followed by an apparent quote from Ben Gurion from 1937 discussing how following Partition, the Zionists would ‘*abolish partition and expand to the whole of Palestine*’ (yet another misuse of a Ben Gurion quote – he was **specifically referring to peaceful agreements!**).¹⁷

The inference is clear. The press, like the crowds, all have their eyes on ‘more land’. This is the ‘ever-present subtext’. The Source file for this claim is WO 261/571. The document was the *Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter*. Item 30 discusses Jewish press coverage. Once again, the distortion has been brutal. We present both the image and the text on the following page:

¹⁷ See discussion of falsified quotations, including the one Suarez has cited here http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=7&x_issue=21&x_article=1446



The extract Suarez has referenced and commented on

The top item was about the coverage in *Haaretz*. It celebrated the fact the enemies had so far failed to sabotage the partition deal. Then *Haaretz* mentioned the golden opportunity now presented to the Jews to set up their state, pointing out, they only had permission to set it up. In other words, it asked the Yishuv to recognise that there was still a lot of work to do.

There follows a sentence pointing out that the revisionist paper complained about how the state was only going to be formed upon part of the historical homeland.

The third paragraph, item 32, focuses on *HaBoker*, the paper mentioned in the Suarez book. We can see again that he has chopped the quote, and ignored other sections not helpful to the image he wishes to create. The newspaper is clearly not suggesting war, but rather suggesting the Jews should celebrate. It speaks of Jerusalem and Galilee in near 'religious terms', and the 'long time' is clearly more of a spiritual wish than a call to war. The paper also goes on to hope that peaceful relations with the Arabs can be established. Suarez has butchered this section to take it out of context.

Then there is a comment on Hashomer. The left-wing movement was clearly in favour of peace and co-operation (and for the most part a bi-national state).

It is a gross distortion of the truth to suggest that the press presented further linkage to a consistent subtext of 'abolishing partition and expanding to the whole of Palestine'. Suarez is clearly not using the archive files with a serious intent to provide a fair reflection of the message within. He used four files for this one footnote.

It is impossible to overstate the problem. File FCO 141/14286 was used in no less than 15 different endnotes, FCO 141/14284 in 14 different endnotes, WO 261/571 in 14 different endnotes and WO275/79 in no less than 38 different endnotes. Or a combined total of 81 mentions in endnotes. And yet all these files present a picture completely at odds with the one Suarez presents in his book. In FCO 141/14284 for example, there is mention of the local Arabs '*leaving matters to the Arab states*' (weekly report 6/12), of *Ben Gurion specifically asking for calm* (13/2), of Arab arms steadily entering Palestine (20/12), of Arab policemen persistently deserting with their weapons and the weapons of their colleagues (25/12), of Arab violent strategy (25/12), of Arab irregulars infiltrating into Palestine (24/1), of more infiltrations (2/2) and that Arab towns would not be attacked unless they attack (1/2). A similar image is presented in all the other three files.

Unless it is deliberate, how can anyone cite these files 81 times and still miss the central message?

- 4 -

(20) The undermentioned Auxiliary police personnel absconded with their weapons:-

Time.	No.	Name.	Absconded from	Arms taken
00.05	3936	Abdul Rahman Mah'd Rissa (S.P.Spl.)	Gaza bridge Camp	Two Can. rifles Nos. 2303502 & 1402436 & 30 rds.
00.05	11112	George Hameelah (TAC)	Haifa Police Headquarters	T.M. No. 413038 3 mags with 40 rds.
00.05	4562	Khalil Abdul Ghani (SPC)	XX Armoured Div Workshops	SMLE rifle P.903 and 25 rds.
00.05	3934	Abdul Rahim Ahmed Hussein (SPC)	"	SMLE rifle 36476 and 25 rds.
morning	4309	Subhi Branyeh (SPC)	W.D. Car Park Jerusalem	Rifle 22000 & 25 rds.
morning	2733	Moh'd Sulman Husein (SPC)	"	Rifle 218123 & 25 rds.
01.40	1284	Hassan Abdullah (TAC)	Military Court Jerusalem	SMLE rifle 12765 & 25 rds.
01.40	1289	Abu Moh'd (TAC)	"	SMLE rifle 214436 & 25 rds.
0700	5052	Ahmed Moh'd Awad (SPC)	Petrol Depot Haifa	Two Can. rifles Nos. 73723 and 193305 & 536 rds.
08.50	1091	Husein Abdul Karim Hadler (SPC)	SI S.R.D. Haifa	Can. rifle 64237 and 50 rds.
11.00	3634	Abu Kharmeh (TAC)	Military Court Jerusalem	SMLE rifle 571793 & 25 rds.
11.15	891	Moh'd Saleh El Ali (SPC)	D.I.D. Allenby B'ks. Jerusalem	Can. rifle 236160 and 10 rds.
17.00	12091	Moh'd Salim Moh'd (TAC)	V.R.D. Haifa	SMLE rifle 2812 and 50 rds.
17.15	11174	Salah Moh'd Mijem (TAC)	National Bus Company, Jaffa	SMLE rifle No. 2244 & 50 rds.
17.30	12334	Ahmed Tayeh Khalil Moh'd Mustafa (TAC)	P.T.C. Jerusalem	SMLE rifle 303363 and 25 rds.
1730	1445	Abdul Rahman Abdul Inara (TAC)	"	SMLE rifle 9357 and 25 rds.
1930	5146	Assad Said Abed El Kadir (SPC)	W.D. Camp Bat Galim Haifa	Can. rifle 238783 and 50 rds.
20.30	10854	Hassan Abu Artouf (TAC)	Police H.Q. Jerusalem	SMLE rifle 4549 and 20 rds.
20.45	10275	Jamil Moh'd (TAC)	V.R.D. Haifa	Bren gun 17857 & 5 magazines
22.00	11824	Moh'd Rustom Odeh (TAC)	Mea Shearin P.S. Jerusalem	SMLE rifle 599 and 50 rds.

List of Arab policeman who had absconded with their weapons ('and those of their colleagues') in a single day in early January 1948.

6: Before the Holocaust, up to the Evian Conference (1938)

Using a report about a Jewish British soldier in Palestine in 1919 who caused a disturbance when drunk, Suarez seems to imply this was politically motivated, calling it an early attempt at '*Zionist provocation*' (page 41). But the file does not identify the political leanings of the soldier. We have no way of knowing whether the disturbance was anything more than an act of drunkenness.¹⁸ This projection onto all Zionists of a single action of a Jew is common among anti-Israel activists.

Suarez also seizes on anti-Zionist arguments made prior to the Holocaust - see eg page 34 (quote from Berlin correspondent of *London Standard*) and page 42 where he quotes from a petition delivered by a Congressman to President Wilson on 4 March 1919, arguing that:

'Zionism is turning back the clock on hard-won enlightened values' and 'we reject the Zionist project for the very reason that the new era upon which the world is entering aims to establish government everywhere on principles of true democracy.'

Yet none of these detractors of Zionism could see the Holocaust coming, which killed two-thirds of Europe's Jews. **If asked about Zionism after the Holocaust**, they certainly would not have spoken about 'enlightened values'.

The reliance of Suarez on pre-Holocaust Jewish anti-Zionism is morbid. The main political body of Jewish opposition to Zionism was the 'Jewish Labour Bund'.¹⁹ The centre of this movement was Poland. Polish Jewry was annihilated in the Holocaust. **It is a perverse and morbid fixation to use a pre-Holocaust position to argue against an Israel that did not exist before the Holocaust that was to slaughter the six million.**

Suarez frequently references '*In the Shadows of the Holocaust*' by Yosef Grodzinsky. In the book, Grodzinsky discusses the Bundist movement, highlighting the difference between the Zionist 'land of their own' and the Bundist '*here-ness*' – '*wherever we lay our hat*' (page 5). **Given what happened to these communities in the Holocaust, it is absurd to use pre-war Jewish anti-Zionism as a weapon in a post-Holocaust world.** It is made the more perverse by Grodzinsky relating the destruction of the Bundists during the war (page 133), the Bundist attempt to 'revive' life in post-war Poland (page 33) and his observation that those who returned to Poland faced '*crass anti-Semitism and pogroms in Poland, and from mid-1946 on, they began fleeing by the thousands*' (page 114). Or indeed, his observation that many of them had '*changed their minds*' (page 76). For a book which Suarez gives special mention, it is surprising how little of it he seems to have read or absorbed. As with all his material, he is very selective about what he takes from each source.

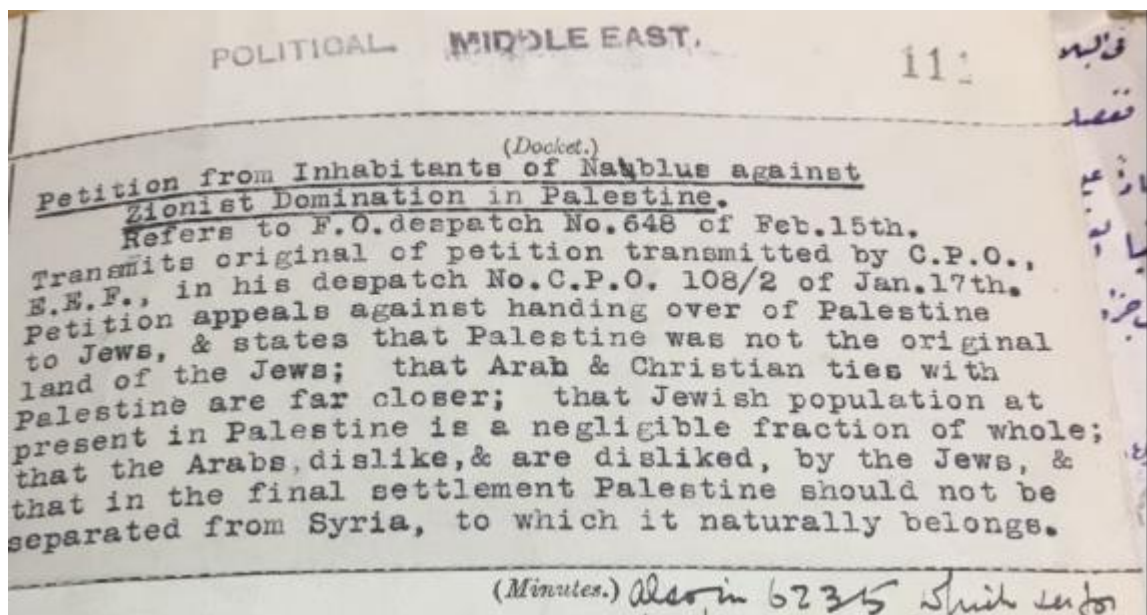
The fact that Suarez is able to endorse the argument that Zionism violated the world's 'enlightened values' just twenty-five years before the Jewish Genocide in Europe speaks volumes about his mindset. It is more logical to argue that if Israel had been created ten years earlier, many more lives might have been saved.

In these pages, Suarez also builds the 'Zionism equals racism' paradigm. This is disingenuous. The only way Zionists of 1920 would fail such a test is if they had been educated in the 21st century. One must look at the prevailing attitudes of everyone involved at the beginning of the Mandate - Jewish

¹⁸ TNA FO 608/99

¹⁹ See Yosef Grodzinsky, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust: The Struggle between Jews and Zionists in the Aftermath of World War II*.

Zionists, Jewish anti-Zionists, the British, French, League of Nations and the Arabs - to realise how prevalent were views considered unacceptable today. This is a characteristic of the time - not of Zionism. In the 1919 FO 608/99 file, for example, are many documents talking openly about Arab 'dislike' of Jews, such as in a protest letter from the Arabs of Nablus.



Petition from Arabs of Nablus which speaks of a 'dislike of Jews'

In the archives, there is also blatant British antisemitism - that Suarez fails to call out, and at times even uses – as we demonstrate below in page 29.

Page 46 of the Suarez book is instructive; such a page is to be found in most anti-Israel revisionist texts. It begins in 1919 and ends in 1933. Fourteen years - the formative years of British rule and the first decade of the Mandate – receive barely a mention. An entire archive of British documentation and yet, not a single document can be called upon to support the Suarez narrative.

These years of course saw the formation of the Hagana:

*'It was not until after the anti-Jewish riots of 1920 and 1921 that a definite Defence (Hagana) Organisation was set up.'*²⁰

Or even later:

*'The riots (of 1929) had another outcome: In 1930-1931 a band of Hagana officers set up their own group called the 'Irgun Bet'.'*²¹

The tale of Jewish defence against (or reaction to) Arab violence. The underlying truth of the historical narrative. A central element always omitted from anti-Zionist texts.

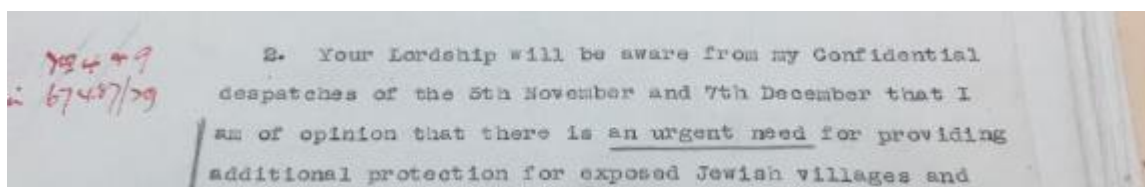
²⁰ TNA WO 275/121 British Intelligence document on 'Background to Palestine', 1947

²¹ Morris, 1948, page 120

Suarez almost completely ignores the riots of 1920 and 1921, the brutal massacres in 1929 and further Arab uprisings in the early 1930s, even though these years defined the course of the Mandate (in direct contradiction of Suarez pillars #2 and #3).

In fact, when Suarez briefly mentions the 1929 massacres that saw 133 Jews murdered (page 46 in a single sentence), he does not even reference a contemporary archive source, but rather uses a Cabinet paper report from 1932. There are files on these atrocities in the archive – but Suarez opted to ignore them, maybe not even to search for them. Take CO 733/182/6, a file looking at the necessary ‘*Proposals for the defence of Jewish colonies*’ in a deteriorating and hostile environment.

Why would someone considering the violence of the Mandate period not access this file?



Discussion of urgent need for protection of exposed Jewish villages file (CO 733/182/6 - 28 December 1929)

Also included in the file is a Telegram from the High Commissioner for Palestine (25 February 1930) discussing Druze who arrived in Jaffa with instructions to ‘*organise bands to attack Jewish colonies*’.

