
ZIONISM & RACISM

International
Organization for
the Elimination
of All Forms
of Racial
Discrimination

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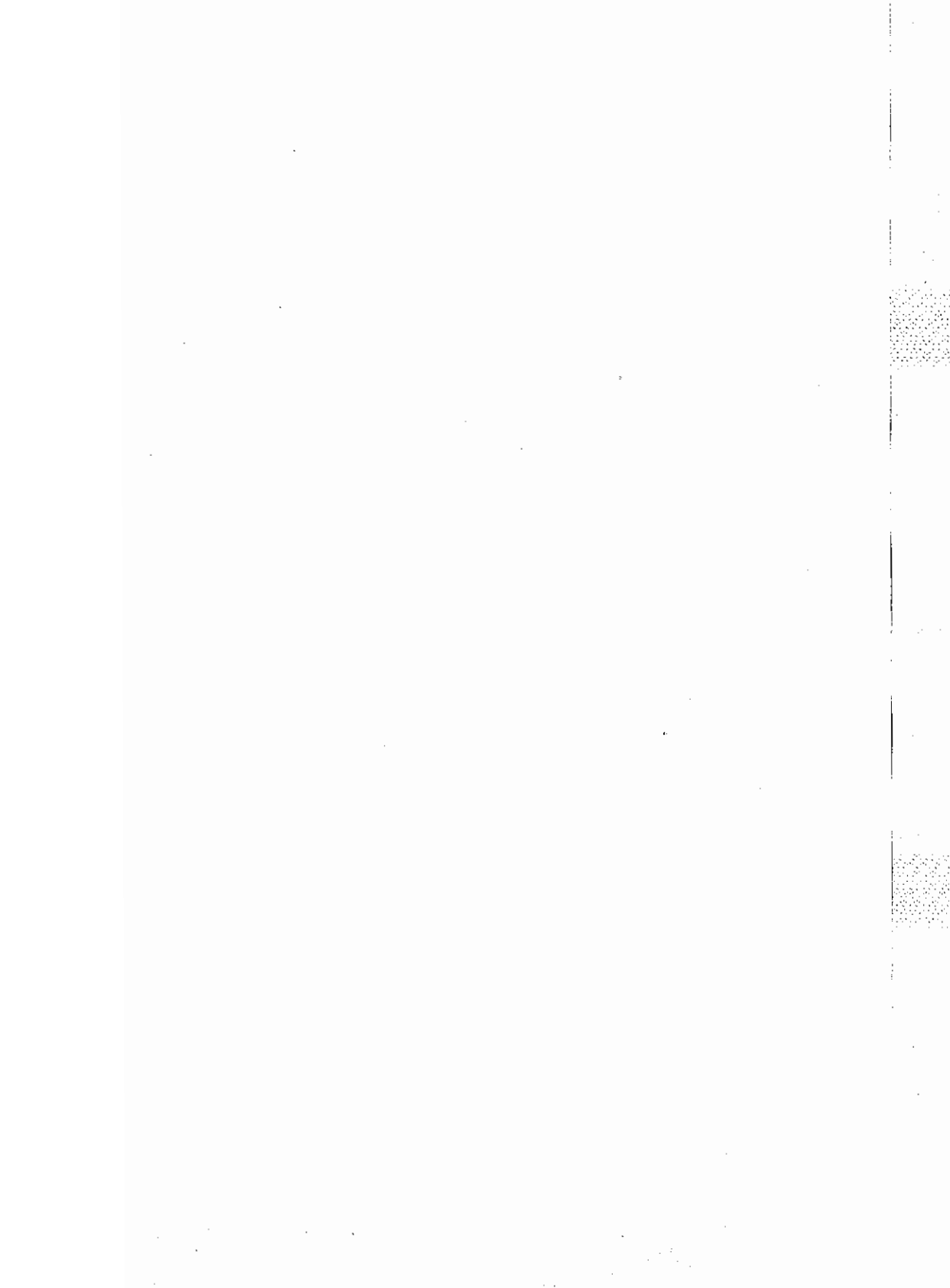
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Preface

On 10 November 1975 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted resolution 3379 (XXX) determining "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." The response of Zionists and their supporters to this resolution was, not to attempt to demonstrate that the finding was in error, but to mount a campaign designed to discredit the UN and to impugn the motives of the 72 member states voting in support of it.

In order to provide an opportunity for a careful study of Zionism, within the context of the definition of racial discrimination accepted without dissent by all members of the UN since 1965, the Bar Association of the Libyan Arab Republic decided to hold an International Symposium on Zionism and Racism and to invite as participants individuals of recognized stature in their several professions and countries.

The International Symposium on Zionism and Racism was convened in Tripoli during 24-28 July 1976. It was attended by some 500 participants from 80 countries. An index of public, as distinguished from official, support for resolution 3379 is provided by the fact that the majority of the participants came from countries which did not vote in support of the resolution, and included members of the Jewish faith, some of whom were publicly censured later for their nonracist views.* It is a sad commentary on the objectivity of the western information media that they virtually ignored the symposium, in spite of the importance of the subject and the international character of the assembly.

The sessions of the Tripoli symposium were characterized by active involvement in the work at hand. Presentation of the papers was followed by questions, comments, objections, and suggestions from many participants. Valuable information and insights emerged from these exchanges. Unfortunately, the volume of this material grew to the point where publication became impossible.

One of the suggestions made repeatedly was for some continuing effort to further the elimination of racism in all its manifestations, especially Zionism and *Apartheid*, two sides of the same coin. Accordingly it was resolved at the concluding session of the Symposium on Zionism and Racism that "an international organization to be known as THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE ELIMINATION OF

ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION is hereby established.”

At the conclusion of the symposium, this Organization was established, with headquarters in Tripoli. Its first international recognition came at the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka in August 1976. This Conference is also noteworthy because at it representatives of 86 nations endorsed UN resolution 3379, whereas only 72 supported it in the General Assembly in November 1975.

At the symposium, papers—by invitation—were presented by participants from 19 countries. A selection of these papers is here published and thus made available to others interested in combatting racism. After presentation, the authors were given an opportunity to rewrite their papers for publication, though this necessarily delayed publication. Some authors chose not to rewrite their papers, but to have them published as presented in Tripoli; this accounts for some variation in style, e.g. the absence of footnotes.

Any collection of writings by an international group, including speakers of a variety of languages and specialists in different fields, inevitably shows variation in style and presentation; this volume is no exception. However in editing the papers for publication uniformity was effected in details such as the spelling of names, the citing of sources, and—in accordance with generally established practice, though not that of the UN—the writing of *Zionism* with a capital letter.

The opinions expressed in the papers are, of course, those of the individual authors, and not necessarily those of the Bar Association of the Libyan Arab Republic nor of the International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

An appendix contains the DECLARATION, a resolution establishing the International Organization—both unanimously adopted at the symposium—and the text of UN resolution 3379.

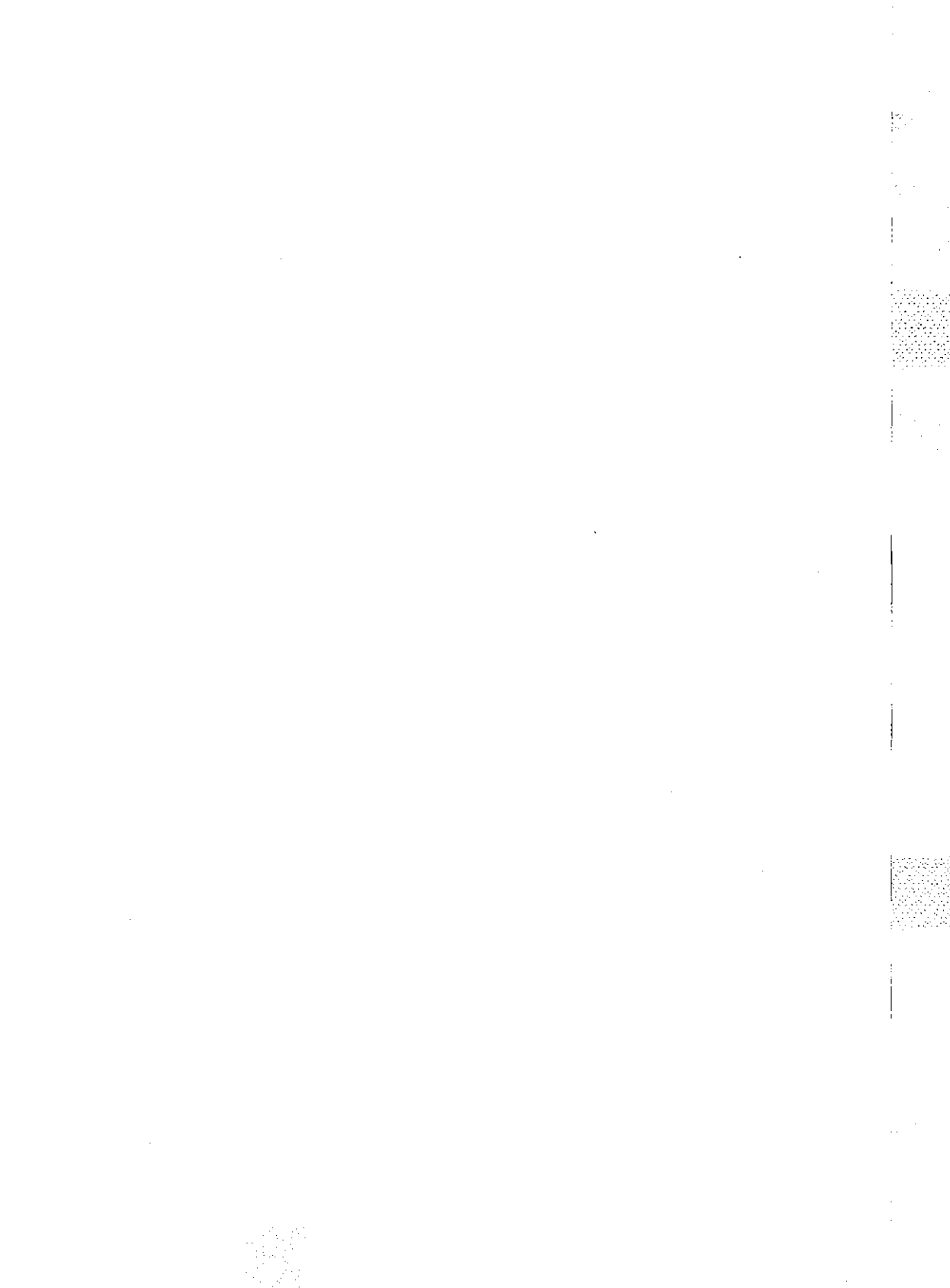
We wish to express our appreciation and gratitude to Walter Lehn for assuming the difficult task of editing for publication the papers in this volume.

It is our hope that these papers will contribute a more objective understanding of one of the most burning issues of our time and, thereby, help in finding a solution based on full recognition of man's and peoples' human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, color, or creed.

Tripoli/July 1977

Executive Council
International Organization for the Elimination
of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

*For example, Klaus J. Herrmann, a member of B'nai B'rith, was, in his words, "tried in public" by Canadian Jewish Congress Executive Director Alan Rose and by Canadian Zionist Federation President Phil Givens who declared that "someone who takes part in a conference which gives aid and comfort to the enemy should be barred [from B'nai B'rith];" *Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), 1 and 15 October 1976. Columnist J.B. Salzberg, writing in the same newspaper (26 November 1976), addressed Herrmann in these words: "Your extremism, vis-à-vis Zionism and the state of Israel, places you in the same bed with the most Orthodox, most extreme, and most fanatical enemies of Israel who operate from Meah Shaarim in Jerusalem," i.e. the Neturei Karta. Readers can judge for themselves the "extremism" of these "fanatical enemies of Israel" by reading the papers by Klaus J. Herrmann and G. Neuburger, a member of Neturei Karta.



I Opening Address



Opening Address by the President of the Libyan Bar Association

Abdullah Sharafuddin

In the name of justice, we open this symposium in which are assembled people with open and alert minds and sincere intentions.

In the name of mankind, the representative of God on earth and creator of civilization and progress everywhere—east and west, north and south—and in the names of the great men, known to history as proclaimers of the unity of God, who showed mankind the way toward a oneness in justice, beauty, and prosperity, the Bar Association of the Libyan Arab Republic welcomes you, wishes you a pleasant stay, and thanks you for accepting its invitation to take part in this humanitarian endeavor.

By accepting our invitation, leaving your work, and traveling thousands of miles to come to our country, you have demonstrated your dedication to the noble objective, the task on which we have embarked, and your readiness to make efforts, even sacrifices, to that end.

Some time has elapsed since man began his search for energy and power in matter. However, his enthusiasm, his keenness for competition, and his feverish arrogance have led some people to lose their sense of perspective and thus to drive the world to the brink of destruction.

Not long ago, the Nazis waged a fierce war against the rest of the world, causing, in a few years, the destruction of half of what man had built in hundreds of years. Most of you, no doubt, recall the woes and atrocities of those days, and many have suffered the tragic consequences of that war. The tears of orphans and widows have yet to dry.

And yet our world is now faced with the emergence of a new type of nazism whose followers claim that their doctrine goes back a long way in history. The truth is that they have departed from the laws of Abraham and Moses so far as to adhere to the devilish doctrine of, "I am better than others; I was made of fire, and they were made of clay."

Zionism, with its inhumane ethnic, racist principles, with its devilish schemes which generate chaos all over the world, with its dangerous plans to dominate, with its disregard for the appeals and resolutions of international organizations, and with its beastly octopus which has almost a decisive role in directing the policies of the greatest countries in the world, cannot be viewed as a threat to this region alone, but to the whole

world. We need to appreciate fully this situation before it is too late, for now is the age of nuclear power.

For years nuclear power was controlled exclusively by the two superpowers. Recently it has been acquired by many countries competing for domination of the world. In a few years, it may become available to all and impossible to keep under control, thus bringing the horrible risk of the destruction of this planet.

As a result of these circumstances whose ramifications threaten to destroy the human race, we consider it our duty to call the attention of our colleagues all over the world to a verse in the Qur'an:

O mankind, We created you from a single [pair] of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other. Verily the most honored of you in the sight of God is the most righteous of you.

From this spot in the desert, it is our duty to invite the scholars, the intellectuals, the philosophers, and the writers who cherish the good and the beautiful to ponder the meaning of the words of the Prophet, the teacher of mankind: "Come to the aid of your brother, be he the wrongdoer or the wronged." When asked, "How can we come to the aid of a brother who is a wrongdoer?" the Prophet replied, "You come to his aid by eliminating the offenses which he commits."

By the same token, since racism is unjust and evil, and since Zionism is a form of racism, as you must have concluded from your studies and research, it is the duty of all of us to come to the aid of the followers of the religion of Moses by eliminating the injustices which they commit.

Moses was a most influential man in the history of mankind. He proclaimed the unity of God and he solemnly began the course which was followed later by Jesus and Muhammad. That is the course of a unified human race.

We now call upon the followers of the religion of Moses to heed the voice of justice and to end injustice. Let us all revive the heavenly symphony of justice, good and beauty.

We, the inhabitants of this region, the cradle of civilizations and religions, have only one thing to say to those who have treated us with injustice and who have caused the delay of our progress and who have caused our backwardness and disorder through their overt and covert agents: the traditional greeting of the Arabs,

Peace be upon you.

II

Zionism and Racism



Racism and World Peace

Anis Al-Qasem

The peoples of the United Nations, at the beginning of the Charter, declared their determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small. Three out of the four subjects on which the peoples of the UN have declared their determination concern aspects of equality, justice, and freedom. Reference only to these subjects after the declaration of determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war is a clear demonstration of the connection between the preservation of peace on the one hand, and the realization of equality between peoples and individuals on the other.

To that end, the second and third purposes of the UN as set out in article 1 of the Charter, read as follows:

To develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples....

To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Again, article 13(6) of the Charter calls upon the General Assembly to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of "promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions as to race, sex, language, or religion."

Article 55 of the Charter stipulates that:

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

The Economic and Social Council, which is one of the main organs of the UN, is empowered, under article 62(2), to make recommendations for

the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the General Assembly and the other organs of the UN extremely busy, each within its own field, with the question of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. The initiative and determined support of Third World countries, which were and still are the main targets of colonial and racial discrimination, were prominent in this respect.

One of the first acts of the UN was the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. The very first paragraph of the preamble reads:

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world.

The same words are used by the General Assembly in the first preambular paragraph of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Paragraph 7 of the preamble to the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965, runs in the same breath:

Reaffirming that discrimination between human beings on the grounds of race, color, or ethnic origin is an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and is capable of disturbing peace and security among peoples and the harmony of persons living side by side even within one and the same state.

The Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights, Teheran, 22 April to 13 May 1968 (Proclamation of Teheran, 1968), contains, *inter alia*, the following:

Gross denials of human rights arising from discrimination on grounds of race, religion, belief, or expressions of opinion outrage the conscience of mankind and endanger the foundations of freedom, justice, and peace in the world.

The First Conference of Independent African States, 1958, adopted the Accra Declaration, of which part 4 is devoted to Racism. The second preambular paragraph reads:

Deeply convinced that racialism is a negation of the basic principles of human rights and dignity to the extent where it is becoming an element of such explosiveness which is spreading its poisonous influence more and more widely in some parts of Africa that it may well engulf our continent in violence and bloodshed.

The foregoing examples, taken at random, clearly illustrate the concern

felt about the peace of the world and international cooperation should racial discrimination persist.

One definite cause of wars, rebellions, and revolutions throughout history has been disregard and contempt for human rights. The struggle against tyranny, oppression, colonialism, and racial discrimination is old, and the voice of man in the defense of equality, liberty, and fraternity has been equally old. Both, the struggle and the voice, have never been limited to one race or to one civilization. It sounds as if the same voice has been speaking throughout history. It is the universal human voice and man disregards it at his peril. It is in recognition of this fact that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has warned that disregard and contempt for human rights compel man to revolt, and hinder the promotion of the development of friendly relations between nations.

In modern history, European governments, representing what is called the white man, were deaf to a large extent to this universal human voice. Racist philosophies and practices prevailed in their policies towards non-Europeans despite the other philosophies and declarations pertaining to the rights of man. The division of the human race into superior and inferior races is a western racist product. And the paradox of it all is that the achievements of the internal or national struggle in the West in enlarging freedom, equality, social justice, and personal and national self-determination were hardly reflected in the attitude and policies of the West to non-western peoples. The nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries which witnessed the establishment of representative government on a wider basis, and the elimination of most of the restrictions on the enjoyment of political and civil rights in particular, witnessed also the emergence of European racist and colonial philosophies and practices against the peoples of Asia and Africa in particular.

How can we make this universal human voice which is certainly echoed by many European and American thinkers, a voice effectively heard in government councils and reflected in practical policies? How can we make them recognize the universality of this human voice? This is very important, not because the present struggle is waged against the remnants of western racism in Africa and Palestine, but also in order to preclude the resurgence of racism in the future. This question is important because there is no doubt that the present pockets of racism in the world can be liquidated without any serious difficulty if Europe and the United States, commonly referred to as the "free world," earnestly join the struggle against racism in the cause of equality, freedom, and self-determination for all. Much suffering, bloodshed, and destruction would be saved, and the appearance of counter-racism in the Third World would be avoided.

The West was, of course, aware of the great and instant effect on the minds of subject peoples of any promise of the exercise of the right of self-

determination and of equality and freedom. This fact was fully exploited during the First and Second World Wars. However, whereas, as a result of these two wars, no European country was colonized, not even the defeated, or suffered from racial discrimination, no colony was freely given its independence or permitted to exercise its right of self-determination. All promises were broken, and the League of Nations, which was entirely dominated by the West, paid lip service to the right of self-determination and, at the same time, permitted the expansion of colonialism, under various forms, to new territories. It was western thinking which introduced into international law the concepts of protectorates, mandated territories and trust territories as a disguise for colonialism. It was modern western thinking which produced Nazism, *Apartheid*, and Zionism.

The sense of superiority is still visible in western literature. Any western student of the sciences, international law, philosophy, jurisprudence, and the humanities in general remains mostly unaware of the contributions to these subjects made by non-western civilizations. Of course, there are books for the specialists and some are excellent pieces of research. However, in this context, I want the ordinary student of any subject to widen the scope of his cultural vision beyond his own civilization. I want the student to drink from the full stream of human thought and achievement rather than from a tributary. Knowing each other's culture and recognizing each other's contribution to human civilization will enhance mutual understanding and respect, and reduce the chances of success of bigotry and chauvinism.

It is regrettable in this context that the European Convention on Human Rights, 1950, contains no specific reference to racial discrimination as a threat to world peace, and the contracting parties do not commit themselves in the Convention to policies or actions in the world struggle against racial discrimination in general.

The United States, the leader of the "free world," has shelved the ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1965. Its protégé, Israel, went a step further; it took the positive decision of rejecting the Convention, and yet there are those who claim Zionism and Israel are not racist.

Why is racial discrimination considered a threat to world peace and cooperation between peoples?

One of the main characteristics of racial discrimination is its *arbitrariness*. It does not evaluate races, peoples or individuals objectively. It discriminates against a race or a people or an individual simply on the basis of his belonging to an ethnic or racial group and stamps him as inferior. On the other hand, it is sufficient to belong to the other ethnic or racial group to be superior regardless of one's objective

qualifications.

Racial discrimination is a *denial of the equality of man*. It is a denial of his being a human being with inherent capacity to develop, to grow, to contribute to humanity in all fields of achievement. And this denial is based on his color or race despite the fact that history speaks loudly of the growth of civilizations, advanced civilizations, by almost all peoples of this world. Civilization, power, and progress have never been the monopoly of one race, country or people.

Racial discrimination does not only deny equality. It also *denies equal opportunity* and the denial of equal opportunity attempts to perpetuate the conditions used as a justification for the policy of racial discrimination. Thus, colonial peoples were never given equal opportunity to develop their human and natural resources. Any development which took place was geared to meet the needs of the colonists. For 132 years Algeria was considered a part of metropolitan France. In such a case Algeria should have developed to the same level as other parts of France. However, racial discrimination, which is inherent in colonization, did not allow Algeria to develop to the same extent as France. The reason is clear. If Algerians were treated as equal to the French and given equal opportunity, the act of colonization and its attributes of exploitation would have to cease.

When equality and equal opportunity are denied, conditions of backwardness and weakness are preserved to the extent that controls and prejudices can be effective. Brave souls will always dare to defy such conditions. But even if, as individuals, they succeed in personal attainment, yet because of the denial of equal opportunity, they are, as a rule, denied the rights and privileges pertinent to their attainment. When equal opportunity and attributes of achievement are denied, the standard of living stagnates, and the possibilities of appreciable improvement become extremely limited.

Under racial discrimination, personal and ethnic self-determination, personal and national fulfillment, are either denied or prescribed. One may accept the fact of his weakness or backwardness as a passing condition, but only as a passing condition, because he aspires, through freedom of action, to change such a condition. But he cannot and will not accept such a condition as his eternal fate.

Self-determination for the individual as well as for the ethnic group requires freedom of choice—freedom to exercise all human faculties in the course of the present and the future, and freedom to charter such a course whatever its risks and achievements. This freedom of choice is inherent in man and basic to his growth and development, and to the growth and development of his society and nation. All rights and freedoms are manifestations of the right of self-determination in the individual,

societal, national, and international spheres. Through the exercise of the right of self-determination, relations are established freely within society, on the national level, and within the international community, on the international level. Individuals and nations, recognizing each other's right of self-determination, would look to points of agreement and cooperation.

The conflict in the human mind caused by racial discrimination is enormous. It takes considerable moral fortitude and devotion to human ideals not to react to racial discrimination in the same manner. One of the main dangerous consequences of racial discrimination is the risk that it breeds more racial discrimination. This reaction need not be directed against the original culprit, who may be too strong to attack. The outlet will be against a weaker victim who is usually innocent of any connection with the original discrimination. The sufferings of these innocent people have no justification, and they are inexcusable. One of the most glaring examples in present times is the Zionist-Israeli racist policy towards the Palestinians. The late Bertrand Russell has the following to say on the subject in a memorandum just before his death:

We are frequently told that we must sympathize with Israel because of the suffering of the Jews in Europe at the hands of the Nazis. I see in this suggestion no reason to perpetuate any suffering. What Israel is doing today cannot be condoned, and to invoke the horrors of the past to justify those of the present is gross hypocrisy. Not only does Israel condemn a vast number of refugees to misery; not only are many Arabs under occupation condemned to military rule; but also Israel condemns the Arab nations, only recently emerging from colonial status, to continuing impoverishment as military demands take precedence over national development.'

A racist regime, in order to protect itself from the human aspirations to equality, must be oppressive. If racism is an internal policy, the regime must be oppressive to the indigenous population or the race or color against which discrimination is directed. This must remain a permanent feature of racist policies. And oppression means denial of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, and its inevitable consequence is revolt.

To maintain a policy of oppression and be ready to face rebellion, the regime must divert a considerable part of its human and natural resources to build up instruments of oppression. The well-being of the people thus becomes a matter of secondary importance. Thus, even apart from the basic policy of keeping the people backward, the resources that remain available for the promotion of the welfare of the people will be greatly reduced. This we have witnessed in Palestine during the British mandate. In order to keep down rebellions against Zionist-British racist policy, the British government of Palestine spent on the police force much more than it spent on education, health, and development.

Sometimes a racist society might try to relieve itself of the possibility of

internal revolt by forcible evacuation of the indigenous population. Israel did that. However, the problem is still there, and the Palestinian revolution is a fact. Although so far, the Palestinian revolution has not achieved its objective of establishing a democratic state for all in Palestine because of the racist policies of Israel, yet the strain on the Israeli economy is obvious, and such economy would have foundered completely but for continuous flow of assistance at a very large scale from the USA and other outside sources.

The billions that are being poured into Israel in order to maintain its racist policies could have been productively used for the well-being of needy Americans or to fight hunger in many corners of the world. The USA contributed only 25 million dollars to the capital of the African Bank for Development, while in one year only, 1976, it gave Israel more than two billion dollars for military hardware. The misplacement of funds, nationally and internationally, is a direct consequence of the adoption or support of racist policies.

In some instances, racism becomes so dangerous and extremist that it becomes directed against the very existence of a people—nationally, ethnically, and culturally, and thus partakes of some of the attributes of genocide without the direct acts of annihilation. Racism, such as Zionist racism, which denies the very existence of its victims, can safely be termed, in law, “constructive genocide.” When a people, like the Palestinians, are not recognized as existing, when they are denied their homeland, their national existence and identity, and the basic rights and fundamental freedoms accorded to other peoples—what, in such circumstances, remains of them and for them as a people? They become nonpeople and the individuals nonpersons. Is this not in effect genocide, hence constructive genocide?

Another form of genocide is being committed by some racist regimes, like that of the Zionists. This is “cultural genocide” where the material evidence of the existence of a people and its distinctive culture are intentionally destroyed, or expropriated, so that no historical or cultural evidence in place remains to indicate that such a people ever existed. The arson of the world famous Aqsa Mosque, the demolition of historic monuments in Jerusalem, the robbery and expropriation by the Israelis of the Palestinian folkloric dances, dresses, and national dishes, and their presentation, then, as Israeli folklore, etc., are examples of such cultural genocide. In fact, UNESCO did not go far enough in condemning Israeli activities in Palestine.

There should be no question about the right of the victims to oppose all these measures whose ultimate aim is the national and cultural annihilation of the victims. The desperate resistance of the Palestinians should be measured in terms of the challenge they are facing, and only

when such challenge is fully appreciated and understood, judgment may be passed.

Racist Israel has already engulfed the area of its direct operations in four wars. That of 1956 brought into it two European major powers, Britain and France, and the fourth risked confrontation between the two superpowers. One shrinks to think of the disasters that may come with the fifth, for the fifth and probably the sixth are bound to come unless racist Zionism is defeated. Unfortunately, however, like Nazism before it, it will not be defeated until it has caused untold damage and suffering to its own people and to others as well.

One can see the same vision of destruction and suffering in Africa and even in the USA before racism is defeated.

The same mistake with the same consequences. All racists believe that power alone can conquer the birthright of man and maintain the conquest indefinitely. "They have minds but do not comprehend. They have eyes, but do not see" (Qur'an 7:179). Racists have not learned that stronger than the will to live is the will to be equal and free. The defiant Prometheus is in every one of us, and the sails of freedom are on the wing for all the oppressed.

There can be no compromise with racism because it is evil in the absolute, because it is poisonous and poisoning. We cannot accept the new facts created by racist regimes. Compromises with Nazism lead to the horrors and devastations of the Second World War and to the suffering and death of millions. There can be no compromise on the right to equality and the right to self-determination. These rights must be enjoyed by every people freely in their own homeland. It is not acceptable to ask any people to accept refugee status, or deprivation of national rights, while their own land and the fruits of their labor for centuries are taken and occupied forever by an alien racist regime. It is not acceptable to expect any people to agree to the surrender of their own homeland, or any part thereof, to other peoples.

It is not acceptable for any regime to insist on recognition of the racist and illegal conditions it creates. Israel evicted the Palestinians from their homeland and turned them into refugees; it expropriated their homes, lands, and personal belongings; it demolished hundreds of Arab villages and built Zionist colonies; it changed the demographic and cultural character of Jerusalem; it built dozens of new settlements in the West Bank, Sinai, and the Golan Heights. All this is racist, colonialist, and illegal, and it has been so declared by all organs of the UN before which the question was raised. All such conditions are created in an attempt to erode permanently the rights of the indigenous population and to face the world with what might seem irreversible. *Realpolitik* is not acceptable when we are dealing with basic, inalienable rights, fundamental

freedoms, and the right of national and personal self-determination.

No wonder, then, the turmoil in the Middle East and the desperate struggle of the Palestinians to regain their rights. It is depressing that European resistance to Nazi racist policies and occupation should have been hailed and glorified, while Palestinian resistance is described as terrorism. Is it racism that is responsible for this?

There can be no compromise with racism at the cost of basic rights and fundamental freedoms. There is only one solution: The liquidation of racism wherever it is found and the enforcement of basic rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, color, creed, or religion.

No racist state has ever succeeded in guaranteeing even to its own citizens conditions of freedom, security, and well-being. In fact, the enclaves of racism in our times have failed and will definitely continue to fail to guarantee such conditions.

What is required is the liquidation of racism, and not of the human beings. Nazism was liquidated, but the German people remained to live in equality with other members of the European community who were the main victims of Nazism.

The same can happen in Palestine and southern Africa if racism and its ramifications are liquidated, and the human beings, including the victims of racism, are allowed to live together in equality.

One of the main means to achieve this is to expose the dangers of racism and to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood and understanding among all peoples. For that purpose I propose the establishment of an International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The objects of this body will be to expose, collect, and disseminate information on racial discrimination practices wherever they occur, to defend human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to promote understanding among all peoples. This body is to be voluntary and nongovernmental and will have as its members all those who believe in the inherent dignity of man without distinction as to race, religion, or creed.

FOOTNOTES

¹Cited in John Bagot Glubb, *Peace in the Holy Land* (London, 1971), pp. 363-4.



Zionism and Racism: Contrasting Perspectives and Perceptions

L. Humphrey Walz

On 10 November 1975, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 3379 (XXX), determining "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." The resolution was supported by 72 nations and opposed by 35; 32 abstained from voting and 3 were absent.

The widespread uproar in the West that followed grew out of various factors, among them differing understandings of the words *Zionism* and *racism*. It was good, therefore, that, in their concern to understand each other and the basic issues, people on opposite sides of the controversy sought clarification of the meanings of these terms.

I was in Mexico City shortly after the UN vote. Mexico had supported the resolution and American Zionists had launched a boycott to punish her. One of the victims of the ensuing economic squeeze expressed thus to me his desire for clarification:

In Mexico we disapprove of antisemitism. Why? Because it distinguishes between the rights of Jews and non-Jews. Doesn't Zionism do the same? We consider antisemitism a form of racism. Why isn't it also right to regard Zionism similarly? Is there a definition of Zionism which answers "No" to my question? If so, why don't the Zionists tell us instead of trying to "clout" us?¹

During the course of my Mexican visit, the 22 December 1975 issue of *Christianity and Crisis*, featuring "The UN Resolution on ZIONISM and RACISM," was delivered at the home of a friend. Among its articles was one by Robert G. Hoyt, a founder of the *National Catholic Reporter*, which, from a different perspective, registered a similar plea for clarification:

Whatever validity the General Assembly resolution condemning Zionism may have is not found in the text....Supporting passages offer only the sketchiest definition of racism and no evidence whatever that Zionism in theory or practice fits the description.²

In discussions of both Zionism and racism we need to make clear how we are using these words. We must also try to understand what others mean by them. Otherwise we will be wasting their time as well as ours. Worse, our usages, if undefined or ill-defined, can create further controversy that

only serves to detract attention from the underlying problems and to divert our energies from their solution.

Racism: Black vs. White

There are at least two understandings of the word *race* which lead people of good will to deny any relation between Zionism and racism. One of these sees race in black-and-white terms only, therefore not applicable to Zionism.³ Another understands race in biological terms which obviously do not include Jewishness. A third view considers Jews to be a race. Under the latter view, both antisemitism and Herzlian Zionism are clearly racist.

In the USA and Canada there are many who think primarily of black-white relations whenever the subject of racism is mentioned. In this context, shortly after the UN's vote equating Zionism with racism, a photo appeared in a Chicago newspaper. It showed young Golda Meir with a black pupil in her schoolteaching days in Milwaukee. The relationship between them was obviously cordial. Underneath, the caption asked, *This is racism?* To which the average reader—thinking of racism as black vs. white—would answer, No.

Rabbi Daniel F. Polish, an avowed Zionist and Director of Education for Intermet, an interfaith, interracial program in Washington, was speaking to the same mindset when he asked:

Who, me, racist? Or Stephen Wise, the giant of American Zionism and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or Kivie Kaplan, its last white president?⁴

A similar black-and-white view of racism may have been in the mind of Canadian UN Ambassador Saul Rae when, in May 1976, he cast the only negative vote on a resolution of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). At least his selective denunciation of apartheid, noted below, gave some that impression. It was in the framework of the UN's proclamation of 1973-83 as the "Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination." ECOSOC resolved to endorse all previous UN decisions "bearing on racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, decolonization and self-determination." One such decision, of course, had been that of November 1975 equating Zionism with racism. Ambassador Rae declared that his country opposed racial discrimination, especially the "iniquitous and demeaning system of apartheid." However, he said, Canada "cannot and will not accept any attempts to forge a link between racism and Zionism." Hence he cast his vote against the ECOSOC resolution.⁵

Some may protest that Golda Meir's Zionism would exclude that black Milwaukee schoolchild from the privileges which Israel has automatically

conferred on white Golda herself. Complaint could be registered too, that Zionism would also exclude non-white members of the NAACP along with the victims of apartheid. But the answer would likely be given that this discrimination is on grounds other than skin color and is therefore not racial.⁶

Racism: A Broader Biological Basis

Moving to a broader definition of racism, UNESCO sees it as consisting of "antisocial beliefs and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory intergroup relations are justifiable on biological grounds." On this basis too, there are those who challenge the applicability of the racist label to Zionism. Among them are Rosemary and Herman Ruether who have written:

A majority in the General Assembly has voted to condemn Zionism as racism. This vote . . . resurrects the old antisemitic confusion of Jews with race and adds new confusions of nationalism and racism

The condemnation of Zionism as racism is based, first of all, on the assumption that Jews are a "race." But, in fact, the Jews who have gathered in Israel are probably the most multiracial group ever assembled in one small state. They include not only a great array of eastern and western Europeans but Arab and Oriental Jews as well [And] it is Zionism that gathers this multiracial and multicultural assembly of Jews in one place

The tensions in the Middle East do not lie on the level of race. Even the category of "ethnicity" is misleading, since Jews are multicultural and many Jews in Israel are ethnically Arabs. The group identity that divides Arab Jew from Arab Christian and Arab Muslim is one that is ultimately defined by religious identities.⁷

Marion Woolfson, a Jewish journalist who lives in England and specializes in Palestinian affairs, writing on "Zionism and Racism" in the *Manchester Guardian* of 14 May 1976 stated:

Some apologists for Zionism maintain that, as the Jews are not a race, Zionism cannot be deemed racist simply on grounds that it seeks to further the interests of Jews even when this leads to acts which are detrimental to non-Jews. This argument does not hold water, however, because there is a wealth of Zionist writing which refers to persecution and oppression of Jews in various countries as "racialist."

Like my friends in Mexico, she sees discrimination against non-Jews because of their non-Jewishness as equally racist. Among her illustrations of Zionist-Israeli racist policies she includes the following:

The Jewish National Fund (JNF) . . . was established in 1901 at the Fifth Congress of the World Zionist Organization for the sole purpose of acquiring land in Palestine for Jewish colonization. Today the JNF [and the state] own

95 per cent of the nonurban land in Israel (much of it expropriated Arab land). According to the constitution of the JNF, land which it owns is for settlement by Jews only and dwellings built upon this land cannot be occupied by non-Jews, nor may non-Jews (even Israeli Arab citizens) be employed to work on JNF land.

Racism or Bigotry?

It would be easy to conclude that anyone who finds the equating of Zionism with racism distasteful necessarily condones Israel's discriminatory policies. That this agreement can be based on differences of vocabulary more than of principle is demonstrated in another quotation from Robert G. Hoyt:

The Jews of the world considered themselves a people; some of them, the Zionists, asserted the right and need of this people to achieve nationhood in a defined geographic area. They chose Palestine. By various means—through the purchase of land, through private diplomacy and public persuasion, *by the selective use of terror*, by employing political and economic influence in Europe and elsewhere—they won United Nations sponsorship and great power recognition of a new Jewish state, whose existence they defended (*and whose borders they expanded*) *by force of arms*.

Whether all this was politically wise or ethically acceptable is not the question. Was it racist? It seems more accurate to call it nationalist. Jewish identity is not racial.⁶

On this last point, some have observed that Jews who join the "Jews for Jesus" movement have been discriminated against in Israel. There are also cases like that of Brother Daniel, a Jew whom a Christian family saved from the Nazis at the risk of their own lives. So impressed was he by their spirit that he himself became a Christian. When he, having been brought up as a Jew, claimed the automatic right to become a citizen of Israel, the Israeli government refused him that right because, though his race obviously had not changed, his religion had. Such illustrations are sometimes cited to indicate that Zionist discrimination is in a pattern more accurately described as bigoted than as racist.

These then are some of the understandings of racism that led people to sound-off pro or con UN resolution 3379. A lot of energy might have been saved if more had bothered to look up the General Assembly's official definition of racial discrimination which was in the minds of those who voted that Zionism should be included among the forms of racism. Resolution 2106A (XX), adopted 21 December 1965 by the General Assembly defines racial discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin." This broad definition needs to be kept in mind in any discussion of Zionism as a form of racism.

The Zionism of Herzl

Philip Potter, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, has declared that "Zionism . . . is subject to many understandings and interpretations."⁹

I will deal with some of these variants shortly, but first let us look briefly at Herzlian Zionism. It is this that is at the heart of the conflict over Palestine and is the concept assumed when the UN speaks of Zionism. It may be defined as *the Jewish national movement, launched by Theodor Herzl in 1897, that has sought to create and maintain a Jewish state in Palestine and environs*. It has so far developed no agreement on either the meaning of "Jewish" or the limits of the territory claimed.

Speaking of this movement, ex-Israeli scholar Michael Selzer—who once believed himself to be a Zionist—stated in 1970 that "Zionism is a complex phenomenon, adequately understood by only a small percentage of its critics and by an even smaller percentage of its supporters."¹⁰ What follows is but the sketchiest summary of a subject which other participants in this symposium are here to amplify. I shall only include enough to round out my semantic approach to the controversy.

The underlying assumptions of Herzl and his successors have been fourfold. While expressed in a variety of forms, they continue to be strongly influential on the hopes, plans, and practices of present-day Israel. As understood and expressed by U.S. Department of State veteran Edwin M. Wright,¹¹ these assumptions are: (1) Jews and non-Jews are inherently (genetically?) incapable of living together harmoniously; non-Jews are incurably antisemitic. (2) For self-preservation, all Jews must settle together in the same country; "the mighty legend"¹² of Palestine as the ancestral home of all Jews made it the choice. (3) Non-Jews must either be displaced from the Jewish state or kept apart from the Jewish settlers by legal and psychological walls of separation.¹³ (4) The establishing of the Jewish state requires the cooperation of non-Jews: (a) antisemites who will stimulate the emigration of Jews from their several countries, and (b) at least one great power whose backing can make up for the relatively scattered smallness of world Jewry. Herzl sought the sponsorship of Russia, Germany, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire. His successors were more successful in enlisting first England and then the USSR and, especially, the USA.

Reactions To Herzl's Zionism

Herzl's Zionism had limited appeal during its early decades. The 1841 Declaration by Charleston's Jews had asserted long before Herzl that "this country [the USA] is our Palestine, this city our Jerusalem, this house of

God our Temple." At that time and for many decades thereafter this was the view of most American Jews, particularly Reform Jews. The same views were held by many Jews in other countries, notably in Germany. Orthodox Jews also reacted negatively to Zionism. As far back as 1903 the Lubavitscher Hasidim were denouncing political Zionism as "rebellion against the Lord and denial of Torah." To this day, Jerusalem's Neturei Karta call it blasphemy for preempting God's role in the uniting of all Jewry.¹⁴

But events, especially the Hitler period in Germany, were to conspire to make many people—Jewish and other—regard the Zionist political program in Palestine and environs as the only satisfactory solution of the "Jewish problem." To the resident Palestinians and to Arabs in adjacent countries, however, this spelled inevitable displacement or subjugation. Moshe Dayan has summed up the latter attitude quite candidly:

It is not true that the Arabs hate the Jews for personal, religious, or racial reasons. They consider us—and justly, from their point of view—as westerners, foreigners, invaders who have seized an Arab country to turn it into a Jewish state.¹⁵

Confusion Over Zion and Zionism

Thus far, the responses I have cited, however varied, have had one thing in common: They grow out of a clear comprehension of what political Zionism is. Even in this framework, the complexities are great, but they have been made far more complicated by confusions in sincere but uninformed minds. Many, for instance, when they hear the term *Zionism*, interpret it in the light, not of present-day Middle Eastern politics, but of lofty concepts long associated with the word *Zion*. The historic Christian use of *Zion* to mean "the Church" or "the Kingdom of God" still survives in such hymns as "O *Zion*, haste thy mission high fulfilling to . . . publish glad tidings . . . of peace, . . . of Jesus, redemption, and release." And, interestingly enough, the only subject under the heading *Zionist* in the new *Micropaedia Britannica* is a church movement in sub-Saharan Africa, quite unrelated to the conflict in the Middle East.

When in 1796 black American Methodists felt that they could have fuller spiritual development if they organized as a separate denomination, they gave their new—and still flourishing—movement the name African Methodist Episcopal Zion. Jehovah's Witnesses, with their appeal to the frustrated, alienated, and disinherited, were organized in 1884 as Zion's Watch Tower Society. Zion Canyon was so named by the Mormons for the holy, awe-inspiring beauty of its majestic rock formations. Zion, Illinois was founded by a group determined to express its Christian ideal in every aspect of life. And the hymn, "We're marching to Zion," has nothing to

do with Palestine, but proclaims hopes for a divinely better world-order. People familiar with such uses of the word *Zion* and unfamiliar with Herzlian Zionist concepts or practices tend to respond favorably when they heard the word *Zionism*.

Zionists In Spite of Herzl

In addition, there are those whose reactions to the term *Zionism* are affected by still other factors. There is, for instance, the millennialist viewpoint presented in Hal Lindsey's best-selling paperback, *The Late Great Planet Earth*.¹⁶ Its schedule of events paving the way for Christ's second coming includes "the rebirth of [the state of] Israel, an increase in natural catastrophes, the threat of war in Egypt, and the revival of Satanism." Since these are seen as inseparable from the ultimate conversion of the Jews to Christianity, they are hardly in keeping with the aims of Herzlian Zionism, even though they hail the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Three other pro-Zionist concepts—none of which would necessarily find Herzl's underlying assumptions palatable—have been dominant among many out-spoken liberals. First of all, there are those who, since 1948, have slipped increasingly into the habit of using *Zionist* and *Jewish* as interchangeable adjectives. In this context, which has been effectively propagated by Norman Podhoretz and other Zionists, those western Christians who have experienced Jewish cooperation in combatting (predominantly black vs. white) racism at home see the Zionist-racist label as libel, an offense demanding an immediate, energetic counteroffensive.

There are also those who accept unquestioningly the American Zionist Federation's slogan that "Zionism is the Jewish National Liberation Movement." They do not ask who the "Jewish nationals" are, or what they are to be liberated from or to, or how that liberation is to be effected. They simply believe that, by guaranteeing a politically assured territorial haven for victims of antisemitic manifestations, Zionism is antiracist.

Lastly, there are those who seem to think that Martin Buber's dream of a Zionism "friendly to the Arabs . . . and opposed to all European imperialistic tendencies" is at stake in the current conflict. But the 1931 Zionist Congress rejected Buber's views. And the 1956 British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt revealed how completely his ideals had been eliminated in Zionist practice.¹⁷

Antisemitic Pro-Zionism

One would be remiss not to call attention to one final form of pro-Zionism which, as a cloak for antisemitism, has a special claim to the label *racist*.

It is held by those anti-Jews who support the Zionist plan to get the world's Jews to migrate to a single national ghetto in the Middle East. The success of *aliyah* could save them from publicly having to second the motion, made by Fichte in eighteenth century Germany, to deport all Jews to Palestine "for," as he expressed it, "our self-protection" from Jews and "Jewish ideas."

In November 1975 I had been reading extracts from Fichte as reported in Jacob Bernard Agus, *The Meaning of Jewish History*.¹⁸ This may have colored my reaction to a *Newsweek* "Newsmakers" item of December 1. It reported thus from the University of Iowa's unveiling of the late Henry A. Wallace's diaries:

A 1946 entry pictures an exasperated Harry Truman trying to cope with the Palestine crisis. "President Truman expressed himself as being very much 'put out' with the Jews," wrote Commerce Secretary Wallace after a Cabinet luncheon. "He said that 'Jesus Christ could not please them when he was here on earth, so how could anyone expect that I would have any luck?' President Truman said he had no use for them."

So far, I have seen no move to interpret this bit of history in the light of Herzl's declaration that "the antisemites will be our most dependable friends, . . . our allies."¹⁹ Still, Israeli folklore hails Truman as one of the Zionists' most dependable friends.

