

## **Nakba – Not Genocide**

**Yair Auron**

**GPN ORIGINAL**

*Editor's Note: Introduction including an Interview of Yair Auron*

*The following original essay in English is taken from the material in a forthcoming pace-setting book in Hebrew, and I will add from my knowledge of life in Israel that this will also prove to be a courageous book as has been characteristic of Yair Auron in so much of his professional work in genocide studies. The book (288 pages) is entitled, "The Shoah, Rebirth and the Nakba," and will be published by Resling Publishers in the coming months.*

*Auron describes the book as seeking to analyze events that took place in Israel in 1948 – at the time of the founding of Israel and the War of Independence. The work is, in Auron's words, "critical of the narrative" created from that time and proposes a new version of the trilogy, "Shoah, Redemption, and Nakba," concepts that are intertwined with one another. Auron emphasizes that "the circumstances of 1948 for the Jewish community in Palestine and the State of Israel thereafter, were a battle for its very existence."*

*In the process the Israeli community and the State of Israel sponsored narratives and myths that were directly tied to the Shoah and Redemption and the connection between them, and these concepts shaped the Israeli experience for several generations. However, Auron emphasizes that these narratives and myths that were passed on from generation to generation also include a great many "black holes": "The State of Israel tries to prevent open discussion of different narratives and does*

*not allow any alternative other than its official one, and this official narrative in effect obscures and denies the very occurrence of the Nakba.”*

*Aaron emphasize that the Palestinians bear a heavy responsibility for the tragedy that befell them in 1948 beginning with the clear cut fact that “they are the ones who started the war.” But he goes on to say that, “We Jews-Israelis also have a share in the tragedy that took place for the Palestinian community. We played a massive role in the expulsion of Palestinians. We executed massacres, we carried out the Nakba. But, we did not commit genocide.”*

*Always concerned with the futures of both the Israeli people and the Palestinians, Aaron insists that both must recognize the tragedy of one another – even as once again he notes that there is no symmetry between the two. Without such mutual recognition, he says, “there is no possibility of peace ... recognizing the mutual tragedies is a necessary though not sufficient condition for peace.”*

*Painfully and provocatively, Aaron says that the Holocaust was “present” in Israel in 1948. He then asks whether and to what extent the Holocaust influenced the attitude of Jewish-Israeli fighters, the native Israelis and the new immigrants who were Holocaust survivors just arriving in Israel. He dares to ask, “To what extent did the Holocaust, teach the language of power in the conduct of war – ‘life or death,’ ‘only with power,’ ‘power will answer all.’ Alternatively, was the Holocaust a guide that taught the limitations of power, and taught humanism and the value of human life, and that there are forbidden acts even during a war?”*

*While raising heartfelt questions that echo and resonate in all of our lives to this day as to how much power should be used in legitimate self-defense, Aaron emphasize and re-emphasizes that the War of Independence was a war of survival for the Jewish-Israeli people.*

*-Israel W. Charny*

## **Nakba – Not Genocide**

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This article is based on certain aspects of the book *The Holocaust, Rebirth, and the Nakba* to be published by Resling publishing, Tel Aviv.

The questions discussed in the book arose in the year 2000 at the highest level negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. The controversy revolved around the questions of the refugees and the territories. These issues are long-standing and remain unresolved. The consequences of the Nakba (Palestinian tragedy of 1948) have been far-reaching. The argument shows no sign of abating and remains as emotive as ever. Among both national groups there are circles, apparently not so small, that exaggerate their positions and often employ a policy of "either us or them." Examples of this occurred during the events commemorating the Nakba that took place this year, 2012.