When addressing the brutal and violent Arab uprising of the 1930’s, Suarez does so only cursorily (page 50) - and blames the Jews for ‘*driving*’ the Arabs to violence. Again, Suarez steers clear of most of the archive files relating to this period. Page 50 begins before the uprising in 1933 and fast forwards to 1938. 3000-5000 people died and over 20,000 were wounded in violence that spanned four years.²² But it merits not even a page. It is no coincidence that the book begins to refocus only in 1938, in line with Zionist reactions to the rapidly deteriorating outlook in both Europe and Palestine: **Suarez only appears interested in the specific items that can be used to demonise Zionism. Take this ‘founding pillar’ on page 11 of the book:**

‘It was Zionist terrorism the ultimately dictated the course of events during the mandate...’

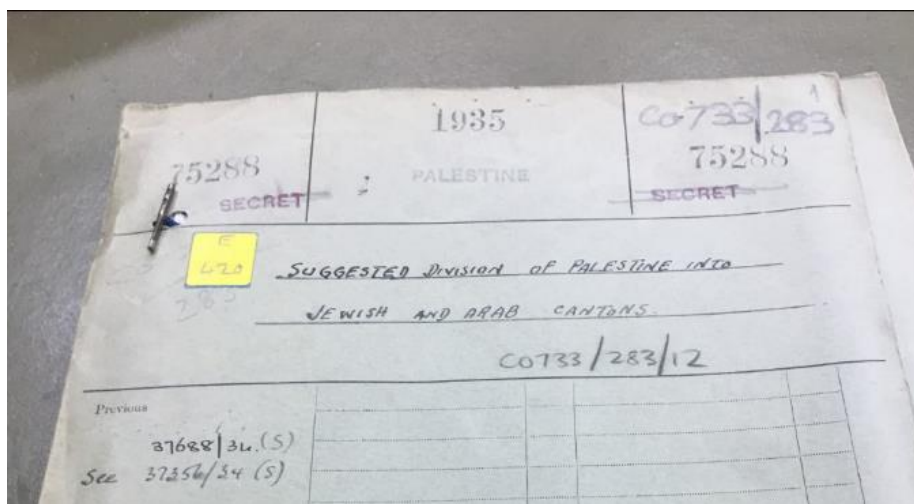
Upon this single unsupported belief, Suarez builds an entire ‘narrative’, using it to forge his title ‘*State of Terror*’. Like most of his claims, it is an empty statement and remains without citation or reference on page 11.

The claim appears to suggest that ‘Partition’, the ‘final destination’ of the Mandate, was dictated through the actions of Zionist terror. That the violence of the Jews, rather than the violence or rejectionist stance of the Arabs, led to ‘separation’.

Yet the course of events during the Mandate, that led to the 1947 UN partition plan, was not driven by Zionist Terror, but rather by the Arab rejection of all Jewish claims. The image on the following page, of a file **from 1935**, indicates that **Partition was already being viewed by the British as a way out of the impasse twelve years before 1947**. This entirely negates Suarez’s comment because in

²² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1936%E2%80%931939_Arab_revolt_in_Palestine

1935, there was no 'Zionist terror' at all. **Only Arab violence.** Suarez's Pillar #3 (see page 4 above) thus collapses.



British archive file CO 733/283 suggesting partition

This understanding of 'partition' became entrenched during the 1930s:

*The Arab Rebellion convinced Wauchope (High Commissioner, Palestine) that 'there was no chance of creating a single community',and he reached the conclusion that 'Palestine's future depended on dividing the country'*²³

Another book Suarez has not consulted properly. Another concept he doesn't seem to understand.

Perhaps the most twisted elements of the book are related to the horrors experienced by Jews before, during and shortly after the Holocaust. As a strategy, Suarez disassociates Zionists from the Holocaust - as if 'Jews' and 'Zionists' are two non-intersecting groups (his Pillar #4, see page 4 above).

Suarez's analysis of the 1938 Evian Conference, on resettling refugees fleeing from Hitler, is also riddled with error.

Suarez suggests (page 27) that the World Zionist Organisation refused to participate in the 1938 Evian conference, because it was not predicated on a Zionist State in Palestine. **That is not true. Weizmann asked permission to appear at the Conference but was turned down flat**²⁴. Twenty of the 39 non-government observer organisations²⁵ represented Jewish interests²⁶ (it is not clear whether the WZO was one of the 39). And the British insisted that Palestine could not be discussed at the Evian Conference²⁷.

²³ Segev, Tom, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate* (page 400)

²⁴ W Laqueur, *History of Zionism*, page 507

²⁵ The assertion in Jonathan Hoffman's initial review (on Amazon, *op cit*), that NGOs were not invited, has proved on further research to be incorrect

²⁶ H Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945*

²⁷ W Laqueur, *op cit*

On the next page Suarez suggests that Ben Gurion was willing to see Jewish children in Germany killed by the Nazis, rather than see them escape to somewhere other than Palestine (on the mendaciousness of his interpretation of this quote, see page 9 above).

In endnote #25 Suarez cites a book by John Quigley²⁸ in support of the assertion regarding Evian. On page 26 Quigley does say that the World Zionist Organisation refused to participate. This is in turn sourced from books by Davis²⁹ and Avishai³⁰. We followed them up.

This is when we started getting sucked into the seemingly bottomless and incestuous vortex of anti-Zionist revisionists, all citing each other, with no original source in sight. **This is precisely how myths about Israel become accepted wisdom.** Sure enough, on page 24 Davis writes that WZO 'abstained' in Evian votes; this is sourced from C Sykes, *Crossroads to Israel* (1967) page 200. (We did not follow this trail further).

Avishai is not supportive of Suarez's claim that the World Zionist Organisation refused to participate in the 1938 Evian conference. **On the contrary.** On page 152 he writes: '*Once the question of Palestine was dropped from the [Evian]agenda, Golda Myerson, the Jewish Agency delegate to Evian, was content to observe, without uttering a word. "I didn't know then that not concentration camps but Death Camps awaited the refugees whom no-one wanted", she wrote later in her memoirs. "If I had known that, I could not have gone on sitting there silently, hour after hour, being disciplined and polite."* (My Life page 158)'. Further, there is nothing to support Suarez's other claims on page 28.

Suarez continually engages in the strategy of tainting all Zionists because of the actions of one. So, if any Jewish Zionist said or did anything negative, throughout the entire period between 1917 and 1948, Suarez will use the example to reflect the action back on all Zionists. He will then call it Zionist policy or strategy. It is a highly racist strategy to employ. When discussing events before and after the Holocaust, it becomes sickeningly offensive.

The Jews in Palestine and the two-thirds of European Jews murdered by the Nazis were closer to each other than any other two groups. The Jewish population in Palestine exploded between 1929 and 1939, thanks to Jewish refugees from Europe. By 1939 - inside the Mandate - more than half of the Jewish population was recent immigrants escaping European fascism.³¹

The Jews in Palestine and the Jews in Europe were family. Brothers, uncles, grandparents, mothers, fathers, children. Or friends and neighbours left behind. Suarez seeks to paint a picture where the Jews were more concerned with power, politics and money, than with saving their own family.

Suarez cites Hanna Braun several times in the book. Braun was an anti-Zionist Jew and eventually became an activist in the Palestine Solidarity Campaign. Yet in her book, she also talks about the

²⁸ John Quigley, *Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice*

²⁹ Uri Davis, *Israel: Utopia Incorporated*

³⁰ Bernard Avishai, *The Tragedy of Zionism*

³¹ Yehoshua Porath, *The Palestinian Arab National Movement, 1929-1939: From Riots to Rebellion* (Vol 2) Page 39

relationship between the ‘*Jewish community in Palestine*’ and the ‘*European Jews*’.³² This quote from her book (page 65):

‘The war years touched the Jewish community of Palestine, mainly by the terrible common fear, amounting to dread, of practically all European Jews about the fate of family and friends left behind and by the mobilisation of large numbers of young men and women and their recruitment into the British army’.

Like most of his sources, Suarez clearly neither read, nor used this source properly. The quote negates everything he is saying about the Zionists, the British war effort and the Holocaust. Similarly, Morris in his book *1948* (cited by Suarez in the bibliography) writes:

*‘Most Hagana troops had lost relatives in the Holocaust’*³³

The attempt to disconnect the Jews of Palestine with the Jews of Europe is necessary for Suarez’s narrative: It is one of the pillars (Pillar #5, see page 4 above) on which his entire edifice is built. **It is sickening to suggest that the European Jews who escaped to Palestine in the 1930s did not care about their brothers, sisters, parents, children, uncles, aunts, grandparents, friends and neighbours whom they left behind.**

If one begins to apply this understanding to events, to connect the people (not all were Zionists, but all were Jews), the entire Suarez narrative on this issue falls apart. When one further incorporates his implication (both about Zionist behaviour at the Evian conference and in Zionist actions in the DP camps after the war – on which more later) that the world was willing to rush and bring Jews to safety across the globe, were it not for Zionist interference, then a truly disgusting stench begins to fill the page. **This false narrative is deeply antisemitic.**

In his discussion of the Ha’avara agreement, Suarez further demonstrates his preparedness to twist every point on this issue, regardless of the hypocrisy and inconsistency of his message. Throughout the discussion over Jewish refugees Suarez has suggested that the Zionists didn’t really care about the people but needed ‘*cannon fodder*’. He mentions this in the text referring to before the War, during the War and after the War. He even uses Braun’s discussions as a teacher in Eilat to push the message again (page 28).

‘Jews were needed as cannon and demographic fodder’

His entire argument over the fight for Jewish refugees, the actions of the DPs in Europe and again over the Jews in Arab countries was that the Zionist leaders just needed numbers, they did not care about the people. **The dehumanisation of the Zionist leaders is a constant refrain.**

Putting aside the obscene suggestion that Jews care less about their families than other people, on pages 47-48 he covers the Ha’avara transfer agreement. (This agreement between Nazi Germany and Zionist German Jews was signed on 25 August 1933. It was designed to enable Jews fleeing antisemitic persecution to transfer some portion of their assets to their refuge in Palestine. It provided some relief for Jews fleeing by allowing them to recover some of the possessions and

³² Hannah Braun, *Weeds Don’t Perish*

³³ Morris, *1948* (page 198)

assets they were forced to surrender before departing. A portion of those possessions could be recovered by transferring them to Palestine as German exports).

But here is how Suarez describes the agreement (page 47):

'The point of the agreement however, was not getting out the people themselves but getting part of their assets out with them.'

A classic antisemitic slur: The Jews of Palestine didn't really want their family in Europe to escape, they just wanted the money. Further, it **entirely contradicts a central message of 'cannon fodder'** Suarez uses throughout the book. Why didn't the Zionists want these Jews as 'cannon fodder'? Because Suarez had found an even better way of using them to demonise the Zionists. A twisted use of Jewish victims of persecution to attack other Jews. **Whenever convenient, Suarez performs acrobatics to simply turn an argument on its head.**

That section of the book is historically flawed and highly offensive. He suggests that if not for the Ha'avara agreement, the economy of Germany would have 'faced economic ruin from poor exports'. Or in simpler language: No Ha'avara agreement, no World War Two. Therefore, the Zionists are to blame for everything (including the Holocaust).

7: During World War Two

On page 68 Suarez recounts the story of the *Patria*. It provides a useful example of how Suarez uses and abuses source material. The story of the *Patria* was a tragedy. It was a ship that was ordered by the British in 1940 to remove Jewish refugees who were fleeing Europe and who had attempted unsuccessfully to get into Palestine. The Hagana wanted to damage the ship so that it could not sail. Unfortunately, the operation went wrong and 267 people died and 172 were injured.

At the start of the book, Suarez suggests he relies on three main historians: Pappe, Morris and Segev. How many of them does he use to describe and cite events connected to the *Patria*? None.

Segev for example suggests '*the operation was hasty and bungled*'.³⁴

The scenario of a tragic accident would not suit Suarez, so he uses none of his favoured historians to support him: He simply suggests that Jewish terrorists blew up the ship, without relating the context. Even though he has access to numerous sources that confirm this was an accident, Suarez prefers to rely on a document that can cast doubt on such a scenario:

'The British committee investigating the tragedy was unsure whether the loss of life was due to the saboteurs having bungled, or whether they were callously prepared to risk killing a number of passengers in order to sink the ship' (page 69)

The British archive documents on this incident are clearly redundant – they are no more than the ill-informed opinions of those trying to discover what happened. It is the Israel archives which are key, as used by the Israeli historians. The British archive could (and indeed should) be used to investigate, to compare with other archives and to build a historical account based on a cumulative appreciation of all available sources. What Suarez does here must surely be deliberate. He ignores the academic and educated findings of historians who have already considered this, and chooses to rely on ill-informed statements simply because they suit his purpose. Why would anyone want to use British archive documents historically to assess the truth behind what was in the mind of the Hagana at the time of the *Patria* incident? It makes no sense.

But Suarez hasn't finished. He then takes the comment from the archive to draw his own 'expert opinion' that:

'Inescapably the Jewish Agency was indeed prepared to risk killing a number of passengers'. Going on to create a scientific argument that he knows this, because of where the passengers were sited on the ship.

And then he goes on to suggest that there was a 'cover-up' by the Israeli government which suggested that the passengers committed suicide, rather than be taken back to Europe.

Suarez's 'evidence' for this is cited in endnotes #123 and #125. There are three National Archive files mentioned: CO 733/446/4, CO 733/457/12 and CAB 66/13/48/0001.

³⁴ Segev, *op cit* (page 459)

CO 733/446/4 has evidence of a British investigation into the *Patria* disaster, carried out by Alan Rose, A.J. McNeil and L.J. Edwards. **This does not support the allegation of a 'cover up'. And in the same file, the High Commissioner (MacMichael) does not mention any such possibility.**

CO 733/457/12 is claimed in the endnote to contain '*Jewish Affairs, Terrorism, Intelligence Summary No. 8/45, esp. 3-4*'. It doesn't. This must be a mistaken reference in the book. It contains files on '1945: Palestine situation: bomb outrages: cooperation by the Jewish Agency'.

CAB 66/13/48/0001 does not exist. Or at least it did not appear to exist, though eventually we located it. (Often, we found that Suarez's referencing was too vague to be able to easily locate the relevant document within a file. In particular his referencing of the Cabinet group of files (prefixed by CAB, see Appendix) was far too imprecise to permit verification. Almost none of them are searchable in the format Suarez lists them. We attempted to find several – we found some by dropping or exchanging digits, but the process was too time consuming and inefficient to pursue further)³⁵.

The *Patria* event of course is never placed into context. These Jewish refugees had escaped genocide and attempted to make it into Palestine. It wasn't the Hagana that denied them entry. It wasn't the Hagana that offloaded them from one ship onto another. It wasn't the Hagana that was going to deport these refugees and send them away from Palestine. **It was the British.** Instead, Suarez paints these refugees as illegals, and suggests the British wanted to take them to Mauritius out of kindness, because, in Mauritius '*there were facilities for DP's*' (page 68).