The case against Lord Balfour is more thoroughly documented. His Balfour Declaration of 1917 is regarded by Israelis as a major diplomatic stride toward the establishment of a Jewish state. Yet this same gentleman as prime minister in 1906 pressed the British parliament into passing a bill specifically restricting Jewish immigration into Britain.²⁰

Let me conclude by quoting one person who brings clarity to this controversial subject. In an article on "Zionism and Racism," David G. Gil, in the 25 November 1975 issue of the Brandeis University in-house periodical, associates *Zion* with Jewish pursuit of all that makes for universal peace; in his words:

The Jewish people must overcome the racist elements of political Zionism and of the state of Israel which are a blatant contradiction of the true meaning of Zion and which threaten Jewish physical and cultural survival. To overcome these elements, Jews need to recommit themselves to the original meaning of Zion, peace through justice and equality for all people including the Palestinians. In political terms this means affirming the equal rights of Jews and Palestinians to return to their common homeland and to live in a multi-ethnic commonwealth of self-directing, cooperating communities throughout the land of Zion-Palestine, with neither people dominating or exploiting the other.

FOOTNOTES

¹Similar feelings seem to underlie "Travel Power: The Story Behind the Mexican Boycott," *The New York Times*, 27 June 1976: "Many Mexicans regard Zionism as 'para-estatal': a semi-official arm of Israeli policy. 'How can one claim it isn't?' asked a senior Mexican diplomat. 'Zionism seeks to persuade Jews, and only Jews, to settle in Israel.' "

²*Christianity and Crisis (C&C)*, p. 318. Hoyt was apparently unaware that the General Assembly had previously defined "racial discrimination." Resolution 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963 calls it "discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, color, or ethnic origin." Resolution 2106A (XX) of 21 December 1965, cited below, gives a later and more inclusive definition.

³Where Black-Jewish tensions do exist, they seem to have little to do with political Zionism. In an article entitled, "How New York Jews Were Turned Against Black Men: Exploding the Myth of Black Anti-Semitism," *The Public Life*, 21 February 1969, Walter Karp and H.R. Shapiro explained that in certain black neighborhoods in which the teachers were mostly Jews, there was clamor for decentralization of the schools. This would have weakened the power of the teachers' union leaders, mostly Jewish. Hence they concocted the "fake threat of black antisemitism . . . to break the alliance between the liberal Jewish middle class and the black people of the city and so destroy the chances of school decentralization."

⁴*C&C*, p. 315. Examples have been cited by Richard P. Stevens of Lincoln University to suggest that Zionist supporters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) require reciprocal backing as the price of their support.

⁵*Christian Science Monitor*, 21 May 1976. However, *Free Palestine*, May-June 1976, suggests that, though Zionism does not discriminate on the grounds of color primarily, there are Israelis whose antiblack feelings came out in connection with the April 1976 visit of Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa to Israel: "He was received 'warmly' by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The two leaders announced a major economic, scientific, and industrial pact, as well as the creation of an intercabinet committee to implement cooperation. *The Jerusalem Post* wrote that the 'Afrikaners were especially enthusiastic' about this pact, because 'they identify closely with Israel, seeing a similarity of interest in two "white" nations, at the head and foot of the African continent, waging lonely fights for survival against overwhelming black numbers.' "

⁶Though Golda Meir has apparently not fomented black-white racism, she has reportedly exploited it to her political advantage. For instance, *Ma'ariv*, 10 & 13 November 1972, implied that, in return for additional Phantom fighter-bombers and for holding off the Rogers Plan, she promised President Nixon she would work to get him backing for reelection from those in the American Jewish establishment who disliked his rival's stance for Negroes.

⁷*C&C*, pp. 307-8. The Ruethers apparently reject notions such as "chosen race," "martyr race," etc. used by some Zionists and their supporters to refer to Jews. B.Z. Sobel, formerly of the Anti-Defamation League staff, in his *Hebrew Christians, The 13th Tribe* (New York, 1974), speaks of these people as "twice chosen"—by race and by faith. *The National Observer*, 10 January 1976, quotes American Jewish Congress President Arthur Hertzberg as calling immigration quotas against Jews "racist."

⁸*C&C*, p. 318; emphasis added.

⁹*Ecumenical Press Service*, 11 November 1975.

¹⁰*Zionism Reconsidered: The Rejection of Jewish Normalcy* (New York, 1970), p. xi.

¹¹*The Great Zionist Cover-Up* (Cleveland, 1975).

¹²Raphael Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1960), p. 56.

¹³Shortly after the presentation of this paper, *Al Hamishmar*, 7 September 1976, leaked the confidential Koenig Memorandum's recommendations to restrict job opportunities.

housing, education, and family payments for Israeli Arabs, and to stimulate their departure. The facts that Koenig has not been demoted or transferred from his post as District Commissioner for Galilee, and that none of his recommendations has been officially repudiated, make Israel's Arabs fear that their future treatment, like their past, will be in line with Herzl's third assumption.

¹⁴David Caploe, "Zionism: The Dream and the Reality," *Middle East International*, October 1975.

¹⁵Cited in Noam Chomsky, *Peace in the Middle East?* (New York, 1974), p. 53.

¹⁶(Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970).

¹⁷S.v. *Buber*, *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia and Macropaedia Britannica*. Zionists are upset by recent movements which, calling themselves Zionist, have much in common with Buber. "By their well-advertised persuasion toward Israel to be 'flexible,' 'amenable,' and 'reasonable,' they are augmenting the impact of the Arab and pro-Arab propaganda." *The Jewish Press*, 25 June 1976.

¹⁸(New York, 1963), p. 334.

¹⁹Cited in Agus, p. 423.

²⁰Maxim Ghilan, an ex-Israeli journalist, *How Israel Lost Its Soul* (Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 32-3.

Racism: A Basic Principle Of Zionism

Stefan Goranov

The resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 1975 leaves no doubts as to the racist character of the ideology and practices of Zionism. The UN decision opens up new and wider opportunities to deploy the struggle against the Zionist variety of racism, if the essence and specific features of this growing threat are precisely and correctly assessed.

In the first place it should be pointed out that the racism of Zionism is not an isolated phenomenon. Both as regards its character and its pernicious role, it is an inseparable component of the ideology and practice of the most reactionary and aggressive part of the international, imperialist bourgeoisie, of the forces of war, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

The monstrous crimes of Nazi Germany gave mankind a lesson it will not soon forget about the corrupting power of racism. A crushing blow was dealt racist ideology after the downfall of fascism in the Second World War, but racism was not eradicated from public life on our planet. Current developments show that racist ideology and policy are not a domestic ill of the state of Israel alone. They find broad manifestation in the capitalist states serving the interests and aims of these same aggressive forces. The brutal principles of racial discrimination reign supreme in the largest capitalist state—the USA—where the national minorities of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, North American Indians, and others make up almost one-fifth of the population. In spite of the fact that more than 100 years have elapsed since the abolition of slavery, the development of American society is indicative that capitalism is not in a position to provide freedom and equality for minorities.

The bloody clashes of the white racists in South Africa with the country's indigenous black population, and the close cohesion of the racists in South Africa aimed at the preservation or restoration of colonial oppression over the major part of the continent endangers the freedom of many peoples. The alliance of the white racists of South Africa and the Zionist racists of Israel, who assist each other in the implementation of their common policy of apartheid, of racial discrimination, and of neocolonial expansion in Africa is particularly dangerous. The relations of

racial oppression in these and in other countries are closely intertwined with the domestic and foreign relations of the capitalist states and are manifested in various ways, including imperialist wars, colonization of annexed territories, and expulsion or physical annihilation of the indigenous population of the annexed territories.

The colonial policy of the Zionists in Palestine, implemented with the assistance of the imperialist states, especially that of the USA, applies the same racist methods which the North American colonizers applied towards the indigenous Indians. The same general ideas also underlie the racist slogans of Zionism, such as "a world Jewish nation," "the people chosen by God," and "greater Israel." Essentially they contain elements of the system of anti-scientific and thoroughly immoral theses on the inequality of human races through which the imperialist bourgeoisie justifies its exploitation of the "colored" working people and its own national proletariat.¹

As regards its ideology, Zionism is essentially a modification of Gobineau's racist views, according to which mankind is divided into three basic races. The most inferior is the "black race," closely followed by the "yellow race." The "white race" is the most superior, because it allegedly possesses all the virtues: reasonable energy, inclination to order, intellectual superiority, etc.² Profoundly reactionary and metaphysical in character, Gobineau's theory alleges that "every civilization is the product of the white race, that not a single civilization could exist without the help of this race" By proclaiming the basic and unending superiority of the white race over the others, and alleging that the so-called colored races do not have the capacity to develop, he perpetuates racial antagonism and racial domination. It was precisely for this reason that Marx labeled Gobineau as "the knight of barbarity." He also pointed out that through his racist fabrications Gobineau strove to prove that "the representatives of the 'white race' are like gods among the rest of the peoples and, naturally, the 'noble' families among the 'white race' are, in their turn, the real cream of the chosen."⁴

The Zionist attitude to the Arab people in the occupied territories, as well as to Jews who have come to Israel from the Arab countries, is inspired also by the racist conceptions of Vacher de Lapouge, who explains class relations in terms of biological sociology. According to Lapouge, classes are the product of social selection and of the morphological differences existing within their biological structures. He claims that "the 'non-white classes' are descendants of the savages who are unadapted to civilized life, or to degenerate representatives of the classes 'whose blood has been spoiled'."⁵

These racist conceptions, adopted and rejuvenated by Zionist racists, have nothing in common with science. Proceeding from anthropological

and psychological studies, science has reached the only correct conclusion—all races of present-day mankind are equipollent physically and equally capable of creating cultural values. The racist theory and practice of imperialism, however, is aimed at destroying the basic unity and therefore the fundamental rights of a large part of mankind; and Zionist racism, in particular, is aimed at the Palestinian Arabs and the neighboring Arab peoples as well. Herefrom stems one of the extremely important conclusions—no successful struggle against Zionist racism can be waged if the struggle against imperialism is forsaken. It is simply a deception to believe that a durable and just peace in the Middle East can be achieved in cooperation with the USA. America cannot embark upon this road without abandoning the interests of its protégé Israel, and therefore its own interests.

Much realism is contained in the warnings of those Arab circles which consider that every settlement of the conflict engineered or inspired by the USA is essentially directed against the Arab peoples; it can only lead to their political and economic dependence and, in due course, to the crushing of the Palestinian resistance. The concessions made by the Arab states and current developments in the Middle East show that it is not America that has drawn closer to the settlement sought by the Arabs, but some Arab states that are drawing closer to the settlement sought by the imperialists and the Zionists. Such an approach will not curb, but will only encourage a future colonial and racist expansion of Zionism. It therefore follows that the key to a just settlement of the Middle East conflict is not in the hands of the USA, but in the hands of the Arab peoples; it lies not in bargaining, but in the struggle against imperialism.

It is important to note that racial intolerance and hostility to the Arabs do not exhaust the content of Zionist racism. They are merely one aspect of its manifestation. Before becoming anti-Arab, Zionism as a movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie, organically linked to the representatives of imperialism, adopted racism as the basic and motivating principle of its development. Zionism emerged as a racist reaction to the growing process of Jewish assimilation in Europe. That Zionist ideologists consistently denounce this assimilation, labeling it a betrayal of “the Jewish people,” is of telling significance. In order to prove that Jews and non-Jews cannot live together, and citing antisemitic programs carried out by the exploiting classes, Theodor Herzl fabricated a monstrous accusation leveled at all peoples. “The peoples among whom the Jews are living,” he wrote, “are, in general, overt or covert antisemites.”⁶ Assimilation is, in principle, declared impossible, because of the “inherent” antisemitism of all non-Jews. In order to fan racial hatred, the Zionists deliberately exaggerate the negative moments in historical development and present “the eternal people” as a people of martyrs, who have survived in spite of the

“everlasting” hatred on the part of other peoples.⁷ Precisely for this reason, according to the Zionists, assimilation is either impossible or superficial. In Ahad Ha’am’s view, the Jews have remained what they were, i.e. one nation, because in the course of assimilation they have managed to accumulate to themselves the intellectual powers of the other nations, and, on the basis of Judaism, to survive in the competitive struggle with them.⁸

In practice, however, the alleged racism of all non-Jews is opposed by the operating racism of the Zionists. Its credo is the myth about the Jews as a supnation and their leading role among the other peoples. From the positions of haughty ethnocentrism, the Zionists ascribe a number of racial priorities to the Jews, lacking in other nations. Jewry is raised to the status of a cult and is opposed to the other peoples, who are allegedly less capable and more inert in moral and intellectual respects. On this problem Ahad Ha’am wrote with Nietzschean frankness:

And thus if we acknowledge that the goal of every existence is the appearance of a superman, then an essential part of this goal is the appearance of a supnation. Such a nation should exist, whose intellectual character makes it more capable than the other nations, more inclined to develop a moral teaching and entire lifestyle, based on loftier moral norms than all the others.⁹

Naturally, in principle, these are not sound considerations. Their specific addresses are the Jews, because in another place he declares:

Everyone quite naturally takes it for granted that there are different steps in the ladder of creation: the appearance of nonorganic matter, the plants, the animal kingdom, then the beings endowed with speech, and above all the Jews.¹⁰

It could be concluded that these ideas have been borrowed from the arsenal of Nazism; investigation, however, will prove the exact opposite, i.e. that the fascists borrowed from Zionism.

Numerous statements and current actions of the Zionists show that in their view the calling of “God’s chosen people” is not to enlighten, but to dominate over and, if necessary, to annihilate the other peoples. The exaltation of brute force and the alleged superiority have been transformed by the Zionists into the alpha and omega of their policy. Even in the early years of the 20th century, during his residence in Palestine, Ben-Gurion declared: “The present-day world respects nothing but strength.” Half a century later, he stated that the Palestine problem would be settled “by force of arms and not through official resolutions.”¹¹

The Zionist experiment to resurrect “the chosen people” through Jewish settlement in Palestine under the false slogan—“a land without a people for the people without a land”—has been implemented from its

very beginning by cruel racial discrimination. A number of measures were taken to expel the indigenous population—boycott of Arab labor and Arab produce, easy terms for the purchase of land from the mandatory government, and the facilitating legislation obligingly provided by the government. When economic coercion did not yield the desired results, brute force was used.¹² By changing the demographic character of Palestine in favor of the immigrant Jews, the Zionists overtly and brutally observed the racist rule that there can be no equality in Jewish-Arab relations, but only Jewish domination. The practical realization of this principle has been confirmed by the numerous military conflicts, among which four major periods of fighting against the Arab peoples stand out.

The racist character of Zionism is manifest also in the opposition of Jewish national culture to the cultures of the other peoples. According to the Zionists, the chief advantage of Jewish culture is in that it is built on the foundation of Judaism. Judaism is described as the intellectual center of Jewish life; it is maintained that, thanks to superb religious education, the Jewish people have succeeded in preserving their racial homogeneity and their invariable national identity. In the words of Ahad Ha'am:

For three thousand years we have been Jews, because we could be nothing else, because a powerful and supreme force tied us to Judaism Hence Judaism is alive in us together with all the natural instincts which develop in man from the hour of his birth¹³

Some Zionists even go so far as to claim that Jewish culture is the driving force, without which world cultures could not develop. "The Jewish culture, the spirit of the Jewish people," wrote A. Barta, "is in actual fact the driving force, the dynamo behind other cultures, and behind European cultures in particular."¹⁴ Science categorically rejects such claims as fabrications of the rabbis. Despite their number, specific "Jewish" thinkers, trained in talmudic erudition and captives of biblical dogmas from antiquity to our own times, have not given mankind a single valuable notion. Spinoza was anathemized by the Amsterdam synagogue because he doubted the legend that Moses was the father of the Pentateuch and because, in spite of his Jewish background, he did not belong to the religious thinkers of the ghetto.

Biblical and talmudic traditions have obviously influenced Zionist views about the "messianic" role of the Jewish people, about the racial opposition and differentiation of this people from the others, about the conceptions of the Jewish community as a socially homogeneous community without any class contradictions, about propagandizing the biblical legend of the Jewish return to Palestine, etc. The Judaic elements are, however, supplemented and "enriched" by the bourgeois and imperialist conceptions such as chauvinism, racism, and colonialism.

However, Jewish culture contains other elements as well. People of Jewish background, connected with the national cultures of the respective countries in which they live, have manifested their human abilities and have created major and lasting works in all spheres of human endeavor. It is precisely in the works of these men that the progressive features of worldwide significance of Jewish culture, as an inseparable part of the national cultures of the people of the USSR, USA, Britain, France, Germany, etc., find expression.

On the one hand, these facts are proof of the unequivocal rejection of the Zionist claims about the racial extraordinariness of the Jews. On the other, they expose the utter absurdity of the antisemitic conceptions about the racial inferiority of the Jews. However, while rejecting as antihumane and humiliating the ideas of antisemitism in all its forms and manifestations, we should immediately emphasize that no one else, except the German Nazis, has ever claimed the unsurpassability of the "national genius" in such a way as have the Zionists. Common sense cannot accept in any other way but as racist narcissism the public proclamation of Max Nordau: "The Jew possesses a greater enterprising spirit and greater abilities than the average European, to say nothing about all those Asian or Africans" ¹⁵ And only by proceeding from an incorrigible racist stand could it be seriously claimed that the Jewish people are endowed with greater sons, that men of genius and great intellectual capacity are nowhere so numerous as among the Jews, that the cultural, artistic, and political pearls never shine so brightly as when they are created by Jews.

A striking manifestation of Zionist racism is the racist-militarist spirit permeating all spheres of Israeli society. The Zionist extremism of the garrison state of Israel exhibits racism directed outwards, against the Arab peoples who are considered the main obstacle to the realization of Zionist plans of expansion and a danger to the Jewish character of the state. On the other hand, there is also racism directed inwards, against the majority of the Israeli working people, regardless of their ethnic origin. Their status as discriminated, oppressed, and humiliated people is explained by the Zionist establishment in terms of their racial inferiority.

The place of importance assigned to anti-Arab racism in the life of Israeli society most directly reflects the specific features of Zionist colonialism. Whereas traditional colonialism aimed not only at seizing foreign territories, but also at exploiting the local manpower, the Zionists try to capture territories "cleansed" of their indigenous population. The Zionists often state that "the Jews have too much history and too little geography," and therefore all discriminatory measures have a single aim—to expel the Arab population and to establish Israel as a homogeneous Jewish state. According to Revisionist-Zionist leader, Vladimir Jabotinsky:

Palestine should belong to the Jews. The application of suitable methods aimed at the creation of an ethnically pure Jewish state will always be necessary and topical. The Arabs know only too well, even now, what we intend to do with them and what we desire from them. We should constantly create situations of *faits accomplis*, as well as explain to the Arabs that they must leave our lands and withdraw to the desert.¹⁶

It is of more than passing significance to note that ideologically the Zionists' anti-Arab racism borrows directly from the racist arsenal of antisemitism. A whole complex of prejudices against the Arabs, similar to those the antisemites created against the Jews, is being systematically inculcated in the consciousness of the Israeli masses. The suggestion is made that Arab society is synonymous with backwardness, and the Arabs are presented as intellectually and psychologically inferior, and whose historical development is the result of two factors only—religion and the desert. Racial antagonism against the Arabs is also transplanted onto religious soil. It is alleged that the Arab as a socio-psychological type is not subject to development, because, according to the Zionists, he has been created and molded once and for all by the influence of the Qur'an and primordial instincts. As to the moral values of the Arabs, the Zionists place them on the lowest level of human morality. Anti-Arab prejudices permeate every facet of the Zionist educational system and are cultivated in the consciousness of the growing generations from their earliest ages. And all this the Zionists are doing to people who have inherited an ancient and rich civilization, significant and creative influences of which can be readily observed in the civilizations throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia.

Domestic racism is not leveled only at the Arabs in Israel. It is also directed at some Israeli citizens who are Jewish. The Zionist establishment divides the Jews in Israel into two groups: (1) those whose native language is Yiddish, and (2) those whose native language is not Yiddish, but Ladin or some other language. The first, also called Ashkenazim, are Jews of western origin who occupy responsible posts in the state and trade union administrations, while the second, the so-called Sephardim, have more limited rights and seldom occupy similarly responsible posts. The poor, "lower" stratum of Jews who come from Arab, African, and Asian countries also belong to the latter group. At the top of the racist ladder are the *sabras*, i.e. Jews who were born in Palestine and hence descendants of the earliest emigrants from Europe. European Jews, the Ashkenazim, have, as a rule, much greater opportunities than Sephardi Jews.¹⁷ Every one of these groups has, of course, its own subgroups. Those Jews who, according to the law passed in Israel on 10 March 1970, are not recognized as "real" Jews are in a particularly difficult situation. According to this law, only those whose mother is a Jewess or profess

Judaism before an orthodox rabbi are recognized as Jews.

In actual fact, religious racism typical of the Middle Ages is undergoing a renaissance in Israel. The religious canons forbid Jews to marry Christians or Muslims. Families of so-called mixed marriages are subjected to all kinds of discrimination; they are settled in the more remote parts of the country, whether in kibbutzim or in military settlements. The women who are not Jewish are obliged to study Hebrew, in part as preparation for their conversion to Judaism, and it is only afterwards that they are granted full civil rights. "Nowhere in the world," wrote A. Zheromski, "is there such stratification of people as in Israel—horizontal, vertical, diagonal, and radial."¹⁸

The policy of chauvinism, racism, and aggression brings to the Israeli working people new trials, preposterous risks, and unsuspected threats. To the common citizen it brings suffering and eventual death on the battlefield for the sake of an infamous cause, benefiting only the interests of the big Zionist bourgeoisie, the multimillionaires belonging to the invisible empire of the international monopolies. In return for all possible sufferings of the Israeli people, the Zionists offer the mirage of a greater Jewish state.

The Zionist policy of racism is directed not only against those living in Israel but against all peoples of the world and against the democratic rights of international Jewry to decide where and how to live. The transformation of Israel into an "armed ghetto" hostile to its Arab neighbors, the Zionist policy of permanent war against them, the deprivation of the Palestinian people of their right to a homeland, all entail numerous and unforeseen evils. The Zionists deprive the Israeli people of the only possible settlement of the conflict over Palestine, namely understanding and good-neighborly relations with the Arab peoples. Precisely for this reason, of all possible and real enemies of international Jewry, Zionism has been and remains its most dangerous enemy.

The attempts made by the Zionists and some bourgeois sociologists to conceal the racist and colonialist nature of Zionism by representing the Israeli-Arab conflicts as a *clash of two equivalent but opposing nationalistic movements* cannot succeed. The identification of Zionist chauvinism and racism with Arab nationalism is scientifically groundless and politically harmful, serving only to attempt to justify Zionist aggressiveness as retaliation for the alleged aggressiveness of Arab nationalism; for the same reason, Israel is represented as the little, but gallant, David, who, with God's help, wins the duel with the might Arab Goliath.

The scientific approach shows that nationalism is a concrete historical phenomenon and has a different content depending on the conditions.

There is *progressive nationalism*, nationalism of the working people, which arises in the struggle against imperialism and colonial exploitation, as well as against domestic reactionary forces. From a scientific point of view this nationalism "is historically justified."¹⁹ We have full grounds for identifying thus the nationalism of the peoples of the Arab states fighting against imperialism. There is also, however, *reactionary nationalism*, the nationalism of the bourgeoisie, directed against the democratic rights of the working people, against the freedom of other peoples. Such is Zionist nationalism. The Middle East conflict is a clash between qualitatively different forces and opposing historical trends of development. The basic character of Zionism is racist, which, in its deepest essence, is indistinguishable from fascism. Precisely this character of Zionism conceals the real cause of its profound crisis and increasing isolation from the Israeli working people and from international Jewry, as well as from others on the international plane.

The peoples of the socialist states, the progressive forces of the developing countries, the progressive and peace-loving forces in the capitalist states, Israel included, side with the just struggle of the Palestinians and the other Arab peoples. All progressive forces combine their resolute struggle against Zionist racism with their uncompromising struggle against antisemitism. It is clear that the struggle against racism cannot be successfully waged from the position of an opposite racism. Far from bringing closer durable and equitable peace in the Middle East, such a tactic would only drive it farther away, as does the so-called step-by-step approach of the USA.

The statement of the USSR of 28 April 1976 offers real alternative for a just peace in the conflict over Palestine. It points out that the conflict can be settled only as a result of the solution of the issues involved. This means a resolution of three interdependent problems: (1) withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; (2) guaranteeing the rights of the Palestinians, including their inalienable right to establish their own states; and (3) recognition of the right to independent existence of all Middle Eastern countries.²⁰

This stand is supported by the majority of the socialist states and will win ever more adherents among the progressive forces everywhere, because it is just, democratic, and consistent with the real interests of all concerned—a lasting peace.

FOOTNOTES

¹*Against Racism* (Moscow, 1966), p. 9 (in Russian).

²Compte A. De Gobineau, *Introduction à l'Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines* (Paris, 1963), p. 376.

⁹*Ibid.*

⁴Karl Marx, *Works*, Vol. 32, p. 546 (in Russian).

⁵Vacher de Lapouge, *Race et Milieu Social: Essais d'Antroposociologie* (Paris, 1909), p. 230.

⁶Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (Sofia, 1947), p. 40 (in Bulgarian).

⁷S.M. Dubnov, *Letters of the Old and New Jewry, 1897-1907* (Moscow, 1907), p. 155 (in Russian).

⁸*Sources de la Pensée Juive Contemporaine* (Jerusalem, 1970), p. 42.

⁹*Zionism: The Poisonous Weapon of Imperialism. Documents and Materials*, p. 107 (in Russian).

¹⁰*Sources de la Pensée Juive Contemporaine*, p. 49.

¹¹*Les Temps Modernes: Le Conflit Israélo-Arabe* (Paris, 1967), p. 124.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹³*Sources de la Pensée Juive Contemporaine*, p. 54.

¹⁴*Naroden Glas*, 2 June 1971.

¹⁵*Max Nordau to His People* (New York, 1941), p. 73.

¹⁶Cited in B. Rainov, *The Roads of Zionism* (Sofia, 1969), p. 63 (in Bulgarian).

¹⁷*Rabotnicheskó Delo*, 26 January 1972.

¹⁸A. Zheromski, *West of Jordan* (Warsaw, 1965), p. 236.

¹⁹V.I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. 39, p. 330.

²⁰*Rabotnicheskó Delo*, 29 April 1976.

Zionism, Jews and Judaism

Joseph L. Ryan, S.J.

The purpose of this paper is to explore how Zionist leaders, especially early Zionists, looked on Jews and Judaism.

Apologists for Zionism, particularly during and since the debate in the UN General Assembly in November 1975 on resolution 3379 (XXX), have argued that Zionism cannot be viewed as racist because Zionism does not define its adherents on the basis of race. Thus the then US Ambassador to the UN, Patrick Moynihan, stated in his UN speech that the Zionist movement "defined its members in terms not of birth, but of belief." He further claimed:

It was not a movement of persons connected by historic membership in a genetic pool . . . nor yet of diverse groups occupying the same territory To the contrary, Zionists defined themselves merely as Jews and declared to be Jewish anyone born of a Jewish mother or, and this is the absolutely crucial fact, anyone who converted to Judaism With a consistency in the matter which surely attests to the importance of this issue to that religious and political culture, Israeli courts have held that a Jew who converts to another religion is no longer a Jew.

Accordingly, Moynihan concluded "that whatever else Zionism may be, it is not and cannot be 'a form of racism'."

To test this assertion, I turned to the anthology of Zionist writings contained in Arthur Hertzberg's *The Zionist Idea*.¹ This collection, made by a prominent rabbi and scholar, may not provide an exhaustive compilation of Zionist writing, but it is surely representative. The writers cited in this anthology overwhelmingly state that Jews are a *people*: many of them also agree that Jews are a *nation*, and that Judaism is in some way connected with this nation.

Jews As A People

Jewish Zionist spokesmen speak consistently of Jews as a people. Hertzberg's anthology is replete with examples, from the very first page of his excerpts to the last. So overwhelming is this use of the terms *people*, *peoplehood*, *community*, etc., that it would be boring to cite all of the

texts. I shall cite only two examples, from the first and last pages of his excerpts. Yehudah Alkali (1798-1878) wrote in 1843: "We, as a people, are properly called Israel only in the land of Israel" (105). And David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973) wrote in 1944 of seeing the day when "the majority of our people [will be] in a homeland transformed into a socialist Jewish state" (619).

It is worth noting that more than one of the writers on Zionism uses the term *race*. When speaking of Jews, Moses Hess (1812-75), one of the prominent precursors of Herzl, frequently uses *race*. Hess, the first Zionist thinker, was completely a man of the nineteenth century; born in Germany, he lived in Germany and France and collaborated with Marx and Engels on two books of critical analysis of the contemporary scene, but later broke with them. In *Rome and Jerusalem*, his classic work, Hess stated: "The Jewish race is one of the primary races of mankind, and it has retained its integrity despite the influence of changing climatic conditions." (121). Speaking of those German Jews who denied their "race," Hess attributed this to the hatred of Jews by other Germans. The Germans, he said, hate the race of the Jews more than their religion (120). The use by Hess of the word *race* is not a mere slip of the pen; it occurs repeatedly. Thus he wrote: "I have even heard it said quite seriously that the Indo-Germanic race improves its quality by mingling with the Jewish race" (127). Hess also quotes favorably a non-Jewish French writer who speaks of the "Jewish race" and expresses the opinion that "it is of little consequence to a Jewish state how much of the Jewish race may dwell within, or outside, its borders" (138).

Jews As A Nation

Zionist writers repeatedly proclaim in a variety of ways that Jews are a nation, or that they were a nation, or that they will be a nation.² In many cases the writers speak of Jews as being a nation potentially, if not actually. Thus Moses Hess writes: "The really dishonorable Jew . . . is the modern kind, who . . . is ashamed of his nationality . . ." (121). He describes "the sense of Jewish nationality" as the living kernel of Judaism and speaks of the "national renaissance" of Judaism as a "national religion" (123) along with "the regeneration of the Jewish nation" (133).

The emphasis on the national character of Jews is most explicit in the writings of those born in Russia. Thus Peretz Smolenskin (1842-85), Eliezer Ben-Yehudah (1858-1923), Moshe Lilienblum (1843-1910), and Leo Pinsker (1821-91) all emphasize that Jews are a nation.³

Two Zionist writers of special importance are Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), the Viennese journalist and author of *Der Judenstaat*, "The Jews' State (conventionally but inaccurately translated *The Jewish State*),

and the founder of political Zionism, and Max Nordau (1849-1923), Herzl's most important colleague and disciple. In *The Jewish State*, Herzl wrote:

I consider the Jewish question neither a social nor a religious one, even though it sometimes takes these and other forms. It is a national question, and to solve it we must first of all establish it as an international political problem to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council. We are a people—one people (209).

Max Nordau writing in 1902 stated:

The one point which excludes, probably forever, the possibility of understanding between Zionist and non-Zionist Jews is the question of Jewish nationality. Whoever maintains and believes that the Jews are not a nation can indeed not be a Zionist He who is convinced to the contrary that the Jews are a people must necessarily become Zionist, as only the return to their country can save the Jewish nation . . . (243).

Jacob Klatzkin (1882-1948), a Russian who lived in Germany, Switzerland, and the USA, was, according to Hertzberg, the most radical of all Zionist writers in denying any possibility of a Jewish life in the diaspora. Klatzkin identified Judaism with "nationalism," thus:

Judaism rests on an objective basis: *To be a Jew means the acceptance of neither a religious nor an ethical creed.* We are neither a denomination nor a school of thought, but members of one family, bearers of a common history. Denying the Jewish spiritual teachings does not place one outside of the community, and accepting it does not make one a Jew. In short, to be a part of the nation one need not believe in the Jewish religion or the Jewish spiritual outlook (317).

This parade of witnesses may be brought to a close by citing Richard J.H. Gottheil (1862-1936), professor of Semitic languages at Columbia University and the first president of the Federation of American Zionists. In a summary of an article, the first official statement by the Federation of the philosophy of American Zionism, Gottheil declared: "We believe that the Jews are something more than a purely religious body; that they are not only a race, but also a nation; though a nation without as yet two important requisites—a common home and a common language" (500).

These excerpts all stress Jewish nationalism. Why the agreement on this point? Was there an inner consistency? There was, and it flowed in part from the situation in Europe which gave rise to Zionism, which was essentially a reaction against Jewish emancipation. The historical background for the Zionist insistence on the centrality of Jewish nationalism is related by Ben Halpern,⁴ a prominent Zionist and authority on Zionism. Equality of all citizens in principle, proclaimed in Europe under the so-called enlightenment, was put into practice through acts of various governments, e.g. by the French National Assembly in 1791. By

1860, the equality of the Jews was generally effective in western Europe.⁵ But this state of affairs was not firmly established; in later years the status of Jews and the principles on which it rested were again questioned.

To end the discrimination against Jews two solutions were possible—granting Jews equality either as individuals, as citizens of the countries where they lived, or collectively, as a nationality. Halpern points out that the first persons to consider the latter possibility seriously were not Jews but Gentiles.

If, however, the Jews were a “nation” and not a “church” like other churches, then their equality and integration presented a problem. This difficulty was felt by advocates of emancipation and stressed by opponents of the Jews. Those favoring emancipation argued that all citizens were equally endowed with the rights of man; further, as a result of separation of church and state, religious differences were eliminated as obstacles to equal citizenship. On the other hand, an alien could clearly be denied equality with citizens. Thus if “church” was really equivalent to “nation” as far as the Jews were concerned, citizenship could be denied them.⁶

Reacting to this point of view, some western Jews formulated two new principles: (1) The Jews were not a nation but a religious confession like any other; or, if they were not, they would become so when free. (2) The expressions of the messianic restoration of the Jews to Zion were abstract or symbolic, and should be removed from the Jewish liturgy.⁷

Against this assimilationist or modernist point of view, Zionists, especially after Herzl, replied decisively: Jews are an ethnic entity and the Jewish problem is a national problem.⁸ If Jews in Europe could not receive full citizenship while retaining their identity, the only solution was to seek a place where they could. Halpern notes that Herzl

accepted the Gentile assumptions regarding nationality not only as an intractable fact but as a just principle: a nationality was, indeed, not merely a body of fellow-citizens, but a union of men tied together by historic bonds of social and cultural communion. This insight need never have been formulated by Herzl, for it was ardently demonstrated by everything he did and by his manner in everything he said.⁹

Thus the emphasis on Jewish nationalism by Zionists was an essential aspect of Zionism. And this emphasis provoked differing attitudes by Jews about the role of religion with regard to Zionism.

Nation vs. Religion

During the early years of the Zionist movement, the following attitudes of Jews toward religion can be observed: (1) Anti-Zionist Jews insisted that Jews were not a nation but a religious community. (2) Religious Zionists

stressed the centrality of religion to Zionism. (3) Most other Zionists, precisely because they considered that it was nationalism that was central to being Jewish (and perhaps because they themselves were not religious), felt that religion played only a marginal role. The views of these last two groups are illustrated by the following citations.

Smolenskin argued that nonobservance of the law does not exclude a Jew from the community:

Those who may abandon some, or even many, of our religious practices will nonetheless keep a share in the inheritance of Israel. Whatever their sin, it is a sin against God and not against their people *No matter what his sins against religion, every Jew belongs to his people so long as he does not betray it*—this is the principle which we must succeed in establishing. It is the logical conclusion to be derived from the proposition that we are a people (145, 146).

Smolenskin advanced two arguments to support his conclusion. First, if laws alone make us one community, why do we bear love in our hearts for all Jews? It is not laws that are the source of this love, but some high sentiment, some fundamental emotional loyalty. Second, if religious discipline is the bond, then the community is likely to disappear soon, since large numbers of Jews do in fact forsake their religious discipline.

Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927), the "agnostic rabbi" from the Ukraine who settled in Palestine in 1921, put great emphasis on the cultural revival and modernization of the Jewish people. In a letter to Judah Magnes in 1910, he asked:

Do you really think of excluding from the ranks of the nationalists all those who do not believe in the principles of religion? If that is your intention, I cannot agree. In my view our religion is national—that is to say, it is a product of our national spirit—but the reverse is not true. If it is impossible to be a Jew in the religious sense without acknowledging our nationality, it is possible to be a Jew in the national sense without accepting many things in which religion requires belief . . . (262).

Aaron David Gordon (1856-1922) posed a series of questions about the attraction of Zionism to Jews: Why leave the lands of our birth? Why should we not assimilate? He replied:

Surely it is not religion. In our days it is quite possible for a man to live without any religion at all. As for those who still retain strong loyalties to Judaism—merely as a religion—they may confidently look forward to complete religious freedom in the not too distant future (380).

Horace Mayer Kallen, a professor at the New School for Social Research in New York, wrote in 1918:

The place and function of Judaism in Jewish life is like the place and function of any religion in any national life. It is an item in that life; only an

item, no matter how important, in a whole which is determined by the ethnic character of the people that live by it, by their history, by their collective will and intent (527).

Of course, there were, and are, religious Jews who, while accepting Jewish nationalism as essential to Zionism, hold a different opinion about the place of Judaism in the life of Jews. For example, Yehiel Michael Pines (1842-1912), who went to Palestine from Poland in 1878, insisted strongly that Jewish national identity was unique; for him this uniqueness lay not in the national ethic but in religion. Jewish religion and nationalism, he said, were indivisible, so that a secular Jewish nation was inconceivable:

Any other people can perhaps have a national aspiration divorced from its religion, but we Jews cannot. Such nationalism is an abomination to Jews (413).

Abraham Isaac Kook (1865-1935), one of the most extraordinary of the modern Zionist thinkers and a mystic of unusual endowments, went to Palestine in 1904 as chief rabbi of Jaffa. He utterly rejected secular nationalism:

Jewish secular nationalism is a form of self-delusion: the spirit of Israel is so closely linked to the spirit of God that a Jewish nationalist, no matter how secularist his intention may be, must, despite himself, affirm the divine. An individual can sever the tie that binds him to the eternal, but the House of Israel as a whole cannot (430).

Martin Buber (1878-1965) emphasized the uniqueness of Israel, the people and the nation linked by religion:

Israel is a people like no other, for it is the only people in the world which . . . has been both a nation and a religious community Israel was and is a people and a religious community in one He who severs this bond severs the life of Israel (459-60).

Solomon Schechter (1847-1915) stressed the same tie: "The rebirth of Israel's national consciousness, and the revival of Israel's religion . . . are inseparable" (508).

To conclude, first, Zionist writers overwhelmingly concur that Jews form one distinct people. Second, many of these spokesmen agree on the national character of Jews. Some of them state Jews are a nation; and should be one. Both of these groups believe that Jews will be a nation. Third, most Zionist writers agree that religion has played an important role in Jewish life. While some insist that this role must continue, at least for Jewry if not for all individuals, others deny this.

Thus Moynihan's discussion at the UN of Jews and Zionism—as viewed from the perspective of Zionist thinkers—is incomplete, misleading, and dishonest.

FOOTNOTES

¹New York, 1959. All page references, unless otherwise identified, are to this source and are inserted in parentheses at the end of the quotation.

²All but one of the excerpts in Hertzberg's anthology were written before 1948.

³Citations from Smolenskin, p. 154; Ben-Yehudah, pp. 164-5; Lilienblum, p. 170; and Pinsker, 183-4.

⁴*The Idea of the Jewish State*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 142.



III

Manifestations

on Zionist Racism



Zionist Manipulations to Induce Immigration to Israel

Alfred M. Lilienthal

The number one goal of the Zionist apparatus today is the ingathering of the exiles. Every Jew throughout the world is considered by Zionism to be in *Galut*, (exile) until he comes home to Israel. To facilitate this, "Operation Ingathering" became codified with the Law of Return, adopted by the Israeli Knesset on 5 July 1950, and with the Nationality Act of 1952, granting every Jew the right to come to Israel for permanent settlement and to acquire Israeli citizenship automatically. The emptying of Europe's Jewish refugee camps had brought to the state an initial rush of some 300,000 immigrants, mostly survivors of Hitler who had no other place to go. The doors of the West were not open, thanks to the efforts of western Zionists whose interest it was to see that those doors remained closed. The next wave of immigration to Israel, according to the Zionist blueprint, was to consist of voluntary emigrants from the USA and other western European countries. Certainly they would come, inasmuch as they must wish to lead a "full Jewish life" and to be free of the fear of persecution in the lands of their "exile."

In solemn policy declarations, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion from the time he took office did all he could to encourage immigration to Israel. On one of the first occasions on which he spoke to a group of Americans visiting (on 31 August 1949), Ben-Gurion stated clearly and almost militantly:

Although we realized our dream of establishing a Jewish state, we are still at the beginning. Today there are only 900,000 Jews in Israel, while the greater part of the Jewish people are still abroad. The future consists of bringing all Jews to Israel. We appeal to the parents to help us bring their children here. Even if they decline to help, we will bring the youth to Israel; but I hope that this will not be necessary.

Time and again this Israeli leader stated that the "establishment of the new state was never the fulfillment of Zionism, but the movement was more necessary now than ever before." For in 1951, the Zionist leader was envisioning an influx of an additional 4,000,000 Jews into Israel over the following ten years. And Ben-Gurion never lost an opportunity to emphasize the importance of the ingathering. In an address to the Twenty-Fifth World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem in December 1960, in a speech to members of the Association of American and Canadian Settlers in Israel in 1961, in a report to the Israeli Knesset in May 1961, in an address at the opening of Hadassah's Golden

Celebration in January 1962, and in a talk before the American Jewish Congress Symposium in Jerusalem in June 1962, the Israeli head of government stressed the same theme: he described as "godless Jews" those who lived outside of Israel and called American Jews "ignorant of what a Jew means."

He upbraided American Zionists, who were reluctant to say they are not Americans and not part of the American homeland like other Americans, and who disagreed with his evaluation that Israel was the basis of the whole existence of Jewish communities elsewhere, predicting that "the only things that could save Judaism in the United States were personal ties with Israel." And when the founder of the Israeli state retired to the Negev, his successor Levi Eshkol continued moving toward what he called the goal of "conquering the communities of US Jews."

But Ben-Gurion and his successors were unable to persuade even their own Zionist party members to avail themselves of the Law of Return. In an article for the *Hadassah* magazine (October 1962), Ben-Gurion wrote: "On the day the state was established, not a single Zionist leader—either in America or in Europe—severed his tie with the diaspora and identified his personal fate with the state of Israel." And in the Knesset, the Prime Minister complained that "US Zionists think of Israel as a place not for themselves, but for 'homeless' Jews."

Jewish-American do-gooders, enthusiastic sympathizers, all-out supporters, generous philanthropists, and even political crusaders continued to prefer to carry on their work for "little Israel" from the vantage point of their Park Avenue abodes, their Picadilly flats, or their residences on the Rue de la Paix. As an outstanding Jewish editor, William Zuckerman, described in the *Jewish Newsletter* (October 1959):

No amount of raging and fuming on the part of the nationalists and particularly Ben-Gurion made a dent in the decision to remain in their homes. Israel was to the American Jew a thing of pride, an ornament, even a new article in their religion for which they were willing to pay generously in money. But it was not to be their present home, nor the home of their children. This was the one great act of defiance of western Jews against Israel which doomed the "ingathering" to ideological bankruptcy and material failure.

This was written in 1959, but the near-total reticence of western Jews continues despite heightened Israeli efforts.

Once the larger initial waves of Jews from Iraq, Yemen, and Bulgaria had subsided, Israel's leaders made it exceedingly clear that they no longer wanted the weak and infirm, but the healthy youth from the US and the West. A shift in emphasis in their pleas for immigration, from the doctrinaire to the more immediate problem of Israeli national manpower needs, was thought to be more effective. Zionist leaders squarely posed immigration as a dire manpower problem, no longer a

philanthropic responsibility, stressing the need for engineers, technicians, nurses, and other technicians. And Ben-Gurion had boasted:

I am sure they will come. There are economic factors to induce them. A Jewish engineer in America will not easily obtain employment in a non-Jewish firm and there are not enough Jewish firms to absorb all intellectuals.

But the doom music of Zionism orchestrated by Herzl, Weizmann, Wise, Silver, and other Zionist theoreticians failed. US and western Jews did not feel imperiled sufficiently, although they helped pass on to others the saga of the growing philosophy of fear of antisemitism. After the Zionist Organization of America had established trade schools and business colleges in Israel for Americans, and otherwise attempted to instill in Zionists and non-Zionists the necessary "exodus psychology," Zionist leader Israel Goldstein still complained:

What are American Jews waiting for? Are they waiting for a Hitler to force them out? Do they imagine they will be spared the tragedies which have forced Jews of other lands to emigrate?

It should not be forgotten that from the very outset immigration to Palestine had been artificially stimulated. Even Europe's displaced persons, freed of the scourge of Hitler, had to be persuaded that Israel was the only place where they could build their lives anew. Of the 112,000 displaced persons who in 1945 were in the American zone of Germany, more than 55,000 applied to come to the USA. The majority specified a preference of going anywhere but Palestine, despite the intense propaganda work of the Jewish Agency among the inmates of the displaced persons (DP) camps. With the backing of former advisors on Jewish affairs to the US High Commissioner, Judges Simon Rifkind and Louis Levinthal, and of the Zionist leader Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Chaplain Klausner in a notorious report to the American Jewish Conference on 2 May 1948 declared:

I am convinced that the people must be forced to go to Palestine. They are not prepared to understand their own position nor the promises of the future. To them, an American dollar looms as the greatest of objectives. By "force" I suggest a program. It is not a new program. It was used before and most recently. It was used in the evacuation of the Jews from Poland and in the story of the "exodus."

The first step in such a program is the adoption of the principle that it is the conviction of the world Jewish community that these people must go to Palestine Those who are not interested are no longer to be wards of the Jewish community to be maintained in camps, fed and clothed without their having to make any contribution to their own subsistence.

