

The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East

David Hirst (2003)

Contents

FOREWORD TO THE THIRD EDITION, i

- 1 THE RAVAGES OF A PURBLIND ORTHODOXY, 3
 - 'A Resounding and Puzzling Silence', 3
 - America and Israel: An Affair of the Heart, 5
 - Reinforcing the Zionist Myth: The Joan Peters Affair, 8
 - Burying the Myth Once and for All: Israel's 'New Historians', 12
- 2 ARAFAT'S HISTORIC PEACE OFFER, 17
 - The Palestinians Renounce 78 per cent of Palestine, 17
 - The Oslo Agreement, 21
 - The *Intifada*, 25
 - Another *Nakba* in the Making?, 33
- 3 ISRAEL AND THE 'FRIENDS OF ISRAEL' IN AMERICA, 37
 - Who is Master - George Bush or Ariel Sharon?, 37
 - The Lobby, 40
 - Congress, 43
 - The Administration, 46
 - The Media, 50
 - The Stirrings of Jewish Dissent, 57
- 4 NO END OF AMERICAN PARTISANSHIP, 61
 - The Peace Process Breaks Down: Arafat to Blame, 61
 - 'Palestinians Attack, Israelis Defend', 69
 - Vile Words, Vile Ideologies - from Both Sides, 74
 - Islamic* Fundamentalism - But What about the Israeli-Jewish Variety?, 79 .
 - Yes Israel *Is* a Racist State, 90
 - 9/11 Never Ask Why, 98
 - Is Israel an American Strategic Asset . . . 104
 - ... or the Costliest of Liabilities?, 106
 - The 'Axis of Evil': America Adopts Israel's Enemies as Its Own, 112
 - Before It Is Too Late: Save Israel from Its Nuclear-Crazy'Self', 116

THE GUN AND THE OLIVE BRANCH, 133

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, 135

1. THE SEEDS OF CONFLICT, 1882-1920, 137
 - Herzl Reassures the Arabs, 137
 - The Peasants Resist, 143
 - The Conquest of Labour, 147
 - Militarization Begins, 149
 - The Landsellers, 151
 - Anti-Zionism Spreads, 152
 - Abortive Attempts at Arab-Zionist Understanding, 154
 - Jewish Warriors, 157
 - The Balfour Declaration, 159
2. NO PEACE IN ZION, 1921-1935, 168
 - The Slaughter of 1921, 168
 - Haycraft Vindicates the Arabs, 171
 - The Zionists Blame the Arab 'Politicians', 175
 - The Arab Politicians Choose Non-Violence, 178
 - The People Choose Violence, 185
 - Britain Surrenders to the Zionists, 194
- 3 THE ARAB REBELLION, 1935-1939, 198
 - Shaikh Izzeddin Qassam - the First *Fedayi*, 198
 - The Rebellion Begins, 203
 - Britain Recommends Partition, 210
 - The Rebellion Reaches its Climax, 211
 - Britain 'Reconquers Palestine', 214
 - Bntam Relents: the 1939 White Paper 218
 - Britain 'Betrays' the Zionists, 220
 - The Revisionists Abandon 'Self-Restraint', 221
4. GUN ZIONISM, 232

- Driving Out the British, 232 .
 Driving Out the Arabs, 248
5. SPECIAL USES OF VIOLENCE, 271
 The Assassination of Count Bernadotte, 271
 'Cruel Zionism' - or the 'Ingathering' of Iraqi Jewry, 279
 The Lavon Affair, 289
6. THE ARAB-FIGHTERS, 297
 A Colonial Society in a Post-Colonial Age, 297
 Frontier Raids and Reprisals, 302
 The Arabs Who Stayed Behind, 309
 Wars of Expansion, 319
 Suez, 1956, 323
7. GREATER ISRAEL, 332
 The Six-Day War, 1967, 332
 David Versus Goliath, 335
 The Myth of the Golan Heights, 337
 Nasser Falls into the Trap, 341
 Israel Acquires an Empire, 344
 Twice in a Lifetime: Another Arab Exodus, 350
 The New Jerusalem, 355
 Apartheid Israeli-Style, 369
 Under the Heel of the Conqueror, 373
8. THE ARAB ZIONISTS, 385
 The Earthquake, October 1973, 385
 'No Such Things as Palestinians', 389
 The Vision of The Return, 392
 The Rise of *Fatah*, 396
Fedayeen Operations Begin, 403
 The Battle of Karameh, 410
9. THE GUN AND THE OLIVE BRANCH 417
Fatah Makes Political Headway, 424
 Military Failure and the 'Inner Sickness', 428
 Hijackings and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, 431
 The Enemy in the Rear, 432
 Civil War in Jordan, 435
 Black September, 437
 Munich, 1972, 439
 Terror Unlimited, 447
 Accepters and Rejectionists, 451
 Suicide Missions: Qiryat Shmona and Ma'alot, 458
 Arafat Addresses the United Nations, 460
10. PEACE WITH EGYPT, 470
 Prime Minister Menachim Begin, 470
 Arab Civil War by Proxy, 475
 Sadat in Jerusalem, 480
 Camp David, 482
11. THE RAPE OF THE WEST BANK, 496
 'Demographic Lunacy' in Judea and Samaria, 496
 The Dissidents' Revenge, 508
 Menachim Milson, Civil Administration and the Village Leagues, 515
12. THE INVASION OF LEBANON, 529
 Begin Offers Peace and Plots War, 529
 The Sharon Plan, 533
 The Battle of Beirut, 539
 Sabra and Chatila, 554
 Israel's Shame - and Redemption, 561
 The Kahan Report, 566
 The Murder of Emil Grunzweig, 572
- EPILOGUE, 580
 INDEX, 589