On page 78 Suarez writes '*The Jewish Agency maintained its opposition to Jews joining the Allied struggle against the Nazis*'. **There is no evidence whatsoever for this** – in fact the opposite is true. When the Second World War began in September 1939, David Ben Gurion, the head of the Jewish Agency, famously declared: '*We will fight the White Paper as if there is no war, and fight the war as if there is no White Paper*'. Chaim Weizmann, the President of the World Zionist Organisation, offered the British government the full cooperation of the Jewish community in Mandatory Palestine. Weizmann sought to establish an identifiably Jewish fighting formation (under a Jewish flag) under the auspices of the British Army. His request for a separate formation was rejected, but many Jews in Mandatory Palestine wanted to fight the Nazis and joined the British Army. Some of these were formed into separate Jewish companies in their battalions.

On page 231 Suarez asserts that "*Among the Lehi trainees were "children of tender years", some of whom died in the battle*". WO 261/571 is cited. **This file does not mention this.**

WO 208/1705 is also cited (dating from 1944). It is clearly written by a colonial official with an animus against the Jews in Palestine. For example, he suggests that the Jewish Youth Movement was '*unpleasantly reminiscent of the Hitler Youth*'. That such a repugnant comparison could be made in 1944 beggars belief. We are reminded of this quote from Bartley Crum³⁶: '*I trust I will not shock the*

³⁵ Similarly endnote #8 states that Weizmann claimed that Arabs are inferior people and so do not deserve a vote. In a review of the book (*op cit*), one of us pointed out that Suarez gives no source for this claim of Weizmann. Suarez responded (<http://thomassuarez.com/houseoflordspaper142.html>) that the quote is in FO 608/99. We checked this large file. The quote does not appear.

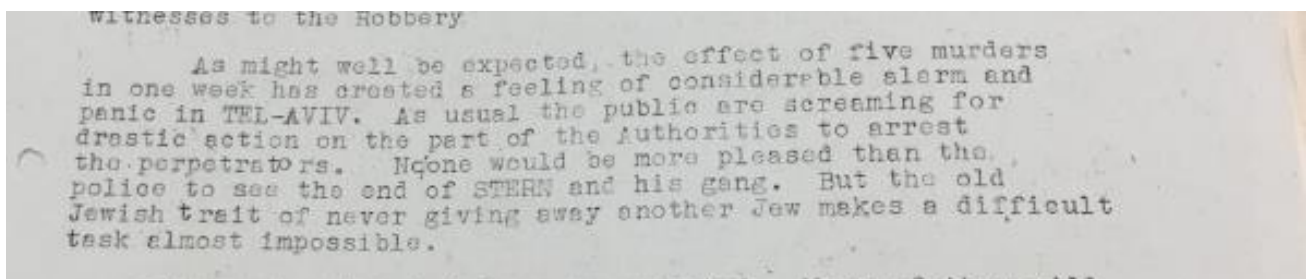
³⁶ Bartley Crum, *Behind The Silken Curtain*

reader if I say that fully 70% of the British colonial officials whom I met in Palestine either were, at worst, openly antisemitic or, at best, completely unsympathetic and ever resentful towards Jewish hopes in Palestine.'

Throughout the book, Suarez appears to regard the material in the UK archives as written by an impartial observer (Pillar #7, see page 4 above). But the truth - of course - is that it displays a growing hostility, due to the deterioration in the geopolitical environment, as the Mandate progressed. By the late 1930's, as the British forcibly stopped Jewish refugees fleeing Europe, and as a result experienced growing violence directed towards their soldiers, elements of Zionist society and the British became adversarial. The files and the comments within must be read against this background. **Suarez fails to do this.**

Effectively, Suarez is simply grabbing at selective quotes, and presenting them out of all context. Every document, every official, every situation, would need to be researched to begin to comprehend the underlying messages contained in some of the stories these files can tell.

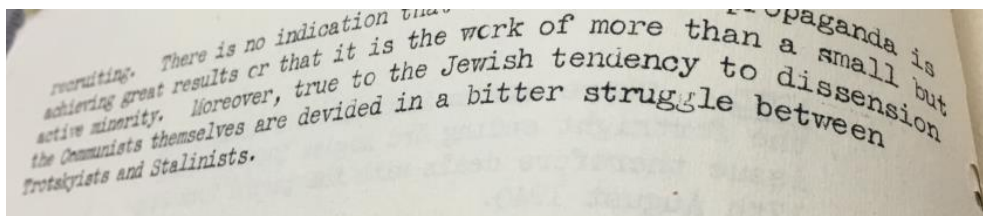
And then, there is the antisemitism. This from the Weekly Intelligence Review, week ending 21(?) January 1942:³⁷



Antisemitism within official British documents

'Old Jewish traits'. Suarez didn't just miss the antisemitism, he doesn't seem to recognise it and feeds off it, making accusations constructed from conclusions built on this type of antisemitic mentality. Suarez reports this specific attack in Tel Aviv (20 January) on page 73.

This from a situation report, 22/7/1940.³⁸

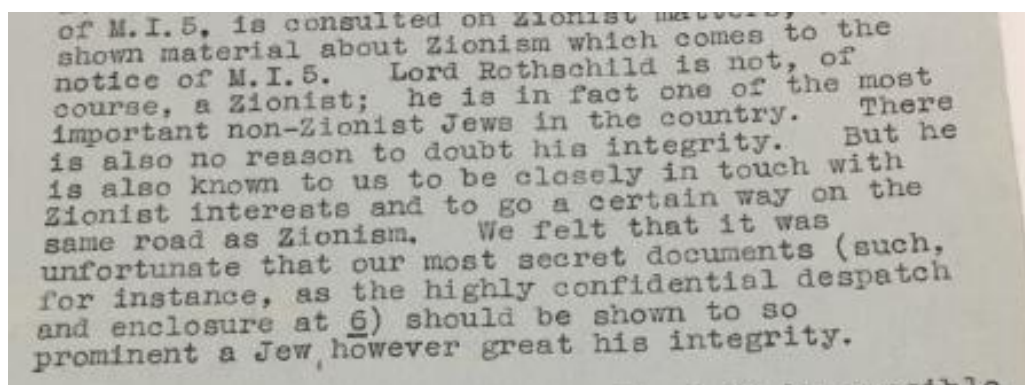


A 'Jewish tendency to dissension'

³⁷ WO 169 /4334

³⁸ WO 169/148

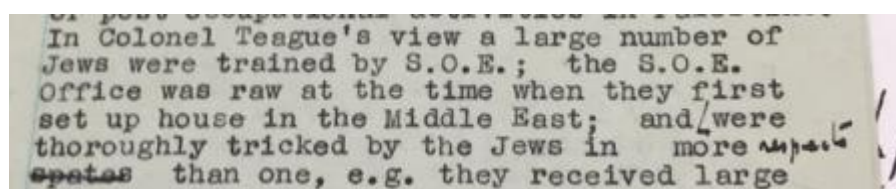
Or this, when discussing a British Jewish member of the House of Lords. From a report of a meeting with Sir W Battershill:³⁹



of M.I.5, is consulted on Zionist matters, shown material about Zionism which comes to the notice of M.I.5. Lord Rothschild is not, of course, a Zionist; he is in fact one of the most important non-Zionist Jews in the country. There is also no reason to doubt his integrity. But he is also known to us to be closely in touch with Zionist interests and to go a certain way on the same road as Zionism. We felt that it was unfortunate that our most secret documents (such, for instance, as the highly confidential despatch and enclosure at 6) should be shown to so prominent a Jew, however great his integrity.

'Unfortunate that secret file should be shown to so prominent a Jew'

Which leads to these types of statement (from the same report, dated 16 April 1943):



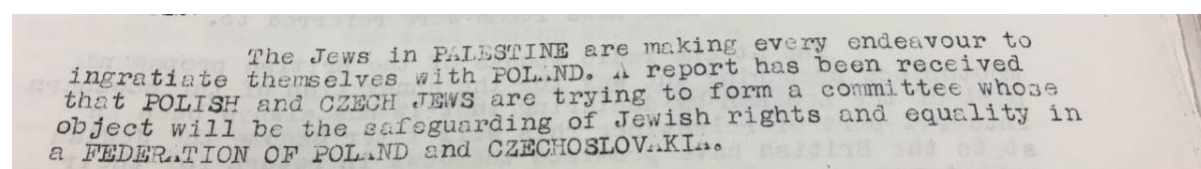
In Colonel Teague's view a large number of Jews were trained by S.O.E.; the S.O.E. Office was raw at the time when they first set up house in the Middle East; and were thoroughly tricked by the Jews in more ~~spates~~ ^{ways} than one, e.g. they received large

'...thoroughly tricked by Jews'

This report goes on to suggest Colonel Teague is *'fairly confident that an incident would be staged by the Jews, so arranged as to ensure the Arabs fired the first shot'*. Everything becomes possible within this mindset. This is commentary, and in places antisemitism drips from the pages. Suarez feeds off this commentary as he writes his book, oblivious (or sympathetic) to the racist mindset that formed some of it.

Interestingly, when discussing the *Struma*⁴⁰ and *Patria* (page 82), Suarez once again uses the opportunity to suggest Zionists did not care about the Jews in Europe: *"Zionist officials sent not a single emissary to the Ghettos of Poland"*.

It isn't clear how Suarez envisaged 'Zionist officials' could freely enter Poland in 1942, but the file with the reports on the Struma (WO 169/4334) also contains this:⁴¹



The Jews in PALESTINE are making every endeavour to ingratiate themselves with POLAND. A report has been received that POLISH and CZECH JEWS are trying to form a committee whose object will be the safeguarding of Jewish rights and equality in a FEDERATION OF POLAND and CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Endeavours of Jews in Palestine

³⁹ FO 1093/330

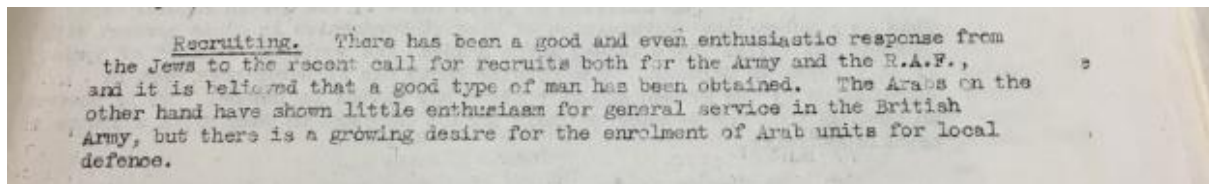
⁴⁰ The *Struma* was a ship trying to take several hundred Jewish refugees from Axis-allied Romania to Palestine. It was torpedoed by a Soviet submarine on 24 February 1942, 15 months after the *Patria* disaster

⁴¹ From Weekly Intelligence Review number 14, 25/2/1942 WO 169/4334

Suarez's ability to ignore the parts of the files that disprove his own writing is unceasing. Take the comments on page 66 that belittle the Jewish war effort. Suarez spends much time suggesting the Jews did not fully contribute to the war effort. He cites file WO 169/148 (page 66 and endnote #117). Then on page 77 he mentions that '*about 9000 Palestinian Arabs*' had enlisted with Allied forces, again stressing that the Zionist leaders' determination '*hampered*' the Yishuv recruitment effort. He points out that the Jewish Agency maintained opposition even though November 1942 brought '*news of the death camps*'. This time he references (endnote #139) WO 169/4334, the same file that contained the '*old Jewish trait*' reference.

We failed to verify much of what Suarez had written. Endnote #139 sources the information from *Weekly Intelligence Review* number 42 for week ending 25 November 19 42; summary number 14. Except the summary reports appear to be monthly reports, not weekly and summary 14 is **December**, not **November**. We could not find mention of '*9000 Arabs*' in either of these documents (however we acknowledge the figure is genuine). Nor that the Jewish Agency desire for a Jewish army was hampering the attempt to recruit men from the Jewish population (the Yishuv) to support the Allies' War effort. On the contrary - in the WO 169/148 file are several positive updates regarding Jewish recruitment. For example (22 July 1940):

'There has been a good an even enthusiastic response from the Jews to the recent call for recruits both for the army and R.A.F., and it is believed that a good type of man has been obtained. The Arabs on the other hand have shown little enthusiasm for general service in the British Army, but there is a growing desire for the enrolment of Arab units for local defence.'



Enthusiastic response to recruitment

The demolition of Suarez's argument does not rely on the archive. History has recorded accurately the Jewish contribution to the war effort. Which raises the question of why Suarez tries so hard to convey that the Jewish war effort was minimal but assiduously overstates the Arab contribution. In truth, 136,000 Palestinian Jews volunteered for service with the British Army⁴². That is 15 times the total number of Arabs - from a population just half the size, or 30:1. It is absurd to compare them.

So Suarez has written something obviously wrong, purely to reinforce the calumny that Jews had more important things to do than fight Hitler. Suarez suggests that the Zionists went on a campaign to stop Jews from volunteering. Which creates another problem. Because the number of Jewish volunteers was so high (almost all eligible Jews volunteered), it means either that 'Zionist leaders' had absolutely no control over any segment of the population, or that 'Zionist leaders' never

⁴² Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (page 249)

embarked on such a campaign. Either way, this exposes another collapse of internal integrity within the narrative from Suarez's book.

Suarez has ignored several positive messages in one file, to take one negative one and slightly distort it. Suarez wants to convey the wholly ahistoric message that the Jews in Palestine didn't care about their family members who were being murdered by the Nazi menace. He also wants to pretend that collusion exists (a meeting of ideological minds) between Zionists and Nazis. This as the Nazis destroyed European Jewry.

This simply highlights how Suarez appears to choose the elements of a file when it suits him, whilst ignoring those parts that entirely contradict the point he wishes to make. **Quality research this is not.**

Another of Suarez's central pillars can now be addressed (Pillar #9, see page 4 above). One of the main problems he faces in constructing his false narrative is that for the most part, violent Zionist activity was both defensive and restricted to extreme elements. The Hagana was created to defend against Arab violence. Like any community, the Jews in Palestine had extremists. The archive files are full of material across the political spectrum - from British wariness of the Jewish communists, to their (and at times the Hagana's) open warfare with Jewish right-wing extremists.

But that extremism was limited and it was still for the most part in reaction to events on the ground – **reactive not proactive**. As Arab violence exploded and Jewish refugees were trapped in a European continent that was to prove their graveyard, fringe groups (the Irgun and Stern) turned violent. Some of that violence (principally Stern violence), was directed towards Jews.