At Tel Aviv University an assembly was planned by Jews and Arabs. After various attempts to prevent it from being held, including an intervention by Education Minister Gideon Sa'ar ("Likud"), the assembly eventually took place on May 14, 2012 outside the university compound by the entrance gate. Hundreds of Arab and Jewish students attended the event and read an alternative "Yizkor" prayer (traditional memorial prayer). Opposing them was a demonstration of hundreds of right wing supporters. During the ceremony there was a chorus of boos along with calls of "Death to terrorists" and "We brought the Nakba on you" - - the last chant in particular shows cynicism and cruelty. Before the ceremony a heated discussion had taken place at the Knesset Education Committee. The Chair of the Education Committee, MK Alex Miller ("Israel Beitenu"), who initiated the discussion, condemned the ceremony and warned, "Today there is 'Yizkor' for Nakba casualties and tomorrow there will be 'Yizkor' for Nazi soldiers." During the discussion there were harsh exchanges between Arab and right wing MKs.<sup>1</sup> That week Haifa University distributed a press release in which the university announced that "It

won't be allowed to hold an event in the university to commemorate Nakba day," apparently out of fear that budgets from the Education Ministry might be harmed.<sup>2</sup>

***The present book was written in an attempt to analyze certain aspects of the events which occurred in Israel in 1948. It refers to the narratives that were created as a result. It attempts to offer a new interpretive reading to the triangle – Holocaust, Rebirth (revival) and Nakba as connected to one another. It intends to present the facts as accurately as possible, and interpret them critically. What happened in Israel-Palestine in 1948 has critical and lasting consequences for the Jewish people, for the Palestinians, for the entire Middle East, and to a considerable degree also global human society and international policy as a whole. Undoubtedly, it also has long term moral implications concerning the meaning of armed conflicts wherever they may be.***

The Holocaust on the one hand and the establishment of the State of Israel on the other are shaping, revolutionary, world-changing events that dramatically changed the Jewish people as well as the Middle East: The Jews won their battle for survival but at the same time the Arab world was humiliated and defeated – the memory of which has remained intact over the years. Palestinian society was struck down, and a majority of Palestinians lost their homes and possessions, went into exile and became refugees. Nakba has become a crucial event for the Palestinians.

In 1948 the situation for the Jewish population, for the Zionist leadership, and later on for the State of Israel, were "impossible" in many ways. At least during the first months of the war, it was a life-or-death struggle for existence. Israeli society and the State of Israel nurtured constructive narratives and myths related to the Holocaust and rebirth that shaped the reality of Israeli society and consciousness for several generations – "Holocaust and Rebirth," "From Holocaust to Rebirth," "Thanks to the Holocaust, the State was established," and myths of heroism during the Holocaust and the War of Independence. However, in the narratives and myths that Israel has nurtured, as well as the research and knowledge we pass on to our children regarding that year and that war, there are many "black holes" that we seek

to avoid – don't want, cannot or are afraid to see. They touch the frayed nerves of the Jews after the Holocaust, and what is perceived by many Israelis as a continuation of the struggle for survival and existence, a struggle that they believe has not ended.

Nations have a necessity to develop narratives that are not necessarily identical to historical truth. In fact, most of us Israeli Jews, being encouraged by our state institutions, are denying hard facts regarding what happened to the Arabs in Israel during 1948. The fact that more than sixty years after the events Israel officially rejects and denies historical facts and uses Knesset laws to prohibit teaching and commemorating these events calls for further investigation. The State of Israel is trying to prevent a discourse of various narratives, and to disable any narrative other than the official narrative. This official narrative includes much denial of the occurrence of the Nakba. It is an effort to prevent cracks in the monolithic national story we want to tell ourselves.

Palestinians in Israel and abroad use heavy terminology in relation to their tragedy, beginning with their use of the term "Nakba," which means "disaster" or "catastrophe," to explain what had happened to them in 1948. (They use the word "Alkrisa" for the Jewish Holocaust). Many Palestinians protest against the fact that the subject of the "Nakba" is hardly taught at Israeli schools, including the Arab schools in Israel which also teach very little about the Palestinian suffering, while teaching much more about the Holocaust.

More than 400 Arab villages were evacuated in 1948, and hundreds of thousands of their inhabitants became refugees. The Arab inhabitants of 11 cities emptied of most or all of their Arab inhabitants. Estimates of the number of refugees are not consistent. According to Noga Kadman, Israeli sources estimated the number at 520,000, Arab sources said the number was 900,000.<sup>3</sup> Benny Morris argued that the number was 600,000 to 760,000 refugees.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to their disappearance from the landscape, these villages were pushed aside to the margins of the Israeli discourse. This was done by deleting or changing the Arab names of the villages into Hebrew names, deleting or blurring their identity on the map, ignoring them and the circumstances of their uprooting in the information provided at touristic sites, and accepting their disestablishment through the establishment of Jewish settlements in their place.