There have been three editions of *The Gun and the Olive Branch*. The first, published in 1977, comprised chapters one to nine. The second, published in 1984, saw the addition of chapters ten to twelve. All, as well as the epilogue to the second edition, have been kept unchanged in this third edition, whose Foreword brings the book up to date. The author invites the reader to look on the Foreword as a short, separate book that is complete in itself but also, he hopes, whets the appetite for the larger history which follows.

For her help and encouragement, I owe a special debt to my very old friend Leila S. Kadi. My thanks are also due to Linda Butler, Michele Esposito and Jeannette Seraphim, of the Institute for Palestine Studies, for their assistance in research; to Carl Bromley, of the Nation publishing house, for proposing a project which I would not otherwise have undertaken; and to Danny Trad, for rescuing it from the near-fatal vicissitudes of a suddenly moribund computer.

About the Author

Fifty-year resident of Beirut and long-time former Middle East correspondent of the Guardian, David Hirst has lived through or reported on most of the events he describes in *Beware of Small States*. *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, his seminal history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, was first published in 1977 and updated in new editions in 1984 and 2003.

Front cover

A MAJOR NEW EDITION OF THE CLASSIC HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

'Hirst is a lifelong sympathiser with the Palestinian tragedy and a first-rate reporter who has devoted his life to living in and writing about the Arab world.' *Edward Said*

Back cover

A myth-breaking general history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, *THE GUN AND THE OLIVE BRANCH* traces events right back to the 1880s to show how Arab violence, although often cruel and fanatical, is a response to the challenge of repeated aggression.

Banned from six Arab countries, kidnapped twice, David Hirst, former Middle East correspondent of the Guardian, is the ideal chronicler of this terrible and seemingly insoluble conflict. The new edition of this 'definitive' (Irish Times) study brings the story right up to-date. Amongst the many topics that are subjected to Hirst's piercing analysis are: the Oslo peace process, the Israeli occupation of the Left Bank and Gaza, the destabilising effect of Jewish settlement in the territories, the second Intifada and the terrifying rise of the suicide bombers, the growing power of the Israel lobby - Jewish and Christian fundamentalist - in the United States, the growth of dissent in Israel and among sections of America's Jewish population, the showdown between Sharon and Arafat and the spectre of nuclear catastrophe that threatens to destroy the region.

'An epic tale told relentlessly well. If you want to read a account of the price of Zionism, and a sobering review of Israel's new role as conqueror and occupier, then Hirst is your man' *Christopher Hitchens*

'[Hirst's] peerless reporting has earned him curses, expulsion and respect in virtually every country in the region.' *Guardian*

He leaves few of the known skeletons in Israel's cupboard untouched... Massively documented, this book will make uncomfortable reading for many who will no doubt do what they can to discredit him. But they will find it difficult to challenge the integrity of this quizzical and caustic reporter who has an unrivalled record of offending Arab governments and being banned by them,' *Richard Johns, Financial Times*

Middle East. Egypt Iran Iraq Israel Saudi Arabia Syria Browse All Middle East. Russia & FSU. A British journalist's swiftly moving narration of the Arab-Israeli dispute from its origins in the 19th century to the present, written with understanding of and for both sides (though less for Israel) and with stress on the resort to violence which has been the ultimate answer of both to the problem. Enjoy more high-quality articles like this one. Become a subscriber. Paywall-free reading of new articles posted daily online and almost a century of archives. Unlock access to iOS/Android apps to save editions for offline reading. Six issues a year in print, online, and audio editions. Sub 5.0 out of 5 stars Found "The Gun and The Olive Branch" very interesting. I'll read this book again! 22 October 2017. I bought this book, I suppose like most of the other readers here, hoping to glean a better understanding of the historical reasons for the Middle East conflict. I had great hopes for the book after reading an enthusiastic reference to it in a newspaper article. The charge of bias in favour of the Palestinians didn't bother me - after all, isn't the Western media supposed to be controlled by Jews? - so I welcomed the opportunity for an alternative viewpoint. However, when all is said and done, this is a terribly written book (I have the latest 2003 edition). Britain in agony the growth of political violence. Books. Unconditional surrender the roots of a World War II. Books. The roots of National Socialism 1783-1933. Share this Share on twitter Share on facebook. Imperial War Museums home Connect with IWM.