But it does not suit Suarez's narrative to simply say that Zionism had a violent fringe. He needs to tar mainstream Zionism with this brush, by maintaining that these fringe groups were doing the work of the Hagana and the Jewish Agency. It is a constant Suarez refrain throughout the 1936-1947 period, at which point civil war overtook the landscape. An example from the book (page 74, on the events of 1942):

"At which point the goals of the Revisionists were now those of mainstream Zionism"

To highlight how desperate is Suarez's attempt to smear the Zionist leadership with the same brush as the extremists, we now present another fraudulent quote, which Suarez appears to have misinterpreted to precisely invert its meaning.

In the later years of the Mandate, Teddy Kollek (Mayor of Jerusalem from 1965 to 1993) reported to the British on terrorist activity. His interviews are detailed in several files (eg KV 5/29 and KV 5/34).

Suarez paints Kollek as an 'informant', telling the British about the Hagana, Irgun and Stern secretly cooperating. In fact, Kollek's activity was apparently part of the Hagana's clampdown on the Irgun. Kollek was used to pass information to the British. The British could then act against the Irgun.

Rather than show collusion between the Hagana and Irgun, Kollek highlights how the British and Hagana worked together to fight the violence that the Zionist leadership opposed.⁴³

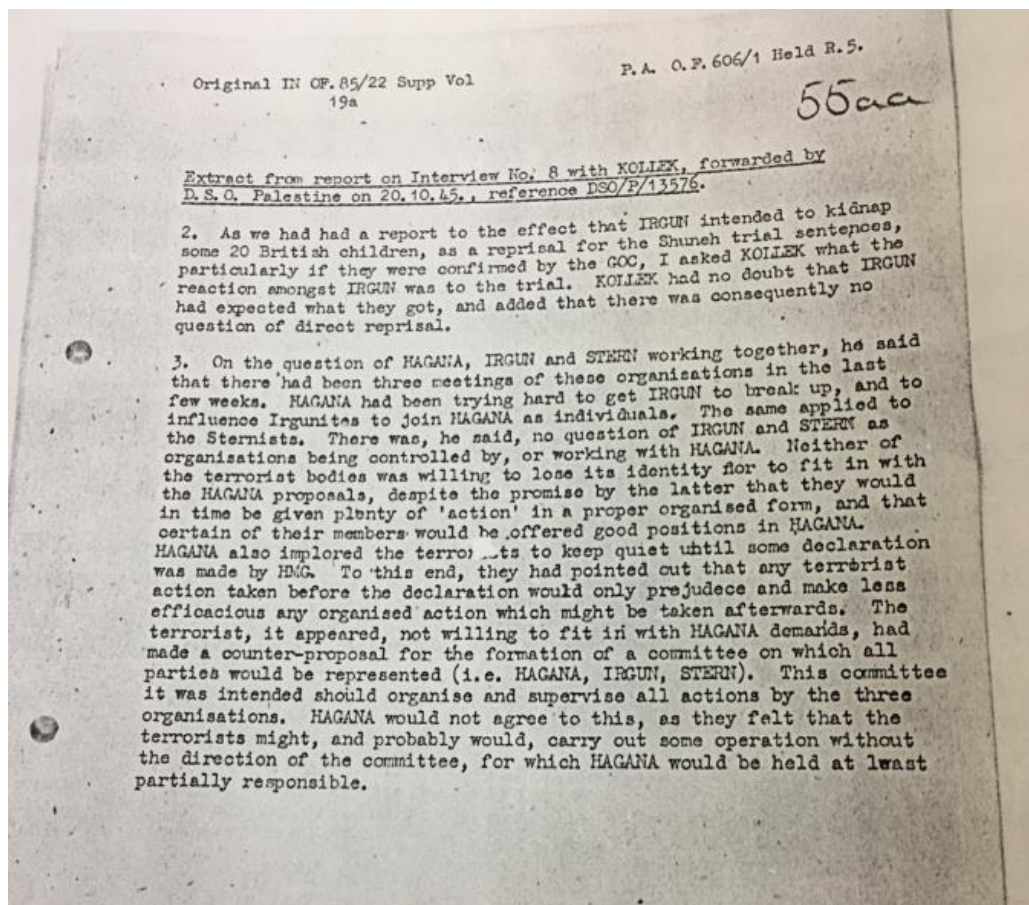
Suarez clearly knows nothing of this, and suggests:

'Kollek confirmed that the Zionist establishment's disavowal of terror was choreographed: according to Kollek the Hagana and Irgun would agree on a particular terror attack, the Irgun would carry it out, and the Jewish agency would then publicly condemn it.'

Which is absurd considering Kollek is apparently a Jewish Agency / British go-between. The source for this statement (page 106) in endnote #202 is an extract from an interview (interview number 8) with Kollek.⁴⁴ From the interview:

'There was, he said, no question of the Irgun and Stern as organisations being controlled by, or working with Hagana' and that 'Hagana had been trying hard to get the Irgun to break up'

Given the level of distortion, we feel it necessary to reproduce the entire extract:



Kollek is clearly distancing the Hagana from both the Irgun and Stern. Where is the secret collusion?

⁴³ For indication of type of work Kollek was doing for the Jewish Agency
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-ldquo-hunting-season-rdquo>

⁴⁴ KV 5/29 Interview ref DSO/P13576

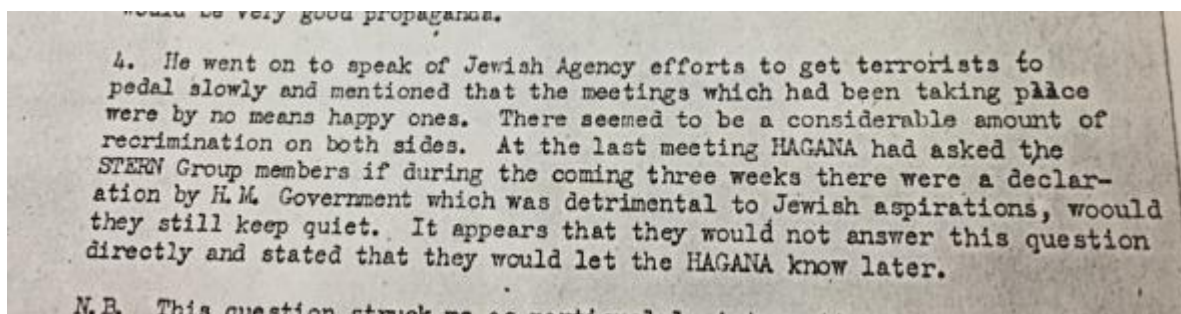
It is difficult to overstate the level of distortion here. In a desperate attempt to prove the Irgun were in collusion with the Hagana, Suarez has taken an Agency informant and suggested an interview which suggests that *'there can be no question of the Irgun or Stern as Organisations being controlled by or working with the Hagana'* means that *'they secretly plot terror attacks together'*. **Astonishing!**

Suarez even quotes from another interview with Kollek (page 108), where he suggests the **Irgun was ordered** to *'pedal slowly'*.

'Pedal slowly, Kollek said, was the Jewish Agency's orders to them.'

The 'Pedal Slowly' comment occurs in interview number 4, 15 September 1945. This is the real text:

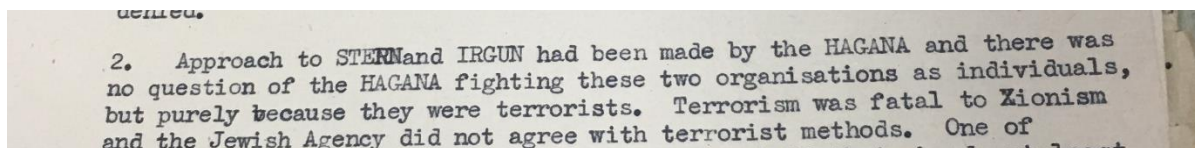
'He went on to speak of Jewish Agency effort to get terrorists to pedal slowly and mentioned that the meetings which had been taking place were by no means happy ones. There seemed to be a considerable amount of recrimination on both sides'.



Unhappy meetings, full of recrimination

How Suarez has interpreted this comment - which has the Hagana trying unsuccessfully to assess Stern intentions - into them giving *'orders'* isn't research and certainly isn't academia. **It is either dishonesty on an industrial scale or some of the sloppiest research ever conducted.** Either way, another of the central pillars on which Suarez has built his fairytale (Pillar #9, see page 4 above), collapses into dust.

There is one more image that can be provided. It comes from another British interview with Kollek. Forwarded on 18/8/1945. It is in the same file and undoubtedly was seen by Suarez as he poured over these comments looking for pieces of material he could extract.



Here the information Kollek is providing is crystal clear. That the Hagana would fight against these organisations (Irgun and Stern) because it viewed them as terrorists. Kollek continued by saying that the Jewish agency considered terrorism *'fatal to Zionism and the Jewish agency did not agree with terrorist methods'*.

Had this one snippet been put inside the book Thomas Suarez wrote, his entire argument collapses. No surprise then that it was overlooked.

8: The Aftermath of the Holocaust: the DPs and the Marshall Plan

Page 28 contains possibly the most offensive and antisemitic assertion in the book: **that Jewish orphans in post-war Europe were kidnapped by Zionists**. This is followed by the claim that Zionist leaders sabotaged plans to create a safe-haven outside Palestine for Jewish Displaced Persons (DPs):

'Jewish orphans became targets of a formal kidnapping campaign launched to snatch them from their adoptive European homes to ship them to Palestine as demographic facts-on-the-ground. When in 1944 President Roosevelt provisionally secured safe haven for a half million Displaced Persons, outraged Zionist leaders sabotaged it.' (Similarly, page 48: 'Rescue for its own sake was never part of Jewish Agency policy').

We looked at the evidence cited for these assertions.

In regard to the 'kidnapping' assertion, no evidence is offered to back the statement on page 28. We have to go to page 122, endnote #240, where Grodzinsky's book⁴⁵ and a *New York Times* article (25 February 1946) are cited to support the assertion that Chief Rabbi Herzog was the 'kidnapper'. We read both— **there is no solid evidence in either**.

Suarez responded⁴⁶ to the review of one of us (Jonathan Hoffman) on Amazon (*op cit*), as follows: "*I cite from a transcript of Rabbi Herzog's own records, held by the National Archives, CO 537/1705.*" In this file, Herzog recounts his trip through Europe to rescue orphans and bring them to Israel.

To label this as 'kidnapping' is absurd and offensive. After the mass slaughter of Jews, the operation was simply intended to ensure that the orphans could remain within a Jewish environment - rather than *de facto* be converted to Christianity. After six million Jews perished, it is nauseating to label this resettlement in Israel as 'kidnapping'. It shows a complete failure to understand the Holocaust, which claimed the lives of **almost two-thirds** of Europe's Jews.

Endnote #25 has the references for the 'sabotage' claim (that Zionist leaders sabotaged plans to create a Safe Haven outside Palestine for Jewish DPs).

The first is the Grodzinsky book. No page numbers are provided by Suarez so we have been through the whole book. **There is no evidence to support 'sabotage'.**

Also cited in endnote #25 is CO 537/1705. It bears out none of the assertions.

The same for KV 5/34, 8c which is also cited in endnote #25.

The next archive document cited in endnote #25 is CO 733/415/4, 20-24. This shows the Irgun's negative response to the 1939 White Paper and its criticism of mainstream Jewish organisations. But the Irgun was a group of irregulars. It is **wrong** to portray this as being the view of 'Zionist leaders'.

⁴⁵ Grodzinsky, *op cit*

⁴⁶ <http://thomassuarez.com/houseoflordspaper142.html>

Next up in endnote #25 is FO 608/99 281-295. This is Weizmann's letter to Balfour (30 May 1918). It describes how the Zionist Commission viewed its work. It has **zero relevance** to any of the issues on page 28.

The next citation in endnote #25 is the book by John Quigley (*op cit*). On page 26, Quigley asserts that the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organisation tried to ensure that Jews emigrating from Europe after the War would go to Palestine. **But no source is provided.**

Quigley's book moves progressively further way from the truth. For example, on page 213 he asserts "*The Jewish Agency, the World Zionist Organisation, the JNF and the Histadrut carry out Apartheid.*" Earlier (page 25) he produces this well-worn false quote from Ben Gurion: "*We must expel the Arabs and take their places*"⁴⁷.

Outrageously he writes "*The German Zionist organisation, in its negotiations with Germany to secure the emigration of Jews, manoeuvred to get the Gestapo to force Jews emigrating from Germany to go to Palestine*" (sourced from Francis R Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*).

On page 29 Quigley writes: "*The Jewish Agency did not encourage Western governments to accept these Jewish refugees. To the contrary it lobbied to deny their admission.*" No doubt Suarez thinks this supports his demonic thesis that "*rescue for its own sake was never part of Jewish Agency policy.*" It is sourced (footnote 63) from Hirst⁴⁸. We read Hirst's book. **Nowhere does it suggest that the Jewish Agency discouraged Western governments from accepting Jewish refugees.** (Quigley also sources from Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle*, but we did not follow this up).

On page 29 Quigley writes: '*Roosevelt took the decision to refuse admittance to Jewish refugees because of opposition from US Zionist organisations.*' This is sourced from Moshe Menuhin⁴⁹ (the father of the famous violinist). It is obvious from the book (published in 1965) that Menuhin was an enemy of Zionism: '*As a conscientious Jew I feel it necessary...*'. Menuhin gives us the first glimpse of Morris Ernst⁵⁰. Ernst was a Jewish American lawyer who was close to Roosevelt (but not to Harry Truman, who became President on the death of Roosevelt in April 1945). He appeared to be an intermediary between Roosevelt and the UK government, which (the archives show) continued to cultivate him long after Roosevelt's death. Menuhin writes: "*Mr Ernst, according to his story, persuaded the British to take 150,000 Jews and Gentiles. America was then supposed to match that. The President was happy with the success of Ernst's mission. Finally when Mr Ernst came to see the President, here is what the President is supposed to have said to him: "Nothing doing! We cannot put it over because the dominant vocal Jewish leadership of America won't stand for it..." They are right from their point of view. The Zionist movement knows that Palestine is, and will be for some time, a remittance society. They know that they can raise vast sums for Palestine by saying to donors there is no other place the poor Jew can go*". (Ernst quote from an address delivered by him on 22 April 1950

⁴⁷ https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/David_Ben-Gurion

⁴⁸ David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*

⁴⁹ Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*

⁵⁰ Ernst, Morris, *So Far So Good*, pps173-177

to the Council For Judaism – an anti-Zionist group!⁵¹) (Ernst's book is also cited by Suarez in endnote #25).

Suarez asserts that Roosevelt 'provisionally secured safe haven for half a million Displaced Persons' (page 28⁵²). **He never did 'secure' anything like this.** He did try (see Laqueur, *op cit*) but it was never likely that his own country - the US - would accept: opposition to large-scale migration (eg from the trade unions) was just too strong. So **'Zionist leaders' could not have 'sabotaged' an offer that never existed!** (It is true that there were differences of opinion among Jewish organisations as to where would be the best destination for the Displaced Persons; the Zionist organisations were keen to see a good number of DPs move to Palestine – as in fact happened).