At the basis of these deletion operations is most probably an ideology of "Judaization," which significantly affects the consciousness of the state's citizens and the enduring Israeli narrative. However, perhaps as a reaction, it seems that in recent years the beginnings of an alternative discourse have started to develop within the Israeli Jewish society regarding shaping memory, and a space is now becoming more open for Nakba commemoration events.

We destroyed villages, and planted forests that often hid and covered the ruins of Palestinian villages. The fire that breaks out in the story "Facing the Forest" by A. B. Yehoshua, written in 1963<sup>5</sup> at the Forest Observatory, discovers an Arab village, "then our forest cover, shall we say, a destroyed village... "a village? a small village"...the village hidden under the trees." Now out of the smoke, out of the mist rises in front of him the small village ..."<sup>6</sup>. Indeed, this is a fictional story, but a story may have important historical significance, and can teach us about historical reality.

### **The Sense of Being a Victim is Common to Both Jewish and Palestinian Societies**

Along with emphasizing the differences between the Holocaust and the Nakba, it is important to remember that both in the Arab-Israeli society, as in the Jewish-Israeli society, the sense of victimhood is a significant component of self-identity. Regardless of the historical facts of both events and the differences between them, the two national groups consider these tragedies to be formative events of their national identity and consciousness. Palestinians are partially responsible for the disaster that happened in 1948 – they started a war and then were joined by the Arab states. But we, the Israeli Jews, also had a part in that disaster that took place –

we took part in a massive deportation, sometimes carried out massacres, and then we categorically refused to allow the return of refugees.

An essential question is whether or not and to what extent did the Holocaust influence the conduction of the war and the attitudes of Jewish-Israeli fighters – those born in Israel and new immigrants – to the Palestinians. The question is whether the Holocaust "taught" Israeli fighters a language of force in a war of survival – "only by force," "power is the answer to everything." Alternatively to what extent might the Shoah have been a guide instructing about the limitations of power, encouraging humanism and respect for the value of human life, even during war?

I remember well once when I was invited to give a lecture to teachers in Arab high schools who were on the eve of a learning trip to Turkey. I was asked to speak on the Armenian Genocide. After a few minutes a teacher raised her hand and requested to ask: "What about us?" I did not understand the question and what she meant, and I asked her to explain. She said: "What about what happened to us?" and began to elaborate on what she saw as the "Palestinian Genocide." I was shocked and it was very difficult for me to go on talking about the Armenian Genocide - I now wanted to talk about the Nakba.

Since then I have frequently heard the claims of "Palestinian Genocide" or even "Palestinian Holocaust" from Palestinians – in Israel, in the West Bank and elsewhere, as well as from several academics in the world, and sometimes even from Jews.

To Palestinians I try to answer: We committed a lot of injustices, massacres and horrible atrocities; and you also committed massacres and used harsh measures against us in 1948. But what we did is not genocide. I want to do whatever I can, to know the full facts and fight in my country for recognition of all that happened in 1948, not just because it is your right, but also because it is our duty. But when you

use the term "Palestinian Genocide," you unfortunately distance us from you and your struggle.

### **Nakba – Not Genocide**

There is no doubt that in recent years there has been an increasing use of the terms "ethnic cleansing" and "genocide" used in relation to the occurrences in Israel in 1948. An example is Ilan Pappé's book about 1948, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, published in 2006.<sup>7</sup>

In my opinion, the use of these terms will increase even more, both outside and inside academic institutions, due to the fact that the question of Israel and the refugees has remained unresolved for 65 years, and because some see the acts of settlement in the occupied territories as acts of genocide or acts of a genocidal nature. In addition there has been growing academic concern with European colonialism as a generator of genocide, and in this context there are those who also raise the history of the land of Israel in the 19th and 20th centuries, culminating in 1948.

When the Nakba is defined as genocide, those who advocate Palestinian arguments set the Palestinian Genocide against our Israeli narrative and myths. As a result political tension tends to increase without necessarily shedding more light on the situation.