To effect this program, it becomes necessary for the Jewish community at large to reverse its policy and, instead of creating comforts for the displaced persons, to make them as uncomfortable as possible. The American Joint

Distribution Committee supplies should be withdrawn . . . A further procedure would call for an organization such as the Haganah to harass the Jews. Utilities would be tampered with, and all protection now given by the Advisor on Jewish Affairs, DP Chaplains, and Agency personnel [would] be withdrawn.¹

Rabbi Klausner went on to say that he would deal with the people as "a sick people" who are "not to be asked, but to be told what to do." And, if the program was not accepted, the good Chaplain added, "an incident" might occur which would "compel the American Jewish community to reconsider its policy and make changes herein suggested. At that time, there have been much more suffering, a greater wave of antisemitism and a tougher struggle to accomplish what might perhaps be accomplished today."²

Acts of terror and discrimination were committed in the DP camps against non-Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews. A general campaign went forward as an important US labor leader reported at the time, "to force displaced persons to accept Zionism, to join the Palestine Jewish army, and to give up legitimate differences."³ This means confiscation of food rations, dismissal from work, smashing of machines sent by Americans to train DPs in useful skills, taking away legal protection and visa rights from dissenters, even to the point of expelling them from the camps, and, in one instance, the public flogging of a recalcitrant recruit for the Israeli army. In addition, widespread stories of pogroms even in the USA were told to the ignorant and harrassed DPs to the point that a famed German artist and his wife could not stop believing in the reality of antisemitic violence in the US until they themselves visited the country.

Another method of gaining recruits for Israel was to remind American Jews that it was their religious duty to "redeem the Jews in the Arab and European countries." Ben-Gurion bluntly stated after the Israeli elections in 1949:

We must save the remnants of Israel in the diaspora. We must also save their possessions. Without these two things, we shall not build this country.⁴

When the expected rush of western Jews did not materialize, it became the calculated policy of the Israeli government and the World Zionist Organization to stir up trouble for the Jews of the diaspora so as to persuade, or even to force, them to emigrate and to occupy the lands vacated by the Palestinian Arabs. The Arab-Israeli conflict, of course, afforded an excellent opportunity for the "redemption of the diaspora," even as American Jews, under the agreement reached between Israeli and American Zionists, were being readied through education for future *aliyah* (immigration to Israel).

After the DP camps had been emptied, more than 80 per cent of the

subsequent immigrants to Israel came from eastern European countries and from the Arab Middle East and North Africa. Where many of these Jews had not been willing to emigrate, a combination of pressure and propaganda forced them to move. The Jews had been brought to Iraq, then called Babylon, by Nebuchadnezzar after the destruction of the Kingdom of Judah. It was there that the Babylonian Talmud had been written, and that the captives had found "the peace of the city" prophesied for them by Jeremiah. It was in the great Islamic empires that they served as counselors and advisors to sultans and pashas, gaining civic prestige and financial position, while enjoying for centuries economic and religious freedom. In Iraq, there had been Jewish ministers in the cabinet and there were some 60 synagogues. Representatives of Middle East Jewry had appeared before the Anglo-American Committee in 1946 to express the fear that their friendly relations with Muslims were being endangered by political Zionism. At that time, there were far more persons of Jewish faith in the other Arab countries than in the "Promised Land."

What we today know in the West as antisemitism has never existed in the Arab world. Therefore, the Zionists had to devise a substitute. Since Moses and Abraham, as well as Jesus, are recognized as prophets in the Islamic faith; since the Qur'an referred to Jews as "the people of the book" and one of the holiest places in Islam is the rock in Jerusalem where Abraham was prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac, it was difficult for the seeds of bigotry to grow here. Hence these close bonds between Muslim, Christian and Jewish Arabs had to be torn asunder.

In Iraq, a well-organized Zionist campaign led by Zionist agents (usually Oriental Jews) who came into the country, succeeded in producing trouble between Jews and Muslims. Despite the strong vocal opposition of Iraq's Chief Rabbi, the late Sassoon Khedoury, who was physically attacked after he had publicly pointed out to the press that "solid responsible leaders of Iraqi Jews believe this to be their country, good times and bad, and we are convinced that the trouble will pass." The Rabbi was referring to the trouble resulting from the creation of Israel and the ensuing confusion between Zionists and Jews by uneducated Muslims in Iraq. But still, the Jews of Iraq, who numbered at their height some 150,000, and attended some 60 synagogues, were reluctant to emigrate, even after the Option Law of 1954 permitted them to leave for Israel. But what then took place was one of the tragedies that confronted Oriental Jews there as well as in other Arab countries. As Reuben David, a young Jewish Iraqi now in the USA later described it:

The Zionists embarked upon a high-pressure job of psychological warfare The natural fears of the uncertainties of life in Iraq, if they remained behind, were shrewdly played upon. Pamphlets entitled "Don't Buy from Muslims," which were given out in synagogues, were obviously

intended to fall into the hands of Muslims and cause anti-Jewish bitterness

Zionist efforts to stampede the Jews of Iraq were based on the theory that both a push and a pull were needed. The push derived from the persecution of the Jews in Iraq, some real as a result of the impact of the creation of Israel, and most fancied. The pull derived from the repeated Zionist proclamations of Israel as the "homeland" for all Jews

Somebody was certainly busy in Iraq to make sure the "push" was not neglected. There were stories in the newspapers of the bombings of places frequented by Jews, including one synagogue, and yet such bombings never seemed to cause casualties or even much damage, which certainly was suspicious It seemed obvious to me that these must have been bombings done by the Zionists. I believe all they wanted to do was to frighten the Jews and make them believe the Muslims were taking action against them.

Although the bombings seem to have done little or no physical damage, they had an effect on Iraqi Jews generally. Enormous quantities of arms began to be found in Jewish homes and synagogues. The government concluded that the bombs which had done so little damage in the Jewish business establishments and cafes were part of the same stores of munitions found in Jewish homes and synagogues and that the same people were probably responsible.⁵

Jews had served as finance ministers, members of parliament and in other official positions, as industrialists and tradesmen in all walks of Iraqi life, feeling perfectly at home after centuries of living side by side with Muslims. As one Oriental Jew expressed it, "We sang together and wept together. It was only after Zionism and Israel appeared on the scene that this human structure collapsed" Today the Jewish community in Iraq numbers less than 1,000.

The Suez crisis of 1956 provided Israel an excellent opportunity for the further ingathering of Oriental Jews, as well as the possibility of acquiring more territory into which these Jews might be placed.⁶ The nationalization of the Suez Canal Company by President Nasser and the subsequent takeover of the Canal led to the October 1956 fighting in which Israel, in accordance with the secret agreement of Sevres, joined Britain and France in the tripartite aggression against Egypt. Ben-Gurion announced to the world in his November address to the Knesset that every Jew, wherever he may be, "supports our military move," a statement purposely calculated to endanger the position of Jews in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world. It provided an excuse for the Egyptian government to throw into jail many Zionist sympathizers, along with innocent Jews who remained loyal to their country, but whose loyalty had been impugned by the Zionist insistence that they spoke for and acted in the name of Jews everywhere.

The impact of Zionism, which, since 1948, had shattered the peaceful existence that Jews had enjoyed among their non-Jewish Arab brothers for millenia, now reached new heights. Egyptian Jews, who had been more

reluctant to join the 700,000 who, by emotional appeals and instilled fears, had been squeezed out of Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, were now placed in an extremely dangerous position. The Jews of Egypt had lived for millenia side by side with followers of Islam and Christianity. Some of them were perhaps descendants of ancient Hebrews whom Moses left behind in his exodus. Others had fled to Egypt following the first destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem at the hands of the Babylonians in 250 BC. Philo tell us that there were more Jews in Alexandria than in Jerusalem. Jews gained sanctuary in Egypt from Christian persecutions in Spain and Portugal in the 15th century, from Soviet excesses at the time of the Russian revolution, and from Hitler's racial persecution. And the invasion of Egypt by Israel on 29 October 1956, calculatingly brought an end to this Egyptian sanctuary for the Jews of the world, many of whom I encountered in the synagogues in Cairo, including the great synagogue downtown, when I, as a GI in World War II, attended the Rosh Hashanah (New Year's) services.

As has consistently been true since Zionist machinations were launched, the emigration of Jews was fostered primarily to meet Israeli needs for money, manpower, and military strength. The Jews ingathered in 1948 and 1956 were, in the words of Moshe Menuhin, the "answer to the open spaces left behind by the exiled Arabs."

But the Oriental Jews brought little wealth, many were aged and infirm and were neither good pioneering nor good military material. The Jewish Agency shifted from unrestricted to selective immigration, in "persuading" only those Oriental Jews who were young and able-bodied or endowed with special professional skills. Unsuccessful in their efforts with western Jews, the Zionists directed their energies toward Soviet Jewry with its many skilled technicians.

The carefully orchestrated campaign to bring about Soviet Jewry's emigration found a willing ear in the USA with its large anticommunist movement. Whether successful or not in winning immigratrion to Israel, support for Israel was being won in certain western circles through the anti-soviet campaign. Through the constant flow of observers, politicians and congressmen to investigate the alleged plight of Soviet Jews and the encouragement given to Soviet dissidents like Alexander Solzhenitsyn, they also were undermining the position of those whom they were allegedly trying to assist. Every time a Soviet Jew stubbed his toe, it made impressive headlines on the front pages of *The New York Times*.

To take further advantage of the compliant media, widely publicized conferences on the "plight of Soviet Jewry" were held in 1971 and 1976 in Belgium. Both Brussels I and II brought together in mammoth conclave supporters of the Zionist movement from all over the world under the sponsorship of a large number of national and international

organizations, including the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, B'nai B'rith International, the European Conference on Soviet Jewry, the Latin American Jewish Congress, the World Jewish Congress, and the World Zionist Organization.

Brussels II in February 1976 was calculated to meet the threat to the very existence of the Israeli state posed by the UN resolution of November 1975 equating Zionism with "racism and racial discrimination." Now, as "they" once more were ganging up on "us," to use the phraseology of the Zionists, it was more important than ever to bring forward a new campaign exploiting antisemitism. In an appeal to hundreds of thousands of American anticommunists, the syndrome of anti-antisemitism was polished up—the spectre of Stalin was substituted for that of Hitler as the best means of serving Zionist Israel.

The charge of Soviet antisemitism is one that has been increasingly employed by the Zionists in the US and the western world in their publicity and propaganda, ever since Israel's relations with the Soviet Union began to decline following the initial enchantment. As Israeli-West German friendship grew, the "Nazi peril" became outmoded as the principal weapon of propaganda. Kremlin "antisemitism" became the vogue as Jews in the Soviet Union were depicted as "singular victims of communist terror who must be permitted to go to Israel."

The New York Times was the most efficient transmittal belt in passing along selected, out-of-context material as the means of stirring up the American public and fostering Soviet Jewry's emigration. Carefully relegated to the back pages, if even there, was the story of the many Soviet Jews who had left Israel, after having been induced to immigrate to Israel, only to find it impossible to live in "the land of milk and honey" under existing conditions. Some of these innocent victims would have starved to death had it not been for the benevolence of charitable Belgian Catholic organizations.

Effective spot-ads, television dramatizations, half-page appeals, and full-page petitions—loaded with thousands of signatures from academe—were all employed to stir up public opinion against the USSR. Following Brussels I, the National Conference on Soviet Jewry took over the leadership of the campaign. According to the Zionist B'nai B'rith, the National Conference had been created by the Israeli government, from which financial assistance, as well as aid in other forms, was received.

There has never been any objective information as to how many Soviet Jews wished to be "rescued" and sent to the "promised land." Nor was there at any time any indication that these Jews were any worse off than any of the many other religious, ethnic, or minority groups within the Soviet Union. There is little freedom of worship for any of the religious

groups in the USSR.

Time does not permit a review of the status of Soviet Jewry. But we can say with confidence that of the 2.5 million people who consider themselves Jews, not more than 10 per cent are religious. The overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews regard themselves as Jews, but simultaneously as atheists in accordance with the concepts of communism prevailing in the USSR. There are proponents on both sides of the fence who allege that the Jews are singled out for discrimination, and yet certain facts and figures indicate that this is probably not so. Jews have served in government posts such as vice-chairman of the cabinet and in the role of assistant secretary and undersecretary in various ministries. In professional, intellectual, and managerial pursuits Jews are several times as numerous as their percentage of the population. Although only 1.1 per cent of the Soviet population, Jews number 8.5 per cent of the professional writers and newspapermen, 10 per cent of the college professors, 33.3 per cent of the personnel of the film industry, 10 per cent of the scientists, 10.4 per cent of the judges and lawyers, 15.7 per cent of the doctors, and 7 per cent of the musicians, painters, sculptors and actors.⁸

Other figures can be adduced to indicate that what we know as antisemitism does not exist in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has universally refused, it is true, to allow citizens, whether Jews or otherwise, to emigrate freely, but the number of Jews granted permission to leave has multiplied many times since the ouster of Khrushchev. His successor Kosygin allowed Jews to join their families in Israel. But after the June 1967 fighting and Israel's refusal to yield under Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 its occupation of large amounts of Arab territory, the Kremlin became more restrictive toward Jewish emigration.

The intense effort in the US Congress of Senator Henry Jackson of Washington (and his companion, Congressman Vanik), prodded by American Zionist lobbying groups, to win the adoption of their amendment to the Soviet-American trade bill won national and international media coverage, but at the same time caused the deterioration of the condition of Soviet Jews as Moscow stiffened its attitude toward a firm commitment as to the number of Jews they would annually permit to emigrate. The USSR-USA trade agreement, negotiated over so long a period and advantageous to both countries, was abandoned because, in the last analysis, the Soviet Union refused to permit the US Congress to interfere with a substantive matter in their internal affairs—the emigration of Soviet citizens.⁹

The smoke screen of hysterical charges and US media exaggerations totally becloud the facts, and the same time are calculated to provide Zionism with additional immigration fodder by purposefully bringing about the deterioration of the status of Soviet Jews. But this has failed as

the number of Jews emigrating for Israel in 1974 and 1975 fell way behind the figures of the previous two years.

Fear has been one of the powerful weapons used by Zionism in its ingathering efforts. In helping to instill fear psychology into Jewish masses, and Christians too, no one responded more clearly to his master's voice than the varied organs of the American media. The slanted reportage of the press, radio, television, and cinema has greatly contributed to the deterioration of the status of Jews in Asian and African countries as the cult of anti-antisemitism spread its philosophy with an ever-increasing use of the silencing "antisemitic" label. What American paper, for example, in 1956 ever reported that not a single Jewish life had been taken in Egypt despite stern measures after the tripartite invasion, whereas 286 Arabs were killed just prior to the outbreak of the fighting in two major Gaza incidents at Khan Yunis and Rafah, 66 more in nearby minor incidents, and another 48 at the village of Kafr Qassem within Israel proper?

At all times, the American press, radio and television, led by the potent *New York Times* spread *myth*-information by presenting what happened to Jews and Israelis invariably in terms of antisemitism and of the hatred of Jews *qua* Jews.

A careful and skillful propaganda campaign has spread the syndrome of anti-antisemitism far and wide, even as it secreted any reference to the original sin—the displacement of the Palestinian Arabs. This slanted information helped instill a psychosis of fear. "We must have an insurance policy. We must have a place maybe to go some day, and therefore, we advance the interests and the activities of Israel," was the emotional Jewish reasoning.

The engendering of a dual loyalty in American Jews by subtly confusing religion and nationalism was one of the chief methods employed by the Zionists to weaken the Jewish position in the lands of the diaspora, thus to force their emigration. Theodor Herzl, the father of the state of Israel, had written in his diaries: "Antisemitism has grown and continues to grow—and so do I."¹⁰ The Zionists, out of one side of their mouth, would assail antisemitism, their chief ingathering weapon, as an evil, while out of the other side, they were promoting Jewish exclusivism and the very activities which were forcing a transmutation of the Jews from a religious into an ethnic, national group. This development fostered the very antisemitism which these Jewish nationalists allegedly feared.

In 1958, Nahum Goldmann, then president of the World Zionist Organization, had warned that a current decline of antisemitism "might constitute a new danger to Jewish survival; . . . the disappearance of 'antisemitism' in its classic meaning, while beneficial to the political and material situations of Jewish communities, has had 'a very negative effect

on our internal life ' ' (The New York Times, 24 July 1958). Similarly, Charles Solomon in his article in *Black Friars Magazine* (January 1957) at that time pointed to the danger of the extinction of the Jewish community in Britain because of the absence of antisemitism: "When to proclaim one's self a Jew may mean hardship, even death, the indomitable spirit of man—or perhaps the sheer obstinacy—asserts itself . . . But when to be a Jew is merely inconvenient, it is difficult to attain a mood of high resolve." Even the American Jewish Congress, through its counsel Leo Pfeffer, stated: "Such discrimination may well be a blessing. It is possible that some antisemitism is necessary in order to ensure Jewish survival" (*The National Jewish Post and Opinion*, 6 November 1959).

In recognizing that the "honeymoon between Israel and the non-Jewish world had come to an end," Nahum Goldmann in February 1975, stated boldly and bluntly to the World Jewish Congress in Jerusalem:

At the time of political crisis for Israel, when her policies are rejected by many countries in which Jews live, conflict between these Jews and their countries is bound to occur. The only solution is to recognize the existence of the problem and to fight for some double loyalties.

Zionists have never hesitated to enlist the support of right-wing racists and biblical fundamentalists alike, whose belief in Israel's ingathering is based on their own particular form of bigotry. But, despite all these Zionist manipulations, Zionist ingathering has been a failure, the great failure of the Zionist state. Despite Ben-Gurion's talmudic accusation of "godlessness" for Jews not returning, his 1951-61 target of 4 million new immigrants was not reached; only 800,000 responded to his call. And within the latter part of that decade immigration had fallen to a trickle of 30,000 yearly. In 1975 and 1976 the total emigration from Israel exceeded the immigration to Israel. Israeli Zionists were finding that American Jews still regarded Israel as a charity and philanthropy, and not as their home and state. No matter how much they supported Israel—politically, diplomatically, economically, and emotionally—they still preferred to stay in the countries in which they had been born. Their definition of a Zionist remained as ever: "A Zionist is a Jew who gives money to a second Jew to send a third Jew to Israel."

No one can foretell the future. It could, unfortunately, be possible that the American public will reach the saturation point in patience, and when the disaster to human and American interests, resulting from Zionist-influenced US foreign policy, is laid bare to them, they may speak up and ask: "Are you Americans, or are you Israelis?" Then, overnight, the heretofore frustrated Zionist manipulations of immigration to Israel may turn out to be all too successful. What a price American Jews would then have paid for Israel, whereas today they could join moderate-minded

Palestinians in de-Zionizing Israel and in establishing a secular democratic state, in accordance with the best traditions of both Judaism and Islam. This is the only road to peace in Palestine.

FOOTNOTES

¹Cited in my *What Price Israel* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 194-5.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 195-6. In its racist impact, the Klausner Report is echoed by the recently-published Koenig Memorandum, which recommends insidious measures to rid the Galilee of its Arab population and thus to keep the region safe for Jews. For the full text in Hebrew see *Al Hamishmar*, 7 September 1976; for an English translation, *SWASIA*, 15 October 1976.

³Louis Nelson, then manager of the Knit Goods Workers Union, later vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in a letter in *The New Leader*, 21 August 1948.

⁴*What Price Israel*, p.197.

⁵*Council News* (American Council for Judaism, New York), February 1956; see also *Jerusalem Post*, 21 July 1964.

⁶During the crisis following the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, Ben-Gurion tipped his hand. When questioned in the summer of 1956 in Tel Aviv by an American member of the State Department in the presence of 30 training officers, the Israeli chieftain bluntly declared that Israel could absorb up to 8,000,000 Jews and that he expected up to 4,000,000 in Israel in the near future. Obviously no such population could be absorbed within the then-existing boundaries of Israel. In taking advantage of Britain's and France's reaction to Egypt's nationalization, Israel was merely implementing avowed Zionist expansion under the guise of preventive war.

⁷*The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* (Beirut, 1969), p. 133; see also pp. 132-4 and 144-6.

⁸William M. Mandel, *Russia Re-examined* (New York, 1967).

⁹For three months during the public debate, Secretary of State Kissinger secreted in his pocket a letter handed to him by Foreign Minister Gromyko which indicated an absolute refusal to make any firm commitment on the number of Jewish emigrants who might be permitted to leave. This reveals once more the perfidious side of the Secretary of State. He wished to satisfy the Zionist lobby by giving lip-service to the Jackson amendment, knowing full well that if he released the text of the Gromyko letter, not only would the amendment be killed, but the whole bill would be null and void. The USSR subsequently voided it.

¹⁰Marvin Lowenthal (ed.), *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1956), p. 7.

Zionism and the Lands of Palestine

Sami Hadawi and Walter Lehn

For three decades now Israel has defied and treated with contempt the international community by violating the provisions of the UN Charter, numerous resolutions dealing with the conflict over Palestine, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to say nothing of the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. An indication of Israel's attitude toward the UN was provided by the display her delegate put on in the General Assembly just before the vote in November 1975 identifying Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination." As a measure of his respect for the UN and its member states, he tore up a copy of the draft resolution and declared: "For us, the Jewish people, this is no more than a piece of paper, and we shall treat it as such!" His action demonstrated the extent of Israeli arrogance and disrespect for the human rights of other peoples, a consequence and revealing index of the racism inherent in political Zionism.

The purpose of this paper is not to provide a catalogue of Zionist land acquisitions in Palestine but to survey the techniques employed, before and after the establishment of Israel in 1948, to acquire land. As background, a brief account of population and landownership in Palestine prior to the mandate and of the claims of Zionism to Palestine are included.

Palestine Prior to the Mandate

Palestine is a small country. Its total area is 27,027 square kilometers (10,435 square miles). Of this, 26,323 square kilometers (10,164 square miles) are the land area, and 704 square kilometers (271 square miles) are under water: half of the Dead Sea, and Lake Tiberias (also known as the Sea of Galilee) and Lake Hulah.

Physically Palestine consists of four main subregions: the coastal plain, the plateau region, the Jordan valley, and the southern desert. The coastal plain varies in width from four miles in the north to twenty miles farther south, except at Haifa where it widens into the Plain of Esdraelon, which stretches from the coast to the Jordan valley. The plateau region is

intersected by the Plain of Esdraelon, with the hills of Galilee to the north and those of central Palestine to the south. South of Hebron the plateau falls and blends into the southern desert. The Jordan valley extends from Lake Hulah in the north to the Dead Sea in the south; most of the valley is below sea level.

The land area comprises 26,323,023 dunums (4.5 dunums equal 1 acre), of which approximately 2.5 million are hilly wilderness and 12.5 million are desert. The balance of the land varies widely in agricultural potential. In general, the plains consist of good and the plateau of medium land. The Jordan valley varies from medium to poor, except south of Lake Tiberias where the land is good.²

Reliable population statistics for Palestine prior to the mandate do not exist. And however inadequate Turkish and British figures may be, they are still our best source of information and subject to less bias than estimates from more partisan sources. A 1914 Turkish census³ shows a total population of 689,275; whether or not the nomads were included in this is not clear. Of this total, Arthur Ruppin, an official of the Zionist Organization and hence not uninvolved, estimated that 57,000 to 62,000 (i.e. 8.3 to 9 per cent) were Jews.

The first census using modern demographic techniques was conducted by the British as of 31 December 1922. This census (in which the *nomads were not counted*) shows a total of 757,182 persons: 590,890 Muslims, 83,794 Jews, 73,024 Christians (including British and other Europeans), and 9,474 "others," mainly Druze. Since virtually all of the Muslims and the "others," and the overwhelming majority of the Christians were Arabs (persons whose mother-tongue is Arabic), these figures can be fairly summarized as 673,388 (89 per cent) Arabs and 83,794 (11 per cent) Jews. Of the latter, about 75 per cent were concentrated in the urban areas of Jaffa and Jerusalem,⁴ hence neither farmers nor engaged in other rural pursuits (Zionist claims about "Jewish farmers" and "tilling the ancient soil" notwithstanding).

Reliable information on landownership for this period is even more difficult to obtain.⁵ The mandate government accepted the figure of 650,000 dunums for total Jewish ownership prior to October 1920,⁶ noting that this estimate "is generally accepted." This represents 2.47 per cent of the land of Palestine.

Thus on the eve of the award to Britain of the Mandate for Palestine by the League of Nations, Jews constituted 10-11 per cent of the population of Palestine and owned about 2.5 per cent of the land.

Zionism's Claim to Palestine

Although Theodor Herzl appears to have given some thought to locations

other than Palestine as the site of his proposed *Judenstaat*, and even recognized several disadvantages of Palestine—"its proximity to Russia and Europe, its lack of room for expansion as well as its climate"⁷—Palestine had one advantage which outweighed all other considerations: "the mighty legend."⁸ The legend of Palestine as the ancestral home of all Jews was accepted generally by Christians⁹ and Jews, whose support for his proposal could thus be more easily ensured. In any event, the choice of Palestine was settled at the Sixth Zionist Congress (Basle, August 1903) where it was decided that the Jewish National Fund was to acquire land for Jewish colonization only "in Palestine and the immediately adjoining countries."¹⁰

Herzl seems to have been much more concerned with aspects other than boundaries of his proposed state. In fact he appears to have thought little about them on his own. In April 1896 he was instructed "for hours on end" by a South-African born British Christian clergyman, William Hechler, on the area the Zionists should seek: "The northern frontier ought to be the mountains facing Cappadocia [in Turkey]; the southern, the Suez Canal."¹¹ Hechler also suggested the slogan: "The Palestine of David and Solomon."¹² Herzl appears to have been an apt pupil of Hechler, for just over two years later in October 1898, he recorded approvingly the suggestion of his associate Max Bodenheimer: "from the Brook of Egypt to the Euphrates."¹³

While the 1917 Balfour Declaration¹⁴ was hailed by most Zionists,¹⁵ it gave no indication of the precise territory involved, only committing the British to using "their best endeavors to facilitate" the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." By the time of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the Zionists had tempered their claim and asked only for the territory encompassed within a line running east from (in current terms) Sidon, Lebanon to close to Damascus, Syria, then south to Amman, Ma'an, and Aqaba, Jordan, then west to Al-'Arish, Egypt.¹⁶ As a result of negotiations, notably between Britain and France, with the concurrence of the USA, the boundaries of Palestine were in due course established, and the Mandate for Palestine¹⁷ was approved by the League of Nations' Council in July 1922. The following year, under authority granted in article 25 of the mandate, Britain limited the area in which the Jewish "national home" provisions were applicable to that west of the Jordan River, a territory significantly smaller than that claimed by the Zionists, and which thereafter alone was known as Palestine. Therewith the "charter," long but unsuccessfully sought by Herzl, was in the hands of the Zionists, and thus the stage was set for large-scale Jewish colonization of Palestine.

The ignored people in all of these negotiations and machinations were the indigenous Arabs of Palestine, unrecognized as a people and unworthy

of consultation about their homes and lands and future. In a long memorandum dated 11 August 1919, Arthur James Balfour, then British Foreign Secretary discusses with disarming candor the mandates system and article 22¹⁸ of the League of Nations' Covenant which declared that "the wishes of these communities [formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire] must be a principal consideration in the selection of a mandatory," and notes that as far as Palestine is concerned,

the contradiction between the letter of the Covenant and policy of the allies is . . . flagrant For in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants The four great powers are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong, good, or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land. In my opinion that is right.¹⁹

The Palestinian Arabs, in short, were presented with a Hobson's choice. If they selected Britain as the mandatory power and if they approved Britain's "national home" policy, then they would have their choice.

The phrase *national home* typifies the dissimulation that was an inherent and an essential part of Zionism's claim to Palestine. It was used as an equivalent (though it is not a translation) of the German *Heimstätte*, which was chosen to mask Zionist intentions and thus not to evoke opposition. In 1920 Max Nordau wrote:

I did my best to persuade the claimants of the Jewish state in Palestine that we might find a circumlocution that would express all we meant, but would say it in a way so as to avoid provoking the Turkish rulers of the coveted land. I suggested *Heimstätte* as a synonym for "state" It was equivocal, but we all understood what it meant. To us it signified *Judenstaat* then and it signifies the same now.²⁰

Zionist colonization is usually seen as part of the larger European colonial movement. While this is undoubtedly correct, it tends to lose sight of several features of Zionist colonialism which distinguish it from other colonialisms. First, Zionism did not seek to expand on an existing state, but to establish one for a people held to be without a state, a homeland. Second, Zionism did not seek new markets and increased resources, both natural and human, which could be profitably exploited, but a "land without a people" where a state for a "landless people" could be built.

To justify or legitimize such an enterprise, to both Jews and non-Jews, Zionism emphasized (a) the notion of *return*—Jews were only seeking to return to a land from which they were all held to have been expelled—and (b) *antisemitism*, which, to serve the intended purposes, had to be pictured as inherent and immutable in all non-Jews. Antisemitism was

presented as responsible for the expulsion from their homeland and for the subjugation of Jews in exile. The only solution (to the Zionists) was a return, preferably to an unpeopled land. Since the land they sought, Palestine, did not so qualify, it had to be made to qualify: It had to be emptied of its inhabitants. Thus the latter would not be exploited (apparently a greater evil than expulsion), and the whole enterprise thereby became not just acceptable, but right and good, even sacred!

Thus the Zionists' claim to Palestine was staked out and justified, enabling them to enlist the support of Britain and of the western world in general in eventually taking over Palestine emptied of its indigenous inhabitants, who, in any case, were viewed not as a people but merely a collection of uncivilized tribes and nomads.

Palestine Under Mandate

Although the final text of the mandate was submitted by Britain to the League of Nations and approved in July 1922, and became effective in September 1923, for all practical purposes the mandate administration begins in 1920. In April 1920, at the San Remo Conference, the victors in World War I agreed on the disposition of the territories of the former Turkish Empire and that the mandatory for Palestine was to be Britain. This agreement was implemented by Britain in establishing in Palestine a civil administration in July 1920, taking over from the earlier military administration.

The military administration had often been accused by the Zionists of pursuing policies inimical to the objectives of Zionism, and even of being antisemitic. Examination of the record of the administration, however, plus the fact that a number of the officers involved later became officials in the civil administration, with the evident approval of the Zionists, suggests that such charges were unfounded. The military administration felt constrained by the rules of war and saw itself as administering occupied enemy territory. Thus it generally did its best to maintain the status quo in Palestine and accordingly closed the Land Registry Offices in November 1918 and did not facilitate—though it did not stop—Jewish immigration. However during its tenure, Hebrew was adopted as an official language and the Zionist Commission was allowed to tour the country and to plan developments. Since the civil administration did not feel at all constrained to maintain the status quo in Palestine, indeed it was committed to changing it, the Zionists welcomed the new administration in 1920.

The mandate was palpably drafted to accommodate the objectives of the Zionists. Not only was the Balfour Declaration incorporated in the preamble, but articles 2, 4, 6, 11, 22, and 23²¹ were formulated clearly in

the Zionists' interests. Consistent with such a policy, the civil administration was staffed with Zionists, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Among the former were the High Commissioner, Herbert Samuel,²² "one of the founding authors of the mandate,"²³ and the Attorney-General, Norman Bentwich, (whose wife was Samuel's niece, and) whose responsibilities included being legal advisor to all government departments, supervising the courts and the land registration offices, and drafting legislation. In addition were the Director of Immigration, Albert Hyamson; an official in the same department, Dennis Cohen (a former employee of the Zionist Organization in Britain); the Principal Assistant Secretary to the government, Max Nurock; the Director of Commerce and Industry, Ralph Harari; and the Controller of Stores, Harold Solomon. Among the non-Jews, the Chief Secretary to the government, Wyndham Deeds, and his successor Gilbert Clayton, are described by Bentwich as "steadfast friends of the Jewish national home."²⁴

Among the first actions of the new government were a new Immigration Ordinance in July and a Land Transfer Ordinance in September, the effect of which was to facilitate the purchase of land by Jews, and was later judged to have been a contributory cause of the May 1921 Palestinian Arab uprising.²⁵ The Land Registry Offices were reopened in October, permitting transfer of ownership, and a new system of settlement of land-titles—a highly intricate matter in Palestine and difficult to disentangle—was introduced. The effect of this was to make it easier, faster, and less costly for the Zionists to acquire land.

All of these measures, in effect if not always in intent, served to further Zionist objectives. A good example of this is the Land Transfer Ordinance, ostensibly intended to protect tenant-cultivators from eviction by landlords. It had in fact the opposite effect mainly because most of the large tracts of land were owned by absentee landlords. Whereas relations between landowner and tenant had, until then, been relatively good, the new law gave the tenant the impression (encouraged by Zionist land-brokers) that he no longer needed to pay the rent, since the law gave him certain "tenancy rights" under ambiguously worded provisions. The landowner, placed in the unenviable position of owning land but realizing little return from it, and burdened with taxation, found himself in a difficult situation. The Zionist land-broker would then step in, offer to buy the land and rid the landowner of his troubles.

Other measures favoring the colonists were the granting to Jewish companies of concessions over state lands and the natural resources of the country, such as irrigation, electricity, and the extraction of potash and other minerals from the Dead Sea. No concession of any kind was granted to a non-Jew, and those which existed prior to the mandate—e.g. the Jerusalem Electricity and the Hulah Concessions—were eventually

acquired with clandestine government assistance, although the former went to a so-called British company. The only concession which remained in Arab hands was the Himmah Hot Springs. Suleiman Nasif, the concessionaire, told one of the authors (Hadawi) that he was under great pressure to sell out if he did not want his concession canceled.

Apart from substantive matters such as these, measures were adopted which, while largely symbolic in significance, were irritants and reminders to the Arabs of their subordinate role and ultimate dispossession. A stamp issued in Palestine in October 1920 bore in surcharge the word *Palestine* in Arabic at the top, in English in the center, and in Hebrew at the bottom. The latter was followed by the Hebrew letters *aleph* and *yod*, signifying *Eretz Yisrael*. As related by Bentwich, in this way "Samuel ingeniously gave official recognition to the Jewish traditional name."²⁶ Bentwich adds that an Arab nationalist group tried to challenge this action in the courts, but "the court refused to interfere with an administrative action."

In addition to positive actions in furtherance of Zionist objectives, the administration did nothing to prevent open and outright discrimination against the non-Jewish Palestinians. Thus the Jewish National Fund (*Keren Kayemeth Leisrael*) was allowed to purchase land and place totally restrictive covenants on it, making it inalienable in perpetuity and prohibiting its leasing to non-Jews; a Jewish lessee had to agree in the lease not to employ or to do business with non-Jews. The Jewish Agency, provision for which as a quasi-governmental body was made in the mandate (articles 4, 6, 11), and which was simply "another name for the Zionist Organization,"²⁷ adopted a constitution in August 1929 which stated (article 3):

Land is to be acquired as Jewish property . . . [and] held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people. The Agency shall promote agricultural colonization based on Jewish labor, and in all works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Agency, it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labor shall be employed.²⁸

Similarly, the repayment agreements entered into by Jewish colonists for capital advanced by the Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*) specified (article 7) that "the settler hereby undertakes that . . . if and whenever he may be obliged to hire help, he will hire Jewish workmen only."²⁹ And the General Federation of Jewish Labor (the *Histradrut*), at that time, not only did not represent Arab workers, but prohibited them from joining a union belonging to the Federation and did its best to prevent their employment by pressuring Jewish non-Zionist employers to replace them with Jewish workers.³⁰ In the words of Uri Avnery, editor of *Ha'olam Hazeh*, Israel's leading newsweekly:

Hebrew Labor meant, necessarily, No Arab Labor. The "redemption of the land" often meant, necessarily "redeeming" it from the Arab *fellahin* who happened to be living on it. A Jewish plantation owner who employed Arabs in his orange grove was a traitor to the cause, a despicable reactionary who not only deprived a Jewish worker of work, but even more important, deprived the country of a Jewish worker. His grove had to be picketed, the Arabs had to be evicted by force. Bloodshed, if necessary, was justified.³¹

Avnery further notes that Arab tenants "were simply evicted when the land was redeemed by the Jewish National Fund in order to set up a *kibbutz*."

Given the climate thus created, with "helpful" personnel and "facilitating" legislation, and not very serious or, in any case, effective efforts by the government to ensure "that the rights and position of other sections of the population [i.e. the Arabs] are not prejudiced" (article 6 of the mandate), it is hardly surprising that the Zionists acquired land and established colonies. Indeed what is surprising is that Jewish landownership did not grow more rapidly and to a higher fraction of the lands of Palestine.

During the mandate the major mechanism of land acquisition was purchase, with a small amount acquired through lease from the government. The last complete statistics on landownership compiled by the mandate administration were in 1946 for the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, based on figures as of the end of 1945. These were made public in *Village Statistics 1945*.³² and are based on (1) the land settlement records for areas where final settlement of land-titles had been completed (about 5 per cent of the area of Palestine); and (2), for other areas, the lists of taxpayers prepared by village tax distribution committees appointed under the Rural Property Tax Ordinance. According to these, total Jewish ownership was 1,491,699 dunums, i.e. 5.67 per cent of the land of Palestine. If we accept, as the government did, 650,000 dunums (2.47 per cent) as the amount owned prior to October 1920, then during the period in question Jewish ownership increased by 841,699 dunums (3.2 per cent).

Since the *Village Statistics* were based on recorded ownership and tax records, they did not include under Jewish ownership land purchased through Arab middlemen (the owners of record but not of fact) under an irrevocable power-of-attorney. This method was used particularly to acquire land in the "restricted zones" set out in the Land Transfer Regulations published in February 1940, but effective as of May 1939.³³ A limited measure of the discrepancies thus introduced into the question of Jewish landownership is seen in that from 1939-44, inclusive, the Jewish National Fund alone claimed to have purchased 325,742 dunums, whereas government records for the same period show only 110,140

dunums for all Jewish purchases.³⁴

Based on the *Village Statistics*, but apparently making allowance for these discrepancies, the mandate government prepared the *Survey of Palestine* (also for the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry). This shows total Jewish ownership as 1,588,365 dunums³⁵ (6.03 per cent), yielding a total of 938,365 dunums (3.56 per cent) acquired during 1920-45. Amounts acquired annually varied considerably; the low was in 1920 with only 1,048 dunums, the high in 1925 with 176,124, for an average of 36,091 dunums per year from 1920-45 inclusive.

In addition to these purchases, Jews also held under lease about 195,000 dunums of state domain.³⁶ Naturally these were not registered as owned by Jews, although figures in Zionist sources often include them as Jewish land.

Somewhat later and larger figures are given by Abraham Granott, a long-time official and 1945-46 chairman of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund. As of the end of 1947, Granott claims Jews owned 1,734,000 dunums³⁷ (6.59 per cent), yielding a total of 1,084,000 dunums (4.12 per cent) acquired during the mandate. Given Granott's obvious motivation for maximizing Jewish holdings, this figure may be taken as the maximum; the actual figure may have been lower. In any case, the government's and Granott's figures do not differ greatly. We can therefore conclude safely that Jewish landownership in Palestine by the end of the mandate was at most 7 per cent.

This conclusion immediately raises two questions: (1) Given the facilities provided under the mandate, why was Jewish ownership at the end of this period not much higher, say 60-70 instead of 6-7 per cent? (2) Who were the vendors of land bought by Jewish organizations and individuals? The answers to these questions are, in part, probably not unrelated.

To our first question there is no single or simple answer. Lack of funds may at times have been a factor. To the extent it was, on the whole it appears to have been a relatively minor one. Doubtless more significant was the fact that early Zionist predictions (apparently accepted by the British government) about the rate of Jewish immigration, colonization, and development in Palestine were naive and/or gross overestimations, motivated by hopes and dreams, not realities either in Europe or in Palestine. The much longer-than-foreseen time thus required allowed other factors (not all unforeseen, but generally underrated) to come to the fore. Most significant among these was the growing Palestinian Arab resistance and demands for independence, one of the two obligations assumed by Britain under the mandate. This caused increasing British qualms about the mandate and the "national home" enterprise, leading the Peel Commission—after the Arab uprising beginning in April

1936—to conclude in its June 1937 report: “To put it in one sentence, we cannot—in Palestine as it now is—both concede the Arab claim to self-government and secure the establishment of the Jewish national home.”³⁸

There is at least one other important part of the answer, which also relates to our second question. The Zionists were unable to purchase more land because the overwhelming majority of the small Arab landholders were unwilling to sell, and could not be induced to sell even at attractive prices. Above all else this testifies to their attachment to the land, a fact amply underscored by subsequent events. That the Zionists were, and remain, unwilling to recognize this is of course not surprising.

The question of the vendors of land has not been adequately researched, and much of our information comes from Zionist sources. However, given their motivation to show, as is claimed, that Arab landowners in general were willing and happy to sell land, when their figures do not support this claim, they are probably reliable.

The most detailed information is provided by Granott, based on a study made by the Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency as of the end of March 1936. According to this, 52.6 per cent was purchased from “large absentee landowners,” 24.6 from “large resident landowners,” and 13.4 from “various sources” such as government, churches, foreign companies, and wealthy businessmen. This yields a total of 90.6 per cent, leaving only 9.4 per cent acquired from “the *fellahin*,” and almost half of this amount was purchased between 1891 and 1900,³⁹ well before the mandate and even before the Jewish National Fund was created. Granott estimates (but gives no details) that of total Jewish ownership in 1947, 57 per cent had been acquired from large landowners, 16 from the government, churches, and foreign companies, and 27 per cent from small landowners.⁴⁰

In agreement with Granott’s March 1936 conclusions are those contained in a memorandum dealing with sales of land to Jewish organizations and individuals by absentee (i.e. non-Palestinian) owners. Dated 25 February 1946 and submitted by the Arab Higher Committee to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, it is based on a field survey conducted at the time only in parts of Palestine, and is therefore incomplete. It names the absentee vendors, the amount of land sold, and the area of the holding. The figures it gives total 461,250 dunums sold by absentee owners,⁴¹ about half of the land purchased by Jews during the mandate period.

Palestine Partitioned

In February 1947 the British, having exhausted all attempts to reconcile the mutually-exclusive obligations they had assumed under the mandate

and their efforts to cope with the growing strife in Palestine, turned the problem over to the United Nations. Eventually, following several reports of committees and subcommittees, on 29 November 1947 the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II) recommending partition of Palestine into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a *corpus separatum* under international administration for Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and environs.

Like the mandate, the partition recommendation was drafted in the interests of the Zionists. It assigned 56 per cent (about 14,800,000 dunums) of the area of Palestine, containing most of the good land, to the proposed Jewish state,⁴² while Jews constituted almost a third of the population and owned at most 7 per cent of the land. It also contained pious phrases and "guarantees" of the protection of the human and civil rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, in practice proving no more meaningful than similar assurances in the mandate. As in 1920, the European and American states in 1947, having laid the basis for certain strife and conflict, cynically hoped that everything would somehow work out and that the inhabitants of Palestine would live in the proposed intertwined states in harmony and peace.

The conflict which no prophetic powers were needed to foresee began within days of the adoption of the partition recommendation. By the time it subsided and bilateral armistice agreements were signed in 1949 by Israel and Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan (then Transjordan), and Syria (but, not insignificantly, never by the Palestinians), the state of Israel emerged controlling not 56 but 77 per cent (about 20,400,000 dunums) of former Palestine. In addition, the area under Israel's control had been largely emptied of its former Arab inhabitants. Thus a long-standing objective of Zionism had been realized to a significant degree.

Steps now had to be taken to ensure that the Palestinians did not return and to consolidate Israel's hold on the land. The former was achieved by refusing the return of the displaced⁴³ and the latter by a series of measures enacted for this purpose.⁴⁴ The desired objective was thus not only legitimized in the eyes of sympathizers and supporters of Zionism, but indeed achieved through "legal" means.

The first of these measures was based on the *Defense (Emergency) Regulations*,⁴⁵ adopted in 1945 by the mandate administration to cope with rising Zionist terrorism at that time in Palestine. These Regulations were retained by Israel and were the basis of the military government to which the Arabs in Israel were subject until 1966. Under these Regulations the power of the appointed military governors over their areas were virtually absolute and not subject to further administrative or effective judicial control. Even the right of appeal to the Supreme Court, the only available avenue of redress, was essentially meaningless. In justification of his action the governor could invoke "security reasons,"

always accepted as decisive by the Court. Article 125 gave the military governors power to proclaim any area or place a forbidden or *closed area*, which could be entered or left only with the written permission of the governor. By this means, Palestinian Arabs in Israel were effectively barred from their homes and lands, simply by declaring the areas closed and refusing them the necessary permit.

Similar in intent and effect were the *Emergency Regulations (Security Zones)*, adopted in 1949. These were originally issued by the Minister of Defense, and their validity was extended periodically by the Knesset; they were allowed to lapse at the end of 1972, having served their purpose. These Regulations empowered the Minister of Defense to declare *security zones*, which could not be entered without a permit from the authorities. The Regulations also gave the authorities virtually absolute powers over the residents of the zones, including the power to expel them. Under these Regulations, most of the northern half of the Galilee, the whole of the Triangle area, as well as areas bordering the Gaza Strip and the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway line were declared security zones. Violation of these Regulations (as of those of 1945) was a crime, punishable by imprisonment and fine.

Working hand-in-glove with the above Regulations were the *Emergency Regulations (Cultivation of Waste [i.e. uncultivated] Lands)*, also adopted in 1949. Originally these had been issued by the provisional government in October 1948 as a measure to deal with the effects of the fighting as a result of which lands had been "abandoned" and were "lying fallow." In January 1949, the Minister of Agriculture asked that these be continued, because under them

we have been able to turn over to agriculture [Jewish farmers and organizations] and sow more than half a million dunums of cultivated land. The immediate problem that confronts us, especially since the liberation of the Negev and the transfer of vast areas of it, emptied of the majority of its former inhabitants, to state ownership, is that of exploiting another million dunums.

These Regulations were used effectively in conjunction with those regarding closed areas and security zones. A desired area inhabited by Arabs was declared closed or a security zone, and the residents would for "security reasons" be expelled and/or denied permits to enter and cultivate the land. Thereafter the land was, of course, uncultivated. Then the Minister of Agriculture took it over and assigned it to neighboring Jewish settlements in order that it be cultivated and productive.

The fourth measure under which Arab property, particularly urban property, was confiscated was the *Emergency Land Requisition Law* of 1949. It was enacted as a means of providing temporary housing for new Jewish immigrants and space for official⁴⁶ organizations. Originally not to

exceed three years, the term of requisitioning was extended several times, and property which was considered essential for "security" was regarded as confiscated and therefore as state property.

The fifth and perhaps most significant measure was the *Absentees' Property Law* of 1950. Earlier this had been issued in December 1948 as *Emergency Regulations Relative to the Property of Absentees*.⁴⁷ The ostensible intent was to place under the control of a Custodian the property of Palestinians no longer in the area controlled by Israel until a settlement had been effected. Although the Custodian has since transferred all of these properties, mainly to the state and the Jewish National Fund, he still exists, presumably because he is still "responsible" for them. The law gave the Custodian very extensive discretionary powers: He could take over any property on the strength of his own judgment that the owner (or owners) was an "absentee." The burden of proof to the contrary fell on the owner. Since the Custodian was not required to reveal the information, or its source, on the basis of which he had classified someone as an absentee, such proof was almost impossible to establish. Not even outright errors could be undone, so long as the Custodian had acted "in good faith." The law defined an absentee so broadly that "every Arab in Palestine who had left his town or village after 29 November 1947 was liable to be classified as an absentee under the regulations,"⁴⁸ regardless of when, where, why, or for how long he had left his "ordinary place of residence in Palestine." The validity of this law extends until "a declaration is published . . . that the state of emergency declared by the Provisional Council of State on . . . (19 May 1948) has ceased to exist" To this date, the state of emergency still exists.