The penultimate reference in endnote #25 is to a National Archives document, FO 800/487, page 110. Again, the only relevant references are to the anti-Zionist American lawyer Morris Ernst. Secretary of State Ernest Bevin reports a conversation with Ernst (9 April 1948): *'Jewish Agency: In their inner councils they had always held the view that if they allowed any diversion of Jews from Palestine and their settlement elsewhere then attempts to raise money and to carry on their campaign from Palestine would be seriously affected.'* In the same file, Ernst's true feelings come out: UK UN Delegation to Michael Wright of the FCO, 13 September 1948 (on Ernst) *"He roundly condemned the cowardice of the moderate American Jews, who allow their attitudes to be dictated by their politically passionate brethren."* And in a telegram from the FCO to the UK Delegation to UN (22 April 1948): *"Morris Ernst is not a Zionist."*

The final reference in endnote #25 is to WO 169/148, to a document called 'Situation Report', 2. This is what Suarez claims it says: *"Regarding Zionism's need to confine Jewish settlement to Palestine alone, in 1940 Sharret allegedly deflected criticism by saying he welcomes all plans for Jewish colonisation in countries other than Palestine because any such endeavour is doomed to fail."*

We attempted to check this file but it is massive. Without further location information, **it's not** possible to find the document to which Suarez refers.

To summarise: We examined Suarez's 'evidence' for his assertions on page 28 in some detail. Some well-known anti-Zionist revisionists support them, but they in turn reference each other, as opposed to source documents. The only other support comes from Morris Ernst, an anti-Zionist adviser to Roosevelt. **The conclusion has to be that the assertions -**

- that Jewish orphans were kidnapped;
- that Zionist leaders sabotaged a plan by Roosevelt's plan to relocate 500,000 DPs;
- that the Jewish Agency did not care about rescuing Jews in Europe unless they were en route to Palestine

are without historical foundation.

⁵¹ Page 174: Suarez quotes from the Council as if it was a representative group!

⁵² And see Suarez's comment on Ernst's quote with which he opens Chapter 4, page 103

Much of this is also based on the repetitive and absurd notion, that Jews had somewhere to go (Suarez's Pillar #6, see page 4 above). In discussing the Ha'avara agreement, the refugees prior to the Holocaust and DPs after the Holocaust, Suarez's suggestion that the Zionists were interfering with the attempts of a 'caring world' to save or resettle Jews is **historically fraudulent**.

On page 120 Suarez asserts that to address the (supposed) 'problem' of the displaced Jews not wanting to go to Palestine, *'a triple campaign was waged: the forceful isolation and coercion of the survivors themselves, the sabotage of international safe havens for them and the kidnapping of Jewish orphans.'* His assertion about the coercion of Displaced Persons relies on Grodzinsky (*op cit*).

Far from evidence supporting Suarez's assertions, there is **much evidence in Grodzinsky to disprove them**, in the form of the large number of DPs who wanted to go to Palestine:

- Judge Earl Harrison was asked by President Truman to do a report on the DPs. He wrote *'With respect to possible places of resettlement for those who may be stateless or who do not wish to return to their homes, Palestine is definitely and pre-eminently the first choice'*;
- *'The Zionists were the only ones with a sensible plan following this catastrophe'* (Koppel Pinson, quoted in footnote 56 to Chapter 3 of Grodzinsky);
- In October 1945, a JDC survey of 4976 DP respondents in Camp Landsberg showed that 62.5% wanted to go to Palestine and 18% to the USA;
- In 1946 the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Agency conducted a poll of DPs. 96.8% of the Jewish DPs wanted to go to Palestine (page 139, Grodzinsky);
- Overall in 1945-51, 42% of DPs went to Israel versus 36% to the USA.

In addition, many DPs have challenged the allegation of coercion, see for example Elhanan Yakira's book⁵³.

The Grodzinsky book provides an opportunity for an interesting exercise. Whilst the British archives are in effect a near infinite mountain of contradictory bureaucratic opinions that allow an untrustworthy researcher to navigate and selectively cite files that adhere to their bias, the Grodzinsky book is a finite body of 279 pages that Suarez has relied on heavily for his arguments on the DPs. Grodzinsky even gets a special mention of thanks at the beginning of the book. In theory, Grodzinsky shouldn't contradict Suarez at all. **And yet there is much in his book which underlines just how selective Suarez has been.**

Grodzinsky paints an awful picture of the situation in the camps. And mentions how the DPs *'greatly appreciated'* the arrival of the envoys from Palestine (page 52). Suarez can distort Jewish attempts to segregate Jews from other DPs but the Harrison Report suggests they deserved special treatment (page 56), the survivors lived under military rule (page 55) and in some cases, they were camped with Nazis (page 40). It would be logical to suggest the Jews should be separated from those that persecuted them, and from other DP's who were unable to return home. Because of their

⁵³ Elhanan Yakira, *Post-Zionism, Post-Holocaust*.

experience and current physical condition, *'Jewish DPs had special problems'* (page 38). **Yet Suarez paints it only as a racist, manipulatory and elitist exercise.**

Suarez, citing an early poll, claims that most people wanted to go home, but elsewhere in the book Grodzinsky suggests that *'different nationalities want different things'* (page 57) and that some wanted to return home only temporarily, so that they could look for family members. The true scale of the horror was not yet clear.

The Jewish assistance brought the only people with *'a sensible plan'* to the camps (page 76), and an *'improved diet'* (page 112).

Suarez also ignores all other influences. Grodzinsky details growing antisemitism *'after the war'*, and Jews fleeing 1946 Pogroms in Poland (page 114). Grodzinsky clearly states that the Zionists did empathise with the DPs (page 164).

Grodzinsky mentions the failure in the US to pass any Congressional Act that would allow DPs to enter (page 141), while Suarez pretends that Zionist interference forced the United States to close its doors. **Suarez does not seem to have read Grodzinsky's book properly.** The entire last chapters of Grodzinsky's book are about the conscription (voluntary and allegedly forced) which Zionist leaders believed was necessary to counter the growing existential threat back home. Grodzinsky's writing is forceful about the clear belief that the Zionists needed additional manpower to survive the Arab invasions. If this were true, the Suarez narrative of a powerful Zionist enclave fighting a non-existent Arab force would be rendered entirely false. **So Suarez of course ignores it.**

Even in his account of how the Zionists allegedly frustrated a British attempt to rescue 1000 children from the camps (by providing them with safe haven in the UK), the sloppy manner of Suarez's research interferes. Grodzinsky mentions the children (chapter 4), but does not say that the rescue was confined to specifically Jewish children. Suarez however talks of *'1000 Jewish child survivors'* (page 123). This information too was available in the archives. In a Home Secretary response in June 1945, it is clearly stated that *'there will be no attempt to limit the selection'* only to Jewish children.⁵⁴

Suarez uses Grodzinsky like he uses Braun, because both are ideologically aligned with anti-Zionists. Neither is a historian and the work of both is unreliable and tainted with a desire to use selective information to further political positions. Even then, as mentioned earlier, Suarez failed to understand (or chose to ignore), elements of the Grodzinsky book that contradicted him (see earlier examples in this report). Grodzinsky is at least a scientist, but he too displays sloppy historical research supported by a running commentary that clearly seeks to demonise Zionist activity. It is important to understand how damaging reliance on the slanted work of others becomes.

Take Grodzinsky's discussion of the 1000 children. Grodzinsky goes to great lengths to point out how Zionist pressures meant that only 300 children arrived in the UK (pages 80-95). On page 85, Grodzinsky discusses how *'the first group, consisting of three hundred children, arrived as one plane after another landed safely'*.

⁵⁴ CO 733/455/6 Home Office letter (19 June 1945)

Grodzinsky then related how a group of liberated Zionist Jews '*withdrew permission*' to evacuate further children on 14 October 1945. Like most anti-Zionist activists masquerading as historians, Grodzinsky then needs to take the result of a single meeting of some Jews, apply it back to the whole, and somehow suggest the Zionist leaders were in favour of the plan.

By page 91, Grodzinsky has successfully ensnared Ben Gurion in the plot. He alleges that the Zionists were forbidding further evacuation. He finishes the story by informing us that the Jews set up an orphanage in Europe that in January 1946 took only 100 children. Three months later, these children were transported to Palestine. As with Suarez, the ethical equation is a consistent undercurrent. Rather than save 700 children (1000 minus the 300 who had left), the Zionists were willing to let 600 children stay in camps just to get 100 to Palestine.

Suarez uses the story on page 124. After the 300 were successfully flown to England he writes, '*Zionist leaders forcibly stopped it, and the remaining 700 child survivors were left to remain in orphanages.*'

Let us consider for a moment the source Suarez has opted to cite. He relies on Grodzinsky who is stuck in Israel, while he himself spends five years in the National Archives. Not a single archive reference is used. Yet surely, this event would have been discussed in the UK. This is typical of Suarez's inability to present the resource that would be academically more reliable for each specific event. For Suarez, his choice always seems to be dictated by his assessment of **which account most demonises Israel or the Jews**.

Take Cabinet papers from November 1945 (CAB 128/2/2). The Foreign Secretary discussed how '*bringing children ... would involve a permanent addition to the foreign population competing in the employment market with British subjects*'. He goes on to suggest that admission of refugees, '*many of who would be Jews might provoke certain sections of public opinion*'.

(c) More generally, it was suggested that the admission of a further batch of refugees, many of whom would be Jews, might provoke strong reactions from certain sections of public opinion. There was a real risk of a wave of anti-Semitic feeling in this country. There was evidence of this in the recent protest of rate-payers against the foreign colony in Hampstead.

This extract raises two issues. Firstly, it thoroughly undermines Suarez's pillar #6 (see page 4 above). The British were arguing over small numbers of refugees. The idea that the UK, or indeed anywhere outside Palestine, was willing to absorb hundreds of thousands of Jews simply insults the reader's intelligence. Secondly, neither in the discussion over the children, nor in the wider conversation in these papers, was there any mention that the Zionists were impeding the refugee process. Which is odd. Why would the British be worried about child refugees in November 1945, if the Zionists had already '*forbidden*' any further transfer? Perhaps it is because the second wave of flights was underway!

How and why Grodzinsky made the mistake is uncertain. The truth also is that most of the children arrived **after** the time when Grodzinsky suggested Zionist obstruction and whilst his '*100*' are still in the orphanage. What is clear is that several flights between autumn 1945 and spring 1946 brought

over 700 Jewish children to the UK.⁵⁵ All this information of course is readily available to anyone who wants to conduct serious research.

But then it gets worse. The British were only issuing these children with two-year visas (Gilbert, page 317). The long-term goal was to reunite these children with family (if any survived) or to relocate them elsewhere. The human context of this story has been once again removed from Suarez's book. Of the 732 that arrived, over 100 were then to make it to Palestine.

One child (Ben Helfgott MBE) commented (Gilbert, page 293): *'It never entered our minds to settle in England. After liberation, we had been provided with passes as an identity, and on these we had to put down what our destination was, which in most cases was Palestine. But the British White Paper made that impossible'*. All of this of course, negates the arguments of both Suarez and Grodzinsky.

The Boys (they were called 'the boys' because so few girls survived) also tells the tale of the desperate search for family and the need to be kept together. These elements of the story are crucial to the instinctive desire of the Jewish survivors – after two-thirds of Europe's Jews had perished - that both children and adult survivors should remain in the community. Zionist actions were for the most part about maintaining some community cohesion and influence over those who had survived. This brings us to Grodzinsky and Suarez's next mistake.

Suarez talks of forcibly removing children and says the '*kidnappings*' were '*sometimes assisted by armed Jewish Brigade Soldiers*' (page 122). The source for the mention of 'Brigade Soldiers' is Grodzinsky (page 50). Grodzinsky mentions a family who were '*removed from a Christian family that raised them almost from infancy*'. He goes on to suggest the Brigade '*threatened*' the Christian family, saying they had to '*give them away, or suffer*'.

This is the only example of forcibly removing a child from a family in the Grodzinsky book. Suarez mentions '*thousands of children being forcibly removed*' (page 122). Grodzinsky gives this one example. The family in question was that of IDF Major General Yossi Peled. Peled had been a child survivor, protected by a Christian family. Peled has gone on record to describe the day he **was reunited with his mother**.⁵⁶ The Brigade did attend. As tragic as this tale may be, **family reunification is not kidnapping**. Grodzinsky seems to have this all wrong.

We contacted Grodzinsky; he responded quickly. We then asked him to comment on the apparent mistake in his book (the failure to mention the presence of Peled's mother). We received a curt response, that also suggested Peled was too young to remember the events of his own family reunification.⁵⁷ Grodzinsky is suggesting that Peled would need to remember at 76, what happened when he was 4. This seems absurd. At some point, he was reunited with his mother. Peled says it was when he was eight. Remembering these events isn't about seventy-year-old recall. His mother, for example, would have mentioned the event to him throughout his lifetime.

The four-year difference between Grodzinsky's version of rescue and Peled's account of his own life, allows us another glimpse into the mindset of Suarez. Suarez deals with the discrepancy in endnote

⁵⁵ Martin Gilbert, *The Boys*

⁵⁶ <http://www.maariv.co.il/news/israel/Article-540416> (Hebrew)

⁵⁷ Email exchanges between Collier and Yosef Grodzinsky, August 2017

#247. He recounts the discussion between himself and Grodzinsky as they attempt to rationalise Peled's own account negating their preferred tale of forced removal. In the end Suarez attempts to discredit the story by questioning the mother's veracity:

'Why would a mother wait four years after the end of the war to retrieve her children?'

Of all the comments in the book, the researchers believe that this comment about Peled's mother best highlights the disdain Suarez has for the Holocaust and Jewish life in general.

After the war, family reunification became a major issue, with the devastated survivors of the Holocaust spread across Europe. Peled's father had died in Auschwitz. No one knew which family members had survived and which had succumbed. Peled's mother survived. She had been part of Dr. Josef Mengele's Block 10 medical experiment laboratory⁵⁸. Clearly physically and emotionally suffering from her experiences, she was unable to look after her children properly after the initial reunification, and eventually, put them into an orphanage. Later she was reunited with them for a second time in Israel.⁵⁹

Thomas Suarez cannot understand why it took four years for a survivor of Mengele's bestial experiments (and we have no knowledge of her physical state at the end of the War) to find Jewish children who were living in a Christian home, somewhere on the continent of Europe. **Utterly shameless. A Holocaust survivor becomes a target for Suarez simply because she does not fit the story he wants to tell.**

Moving to page 257 in Suarez's book, he states that Zionist leaders opposed the Marshall Plan for Europe's postwar reconstruction because of the fear that reconstruction in Europe would prove '*an obstacle to Zionism*'. In his presentation of the book at SOAS (3 November 2016⁶⁰) he went further, saying that the Jewish Agency '*opposed the Marshall Plan*' because '*it would have made the lives of Jews in Europe more comfortable*'. As one of us (Jonathan Hoffman) wrote in his review (*op cit*), "*This is unsubstantiated nonsense*".