The IDF (Israel Defense Forces) did not commit acts of genocide in 1948, but I fear that such accusations are likely to increase in the future, spreading around the world with far-reaching implications. A reliable research study could perhaps reduce the intensity of such accusations.

The Holocaust is an extreme event of harm to human life and rights. Indifference to the suffering of others endangers the very existence of human society. Hard cases of genocide of course occurred before and after the Holocaust, but it seems that the Holocaust may be the greatest moral failure known to mankind.

The relationship between the Holocaust and genocide is not discussed in this book. There are differences of opinion among scholars and politicians who argue whether the relationship between the Holocaust and genocide is hierarchical (vertical) or horizontal. Personally I don't believe in creating a hierarchy of victims' suffering.

Despite my harsh criticisms of the Israeli side, I wish to deny the argument that Israel committed genocide in 1948. It's important for me to say it clearly and loudly: Israel sought to drive out Palestinians (many of them), but not to kill them.

I do not intend to go into a detailed discussion about definitions of genocide, or the defining characteristics and motivations of genocide. According to the UN Convention of 1948, genocide is defined as any of several acts "committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part" a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. However different researchers have different definitions of the phenomenon. For both theoretical and practical reasons, the attempt to define the act of genocide is always complicated and frustrating and difficult to implement for the purpose of punishment (for example, when does the massacre "end" and genocide "begin"?) It seems that the issue of definition will never be fully resolved.

In Israel of 1948 there were several features that contradict the possibility of Israelis committing genocide:

- A. The Israeli Arabs are those who launched an attack on Israel after rejecting various options for compromise. The Arab countries then joining the war placed Israel in a critical struggle for survival, and only after several weeks of bloody fighting Israel managed to get out of it and emerge victorious.
- B. On the Israeli side there was no intention to destroy in whole or in part any ethnic, religious, national or race group (a required condition for the definition of genocide). The Israelis sought to expel the Arabs in several regions of Israel, but not to kill them.

- C. Generally the balance of power in the case of genocide is of absolute or almost absolute superiority for the perpetrator. In 1948 the balance of power was such that in early stages of the fighting the Arab forces had quantitative and qualitative advantage, and in later stages the battles were bloody for both sides.
- D. Racist ideology is not a necessary condition for genocide, although it is common in many cases of genocide. In 1948 there was much name-calling and condescension towards the Palestinians – "Arabushim," (a word of contempt relating to Arabs), "animals," "beasts" and so forth, but there was no racist ideology. Moreover, there were groups among the Jewish settlement in Palestine before 1948, such as "Hashomer," that expressed appreciation and sometimes even sought to imitate the Arab and especially the Bedouin lifestyle. Note that there is no doubt that there were also racist and sometimes severely racist attitudes towards the Jews amongst the Arabs, but this isn't our subject of discussion here.

The actual number of victims in acts of genocide does not have a critical significance in its definition. No number of victims determines whether it was genocide. Altogether, keep in mind that the number of Arab and Jewish victims wasn't large, relatively speaking (though – I emphasize – any number of victims is a "large" one). The number of Arab victims – both from Palestine and from other Arab nations, was about 8,000, and according to various estimates still larger. The number of Jewish victims was 6,500. In proportion to the size of the population the number of Jewish victims was larger, due to the fact that the Jewish population was smaller, and one percent of the Jewish population was killed in battle.

Both Edward Said and Ilan Pappé, as well as other Palestinian and Arab scholars accepted the occurrence of the Holocaust and fought against Holocaust denial. At the same time, Pappé accepted the definition of Said that the Palestinians are victims of the victims and that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a case of abused who became an abuser.<sup>8</sup> Pappé assumes that since Zionism was focused on the land of Israel, the quest for land dominated the mythology of the local population and created a chain of victimization.

As for me, I accept the fundamental and basic differences between the Holocaust and the Nakba. At the same time I insist that without mutual recognition of the tragedies of the two peoples – while accepting the difference between the cases – the long-awaited reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians will not occur. It is necessary to create profound educational settings where young people from both nations will learn and maintain a dialogue about the Holocaust and the Nakba.