The Custodian, regarded as the legal holder of absentees' property, was empowered to transfer it to an authority created shortly thereafter by the *Development Authority (Transfer of Property) Law*, 1950. The Authority in turn was empowered to sell these properties, but only to (1) the state, (2) the Jewish National Fund, (3) municipal authorities, providing the land had first been offered to the Jewish National Fund, and (4) an organization engaged in settling Arab refugees who had remained in Israel. Such an organization was never established, and virtually all of the land was "sold" to the state and to the Jewish National Fund.

While these measures effectively deprived the Arabs of their lands by preventing them from cultivating them, the laws generally say nothing about ownership. Instead they speak of the need for cultivation and increased food production, the right of usufruct, and authorization for requisitioning for specified purposes, including that of security—a very large "rug" in Israel. Technically, therefore, these measures left the legal ownership in the hands of the original owners. This was clearly not the intent, and it was remedied by the *Land Acquisition (Validation of Acts*

and Compensation) Law, 1953. It empowered the Minister of Finance to transfer the ownership of lands taken over under earlier measures to the state via the Development Authority. Its purpose and justification were succinctly put by the Minister in the Knesset debates on it; it was intended "to legalize certain actions taken during and after the war." He added that "there are reasons connected with the security of the state and the execution of essential development projects which make it impossible to return these lands to their owners."

The law stipulated that compensation was to be paid the former owners, and the Minister of Finance was empowered to determine the amount. This was fixed as the value of the land on 1 January 1950. With rapid inflation in Israel, even by 1953 this was less than minimal compensation; today such compensation cannot in any fairness or justice be considered anything other than a thin veneer of legality for outright expropriation.

Nonetheless, for those squeamish about such things, the deprivation of the Palestinians of their lands—which they had refused to sell—was by such measures made "legal." The lands so acquired have been designated national (or Israeli) lands, which in Israel means not "Israeli" but "Jewish" lands, which cannot be leased to non-Jews and on which non-Jews cannot be legally employed.

In spite of the effectiveness of these measures in depriving the Arabs in Israel of their lands, various developments have militated against the intended outcome—to "encourage" the remaining Arabs to leave. Among these were the stubborn refusal of the Arabs to leave, the high rate of natural increase among them (now some 15 per cent of the population in pre-1967 Israeli territory), and the unavailability of land for this growing minority. Tawfiq Zayyad, mayor of Nazareth, notes that as a consequence of Israel's "confiscation policy" that "the average area belonging to Arab villages in 1948 was 16,500 dunums; in 1974, this area was down to 5,000 dunums."⁴⁹ Among the examples he cites is Nazareth, which "was deprived of most of its land, while the population tripled (from 15,000 to 45,000)." As for the rural population, he points out that "the average area of arable land of the Arab village was, in 1948, . . . 9,136 dunums; in 1974, this area was down to 2,000 dunums."

These developments, coupled with the unavailability (for a variety of reasons) of adequate numbers of Jewish farmers and farm workers, and the fact that Arab workers are paid lower wages, resulted in increasing employ by Jewish settlements of Arab laborers; some settlements have even entered into sharecropping arrangements with Arabs. These practices have been denounced by the Minister of Agriculture as "a cancer."⁵⁰ To eliminate this "plague," the Ministry of Agriculture and the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency launched a "vigorous campaign," warning settlements that such practices are in violation of the

law, and some settlements have been fined.⁵¹

An attempt, apparently not wholly successful, to deal with this problem was the *Agricultural Settlement (Restrictions on the Use of Agricultural Land and of Water) Law* of 1967.⁵² The intent of this law was to prevent any non-Jew from leasing or holding any rights—subleasing, share-cropping—in national lands, including those owned by the Jewish National Fund. It needs to be kept in mind that this law and similar restrictive and discriminatory policies adopted by the state from the Jewish National Fund apply to “over 90 per cent”⁵³ of the land in pre-1967 Israel.

By measures such as these outlined above, the Palestinian Arabs have been “legally” deprived of their lands, and those displaced have been prevented from returning. Although the situation is somewhat less clear, and complicated because of their status under international law, all available evidence supports the conclusion that Israel is following similar policies in the territories occupied since 1967, especially in the so-called West Bank and the Gaza Strip.⁵⁴ These actions are of course in clear violation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, to which Israel is a signatory but which thus far she has honored mainly in the breach. In the words of Felicia Langer, an Israeli attorney, in an address in New York in October 1976:

Israeli authorities confiscated more than a million and a half dunums in the West Bank, more than one-sixth of the total area of the West Bank, one-third of the Gaza Strip. Thousands of bedouins were forcibly evicted from their land. The total area confiscated there is around 100,000 dunums. The so-called “thinning-out” policy in the refugee camps entailed mass expulsion of refugees and many thousands of destroyed homes The same activity of the occupiers is shown also in Arab Jerusalem—confiscation of 22,000 dunums of Arab land in the city and its suburbs and forcible eviction of tens of thousands of Arabs who used to live and work there. I shall never forget the old widow Salaime who said that she preferred to die in her house rather than leave it. After the demolition of 800 Arab buildings, 13 new Israeli sectors were built, encircling Jerusalem, reaching Beit Jala and the road to Jericho—“a ring around Jerusalem” as the authorities are calling it. As a result, a serious demographic change has occurred—a forcible decrease in the number of Arab inhabitants from 140,000 in 1948 to 70,000 in 1974.⁵⁵

In 1920 Jews owned 2.5 per cent of the land in Palestine. By 1948, as a result of purchases during the mandate period, this fraction had grown to 6-7 per cent. After the establishment of Israel in 1948, large acquisitions were made, some by purchases, most by virtual expropriation in the wake of military conquest. Today the state of Israel, in the name of “the Jewish people,” owns about 75 per cent of the land in pre-1967 Israel, and the Jewish National Fund and private Jewish landowners together own

another 20 per cent, leaving about 5 per cent in Arab hands.

The post-1967 purchases and expropriations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip add to these holdings by Israel and indicate that the Zionist goal—Palestine without Palestinians—is still being pursued.

FOOTNOTES

¹*The Toronto Star*, 11 November 1975.

²John Hope Simpson, *Palestine, Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development* (Cmd. 3686; London, 1930), pp. 12-23; W.B. Fisher, *The Middle East* (London, 1971), pp. 385-92; Sami Hadawi, *Palestine: Loss of a Heritage* (San Antonio, Texas, 1963), pp. 7-11, 14-23.

³Summarized in Government of Palestine, *Census of Palestine, 1922*, from which all 1922 figures are taken; cited in Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Demographic Transformation of Palestine" in Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.), *The Transformation of Palestine: Essays on the Origin and Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Evanston, Illinois, 1971), p. 141.

⁴Abu-Lughod, p. 142.

⁵For a discussion of the reasons for this see John Ruedy, "Dynamics of Land Alienation" in Abu-Lughod, pp. 120-4; William R. Polk, David M. Stamler and Edmund Asfour, *Backdrop to Tragedy: The Struggle for Palestine* (Boston, 1957), pp. 71, 230-6.

⁶Government of Palestine, *Survey of Palestine: Prepared in December 1945 and January 1946 for the Information of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1946), I, p. 243.

⁷Raphael Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1960), p. 56.

⁸*Ibid.*, see also p. 133.

⁹Regina Sharif, "Christians for Zion, 1600-1919," *Journal of Palestine Studies* V (nos. 3-4, 1976), pp. 123-41.

¹⁰*Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VI. Zionisten-Kongresses in Basel, 23. bis 28. August 1903* (Vienna, 1903), pp. 262-3.

¹¹*Diaries*, p. 342.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 711.

¹⁴Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration* (London, 1961); Christopher Sykes, "The Prosperity of His Servant: A Study of the Origins of the Balfour Declaration" in *Two Studies in Virtue* (New York, 1953), pp. 107-235; Ben Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), chap. 9; Pok *et al.*, chap. 9; W.T. Mallison, Jr., "The Balfour Declaration: An Appraisal in International Law" in Abu-Lughod, pp. 61-111.

¹⁵For a dissenting view, Ahad Ha'am, "After the Balfour Declaration" in Gary V. Smith (ed.), *Zionism—The Dream and the Reality: A Jewish Critique* (New York, 1974), pp. 83-90.

¹⁶Halpern, pp. 278, 304.

¹⁷Henry Cattan argues that since the mandate was in clear contradiction to article 22 of the League Covenant, the mandate itself was invalid under international law; *Palestine and International Law: The Legal Aspects of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (London, 1973); text of the mandate, pp. 176-81.

¹⁸For the full text, Cattan, p. 175.

¹⁹E. L. Woodward and Rohan Butler (eds.), *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, series I, vol. IV, 1919 (London, 1952), p. 345.

²⁰Cited in Sykes, p. 160, fn. 1. In writing about the First Zionist Congress (Basle, August 1897), at which it was publicly proclaimed that "the aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a *home in Palestine* . . .," Herzl recorded in September: "Were I to sum up the Basel Congress in a word—which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly—it would be this: At Basel I founded the *Jewish state*;" *Diaries*, p. 581; emphasis added. Chaim Weizmann, writing about the same Congress fifty years later, declared: "We, not less than Herzl, regarded it as the Jewish state in the making;" *Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann* (New York, 1949), p. 68. Other Zionist leaders can readily be cited to the same intent.

There is no question that British and Zionist officials understood the phrase in the same way. John Shuckburgh, an official in the India Office in 1921, quotes Weizmann asking Lloyd George "what meaning His Majesty's Government had attached to the phrase 'Jewish national home' in the famous Balfour Declaration. The Prime Minister replied: 'We meant a Jewish state.'" Cited in Doreen Ingrams (ed.), *Palestine Papers, 1917-1922: Seeds of Conflict* (London, 1972), p. 146. Richard Meinertzhagen, reporting on a conversation held on 22 July 1921 with Lloyd George, Arthur James Balfour, Winston Churchill, Chaim Weizmann, *et al.*, states: "L.G. and A. J. B. both said that by the Declaration they always meant an eventual Jewish state." *Middle East Diary, 1917-1956* (New York, 1960), p. 104.

²¹Text in Cattani, pp. 176-81; Ingrams, pp. 177-83.

²²Field-Marshal Allenby in a "very urgent, private and very confidential" telegram to the Foreign Office on 6 May 1920 cautioned against the appointment of Samuel: "I think that appointment of a Jew as first governor will be highly dangerous." He warned that Palestinian Muslims and Christians would regard it "as handing country over at once to a permanent Zionist administration . . . and will throw their weight against administration . . . [making] government of any kind very difficult." General Bols, head of the military administration, later reported how the news of Samuel's appointment was received: "Consternation, despondency, and exasperation express the feeling of the Muslim-Christian population . . . Among the Jews there was a general feeling of gratification at the honor conferred on a coreligionist, tempered, however, by fears amongst the Orthodox Jews that they may not enjoy as full a measure of religious freedom . . ." He concludes by quoting a European Zionist: "For the first six months he will require a British bodyguard to protect him from the Muslims and Christians, after six months he will require a doubled British bodyguard to protect him from the Zionists." Cited in Ingrams, pp. 105-7.

²³Norman and Helen Bentwich, *Mandate Memories, 1918-1948* (London, 1965), p. 12.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁵The finding of the Commission headed by Thomas Haycraft; *Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Disturbances of May 1921* (Cmd. 1540; London, 1921), p. 51.

²⁶Bentwich, p. 64.

²⁷Halpern, p. 195.

²⁸Cited in Hope Simpson, p. 53.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 55.

³¹*Israel without Zionists: A Plea for Peace in the Middle East* (New York, 1968), p. 85.

³²Jerusalem, 1946. This has been reprinted with explanatory notes: Hadawi (ed.), *Village Statistics 1945: A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine* (Beirut, 1970).

³³Robert John and Sami Hadawi, *The Palestine Diary: 1914-1945* (Beirut, 1970), pp. 332-4; George Kirk, *The Middle East in the War* (London, 1952), pp. 232-5.

³⁴Walter Lehn, "The Jewish National Fund," *Journal of Palestine Studies* III (no. 4, 1974), pp. 90-1.

³⁵*Survey of Palestine*. I, p. 244.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 258.

³⁷*Agrarian Reform and the Record of Israel* (London, 1956), p. 28.

³⁸Cited in Government of Palestine, *The Political History of Palestine under British Administration* (Jerusalem, 1947), prepared for UNSCOP.

³⁹*The Land System in Palestine: History and Structure* (London, 1952), p. 277.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 278. In agreement with Granott are the figures given by Efraim Orni, *Agrarian Reform and Social Progress in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 52.

⁴¹Cited in Hadawi, *Village Statistics*, pp. 27-8.

⁴²Hadawi, *Palestine*, pp. 17, 25, 42.

⁴³Granott, *Agrarian Reform*, p. 95, labels this a "bold decision" of the government: "under no circumstances should the Arabs return to Israel." Ben-Gurion wrote: "We must do everything to ensure that they never do return!" Cited by his biographer Michael Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion: The Armed Prophet* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), p. 148.

⁴⁴Following details and quotations, unless otherwise noted, as from Sabri Jiryis, "The Legal Structure for the Expropriation and Absorption of Arab Lands in Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies* II (no. 4, 1973), pp. 82-104, based on Israeli sources. See also Hadawi, *Palestine*, pp. 50-61; and Jiryis, *The Arabs In Israel* (New York, 1976), pp. 75-134.

⁴⁵Based on *Emergency Regulations (1936)* adopted then to cope with the Arab revolt. When these were readopted in 1945, Ya'acov Shapira (later Israel's Minister of Justice) declared: "The established order in Palestine since the defense regulations is unparalleled in any civilized country. Even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws . . . Only in an occupied country do you find a system resembling ours." Cited in Jiryis, *The Arabs*, p. 12.

⁴⁶Like *national* or at times even *Israeli*, the adjective *official* in Israel means not "Israeli" but "Jewish."

⁴⁷An earlier measure to the same effect was the *Abandoned Areas Ordinance* of June 1948. This defined an abandoned area "as any place conquered by, or surrendered to, the armed forces of Israel or deserted by all or part of its inhabitants." It also empowered the provisional government "to declare any place an 'abandoned area'." Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs* (Washington, 1958), p. 149; a discussion of Israel's absentees' property policies, pp. 141-91.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁹"The Fate of the Arabs in Israel" (an address delivered in New York, October 1976), *Journal of Palestine Studies* VI (no. 1, 1976), p. 96. For further details as published in the Israeli press, see "Revolt in Galilee;" for Palestinian views, "Struggle for the Land;" *Journal of Palestine Studies* V (nos. 3-4, 1976), pp. 192-200, and 229-36, respectively.

⁵⁰Ha'aretz, 13 December 1974, cited in Israel Shahak (ed.), *The Non-Jew in the Jewish State: A Collection of Documents* (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 3.

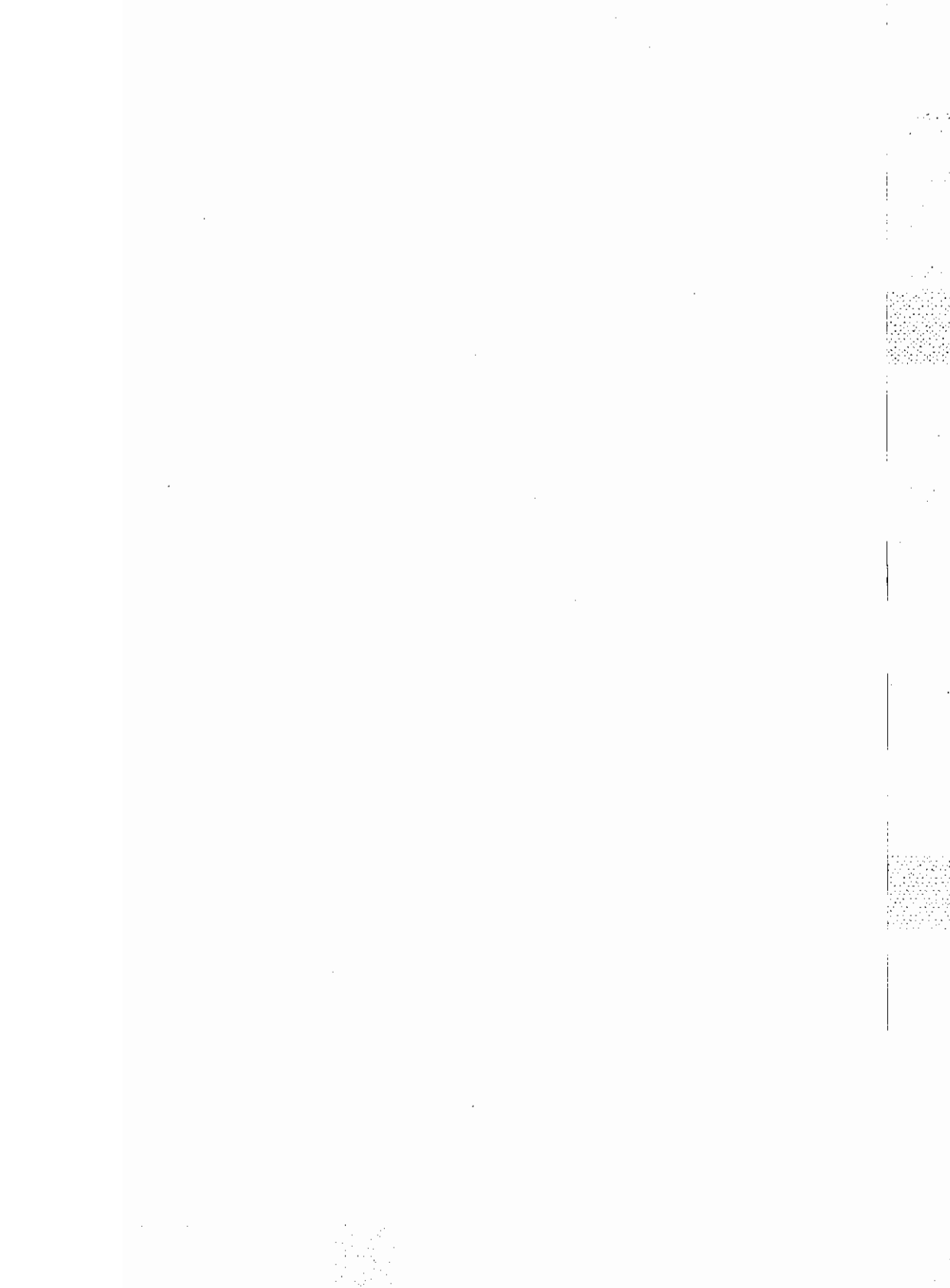
⁵¹Ma'ariv, 3 July 1975, and *Al Hamishmar*, 21 July 1975; cited in Shahak, pp. 17, 19, 22. See also the discussion by Noam Chomsky in the Foreword to Jiryis, *The Arabs*.

⁵²Government of Israel, *Laws of the State of Israel*, vol. 21 (1966-67), pp. 105-10. For more details about this measure and its impact, see Jiryis, "Recent Knesset Legislation and the Arabs in Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies* I (no. 1, 1971), pp. 53-67.

⁵³Orni, pp. 7, 82.

⁵⁴See for example, Felicia Langer, *With My Own Eyes* (London, 1975); Shulamit Aloni, "Shall We Secretly Obtain Land?" *Yediot Aharonot*, 26 March 1976 (English translation in *SWASIA* (Washington), 23 April 1976); Terence Smith, "Covert Israeli Land Deals on West Bank Stir Furor," *The New York Times*, 12 April 1976; Amnon Kapeliouk, "Less Land for More People," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 20 June 1976 (from *Le Monde*, 1 June 1976); William J. Drummond, "Israeli Settlements Called Obstacle to Peace Accord," *The Washington Post*, 26 September 1976; and "Allon Plan Implemented," *Israel & Palestine* (Paris), December 1976.

⁵⁵Excerpts in Association of Arab-American University Graduates *Newsletter* (Detroit), 5 December 1976.



The Jewish National Fund: An Instrument of Discrimination

Walter Lehn

As clear an example as can be found of a Zionist institution which practices, by design and by intent, discrimination against non-Jews, which was founded 16 years before the Balfour Declaration and which is still active today, is the Jewish National Fund (JNF).¹ This paper is a brief review of the establishment and development of the JNF and of its land policies, both leasing and acquisition.

Development of the JNF

Although proposed initially by Moses Lilienblum in 1881, and by Hermann Schapira as early as 1884 and again at the First Zionist Congress (Basle, August 1897)² and discussed at following Congresses, the JNF was established by action of the Fifth Zionist Congress (Basle, December 1901) as "a trust for the Jewish people, which . . . can be used exclusively for the purchase of land in Palestine and Syria."³ In accordance with Schapira's original specification, the World Zionist Organization was given, and retains to this day, absolute control over all phases and activities of the JNF. The JNF became active immediately with headquarters in Vienna. These were moved to Jerusalem in 1922, where they remain to this day.

At the Sixth Zionist Congress (Basle, August 1903),⁴ the objectives and *modus operandi* of the JNF were discussed at length. Although, in part, elaborating on items on which agreement had been reached at the First and Fifth Congresses, these can be summarized as follows: (1) The JNF was to collect funds "from all the Jews of the world" to purchase "Jewish territory," title to the lands being held by "the Jewish people." (2) The territory was to be acquired only in "Palestine and the neighboring countries." (3) Purchases were to be made of "agricultural and garden lands, as well as forests and tracts of land of every type." (4) The territory was to be "inalienable" and "could not be sold even to individual Jews." (5) The territory could be developed by the JNF or be leased, "but only to Jews" for periods "not exceeding 49 years;" subleasing was to be prohibited. Although the model for these restrictions on ownership and leasing was biblical (cf. Leviticus 25:8-10, 23-4), the objectives were

clearly national and political.

The JNF made its first purchases in 1905, acquiring a total of 5,600 dunums (4.05 dunums = 1 acre) in three parcels in Palestine. In 1907 the JNF was incorporated in England, its "primary object" being defined in the *Memorandum of Association* as the acquisition of land, by purchase, lease or exchange, "for the purpose of settling Jews on such lands."⁵ In 1909 the first kibbutz was established in JNF land at Deganya, near Tiberias.

Nevertheless, progress and land acquisitions during the early years were modest; the JNF held title to only 16,366 dunums in Palestine at the end of 1919. The year 1920, however, marked a major turning point and the beginning of more extensive land purchases. In July at the Zionist Conference in London, the basic notions of land-holding and leasing were elaborated (details in following section). In the same month, the British Military Administration (not always in sympathy with the Zionist cause) was replaced by a Civil Administration headed by Herbert Samuel,⁶ who enjoyed the confidence of the World Zionist Organization and of the Zionist Commission in Palestine. In September the new government issued a Land Transfer Ordinance, the effect of which was to facilitate the purchase of land by Jews, and was a contributory cause of the May 1921 Palestinian Arab uprising. In October the Land Registry Offices in Palestine were reopened, thus facilitating legal transfer of land ownership. The government in addition certified the JNF "as having purposes of public utility"⁷ and registered it as a company authorized to engage in the purchase and development of land in Palestine. As a consequence of these several developments, JNF holdings—according to the JNF—increased from 22,363 dunums at the end of 1920 to 278,627 in 1930, 515,950 in 1940, and 936,000 in May 1948. Thus, when the state of Israel was established in 1948, JNF holdings constituted 3.55 per cent of the land in Palestine (26,323,023 dunums) and 54 per cent of Jewish-owned land (1,734,000 dunums,⁸ 6.59 per cent of the land in Palestine).

Since 1948 there have been a number of noteworthy developments. (1) As a consequence of the 1947-49 fighting in Palestine and the exodus of the majority of the Palestinian Arabs, large amounts of land which the JNF had thus far been unable to purchase because of the refusal of the owners to sell were now declared to be "abandoned."⁹ Under agreements negotiated with the government of Israel in January 1949 and October 1950, the JNF purchased from the Development Authority 2,373,676 dunums of so-called abandoned land, thus more than trebling its 1948 holdings. These agreements gave the JNF "clear title" to the land and guaranteed that it would not be held liable in any way as a result of any eventual settlement with the Palestinians.¹⁰

(2) In May 1954 the *Keren Kayemeth Leisrael*, "Perpetual Fund for Israel," was incorporated in Israel; it should be noted that the Hebrew name (from which the abbreviation KKL, also denoting the JNF, derives) is not a translation of the English *Jewish National Fund*. This new company acquired all the assets, liabilities, etc. of the JNF incorporated in England in 1907; thus the JNF became an Israeli corporation. A comparison of the new *Memorandum and Articles of Association*¹¹ with those of 1907 reveals no substantial differences, with one exception. The primary object of the JNF remains the same, but the "prescribed region" within which the JNF is to operate is now defined as "the state of Israel in any area within the jurisdiction of the government of Israel." Whatever the intent, this appears to authorize the JNF to operate in the territories occupied in 1967, since they are indubitably under the control and hence effective jurisdiction of the government of Israel, whatever their status under international law. Is it too far-fetched to suggest that in 1954 the possibility of territorial expansion was foreseen and provision for this eventuality was made?

(3) In November 1961 the JNF and the Israeli government signed a *Covenant*,¹² based on legislation enacted in July 1960, clarifying the relationship of the JNF to the state, spelling out their respective powers and responsibilities, and setting up two bodies: an Israel Lands Administration (controlled by the government) and a Land Development Administration (controlled by the JNF). The latter is responsible for reclamation, development, and afforestation of all state and JNF lands, with costs borne by the respective owners. Although the JNF and the state each retained title to their lands, all of these are managed by the Lands Administration (or Authority) according to a uniform policy, the most significant effect of which is the application of JNF restrictive land policies to all state lands, which together with JNF lands constitute over 90 per cent of the land in pre-1967 Israel.¹³ This intention was further reinforced by subsequent legislation, notably the *Agricultural Settlement (Restrictions on the Use of Agricultural Land and of Water) Law*,¹⁴ enacted 1 August 1967, which effectively prevents any non-Jew from leasing or holding any rights in state or JNF lands.

(4) As a consequence of these developments, the JNF has gradually expanded its activities—since 1967 also in the occupied territories—to include, in addition to land acquisition, land reclamation, large-scale afforestation, road building (not insignificant from a military point of view), and various forms of assistance to new Jewish settlements. It should be noted that some of these activities in the occupied territories are in clear violation of international law, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, making the JNF a party to these violations by Israel.¹⁵

Land Policies

Although, as already noted, the JNF purchased its first land in 1905, progress prior to 1920 was very modest. In the first place, the JNF lacked sufficient funds for large purchases. In the second place, the JNF had to contend with prohibitions or restrictions on the purchase of land by foreigners during the Ottoman period, at the end of which came the disruptions caused by World War I. After the British military occupation of Palestine in 1917, the Military Administration closed the Land Registry Offices, which remained closed until the Civil Administration took over in 1920. In the third place, no clear land policy had been developed by the JNF.

A significant beginning at altering this situation was made at the 1920 Zionist Conference in London, where agreement was reached on the basis of which policies regarding leasing and acquisition of land were developed. The Conference declared that "the guiding principle of Zionist land policy is to transfer into common possession of the Jewish people those areas in which Jewish settlement is to take place," and that the JNF was to be "the instrument of Jewish land policy."¹⁶ Thus while private ownership of land by Jews was not prohibited, it was also not to be encouraged and supported with the resources of the World Zionist Organization. The adopted resolutions further stated that the 49-year leases could (1) be renewed for an additional 49 years, for a total of 98 years, and (2) be inherited, but only by one heir to prevent fragmenting the holding. In addition, the lessee had to agree (3) to live on the land, (4)—in the case of agricultural land—to cultivate the land himself, and (5) to pay an annual rent amounting to 2 per cent of the value for agricultural and 4 per cent for urban land. The land was (6) to be reassessed every seven years and the rent adjusted accordingly. Further, (7) the size of the leasehold was to be determined by the amount the lessee and his family could cultivate without hiring help, and (8) no lessee could hold more than one lease. It should be kept in mind that at the Zionist Congress in 1903 it had already been decided that the lessee must be a Jew.

The system of long-term leasing as it eventually developed included all of these features plus the fact that the lease could, subject to the JNF's approval, be subleased, sold, mortgaged, bequeathed, or given as a gift. The JNF retained the further rights, exercised at its discretion, to inspect the holding, to decrease the amount of land held, and to take back the land if the lessee was held to have violated the terms of the lease. In the latter instance the lessee might, depending on the nature of his violation of the terms, receive compensation for improvements he had made. In all these matters, the judgment of the JNF was final and not subject to appeal.

All of these terms, including the lessee's rights, were subject to one overriding condition, made explicit in the lease, but almost never in JNF or Zionist literature: the lessee must be Jewish and must agree "to execute all works connected with the cultivation of the holding only with Jewish labor."¹⁷ Accordingly, the land could not be leased to a non-Jew, nor could the lease be subleased, nor sold, nor mortgaged, nor given, nor bequeathed to a non-Jew. Non-Jews could not be employed on the land nor in any work connected with the cultivation of the land. Violation of this term of the lease rendered the lessee liable for damages to the JNF, and the third violation gave the JNF the right to abrogate the lease without paying any compensation to the lessee for improvements.¹⁸

According to the JNF and reports in the Israeli press, these restrictive policies are enforced today, not just by the JNF, but by the state under law and apply to both JNF and state lands. Together these are known in Israel as *national land*, which, curiously enough, means not Israeli but *Jewish* land. And the employment of non-Jews on this land is regarded and dealt with as an infraction of the law. Because of a shortage of Jewish farm workers, and because Arab workers are paid less, some Jewish farmers and agricultural settlements have employed Arabs. This practice has been denounced by the Minister of Agriculture as "a cancer"¹⁹ which he fears will spread unless dealt with severely. Some settlements have even gone farther; they have subleased some land or have entered into sharecropping arrangements with Arabs. To eliminate this "plague," a "vigorous campaign" has been launched by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, warning settlements that such practices are in violation of the law, of the regulations of the Jewish Agency, and of the Covenant between the state and the JNF. Some settlements which broke the law by employing non-Jews were fined and required to make "a donation in money to a Special Fund."²⁰

As for land-acquisition policy, during the early years the JNF seems to have had only a vague one: as much as and wherever possible. As a result the quality and agricultural potential of land acquired varied, the costs of acquisition and development tended to be high, and the tracts at times were small and widely separated. Beginning after the 1920 London Conference, the JNF developed a clearer and more rational acquisition policy. At first the main consideration which dictated policy was the acquisition of land suitable for agricultural settlement. This required large, or small but contiguous, tracts of land. By this time the JNF had also learned, apparently to its surprise, that small Palestinian Arab landowners were very seldom willing to sell their lands, and thus the JNF concentrated on the large, and frequently absentee, landowners, who were cultivated through Arab middlemen. These efforts met with much greater success, and the JNF which in 1920 had acquired only 5,997 dunums, in

1921 acquired 43,021 dunums.

During the 1920s, it became increasingly obvious that the building of a Jewish state through land purchase and agricultural colonization would require time far in excess of that foreseen in earlier Zionist predictions and, more important, in excess of that likely to be available, given the growing pressures for independence being brought to bear on the mandatory government by the Palestinian Arabs. Accordingly considerations other than the suitability of land for agricultural settlement came to the fore, and strategic and national political objectives became significant in making land purchases. The latter objectives, however, at times conflicted with the former. Agricultural settlement required large and/or contiguous acquisitions, whereas strategic and national considerations suggested acquisitions in prospective border areas, hence at times widely separated tracts of land. In time the latter objectives became the major ones, and, after the Peel Commission recommended partition of Palestine in 1937, "it became JNF policy to acquire land in areas excluded from the proposed Jewish state and to form settlements there."²¹ The so-called "stockade and tower" settlements were an outgrowth of this new policy. Thus increasingly the JNF became a direct and effective instrument of Zionist political objectives—the establishment of a Jewish state, prerequisite to which was the deprivation of the Palestinian Arabs of their national patrimony.

In 1940 the JNF suffered an apparent setback. In accordance with the policy enunciated in the 1939 White Paper by the British government, new Land Transfer Regulations (effective as of May 1939) were published in February 1940. The Regulations divided Palestine into three zones. In Zones A and B, together comprising 95 per cent of the area of Palestine, Jewish purchases were virtually prohibited (Zone A) or severely restricted (Zone B). Thus in only a small Free Zone were there no restrictions on land purchases by Jews, and in this Zone already over half of the land was Jewish-owned. However restrictive these Regulations may appear, and whatever the intent of the government in issuing them, the Regulations had little discernible effect on continued land purchases by the JNF, which increased its holdings from 473,000 dunums in September 1939 to 835,000 in September 1946 (although less than one-third of this increase is reflected in government records of purchases by Jews during this period). Of the acquisitions during this period, 79 per cent were in Zones A and B.²² While not all, many of these acquisitions were undoubtedly in violation of the Regulations, testimony to the effectiveness of the JNF in pursuing its objectives and to the laxity of enforcement of the Regulations by the government.

The impact of JNF activity on the Palestinian Arabs seems sufficiently obvious to make any attempt at explication superfluous. Suffice it to say

(2) In May 1954 the *Keren Kayemeth Leisrael*, "Perpetual Fund for Israel," was incorporated in Israel; it should be noted that the Hebrew name (from which the abbreviation KKL, also denoting the JNF, derives) is not a translation of the English *Jewish National Fund*. This new company acquired all the assets, liabilities, etc. of the JNF incorporated in England in 1907; thus the JNF became an Israeli corporation. A comparison of the new *Memorandum and Articles of Association*¹¹ with those of 1907 reveals no substantial differences, with one exception. The primary object of the JNF remains the same, but the "prescribed region" within which the JNF is to operate is now defined as "the state of Israel in any area within the jurisdiction of the government of Israel." Whatever the intent, this appears to authorize the JNF to operate in the territories occupied in 1967, since they are indubitably under the control and hence effective jurisdiction of the government of Israel, whatever their status under international law. Is it too far-fetched to suggest that in 1954 the possibility of territorial expansion was foreseen and provision for this eventuality was made?

(3) In November 1961 the JNF and the Israeli government signed a *Covenant*,¹² based on legislation enacted in July 1960, clarifying the relationship of the JNF to the state, spelling out their respective powers and responsibilities, and setting up two bodies: an Israel Lands Administration (controlled by the government) and a Land Development Administration (controlled by the JNF). The latter is responsible for reclamation, development, and afforestation of all state and JNF lands, with costs borne by the respective owners. Although the JNF and the state each retained title to their lands, all of these are managed by the Lands Administration (or Authority) according to a uniform policy, the most significant effect of which is the application of JNF restrictive land policies to all state lands, which together with JNF lands constitute over 90 per cent of the land in pre-1967 Israel.¹³ This intention was further reinforced by subsequent legislation, notably the *Agricultural Settlement (Restrictions on the Use of Agricultural Land and of Water) Law*,¹⁴ enacted 1 August 1967, which effectively prevents any non-Jew from leasing or holding any rights in state or JNF lands.

(4) As a consequence of these developments, the JNF has gradually expanded its activities—since 1967 also in the occupied territories—to include, in addition to land acquisition, land reclamation, large-scale afforestation, road building (not insignificant from a military point of view), and various forms of assistance to new Jewish settlements. It should be noted that some of these activities in the occupied territories are in clear violation of international law, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, making the JNF a party to these violations by Israel.¹⁵

Land Policies

Although, as already noted, the JNF purchased its first land in 1905, progress prior to 1920 was very modest. In the first place, the JNF lacked sufficient funds for large purchases. In the second place, the JNF had to contend with prohibitions or restrictions on the purchase of land by foreigners during the Ottoman period, at the end of which came the disruptions caused by World War I. After the British military occupation of Palestine in 1917, the Military Administration closed the Land Registry Offices, which remained closed until the Civil Administration took over in 1920. In the third place, no clear land policy had been developed by the JNF.

A significant beginning at altering this situation was made at the 1920 Zionist Conference in London, where agreement was reached on the basis of which policies regarding leasing and acquisition of land were developed. The Conference declared that "the guiding principle of Zionist land policy is to transfer into common possession of the Jewish people those areas in which Jewish settlement is to take place," and that the JNF was to be "the instrument of Jewish land policy."¹⁶ Thus while private ownership of land by Jews was not prohibited, it was also not to be encouraged and supported with the resources of the World Zionist Organization. The adopted resolutions further stated that the 49-year leases could (1) be renewed for an additional 49 years, for a total of 98 years, and (2) be inherited, but only by one heir to prevent fragmenting the holding. In addition, the lessee had to agree (3) to live on the land, (4)—in the case of agricultural land—to cultivate the land himself, and (5) to pay an annual rent amounting to 2 per cent of the value for agricultural and 4 per cent for urban land. The land was (6) to be reassessed every seven years and the rent adjusted accordingly. Further, (7) the size of the leasehold was to be determined by the amount the lessee and his family could cultivate without hiring help, and (8) no lessee could hold more than one lease. It should be kept in mind that at the Zionist Congress in 1903 it had already been decided that the lessee must be a Jew.

The system of long-term leasing as it eventually developed included all of these features plus the fact that the lease could, subject to the JNF's approval, be subleased, sold, mortgaged, bequeathed, or given as a gift. The JNF retained the further rights, exercised at its discretion, to inspect the holding, to decrease the amount of land held, and to take back the land if the lessee was held to have violated the terms of the lease. In the latter instance the lessee might, depending on the nature of his violation of the terms, receive compensation for improvements he had made. In all these matters, the judgment of the JNF was final and not subject to appeal.

All of these terms, including the lessee's rights, were subject to one overriding condition, made explicit in the lease, but almost never in JNF or Zionist literature: the lessee must be Jewish and must agree "to execute all works connected with the cultivation of the holding only with Jewish labor."¹⁷ Accordingly, the land could not be leased to a non-Jew, nor could the lease be subleased, nor sold, nor mortgaged, nor given, nor bequeathed to a non-Jew. Non-Jews could not be employed on the land nor in any work connected with the cultivation of the land. Violation of this term of the lease rendered the lessee liable for damages to the JNF, and the third violation gave the JNF the right to abrogate the lease without paying any compensation to the lessee for improvements.¹⁸

According to the JNF and reports in the Israeli press, these restrictive policies are enforced today, not just by the JNF, but by the state under law and apply to both JNF and state lands. Together these are known in Israel as *national land*, which, curiously enough, means not Israeli but *Jewish* land. And the employment of non-Jews on this land is regarded and dealt with as an infraction of the law. Because of a shortage of Jewish farm workers, and because Arab workers are paid less, some Jewish farmers and agricultural settlements have employed Arabs. This practice has been denounced by the Minister of Agriculture as "a cancer"¹⁹ which he fears will spread unless dealt with severely. Some settlements have even gone farther; they have subleased some land or have entered into sharecropping arrangements with Arabs. To eliminate this "plague," a "vigorous campaign" has been launched by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, warning settlements that such practices are in violation of the law, of the regulations of the Jewish Agency, and of the Covenant between the state and the JNF. Some settlements which broke the law by employing non-Jews were fined and required to make "a donation in money to a Special Fund."²⁰

As for land-acquisition policy, during the early years the JNF seems to have had only a vague one: as much as and wherever possible. As a result the quality and agricultural potential of land acquired varied, the costs of acquisition and development tended to be high, and the tracts at times were small and widely separated. Beginning after the 1920 London Conference, the JNF developed a clearer and more rational acquisition policy. At first the main consideration which dictated policy was the acquisition of land suitable for agricultural settlement. This required large, or small but contiguous, tracts of land. By this time the JNF had also learned, apparently to its surprise, that small Palestinian Arab landowners were very seldom willing to sell their lands, and thus the JNF concentrated on the large, and frequently absentee, landowners, who were cultivated through Arab middlemen. These efforts met with much greater success, and the JNF which in 1920 had acquired only 5,997 dunums, in

1921 acquired 43,021 dunums.

During the 1920s, it became increasingly obvious that the building of a Jewish state through land purchase and agricultural colonization would require time far in excess of that foreseen in earlier Zionist predictions and, more important, in excess of that likely to be available, given the growing pressures for independence being brought to bear on the mandatory government by the Palestinian Arabs. Accordingly considerations other than the suitability of land for agricultural settlement came to the fore, and strategic and national political objectives became significant in making land purchases. The latter objectives, however, at times conflicted with the former. Agricultural settlement required large and/or contiguous acquisitions, whereas strategic and national considerations suggested acquisitions in prospective border areas, hence at times widely separated tracts of land. In time the latter objectives became the major ones, and, after the Peel Commission recommended partition of Palestine in 1937, "it became JNF policy to acquire land in areas excluded from the proposed Jewish state and to form settlements there."²¹ The so-called "stockade and tower" settlements were an outgrowth of this new policy. Thus increasingly the JNF became a direct and effective instrument of Zionist political objectives—the establishment of a Jewish state, prerequisite to which was the deprivation of the Palestinian Arabs of their national patrimony.

In 1940 the JNF suffered an apparent setback. In accordance with the policy enunciated in the 1939 White Paper by the British government, new Land Transfer Regulations (effective as of May 1939) were published in February 1940. The Regulations divided Palestine into three zones. In Zones A and B, together comprising 95 per cent of the area of Palestine, Jewish purchases were virtually prohibited (Zone A) or severely restricted (Zone B). Thus in only a small Free Zone were there no restrictions on land purchases by Jews, and in this Zone already over half of the land was Jewish-owned. However restrictive these Regulations may appear, and whatever the intent of the government in issuing them, the Regulations had little discernible effect on continued land purchases by the JNF, which increased its holdings from 473,000 dunums in September 1939 to 835,000 in September 1946 (although less than one-third of this increase is reflected in government records of purchases by Jews during this period). Of the acquisitions during this period, 79 per cent were in Zones A and B.²² While not all, many of these acquisitions were undoubtedly in violation of the Regulations, testimony to the effectiveness of the JNF in pursuing its objectives and to the laxity of enforcement of the Regulations by the government.

The impact of JNF activity on the Palestinian Arabs seems sufficiently obvious to make any attempt at explication superfluous. Suffice it to say

that by design and with malice aforethought, the JNF, which, next to the government, was by May 1948 the largest landowner in Palestine, contributed significantly to depriving the Palestinian Arabs of their national patrimony by "redeeming" the land of Palestine in making it inalienably Jewish. The result, hence—as noted by John Hope Simson in 1930—was that the "land has been extraterritorialized. It ceases to be land from which the Arab can gain any advantage either now or at any time in the future."²³

In conclusion, two observations: (1) The JNF purchased its first land in 1905 and by May 1948 held title to 936,000 dunums, the result of 43 years of land acquisition, representing 3.55 per cent of the land of Palestine. From October 1920 (reopening of the Land Registry Offices) to May 1939 (effective date of the restrictive Land Transfer Regulations), a total of 19 years, the JNF had no legal impediments to its activities to contend with. In addition, the impediments after May 1939 were obviously not serious, since it acquired almost half of its May 1948 holdings during this period. Accordingly it seems fair to conclude that the extent of JNF land-acquisitions prior to the existence of the state of Israel is surprisingly small. Of total JNF holdings at the end of 1950 (3,396,333 dunums), 72.44 per cent were acquired *after* the establishment of Israel in May 1948. These acquisitions were of course not achieved through purchase from the previous owners—the Arabs of Palestine.

During the fighting in 1948, the provisional government of Israel promulgated a series of ordinances to effect the take-over of Arab properties. Any area "conquered by, or surrendered to, the armed forces of Israel or deserted by all or part of its inhabitants" was declared "abandoned."²⁴ A Custodian, with extensive discretionary powers,²⁵ was appointed to oversee these properties, owned by people declared to be "absentees," whether or not they had left Palestine or even areas in Palestine controlled by Israeli forces.²⁶ Under legislation adopted by the Knesset in 1950,²⁷ the Custodian was empowered to sell and thus to transfer ownership of these properties to a newly-created Development Authority, which, in turn, could sell them, but only to (1) the state, (2) the JNF, (3) local authorities (but only on condition that they had first been offered to the JNF), and (4) a proposed organization to settle landless Palestinians in Israel (this organization was in fact never established).

It was through this means that the JNF acquired almost three-fourths of the land it now owns. It could only be acquired by such means, since the earlier attempts—i.e. purchase—had failed to bring under its ownership more than a very small fraction of the lands of Palestine. Above all else, this is testimony to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the small Palestinian Arab landowners, the *fellahin*, had refused to sell their lands at any price. Yet it was precisely these Palestinians who eventually bore

the brunt of JNF efforts to "redeem" the land of Palestine.

(2) Lest anyone think that the JNF is today concerned mainly with land reclamation and afforestation in Israel, an announcement quoting the Director General of the Israeli Land Fund (as the JNF is also known in Israel) over Radio Israel on 23 March 1976 is of more than passing interest.²⁸ The announcement was that in 1975 the JNF and the Israel Lands Administration, through a jointly-owned subsidiary, spent "50 million Israeli pounds (\$6.6 million)" to purchase land in the occupied West Bank, including "buildings, public institutions, and church property." According to the Director General, the purchases are all secret and "many of the Arab inhabitants, living on the acquired lands, do not yet know that these lands are in the possession of the Israeli Land Fund." Since the transactions are secret, no figures on the amount of land involved are available. Nevertheless, Terence Smith of *The New York Times* attempted to compile a record, incomplete though it is. The figures he gives, less than the actual totals according to him, including both purchases and expropriations add up to more than 1,200,000 dunums.

This land is being "prepared" by the JNF for the establishment of new Jewish settlements, an action which is in clear and even defiant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.²⁹ Although Israel is a signatory to this Convention, she has thus far honored it in the breach; for this she has been repeatedly, but thus far futilely, censured by the UN.³⁰

Accordingly we must conclude that the "Blue Box"³¹ of the JNF is still intact, and that the process of "redeeming" the land of Palestine continues.

To change this is what Palestinian resistance is all about.

FOOTNOTES

¹This paper is based in part on research summarized in my article, "The Jewish National Fund," *Journal of Palestine Studies* III (Summer 1974), pp. 74-96, which contains further references and details, including annual land acquisitions by the JNF during 1905-50.