FO 371/68649 is cited in support (endnote #516). But all it shows is that a group of Zionists – whose names are not provided – opposed the Marshall Plan because they felt it would be prejudicial to their cause. That does NOT mean that **the Jewish leadership or the Jewish Agency** opposed the Marshall Plan!

5. This meeting of the "Gromyko Zionists", as one Jewish leader called them, was denounced in advance by many of the regular Zionist organisations, who doubtless realised how easily their cause might be damaged in this country by such supporters. Zionists have been insistent that stories of

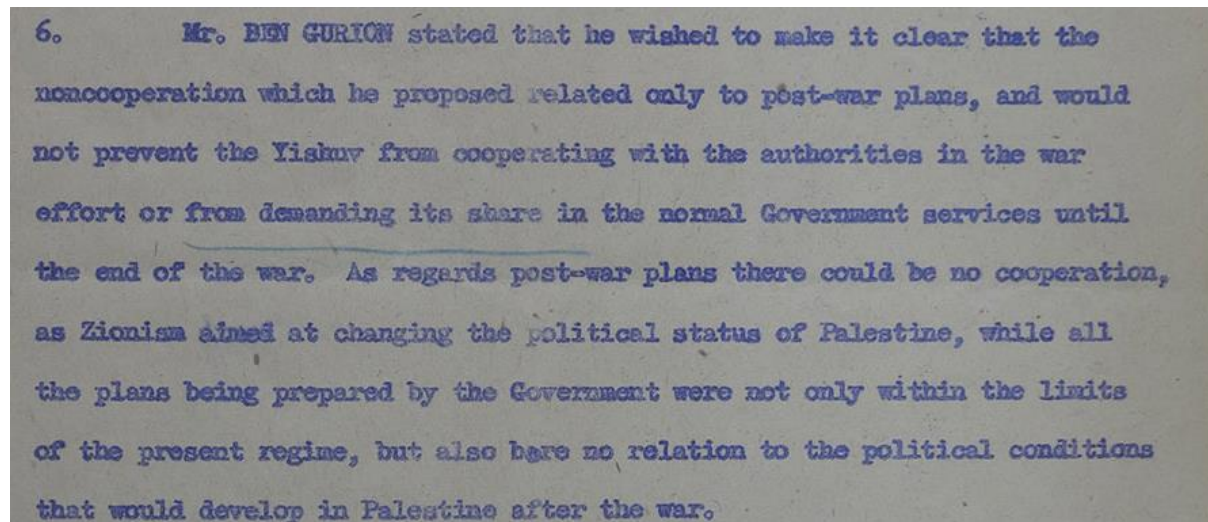
⁵⁸ <http://www.claimscon.org/about/history/closed-programs/medical-experiments/personal-statements-from-victims/>

⁵⁹ Combining elements using the Wiki page on Peled, the *Ma'ariv* article referenced on the previous page and <http://www.wallenberg.hu/hu/esemenynaptar/beszede/65-speech-of-mr-yossi-peled-at-the-inauguration-ceremony-of-the-2012-wallenberg-year.html>

⁶⁰ <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-protocols-of-the-elders-of-soas-pal-soc/>

Not 'Zionist Leaders!'

In Paldocs.net (though not in the book) FO 1093/330 is also cited (*'Jewish Agency opposition to postwar reconstruction'*). But this document does not bear upon the Marshall Plan. It simply shows that Ben Gurion opposed the White Paper on the Government Reconstruction plan of Palestine, because it was based on a policy of suspension of immigration, prohibition of land sales and the establishment of a perpetual Jewish minority. **A completely dishonest citing of a source.**



6. Mr. BEN GURION stated that he wished to make it clear that the noncooperation which he proposed related only to post-war plans, and would not prevent the Yishuv from cooperating with the authorities in the war effort or from demanding its share in the normal Government services until the end of the war. As regards post-war plans there could be no cooperation, as Zionism aimed at changing the political status of Palestine, while all the plans being prepared by the Government were not only within the limits of the present regime, but also bore no relation to the political conditions that would develop in Palestine after the war.

Noncooperation on postwar reconstruction of Palestine - not Europe!

Moving on to page 275, Suarez says that Weizmann referred to the flight of Arabs in 1948 as '*a miraculous simplification of our task.*'

No source for the quote is given but Weizmann did indeed say this, according to then US Ambassador McDonald⁶¹, to whom the comment was addressed. **However, this is a partial quote.** According to McDonald, Weizmann cited the vaster tragedy of the six million Jews who were murdered in the Second World War. He asked '*What did the world do to prevent this genocide? Why should there be such excitement in the UN and the Western capitals about the plight of the Arab refugees?*'.

⁶¹ James McDonald, *My mission in Israel, 1948-1951*

9: Iraq

Suarez's description of the flight of Jews from Iraq (page 282) is downright dishonest, there is no other word for it⁶²: *'Until its ethnic cleansing of 300,000 more Palestinians in 1967, Israel's most precipitous post-1948 ethnic cleansing was of Jews from North Africa and the Middle East'*

Thus victim is turned into perpetrator!

He writes that Israel destroyed the Iraqi Jewish community and blocked other countries from helping Jews who wanted to leave Iraq. And he says that the anti-Jewish violence in Iraq was a 'false flag' operation. This is a pure fabrication.⁶³ **Iraq** destroyed the Iraqi Jewish Community. It began with the Farhud in 1941. The Farhud was the Holocaust-era massacre by Arab nationalists in coordination with the Nazis, which occurred on June 1-2, 1941 in Baghdad, killing hundreds of innocent Jews and brutalising thousands more, and pillaging their property. The Farhud was a major step in the process which resulted in the forced exodus of 850,000 to 900,000 Jewish refugees from centuries of peaceful existence in Arab countries.

Two Arabs have gone on record to explain the Farhud⁶⁴ (Saudi journalist Turki al-Dakhil and Iraqi scholar Rashid al-Khayoun, 1 February 2014).

The Jewish Senator Ezra Menahem Daniel⁶⁵ appealed after the Farhud against the discriminatory practices introduced in 1948-9. Jews could not work, attend university or travel. Jews were arrested on the slightest pretext. Money was extorted from them to pay for war in Palestine. In March 1950, Jews were given permission to be able to leave but were stripped of their nationality. In 1951 the property of departing Jews was frozen by law.

When Suarez does mention the Farhud, he goes to extreme lengths not to report it as an act of antisemitic violence. In fact, he absurdly implies it was the British, adducing a 12-year-old (at the time) anti-Zionist Jew (Naeim Giladi) in his support (page 71). **This type of rewriting of history highlights how desperate Suarez is to create a one-sided fictional tale that condemns the Jewish Zionists at every juncture and absolves everyone else of everything, including violent massacres of Jews.**

Another example of distortion comes at the bottom of page 28, where Suarez suggests that Hanna Braun was *'a Hagana member, involved with bringing them (Iraqi Jews) to Israel.'*

He cites page 82 and 83 of her book (*op cit*; cited in endnote #26, page 343). Yet on those pages Braun merely describes her new military role, **which was to teach new immigrants in Eilat**. It is typical of the way Suarez distorts, that he has described a language teacher in such a way that we

⁶² We are very grateful to Lyn Julius for her help on this section. Lyn is a journalist and co-founder of Harif, an association of Jews from the Middle East and North Africa in the UK

⁶³ <http://jewishrefugees.blogspot.co.uk/2006/04/iraqi-muslims-threw-1951-synagogue.html>

⁶⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dk34lDa5oVc>

⁶⁵ <http://jewishrefugees.blogspot.co.uk/search?q=Ezra+Daniel>

are left to believe she is some type of spy with inside knowledge. As a side note, it is absurd he would describe Braun as a 'Hagana member' over activity she conducted as part of the IDF in 1952.

Hanna Braun's book describes her personal struggles, and she clearly suffered from some deep-rooted psychological battles. At times, it is a depressing read. A reliable source though - she is not. On page 46, Braun says this:

'From our balcony in Acre at the other end of the bay and on other clear days, the mountains of Lebanon covered with a layer of snow all year round'.

Snow, in Lebanon in summer? Visible from Akko? No further comment

When relying on Braun's input, and the difficulties some of these new Jewish refugees faced in Israel Suarez also writes (page 29)

'a punitive exit tax and loss of original citizenship kept many from returning home once the deceit was exposed'

That sentence contains several distortions:

1. Israel accepted more than its own population in refugees in the first three or four years of the State.⁶⁶ It is proportional to the United Kingdom absorbing 70,000,000 (seventy million) refugees in the next forty months. It is impossible to overstate the strain such an influx imposes upon every facet of society. Nor how it might damage the economy, nor how difficult the absorption process is. No doubt there were refugees who did not settle in Israel. There are entire departments in rich Western nations devoted to assisting the first difficult years of a refugee. It is sickening that Suarez abuses such issues, piggybacking on the suffering of others, to attack Israel. These refugees are often used as weapons by anti-Israel revisionists. It highlights the hypocrisy of self-declared 'humanitarians', refusing to allow 'periods of adjustment' **only when they are focusing on Jewish victims**.⁶⁷
2. The denial of citizenship was not an Israeli measure, but rather that of the Arab states who evicted and expelled their Jews. Additionally, Israel permits dual citizenship, so Suarez is blaming Israel for the illiberal and punitive measures of Arab states.
3. The 'exit tax', was an economic measure in existence in Israel until the early 1990's. In the first years of the State, as Israel experienced a major economic crisis (due to conflict and absorbing more than one immigrant per citizen), it also suffered a severe shortage of foreign currency. It set high exit taxes (many nations have some exit or travel tax – leaving Heathrow on a flight to New York can currently cost over £75).⁶⁸ Further, in a complete rejection of what Suarez is arguing, *'permits were relatively easily granted to new immigrants who did not acclimatize well to life in Israel and requested to leave the country permanently'*.⁶⁹ To describe it as some type of 'penalty tax' -created to dissuade potential emigrants based on their nation of origin - is ludicrous.

Each sentence in the book can be dissected in this fashion: A pile of distortions, incidents removed from context and fictions, all shaped together to demonise Israel.

⁶⁶ <http://www.jewishagency.org/society-and-politics/content/36566>

⁶⁷ <http://www.roads-to-refuge.com.au/settlement/settlement-challenges.html>

⁶⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Air_Passenger_Duty

⁶⁹ Rozin, Orit *Israel and the Right to Travel Abroad, 1948–1961* Israel studies 15.1 (2010), page 147-176.

Returning from this slight digression to the Iraq section, Suarez accessed C0 733/275/4 but failed to mention that it describes anti-Jewish agitations against Iraqi Jews in 1929 and 1933 (letter from Sir F Humphreys to Sir John Simon, 13 December 1934).

File FO 371/27861 (not accessed by Suarez) discusses a bomb outrage against a Jewish club in Baghdad in 1938. A letter in August of 1938 speaks of '*two cases of bomb throwing at Jewish clubs*'. A telegram on November 28 discusses an attack on a coffee house that seems to have targeted Jews.

These actions were not occurring in a vacuum. In the mid 1930's, an Iraqi newspaper (*al-alam al-arabi*) published daily extracts from *Mein Kampf* in Arabic. Pro-Nazi movements began to appear and anti-Jewish printed material was handed out by youth groups. This all before the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini arrived in Iraq.⁷⁰

FO 371/27099 (not accessed by Suarez) in a telegram on 23 February 1941, discusses an attack by Kurds on a Jewish village three months prior to the Farhud.

In 1948 the hanging of the wealthy Jew Shafik Ades⁷¹ shook the Iraqi Jewish community to its core.

It is **not true** (page 283) that in 1950, Israel blocked other countries from helping Jews who wanted to leave Iraq. Near East Air Transport was a partnership between El Al and Alaskan Airlines, but the airlift was a joint venture with senior Iraqi Muslim officials (Iraq Tours) and the charter was negotiated with Iraqi Airways, in which the Iraqi Prime Minister Tawfiq al-Suweidy had an interest. Edwin Black confirms⁷² that British Airways and BOAC were also involved.

Suarez claims (page 284) that in summer 1950 '*an Israeli from Acre was recognised in Baghdad by a Palestinian refugee*'. The story refers to Yehuda Tajar and is nonsense. Mossad had representatives in Baghdad. It did have arms caches, maps etc, but this was in 1949 before the airlift got underway. It is true (page 285) that two Jews active in the underground were executed in 1952. But they were never accused of the notorious bombs of 1951⁷³. The trial was a sham; the defence lawyers did not challenge the prosecution's witnesses and did not call a single witness to their side⁷⁴.