### **The 1948 War of Independence Included Israeli Crimes of Violence**

During the Independence War about 20 to 30 prominent cases of atrocities and violations of the laws of war were perpetrated by IDF soldiers. Massacres, looting, rape, murder of prisoners did indeed occur, but it seems that such acts did not constitute the normative behavior of most IDF soldiers (Arab soldiers carried out similar actions as well).

We should see and understand the big picture in which the war occurred. The feeling was that this was a life-or-death struggle. The existential anxiety, the implications of the Holocaust and the fear of an Arab victory that could give a fatal blow to Jewish survival were significant factors that shaped the feelings of the fighters. The fierce and exhausting battles, the continuation of the war for nearly a year, the large number of Israeli casualties – one percent of the population, were difficult and very painful as well.<sup>9</sup>

But the IDF indeed committed war crimes. The "national poet," Nathan Alterman, wrote that in 1948 Israel "pushed aside in a murmur of necessity and revenge to the territory of war crimes." Ben-Gurion, who otherwise ignored the acts of injustice and deportation, warmly praised Alterman's poem. Israeli soldiers killed (murdered) prisoners (we do not know how many), carried out harsh massacres, for no good reason. There is no justifiable reason to do such things. Undoubtedly both sides executed unnecessary killings, but our concern here is the Israeli acts.

In my view, in 1948 the IDF soldiers committed acts of ethnic cleansing in certain areas of Israel – like the south, the coast and the Jerusalem corridor. The term ethnic cleansing is correctly applied to what happened in 1948 in areas from which the army attempted to “clear out” the Arabs. Expulsion of civilians is a war crime. In terms of international law, according to the Rome Statute, any change in the place of residence of a person should be done in accordance with his or her free will and consent. Therefore, some argue that forced eviction is a crime against humanity. The war of 1948 resulted from a harsh national conflict. Expulsion of the Palestinian population was a government policy and a strategic step. However, as I said, the main intention of ethnic cleansing is the expulsion of local civilians and not killing the population (although acts of ethnic cleansing often are accompanied also by killings and massacres).

Unfortunately there were some IDF soldiers who committed war crimes and crimes against humanity. With heavy heart we must admit that this is a harsh truth that shouldn't be denied, but this accusation, of course, is not applicable to the entire army

At the same time, another significant point is that the perpetrators of atrocities, massacres and rapes were not usually brought to trial, or if they were they were sentenced to minor penalties even for very serious acts.

For quite many Israelis, the killing of tied up captives and the murders of children desecrated the memory of the Holocaust and its victims. Those murders desecrated the universal significance of the Holocaust that asserts the equal value of human life and the sanctity of all human life.

Once we believed that the Holocaust was a crossroads in human history, the watershed; that following the greatest moral failure mankind has ever known, a disillusionment would come and lessons would be learned, as best expressed by the slogan "Never Again." Unfortunately, the world adopted the slogan but not the meaning. Acts of genocide have occurred again and again since the Holocaust, and

aggressiveness and cruelty dominate international policy. Today I understand that the Holocaust was not and is not a crossroads after which the world will not allow the recurrence of such events. Sadly too, the methods of struggle Israel has employed with the Palestinians since 1948 also have contributed to preventing the transformation of the Holocaust into a universal warning sign.

Therefore I find it hard to accept statements of some Israeli scholars that "we were extremely well behaved," in 1948 and "we won an important victory in human morality." Comparisons with Yugoslavia, Sudan, USSR and other examples are irrelevant in my opinion. Death is inevitable in war, but in wars, including ours, there are unnecessary killings which can be avoided and which shouldn't be instigated.

Another question that is unique to this study of the 1948 War of Independence is related to the proximity to time and circumstances between the Holocaust, the Rebirth, and the Nakba. Only three years passed between the time of the worst disaster which happened to the Jewish people and the most significant achievement of a sovereign state that was established during a war that ended in victory. Nonetheless, we dare not forget or deny that in this war the Nakba, the Palestinian catastrophe also took place.