²Israel M. Biderman, *Hermann Schapira: Father of the JNF*. vol. 2, JNF Zionist Personalities Series (New York, 1962); *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des I. Zionisten-Congresses, Basel, 29. bis 31. August 1897* (Vienna, 1897), pp. 165-8.

³Translated from the proceedings, *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Zionisten-Congresses in Basel, 26. bis 30. December 1901* (Vienna, 1901), p. 266; discussion of the JNF proposal, pp. 265-303. The original reads: "Der Jüdische Nationalfonds soll ein unantastbares Vermögen des jüdischen Volkes sein, das . . . ausschliesslich nur zum Landkaufe in Palästina und Syrien verwendet werden darf."

Among objections to the JNF proposal raised by some delegates, a surprising one is that "the Jewish people" were not an entity recognized in law; therefore ownership of the fund and of lands purchased would be open to legal challenge. Since the phrase *the Jewish people* eventually became a key element in the jargon of Zionism, it is interesting to note the misgivings concerning it expressed by Zionists at this Congress.

⁴*Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VI. Zionisten-Kongresses in Basel, 23. bis 28. August 1903* (Vienna, 1903), pp. 259-64, 297.

⁵Jewish National Fund, *Report on the Legal Structure, Activities, Assets, Income and Liabilities of the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael, Jewish National Fund* (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 17; (hereafter *Report on the JNF*). The full text of the *Memorandum and Articles of Association*, the 1907 version and as subsequently amended, is given on pp. 15-45.

⁶Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew and a Zionist, is identified by a member of his administration, Norman Bentwich, as one "of the British statesmen who were protagonists for [Chaim] Weizmann and the National Home," as "one of the principal architects of the policy of the Balfour Declaration," and as "one of the founding authors of the Mandate." Norman and Helen Bentwich, *Mandate Memories: 1918-1948* (London, 1965), pp. 11, 59, and 12, respectively.

⁷*Report on the JNF*, p. 5.

⁸Abraham Granott, *Agrarian Reform and the Record of Israel* (London, 1956), p. 28. Granott, 1945-56 Chairman of the JNF Board of Directors, gives this figure for total Jewish ownership as of the end of 1947. Although it is higher than the mandate government figure, the difference is not great and for our purposes Granott's figure can be accepted. Since all figures in this paper, unless otherwise noted, relating to land ownership are taken from JNF sources, they should be interpreted as maximum. Given the JNF's obvious motives for maximizing the extent of its holdings, the actual figures may be somewhat smaller.

⁹For the series of Israeli laws designed to give the appearance of legality to this taking over of the land, see Sabri Jiryis, "The Legal Structure for the Expropriation and Absorption of Arab Lands in Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies* II (Summer 1973), pp. 82-104.

¹⁰The JNF's explanation in 1949 was as follows: It recognizes that over 80 per cent of the land in Israel "belongs at law to Arab owners, many of whom have left the country. The fate of these Arabs will be settled when the terms of peace treaties . . . are finally drawn up. The JNF, however, cannot wait until then to obtain the land . . . It is, therefore, acquiring part of the land abandoned by the Arab owners through the government of Israel . . ." Jewish National Fund, *Jewish Villages in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1949), p. xxi. Three years later, the JNF described its activities as "part and parcel of the Jewish struggle to regain a foothold in the old homeland, and to free the ancient soil from alien ownership and from the grip of the desert." Jewish National Fund, *Nahlaot in Israel: A Guide to Nahlaot on JNF Land* (Jerusalem, 1952), p. ii.

¹¹*Report on the JNF*, pp. 56-76.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 78-83. This agreement was based on three laws: *Basic Law: Israel Lands* (enacted 19 July 1960), *Israel Lands Law* (25 July 1960), and *Israel Lands Administration Law* (25 July 1960); Government of Israel, *Laws of the State of Israel*, vol. 14 (1960), pp. 48-52.

¹³In a JNF publication, Efraim Orni, *Agrarian Reform and Social Progress in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1972), puts it this way: "In 1960, the state of Israel adopted the JNF guidelines for all publicly-owned lands . . ." (p. 7), and makes explicit what he means by "adopted": JNF "principles have been incorporated in Israeli legislation and are binding for over 90 per cent of the total area of the state" (p. 82). Orni also states (p. 36): "The leasehold contracts issued by the Land Authority in general follow in their wording those used by the JNF in the decades preceding the Agreement" i.e. the 1961 Covenant.

¹⁴*Laws of the State of Israel*, vol. 21 (1966-67), pp. 105-10. See also Sabri Jiryis, "Recent Knesset Legislation and the Arabs in Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies* I (Autumn 1971), pp. 53-67.

¹⁵Israeli activities in the territories occupied since 1967 have been the subject of a large number of UN resolutions, beginning with Security Council 237, 14 June 1967, and General Assembly 2252 (ES-V), 4 July 1967. The General Assembly even established a Special

Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories in resolution 2443 (XXIII), 19 December 1968. At the 31st session (1976) of the Assembly 8 resolutions were adopted which dealt with the occupied Arab territories.

It is curious that these breaches of international law seem to have raised few questions, at least in government circles, in the many countries in which the JNF is actively engaged in raising funds under the guise of "charity." See the Special Report by *Middle East International*. "The Jewish National Fund—Charity or Politics?" (London, 1975).

¹⁶Orni, pp. 21-2; see also Granott, pp. 49-53, and *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* (New York, 1971), s.v. *Land Policy in Israel* and *London Zionist Conference of 1920*.

¹⁷JNF lease, article 23; for the full text see John Hope Simpson, *Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development* (Cmd. 3686; London, 1930), p. 53. Efforts to obtain the text of the currently-used lease proved unsuccessful; the JNF refused to provide a copy or specific information about it. There appears, however, to be no question that such policies are still adhered to in Israel, and that the scope of their application has been extended to state lands as well. See fn. 13; Israel Shahak (ed.), *The Non-Jew in the Jewish State: A Collection of Documents* (Jerusalem, 1975), chap. I and pp. 126-7; and the Foreword by Noam Chomsky to Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel* (New York, 1976).

The prohibition of non-Jewish workers did not originate with the JNF. Theodor Herzl foresaw the need as early as 12 June 1895: "We shall try to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country." Raphael Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1960), p. 88.

¹⁸Granott, *The Land System in Palestine: History and Structure* (London, 1952), pp. 315-26, gives the most detailed account of the leasing system developed by the JNF. He does not, however, state explicitly that this was applicable only to Jews. This highlights a problem which anyone conducting research on Zionism constantly faces—the lack of explicitness, to say nothing of the code words and the circumlocutions which to the uninformed successfully mask the reality and the inherent racism. Thus extensive familiarity with Zionist literature is required, and one must look at practice in Israel, not just to the text of the laws, to discover that, unless otherwise qualified, *the people* means only the Jews, an *immigrant* or a *settler* is only a Jew, a *settlement* means a settlement for Jews only, *national land* means Jewish (not Israeli) land, etc.

¹⁹*Ha'aretz*, 13 December 1974.

²⁰*Al Hamishmar*, 21 July 1975. In citing this, Shahak, p. 22, adds a fn: "The 'punishments' were made into a donation, so that it can be deducted from the income tax, making the whole into a disgusting mixture of racial discrimination and financial corruption." See also *Ma'ariv*, 3 July 1975, and *Ha'aretz*, 21 July 1975, and 27 February 1976.

²¹*Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, pp. 628-9; similarly Granott, *Agrarian Reform*, pp. 34-5.

²²Jewish National Fund, *Report for 5700-5706 (1939-1946)*, submitted to the Twenty-Second Zionist Congress, Basle, 9 December 1946 (Jerusalem, 1946), pp. 14-21.

²³Simpson, p. 54.

²⁴Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs* (Washington, 1958), p. 149.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 151: "The Custodian could take over most Arab property in Israel on the strength of his own judgment by certifying in writing that any person or body of persons, and that any property, were 'absentee.' The burden of proof that any property was not absentee fell upon its owner, but the Custodian could not be questioned concerning the source of information on the grounds of which he had declared a person or property absentee. All rights in the property of absentees belonged to the Custodian and he could take over all property which might be obtained in the future by an individual whom he certified to be absentee."

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 152: "Every Arab in Palestine who had left his town or village after November 29, 1947, was liable to be classified as an absentee . . ." regardless of where, or when, or why, or for how long he had gone.

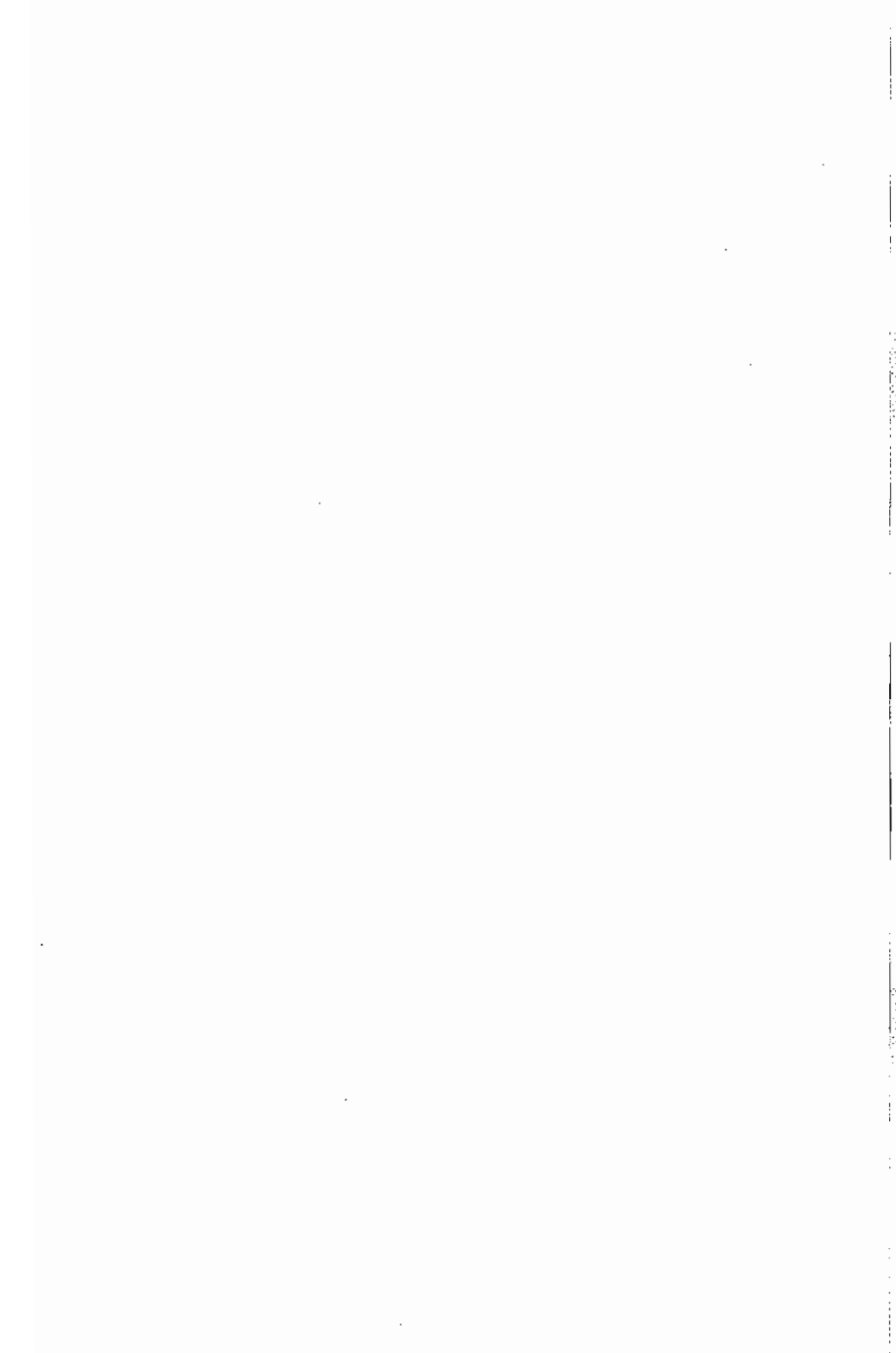
²⁷For details see Peretz, chap. IX, and Jiryis, "The Legal Structure"

²⁸The text of this announcement is incorporated in an article by Member of Knesset Shulamit Aloni, "Shall We Secretly Obtain Land?" *Yediot Aharonot*, 26 March 1976, translation in *SWASIA*, 23 April 1976; all quotations are from this source. This was followed by Terence Smith, "Covert Israeli Land Deals on West Bank Stir Furor," *The New York Times*, 12 April 1976. A brief but useful summary of land policies in Israel is provided by Amnon Kapeliouk, "Less Land for More People," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 20 June 1976 (translated from *Le Monde*, 1 June 1976).

²⁹Article 49(6): "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."

³⁰Most recently by the General Assembly during its 31st session (1976) in resolutions 106-A (adopted 129 to 3) and 106-B (134 to 0).

³¹A collection box for daily use provided by the JNF for Jewish homes. This fund-raising device has been in use since 1902.



The Arabs in Israel Since 1948

Nazih Qurah

The history of the Arab people of Palestine during the past century has been determined primarily by factors relating to the efforts made to ensure the success of the Zionist enterprise—the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

The fact that Palestine at the beginning of this century was relatively developed, compared to the adjoining countries, plus the fact that the cultivable area was relatively densely populated, made the success of the Zionist enterprise dependent on two factors: (1) Dispossessing the Arabs of their land, and (2) expelling them from Palestine. In other words, the objective was: Palestine without the Palestinians.

Zionist propaganda has instilled in many minds the myth that the land of Palestine was unpopulated at the beginning of Zionist immigration. To those who might come across some statistical data to the contrary, the Zionists claimed that the population was composed mainly of nomads, with no special relationship to the land, and a few primitive villagers.

The fact, however, is that when Britain occupied Palestine in 1917 the Arab population was about 600,000, compared with 55,000 Jews. By the termination of the mandate in 1948, there were 1.4 million Arabs and 600,000 Jews. The increase in the Arab population was primarily the result of natural increase, whereas the increase in the number of Jews was mainly due to immigration.

The claim that Palestine was virtually uninhabited before the establishment of the state of Israel contradicts not only historical facts, it also contradicts the plans suggested by various Zionist leaders during the mandate to deal with the "Arab problem." Joseph Weitz, 1951-73 deputy chairman of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund and head of the Jewish Agency's colonization department, wrote in *Davar* (29 September 1967) quoting his diary for 1940:

Among ourselves it must be clear that there is no room in this country for both peoples together With the Arabs we shall not achieve our aim of being an independent people in this country. The only solution is Eretz Israel, at least the western part of Eretz Israel, without Arabs . . . , and there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, to transfer all of them: not one village or tribe should remain. The

transfer must aim at Iraq, Syria, and even Transjordan. For this purpose money will be found, much money; for only with this transfer can the country absorb the millions of our brothers. There is no other alternative One should investigate now the neighboring countries in order to determine their capacity to absorb the Arabs of Eretz Israel.

These are the words of Joseph Weitz, a senior official of the Jewish Agency since 1932, written in his diary in 1940 and quoted by himself in 1967. What happened in 1948, according to Weitz, was a "double miracle." In spite of his admission in the same article that the "transfer" of the Arabs of Palestine, that is their expulsion, was a premeditated plan, he describes it as a miracle, implying that it was the result of a supernatural act. The fact that the 1948 fighting broke out is the other part of the double miracle. Both parts of this miracle are sources of great satisfaction for Weitz. In the same article he describes the events of 1948 in the following words:

The War of Independence broke out to our great delight, and in its course a double miracle took place: a territorial victory and the flight of the Arabs. In the Six-Day War only one miracle took place: a tremendous territorial victory. But the majority of the population of the liberated territories remained fixed in their places. This can cause the destruction of the foundations of our [Jewish] state.

However the "miracle" of 1948 pertaining to the "flight" of the Arabs was incomplete. Particularly in those parts of Palestine assigned to the proposed Arab state in the UN partition recommendation of November 1947, and which were occupied by Zionist forces in the course of the fighting, there remained about 156,000 Arabs. Various circumstances at that time did not enable the Zionist forces to "transfer" them. This Arab minority remained in Palestine after 1948 and has grown through a high rate of natural increase from 156,000 in 1948 to around 540,000 at the present time.

Both before and after the establishment of Israel, the activities of the various Zionist organizations revolved around dispossessing the Arabs of Palestine of their lands. The success of these organizations in the prestate period was very limited in spite of the favorable conditions created by the British mandate administration. By 1948 Zionist agencies were in possession of only six per cent of the total land area of Palestine. After the establishment of the state, and the miracle of the flight of the Arabs, 3.25 million dunums (4.05 dunums equal 1 acre) belonging to the inhabitants of more than 350 former Arab villages were confiscated. The Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* (4 April 1969) quoted Moshe Dayan as saying to the students of the Haifa Technion, in response to a question: "There is not a single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population" In a report dated February 1973 and prepared by Israel Shahak, chairman of

the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, we read in the preface:

The truth about Arab settlements which used to exist in the area of the state of Israel before 1948 is one of the most guarded secrets of Israeli life. No publication, book, or pamphlet gives either their number or their location. This, of course, is done on purpose in order that the accepted official myth of an "empty country" can be taught in the Israeli schools and told to visitors.

The report goes on to list 385 villages that were destroyed by the Israeli authorities.

However the confiscation of land was not restricted to that owned by the refugees. The land owned by the Arab minority which remained within Israel was not spared either. Between 1948 and 1970, a total of one million dunums was confiscated from Arab villagers. To a community whose main source of livelihood was agriculture, the act of confiscating their land coupled with the imposition of military rule for 18 years, 1948-66, meant reducing tens of thousands of families to virtual pauperage.

The Israeli authorities planned, among other things, to disperse the concentrated Arab community throughout the country and to redistribute them so as to form poverty belts around the larger cities, thus providing cheap and unskilled labor. However, in this the authorities succeeded only partially, although all roads to social and economic progress and development were blocked in the Arab villages and towns. Employment had to be sought in places far away from the places of domicile. The jobs that could be obtained nearby were those that Jews refused to take—the hardest, least remunerative, and often only seasonal or temporary ones. Nevertheless the Israeli authorities did not succeed in forcing the Arabs to evacuate their towns and villages. In spite of the fact that more than 70 per cent of the Arab workers leave their villages at dawn to work in distant places, and in spite of the fact that the authorities have refused, and still refuse, to authorize maps for Arab towns and villages so as to have an excuse for withholding building permits, the Arab minority remains concentrated in the northern part of Palestine where two-thirds of them reside.

The Israeli authorities were not satisfied just to confiscate land and to block development projects in the Arab sector. The authorities have also from time to time launched vigorous campaigns to prevent the Arab villagers from working on their own land which was confiscated and handed over to Jewish individuals or organizations, with the express condition of prohibiting the leasing of the land to non-Jews or allowing them to work on it as hired laborers. Nonetheless some Arabs have succeeded in working on their land either as sharecroppers or as hired laborers, though this is clearly in contravention of the law in Israel. The fact that this has happened is accounted for in part by the fact that many

Jewish individuals and organizations acquired the land with the intention of hiring Arabs, whose wages are lower than those of Jews, and acting as landlords and contractors.

The policy of containment of the Arab minority in Israel, combined with efforts to keep the Arabs at the bottom of the social scale so as to encourage them to emigrate, has been furthered by limitations on the education available in the Arab sector. Education among the Arabs in Israel is discouraged in every possible way. Though living in the same state, Arabs and Jews do not have the same educational facilities. Arab education is very much inferior to Jewish education in physical facilities, in the training of teachers, and in the funds available, leaving aside the content of the curricula. Higher education is restricted in a number of ways. Knowledge of Hebrew is essential, but even if this condition is met, the university authorities can restrict the number of Arab students by not granting them exemption from the tuition fees. But even if the Arab student surmounts all these hurdles and obtains a university degree, he discovers that his degree is worthless because it cannot secure him a position. It needs to be kept in mind that the Israeli government and its public agencies, in addition to the Zionist organization and its several agencies, are the major employers in Israel.

The process of reducing the educated to the status of unskilled laborers and the dangers inherent in this are described by an Israeli journalist, writing in *Ha'aretz* (12 December 1975):

Thousands of the inhabitants of Nazareth leave their town every day to go to work in industry and construction, mostly as unskilled laborers, though they carry in their pockets a secondary school diploma or even a university degree. They are no longer obedient peasants. They comprise the natural reserves for any guerrilla army anywhere in the world.

During the past 28 years the Arabs in Israel have formed between 11-15 per cent of the total population, and their proportion is increasing due to their high rate of natural increase and to the decrease in Jewish immigration. Ever since the establishment of the state, the Israeli authorities have looked on the Arab minority as temporary residents at best, to be got rid of at the first opportunity. No recognition of their human or political rights has ever been considered by the government or local authorities. The governmental machinery in Israel lacks any effective representation of the large Arab minority. Even the advisor on Arab affairs to the prime minister has always been selected from among the most extreme anti-Arab Zionist elements; that he should be an Arab is apparently unthinkable.

Any form of Arab organization, whether political or professional, has always been considered illegal, and its leaders have been either jailed or

exiled. Israel has always had a large number of political parties, but never an Arab political party. Arabs are only "allowed" to vote for Jewish and Zionist political parties, in many cases parties which do not accept Arabs as members. This situation has been considered ridiculous even by some Zionist writers. Amnon Rubinstein of the Hebrew University explains how the National Religious Party, an extreme religious and nationalist party, obtained 20,000 Arab votes in the 1973 elections; in an article in *Ha'aretz* (7 April 1976), he stated:

Two of the kneset members of this party owe their membership to the Arabs, that is one fifth of the power of this party is bought through departments headed by members of this party . . . There are five major departments for recruiting Arab votes: The first is the Ministry of the Interior (controlling building permits); the second is the Ministry of Social Affairs (dispensing all sorts of assistance); the third is the Ministry of Religious Affairs (with the power to grant assistance to mosques and churches); the fourth is the Bar Ilan University (with the power to grant scholarships); and the fifth is the budget (of the National Religious Party).

Rubinstein's criticism of the National Religious Party and its methods of procuring Arab votes should not be understood to mean that other parties behave differently, or that the methods of all parties in procuring Jewish votes are basically different. The difference lies in the fact that what should be obtained by Arabs in Israel as a right is in fact "sold" as a favor.

In a nonracist system, whether democratic or nondemocratic, the Arab minority in Israel would be entitled to at least 18 members in the kneset and 3 ministers in the cabinet, in addition to appropriate representation in the various public institutions. Yet to date in Israel, the number of Arab members of the kneset has not exceeded one-third of this number, and there has never been an Arab minister in the government.

In a nonracist state journalists would not write as they do in Israel:

Israel is not a binational state; it is a Jewish state that has a minority. We speak of developing the Galilee, but we do not hide our desire to see a Jewish majority in that party of the country.

To have a Jewish majority has been the declared aim of the Zionist movement since the beginning; this aim has been actively pursued since the beginning of British administration in Palestine. In 1948, the desired Jewish majority was achieved through expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs from their villages and towns, thus reducing them to stateless refugees. If we keep in mind the words of Joseph Weitz we can better understand the significance and impact of the slogan "Jewish majority." At first it was a Jewish majority in the Jewish state as a whole. This was achieved in 1948 at a terrible cost. Now a Jewish majority is sought in all areas of the Jewish state. This can be achieved through

either (or both) of two ways: (1) By bringing in Jews from outside the state and distributing them so as to form a majority in every area; or (2) by reducing the number of Arabs to such an extent as to form a minority in every area. This requires expulsion.

The Zionist movement is not now in a position to create the needed antisemitic atmosphere to ensure large-scale Jewish migration to Israel. No Hitlers or mini-Hitlers are now available to perform for Zionism what its propaganda machine has always failed to perform. Thus Zionism has no alternative but to exercise the second option, dispossession and expulsion of the Arabs in Israel.

The latest attempts by the Israeli authorities to dispossess the Arab minority in Israel of what is left of its land can only serve to increase bitterness and force the hopes of peace to recede beyond sight. The "Day of the Land," 30 March 1976, which was declared as a day of protest for the defense of Arab land in Israel may help to open some eyes to what Zionism is doing to the Arabs, the non-Jewish minority, in Israel. When the Israeli government was deliberating the question of the Arab minority following the events of the Day of the Land, Prime Minister Rabin suggested that the "religious and cultural" rights of the Arabs would have to be recognized. When three other members of the cabinet suggested adding "national" rights, Rabin declared: "The terms of reference of this government do not permit it to add that."

The policy that has been pursued, and is still being pursued, by Israel against the Arab minority is basically the same policy being pursued by the occupation authorities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This policy is based on depriving the Palestinian people of their human and political rights, on expropriation of land and other property, and thus on racial discrimination. It can only lead to the intensification of hostility and further conflict.

Increasingly Jews inside Israel and outside are realizing the abyss to which Zionism is leading them. Through these Jews' concern for their coreligionists, they are beginning to take a stand against the catastrophic policies of the Zionist leaders. Some Israeli Jews have given up any hope of being able to change the policies of the Zionist leaders and are emigrating. Official Zionist sources speak now of the existence of about 300,000 Israelis in the USA alone.

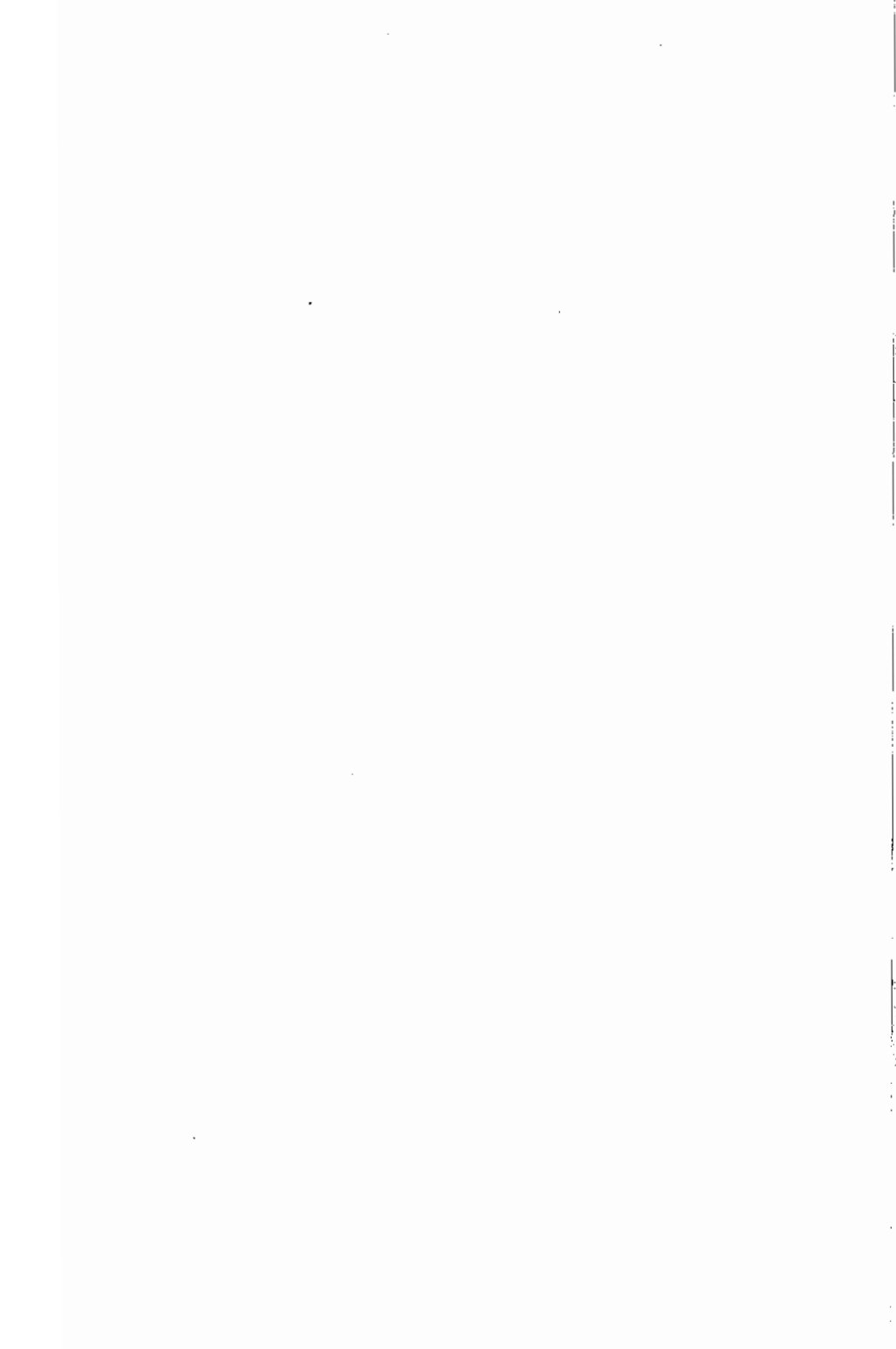
The some eight million Jews in Europe, the Americas, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand show no desire to make up for this loss. They have refused to leave their countries and to migrate to Israel though they are entirely free to do so. What they have in reality refused is the prospect of being trapped in an unending war, without apparent benefit to themselves.

In asking for support, from world public opinion and from honorable

men and women the world over, we are not only asking for support for the just cause of the Palestinian people; we insist that by supporting the Palestinian people you will also be supporting the Jews as human beings. By forcing the Israeli government to give up the policy of persecution of the Arabs in Israel and in the occupied territories, by forcing this government to stop the confiscation of land within the borders of 1967 and beyond them, by forcing it to recognize human and political rights for Arabs, you will be contributing to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to normal human relations between Jews and Arabs.

These words are not intended as figures of speech. We firmly believe that Zionism has created two problems: a Jewish problem and an Arab problem. The solution of these two problems requires the defeat of Zionism, the quintessence of racism.

Only the dissolution of the Zionist state and its replacement by a secular democratic state can bring peace and spare the inhabitants of Palestine—*all* the inhabitants of Palestine—and the inhabitants of this part of the world death and destruction.



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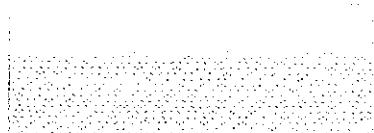
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The Palestinian Expulsion: A Canadian's Awakening

A. C. Forrest

I have been asked to address myself to the Palestinian exodus, based on what I saw and heard in Jordan, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and in Jerusalem, Gaza, and the West Bank of Palestine during the summer of 1967. I made that visit at the request of editors of the leading religious papers of the USA and Canada, to study and report on what they called "the new refugee problem."

But first let me put the story into perspective in the context of the scattering of the Palestinian people. I also want to add something about the role of the western churches and about North American attitudes and Jewish reaction and defensiveness.

With the exception of western Europe and North America, the entire world has learned that in order to set up a Zionist-Jewish state in Palestine, the indigenous Palestinian majority had to be robbed of their homes and lands and to be dispossessed of their national patrimony. Most of them were driven out by one means or another, while those who remained were eventually deprived of their independence and dignity, forced to exist under military occupation in Gaza and the West Bank, or with limited human and civil rights in Israel and Jerusalem.

John H. Davis, former Commissioner-General of the UN Relief and Works Agency, has put it succinctly: "The extent to which the refugees were savagely driven out by the Israelis as part of a deliberate master-plan has been insufficiently recognized."¹ He also notes:

A Jewish state could not have come into being except by resort to pressure and force against the indigenous Arab population Once the Zionists gained sufficient support from major powers to bring Israel into being, it became inevitable that the indigenous Arab people would be driven from their homes, their return blocked by force, their property seized and awarded to immigrants; and that a new government would be created under which immigrants would be citizens, and Jews throughout the world be made potential citizens, whilst the exiled native Arabs would be relegated to the status of refugees and foreigners.²

When these facts come to be more widely known and understood, then the cruel oppression and the continued pressure on the Palestinians to leave Jerusalem, Gaza, and the West Bank will be seen as part of the

whole process.

Yusif Sayigh, a member of the faculty of the American University of Beirut, summed this up for a group of Christians I had brought to the Middle East once, in words something like this:

In an attempt to correct the awful injustices inflicted on the Jews over the centuries, usually at the hands of people who called themselves Christians, an awful injustice was inflicted upon the Palestinian people. And until this injustice is corrected there will be no peace in the Holy Land.

He went on to explain that the Arabs were not anti-Jewish. They were not responsible for the crimes against the Jews of the diaspora: "In order to appease your consciences for what was done to the Jews, you cooperated with the Zionists in robbing and expelling the Arabs from the lands where they had lived for centuries."

We have no answer to this except perhaps to say, "It wasn't us. It was European Christians unworthy of the name." Yet I have heard a Canadian woman say, "I don't care what they say; it says in the Bible that God promised this land to the Jews and that's good enough for me." For the misunderstanding of Holy Writ and the insensitivity toward fellow human beings—the Arabs of Palestine—displayed by such a statement, the western churches collectively must bear much of the responsibility.

How could there be such depth of ignorance and misunderstanding? How could there be such naivete? How can there continue, despite the clear, unquestioned facts made available to us through men of the ability of John Davis, such confusion, prejudice, and ignorance as there is in our part of the world?

How can they fail to see that what has happened is the direct and foreseen outcome of Zionist ideology and Zionist determination to establish a Jewish state in a country settled and populated with non-Jewish people?

The only way for it to have been possible was through a clever, carefully calculated, brilliantly executed, massively supported program of propaganda. Of all the things carried out by world Zionism and the Israeli government, none has excelled or equalled their propaganda campaign in Europe and North America.

I have found during years of involvement in these issues—much of it uncomfortable involvement—that I have never found anyone in my country who has lived in the Middle East, working with UN or other agencies, universities, governments, or churches, who did not agree with my reports and interpretations of the Palestinian problem. Yet among those who have not lived or traveled in the Middle East, I rarely find anyone who agrees.

The reason that Zionist propaganda has been so effective in our part of

the world is the result of many factors: Ignorance of the conflict over Palestine, its issues and its development, guilt feelings over former antisemitism and especially over what happened during the Nazi period in Europe, misunderstanding of biblical prophecies, especially among fundamentalist and literalist Christians, and the existence of anti-Arab prejudice, the result of distortion of the history of the Crusades and the presence of anti-Arab stereotypes in our literature. In addition, a sort of sporting admiration for what is considered the under-dog and the relative failure of the Arabs to articulate their story to western ears are also involved. All of these factors have been skillfully exploited, and at times even cultivated, by extremely able Zionist propagandists, experts so good that the infamous Goebbels might have learned from them.

Then too, another factor contributed to continuing ignorance. Not many of us in the West knew Arabs; most of us knew Jews. We knew many Jews had had a bad time in Europe before they emigrated to the USA and Canada; some of them had a bad time when they came to live among us. But eventually most of them triumphed over adversity and have made a contribution to our culture and nationhood. The Arab contribution to the western world—in mathematics, literature, medicine, science and technology—has not yet become well known.

For me, the June 1967 fighting was a significant turning-point in my understanding of the conflict over Palestine. Up until that time I had been more or less neutral in my judgment. I saw faults and virtues on both sides. It was a sort of *comme ci comme ça* thing with me. And in that I suppose I was a typical Canadian who read the newspapers, listened to the news, and had other problems to think about.

Then one day in June 1967 I was asked by the editor of *Presbyterian Life*, a fortnightly magazine with a circulation of about a million, if I would go immediately to the Middle East to check up on and report about the new refugee problem.

I had known, of course, that during and following the fighting of early June many thousands of Palestinians, most of them, I understood, from the refugee camps around Jericho, had fled across the river to the East Bank. I knew too that the UN had adopted a resolution in the General Assembly asking for their immediate return to their homes and camps on the West Bank. I had read reports in our newspapers of their return, and one television broadcast had shown Palestinians who had fled during the June fighting to Jordan, returning across the broken Allenby Bridge to the West Bank. So I demurred. "They're getting back," I told the editor. And told him about the reports I had seen and heard.

But the Presbyterians had representatives in Beirut, Damascus, and Cairo, and they were sending back different reports. The American churches were already organizing a campaign to raise funds for "the new

refugees."

Somewhat reluctantly I agreed to go. I was first briefed in New York, and at the World Council of Churches in Geneva and in Beirut, but it was not until I reached Amman that I learned what was going on.

"So you saw the broadcast too," a churchman in Amman said when I asked how long before all the refugees would get back. "The Israelis permitted 144 to return one day for television purposes. They didn't film or report that 600 more came this way on the same day." I could hardly believe it. However, the evidence was all around me; about 300,000 newly homeless people jammed into emergency camps, crowded into schools, mosques, caves, tents, and living in open fields. And still they were streaming across the temporary bridges, always west to east.

I went the next day with an UNWRA driver to the Allenby Bridge. There I met Willard Jones, the American Quaker who had retired but came back to see what was happening. As we watched together the steady stream of refugees crawling the crooked catwalk across the river, assisted by the Israeli soldiers on the other side, where they had been asked to sign a paper showing that they left of their own free will, Willard Jones kept muttering, "It's worse than '48."

They carried their blankets, their furniture, their meager household possessions, their babies. And they hit the hot dusty road, searching for relatives, friends, and food and shelter in the emergency camps.

I talked with many of them during the weeks that followed. About 300,000 left the West Bank; most of them are still in Jordan. Many had fled in panic, urged on by tank, plane, and the threat of napalm. But the evidence was, as it had been in 1948, that the panic was induced, that Israel saw this as a chance to reduce the Arab population of Palestine. A few in those early days of confusion made their way back through the river; some were arrested and taken back to the river and ordered to go eastward again. I talked to elderly people who had fled from Imwas (the biblical Emmaus), Beit Nuba, and Yalu—villages that had been completely leveled by the Israelis; in at least one case a sick and elderly woman was buried alive in her home.

In Amman and round about, the UN and Near East Council of Churches offices were besieged by thousands of desperate refugees, clamouring to get back to their homes and refugee camps, searching for lost wives, husbands, and children.

There was stalling all that summer, and the story is now well known. Israel was again ably to defy the UN. Eventually a formula was agreed upon under which those who had fled could go back. About 170,000 in Jordan signed forms to return. One way or another Israel was able to obstruct it, and fewer than 20,000 actually got back. Their return was well publicized too. The fact that others did not return was explained away.

"They changed their minds. They didn't want to come." Why some changed their minds was that Israel agreed to let some members of the family back but not others, and rather than divide their children they stayed in exile.

Later I spent the night in a refugee home in a camp on the edge of Bethlehem. I was surprised at the ample space; I was given a whole room to myself, for only the mother and one son lived there. I was told that during the fighting the family became separated. The father and some six children crossed the river, the mother and eldest son got back to Bethlehem. In 1969, despite the talk of reuniting families the father and children were still in the Souf Camp near Jarash. Eventually, years later, the father and little girls were allowed to return; the boys never did get back.

In July '67 I visited the emergency shelters at Karamah and other camps in Jordan. I saw thousands still sleeping in the open fields of southern Syria. I visited the Liberation Province in Egypt, where homes and villages prepared for settlers from Upper Egypt were made available to about 13,000 Palestinians from Gaza and Sinai. Egypt in all received about 35,000 refugees in June 1967.

In Israel, Michael Comay, later Israeli Ambassador to London, was in charge of what was an emergency for the Arabs and an opportunity for Israel. "We can settle 300,000 Jews on the Golan Heights for there is wonderful land there," he told me. Yigal Allon was quoted in the press saying that the Golan belonged to Israel for "Jephthah had judged there." This seemed to make sense to the victorious Zionists. Because a Hebrew prophet had spoken on those hills more three thousand years ago, modern Israel had a right to the land! Michael Comay told me too that regardless of what might happen about the West Bank and Gaza, Jerusalem would remain united and the capital of Israel. No politician would dare suggest returning East Jerusalem to its former owners.

Shlomo Hillel, later to head the Israeli Police, and the only Oriental Jew to make the Israeli establishment, asked me to urge Canada to accept substantial numbers of the Palestinians. In Israel I heard much about Arabs being lazy and backward, and predictions about what magnificent things the Israelis would do for Arabs by developing the West Bank. And I was given assurances by Michael Comay that Israel would do everything possible to help those who fled to return to their homes and be reunited with their families. "We cannot afford again the censure we received in 1948," he said as though he meant it. I thought at the time he was sincere. In 1948 about 730,000 Palestinians fled from what became the state of Israel to Gaza, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. In 1967 nearly 400,000 fled from the newly occupied territories. For perhaps half of them, it was their second exodus.

Except for Jerusalem it seemed just a matter of time, just a matter of working out the arrangements, and the people who fled would all be back again.

I undertook to visit two off-limits areas, the West Bank of the Jordan at the Allenby Bridge, and the sites of three Latroun villages.

I kept asking permission to visit the villages of Beit Nuba, Yalu, and Imwas, in the Latroun area, and I kept being put off. Finally I became insistent, and was told, "Sorry you can't go." Why? "The villages aren't there any more." What happened? "They harbored Palestinian commandos and were a threat to the airport." So when they had their chance, and under cover of war, the Israelis bulldozed the communities out of existence.³

It took several days to get permission to go to the bridge; there I saw a copy of the paper Palestinians who were fleeing were asked to sign. By so doing they signed away their birthright, saying they were leaving of their own free will. Some were without money and had become separated from spouse and family. The West-Jordan banks were closed, and East of the Jordan seemed an escape for desperate people separated from their families and without money. Israel was extremely helpful with free transportation to get people to leave, but already the mines were being laid and the guards placed to prevent their return.

In Amman I met an employee of the Near East Council of Churches who had been in East-Jordan when the war broke out. He had a wife and five children near Nablus. Every day he tried to get back and once made it by wading the river; but he was caught and imprisoned, and when he would not sign the required paper, he was taken to a shallow place in the Jordan near the place of Jesus' baptism and ordered to wade across.

When my stories and others appeared in the western press there were two reactions: First, I was bitterly criticized and was charged with exaggeration, distortion, lying, and being employed by the Arab Information Service in Ottawa. Eventually, suggestions that I was antisemitic were made, and my church was criticized for employing me as an editor. Secondly, the churches made substantial contributions to Palestinian aid. And some passed resolutions urging a just settlement of the refugee problem, and calling for the immediate return of the Palestinians. Some went further, passing resolutions similar to UN resolution 242 of 22 November 1967. My own church and others passed resolutions urging our governments to press for a just peace in the Middle East. Then we were to learn how effectively Canadian and American Zionists had organized their lobbies in Ottawa and Washington.

One interesting development took place in the language used by western churches. In the years following 1948, churches tended to speak of the "poor Arab refugees." Then they began to speak of the "poor Palestinian

refugees." And we sent old shoes and powdered milk. Then the language and the methods changed. We began to speak of "the Palestinians" and the need for self-help programs. Then it was "the injustice inflicted upon the Palestinian people," and eventually some Christians were passing resolutions asking for "self-determination for the Palestinian people."

While the newspapers spoke of *terrorists*, the churches began to speak of *commandos*, and while not approving terrorism, explanations were given as to why the young Palestinians, growing up in camps and seeing their wronged parents grow old and die, turned in frustration to violence in order to win back the lands and homes taken from them.

We kept hearing and reporting: "It's not charity we want but justice; it's not tents and emergency shelters, but the right to return to our own homes in Palestine."

I regret very much that the dispossessed Palestinian—the poor refugee as we used to call him—has been so used. But the only churchmen who have become enlightened on the conflict began to understand through concern for the refugee.

Once when I was the butt of considerable abuse in my own country, I asked a friend who is an expert at communication, "Why are the Jews so hard on me?" He said quickly, "It is because you continue to hammer away about the Palestinian refugees. You should know that every Jew in the world has a guilty conscience on that." And I suppose that does explain the sensitivity, the over-reaction, the violent attacks and name-calling.

In the spring of 1968 I attended a meeting of the Middle East Committee of the National Council of Churches in New York. The presidential primaries had begun. I had read a report in which the various aspirants for the presidency had commented on the Middle East. Robert Kennedy, Nelson Rockefeller, Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, and some others, all tried to outdo one another in unqualified support of Israel. I told the committee I just could not understand such men. Either they were ignorant of the situation or they were cynics, interested more in votes than principle.

The chairman of the committee smiled. "You don't understand our politics very well, do you?"

To end the tyranny of such cynical politicians, the story of the Palestinians must continue to be told, and with honesty and sensitivity. No person of goodwill can learn that story—the story of the refugees in their camps and of a people deprived of their land and homes, and not be moved by the injustice of it all.

FOOTNOTES

¹*The Evasive Peace: A Study of the Zionist-Arab Problem* (London, 1968), p. 57.

²*Ibid.*, p. 88.

³In 1975 I visited Kuneitra, after it had been leveled by the Israelis before they evacuated it. However, in Kuneitra all the ruins had been left, whereas in the villages of the Latroun the Israelis had immediately bulldozed the remains underground, leaving no traces of the villages.

The Oriental Jews of Israel

Naseer H. Aruri

That Israel's Oriental Jews¹ have been subjected to social, economic, and racial discrimination is no longer considered controversial. Although constituting about 60 per cent of the population, they are less than first-class citizens. Their representation in the state's social, economic, and political institutions is strikingly incompatible with their numerical majority, while the European-American (Ashkenazi) communities are represented far out of proportion to their numbers. Disabilities imposed on the Oriental sector are rampant in employment, education, housing, income, social welfare, and political participation. Disparities between the two Jewish communities have grown worse in all these areas since the establishment of the Zionist state in Palestine; and there are no indications that the social gaps are narrowing. On the contrary, the available statistical data reveal a widening of the gaps.

The largest share of the national income in Israel goes to the highest strata of capitalists and managers, predominantly Ashkenazis. The middle strata of the highly paid professional workers and government bureaucrats are strategically situated to push for higher incomes. Jews of the Oriental communities have no professional skills to speak of and, consequently, are unable to compete in their category. Their presence is most prominently observed in the lowest strata of the socio-economic pyramid, that of the manual workers in industry and agriculture, "the only groups whose share of the national income has increasingly diminished."² Poverty in Israel is closely linked with ethnic origin.

It must be pointed out, however, that a small sector of the Oriental communities has moved up to the lower-middle strata of small contractors and skilled workers since the June 1967 fighting, and as a direct result of that fighting. Specifically, the relative improvement in the socio-economic conditions of the Sephardi community is linked to the ever-increasing emphasis given to what Israelis term "security," as well as to the resulting general economic activity. A study by Shifeh Wise of Haifa University³ revealed that the percentage of Sephardis employed in agricultural occupations has decreased, as some have gone into skilled labor, the army, and the police. Their replacement in manual work was supplied, for the first time, from the ranks of Arabs living in the occupied territories.