Suarez (page 282) quotes and relies on Naeim Giladi – who has been thoroughly discredited⁷⁵. He quotes Giladi again on page 253; Giladi said that in 1947-8 the Hagana infected Arab wells with typhoid and dysentery '*to make sure the Arabs couldn't return to make a fresh life for themselves in these villages*.' **This is another example of Suarez using unreliable testimony to make brazen claims that cannot be supported.**

Benny Morris is a historian that Suarez claims to have used as one of his '*principal*' sources (page 16). In his book *1948* that appears in Suarez's bibliography, Morris describes a warning from Iraq's Prime Minister to British diplomats:

⁷⁰ Martin Gilbert, *In Ishmael's house: a History of Jews in Muslim Lands*, page 176

⁷¹ <http://jewishrefugees.blogspot.co.uk/2013/09/shafik-ades-was-hanged-65-years-ago.html>

⁷² <https://myislam.dk/articles/en/black%20when-iraq-expelled-its-jews-to-israel.php>

⁷³ <http://jewishrefugees.blogspot.co.uk/2006/04/iraqi-muslims-threw-1951-synagogue.html>

⁷⁴ Shlomo Hillel, *Operation Babylon*, page 282

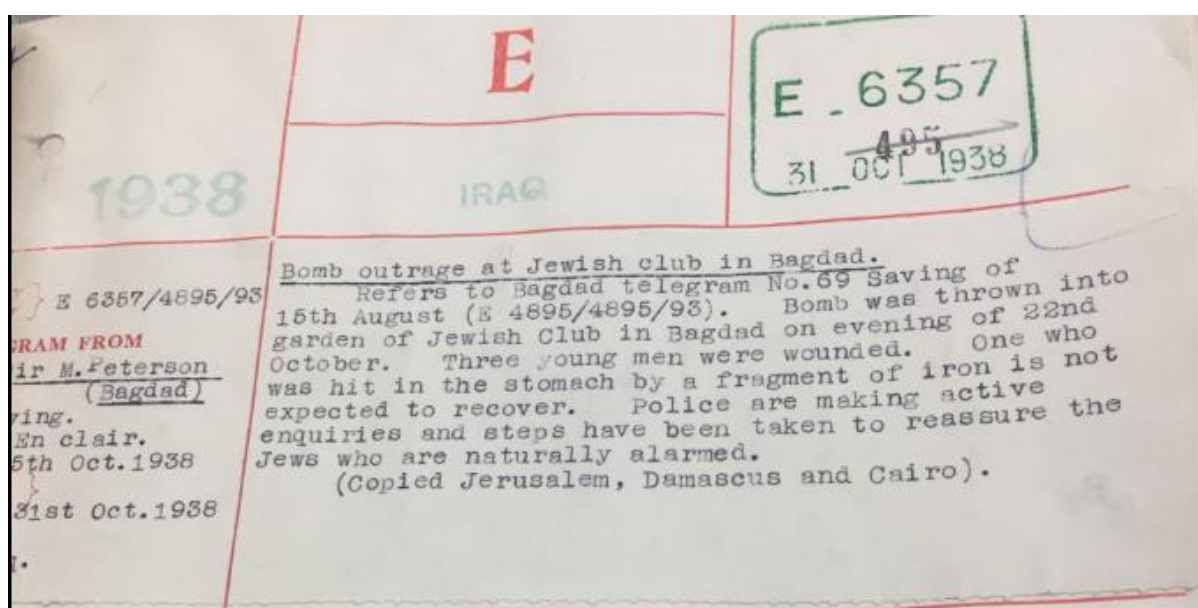
⁷⁵ <http://jewishrefugees.blogspot.co.uk/2006/04/iraqi-muslims-threw-1951-synagogue.html>

'If the United Nations decided on a solution to the Palestine problem that was not 'satisfactory' to the Arabs, severe measures should (would?) be taken against all Jews in Arab countries'.

As a source, Morris cites a file from the British archive, FO 371/61529. Suarez has ignored this file. Just as he ignored the next citation from Morris, also a British archive file (FO 371/75183) when discussing the Egyptian Foreign Ministers UN threat that:

'The lives of 1,000,000 Jews in Moslem countries would be jeopardised by the establishment of a Jewish state'.⁷⁶

Suarez claims that he spent five years visiting the archives. And yet he failed to access source files presented to him by a principal historian on whom he claims to have relied and that focused on a major element of his book. We accessed these files. **It is clear why Suarez might seek to avoid these files. What is not clear is why anybody would give any credence to anything Suarez has written.**



Strangely, Suarez found no evidence of anti-Jewish violence in the archive files. This from 1938, even before the Farhud (From file FO 371/21861).

⁷⁶ Morris, 1948 (page 412). Relying on two files from the British archive FO 371-61529 and FO 371-75183

10: The Mizrahi Baby Myth, UN Resolution 194 and Qibya

Thus far we have examined Suarez's blatantly mendacious and demonising treatment of some key events in the decade preceding the birth of the State of Israel in May 1948. These included the Evian Conference in 1938; the finding of a permanent home for Jewish DPs and orphans after the War; the departure of most of Iraq's Jews and the Farhud in 1941; and UN Resolution 181 and the civil strife in Palestine that preceded the establishment of the State.

However the book is full of many similar calumnies. It was never in our scope to factcheck every statement and every comment. But there is one reference to the State after May 1948 which cannot go unremarked. We have already remarked on the offensiveness of the false charge that after the War, *'Jewish orphans became targets of a formal kidnapping campaign.'* Incredibly, the *'kidnapping'* calumny is run forward in time, to the early years of the new State. On page 286 Suarez writes that:

'Israel kidnapped Mizrahi newborns, giving the babies to Ashkenazi couples and telling the children's parents that the child had died. This practice persisted at least through Israel's first decade. The final cynical irony of Israel's uprooting of Middle Eastern and North African Jews from their homelands is that the state now uses it as a racial 'settling of scores' for its own ethnic cleansing of Palestinians.'

The reference for this passage is in endnote #585. It is an article by Jonathan Cook in *Al Jazeera*, 5 August 2016. There is indeed evidence – some of which is contained in Cook's article – that in the early years of the State there were cases of children being taken away from their families to receive medical treatment without parental approval, proper documentation, and identification procedures. Families subsequently lost all trace of their loved ones, with deaths going unreported and children being put up for adoption after authorities claimed their families had disappeared. There **was** gross negligence, in the chaotic aftermath of very heavy immigration and of a new country with inadequate safeguards and formal procedures. Imagine the mistakes and individual incidents of abuse that would occur if the United Kingdom were suddenly to absorb tens of millions of refugees.

However, there is no evidence at all of a formal, state-sponsored 'kidnapping', as alleged by Suarez⁷⁷. Even Jonathan Cook –well-known for his hostility to Israel⁷⁸ - does not allege that. The reporting of the Yemenite children affair dates back to a series of Haaretz articles in the early 1990s⁷⁹. Recently (August 2016) *Haaretz* revealed that Ashkenazi babies went missing as well⁸⁰. **So Cook's suggestion of a racist motive is unfounded.** More likely it is an element of prejudice against new immigrants, together with the immense demographic and logistical pressures. Also important is to update what Cook says about the disclosure of the documents associated with the three official inquiries into the affair of the missing children. Cook says (in line with the recommendation of the third inquiry, the Kedmi inquiry, which reported in 2001) that the documents would not be publicly

⁷⁷ <http://www.timesofisrael.com/new-data-on-yemenite-children-shows-gross-negligence-but-not-state-sponsored-kidnappings/>

⁷⁸ <http://elderofziyon.blogspot.com/2010/02/todays-hypocrisy-by-jonathan-cook.html>

⁷⁹ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/yemenite-children/1.2939180>

⁸⁰ <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.736574> In fact Suarez cites this article in endnote #428.

available until 2071. In June 2016, Prime Minister Netanyahu appointed Tzachi Hanegbi to re-examine the evidence in the three previous inquiries. The findings were published in June 2017 and in November 2016 the Cabinet decided to make all the documents publicly available⁸¹.

It seems that true to form, Suarez is using an isolated incident to imply 'state sponsorship'. If there is a case of a child being abused in an NHS hospital, it does not follow that it is NHS policy, nor that it is a government-sponsored action. This however, is the cynical logic that Suarez employs throughout the book.

Another post-State point concerns UN Resolution 194 (December 1948). Suarez suggests that this Resolution gave unqualified right to Arab refugees to return home. That is plain wrong⁸². Resolution 194 recommended that refugees be allowed to return to their homeland if they met two important conditions:

1. That they be willing to live in peace with their neighbours
2. That the return takes place 'at the earliest practicable date'.

Then on page 291 Suarez cites Chris McGreal (2003) in support of a story about the rape of a Palestinian woman. Chris McGreal again has a history of false reports that traduce Israel. He achieved the rare distinction of being singled out by the CST (the British charity that protects the Jewish community) in their 2011 report on antisemitic discourse.

Also mentioned is a (later) Israeli attack on Qibya, in 1953.

Cited is file FO 371/104791. **But this file covers the year 1953 only; the alleged rape was in 1950.** It does cover the Qibya attack. Between 1952 and the day of the Qibya attack in 1953 the Jordan courts convicted 3524 people of infiltration into Israel. Moreover an attack on Yahuda (nr Libya) provoked the attack on Qibya: A hand grenade was thrown into a house killing a woman and 2 children.

On page 276 Suarez quotes from Israel Archives, saying that the Israeli Foreign Ministry said the fleeing of Arabs would reduce the refugees to '*a human heap, the scum of the earth*'. But Suarez does not tell us who said it. It is perfectly possible that the Foreign Ministry kept a record of a statement made by someone not connected with government.

⁸¹ <http://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Israel-makes-public-200000-documents-on-missing-Yemenite-children-476742>

⁸² <http://www.mythsandfacts.org/conflict/10/resolution-194.pdf>

11: The Absentee Landlords

Suarez deals with the issue of Jewish land purchase (page 29). He speaks of absentee landlords and suggested the sales violated 'historic norms' and 'modern norms'. Aside from this subjective, personal and unreferenced condemnation of legal land sales, he goes on to suggest Arabs were left (having had the land sold by their absentee landlords) '*living in caves*' (page 30). The relevant endnote is #30.

Endnote #30 refers to a 1917 T.E Lawrence letter and one relevant file from the National Archives, CO 733/272/12.

The CO 733/272/12 file is about land sales, but does not in any way support Suarez's assertions. This is not to say that absentee land sales did not happen, but if Suarez read this file (as he claims) then he would be fully aware that his comments on the subject are somewhat misplaced.

For example, on page 31 Suarez speaks of small land-owning farmers (as opposed to absentee landlords) suggesting the motivation for some of their land sales was 'to pay off debts'. The sole reference to this in the relevant end note (#34) was again the CO 733/272/12 document.

But if Suarez is reliant on this file for both claims, then he has been highly selective in his reading of material in the file.

Most of the file is about small farmers (not absentee landlords) and profit-seeking due to the high prices the Jews had to pay for land.

For example, a letter from the Supreme Muslim Council of Jerusalem – dated 27 December 1934 - speaks of '*Owners who at present are finding employment otherwise*' and the worry is they will become unemployed if the economy runs into difficulty.

A letter from the 'International Hebrew Alliance', dated 13 March 1935, is also interesting. It speaks of having purchased 2000 dunams (494 acres) directly from the Mayor of Gaza. It goes on to complain that despite buying the property and paying a 25% deposit, the Mayor then sold it a second time - at a higher price.

Then there is the main analysis within the file that suggests the high prices (rather than debts) are '*making it difficult for *the small* Arab landowner to "resist the temptation to sell"*'.

It speaks of the 'industrialisation' of these Arab landowners, who are selling the land and moving to the city to work. It also explains that some are not seeking work, but rather living on the proceeds, with the worry when the money is all gone, they will have 'neither land nor work'.

It informs us that in 1920, after restrictions were placed on land sales, the opposition that led to its repeal '*emanated primarily from Arabs*'.

In a letter from the High Commissioner to Palestine, land sales in 1933 are quantified. 37,000 dunams were bought by Jews, in 673 transactions. Of these 606 were for land of less than 100 dunams. This means almost all the transactions were small landowner farmers and not absentee landlords.

Land sale figures in 1934 were significantly higher. 62,000 dunams purchased. 1178 transactions. 1116 of these were small farmers.

An example is given of the village of al-Qubab (near Ramle). A letter within the file (ref CF/15/35) describes 95 small land owners that had sold land to Jews severely reducing the amount of land they still hold. Some families no longer had any land left. None of this has anything to do with absentee landlords. In a single year, these families sold 1036 dunams.

This data further allows us to shed further light on anti-Israel revisionism. When one researches the town al-Qubab, it appears on the 'Palestine *Remembered*' website as depopulated in 1948⁸³ In the 'land ownership' section, the website only has 861 dunams being under Jewish ownership. Given 1036 dunams were purchased in a single year, it seems unlikely the listing (that promotes the 'Nakba') is accurate.

All of this is in the single file Suarez accessed – the one he uses to reference absentee landlords.

It does **not** mean that absentee landlords did not sell land, but we have established that within the source Suarez used, this was not the primary concern - **and contrary evidence is presented**.

This is yet another example of Suarez cherry-picking. Again – he has accessed a file with the intention of finding material to support his propaganda exercise. He ignores any material that counters the propaganda message. This is a clear example of such a strategy. Almost all the material within the referenced file spoke of one message. None of that message was mentioned in the book. In fact, a counter story was promoted - one not visible in the file referenced.

⁸³ <http://www.palestineremembered.com/al-Ramla/al-Qubab/SatelliteView.html>

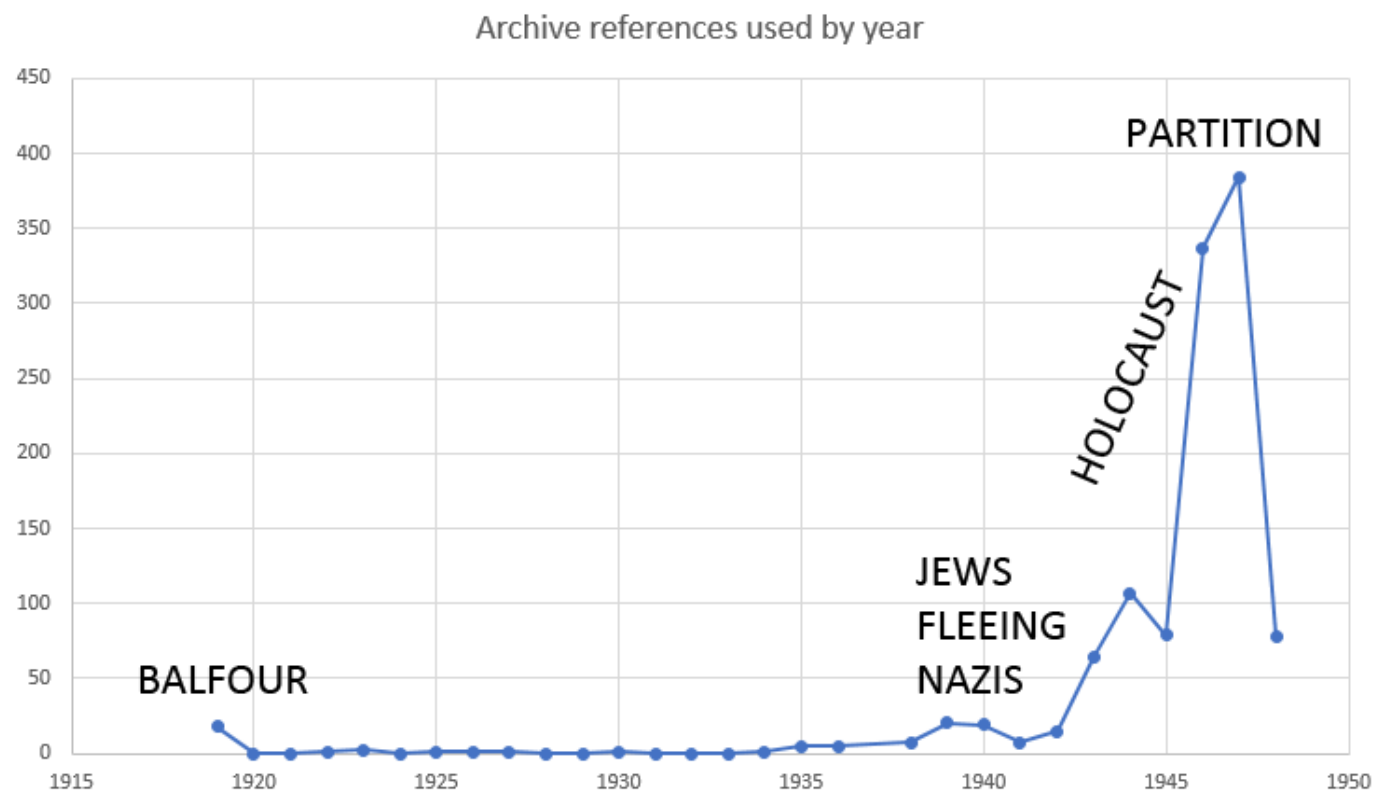
12: The Non-Neutrality of Suarez's Source Selection

We conducted a simple test. For each archive file that Suarez accessed, we noted the year which it described. If a file was used more than once, we included it as often as it was cited. Ten mentions of a 1947 file equals 10 references from 1947.