### **Denials of the Nakba**

Acts of denial of crimes and massacres are commonly seen by various perpetrators. In recent decades we are witnessing denials of the Holocaust and other genocides that took place during World War II, denial of the Armenian Genocide, the Native American Genocide, the Genocide of Aborigines in Australia, and even the denials of acts of genocide occurring in the last decades of the twentieth century as with the genocides in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and in East Timor. While the Nakba is not in the category of these acts of genocide, it is certainly an ongoing trauma for the Palestinians, and attitudes of ignoring, silencing and denying the Nakba, by many Israelis and the State of Israel, harms not only the Palestinians but also Israelis. The approach of ignoring, denying and even punishing reference to the memory of the Nakba harms the State of Israel's democratic values and harms its Arab citizens. I

think that the acts of denial also harm the memory of the Holocaust, and that this damage could worsen due to our current aggressive behavior. The Nakba was a genuine disaster for the Palestinians. Non-recognition by the perpetrator preserves the trauma and does not allow it to heal.

Judith Lewis Herman, professor of clinical psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, published in 1992 a book *Trauma and Recovery* that was a landmark in the discussion regarding society's influence on a victim's ability to cope with psychological trauma – personal or collective. Herman writes among other things:

"The ordinary response to atrocities is to banish them from consciousness.... Atrocities, however, refuse to be buried. Equally as powerful as the desire to deny atrocities is the conviction that denial does not work..... Remembering and telling the truth about terrible events are prerequisites both for the restoration of the social order and for the healing of individual victims."<sup>10</sup>

In 1948 the Palestinian refugee question was born. The unequivocal decision not to allow their return after the war, not even of some of them, was a strategic decision with a long-term impact. The decision had the following main components:

- A. The purpose was to leave the army-controlled areas that IDF had conquered and would conquer empty of Palestinian population to prevent a security threat and appropriate lands... In these cases Palestinian houses were usually destroyed or burned.
- B. The purpose was to evacuate houses of Palestinians in order to enable dwellings for the refugee population that were arriving in Israel in those days. Recently arrived refugees often came to occupy the houses of those who recently left or were expelled and became refugees. The intent of the leadership, headed by Ben-Gurion, was that the Palestinians should be removed from their dwellings, so that survivors would be provided a place to

live. The Palestinians were doomed: they would be deported if they did not run away by themselves.

It was undoubtedly a situation with a difficult moral and very profound dilemma. Those who advocated expulsion of Palestinians seemed rarely to think over the moral question: Is it right to expel? Is it just to expel? We do not know what the Jewish refugees felt as they entered the houses of Palestinians who became refugees. Did they know? Were they aware of the meaning of the situation?

Two literary works in Hebrew that we discuss in detail in the book illustrate the dilemma and criticism. One is a somewhat hallucinatory description of Yoram Kaniuk in his book, "1948," on the takeover of the Jewish survivors of the Palestinians' houses that were recently evacuated. It is difficult and painful reading.<sup>11</sup> The second is Yizhar Smilansky's criticism in a novel telling the destruction of an Arab village and the expulsion of its citizens, "Hirbet Hiz'a." It is piercing and raises difficult questions.<sup>12</sup>

The deportation of refugees and the decision to refuse their return totally - not even a specified portion of them - had long-term consequences. Even during the deportations and during the discussions on the possibility of return at least of some of them, it was clear to the political and military leadership that as a result of this policy, the option of a future peace would be closed and blocked, that it would not be possible to make peace with the Palestinians and/or with the Arab states while there was no return possible for at least some of the refugees. Many such critical comments were made in Israeli society, but the policy of a 'firm hand' was stronger and prevailed.

There is no doubt that the Holocaust provoked a fighting spirit, and showed the soldiers that the war is indeed an unavoidable war, a war for one's very existence, a life-or-death fight. It seems that this effect applied not only to many Holocaust survivors who took part in the fighting but also soldiers born in Israel. In addition, elements of revenge were present not only within the Holocaust survivors but also in

those born in Israel. These were emotional needs for revenge that went beyond rational thinking of war's necessities.

We cannot say whether the Holocaust also strengthened decent moral values of some fighters, nourishing in them the humanistic values of equality and sanctity of human life.