There is, however, no doubt that the vital sectors of the Israeli proletariat remain dominated by Oriental Jews. This is an imperative of the Zionist ideal.

I Socio-Economic Gaps

1. *Income*

No one denies the existence of income inequalities among the ethnic communities in Israel. There are, however, disagreements about the extent, significance, and implications of such inequalities. The "Committee for the Study of Trends in Income and in the Social Gap," headed by David Horowitz, Director of the Bank of Israel, presented an optimistic report to the government in July 1971 regarding economic inequality and social integration. The principal finding of the Committee was the claim that the standard of living of families of Afro-Asian origins improved between 1963 and 1970, compared with the standard of living of all families:

The improvement found expression in a rise in the average income level, in housing conditions, and in the percentage who owned durable goods. There was a decline in the percentage of people of Asian-African origin among families with the lowest incomes and an increase in their representation among families with the highest incomes.⁴

Translated into figures, the "improvement," if indeed it can be termed such, is very modest. One of the tables in the report shows that in 1963 the gross income for the average family of Afro-Asian origin was 63 per cent of the average income for all Jewish families in Israel, whereas in 1970 it was 69 per cent. Additionally, it is shown that in 1963-64, 33.5 per cent of the Jews of Afro-Asian origins belonged to the fifth of the population with the lowest incomes, but in 1968-69 they constituted 30.1 per cent. The parallel figures for Oriental Jews in the fifth of the population with the highest incomes show an increase from 5.4 to 8.0 per cent.

The deceptive nature of these figures did not escape the attention of Israeli scholars long convinced that the socio-economic gap is widening rather than narrowing. Michael Bruno, a Hebrew University economist, repudiated the report thus:

The Committee . . . did the public a disservice Instead of directing attention to the main problem, it chose to hide behind several series of statistical data that were not comparable and that appeared to signify a decrease in economic inequalities.⁵

He argued that the actual average income of Oriental families was 50 per cent of the average of all families and not 69 per cent as the Committee claimed.⁶ The discrepancy results from the fact that the Committee

failed to take into account the difference between the average family size of the Oriental wage-earner and that of his Ashkenazi counterpart. J. Peri put it this way:

Families of Oriental Jews have three times as many children as western Jews: 65 per cent of Jewish families with three and more children and 80 per cent with five and more are of Afro-Asian origins. The result is that even when absolute wages are equal, the relative wages of the Oriental Jews are substantially lower. The net effect is a circular chain reaction: the growing disparity in per capita income produces the economic gap, which in turn produces the poverty, which in turn produces social and educational backwardness, etc.⁷

Moreover, the Committee took into account only official earnings and ignored clandestine benefits.⁸

The increase in the socio-economic gap is further illustrated by the decline in terms of relative level of consumption. In 1959, the per capita consumption in the larger family was 68 per cent of the per capita consumption in an average Jewish family, but by 1969, it had decreased to only 47 per cent.⁹ These figures become even more significant when we bear in mind that during this decade the National Insurance Institute was paying allowances to families with many children amounting to IL250 million, and that about 90 per cent of those with large families are of Afro-Asian origin.

Corroborative evidence of the positive correlation between poverty and ethnic origin can also be found in the report of the Prime Minister's Special Commission on children and poverty. More than 95 per cent of those defined by the Commission as "children in distress" are members of Oriental families. According to *Ma'ariv* (13 April 1973), the Commission revealed that the lowest 2/10 of the population accounted for 6 per cent of the national income, whereas 40 per cent of the national income went to the highest 2/10 of the population. The full significance of this must be assessed in the light of the fact that the lowest 2/10 category is almost totally Oriental.

A report published in 1972 by the Szold Institute revealed that more than 200,000 boys and girls in Israel live below the "poverty line"¹⁰ (as defined by the National Insurance Institute).¹¹ Of these indigent children, accounting for a quarter of all Israeli children, 84 per cent are of Afro-Asia origin.

The plight of Oriental Jews seems to have worsened in the aftermath of the October 1973 fighting. According to *Davar* (21 March 1975), 20 per cent of all Israelis live in "poverty conditions," and 10 per cent live below the "poverty line." The Prime Minister's advisor for social affairs, Baruch Lein, put the latter figure at one-quarter of a million. He was also quoted as saying that 175,000 people below the age of 18 are living below the

poverty line, of whom the Orientals constitute 94 per cent.¹² Yet another account reveals that 60 per cent of all families living below the poverty line (redefined as IL693 for a family of four) are of Afro-Asian origin.¹³

Thus from the above data, emanating mostly from official or semiofficial Israeli sources, it is clear that no significant closing of the income gap has occurred during the last fifteen years, and that poverty correlates positively with ethnicity. In terms of incomes, the Oriental community is truly second-class.

2. *Housing*

Discrimination in housing in favor of Ashkenazis is even more obvious than in income. The zeal with which the Israeli establishment pursues the "ingathering of the exiles," a goal deemed essential to ensuring the Jewish character of the state, has resulted in creating a severe shortage of housing. The Zionist establishment knew that it had to pay the cost of acquiring technically skilled Jewish immigrants from the West and the Soviet Union. Adequate housing at subsidized low prices, together with furniture, appliances, a television set, and a car are among the incentives offered to these immigrants. They are also accommodated in new housing on the basis of three rooms to a family of three. By contrast, 19 per cent of the Oriental families live on the basis of three persons per room. Only 5.8 per cent of the Ashkenazis live in the same housing density. Suzy Barry, a former employee of the Israeli Housing Ministry, relates that she was told to allocate one- or two-room houses to Oriental families "so they wouldn't have space for any more children."¹⁴ Of the 214,000 Israeli children who live in a housing density of more than three per room, 38 per cent are Orientals and only 6 per cent are of Euro-American origin.¹⁵

The following extracts from an article which appeared in the *Black Panther* (9 November 1972) under the title "A Letter to a Soldier," written by an Oriental Jew, are eloquent testimony to the alienation which a sizable sector of the Oriental community feels as a result of inadequate housing and poor living conditions:

My dear brother, shalom!

A long time has elapsed since you have been in the army, and surely you don't know many things about my situation. First of all I wish to tell you about the birth of my fifth son; he will share the bed of Ezra and Geula, the twins.

Ya'acov, my eldest son was arrested this week by the police. He was accused of stealing a chocolate bar from the grocery. I'm afraid for his future. They told me he is to be sentenced to three years in a reformatory for juvenile delinquents. You surely know that these institutions prepare their inmates for a life of crime

Yesterday I went with my seven year old daughter Ruthie to the Hadassah hospital. The doctor explained to me that Ruthie suffers from rheumatic

fever. He said this illness is the result of the overcrowding in our flat . . . (it has one and a half rooms).

He then tells of going to the Housing Ministry and asking for a reassignment but is turned down; he continues:

Why isn't my daughter Ruthie equal to a new immigrant? If we don't want her to die, we have to move to another flat To tell you the truth I am at the point at which I wouldn't care so much if she died. The poor thing suffers so much But you know, in this country even dying is hard. To die is very expensive, and when I think about it, I am shocked to the bones by the fact that my monthly income is IL483.60, and this after ten years work.

Dear brother, you have a weapon in your hand, and you hope to forestall any evil in these tense moments. I want you to know something very important: You are not defending me. I don't have any possessions to be taken care of, and my life is no life. What you are doing is defending those who oppress me

Another illustration of the discrimination in housing is provided by what is known as the "Beit Yam 22" incident. An apartment block in Beit Yam, a seafront suburb of Tel Aviv allotted to new immigrants, was invaded on 19 April 1973 by twenty-two families living in Hatikva, a slum quarter of Tel Aviv inhabited mainly by Oriental Jews. The "invaders" moved in forcibly to the new apartments and vowed to remain there until the government agreed to relocate them. The government agreed to negotiate and promised to relocate them and to relocate all families living with four or more persons per room within two years.¹⁶

There is no evidence that the housing problems of the Oriental Jews have been alleviated. For as long as the Zionist establishment actively pursues the "ingathering" policy, new immigrants from the West and the USSR are accorded housing privileges and offered other inducements to stimulate immigration. In fact, the government provides these immigrants low-cost loans, tax credits, and the right to buy imported goods without the import duties which run as high as 1,000 per cent. Translated into figures, these privileges can amount to IL100,000 per family in money and goods, while Orientals are earning IL400-500 per month and living in one or two rooms of 30-40 square meters for a family of eight.¹⁷

Even the figures provided by an establishment group as the Horowitz Committee suggest that very little improvement in housing of the Oriental community has occurred between 1960 and 1970. Whereas the percentage of families of western origin that lived three and more persons per room declined from 12 to 2 per cent between 1960 and 1970, the parallel percentage for families of Afro-Asian origin declined from 49 to 25 per cent.¹⁸ Other data from the same source show that the rate of improvement was slower for immigrants from Africa and Asia than for all other groups; details are summarized in the following table:¹⁹

Origin and Time of Migration	Percentage of Three or more Persons/Room			Ratio of Improvement
	1960	1965	1970	
Asia & Africa				
Prior to 1948	37	20	12	1:3
Since 1948	49	30	25	1:2
Europe & USA				
Prior to 1948	4	2	1	1:4
Since 1948	12	6	2	1:6

3. Education

Housing and education are interconnected. As no low-rent apartments are available, poor families are burdened with debts incurred in acquiring their own homes, causing them to sacrifice other things. Alisa Levenberg, an Israeli social worker, discusses this phenomenon in the following words:

Education is inevitably the first item to suffer, partly because it is not cheap, even where it is gratuitous. School uniforms and additional books have to be paid for; trips are expensive and so is equipment; and above all, there is "loss of wages" when the children don't work. So to pay for housing that is not always adequately adapted to their needs, the family sacrifices education, and the vicious circle becomes a downward spiral.²⁰

Enrollment figures reveal a wide gap between Orientals and Ashkenazis. The Szold Institute's 1972 study indicates that 47 per cent of the Oriental children between the ages of 3 and 4 attend nursery schools, whereas the corresponding figure for Ashkenazis is 82 per cent. Only 24 per cent of the Oriental pupils who enroll in the first grade reach the tenth grade, compared to 55 per cent of the Ashkenazi pupils. In 1973, the Oriental community with about 60 per cent of the population accounted for 60 per cent of all elementary classes, 30 per cent of all secondary classes, and 10 per cent of all university students; of university graduates, only 3 per cent are Orientals.²¹ Finally, the Szold Institute study further reveals that 40 per cent of Israel's children (under 18) live in families whose head did not finish elementary school (55 per cent among the Orientals as against 16 per cent among the others).

Kenneth Kattan, an Iraqi Jew who teaches in the medical school of the University of Cincinnati, has expressed the view that enrollments for Iraqi Jews in Iraq were far better than they are in Israel. He was one of ten Jews in a class of 60 in a Baghdad medical school, whereas no Iraqi Jews have been admitted to medical schools in Israel since 1951. He further stated that 651 Jews graduated from high school in Iraq in 1947, while only 86 Iraqi Jews completed high school in Israel in 1957.²²

The educational handicap thus underscores the socio-economic handicaps previously discussed; all point to the fact that by and large Oriental Jews are living on the periphery of Israeli society. Their integration will require agonizing struggle and fundamental reassessment of priorities.

4. *Political Participation*

The same pattern of discrimination is also evident in participation and representation in the state's political institutions and governmental agencies. The Oriental 60 per cent of the population are represented now by less than 20 per cent of the members of parliament. Only 20 Oriental

Oriental Representation in Parliament²³

Parliament (Knesset)	Percentage Orientals
Second	9
Sixth	20
Seventh	15
Eighth	16.6

members were returned in the Eighth Knesset — 11 by the Labor Alignment, 6 by Likud, 2 by the National Religious Party (Mafdal), and 1 by the Independent Liberals. Elie Eliachar, one of the prominent leaders of the Oriental community and a former member of the knesset, explains that this representation which amounts to a sixth of the total knesset members is a nominal one if we consider that these Oriental deputies represent "all-Ashkenazi political parties to which they owe sole allegiance rather than the Sephardi-Oriental community."²⁴ "This," he writes, "makes Israeli democracy a mere caricature."²⁵

The prevailing electoral system of representation, by tying the electorate to political party-lists, prevents direct links between the elector and elected, with a net effect of disenfranchising groups or communities whose socio-political levels do not enable them to form political organizations and to make a serious bid for political power within the framework of the established system. The best illustration of this political handicap was supplied when all six "communal" lists contesting the elections to the Eighth Knesset failed to elect a single communal representative.²⁶

In addition to the electoral system, the current practice of offering subsidies out of public funds to outgoing knesset members gives the incumbents an advantage over new candidates and thus militates against a genuine circulation of political elites.

The principal knesset committees, comprising Foreign Affairs, Security, Finance, and Legal Affairs, also tend to be the preserve of

Ashkenazis. The Sepharids are awarded the ceremonial post of kneset president, which is about as powerful and significant as that of the American vice-president in the senate.

Oriental representation in the cabinet is even more illusory with only 15.8 per cent, i.e. 3 posts out of a total of 19 in the Seventeenth Government. Raphael Penkler, in a series of studies published in *Al Hamishmar* on the ethnic distribution of cabinet ministers in the first seventeen governments, reveals that immigrants from the Islamic countries did not enter the cabinet until the Tenth Government;²⁷ Eliahu Sasoon was the first such minister.

**Distribution of Cabinet Ministers
According to Birthplace and Communal Affiliation²⁸**

Government	No. of Ministers	E. Europe		W. Europe		Islamic Countries		Palestine		Oriental	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Provisional	13	10	76.9	2	15.4			1	7.7	1	7.7
1.	12	9	75	2	16.7			1	8.3	1	8.3
2.	13	9	69.2	3	23			1	7.7	1	7.7
3.	13	9	69.2	3	23			1	7.7	1	7.7
4.	16	8	50	5	31.2			3	18.7	1	6.2
5.	16	8	50	5	31.2			3	18.7	1	6.2
6.	12	7	58.3	4	33.3			1	8.3	1	8.3
7.	16	12	75	3	18.7			1	6.2	1	6.2
8.	16	12	75	3	18.7			1	6.2	1	6.2
9.	16	9	56.2	4	25			3	18.7	2	12.5
10.	16	8	50	4	25	1	6.2	3	18.7	2	12.5
11.	15	8	53.3	3	20	1	6.7	3	20	2	13.3
12.	16	9	56.2	3	18.7	1	6.2	3	18.7	2	12.5
13.	18	13	72.2	2	11.1	1	5.5	2	11.1	2	11.1
14.	22	15	68.2	2	9.1	2	9.1	3	13.6	2	9.1
15.	24	17	70.7	2	8.3	1	4.2	4	16.7	2	8.3
16.	22	14	63.6	3	13.6	2	9.1	3	13.6	3	13.6
17.	19	11	57.9	1	4.3	2	10.5	5	26.3	3	15.8

When Shlomo Hillel, one of a handful of Orientals in the cabinet, was assigned to portfolio of Police, and served in several governments in this capacity, the Oriental community was dismayed. They would have preferred a post more sensitive to the community's needs. Their feelings were cogently expressed by Elie Eliachar:

I do not know of any democratic nation that has a separate Ministry of Police. . . . on 18 December 1973, . . . I had the privilege to declare to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, that the Sephardim have had enough of the Ministry of Police and that what they most need is a ministry that would aid directly with the causes which continue to perpetuate and even

widen the communal gaps and which is also capable of dealing with and narrowing and bridging them. I mentioned, among the ministries the Sephardim look to for that purpose, those of Housing, Education, Labor, and Social Welfare.²⁹

Eliachar's sentiments seem to be shared by a sizable sector of the Sephardi community. Upon the death of the Minister of Social Welfare in November 1975, the Sephardi community petitioned the government to appoint a minister from its ranks, but the National Religious Party (Mafdal) nominated a non-Sephardi, and he was appointed. In this context *Davar* (16 September 1975) published an article by a Sephardi spokesman, Shemshon Abizimr, stating that the overwhelming majority of those in need of welfare assistance are Sephardis, whereas the overwhelming majority of those who disburse this assistance are Ashkenazis. The author of the article reminded the Mafdal leadership "of a simple fact, that the overwhelming majority of those who vote for Mafdal candidates . . . are Sephardis." In this respect, one wonders what the government's response would be if the Sephardis incorporated among their demands for cabinet representation admission to what is known in Israel as the "political kitchen"³⁰—the prime ministership and ministries of Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Finance—the preserve of Ashkenazis.

Nor is the Sephardis position better in local government, labor union, or the army. Only 13 per cent of Israel's mayors and heads of municipal councils are Sephardis. Sephardis constitute 11 per cent of the membership of the Executive Council, 22 per cent of the General Congress, and 28 per cent of the labor councils of the Histadrut.³¹ The prevalent feeling among Oriental Jews is that the establishment which denies them access to political power does not hesitate to call on them to fight. A Black Panther Declaration issued in the aftermath of the October 1973 fighting asked rhetorically:

Who are the soldiers in the regular army who fought on the Bar-Lev line and in the north? Who did the fighting on the ground and in the tanks? Aren't they the sons of the poor?³²

And Elie Eliachar reiterated the same sentiments when he wrote:

When speaking to men and officers who served on both fronts in the recent war, I was overwhelmed by the consensus of opinion among them [the Orientals] concerning the war and its aftermath. The gist of this was: "Since we are good enough to die in battle as equals, we shall see to it that we live as equals in peacetime."³³

Although the Oriental community is more than well represented in the infantry and tank corps, its share of the officer corps is only 30 per cent.³⁴ It should also be noted that although the Orientals constitute only a quarter of all families in Israel, their children are more than half of

those of draft age.³⁵ In the civil service, there is a total absence of Orientals in Grade 1 and in the three highest grades they are limited to 3 per cent.³⁶

5. *Intercommunal Relations*

Several studies on ethnic relations in Israel suggest that relations between Sephardis/Orientals and Ashkenazis are characterized by suspicion, resentment, disdain, and even outright hostility. An English-speaking Indian Jew might find it difficult to move into the Hakarim section of Jerusalem, which is inhabited predominantly by fair-skinned Ashkenazis. Milfred Shapiro tells in his *Zionists and Sabras* of Ashkenazis who refused even to sit at the same table with Orientals. Similar feelings are reported to be dominant also among Ashkenazi Jews in the USA. According to Maxim Ghilan, editor of *Israel and Palestine*, a Paris monthly, the Orientals are characterized there as *yodim*, emigrants from the Holy Land. As one said, "They even remind one of the Arabs, for Christ's sake."³⁷ But if the Ashkenazis are contemptuous of the often darker-skinned and less-developed Orientals, the latter tend to be resentful of the privileges which the Israeli establishment bestows on Ashkenazi immigrants. Saadia Marciano, spokesman for the Black Panther Party which consists of Jews whose families originated in the Arab Middle East, expressed the feeling of many in his community:

When a Jew in Russia does not eat for four hours, that is a hunger strike. But if a Sephardi kid in Israel eats nothing for ten hours, no one is interested. I don't care if no more Russian Jews are allowed to come to Israel. Are they coming here to build the Jewish state or to take my state? We Sephardim know one thing, if we were escaping from Russia because of persecution, we would make less fuss about getting a five-room flat when we arrived. If a Sephardi who has been here for 20 years asks for one extra room, the government just says, "Phantoms."³⁸

Sylvia Keshet, a well-known Israeli satirist, added a footnote to this communal strife:

All concerned must face the basic problems, lest they continue to hear from the bitter and frustrated youth, "Israel is an Ashkenazi state" or continue to read the slogans, "Golda, teach us Yiddish!", "Golda, send us to Russia so that we may return as immigrants with rights."³⁹

Similarly, Ovadia Nachum, one of the Beit Yam 22, told the correspondent of *The New York Times*:

Why should they [Soviet Jews] get things that those of us who were born here or raised here have no chance of getting? Just because they are Ashkenazim?⁴⁰

Attitudes toward intercommunal marriage constitute another indicator of social integration. In 1955, 11.8 per cent of all marriages in Israel were

"mixed." Fifteen years later, the percentage moved up to 17.5. A poll conducted by Y. Peres of Tel Aviv University in 1968 on the attitudes of high school students toward intercommunal marriages revealed that 39 per cent of the Ashkenazi students favored such marriages, while another 39 per cent had reservations about them; the remaining 22 per cent rejected them totally. By contrast, 81 per cent of the Sephardi students, including Palestinian born, approved such marriages.⁴¹ These figures speak for themselves and need no further elaboration.

II Perspectives on the Socio-Economic Gaps

Explanations for what is commonly referred to as the "two Israels" abound. They range from the right-wing antipathy toward the (often darker-skinned) Orientals, whom they stereotype as lazy, underdeveloped, uneducated and less educable; or whom they dismiss as a community which excludes itself by its alien background, customs, and ideals—"a community which just does not fit in." This is a situation which parallels the racist attitude of some white Americans, whether rich or poor, toward black Americans. The Blacks must "prove" themselves, or they must pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, proclaim the white racists. Hence the gap is seen as a strictly communal problem.

Next, one encounters a more liberal perspective which similarly views the gaps in a communal context. Unlike the right wing, however, it places the responsibility for improvement on the government and not on the Orientals. This reformist attitude characterizes all liberal diagnoses and proposals for correction. Enlightened self-interest is the primary guiding principle. Reforms from above are seen as the only alternative to a social revolution from below. A reassessment of national priorities (security, immigration, etc.) and a redistribution of the "pie" are seen by the establishment liberals as the key to bridging the "communal gap." Elie Eliachar puts it thus:

My contention is that the banner of security has to have two sides, one marked "defense" and the other "abolishing the communal gap." The issues . . . are inseparable and must not be seen in isolation. The claim that our finances are inadequate to meet the challenges is inadmissible. By diverting public funds, irrationally squandered on megalomaniac projects, we can meet the recommendations mentioned above, which will do away with the division into "two Israels" and make us what we truly are—one people!⁴²

Likewise, Michael Bruno, a Hebrew University economist, asks, "Is there any doubt in framing the national budget what must today receive top priority—not as a sufficient condition for success but, to understate matters, *as a necessary one?*"⁴³

Other liberals accuse the government of ethnocentricity and warn that the lack of a bold attempt by the government to arrest the social and cultural gap will create even a worse situation "when peace is achieved."⁴⁴

Finally, there is a radical perspective supplied by groups such as the Black Panthers, the Communist Party (Rakah), and the Israeli Socialist Party (Matzpen). Israelis discovered the Black Panthers for the first time on 3 March 1971, when a group of Oriental youth demonstrated in front of the Jerusalem municipality to protest social, economic, and racial discrimination against Oriental Jews. A decision to break up the demonstration and to employ subsequently such measures as preventive arrests was taken at the highest level, leading eventually to the radicalization of what had begun as a harmless protest against inequality. An effort by the ruling group to absorb them via the Federation of the Moroccan Immigrants failed, and the Panthers were increasingly drawn toward Matzpen and Siah (Israeli New Left).⁴⁵ By 1972, the Panthers began to view the plight of the Oriental Jews in a class context, and during the following year they merged with the Israeli Democrats forming a new political movement called *Dye*. "enough."⁴⁶ Shalom Cohen, an Iraqi immigrant who was elected general secretary, announced that the movement was not a communal one, but asserted that the basic aim of the movement was to remove the socio-economic gap, and to enlist the support of intellectuals, artists, and literary figures from all communities.

A split in the movement occurred in June 1974 when Cohen was accused by the conservative members of deviation from the original goal and of cooperation, instead, with left-wing groups who supported the cause of the Palestinians.⁴⁷ By 1975, the Panthers moved to the left and into the peace camp. At their first party congress held in Beersheba in September 1975, Shalom Cohen outlined the party's stand on the so-called socio-economic gap: "Our struggle is not limited to ethnic discrimination, but must be seen in the context of the class struggle of Israel's proletariat."⁴⁸

But if the Black Panthers vascillated between the reformist and revolutionary approaches, Matzpen views the plight of the Orientals as stemming from the capitalist-Zionist character of the state. For them, the discrimination of the Zionist establishment against the Oriental community is no less reprehensible than the displacement, dispossession, and exploitation of the Palestinian people. Although the colonial character of the state inevitably brought material privileges to the Israeli Jewish workers in comparison with the Arabs, all attempts to integrate the Oriental Jews as equals with the Ashkenazis have necessarily failed. Exploitation of workers, most of whom are Oriental Jews and Arabs, therefore increases, while the state pursues economic policies designed to attract foreign investors and western immigrants and to assure foreign

and local capitalists greater profits.⁴⁹ Hence the ethnic divisions correspond to the class divisions.

Moreover, Israel's inability or unwillingness to "integrate" its Jewish society stems from another dimension of the nature of the state. The dynamics of both Zionism and capitalism militate against the launching of a massive effort to educate the numerous unskilled and semiskilled Oriental Jewish workers. In order to meet the demands created by the expansion of the economy, which resulted from the massive infusions of external aid, the Zionist establishment opted for recruiting Jewish skilled workers from the West and the USSR, thus perpetuating the inferior position of the Oriental Jewish community. This approach was reinforced by still another aspect of the Zionist-capitalist character of the state discussed in Bober's *The Other Israel*:

Aside from the intrinsic value of Jewish immigration to Israel from the Zionist point of view, a massive upward movement of Oriental Jews could create a problem for Zionism at the same time: namely the vacuum created in the unskilled and the semiskilled working-class could only be filled by Arab labor, who would then dominate the vital sectors of the Israeli proletariat. This, of course, would not be tolerated by the Zionist leadership. Thus, there is no doubt that as long as Israeli society remains capitalist and purely Jewish, the ethnic divisions are largely going to correspond to the class divisions.⁵⁰

Bober adds that such divisions and differences are interpreted by the Orientals in ethnic rather than in class terms. They, like the "poor whites" of the USA, identify with the most chauvinist, fanatical, and racist elements in Israeli society. Their support goes to the semifascist Herut Party and to other right-wing movements.

Matzpen adds another dimension to the relationship between the plight of the Oriental Jews and the colonialist-Zionist character of the state. The pursuit of two mutually exclusive goals of Zionism lies at the root of the problem: The "ingathering of the exiles," as a prerequisite of an exclusively Jewish state, results in rendering the Oriental a second-class citizen, thus undermining the second goal of creating a well-integrated Jewish state. The important question is, therefore, how can one advocate an exclusive state for Jews when some of them are regarded as, and made to feel, inferior by other Jewish citizens of that state?

Furthermore, the pursuit of able-bodied and skilled men and women from abroad, together with the emphasis on "security," leads to the one thing which, more than anything else, is responsible for the plight of the Oriental Jews. They have to bear the brunt by sacrificing bread for guns and subsidizing the luxurious living accommodations and other schemes designed to induce immigration from the West.

One wonders whether time will come when this exploited element may decide that it can no longer afford the "grandiose schemes of its European Zionist leadership."⁵¹

FOOTNOTES

¹As used now in Israel, the label *Oriental* is applied generally to Jews of Asian or African origin; since they are also known as *Sephardi*, these labels are frequently used interchangeably. Jews of European or American (North and South) origin are known as *Ashkenazi*.

²J. Peri, "The Black Panthers in Perspective," *New Outlook* XIV, No. 5 (June-July 1971), p. 54.

³Reported in *Ma'ariv*, 25 May 1973.

⁴*Bulletin of the Institute for Palestine Studies*, Supplement to III, No. 16 (16 August 1973), p. 530; see also Arnon Magen, "The Social Gap—Four Views," *New Outlook* XIV, No. 8 (October-November 1971), p. 55; Michael Bruno, "The Social Gap Is Not Really Closing," *New Outlook* XVI, No. 1 (January 1973), pp. 12-13.

⁵Bruno, p. 12.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Peri, p. 54.

⁸Magen, p. 56.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Yakov Habib, *Children in Israel*, Szold Institute (April 1972), based on a 1969 survey by the Central Statistical Office.

¹¹The three indicators of poverty: (1) housing density in excess of 3 persons per room; (2) monthly income of IL75; and (3) maximum of seventh grade education for the father.

¹²*Bulletin of the Institute for Palestine Studies* V, No. 15 (1 August 1975).

¹³Report by Sema Kenan, *Davar*, 16 February 1975.

¹⁴Cited in Marion Woolfson, "Zionism and Racism," *The Guardian*, 14 May 1976.

¹⁵*Children in Israel*, cited in *Ma'ariv*, 13 April 1973.

¹⁶*The New York Times*, 22 May 1973.

¹⁷Woolfson, *op cit.*

¹⁸*Al Hamishmar*, 4 December 1975, gives different figures: percentage of Oriental families living 3 or more per room declined from 58 to 48 per cent between 1966 and 1972. Corresponding figures for Ashkenazi families declined from 18.4 to 11.5 per cent.

¹⁹*Bulletin of the Institute for Palestine Studies*, Supplement to III, No. 16 (16 August 1973).

²⁰"Poverty and the Other Israel," *New Outlook* XIV, No. 5 (June-July 1971), p. 49.

²¹*Ma'ariv*, 22 April 1973.

²²*Jewish Post and Opinion* (New York), 26 May 1972.

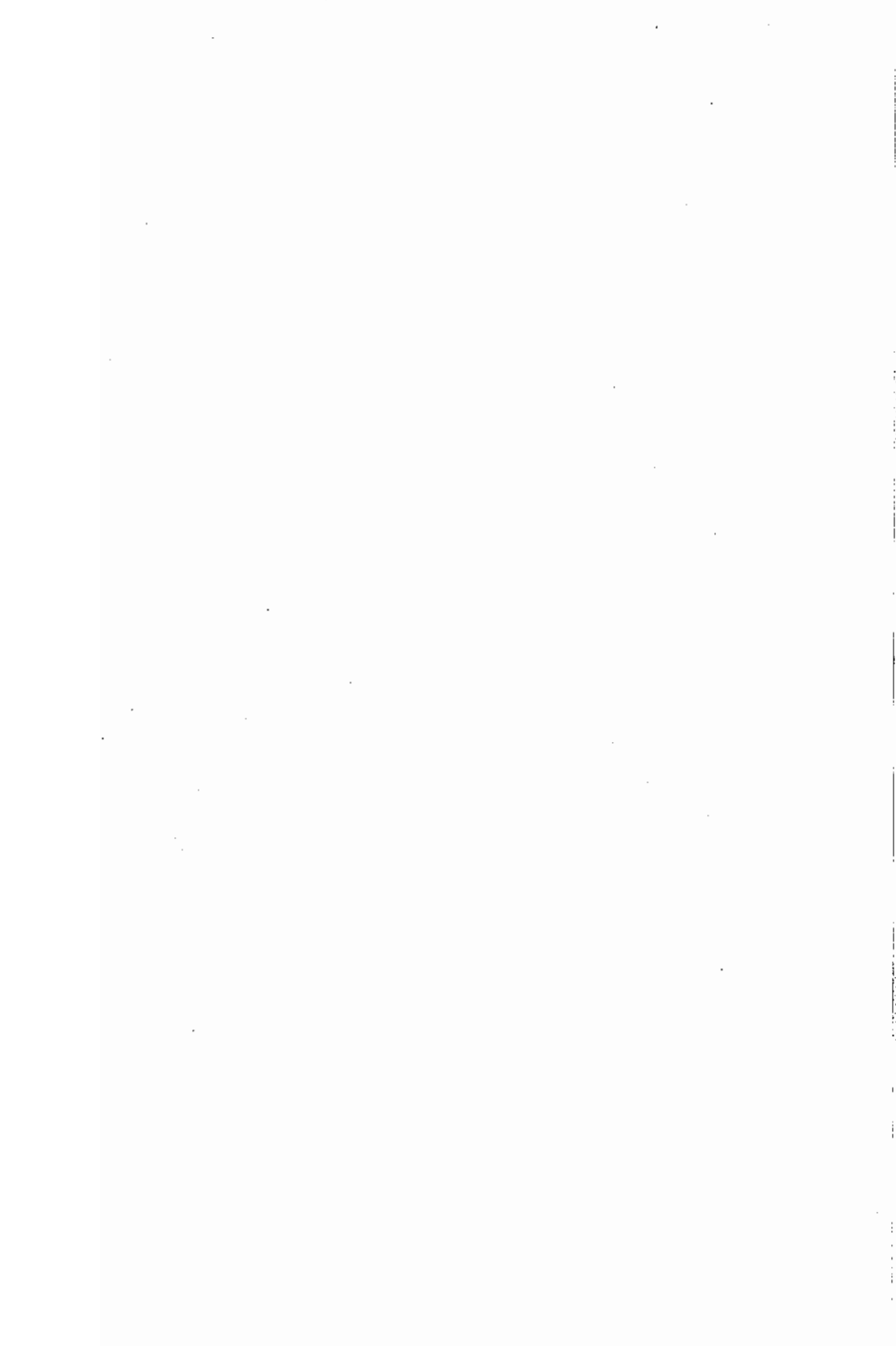
²³*Ma'ariv*, 4 May 1973; and Elie Eliachar, "Born to Fail: Israel's Communal Problem," *New Outlook* XVII, No. 3 (March-April 1974), p. 70.

²⁴Eliachar, p. 71.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 70.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 71.

- ²⁷*Al Hamishmar*, 21 June 1974.
- ²⁸*Ibid.*
- ²⁹Eliachar, p. 73.
- ³⁰*Ma'ariv*, 25 May 1973.
- ³¹*Al Hamishmar*, 4 December 1975.
- ³²*Al-Ittihad* (Haifa), 27 November 1973.
- ³³Eliachar, p. 72.
- ³⁴*Al Hamishmar*, 5 January 1976.
- ³⁵*Ma'ariv*, 25 May 1973.
- ³⁶*Jewish Post and Opinion*, 26 May 1972.
- ³⁷*Israel and Palestine*, January-February 1976.
- ³⁸Patrick Marnham, "Israel's Black Jews," *New Statesman* (London), 30 June 1972, p. 898.
- ³⁹"The Panther Hunters," *New Outlook* XIV, No. 7 (September 1971), p. 32.
- ⁴⁰*The New York Times*, 22 May 1973.
- ⁴¹Magen, p. 51.
- ⁴²Eliachar, p. 74.
- ⁴³Bruno, p. 15; emphasis added.
- ⁴⁴See for example Levenberg, p. 39.
- ⁴⁵*Davar*, 9 June 1972.
- ⁴⁶*Ha'aretz*, 22 February 1973.
- ⁴⁷*Ha'aretz*, 19 June 1974.
- ⁴⁸*Israel and Palestine*, December 1975, p. 12.
- ⁴⁹Arie Bober (ed.), *The Other Israel: The Radical Case against Zionism* (New York, 1972), p. 31.
- ⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 92.
- ⁵¹Marnham, p. 898.

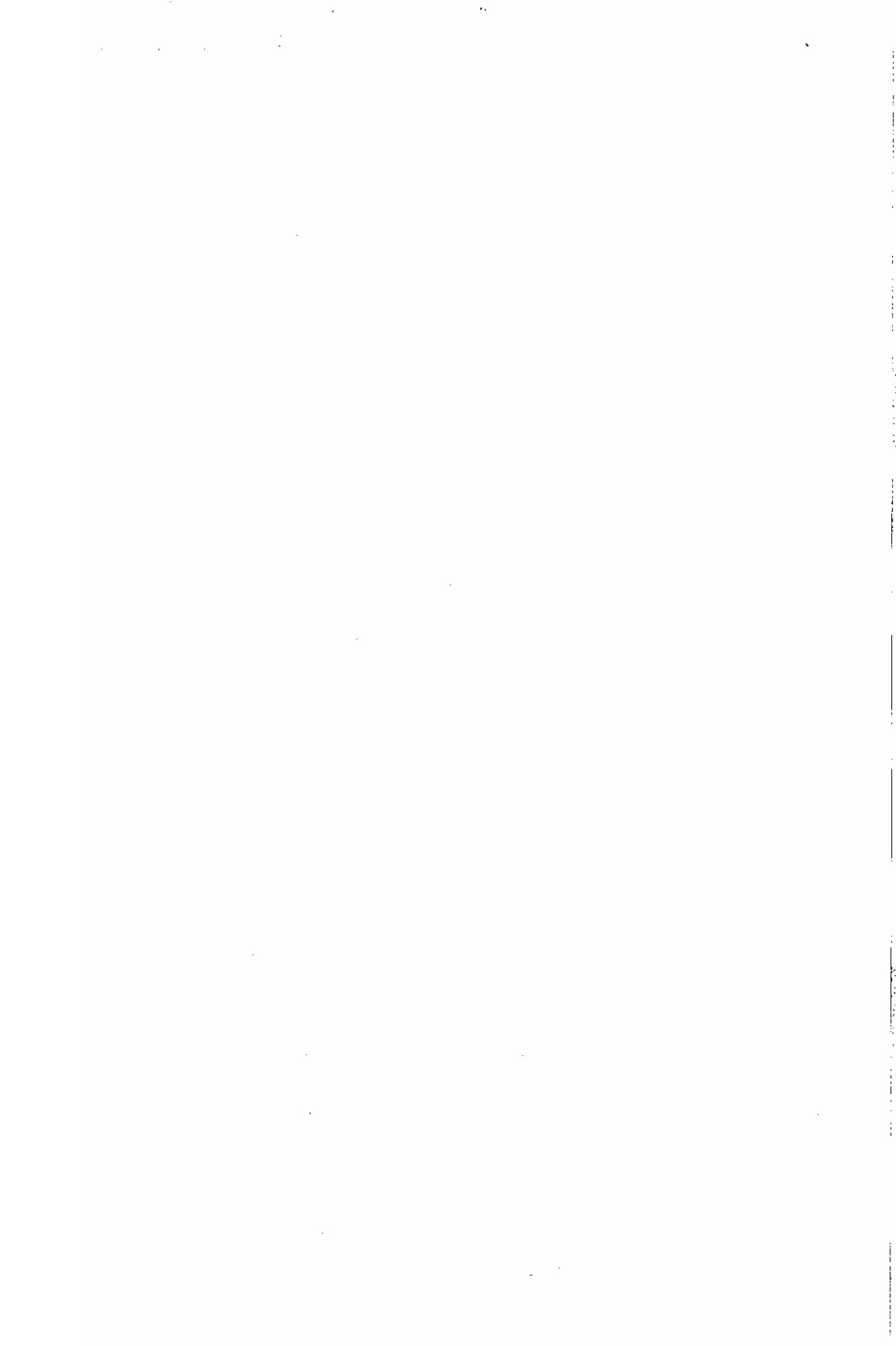


IV

Zionism

and Interstate

Relations



Intellectual Origins of Imperialism and Zionism

Edward W. Said

Both as a system of social, political, and cultural oppression, and as a vision of the world, imperialism has been common in all ages. Most cultures, at the moment of their dominance, have tried to impose their will upon other, weaker cultures. Invariably, imperialism promotes a peculiar and even an esoteric mythology. Some of its myths include the views that a strong culture is a superior one, that reality itself can be altered at will in order to create "natural" hierarchies, that the dominant nation belongs to a master race, and so forth. All of these ideas are to be found in one form or another during the zenith of all the great European and Asian and American empires.

Yet during the 19th century imperialism acquired a new and strong form, and it is in the history of 19th-century European intellectual culture that one finds the common origins of imperialism and Zionism, origins that precede Herzl and the colonization of Palestine beginning in the 1880s. Very briefly, I should like to sketch the intellectual roots of imperialism and Zionism because, I think, as victims of both, we have not taken enough note of the history, the methodology, and the epistemology of the great systems of oppression that still affect us today and that are the legacy of 19th-century political and cultural thought. For until we see them in their full historical richness, we will make the mistake of thinking that racism is a recent thing, or that it is a passing and relatively young phenomenon which will go away. The fact is, as I hope to show, that Zionism and imperialism draw on each other; each in its own way, they sit at the very center of western intellectual and political culture; and they are facts, not of immorality or injustice, but of a political and scientific will to domination over the so-called colored, non-European peoples of the Third World. The struggle against modern European imperialism and racism is a civilizational struggle, and we cannot wage it successfully unless we understand its system of ideas and where they originate. Only then can we struggle scientifically against them.

The period of the rise of modern imperialism, of which Zionism is a part, goes further back than 1870, which is when Hobson and Arendt say that it began. As a system of thought, imperialism is rooted in the early 19th century—its span of greatest influence coincides exactly with the

period of vast territorial acquisition by the great European powers. We must remember that between 1815 and 1918, Europe's colonial empires in Asia and Africa and Latin America grew from 35 per cent of the total surface of the earth to 85 per cent. What we must therefore ask are the following questions: (1) What were the principal characteristics of European imperialism? And (2), how did Zionism arise organically out of the system and the very visions of European imperialism?

Imperialism is a political philosophy whose whole aim is territorial expansion and its legitimization. The difference between 19th-century and modern imperialism and every other preceding sort is that 19th-century and modern imperialism are based on a quasi-scientific and systematically effective vision of reality. Indeed it can be said that the history of imperialism is the history of the uses and abuses, the formation and the deformation, of modern science. I want to emphasize this. The components of modern scientific imperialism are, first, philosophical, and second, economic and territorial. When in 1918 Clemenceau stated that he believed he had "an unlimited right of levying black troops to assist in the defense of French territory in Europe if France were attacked in the future by Germany," he was saying that by some scientific right France had the knowledge and the power to convert blacks into what Poincaré called an economic form of gunfodder (ammunition) for the white Frenchman.

Now the source of this power is a particular kind of knowledge and the kind of practices it legitimizes. It is the knowledge gained by European science during the early 19th century to *classify*, to type, the world and its inhabitants into stronger and weaker, backward and advanced, superior and inferior types. The very root of modern imperialism is the idea of systematic classification, and this idea—in such sciences as biology, linguistics, anthropology, and history—is the principal achievement of 19th-century European science. Imperialism drew from this achievement a deformed principle and applied it willfully to the world of men. If you look at comparative anatomy, for example, you will note the tradition of taxonomy, which goes from Linnaeus and Buffon and culminates in Cuvier's *Le Regne Animal* (1817), in which all nature is divided into discrete species, genera, types, characters, and categories, each having irreducible natural traits and characteristics. Cuvier carried this further just as Darwin's ideas were carried further and incorrectly applied to men and societies: that men themselves could be divided into white, red, yellow, brown, and black types; whites were rational, quick, dominant; blacks, he said, were phlegmatic, incapable of certain kinds of ratiocination; yellows were scheming, silent; reds were savage and choleric, and so forth. Such notions of the different classes of men were concentrated and brought to their full racist expression in the work of

Gobineau, and later of course in Spengler.

Supporting the taxonomy of natural history and comparative anatomy was the taxonomy of linguistics. With the discovery of the structural and historical affinity between groups or families of languages by such linguists as William Jones, Franz Bopp, Friedrich Schlegel, there began as well the classification of language families into ethnocultural and racial types. In 1808 Schegel saw, he said, a difference between the Indo-Germanic or Aryan languages on the one hand, and, on the other, the Hamito-Semitic languages. The Aryan languages were creative, lively, aesthetically pleasing; the Semitic languages were mechanical, unregenerate, merely passive. From this typology Schlegel, and later Ernest Renan, went on to generalize about the great difference separating a superior Aryan and a non-Aryan mind, culture, and society.

Still another taxonomy was cultural-anthropological; it was based on distinctions made by travelers, jurists, and colonial administrators. This system of classification purported to be based on scientifically verifiable information. There were, on the one hand, advanced and civilized cultures, and on the other, backward, uncivilized ones. A civilized man, it was believed, could cultivate the land, produce useful arts and crafts, create, accomplish, build. To him land was useful and productive, whereas for the uncivilized society land was either farmed badly or it was left to rot. From this doctrine, by which whole societies who lived on American and African and Asian territory for centuries were suddenly denied their right to live on that land, came the great dispossessing movements of modern European colonialism. In the doctrine of Robert Knox, set forth in *The Dark Races*, men were divided into the white or advanced producers and the dark or inferior wasters; in the doctrine of John Westlake and Emer de Vaartel, territories were divided into empty (even though inhabited) and civilized areas, and these territories were then taken over on the basis of a higher right to them of the white European. Millions of acres in Africa, Asia, and America were thus suddenly declared empty, their people and societies destroyed, their space just as suddenly filled with superior whites.

Geographical societies in Europe during the 1870s mushroomed, as it was apparent that in order to take territory, you had to explore it scientifically. Thus a marriage was made between modern science and imperialism whose consequence was untold catastrophe, human misery beyond count, oppression unlimited, disaster unqualified. Blacks, yellows, browns were declared nonpeople, their territory legislated away, their status by a stroke of the pen destroyed utterly. They were confined, as the Indians were confined, in reservations, or as blacks into bantustans, as also during the same period women were confined to their homes, delinquents to prisons, the insane to asylums and hospitals. For

imperialism is not only conquest, it is also a system of confinement and of hiding people declared unfit from history itself. As Lord Cromer said in 1908, the subject races must be governed—they must not be left to their own devices. All done and said in the name of science, culture, higher rationality. Perhaps the best way I can illustrate for you now the condition of mind produced by imperialism is to quote from a letter of commendation written by General Sherman about "Buffalo Bill" and his exploits in the American west:

As near as I can estimate there were in 1865 about nine and a half millions of buffaloes on the plains between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains; all are now gone—killed for their meat, their skins and bones.

This seems like desecration, cruelty and murder, yet they have been replaced by twice as many neat cattle. At that date there were about 165,000 Pawnees, Sioux, Cheyennes, Kiowas and Arapahoes, who depended on these buffaloes for their yearly foods. They, too, are gone, and have been replaced by twice or thrice as many white men and women, who have made the earth to blossom as the rose, and who can be counted, taxed and governed by the laws of nature and civilization. This change has been salutary, and will go on to the end.

Even Karl Marx in 1853 when he wrote about India and British colonialism could not free himself of such thoughts as these when he said that despite its cruelty British colonialism would be good for the Indians and turn them into modern people and free them of their oriental backwardness. Similarly the French poet Lamartine could travel in Palestine and Syria in 1833, see thousands of villages and people and yet declare that he had visited land without people, territory without boundary, societies without reality.

These then are the principal characteristics of white European imperialism: (1) territorial expansion; (2) the will to power over other societies; (3) classification of all nature and mankind into scientifically ethnocentric, discrete categories of advanced and backward, developed and undeveloped, normal and delinquent, superior and inferior mentalities, societies, languages, species; and (4) the rationalization of all these into juridical, territorial, racial, and social doctrines whose purpose was to cover outright conquest with a cloak of scientific and even humanitarian decency.