We wanted to see if Suarez was overly dependent on the years during which we know that Zionist activity was relatively violent (in response to the refugees, during the civil war and so on). In theory, if the Suarez version of a pre-planned and pro-active violent Zionist narrative was correct, then the distribution of the files Suarez accessed would be relatively even across the years.

Rather than see an overwhelming number of citations as the British closed the doors to Jewish refugees, or as civil war exploded before the British departed, there would be new information coming from years not associated with a defensive Jewish position.

The graph entirely supports the historic truth.



More importantly, Suarez has not used the archives at all when violence has been used against Jews. There are virtually no references to anything between 1920 and 1935; almost no detailing of the violent uprising that was to see the Irgun turn from a defensive to offensive group.

Suarez seems to have been very selective in his use of the archive, focusing solely on the years that would support his calumnies. Accessing the files of late 1947 / early 1948 over 400 times, does nothing but list Zionist actions as a response to the violent Arab rejection of partition. Accessing archives only from the late 1930s shows Zionist action as a response to the tragedy unfolding in

Europe. Then choosing only to describe half of the conflict, by deliberately evading Arab violence, presents a totally skewed narrative.

If the Zionists were scheming and plotting all along, then there would be few spikes as a reaction to events. If the Suarez narrative were even partially true, the chart would not appear so skewed.

The graph shows that Suarez has entirely stacked the evidence in his favour.

Suarez claims that his book was meticulously researched. But 39% (48) of the references in the bibliography are not mentioned in the endnotes. And 41% (178) of the 430 archive files (which he lists) are not mentioned either. Whilst it is normal for one or two key readings to appear in the bibliography but remain uncited in the text, levels of 40% suggest these lists at the back may have been artificially inflated to impress.

A further breakdown of the remaining 59%, shows that the vast majority (74%) of the citations from them relate to files dated between 1943 and 1948. The years when the pressure of migration to Palestine was at its height, due of course to the flight from the deathcamps in Nazi Europe. And the years when British resistance to migration was at its strongest.

Just three files, focusing on late 1947, early 1948 - WO 275/121, WO 275/79 and CO 733/477/3 **feature** 134 times. Approximately 10% of all file citations. The graph above leaves little doubt. The inevitable conclusion is that **Suarez has crudely cherry-picked the source material, with the explicit aim of putting the worst possible gloss on Zionism, prior to the establishment of the State.**

This though does not explain away the disgraceful errors consistently found in the book. If Suarez was merely a sloppy researcher, and all the hundreds of errors in the book were accidental, then one would expect an even spread of errors between those that favour Israel, those that do not and those that are neutral. Clearly that is not the case. **Every single error we found has the result of further demonising Israel.** The conclusion is inescapable.

It was remembered that Benny Morris may have used this argument in a dissection of Ilan Pappé. Morris was contacted and confirmed that mistakes tending in one direction is a '*tell*'.⁸⁴ Morris also places emphasis on what is used and how it is used. In his opinion, the expert reviewers are to be heeded. Simply grabbing at files in an archive is done with an intent to reinforce a previous conviction - and not to investigate.

We can also examine his choice of which source to use and when. The *Patria* incident providing a perfect example of how Suarez ignores those in possession of the most reliable material, in favour of whichever argument permits him to make further attacks on Zionists (see page 27 of this report).

Suarez relies on other anti-Zionist activists to provide key source material. Hanna Braun for example. Braun saw snow from Akko in summer, and produced a fascinating autobiography detailing several internal fights with her own demons. Yet Suarez uses Braun as a major source of reliable information at key points in his book.

Perhaps a better example is Grodzinsky. Suarez writes several pages using Grodzinsky as the primary source for much of his description of Zionist activity in post-war Europe. Yet Grodzinsky is not an expert in this field. Nor is Grodzinsky a historian. **What Grodzinsky is - that places him as a 'preferred supplier' of knowledge for Suarez - is an anti-Zionist activist.**

⁸⁴ Email exchange, Collier-Morris, August 2017

In 2002, Grodzinsky was even writing for *Electronic Intifada*. On 10 April 2002 he wrote a report supporting the suggestion of a massacre in Jenin. *'At least 100 Palestinian fighters are reported dead. No numbers regarding civilian casualties are available, although I imagine that these are significant'*.⁸⁵ The tale of a massacre was a myth. Apparently, the sources that he relied on for that information were not so trustworthy.

In analysing Grodzinsky's work, Professor Elhanan Yakira has suggested that he *'refuses to consider the work of Zionist historians, who he mentions only as opponents to be refuted, never as sources of reliable knowledge'*. He goes on to suggest that Grodzinsky's book *'does not measure up to the most basic of historical writing'*, adding that Grodzinsky *'makes up for the lack of real historical analysis with semi literary descriptions in which much that is imaginary is combined with bits of factual information'*.⁸⁶

Yakira suggests that the main contribution of Grodzinsky's book is the discussion of the 1948 conscription of DPs, which ironically Suarez didn't even use, probably because the underlying tale of a desperate civil conflict in Palestine was too close to factual history for him. Yakira also suggests Grodzinsky (like Suarez) was just *'grabbing at archives'*.⁸⁷

These, though, are the experts upon whom Suarez relies, while discarding all counter-opinion. Rather than turn to those who have spent their adult lives researching and writing about specific historical episodes, Suarez prefers activists who have written politically-slanted work.

For the most part though, when trying to put together the carefully selected pieces, Suarez completely fails to understand the connection between Jews and Israel. Allowing the opinion of a tiny minority of anti-Zionist Jews to so cloud his vision, he was capable of 'tweeting' this just a few days ago.



It is common among 21st century antisemites on the liberal left to claim that Judaism and Zionism are entirely separate. It is a fundamental error that allows for antisemitic ideologies to flourish in the discussion over the Israel /Arab conflict. **At no point in this research did the methods employed by Suarez ever indicate anything other than an attempt to create another antisemitic narrative.**

⁸⁵ See <https://electronicintifada.net/content/jenin-palestinian-masada/3747> for Grodzinsky's report. In the initial days following heavy fighting in Jenin, several Palestinian outlets claimed between several hundred and several thousand casualties. Anti-Israel activists, such as Grodzinsky, promoted the massacre story. In the end, all were shown to be false. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Jenin

⁸⁶ *Op cit*, page 130

⁸⁷ Several academics in Israel were contacted about Grodzinsky's historicity. Including Prof. Elhanan Yakira, Prof. Dan Michman & Prof. Tuvia Friling. We thank them for their assistance.

But as Paul Johnson wrote⁸⁸:

'What strikes the historian surveying antisemitism worldwide over more than two millennia is its fundamental irrationality. It seems to make no sense, any more than malaria or meningitis makes sense. In the whole of history, it is hard to point to a single occasion when a wave of antisemitism was provoked by a real Jewish threat (as opposed to an imaginary one)..... An experienced antisemite constantly looks for "evidence" to confirm his idée fixe, and invariably finds it—just as a Marxist, looking for "proof," constantly uncovers events that confirm his diagnosis of how the world works.'

The obvious question is why a violinist - whose previous books were about early maps – should spend a significant part of his life wilfully penning such a dishonest, antisemitic fraud of a book. Only Suarez's conscience can provide an answer; we can only surmise. Thus Suarez finds 'evidence' that Zionists 'kidnapped' Jewish orphans, 'coerced' DPs and needed Iraqi Jews simply as 'demographic fodder'.

Anthony Julius and Deborah Lipstadt recently wrote a brilliant column in *The Times* about antisemitism⁸⁹. Such was the enormity of the Holocaust – they said - that we have forgotten about the 'pre-Holocaust diversity of antisemites. There any many species in the antisemitic bestiary.'

⁸⁸ <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-anti-semitic-disease/>

⁸⁹ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/theres-a-hidden-hate-for-jews-np2jdvwgz>

13: Conclusion

In the Introduction (page 5) three central aims were set down for this research.

- **It sought to assess whether Suarez has drawn the correct message from the source documents.**

There can be little doubt, given the overwhelming evidence presented, that Suarez has completely distorted the message of source documents. Further - in some cases he has inverted the explicit message contained therein.

- **It sought to identify examples of facts in the source documents being ignored, if they do not suit his argument.**

In almost every file examined, Suarez had used the strategy of omission. Facts that clearly contradicted the message he wished to convey were simply skipped over.

- **It sought to identify assertions unsupported by source material.**

The book is littered with unsupported assertions.

All three of these transgressions were found in abundance in the text. At the end, research was stopped only because of the report deadline, with dozens of suspect passages still unchecked. *State of Terror* was placed under the research microscope and quickly proved to be **a historical fraud**.

In the text, Suarez stops at nothing to dehumanise Zionists. National Archives are selectively quoted and even the extracts that are used are sliced and diced to cook up a fraud on the reader. He even quotes sources which contradict him. If any Jewish Zionist said or did anything negative throughout the entire period between 1917 and 1948, Suarez portrays it as perpetrated by **all** Zionists, calling it '*Zionist policy*'. It is a highly racist strategy and when discussing the Holocaust, it becomes sickeningly offensive.

Suarez never chooses the best source for the episode on which he is focusing. When researching Hagana intentions on the *Patria*, he preferred the UK National Archives over Israeli historians with access to the Israeli Archive. When researching child refugees on their way to the UK, he relied on an anti-Zionist author in Israel, rather than the archives he used daily. **Excluding deliberate intent to choose the most damaging argument against Israel, this rationale makes no sense whatsoever.**

Like most anti-Zionist revisionist authors, Suarez only uses anti-Zionist opinion. He mentions Benny Morris, but then negates him, arguing (as only a fool would) that his own uninformed opinion holds more weight than that of the expert. Almost everyone he cites frequently (following an analysis of his bibliography) is a hardcore anti-Zionist. **He would rather rely on people who can see snow from Akko in summer, than on respected historians.**

Suarez neither reads nor uses his sources scrupulously. He grabs at files, extracting half quotes, twisting information, and delivering it in a manner that renders the result unrecognisable from the original content. Unlike a competent historian, he is unwilling or unable to contextualise a situation, bringing all sides to life in an attempt to create an image as close as possible to the likely truth.

If Suarez was merely a sloppy researcher, and all the hundreds of errors in the book accidental, one would expect an even spread of errors between those that favour Israel, those that do not and those

that are neutral. Clearly that is not the case. **Every single error has the result of further demonising Israel.** It is impossible to escape the inevitable conclusion. The book is a historical fraud.

Yet the central issue is deeper than simply wishing to demonise a nation. **Suarez has an issue with its people.**

The book fits into the antisemitic template to a tee. Zionists become dehumanised, amorphous monsters who '*hijack*' Judaism, '*kidnap*' Jewish orphans and '*coerce*' displaced persons in order to boost the population of Palestine, whether they want to go or not.

Zionists are portrayed as people who do not care about the Jews persecuted in Germany, but just want their money; who need Jews from Iraq simply as *cannon and demographic fodder*; and who are heartless *Untermenschen*, for whom the murder of two-thirds of Europe's Jews is a matter of complete indifference.

Suarez does not care about the Jewish DPs. For him they are just tools with which to attack other Jews. When these Holocaust survivors are stranded on the beaches of Haifa, rather than suggest Britain should have allowed them entry, Suarez condones their forced removal to Mauritius.

He uses these Jews to fight a battle: Not against the Nazis, not against those keeping them in the camps, not against those forbidding them entry to Palestine - **Suarez uses them to attack other Jews.** Suarez even implies that were it not for Zionists, World War Two may have been avoided.

Suarez even stoops to questioning the actions of a survivor of Dr Mengele's horrifying Nazi experiments, when the account contradicts his drive to demonise Zionist leaders.

And here is the thing. We do not know if Yossi Peled's mother was a moderate Zionist, a revisionist, or a member of the Labour Bund. She was attacked for reasons unrelated to her political persuasion. And the Jewish Soldier in 1919 attacked by Suarez; his drunkenness was taken as a sign that he must be a Zionist.

Suarez engaged in a demonising attack on every Jew celebrating after Resolution 181, regardless of political ideology. Every Holocaust survivor that lands on Haifa's beach - breaking free from the camps - is painted with the same brush. They become demonic figures willing to let their family members die for whatever point Suarez is trying to prove at the time.

In our conclusion there is no doubt whatsoever that *State of Terror* is a deeply antisemitic book. It is firmly in the tradition of that genre of literature that demonises Jews, Israel and Zionists. **In our view, it is an antisemitic fraud and a deliberate creation.**

The first step in confronting antisemitism is to recognise it. We hope - at least - to have achieved that.

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Appendix

Archives we read:

ADM 116/3690	FO 371/68364 (not accessed by Suarez)
CAB 128/2/2 (not accessed by Suarez)	FO 371/68365 (not accessed by Suarez)
CAB 129/21 *	FO 371/68366 (not accessed by Suarez)
CO 141/14284	FO 371/68504 *
CO 141/14286	FO 371/68648 *
CO 537/1705 *	FO 371/68649 *
CO 537/3855	FO 371-75183 (not accessed by Suarez)
CO 733/182/6 (not accessed by Suarez)	FO 371/80273 *
CO 733/203	FO 608/99 *
CO 733/272/12	FO 800/487
CO 733/275/4	KV 5/29
CO 733/415/4	KV 5/34 *
CO 733/446/4	WO 169/148 *
CO 733/455/6 (not accessed by Suarez)	WO 169/4334
CO 733/457/12	WO 208/1705 *
FCO 141/14286 *	WO 261/571 *
FCO 141/8742	WO 261/573
FCO 371/104791	WO 275/121 (not accessed by Suarez)
FO 1093/330 *	WO 275/64
FO 371/27099 (not accessed by Suarez)	WO 275/65
FO 371/27861 (not accessed by Suarez)	
FO 371-61529 (not accessed by Suarez)	

*Extract available on paldocs.net (accessed 20 August 2017)