### **Conclusion: The Sanctity of Human Life**

I think that the values of the sanctity of human life and equality in value of human life should be nurtured. Even during wars we should try to hold to these values as much as possible. Certainly we have to avoid killing or murdering innocent civilians, children, women and babies. The IDF did not apply these values under all the circumstances in 1948 (or since). When civilians, including women and children, are killed or murdered on purpose, the facts must be admitted, not suppressed, not denied or concealed. The acts should be condemned and the perpetrators punished. If states and armies follow this code of conduct, there will be less victims in future wars.

What happened in 1948 has implications that continue to this day. I think the decisions on the fate of the territories and refugees are the most significant ideological and moral decisions since the establishment of the State. Without realizing it, it is as if we have chosen to extend the Six Day War for 45 years.



**Yair Auron** is a professor in the field of genocide and contemporary Judaism at the Open University of Israel and the Kibbutzim College of Education.

*Professor Auron has published numerous books and essays, mainly on genocide and on Jewish identity in Israel and Europe. He is the author of books in Hebrew such as Between Paris and Jerusalem (Selected Passages of Contemporary Jewish Thought in France); Jewish-Israeli Identity; Sensitivity to World Suffering: Genocide in the 20th Century; and We*

Are All German Jews: Jewish Radicals in France During the 60s and 70s (*also in French*). His book *The Banality of Indifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide* was published in both Hebrew and English (Transaction Publishers, 2000). His book, *The Banality of Denial: Israel and the Armenian Genocide* was published in Hebrew and English (Transaction Publishers 2003).

Most recently, Auron is co-author of *A Perfect Injustice: Genocide and the Theft of Armenian Wealth* (Transaction Publishers, 2009) with Hrayr S. Karagueuzian. He is currently editing for the Open University a series of twelve books in Hebrew entitled *Genocide*, which includes theoretical volumes concerning the phenomenon of genocide as well as an analysis of case studies such as the Holocaust, the genocide of the Gypsies, the Armenian genocide and other historical and contemporary genocides such as Rwanda, Tibet and Indian population of the Americas. In this series, he published in 2009 *Reflections on the Inconceivable: Theoretical Aspects of Genocide Studies*, and in 2007 *The Armenian Genocide: Forgetting and Denying*. In 2006., His book *Genocide: So That I Will Not Be among the Silent*, was also published in this series. His book *Israeli Identities: Jews and Arabs Facing the Mirror and the Other* in 2010 is published in Israel by Resling and was published in English in the United States by Berghahn Books.

8 of the books in the series "genocide" are translating now into English.

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<sup>2</sup> Talila Neshet (May 18, 2012). "According to the Regulations." *Haaretz* (Hebrew).

<sup>3</sup> Noga Kadman (2008). *Erased from Space and Consciousness. Depopulated Palestinian Villages in the Israeli-Zionist Discourse*. Jerusalem: November Books, 2008 (Hebrew).

<sup>4</sup> Benny Morris (1991). *The Birth of the Problem of the Palestinian Refugees*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved (Hebrew).

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<sup>5</sup> Abraham B. Yehoshua (1993). "Facing the Forests." In *All the Stories*, Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad (Hebrew).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, pp. 115-116, 124.

<sup>7</sup> Ilan Pappé (2006). *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford Publications.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Said's remarks are quoted in: Ilan Pappé (2005). *Enemy of the State: A Conversation with Ilan Pappé*. *Middle East Policy*, xii (3), p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> There are no exact figures on the number of Jewish casualties. According to Emmanuel Sivan, historian Benny Morris noted 5,700 to 5,800 casualties: סיון עמנואל. דור תש"ח: מיתוס, דיוקן וזיכרון, תל אביב: מערכות (1991). Morris who is considered by many the most authoritative historian of this period, has recently published a new work: See Morris, Benny (2011). *1948*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Other sources calculate the Jewish casualties at around 6,500 and this is usually the accepted numbers of casualties.

<sup>10</sup> Judith Lewis Herman (1992). *Trauma and Recovery*. New York: Basic Books, pp.7-9.

<sup>11</sup> Yoram Kaniuk (2010): In Hebrew. תש"ח, תל אביב: ידיעות אחרונות. קניוק יורם,

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