As for Zionism, in most of the classifications to be found in 19th-century linguistics, anthropology, biology, and sociology, the Semites—that is, speakers of languages called Semitic (Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic, Mehri, etc.)—were considered to be inferior. Now whereas it is true that Zionism arose as a response to so-called antisemitism and to such dramas of injustice as the Dreyfus case, the early Zionists took from their European surroundings the form, the philosophy, the language, and the style of imperial thought about the territories of the East. Jewish

struggle we must first feel our chains, than we must understand them, then we must break them. And we must now allow ourselves to be bound again, least of all by chains of our own making.

Zionism and Imperialism

Guy Bajoit

Since ideology and imperialism are terms with widely differing meanings for different people, I want to make explicit what I mean by them.

An *ideology* is a coherent set of representations which give meaning to social relations. By "give meaning" I mean that the social players involved in these relations find them natural, acceptable, true, justifiable, legitimate—in short, sensible and not absurd. Thus feeling these relations to possess all the above qualities, they participate in them spontaneously and in good faith, without being compelled to do so.

Zionist ideology is therefore a system which represents, which visualizes the Jews and their relations with non-Jews and interprets their history, thereby giving meaning to the Zionist movement. In other words it makes, or aims to make, Jews (or non-Jews) feel that it is normal, legitimate, and correct to create a Jewish state in Palestine, seeing this as the only solution to the "Jewish question."

Ideology is a direct product of the position of a social player within the various systems of social relations in which he participates: relations of class, power, influence, authority, strength. No idea, no system of representation, no perception of man or of the world is either absolute or universal. All are profoundly linked to their time and place, and none is intrinsically good or bad. All depend on the position of a player within the social relations which determine his behavior.

In order to understand Zionist ideology and to explain the ideas and concepts which go to make it up, it is essential to understand the position of the Jews of a certain period (from 1880 to the present) and from certain regions (Europe, the USA, Israel) within the different systems of social relations in which they participated and continue to participate.

Imperialism is a movement by one nation to dominate another. This domination can take several forms: (1) economic—unequal exchange of goods and plunder; foreign investment, taking advantage of a cheaper labor force and new and wider markets; (2) political—imposed governmental institutions and military domination; (3) cultural—rules governing the operation of organizations and systems of thought. The domination is exercised by a state, in other words, by the social player who has the power to resort to legitimized violence for the purposes of conquest.

Such foreign conquest always means that the state which exercises it bases its action on a national definition of the society on which it rests. Thus the other side of imperialism is always nationalism: Nationalist ideology is a corollary of imperialist ideology. A state can only carry out an action in respect of another state if it gives the community on which it is based a definition of itself as different from other communities. A thing can only be "out" if something else is "in."

This holds true whatever the organizational base of the community, be it a town, fief, region, country, empire, or continent. It also holds true whichever means of production serve as a model for the accumulation of economic surplus. Imperialism is not the exclusive property of the capitalist state, but of any state which practices domination in its relations with other states. Imperialism is a power relation, whether we are talking about crusades, colonization, or other forms of hegemony.

The Problem

The problem we are dealing with is that of the relationship between the imperialist movement and Zionist ideology. In other words, we are trying to see how and to what extent the imperialist movement of the countries which were dominant between 1880 and now *explains* the emergence, the development, and the success of Zionist ideology.

The simplest approach to this problem is to take the main arguments of Zionist ideology and to see how and to what extent they are linked with ideological arguments and the requirements of imperialist expansion. In this, we must adopt a sociological approach. It is pointless and dangerous to adopt a moral or even a legal standpoint, as happens more often than not in this kind of discussion. What is there to be gained in repeating *ad infinitum* that Zionism is an evil and that Jews do not have right on their side? *Zionism exists*, as do imperialism and racism, and they are all powerful. What we need is to explain the history of Zionism, understand its origins, its development, its successive transformations, so that we can foresee its future evolution and thus adopt an effective political strategy in order to speed up or to slow down that evolution.

Zionism is one political movement which has managed to adapt itself skillfully, to transform itself, so that it has retained the support of western imperialism for its various strategies and thus promoted its plans for a Jewish state. It is still changing today for the same reasons. What we must understand is how it does so.

My working hypothesis is as follows: Since the end of the last century, when the Zionist movement first emerged, imperialism has followed two different strategies: (1) *colonial imperialism*, practiced above all by European powers, which begins to disappear after the end of the Second

financiers, as Hannah Arendt has pointed out, were already prominent in undertaking to support colonial projects (e.g. Baron Hirsch and later the Rothschilds). Yet the Zionist project for Palestine was formulated in exactly the same terms that Britons, Frenchmen, Germans, Americans, and Russians had used for territorial expansion. The first Zionists turned to Palestine as Europeans turned to territories that were declared empty and uncivilized. The native Arabs were either considered backward or non-existent. Jewish rights in Palestine were formulated in the juridical and even metaphysical language of a powerful European imperialism, that had done the same thing in Tasmania, in south, east, west, and north Africa, and throughout Asia and America. The tragic blindness of Zionism lies in its having been born not only in the European oppression of Jews, but amongst and as part of the European oppression of black, yellow, brown, and red peoples. Yet Zionism chose to ally itself not with the oppressed, but with the oppressors.

Thus the concept of a land without people is exactly analogous with Westlake's theory of unpopulated territory. The concept of Jewish Labor (*Avodah Ivrit*) and an unassimilated or separate European enclave in Asia is exactly analogous with Leopold de Saussure's theses on the necessity of maintaining a separate European and native structures in newly acquired territory. The concept of an unlimited Law of Return for Jews and none for non-Jews is based on the same thing to be found in every white colony in Asia, Africa, and America. Most important of all, the militant concept of a Jewish "race" derived itself not simply from the age-old persecution of Jews in Christian Europe, but from the racial typologies of Gobineau, Stewart Chamberlain, and Renan.

In theory and in practice then Zionism is a degraded repetition of European imperialism. As Marx said of Napoleon III, that he was a parody of his uncle Napoleon I, so too Zionism is a parody of European imperialism, as a nephew is to a greater uncle. Like imperialism, Zionism is a system of thought that governs—and infects—everything in the state whose ideology it is, from state institutions to who may or may not be a part of the Israeli basketball league, who may or may not be a Jew, who may or may not travel from point A to point B, who may or may not own land. Thus when we talk about Zionism and imperialism we are talking about a *family of ideas* belonging to the same dynasty, springing out of the same seeds.

And if—as niggers, Arabs, wops, gooks, slope-eyes—we have been declared scientifically unfit for human rights, it is now time for us together to expose and destroy the whole system of confinement, dispossession, exploitation, and oppression that still holds us down and denies us our inalienable rights as human beings. It is our job to create a genuine world culture of brotherhood and common cause. But in order to wage our

World War; traditional Zionism corresponds to this kind of imperialism; and (2) *hegemonistic imperialism*, practiced primarily by the USA, which begins with that country's rise to a position of economic and political dominance; Israeli Zionism, practiced by the state of Israel since 1948, corresponds to this kind of imperialism. With the economic-crisis of 1971-75, a new imperialist strategy (American above all, but also European and Japanese) begins to develop. Let us call this strategy *pacifist imperialism*.

These three strategies can be distinguished by the principal method which each uses to guarantee the economic, political, and cultural dependence of the countries under domination. Colonial imperialism annexes territories outside the metropolis and places the communities which inhabit them under the direct authority of the metropolitan state. Hegemonistic imperialism uses the direct military power of the imperialist state. Pacifist imperialism uses the military power of the dependent countries themselves to safeguard alliances between different factions of the multinational bourgeoisie.

We shall now examine the changes which Zionism has undergone in order to adapt to these three imperialist strategies.

I The Zionist Movement and Colonial Imperialism

1. Ideological Arguments of Zionism

These arguments can be divided into two groups: Those relating to the *reinterpretation of Jewish history*, and those relating to the *legitimization of Zionist practices*.

Zionist reinterpretation of Jewish history rests on three basic concepts—unity, uniqueness, and continuity.

Unity: Faced with the dispersion and the countless divisions and differences which characterized Jewish communities throughout the world, the Zionists sought to rekindle the idea of Jewish unity. All Jews are one. One what? One nation, one people, one race.

Uniqueness: At the same time, given the dangers of assimilation which threatened Jewish communities, particularly in western Europe and the USA, they had to reaffirm the uniqueness of that nation, that people, that race. The Jews are different. In what? In their culture, their values, their civilization. By affirming that uniqueness, it was possible not only to give the Jews an idea of their own identity but also to explain the opposition of other nations, peoples, or races. Because Jews are different, they cannot be assimilated to other nations, peoples, or races; *ergo* they are present but scattered by antisemitism. And because their uniqueness is immutable, antisemitism is incurable and universal.

Continuity: In order to justify the Zionist plan, the Zionists had to make this special unity and uniqueness of the Jews date back to before their dispersion, and blame the latter on antisemitism. In other words, Palestine had to be made the historical and geographical cradle of the Jewish nation, people, and race, with its own unique culture. In addition, they also had to affirm that never in the course of history had that special unity been broken, and that the Jewish people and nation had always wanted to return to the "Promised Land."

Once the problem has been situated in this context, it becomes obvious, normal, right, and legitimate to conclude that the only solution to the "Jewish question" is the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Hence the arguments legitimizing the Zionist plan, which "naturally" flow from the above approach: (a) The return of the Jewish people to Palestine and the creation of a state for that nation is a natural (every nation has a state) and historic (Palestine is the cradle which antisemitism forced them to leave) right. (b) The creation of a state for the Jewish nation represents the only possible solution to the Jewish question (the Jews are different, and antisemitism is incurable), and the only way to normalize the situation of the Jewish people (their situation within other societies is abnormal—they are transients, present yet homeless). There can thus be no salvation in the diaspora. (c) The return does not pose any problem since Palestine is—as the Zionist wishfully described it—a "land without a people." Hence why not give it to a "landless people"? The Palestinians are neither a nation nor a people, but a group of more or less barbaric, uncivilized tribes. (d) Not only does this return pose no problems but the Zionist movement, as a civilizing movement, will bring to the midst of this backward area modern civilization, economic development, cultural excellence, political democracy, and social justice. (e) In addition, the Zionist movement is a socialist movement, for it plans to introduce into Palestine a society based on justice and democracy; its leaders are socialist pioneers who reject the exploitation of one man by another.

Such were, and still are today, the main ideological arguments developed by the Zionist movement to mobilize the Jews and to legitimize its plans to create a state in Palestine.

I am not concerned with discussing the "truth" of these arguments. I am more interested in making a sociological analysis of Zionist ideas than in arguing one interpretation of Jewish history against another, or in fighting Zionist ideas on their own ideological ground. Where do these ideas come from? Whose and what purpose do they serve? Why did they—and do they still—enjoy the success that they clearly do? What connection do they have with the imperialist movement and ideology of the capitalist West?

2. Colonialist Ideology and Zionist Ideology

The first thing that strikes us when we strip Zionist ideology down to its basic arguments is the similarity of these arguments to the arguments of the imperialist ideology of the western states in their colonial movement.

The European national states used exactly the same arguments to legitimize the practices of colonization and to mobilize their people for colonial conquest: (a) The unity of human communities within the frontiers of states was based on the glorification of the idea of nationhood. After their bourgeois revolutions, the French, the English, the Germans, etc. were subjected to an ideological indoctrination which was designed to make them feel like a people united in one nation, one fatherland. Exaggeration of this nationalism often led them to define themselves, and hence other communities, as a race; Nazism is one example of this. This unity, when perceived in terms of nationhood, served the internal purpose of preventing class struggle and the external purpose of justifying conflicts with other European communities and legitimizing colonial conquests. The idea of race was used above all in connection with colonized peoples. The ideas of nation, people, and race, in the modern sense, are therefore historically dated and served notably (but not exclusively) to justify colonialism. Colonialist ideology is the obverse of nationalist ideology. (b) This affirmation of the national unity of European peoples was accompanied by the affirmation of their uniqueness. This is sufficiently proved by recalling the innumerable national and generally pejorative prejudices which flourished—and still exist—in the minds of citizens of all countries. Like the Zionist movement, the western states reinterpreted their history in terms of a special national unity. Read a history book of any European country! As with the Zionist movement, this uniqueness was conceived in terms of national culture and civilized values. (c) The special unity which served as a basis for European nationalism was always perceived as something continuous. After the Middle Ages, which marked the break with antiquity, the Renaissance marks the return to Greek and Roman sources. Each nation seeks to secure its present in a past which dates back inevitably to antiquity and to justify its uniqueness by its continuity with that antiquity. (d) Finally, like the Zionist movement, the European states regarded it their natural right to create provinces, mandated territories, protectorates, in short, colonies throughout the so-called uncivilized world. For they thought that, unlike their own communities, the communities which peopled that world were not nations and peoples, but barbaric tribes to whom it was their duty to bring the benefits of modern civilization, economic progress, democracy, etc.

This brief analysis is enough to show that the Zionist movement

produced an ideology which was modeled on that of the colonial movement.

It should be noted, however, that Zionist arguments differ from colonialist ones on one basic point. Although the Zionist plan was a colonial venture, there was no question of a nation expanding on a preexisting state. The Zionist plan was specifically to *create* a state for a community which regarded itself as a people and a nation, but which had no state. The only way to legitimize such a plan was to stress the idea of a *return*, a notion which is obviously specific to the Zionist movement and has no place among the arguments of colonialism. The right invoked to justify colonial conquest is the right to civilize others, while the right invoked to legitimize the Zionist plan is that of return.

This explains why the only way to carry out such a plan was to use another state's movement of colonial expansion, and to make the conquest follow in the wake of that other state—England. This also explains why the only way to win the support of other states was to stress the argument of antisemitism. As the Jews had no means of conquering by force themselves, they had to win the support of other states and of the Jewish diaspora by invoking their constant persecution and the incurable nature of antisemitism and by pointing out that the only solution to the Jewish question was the creation of a state.

Finally, the Zionist plan had another special feature: The state to be created *must be Jewish*. But not in the same way as the Congo was Belgian or Algeria was French. The Jewish state must be composed primarily, and, ideally, exclusively, of Jews, (since they had no metropolis). Thus it was not a question of "exploiting" the manpower, resources, and markets of another human community, as the colonial powers had done, but rather of finding a "legitimate" way to exclude the Palestinian community from its own territory. Paradoxically, that legitimacy was provided by the socialist argument and by the idea of normalizing the situation of the Jewish people.

In order to conform to the socialist idea, the Zionist movement had to blend the civilizing argument with that of social justice. Thus, to avoid exploiting the Palestinian labor force, the Palestinians had to be expelled, first from all areas where the Zionist Jews had settled and, subsequently, from the Zionist state. Hence the slogans, "Jewish labor, Jewish products."

The normalization argument was geared to the same end. An industrial and an agricultural working class was needed to create a state. For historical reasons, the Jews were little disposed to agricultural or industrial labor. So for them to become a "normal" people, they had to work in the fields and in the factories themselves.

What are we to conclude from this? If imperialism is a movement whereby one nation dominates another, then the Zionist movement is

clearly a colonial movement. But it is a special kind of colonialism, and no doubt historically unique, for its aim is to create a Jewish state. To my knowledge no colonial nation has ever created a state for its own people.

II The State of Israel and Hegomonistic Imperialism

If we are to understand the special nature of the ideological arguments of the Israeli state, we must first understand two things: (1) The changes which took place in imperialist strategy after the decolonization which followed the Second World War, and (2) the specific conditions of existence which marked the history of the Israeli state.

1. *Israeli Ideology and the State's Operational Requirements*

The political rhetoric of the state of Israel obviously embodies the main arguments of the Zionist movement. Israel had to be powerful, especially after the Arab renaissance; for that to be possible, Jews must emigrate there in large numbers and not assimilate in the countries of the diaspora. So the arguments of the return, antisemitism, the unity and uniqueness of the Jewish nation must continue to be stressed.

But Israeli ideology also contains new arguments which are motivated by the exigencies of state practice. A state is not a movement. It must organize social relationships; in other words, it must introduce class domination, political power and influence, internal government, and external power. It must perpetuate legitimized violence so that society can function. And if that violence is to be legitimized, the state must produce an ideology giving meaning to the social relations which it organizes.

The state of Israel must first give its people an interpretation of its own history, explaining how it came into being. Thus the struggle of the Jews to create a state will be depicted as a national liberation struggle against English colonialism. Clearly, this explanation is very adroit, for the Israeli state thus conveniently becomes part of the decolonization movement and skillfully disguises its own colonial nature. The Third World countries do not seem to have been taken in by this however. Furthermore, this same need for the Israeli state to reinterpret its history means that it must explain how it acquired its territory, and why those who lived there before are no longer there. The explanation given is that the land was bought at a fair price and that the Palestinians are no longer there because they fled, frightened by the propaganda put out by the Arab states. They are now refugees (thus still not recognized as a nation and a people), and they continue to live in camps because the Arab states do not want to integrate them, but wish to use them to generate tension and war. And that is why

they have become terrorists, the scourge of our times!

The second argument concerns the problem of building an Israeli national unity. Israeli society—composed as it is of extremely heterogeneous sociocultural groups and (like any society) divided into social classes and political forces with contradicting interests—(more than any other society) cannot allow internal conflicts to develop. Hence the constant appeal to the sacred union based on culture and religion and constantly reinforced by the external Arab threat. Israel is “little David” under constant threat of genocide by the “Arab Goliath” who wants to throw him into the sea! Antisemitism is another weapon of this sacred union: All anti-Zionism must therefore be systematically confused with antisemitism. In addition, this internal union cannot of course be achieved by force. Who could force Jews to leave the diaspora for a country where the state is totalitarian? So respect for political democracy as a form of government must be promoted. If that were not so, not only would Jews refuse to emigrate, but Israel would also lose the (official) support of western countries.

The third argument is that which enables the state of Israel to adjust its relations to its intersocietal environment. Within the context of the Middle East, Israel is isolated in the midst of a hostile environment. So it must promote the idea of its military strength, the effectiveness of its defense and powers of retaliation, though never to excess: Israel never attacks, it only “defends” itself and carries out “reprisals.” At the same time it must promote the idea of a desire for peace and attribute conflicts to the lack of a similar desire on the part of the Arabs, while demanding security and safe, recognized frontiers. Within the context of the Jewish community, the state of Israel must constantly affirm the validity of the solution which it is proposing. Thus it must speak on behalf of *all* Jews and present itself as the home of the renaissance of Jewish culture and the Jewish nation, showing thereby that the “Jewish state” solution was the right and only one. *Vis-à-vis* the great powers, whose support is vital, the state of Israel must present itself as the Middle East representative of western values—technological know-how, economic progress, political democracy, etc. Finally, *vis-à-vis* the Third World it must present itself as a national liberation movement which has succeeded in achieving economic progress in an atmosphere of freedom and political stability.

These three main arguments of Israeli ideology correspond to the three central problems which any state must resolve if it is to guarantee the functioning of its society: the creation of internal unity, the adjustment of its relations with other states, and the problem of giving meaning to its history. These are specifically national problems, but, as we have seen, nationalism and imperialism are simply two sides of the same coin.

2. Israeli Ideology and Imperialism

The state of Israel was created precisely at that moment in history when western imperialism changed both its strategy and its form.

Imperialist strategy depends on the balance of power between nations, and the international division of labor is the outcome. Now after the Second World War, and also because of it, there was a change in the international balance of power. Ruined by war, Europe began to relinquish its colonial ties and it was the USA, which ever since Woodrow Wilson had been preaching the doctrine of self-determination of peoples, which stood to benefit from the destruction of the English and French colonial empires. A vast movement of decolonization then began, in the course of which many nations gained their official independence. The Zionist movement skillfully wormed its way into this movement and, with the support of the USA, took advantage of England's weakness and succeeded in creating a state.

This new state could not afford to lose American support, and thus Israel signed a pact of alliance with the USA, for the Israeli economy was simply not a viable concern. It required some 500 to 1,000 million dollars a year in input of foreign capital, and that money could only come from the diaspora and from the western states, particularly the USA. In return Israel was expected to render a number of services to American imperialist strategy in the Middle East: break Arab markets and prevent Arab unity, fragment the Arab national movement and popular movements, force the Arab countries to invest in war rather than in economic development, play the role of a scapegoat so that nonprogressive Arab regimes could stay in power, etc.

Thus an unusual colonial movement, Zionism, led to the creation of an imperialist state, Israel, which was also very unusual. For Israel is both imperialist and dependent, in that it performs an imperialist function on behalf of the powers on which it depends. This unusual brand of imperialism is not unique; Brazil and Iran are also subimperialist states. Furthermore, Israeli imperialism, unlike that of the western powers, does not involve (or only to a limited extent) economic domination (investment, markets, manpower); rather it is a typically military subimperialism, exercised by war.

Finally, it needs to be recognized that Israel cannot be reduced to the function of a "watch dog" for American imperialism in the Middle East. It continues to pursue its plan of Zionist colonization in accordance with its own strategy. And such colonization, effected by settling its own people in the colonized territory, does not necessarily correspond to American imperialist strategy. It is of course not surprising that Israeli ideology should not correspond exactly to imperialist ideology, just as the Zionist

movement did not correspond exactly to the colonial movement.

The imperialist language which the great powers adopt with the countries they dominate speaks of self-determination, national liberation, peaceful coexistence, modernization, cooperation in economic and technological development, etc. Its main arguments are aimed at legitimizing the economic, political, and cultural presence of the imperialist powers in the dependent countries. The Israelis do not use this kind of language with the Arabs, except on one score: They talk of peace within secure, recognized frontiers.

What can we conclude from all of this? The Israeli state certainly performs an imperialist function in the Middle East. It is, however, a special kind of imperialism (military subimperialism), and Israel cannot be reduced to a servant of that function alone, for it continues to pursue the Zionist plan, which is a specifically colonial project.

III The State of Israel and The New Imperialist Strategy

We can conclude from the foregoing that the success of the Zionist plan to colonize Palestine depends entirely on Israel's performance of an imperialist function on behalf of the western powers, particularly the USA. It is precisely because it makes war on the Arabs that Israel can obtain the material means—capital to balance its economy, a labor force to make it function, weapons, the high standard of living of most of its population—to continue the Zionist plan—"return" of the Jews and the state's continued Jewishness. But, at the same time, it is also precisely because it makes war that Israel remains isolated in the midst of a hostile Middle Eastern environment and remains economically dependent on the western powers. Israel is thus caught in a vicious circle of its dependence and its imperialism.

The continued existence of Israel as a Zionist Jewish state depends on this precarious balance and thus on the following conditions: (1) The maintenance of Israeli society's internal unity, which itself depends both on a high standard of living, and therefore on economic strength, and on the existence of a permanent foreign threat; (2) the maintenance of the diaspora's interest either in a "return" or at least in the continued existence of a Jewish state which could serve as a refuge from antisemitism; and (3) the unconditional support of the USA and the western powers which make up most of Israel's economic deficit. If one or more of these three conditions disappeared, the state of Israel as a Jewish state, as envisaged by the Zionist plan, could not possibly survive, for it would no longer have the material means to stay alive.

Apart from the assimilation of the Jews, the main threat to the maintenance of these three conditions is peace in the Middle East. Where

could this peace come from? From the need for the USA to change its imperialist strategy in the Middle East and to promote an American-Arab and Euro-Arab "alliance."

Now this is precisely what has been happening ever since the 1973 fighting. The imperialists are no longer content with talking about a Middle East peace, they are now trying to bring it into being. The only obstacle to this "pax americana" is the Palestinian resistance movement, which is why the imperialists are now trying to liquidate it.

As an explanation of these developments, I should like to propose the following hypothesis: Any method of production and accumulation underlying a "civilizing" project must have a territorial organizational base in which to carry out that project. That base can be small or large, depending on the degree of development of the productive forces. In addition, this organizational base requires internal unity within the territory and a division of labor. In the course of history of the capitalist method of production, this base was first the town (merchant capitalism), then the nation, with axes of industrial development which grew and gradually filled these nations as the productive forces grew and capital became concentrated. This national capitalism was accompanied by an international division of labor, based on traditional colonization as practiced by western Europe until a few years before the Second World War.

The Second World War marked the beginning of a process of transition from national capitalism to multinational capitalism and, at the same time, the beginning of a transitional process in the international division of labor. In other words, after the end of the war, the territorial organizational base of capitalism began to change. In the dominant countries, that change manifested itself by a gradual rejection of the concept of nation and the political institutions which nationhood involved, while in the dependent countries it manifested itself by a change in the form of imperialism, and it was this change which made decolonization possible.

In a first stage, this decolonization gave rise in the dependent countries to the concept of the nation as the territorial organizational base for the liberation movements. But this concept of nationhood differed in content from that prevailing in the dominant countries. As Anwar Abdel-Malik put it, it was more in the nature of a "nationalitarianism" than a "nationalism." Initially this nationalitarian project suited American imperialism quite well; first, because it was directed above all against European imperialism and thus helped to redefine the balance of power, and second, because it served to set the new nations one against the other, thus dividing them and making it possible to extend the spheres of influence of capitalism to the detriment of those of socialism.

Today this nationalitarian plan no longer suits American imperialism. Firstly, because it is directed basically against American imperialism, and it is costing the USA more and more to contain this movement with its own military forces. Hence subimperialism and local military forces must be increased; a manifestation of this process is the widespread presence of military regimes in the dependent countries. When I say that this nationalitarian project is directed against the USA, I am of course thinking of Southeast Asia, the nonaligned countries, the alliances between countries which produce raw materials, in particular the oil-producing countries, the movement in favor of a new international economic order, etc. Secondly, because, since the end of World War II, the structure of capitalism has altered radically in the direction of internationalization. This means (at least) three things: East-West détente, the development of competing poles of American multinational capitalism in Europe and Japan, and the gradual formation in many dependent countries of a bourgeoisie which is bound to multinational capitalism. This last point in particular clearly indicates a move beyond the nationalitarian project.

From this analysis we can see that a radical change has taken place in the strategy of American imperialism. USA strategy no longer consists of fighting the nationalitarian project through armed force, as in Vietnam, but, wherever possible, through alliances between American multinational capitalism and the emergent bourgeoisies in the dependent countries which are bound to that capitalism. These new alliances must be safeguarded by military regimes (of the Latin American type) which control the dependent states.

Such a strategy requires the promotion of trade and investment between nations and thus, on the one hand, support for national officials and, on the other, peace—the absence of armed conflict. It seems obvious to me that groups of this multinational bourgeoisie which are closely bound up with the state apparatus are gradually forming in many Middle Eastern countries. In Israel and Egypt they are more in the nature of a private bourgeoisie, while in other countries they take the form of state technobureaucracies. A Middle East peace is needed to enable this multinational plan to expand, and that peace must be brought about by weakening the nationalitarian or nationalist projects of these countries. Curiously enough, the main problems confronting this multinational project, this new American strategy in the Middle East, are traditional colonial Zionism, Palestinian resistance, and the Syrian-Israeli problem.

To achieve this peace, American imperialism must promote political change within the Arab states of the region in order to encourage alliances; discontinue its unconditional support for Israel in its Zionist plan of territorial expansion; weaken Palestinian resistance; and settle the

problem of the Golan Heights.

Once again we see the strange workings of history: The same developments which allowed Israel to come into being will today prevent it from continuing.

Distinctive Traits of Zionist Settler Colonialism

Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri

The Zionist enclave established in Palestine is a settler-colonial enterprise sponsored by western powers to solve some of their economic and demographic problems and to serve as a base for military operations. Basically all known settler-colonial enclaves have been established as separate entities, sheltering an alien population which, despite its existence in a distant geographic region, maintained strong ties with a sponsoring power. Perhaps this last characteristic accounts for the fact that almost all settler-colonial enclaves have been implanted in coastal areas, thus facilitating ties with the colonial metropolis and securing supply lines. Settler-colonial enclaves formed a circle around Africa, with Israel at the northern point—the gates of Africa and Asia—and South Africa at the southern tip. The settlements in Algeria, Angola, and Mozambique completed the circle.

Israel shares a number of traits with other colonial ventures. Yet its historical origin and specific situation have combined to give it four distinctive traits that together set it apart as a colonial form.

The first and most important of these traits is that in theory and in practice Zionist settler colonialism was based on the principle of *population transfer*. Even though originating in Europe, the Zionist enclave was not meant to serve as an outlet for the European demographic surplus in general, but exclusively for the Jews. And the Zionist settlers did not come to settle on the land and to exploit its natural and human resources, they came to “repossess” the land, but the land *without* its indigenous inhabitants. Most varieties of settler colonialism involve usurpation of land, settlement by an alien population, and exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants of the area. However, Zionist settler colonialism—and therein lies its “Zionism”—consists of usurpation of the land, settlement of an alien population, and “transfer” of the indigenous population.

In this respect, Zionism perhaps represents the “purest” form of settler colonialism. Its transfer policy helps to guarantee the internal stability of the settler community; at the same time it totally deforms the economic and cultural structures of the evicted population. Ben-Gurion advocated this form of settler colonialism when he advised de Gaulle that, as a

solution to the Algerian problem, the French should depopulate the coastal area of Algeria, settle the *colons* there, and declare the enclave an independent state.

This feature of Zionist settler colonialism has not always been recognized by non-Zionists. Karl Kautsky hinted at it in his classic, *Are the Jews a Race?* He predicted that the Jewish settlers would suffer greatly during the Arab struggle for independence, because Jewish colonization of Palestine demonstrated their intent "to remain in it, and not only make the former inhabitants dependent on them but even to drive them out entirely."¹ At present, the socialist-oriented *Matzpen* is among the few groups in Israel that have noted this trait in Zionist colonialism and have defined its full implications for both Palestinians and Israelis.

The second specific trait of Zionist settler colonialism is its simultaneous *independence from and dependence on* its sponsors. During one phase or another of their development, all settler states are dependent on a sponsor. The degree of dependence, its duration, and the form it takes are determined by a complex of historical and political circumstances. Enclaves not based on a population transfer, like Angola and Algeria, remain completely open to the mother country, maintaining strong ties and deriving a sense of identity from it. What the mother country decrees is law, for the enclave is more or less an organic part of it. If a conflict of interest arises and the enclave proves costly or embarrassing, it is liquidated. The settlers are repatriated to the land of origin and the dispute is thus resolved in favor of the mother country.

Enclaves based on population transfer, however, tend gradually to develop a greater degree of autonomy and independence from the sponsor. Sooner or later the settlers take matters into their own hands, setting up a state of their own largely closed unto itself; an example is the state of South Africa.

The Zionists certainly intended their enclave to be of the independent variety. When Cecil Rhodes asked Weizmann about his objections to "French control," the Zionist leader replied that the French, unlike the English, "always interfered with the population and tried to impose on it *l'esprit français*."² As things turned out, however, the Zionist enclave conformed to neither pattern. It has remained dependent to a significant degree, while at the same time enjoying a measure of independence. This fact can be traced back to various factors unique to Zionism.

The Zionist settlers did not originate in one single European country to which they owed allegiance, and which in turn afforded them protection and shelter in case of decolonization. Unlike other European settler colonialists, the Zionists did not have a "mother" country; instead they have always had a "stepmother" who was willing to go only so far. The stepmother used the stepchild as much as the stepchild used her. Since the

relation between the sponsor and the Zionists was a matter of practical convenience and was not the product of deep or organic ties, the Zionist enclave came under the protection of several sponsors successively. As a result, the Zionist leadership shifted its attention from one center of gravity to another, from the Ottoman Empire to France, and finally to England, in pursuit of a real or imaginary center of imperial power in the Middle East. More recently the USA has been assumed to be in control of world leadership, and therefore Zionist political work in the international arena shifted there.

The ambivalent character in this respect of the Zionist state is the result of two forces. A degree of relative independence was achieved through population transfer and through a willingness to perform services which were vital to the sponsor. But as hostility and resistance by the dispossessed and alienated Palestinians became evident, the instincts for self-preservation led to increased dependence on the sponsoring power.

Jabotinsky believed that "surrounded on all sides by Arab countries," Palestine, as a Jewish state, would "always seek to lean upon some powerful empire, non-Arab, and non-Mohammedan." He viewed this isolation as being "an almost providential basis for a permanent alliance between England and a Jewish (but only a Jewish) Palestine."³ Being an inveterate empiricist, Jabotinsky could not visualize a time when such an alliance would make the Jewish state vulnerable to demands from the guarantor of its security.

The complex yet endless rhythm of attraction and repulsion, of autonomy and dependence, of alliance and conflict with the sponsor has characterized western-Zionist relations from the beginning. Each side has tried to "use" the other and has defined the area of "common interests" in a way favorable to itself. The relationship between England and the enclave is a good case in point.

It was the British colonial advocates who first broached the theme of Jewish settlement in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration and later the Mandate enabled the Zionists to gain a foothold in the Middle East. Under British protection the gates of Palestine were flung open to Jewish immigration. The settlers needed the full cooperation of the mandatory government to ensure the growth of the Jewish population and the consolidation of its hold on the land.⁴ When Arab resistance in Palestine in the 1930s grew more active, the Zionists were sheltered by the British. Ben-Gurion characterized the protective British stand as "the greatest political success since the Balfour Declaration."⁵ A military correspondent of *Ha'aretz*, writing on the military balance in Palestine, attributed the strength of the Zionists after the 1936 Palestine revolt to "the strong support they received from the British government and army in Palestine."⁶ It was this favorable military balance that led eventually to-

the Zionist victory in 1948-49.

But the relationship between the British and the Zionist colonists took a turn for the worse under the pressure of new factors. Among these was the political pressure on the British from "friendly" Arab governments as well as from the growing Palestinian resistance. Another cause was the British fear that German agents might infiltrate the ranks of Jewish immigrants. It was believed then (and later confirmed) that the Nazis lent their support to Zionist objectives and to the *Aliyah B* (illegal immigration), and that they had decided to use it as a means of creating problems for the British in the Middle East.

Given these new factors, the imperial sponsor developed a view of the colonial settlement in Palestine which was at odds with that of the Zionist settlers. Thus a number of White Papers and regulations more favorable to the Arabs were issued by the British government. Basic concepts such as the absorptive capacity of Palestine, long disregarded by the British, were revived in order to limit Jewish immigration. Hostilities developed between the imperial power and the colonial enclave, taking at times extreme forms as the blowing up of the King David Hotel.

However, the conflict was contained within manageable limits. Jabotinsky's remarks concerning imperial England are certainly more realistic than latter-day Zionist rhetoric which describes Zionism as "a national liberation movement" of the Jewish people. In a letter to Leopold Amery in 1935, Jabotinsky tried to explain away his "alleged 'anti-Britishness'." He assured the British colonialist that despite his criticism of England, he remained loyal and grateful "so long as the Balfour Declaration stands—it is England, right or wrong."

Ben-Gurion, too, as his biographer Bar-Zohar notes, was ready to pledge at a time of strained relations with Britain "that a Jewish state in Palestine would safeguard British interests."⁸ Still the British were apparently beginning to give more consideration to their long-range interests.

Once the enclave became a state in 1948, relations with Britain were normalized and the 1950 Tripartite Declaration of Britain, France, and the USA guaranteed the enclave's survival. Collaboration with the former imperial sponsor reached new heights in 1956, as demonstrated by the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt. With Palestinian resistance and Arab pressure on the rise, and with widening global interests claiming its sponsor's attention, the enclave found itself once more asked to give up some of the "rights" it had formerly claimed with the full encouragement of the colonial sponsor and was forced to relinquish territories acquired by force. Until today, this has in fact been the main problem facing the Israelis. They have to rely on the USA for their very survival, yet this very reliance makes them vulnerable to pressure from a superpower that has

many global concerns and interests.

Compounding the situation is the Jewish diaspora, which, like the Zionist state itself, is at once relatively autonomous yet dependent on a larger structure. American Jewry zealously extends to Israel both financial and political support, but such support can continue only as long as there is a basic identity of interests between the American guarantor and the Zionist enclave. Diaspora Zionism plays a dual role. It lobbies on behalf of the enclave in the USA, obtaining for Israel a degree of freedom and independence much larger than that of any other client state. But (and therein lies the irony of Israel's situation) the diaspora will surely find itself forced to put pressure on the enclave when the USA decides that Israel should change its policies to accord with American global interests.

The history of Zionism is a history of tensions, not only between Zionism and the diaspora, but also between colonial Zionism and monetary and diplomatic diaspora Zionism. These tensions were clearly demonstrated in the Brandeis-Weizmann and Goldmann-Ben-Gurion controversies. At the present time they become apparent when some diaspora Zionists oppose the annexationist and expansionist policies of colonial Zionism, as if such policies were mere aberrations and not organic parts and logical consequences of the Zionist project.

The third trait which sets Zionist settler colonialism apart from other varieties is its *irredentist and expansionist nature*. Israel is a state constituted for the Jewish people, "the people of the Book." This religious concept results not only in population transfer but in expansion to accommodate all Jewry. David Trietsch, the German-born Zionist writer and statistician, and editor and founder of the Berlin weekly *Volk und Land*, told Herzl soon after the First Zionist Congress to consider "the 'Greater Palestine' program before it is too late You do not get ten million Jews into a land of 25,000 kilometers."⁹ William Hechler, Herzl's Christian associate, instructed him on 26 April 1896 to adopt and circulate as a slogan for the Jewish state: "The Palestine of David and Solomon."¹⁰ The Zionist leader was evidently impressed, because two years thereafter he defined the area of the Jewish state in theogeographical rather than vague theo-historical terms: "From the Brook of Egypt to the Euphrates."¹¹ It was a slogan to be echoed on 9 July 1947 by Rabbi Fischmann, member of the Jewish agency in his testimony before the UN Special Committee on Palestine. At the hearing he said that, "The Promised Land extends from the River of Egypt to the Euphrates; it includes parts of Syria and Lebanon." But one need not take the Nile-Euphrates formula too seriously. What matters is the fact that it is an open-ended dynamism, a settler colonialism bent on expansion. According to Herzl's diary, the boundaries of the state will expand as the Jewish population grows: "The more immigrants, the more land."¹²

On 12 February 1952, Moshe Dayan spoke frankly of establishing an Israeli empire.¹³ The former Defense Minister views expansion as an ongoing process. The process of building the homeland started a hundred years ago—"a process of building up . . . of expansion, of getting more Jews and settlements and of colonization, in order to expand the borders here." In addressing a group of American Jewish students in the summer of 1968, he said: "Let there be no Jew who says that this is the end of the process. Let there be no Jew who says that we are near the end of the road." The fact that these statements were made on the Golan Heights makes them especially significant.¹⁴

The Israeli writer Eliezer Livneh, associated with the Greater Israel movement, declared in *Ha'aretz* of 21 November 1973 his opposition to Security Council resolution 242 on the grounds that it might result in the strangulation of Zionism "at the height of its impetus." It is "victories" such as those of 1967 which give "tremendous impetus to the desire for immigration from the Soviet Union," he wrote, whereas "the retreat from the liberated [i.e. occupied] areas will bring about a Zionist depression." He claimed that it is this "Zionist lever" of liberation/occupation that "gives purpose and sense to Israeli society," and that without it an exodus of settlers might set in.¹⁵ One of the reasons behind Israel's refusal to promulgate a constitution is to leave the expansionist option open. In a formal constitution the boundaries of the colonial-settler state would have to be precisely drawn.¹⁶

It should not be thought, however, that Israel expands solely because of its "diaspora" or its religio-national-territorial aspirations, for Israeli expansionism has its hard economic aspects and yields many benefits—oil fields in Sinai and territories for future settlement and development. Moreover, various strategic and military considerations undoubtedly help determine Israel's policies. But these aspects Israel has in common not only with other settler enclaves but also with all colonial ventures.

The fourth distinctive trait of the Zionist enclave is its *racial and cultural heterogeneity*, population transfer notwithstanding. Above all else, this reflects the fact that Jews does not constitute a single ethnic group, let alone a single racial group. The Askenazi (European) Jews were not culturally homogeneous; they included Russians, Poles, Germans, French, and even Americans from both American continents. Each of these groups had its own cultural heritage and often its own language, generating conflicts which at times broke into the open (e.g. the conflict between the supporters of German and those of Hebrew).

The introduction of a European population into Palestine eventually sparked the exodus of so-called Oriental Jews from Asian and African countries, including of course the Arab countries. This process resulted in the introduction of a racial as well as a greater cultural heterogeneity into

Israeli society. Today the Oriental Jews, while clearly in a second-class position in Israel, constitute some 60 per cent of the population.

This trait of the Zionist state is unparalleled elsewhere, for the Oriental/Sephardic Jews are drawn from the ranks of the victims of colonialism. It might hence be useful from an analytical and political viewpoint to see Israel as a settler-colonial enclave, like South Africa, as well as a secessionist state like Katanga or Biafra.

While this aspect of the Zionist enclave is a liability from the standpoint of internal stability, it can be a positive one for the future of the Israeli community. All the other traits limit the options for a resolution of the conflict, but cultural and racial heterogeneity holds some hope that integration of Israel into the Middle East may be possible. The implanted demographic element is not totally alien, for a large sector of it has a common cultural background and may develop common economic and political interests with the Palestinian Arabs and their neighbors.

FOOTNOTES

¹Karl Kautsky, *Are the Jews a Race?* (New York, 1926), p. 212.

²Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann* (New York, 1949), p. 191.

³Ben Herman, "Zionism and the Lion" in Hal Draper (ed.), *Zionism, Israel and the Arabs* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 31, 27.

⁴Michael Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion: The Armed Prophet* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), p. 39.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶Cited in Eli Lobel, "Palestine and the Jews" in Ahmed El-Kodsy and Eli Lobel, *The Arab World and Israel* (New York, 1970), p. 68.

⁷Joseph B. Schechtman, *Fighter and Prophet: The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story—The Last Years* (New York, 1961), p. 297.

⁸Bar-Zohar, p. 89.

⁹Cited in Moshe Menuhin, *Jewish Critics of Zionism* (Detroit, 1976), p. 11.

¹⁰Raphael Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1960), p. 342.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 711.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 701-2.

¹³Cited in Sami Hadawi, *Palestine in the United Nations* (New York, 1964), p. 36.

¹⁴*Ma'ariv*, 7 July 1968; cited in Moshe Machover, "Reply to Sol Stern," *ISRAC* (London), January 1973, p. 30.

¹⁵Cited in Noam Chomsky, *Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nationhood* (New York, 1974), p. 182.

¹⁶Emmanuel Rackman, *Israel's Emerging Constitution, 1948-1951* (New York, 1955), p. 148.

The Role of Israel in the Service of Imperialism

Türkkaya Ataöv

Much has been written about the ideology and organization of Zionism since it made its appearance in the late nineteenth century, as well as about the circumstances of the birth of Israel in 1948. Many of these studies are of little scientific value; they represent highly subjectivistic approaches, at times even subsidized by Zionist organizations. Hence, above all, they help to create, as observed by Ferdynand Zweig,¹ the mythology which surrounds Israel. These myths about the Holy Land, the Holy Book, Redemption of the Land, Continuity of Israel, the Exile, the Return, Israel as the Fulfillment of Jewry, etc. may all be summarized as the belief in the "uniqueness and miraculousness of Israel." The purpose of these myths is to mobilize the western world and to shroud the reality from the eyes of the African and Asian peoples, creating the impression of a "socialist state," a "democratic society" based on the kibbutz and the Histadrut.

However, the state system of Israel and its domestic and foreign policies reveal an alliance with the major imperialist powers, especially the United States of America. In order to evaluate the role of Israel in the service of imperialism, this paper analyzes some aspects of the structure of Israeli society, the links between contemporary Israeli leadership and world monopoly circles, and the expansionist foreign policy of Israel.

The State System of Israel

Israel is a state where power rests in the hands of the rich bourgeoisie and where the ideology of Zionism dominates all walks of life. The state apparatus and most of the political parties are definitely under Zionist influence. The official view is that Israel is a homogeneous Jewish state, with no antagonism among the individuals nor class conflicts in its society. However, the interests of the government are closely linked with those of local and foreign capital, with the inevitable influence of this on domestic and foreign policy. Israeli society is developing greater polarization. There is a small group of millionaires getting richer, while the majority of the working class succumbs to deteriorating conditions.

The system of political parties reflects this social and economic

polarization. Mapai, Mapam, and Achdut Ha'avoda constitute the so-called labor parties. The Liberal Party, the Independent Labor Party, and the fascist Herut are all middle-class organizations. All of them are Zionist. These Zionist parties influence political life and control economic organization. Their programs are astonishingly similar. It is important from our point of view that they all agree on the need to attract foreign (principally American) capital. In foreign policy, there is no difference of opinion with respect to the most crucial questions, such as relations with the USA, or expansion at the expense of the Arab neighbors. The Israeli Zionist parties are in fact component parts of the World Zionist Organization. They have constant contacts with the Jewish communities abroad, from where they receive large-scale support, notably financial aid. Such Israeli parties serve as permanent channels of contact with the Zionist elements abroad, which in turn act in unison with imperialism.

Some of these parties pose as left or social-democratic organizations.² For instance, Mapai (Workers Party of Israel), which has been described by some western writers as a socialist party, pursues anti-working class policies in the interests of capital and imperialism. The Mapai leaders have acted in alliance with the right-wing middle-class parties and have endorsed an aggressive foreign policy. Mapai is directly responsible for the aggressions against the Arab countries in 1956 and in 1967.

Similarly, Mapam (United Workers Party) and Achdut Ha'avoda (Unity of Labor) have participated in the Mapai-led coalition governments. They have served as left-wing covers for a pro-imperialist, expansionist policy. As a partner in the coalition government, Mapam took part in the June 1967 aggression. Achdut Ha'avoda's motto, "active self-defense," brought it into league with Israeli leadership in the common program of expansion and collaboration with imperialism.

The largest bourgeois party is perhaps the Liberal Party, formed in 1961 as a merger of the General Zionist and Progressive Parties. The General Zionist Party, founded by Chaim Weizmann in 1907, represents big business and hence opposes government control over private enterprise. It favors foreign capital and aligned itself with the fascist Herut during the 1956 and 1967 aggressions. It has always had close connections with big businessmen, industrialists, and real estate owners. The Liberal Party, the champion of unlimited rights for the local bourgeoisie and Israel's further militarization, later called for the creation of a "Greater Israel," in agreement with the Herut. The Herut (Freedom) Party is an extremist, pro-fascist organization, which incorporated the Irgun and the Stern terrorist groups. Herut also is financially backed by the big industrial and financial circles and has been in favor of "preventive war" against the Arabs. The religious parties also supported the government's policy in 1967. The Communist Party of Israel, on the

other hand, claims to pursue a Marxist line.

The Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor (the adjective *Hebrew* was dropped from its name in 1966), with a membership of over a million, is the largest public organization and the most important economic body in Israel. It controls a large segment of the economy and owns large corporations such as Solel Boneh, a construction complex. Open to all workers, including now Arabs in Israel, the Histadrut engages in trade-union organization, economic enterprises, social and health insurance, and educational and cultural activities. Its membership also includes those working in collectives, cooperatives, and private villages. In addition, minors below 18 belong to the youth affiliate. This organization, founded in 1920 as a "national instrument of Zionism," is under the control of Mapai, which formulates its policies. The Histadrut, like the Zionist political parties, also cooperated in the 1956 and 1967 aggressions.

From the amount of propaganda disseminating from Israel and some western sources, one might be lead to believe that the rural areas of Israel were covered by kibbutzim.³ The truth, however, is that the number of people in the kibbutzim has always been a very small fraction (some six per cent) of the Jewish population (non-Jews cannot be members), and that this fraction is steadily declining, now only three per cent. Secondly, the kibbutzim's share of the cultivated area is also declining. The kibbutz movement seems to have lost its moral impulse, and the kibbutz worker is no longer the Israeli ideal. The elements of collectivism in these communal farms are utilized by Zionist ideologists to propagate "Israeli socialism." Israel maintains that the kibbutz is suitable for developing countries, especially in Africa. The first kibbutzim were established in Palestine in 1909. It was then thought to be the most effective form of farming, but it soon acquired the characteristics of a military settlement, thereby linking itself to the alienation of land from the original Arab owners. Moreover, the kibbutzim are adapting themselves to the development of capitalism in Israel: There is growing social stratification, inequality being observed among the executive aristocracy and the rank-and-file, in housing, in training, and in education.⁴ More importantly, the kibbutz is in no way an "island of socialism," because the means of production in the kibbutzim do not in fact belong to the members, but to the banks and other creditors. Within the context of the Israeli economy, even the kibbutz is subject to collective exploitation. The four national organizations⁵ of the kibbutz movement are all linked with the Zionist political parties and with the World Zionist Organization.

Israel's Alliance With the West and Her Foreign Policy

A USA House of Representatives document⁶ well defines the strategic

importance of Israel for the western powers. It is noted there that Israel is a bridge linking three continents, with a relatively long Mediterranean coast, a major port (Haifa) and an airport (Lydda). She is close to the Suez Canal and the air bases in Egypt. She is also adjacent to the oil-rich areas. Given the circumstances of Israel's creation, her state structure, and her close links with imperialist circles, Israel was assigned a role against the liberation movements and the progressive forces.

The USA recognized Israel eleven minutes after the official proclamation was issued in Tel Aviv. The first American ambassador, James G. McDonald, was appointed by President Truman and given official status before the Israeli government had sent the necessary *agrément*. The American advisors who poured into the country gained control of many spheres of life in Israel. The American Jewish League for Israel, established in 1957, included as honorary members leading American financiers and industrialists. Over fifty American Jewish institutions became active. The amount of money, which had started to pour in, was to become so great, in the words of Harlan Cleveland,⁷ as to bring into question the capacity of the recipient to absorb it efficiently.

The USA signed a number of agreements with Israel. The Informational Media Guaranty Program, signed in 1952, provided for the entry into Israel of books, periodicals, printshop and laboratory equipment. The educational exchange programs gave the USA the opportunity to influence the educational system in Israel. In 1952 the USA signed with Israel a military agreement, published in the official gazette *Reshumot* only in 1961. The Air Transport Agreement of 1950 had already given the USA the right to use Israeli territory as a base. Part of the initial loans was used for the construction of ports, bases, and railways. The Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement of 1952 urged Israel to place her war and economic potential in the service of the USA. Since then, the military aid has undergone a qualitative change, from defensive weapons as the Hawk missiles to offensive ones as the Skyhawk bombers. The latter carry not only regular weapons, chemical weapons, and torpedoes for naval attack, but also nuclear bombs and missiles. The USA has come to use Israel as a weapon to intimidate the Arab peoples. The Israeli rulers have turned their country into an accomplice of imperialism and naturally evoke the expected reaction to such a policy.

British policy towards Israel was determined by the desire to crush the national liberation movements in the Middle East. The claims and counter-claims arising out of the ending of the Mandate for Palestine were replaced by British capital investments in Israel and the supply of weapons. She has been giving military equipment to Israel, especially since 1956, which marks the joint aggression of Britain, France, and Israel against Egypt.⁸

French relations with Israel improved after 1956. However, France departed from her unequivocal support of Israel, later condemning the 1967 aggression.⁹

Israel's relations with the Federal Republic of Germany improved with the signing of the reparations agreement in 1952. This opened for Germany the door for penetration into the Middle East. Israel was here again acting as a cooperating springboard. German reparations payments poured into Israel at a time convenient for the 1956 hostilities. German friendship was important as Bonn carried weight in NATO and the European Common Market.¹⁰ In Germany as well there are about ten Jewish organizations active on Israel's behalf.¹¹ What has been said above indicates that the role assigned to Israel by the imperialist powers and the expansionist plans of Israel's rulers are but two sides of the same coin. This coincidence of purpose can be seen throughout Israel's brief history. Israeli expansionism became more evident as the imperialist powers became more active in the area. It is no wonder that such aggressive policies made Israeli society a highly militarized one. The nucleus of the Israeli army had been the Haganah and the Jewish Brigade (part of the British army). After independence, Israeli officers received training in American, British, and French military colleges. New immigrants were given military training, the young were recruited into the army, an effective mobilization system of reservists was created, and priority was given to strategic industries. Accordingly, when Israel launched the 1956 aggression, the army was prepared in terms of material, skilled manpower, and morale.

Israel's militarization went hand in hand with the efforts to set up military pacts in the Middle East. Israel showed signs of supporting this endeavor, submitted to all concerned as early as 1951, while the Arab states seemed determined to reject it. Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett's visit to Washington culminated in the USA-Israeli agreement of 23 July 1952. The growing frontier clashes led to larger military confrontations, and Israel was ready for an attack on Egypt long before the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. The USA was not involved in the 1956 aggression, but knew that Egypt would be attacked.¹² The USA was counting on the weakening of the progressive Arab regimes as well as winning new positions in the area. The Eisenhower Doctrine proclaimed in 1957 indicated that the USA had decided to outstrip the other western powers. This doctrine aimed at intervening in the domestic affairs of the Middle Eastern countries and at suppressing the liberation movements in the Arab world. Israel formally approved it on 21 May 1957.

Following Ben-Gurion's visit to western capitals, the agreement of 1962 was achieved regarding the shipment of American Skyhawk aircraft. This was an important step and deepened the conflict between Israel and the

Arabs. The announcement of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1965 was followed by an agreement on economic aid in 1966. The Israeli Assistant Defense Minister Tzvi Dinstein flew to Washington the same year to sign a new agreement to procure additional Skyhawk aircraft. These developments showed that the Israeli leaders were heading towards a military confrontation with the Arab states.

On 14 May 1967, a military parade took place in Jerusalem to mark the anniversary of the establishment of Israel. The parade was boycotted by many diplomatic representatives as a sign of disapproval of Israel's decision to move the capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Likewise, General Odd Bull, Chief of the UN peace-keeping forces, did not attend. The holding of a military parade in a demilitarized zone was a deliberate provocation as well as a violation of the armistice agreements. The French daily *Le Monde*¹³ was perhaps the only newspaper to write about an Israeli plan for an "all-out assault against Syria." Further increases in tension were provoked by Israel firing on a UN plane carrying General Rikhye of the UNEF. UN Secretary General U Thant and Egypt were criticized for the withdrawal of the UNEF, while Israel refused to admit the UN force on her own territory. Similarly, when President Nasser announced that Israeli ships would not be permitted through the Tiran Straits, nor ships flying other flags but with strategic cargoes for Israel, the term "blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba" became current. All other ships, however, could call at the port of Eilat. Moreover, Egypt was only claiming the long-recognized right of states to exercise sovereignty in their own territorial waters. While the closing of the Gulf of Aqaba could hardly be regarded as "strangling of Israel," let alone jeopardizing the existence of Israel, in view of Israel's Mediterranean coast and the very small percentage of Israel's import and export tonnage which went through Eilat, western propaganda pictured Israel as a defenseless island in an Arab ocean. The truth is that behind Israel were the western imperialist powers. In 1956, it was Britain and France, and later the USA which could not accept the anti-imperialist Arab neighbors of Israel. In 1967, it appeared that the imperialistic powers were counting on the "total solution"—the overthrow of President Nasser.

On June 1, Levi Eshkol appointed General Moshe Dayan as Minister of Defense, and Menachem Begin, the former terrorist leader, became Minister without portfolio. Israel spread the myth that Moshe Dayan, the hero of Sinai in 1956, accomplished a superhuman task in rallying the army and the people, organizing them, drawing up the military plans, and leading Israel to battle and to victory in exactly three days. The truth was that the decision to make war had been taken long ago. Randolph and Winston Churchill quote General Ezer Weizman in their *The Six Day*

War: "We have got a plan for everything—even for capturing the North Pole." And General Mordechai Hod said of the years of campaign planning: "We lived with the plan, we slept on the plan, we ate the plan. Constantly we perfected it."¹⁴

During the war, Israeli acts went far beyond "defense." Napalm was used against civilians, and even Indian troops of the UNEF were killed in the Gaza Strip on the pretext that they were fighting on the Egyptian side. The maltreatment of Arab prisoners of war defied all humanitarian principles. Arab towns and villages were razed. There were violence, plunder, humiliations, and mass executions. Israel announced the *Anschluss* of Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of Palestine, the Golan Heights of Syria, and the Sinai of Egypt. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs were forced, once more, to take refuge from violence and displacement. Israel created the refugee problem over and over again to use it as an instrument of pressure on the neighboring Arab states as well as to acquire more territory for Jewish immigration. All the aforementioned details are evidence of a desire for conquest on the part of Israel, not of a desire to live in peaceful coexistence.

Adnan Pachachi, the Iraqi UN delegate expressed well Israel's situation just after the aggression:

The Zionist invasion draws its inspiration and driving force from the dreams and aspirations of those tormented souls, the products of the European ghettos. The countless years of humiliation and oppression inflicted upon the Jewish people in Europe, culminating in the Hitlerite holocaust, have left, it seems, a deep scar in the spiritual make-up of the European Jews who today guide the destinies of Israel. All the frustrations and hatreds of centuries are now finding an outlet in the unparalleled savagery with which the Arabs of Palestine are treated. But what a cruel irony of fate that the Arabs in whose lands the Jews found a haven and refuge from the unspeakable horrors of medieval Europe are today the victims of a persecution of such relentless intensity

The attitude of the United States government has unfortunately confirmed our worst suspicions. It now seems the established policy of this government that Israel shall be their trusted instrument to further American interests and ambitions in the Arab world.¹⁵

Apparently, imperialism has made a correct choice in selecting Israel as its instrument for waging war. What the western imperialist would not dare to undertake, a well-armed Israel volunteered to do. While Israel undoubtedly has her own ambitions, she has chosen to further these by becoming a willing tool of imperialism and neocolonialism.

Israel's penetration into Africa should also be evaluated in the same context. She spared no effort to make for herself a place in Africa with the purpose of undoing the effects of the Arab boycott and to find an outlet for her ambitions. Africa is a huge source of raw materials. Israel has tried

to bind African industries to her own economy. She has benefited from the low cost of production and has helped in the establishment of plants for the manufacture of items marketable in Israel; e.g. plants in Kenya and the Ivory Coast to produce wooden crates for Israel's citrus crop. Other African countries were tied economically to Israel through industries or plantations using Israeli equipment.

More importantly, Israel stood against the liberation movements. She has given support to the racist regime in South Africa. For years she has played a relatively invisible, but strategically important, role in counter-revolutionary activities with the help of the USA. The USA has also helped in shaping the style and substance of Israeli assistance to Africa. Such assistance was concentrated in the strategically important areas, with emphasis on military training with counter-insurgency applications. There were reports of the capture of Israeli-made Uzi machine guns from the Portuguese in Angola.¹⁶ Israel's "Unholy Alliance with South Africa" is not an arbitrary proposition nor sheer coincidence.¹⁷ Indeed Paul Giniewski bases his book, *The Two Faces of Apartheid*,¹⁸ on the ideological affinity and practical collaboration between Israeli Zionism and South African apartheid.

Israel has also tried to establish closer relations with Asian countries. In this effort she has failed and has apparently abandoned the attempt. She was bound to fail, because Israel and Zionism are not only non-Asian, but anti-Asian. It was Jawaharlal Nehru who warned the Arabs at the 1955 Bandung Conference that the danger was not so much from Israel as from the powerful forces backing her.¹⁹ After Bandung it was accepted that Israel would not be invited to any Afro-Asian or nonaligned conference. It is significant that each successive conference condemns Israel in stronger terms, leading Israel commentators to assume that what is good for Afro-Asia is bad for Israel. The verdict of the First Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, held in Cairo in 1958, that Israel was an imperialist base that threatened the security and progress of the Middle East was repeated by conferences held subsequently in Guinea, Indonesia, Algeria, Tanzania, Ghana, and elsewhere.

In conclusion, it is clear that Israel functions effectively and increasingly as a bastion, not of democracy, but for imperialistic interests. As such, she is a threat to international peace and security.

FOOTNOTES

¹*Israel: The Sword and the Harp* (London, 1969).

²Alfred Sherman, "Israeli Socialism and the Multi-Party System," *The World Today* XVII (May 1961), pp. 218-9.

³Raul Teitelbaum, *The Kibbutz in Contemporary Israeli Reality* (Tel Aviv, 1954); E. Kanovsky, *The Economy of the Israeli Kibbutz* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966). For a Soviet study, see *Narody Azii i Afriki* III (1965), pp. 190-8.

⁴Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a 'Classless' Society (Kibbutzim in Israel)," *American Sociological Review* (December 1951), pp. 769 ff.

⁵*Ihud Hakibbutzim Vehakvutzot, Hakibbutz Huartzi Hashomer Hatzair, Hakibbutz Hameuchad, and Hakibbutz Hadati.*

⁶*The Mutual Security Program: Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Eighty-Second Congress, First Session (June 26-July 31, 1951)*, (Washington, 1951), pp. 644-7.

⁷Harlan Cleveland, "Commentary," in Philip Thayer (ed.), *Tensions in the Middle East* (Baltimore, 1958), pp. 233-4.

⁸In Britain there are more than thirty associations backing Israel; these include: Board of Deputies of British Jews, Anglo-Jewish Association, Union of Jewish Women, Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, and Federation of Zionist Youth.

⁹There are some twenty Jewish organizations in France, among them: Union des Associations Culturelles Israélites de France et d'Alergie, Association Culturelle Séphardite de Paris, Alliance Israélite Universelle, Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Conseil Rabbinique en France, and Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France.

¹⁰A.J. Fisher, "Israel and the German Federal Republic," *Contemporary Review*, No. 1099 (July 1957), pp. 100-1; *Narody Azii i Afriki* IV (1963), pp. 48-53.

¹¹Most prominent among these are: Central Jewish Council in Germany, Council of Bavarian Jewish Communities, and Jewish Communities of Lower Saxony.

¹²Anthony Eden, *Full Circle: The Memoirs of Anthony Eden* (Boston, 1960).

¹³14-15 May 1967.

¹⁴pp. 65 and 91, respectively.

¹⁵Quoted in Jan Dziejdzic and Tadeusz Walichnowski, *Background of the Six-Day War* (Warsaw, 1961), pp. 72-3.

¹⁶S.R. Salman, *Israel and Counter-Insurgency in Africa* (Beirut, 1974), p. 7.

¹⁷George J. Tomeh, *Israel and South Africa* (New York, 1973), p. 48.

¹⁸(Chicago, 1965), p. xvi.

¹⁹G.H. Jansen, *Zionism, Israel and Asian Nationalism* (Beirut, 1971), p. xiv.

Israel and Africa

Richard P. Stevens

Even before the establishment of the state of Israel in May 1948, the foundations for an Israeli presence had been laid in Africa and elsewhere in the form of political Zionism and in the imperial structures bequeathed to that continent. Consequently, an investigation of that presence will enable us not only to grasp the process by which Israel's efforts would be facilitated in Africa, but it will also assist us in understanding the nature of those pressures, direct and indirect, which would operate in Israel's favor.

Although somewhat peripheral to this discussion, it is not without benefit for the understanding of the colonial and settler character of Zionism to review early Zionist interest in the African continent. Thus, only seven years after the publication of Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*, the British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, was advancing to the Zionist leader a proposal for Jewish settlement in Uganda (actually Kenya). While Chamberlain's proposal, adopted by the Sixth Zionist Congress in 1903, was related to such practical considerations as the construction of the Uganda railway, more importantly, it was tied in with British racial and imperial policy in southern Africa. Interestingly enough, Chamberlain had realized that the ultimate success of his white reconciliation policy in South Africa in the post-Boer War era might turn on whether he received Jewish support. Faced with crushing financial burdens in the war's aftermath, the Colonial Secretary was aware that only the great industrial and mineral wealth of the Rand could bring about the reconstruction of South Africa. Of all the British dominions, however, South Africa was the one in which Jews and Jewish capital were most deeply interested.¹ As Julian Amery, Chamberlain's biographer, noted, "the Rand, in particular, was mainly in Jewish hands, and . . . it was upon its prosperity that Chamberlain and Milner counted for the reconstruction and future progress of South Africa."² The fact that South Africa was already a hotbed of Zionist activity even before the establishment of the South African Zionist Federation in 1898, and that "some of the wealthiest Jewish promoters and investors in the Rand mines were Zionists"³ might be taken as a model of that relationship between the internal political structure and external policy which would subsequently

account for Zionist success in other western states, particularly Britain and the United States.

The deep commitment of South African Jewry to political Zionism as represented by its interest in the "Uganda proposal"—although clearly not a first preference—far transcended that abortive scheme. In fact, because of the strong attachment of South African Jewry to political Zionism, it could safely be asserted that fully 99 per cent of the country's Jews were Zionist affiliated.⁴ Despite their original poverty, Jewish immigrants to South Africa, 80 per cent of whom were from Lithuania, like all white settlers there quickly discovered that the racial inequalities of the country allowed for upward group mobility. According to many observers, the 120,000 South African Jewish community would become by 1945 the wealthiest Jewish community in the world on a per capita basis and would contribute more to the Zionist cause than any other Jewish community, not excluding the American.⁵

In addition to the Uganda proposal, so clearly calculated to appease Herzl and curry favor with the South African Jewish community, there were also several other schemes for Jewish settlement in Africa, but these were largely the proposals of the Jewish Territorial Organization under the leadership of Israel Zangwill. Each of these schemes assumed the compatibility of political Zionism with the interests of a colonial power, Italy in Libya, Britain in the Sudan, and Portugal in Angola. In the latter case, promoters of the scheme conjectured that "the Portuguese government would feel compelled to cooperate with the project because it did not effectively occupy Angola, because it faced a threat of German encroachment from South West Africa, and because 'a strong Jewish colony in Angola under the Portuguese flag [might] be the only way of keeping the flag flying there.'"⁶ While the outbreak of World War I decisively ended all discussions on Jewish settlement in Africa in favor of Palestine, the possible consequences, had such a development occurred, are worthy of contemplation. For as one historian has noted:

It is intriguing to speculate about how acceptance of the offer [Kenya] might have altered the course of twentieth-century history. Insofar as Kenya is concerned one may ask with good reason: would the presence of a sizable Jewish community have enabled the British to retain control of the area? Or would African nationalism have regarded such a community in its midst as colonialist and devoid of rights of self-determination and national existence? . . . It is conceivable that African nationalism would have conflicted with modern political Zionism just as Arab nationalism has in the Middle East. East Africa, then, might have been the cockpit, and Kenyatta rather than Nasser, the Zionists' *bete noire*.⁷

Under the circumstances neither Kenyatta nor the Libyan and Angolan nationalists were called upon to face the threat of Zionist settlers; had it

been otherwise, few could have denied the colonial character of Zionism.

Meanwhile, the focus of Zionist concern in Africa was upon those areas with sizable numbers of Jewish settlers, primarily British Africa—Kenya, the Rhodesias, and South Africa, and to a lesser extent the Belgian Congo. Here the interdependence and mutuality of Zionist and imperial thinking was significant almost in proportion to proximity with the white-minority southern African heartland. The profound nature of that relationship—political, social, cultural—was embodied in the deep personal relationship between General Jan Christian Smuts, South Africa's most celebrated politician, and Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader destined to become Israel's first president.

Smuts' attraction to Weizmann and Zionism welled up, however, not only from his functional role as a surrogate British imperial presence, but from the racist and misconstrued theology of his own Afrikaner people, albeit mellowed and modernized with the knowledge of the needs of his country's exploitive capitalist system. The importance of the Smuts-Weizmann friendship can be fully appreciated only when it is remembered that without Weizmann there would be no Balfour Declaration and without Smuts the Union of South Africa, created in 1910 in total disregard of the Black majority, might well have foundered. Both men stood in much the same position towards their respective "constituencies" and both represented the imperial factor in its economic, political, and strategic dimensions. In both cases, Smuts and Weizmann epitomized the capacity of western civilization to rationalize domination and exploitation, conquest and control, as a Christian civilizing mission or Judeo-Christian fulfillment.

Without detailing this relationship discussed at length in my book *Weizmann and Smuts: A Study in Zionist-South African Cooperation* (1975), suffice to note that in the early 1940s, still hoping to revive the pre-1939 White Paper British-Zionist collaboration, Weizmann proposed to Smuts as a champion of that alliance and the father of white-based Pan Africanism, a plan for the future of Africa. In a remarkable document entitled "Memorandum on Africa" dated 26 February 1943, Weizmann advanced a thesis "based on the assumption that Africa will probably become the backbone of the British Colonial Empire after this war." Here Weizmann proceeded to propose a development scheme which envisaged a massive use of carbohydrates for a new chemical industry that would replace petroleum. In such a scheme Weizmann asserted that a Jewish Palestine "can thus become the laboratory or the pilot-plant for the big factory into which the African Continent under this scheme might eventually develop." He concluded that "the link which will be created between Africa and Palestine may strengthen Palestine's position in the Arab surroundings or even make it feasible for Palestine to belong

economically and politically to an African bloc, instead of entering the prospective Arab Federation."⁸ Although Smuts undoubtedly saw African and imperial fortunes more realistically and did not take up the project, in broad outlines Weizmann's approach to Africa set the stage for eventual Israeli thinking. Meanwhile, South Africa's support continued to figure prominently in the complicated Zionist maneuverings which led eventually to the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine in 1947.

While South Africa, again under Smuts' leadership, pressed ahead on the international level in support of Jewish statehood, his government was being challenged at home by the militant and even more racist right wing, the Afrikaner-based Nationalist Party. Notwithstanding the antisemitic attitude which had characterized that party in the past, by 1947-48 a dramatic change was effected. Not only was it a case of perceiving the necessity of white solidarity if a minority racial regime were to be maintained, but there was the fear of withdrawal of Jewish capital. Thus, as the 1948 general election approached there were numerous signs indicating a switch in the thought of the party which had once embraced Hitler's race mythology. Not only did the Nationalist Afrikaans press support Zionist terrorism and opposition to British policies in Palestine, but it compared the determination of the Afrikaners, God's Chosen Christian race, which, in seeking to break the Union's British ties as being analogous to the Zionist undertaking. Immediately after the narrow Nationalist victory of 26 May 1948, the Malan government hastened to extend *de jure* recognition to Israel.

Diplomatic recognition of Israel was quickly followed by other actions calculated to win Jewish support. Six weeks after taking office Malan declared that he and his government stood for a policy of nondiscrimination against any section of the white community. Going beyond the position of most other countries favorable to Israel, Malan not only permitted Jewish reserve officers to serve in Israel, a procedure officially contrary to law, but he became the first prime minister in the British Commonwealth to pay a courtesy visit to the Jewish state. When, despite serious financial problems then facing South Africa, the government permitted the export of much needed commodities and currency to Israel, Malan's victory with the Jewish community was largely complete.⁹ The response of the Jewish community to Nationalist support of Israel and its official abrogation of antisemitism brought in its train an acceptance of Nationalist Party policies at all levels of formal Jewish expression. Henceforth, apartheid was considered officially a political question, not a moral issue to be condemned in the synagogue or the Jewish press.¹⁰

During the first decade of Israel's independence the latter's relations were limited to South Africa, Ethiopia, and Liberia. In both Ethiopia and

Liberia, a strong American presence together with a fundamentalist Baptist fervor among the ruling Americo-Liberian elite, and a complex Solomonic dynastic mythology, underpinned the Israeli relationship. At the same time commercial and economic contacts were being established with the existing European administrations in French West and Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, British West, East, and Central Africa. These ties were thus inherited at the time of independence beginning with Ghana in 1957. Nevertheless, despite these various involvements, clearly, from the Israeli perspective, relations with South Africa and other white minority settler establishments took precedence over other African interests. Consequently, despite the fact that the racial policies of South Africa had been introduced for UN debate almost from the founding of that organization, Israel felt no real constraint to join in any condemnation of that country's policies.

By 1955-56, however, events were leading to a reassessment on Israel's part of its African relations. The Bandung Conference of 1955, which excluded Israel, and the New Delhi Asian Socialist Conference at the time of the Anglo-French-Israeli Suez attack in 1956 gave warning of the fact that Israel's western and imperialist linkages had cast her in an unsavory position. The decision was consequently made to cultivate close relations with those states likely to constitute an eventual majority in the United Nations. In short, it meant an African policy based on three fundamental principles: (1) Containment of Arab influence, through military assistance if necessary; (2) extension of economic relations with non-Arab League member states; and (3) gaining diplomatic support among non-Arab African states for use against the Arab states within the UN (and eventually the OAU). Needless to say, these policies only gradually unfolded in their totality as new states assumed formal sovereignty. The fact that most of these states, especially those in the French orbit, were so heavily dependent upon Paris, economically and politically, as to make their independence somewhat suspect, was an additional benefit from the Israeli point of view. Essentially, Israel could coast along on the momentum generated by trade contacts in pre-independence days.

While Israel's African policy between 1957 and 1961 continued to emphasize its South African connection, by July 1961 pressures had mounted even from the conservative Francophone states in demanding Israeli condemnation of apartheid. Thus, Israel's first timid response was to label apartheid "as disadvantageous to the interests of the non-white majority of the land." This was followed shortly by Israel joining in several anti-South African votes at the UN.

In the light of Israel's attitude over the previous thirteen years towards South Africa's racial policies, her about-face understandably came as a considerable shock to South African sensibilities. Speaking with the anger

and candor of a jilted lover, the South African Afrikaans press could ask:

And is there any difference between the way that the people of Israel are trying to maintain themselves amid non-Jewish peoples and the way the Afrikaner is trying to remain what he is? The people of Israel base themselves upon the Old Testament to explain why they do not wish to mix with other people; the Afrikaner does this too¹¹

The South African foreign minister accused Israel of "hostility and ingratitude . . . in view of the fact that the South African government and individual members of the cabinet have in the past gone out of their way to foster good relations with Israel."¹² The Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, also lashed out with the unflattering observation that the Jews "took Israel from the Arabs after the Arabs had lived there for a thousand years. In that I agree with them; Israel, like South Africa, is an apartheid state."¹³ Despite the formal cooling of Israeli-South African relations, eventually marked by the reduction of diplomatic relations from ambassadorial to chargé level, economic and cultural ties remained strong. In some instances the South African Zionist Organization took over various functions which might more properly have been handled by embassy staff. More importantly, South African Jewry, seeking to compensate for what was almost universally termed a serious Israeli blunder, sought to deflect international criticism away from South Africa. This was especially noted at the UN where, at the insistence of the South African Board of Deputies and Zionist Organization, Jewish bodies officially refrained from condemning apartheid.

The Israeli decision to opt for stronger Afro-Asian ties was fortunate in being able to capitalize upon other contacts in this quest, primarily, those involving the labor movement and western European socialism, ties which the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor) and Mapai (Israeli Workers Party) had cultivated since the beginning of the Zionist effort in Palestine. Indeed, Israel's desire to forge an Afro-Asian policy coincided with a determination on the part of the trade union movement, represented by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to expand its African ties. Assisting and largely dominating this Brussels-based effort to contain "radicalism" and "movement to the left" was the AFL-CIO of the United States. The strong Zionist commitment of that organization, and the documented CIA support of its African effort, are topics which go far beyond the scope of this paper. All in all, however, it meant that a very considerable effort was launched through the trade union movement in Africa to build up "moderate" leaders. And where could such leaders better be trained than in the supposedly politically neutral Afro-Asian Institute for Labor Studies and Cooperation founded in Tel Aviv in 1960 by the Histadrut with assistance from the American, British, Swiss, and Scandinavian labor movements. Henceforth, the Histadrut and Mapai,

forces which had dominated and molded Jewish settler economic and political life under the Mandate, would turn their abundant resources and attention to the Third World seeking to gain support for Israeli foreign policy.

Consequently, between 1958 and 1967 Israel launched a host of innovative and indeed, highly skilled operations in Africa which generally won high praise. Eschewing high cost projects and concentrating on human involvement, no less than 2,485 Israeli experts would spend time in Africa within a nine year period. In view of the fact that the total number of experts sent to all areas—Asia, Latin America, and the Mediterranean included—totaled 3,476, it was obvious that Africa was to be Israel's number one concern. Likewise, out of 12,627 foreign trainees brought to Israel, over half, 6,640, were from Africa. In the latter category, the number registered a jump from 59 in 1958 to a high of 528 in 1964. The remarkable facts, figures, and rationale of this Israeli effort, the largest of any donor state outside the developed world, has been set forth by Leopold Laufer in *Israel and the Developing Countries: New Approaches to Cooperation* (1967). This book, written by a staff member of the Agency for International Development of the US Department of State, is of vital importance for those who would seek to understand the basis of Israeli success in Africa and hopefully profit from it.

Central to the Israeli and Nationalist Chinese efforts in Africa was the fact that both operated with American blessing and drew massively upon technical assistance offered them by the USA. Thus, at least one of every five Israelis who went to the USA as trainees under Point Four programs in the 1950s later participated in Israel's own cooperative program.¹⁴ The nature of the Israeli presence in Africa was highlighted on another level by Arnold Rivkin, writing in 1962 under the auspices of the CIA-assisted Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.¹⁵ In his book, *Africa and the West: Elements of Free-World Policy*, Rivkin stated that "the Israeli model may well prove to be a sort of economic 'third force'—an alternative differing from the western pattern, but certainly far more compatible with free-world interests than any communist model" Rivkin went on to urge what indeed would become US government policy:

Israel's role as a third force might also be reinforced by imaginative use of the third-country aid technique. A free-world state wishing to enlarge its assistance flow to Africa might channel some part of the increase through Israel because of Israel's special qualifications and demonstrated acceptability to many African nations. West Germany or the United States, for example, might extend special Deutsche Mark or dollar credits to Israel, to be repaid by deposits in a special account in Israel earmarked to finance additional Israeli assistance to African countries. Such credits would improve the unfavorable Israeli balance-of-payments position at the same

time that they provided an additional source for financing aid to African countries on a nonrepayable basis. Such third-country arrangements would appear particularly suited to free-world multilateral aid groupings.

Needless to say, from the American point of view, any African state on good terms with Israel could hardly be on bad terms with the USA. More precisely, dollar for dollar, more could be gained for the USA politically through a modest Israeli presence than through a substantially higher direct American effort.

Although Israel had some few occasions to be irked with African UN voting before 1967, generally speaking, Israeli efforts were judged a success. Not only were close ties established with fairly large numbers of political types, but Israel's economy registered definite benefits. Ironically, it was Israel's victory in the June 1967 fighting which marked a turning point in Israeli-African relations. The conqueror of vast areas, the unabashed pride of the western world, including the white redoubts of southern Africa, Israel emerged from victory the veritable image of the conquering, all-powerful, Prussian-Hegelian model. Long portrayed as a small "beseiged," "isolated," "threatened," "democratic bastion," Israel no longer appeared as such to principled African leaders. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and various other leaders not only called upon Israel to withdraw from all occupied territory, but they also began to question Israeli denial of Palestinian identity and her treatment of Arabs in Gaza and the West Bank. It was, of course, the October fighting of 1973 with its direct economic threat which hastened the disengagement of African states from Israel. Only Lesotho, Swaziland, and Malawi, three states immediately tied to South African influence, maintained their relations with Israel intact.

In the wake of African reaction, a response not unrelated to the growing confrontation between producer and consumer nations, Israel, discounting African opinion, again reverted to her earlier, more open relationship with South Africa. Upgrading her mission in Pretoria to full ambassadorial level, the Israeli government stated that while "our rejection of apartheid is unchanged . . . , we feel that Israel should have normal diplomatic relations with all countries, including South Africa." Thereupon a flood of visitors and delegations began moving in both directions; among the more celebrated of those to South Africa was Moshe Dayan himself. And in April 1976, at the invitation of the government of Israel, South African Prime Minister John Vorster arrived in Israel with the official aim of promoting closer ties. Israeli officials said that both countries envisaged greater cooperation and trade links. Needless to say, the jubilation of the South African Jewish community at this revived and open relationship was ecstatic. Fittingly, even as Israel's friends fretted about the implications of this relationship for Israel's image, bloody riots

and repression sparked by Arab Palestinian youth and Black South African youth drew the world's attention to the continued existence of these settler states. In both instances, however, the USA endeavored to deflect world criticism and ward off militant action against them. However embarrassing the South African connection for Israeli defenders, the fact remained that history had again taken its course. as the world's surviving racist states solidified their most natural relationship.

Appendix

The ideological, economic, and growing military relationships between Israel and South Africa have been the subject of reports and resolutions of the UN, as well as of other international organizations. This has disturbed some states, which have hypocritically denounced apartheid while applauding Zionism, feigning an inability to see any similarity between these two forms of racism. Most—typically nonwestern—members of the UN, however, find no difficulty in perceiving this similarity, with its “deep historical and ideological roots,”¹⁶ and view with concern the increasingly intimate relationships, to their mutual advantage, between the two bastions of racist exclusivism at the head and foot of the African continent.

In resolution 3151G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973,¹⁷

The General Assembly,

Emphasizing the collusion between Portuguese colonialism, the *apartheid* régime and zionism, as exemplified by the political, military and financial aid supplied to each other by Portugal, South Africa and Israel [preambular paragraph 7],

5. *Condemns*, in particular, the unholy alliance between Portuguese colonialism, South African racism, zionism and Israeli imperialism.

In resolution 3324 E (XXIX) of 16 December 1974,

The General Assembly,

5. *Condemns* the strengthening of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa.

In resolution 3411 G (XXX) of 10 December 1975,

The General Assembly,

4. *Again condemns* the strengthening of relations and collaboration between the racist régime of South Africa and Israel in the political, military, economic and other fields.

In resolution 31/6 E of 9 November 1976,

The General Assembly,

Recalling its repeated condemnations of the strengthening of relations

and collaboration between the racist régime of South Africa and Israel in the political, military, economic and other fields, as contained in General Assembly resolutions . . . [the three cited above],

Deeply concerned about the fact that Israel has sent paramilitary personnel to train South African troops and about the sale of warships and other war matériel by Israel to South Africa in flagrant violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on relations between Israel and South Africa, [18]

1. *Strongly condemns* the continuing and increasing collaboration by Israel with the racist régime of South Africa as a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the United Nations and as an encouragement to the racist régime of South Africa to persist in its criminal policies;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to disseminate widely the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in various languages, in order to mobilize public opinion against the collaboration by Israel with the racist régime of South Africa.

In virtually identical language, the Israeli-South African relationships have been noted and censured most recently at the Seventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers meeting in Istanbul, Turkey in May 1976; at the Twenty-Seventh Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in Port Louis, Mauritius in June-July 1976; at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka in August 1976; and at the First Afro-Arab Summit Conference meeting in Cairo, Egypt in March 1977.

FOOTNOTES

¹*South African Jewish Chronicle*, 25 September 1903.

²Julian Amery, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, vol. IV (London, 1951), p. 257.

³Robert G. Weisbord, *African Zion* (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 126.

⁴Sarah G. Millin, *The People of South Africa* (New York, 1954), p. 236.

⁵Dan Jacobson, "The Jews of South Africa: Portrait of a Flourishing Community," *Commentary* XXIII (January 1957), p. 39; Edwin S. Munger, *Afrikaner and African Nationalism* (London, 1967), p. 20.

⁶John Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution: The Anatomy of an Explosion (1950-1962)*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 3, with quotation from Israel Zangwill, *Report* (London, 1913), p. ix.

⁷Weisbord, p. 257.

⁸Richard P. Stevens, *Weizmann and Smuts: A Study in Zionist-South African Cooperation* (Beirut, 1975), Appendix, pp. 123-7.

⁹Richard P. Stevens, "Zionism, South Africa and Apartheid: The Paradoxical Triangle," *Phylon* XXXII (No. 2, 1971).

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Cited in Henry Katzew, "South Africa: A Country Without Friends," *Midstream* (Spring 1962), p. 73.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Rand Daily Mail*, 23 November 1961.

¹⁴Leopold Laufer, *Israel and the Developing Countries: New Approaches to Cooperation* (New York, 1967), p. 5.

¹⁵Arnold Rivkin, *Africa and the West: Elements of Free-World Policy* (New York, 1962), pp. 84-5.

¹⁶*Report on the Relations between Israel and South Africa*, adopted by the UN Special Committee against *Apartheid* on 19 August 1976.

¹⁷In these citations, UN editorial practices are adhered to without exception.

¹⁸Cited in fn. 16.

Israel, South Africa and Iran

Abdel-Malek Audah

Since the subject of relations between Israel and South Africa has already been dealt with in some detail,¹ I shall limit myself to some recent developments in these relations and shall endeavor to outline the evolution of future trends.

The development of relations with South Africa calls for a number of observations. In my opinion, the super and big powers are trying to create new international situations by establishing a subdivision of the international system with the main axis being Israel to the north, Iran to the west, and South Africa to the south. The aim is to paralyze the actions and efforts of the Arab and Afro-Arab subdivisions of the international system. This attempt is based on the relatively developed economies of the three states and their military instruments of repression. The concept of "progress and force" is the liberal concept of western logic. In addition, these states delimit a vast area with immense surface and subterranean mineral and other natural resources. Within and in the neighborhood of this area are seas and oceans of major importance to present-day international trade. The political units within this area are relatively weak. They are afflicted by an increasing number of problems, not least among them the instability of the political systems inherited from colonialism and the economic crisis resulting from world inflation.

No formal agreement so far links the three states of this axis. Nevertheless, bilateral relations and arrangements are apparent. The catalyst for the crystalization of this international situation is American policy, and therefore NATO policy, in the light of changes in the pattern of international relations, in the balance of forces during the 1970's, and with a view to their designs for the 1980's.

To expose the aims and goals of this phase and its future development, we must go back to the June 1967 fighting and its aftermath—defeat of the Arab countries and closure of the Suez Canal. According to NATO's strategic concepts, a new international situation had emerged in the Arab region, with Israel serving as a deterrent and controlling the movements of the Arab subdivision of the international system. To this was added Europe's and America's rising interest in the international maritime and trade routes through the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic Ocean.

This is why we say that, beginning ten years ago, American and European interests began to shift, to a certain extent, from the center of the Arab region to the east, namely to the Gulf area. It was then that talk about a military vacuum in the Gulf region and external threats to states in the form of infiltration and aggression began in Europe and America. At the same time, the Iranian military force was built up in a way which called for attention. The importance attached by NATO to these developments resulted in the setting up of an ad hoc committee, towards the end of the 1960's, to study the matter and to submit proposals. In November 1972—and I am asking you to remember this date—the NATO Council approved the committee's report calling for the drawing up of plans for defense and reconnaissance of the Indian Ocean and South Atlantic regions. Thus, without any publicity whatsoever, the NATO zone of action and the scope of its military activities were widened. Officially, by its public commitments, NATO protects western Europe and America in the region of the Atlantic to the north of the Tropic of Cancer, as well as the Mediterranean, with its entire coast bordering on three continents.

This strategy, once set up and approved, increased, as far as NATO was concerned, the importance of South Africa, which has become a naval base and an economic and military fortress protecting the flow of oil from the region of the Gulf through the maritime routes of the Indian and South Atlantic oceans toward western Europe and the two Americas. A few islands in the Indian Ocean, such as Diego Garcia where the large Anglo-American base has been built, have increased in military and strategic importance. The same applies to the coast of eastern Africa (Mozambique), where there are international maritime routes, as well as to the western and southern coasts of the African continent, in other words, Angola, Namibia, and the Cape Verde Islands. These regions and countries are necessary for the success of the plan, either by perpetuating European domination or by establishing governments which will comply with west European and American policy.

But unforeseen crises have arisen and have obstructed this plan, despite all the precautions taken and the provisions made to guarantee its implementation. These crises are the result of certain international developments which may be summed up as follows:

(1) The collapse of the fascist regime in Portugal, which triggered the liquidation of the Portuguese empire—the recognition of FRELIMO's role in Mozambique, the agreement on the declaration of independence under the leadership of this Front, as well as the setting of the date for the independence of Angola and for the referendum in the Cape Verde Islands. These independent African countries are included in the circle that the western world and NATO call the revolutionary and socialist states, i.e. enemies of the free world. All this shows the ulterior motives

behind the war in Angola towards the end of 1976. Unfortunately, the interference of the big powers and international antagonisms with regard to this problem led to the paralysis of the African region of the international system, as was evident during the OAU meetings held to consider the Angolan problem.

(2) As a consequence of the October 1973 fighting, world public opinion now concurs with Arab opinion, especially after the use of oil as a weapon to defend Arab rights. In this connection, Afro-Arab cooperation reached its highest point, not only with the severance of relations between the African countries and Israel, but also with the adoption of a common stand in the UN General Assembly. This explains why the General Assembly rejected the credentials of the South African delegation and invited Yasser Arafat to address the 1974 session.

(3) The intensification of the opposition between poor and rich countries, which was given concrete expression during the debates of the UN special sessions held to discuss the prices of raw materials and a new world economic order. This resulted in solidarity among the Third World countries within a new framework enabling them better to state their problems and to assert their stand, all the more necessary because there had been a general interruption in the actions of liberation movements. The reasons for the latter were the reactionary coups d'état, the economic crises, and the demise of some of the leaders of the liberation and the anticolonialist struggle.

The relations between South Africa and Israel have been reinforced to the extent that the two countries now openly form an axis. Their diplomatic representatives have been raised to ambassadorial level. Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa visited Israel in April 1976 and signed economic agreements with that country. Reference has also been made to secret military agreements, coordination and exchange of intelligence reports, and experiments with a view to combatting what they call terrorism and infiltration, and what we rightly refer to as liberation movements and armed struggle in Palestine, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Azania (South Africa).

At another and more important level, America is playing a more active role in establishing direct contacts with African states and leaders. The most recent example is that referred to by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Lusaka, namely America policy aimed at finding political solutions to the problems of southern Africa. He further declared that he had met Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa in Bonn, and went on to say that there would be another meeting in August in Tehran. No one knows to date whether this is not an initiative to establish relations between Iran and South Africa, and thus add Iran to the Israel-South Africa axis.

In brief, the Arab and African states are now faced with renewed American attempts, NATO strategy, and the role played by Israel, South Africa, and Iran to neutralize the effects of surprise and the increasing problems which threaten their military and strategic prospects.

In the light of past experience, to counter this policy of hostility, the only solution left to us is to use Afro-Arab cooperation as a weapon, supported by the countries friendly to us and by regional and international organizations. But the main action likely to neutralize this plan is to ensure collaboration among the resistance movements in Palestine, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Azania. Such coordination is the only means of dealing a decisive blow to Israel and South Africa, thus ridding our regions of the last of the racist regimes.

FOOTNOTES

In the symposium, Abdel-Malek Audah's presentation followed that of Richard P. Stevens. Israel and Africa. He accordingly chose to limit his presentation to that here published—Ed.

Hostility to the Liberation Movements and Support for Reactionary Movements

S. G. Ikoku

That imperialism is hostile to liberation movements is generally known. So too is the fact that imperialism supports reactionary forces. The aim of this paper, therefore, is not to catalogue aid given by imperialism, but to attempt a description of the conceptual and operational framework within which imperialist aid policies proceed.

This paper shall be confined to Africa though its findings may be applicable to the Third World generally.

The political map of Africa today shows 48 sovereign states. These states are at various levels of national independence and self-direction. The same political map of Africa shows that colonialism still exists in a few territories—Western Sahara, the Territory of the Afars and Issas, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania (South Africa). Though technically sovereign, and so regarded by the international community, apartheid South Africa, as seen by Africa, is an exercise in colonialism. This view goes back to the resolution on Decolonization and on Racial Discrimination adopted at the inaugural meeting of the Organization of African Unity in 1963.

There is a tendency to regard colonialism as a thing of the past, simply because the African continent now has only five dependent territories; this line of thought is arithmetical, not political. This tendency is deliberately encouraged by imperialist propaganda which talks of partnership in progress, modernization, and a "new era of peace, wellbeing and human dignity." It is fostered by the illusion of detente and dialogue as the path to the final liberation of southern Africa.

To complete our introductory observations, it is helpful to point out that a significant relationship exists between the pattern of domestic policies in each African state and the stand and attitude of that state to the liberation movements on the continent. The situation is further complexed by two phenomena: (1) The trend towards fragmentation within the liberation movements; and (2) the nature and conditions of support reaching the liberation movements from non-African sources.

In this paper the term *liberation movement* is given a rather wide interpretation. The term is extended to cover the following: (1) Liberation movements in the remaining colonial enclaves; (2) the anti-apartheid

the US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, said:

President Ford has sent me here with a message of commitment and cooperation. I have come to Africa because in so many ways the challenges of Africa are the challenges of the modern era. Morally and politically, the drama of national independence in Africa over the last generation has transformed international affairs I have come to Africa with an open mind and an open heart to demonstrate my country's desire to work with you My journey is intended to . . . usher in a new era in American policy.

America's responsibilities as a global power give us a strong interest today in the independence, peace, and well-being of this vast continent comprising a fifth of the world's land surface.

The message is clear enough. Two points of clarification and one of emphasis will give us an even deeper appreciation of Henry Kissinger's objectives.

The USA has never acted in support of national independence in Africa, as evidenced by her replacement of Belgium as the controlling power in Zaire; the open and unabashed support of NATO for Portugal in her efforts to stem the tide of national liberation in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, Principe and Sao Tome, and Angola; her support with arms, money and mercenaries of the forces of FNLA and UNITA in the Angolan civil war; her circumvention of UN sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa; and her open support for Israel in the military and economic fields, at the UN, and recently over the outrageous attack at the Entebbe airport.

Secondly, Henry Kissinger could not have come to Africa with "an open mind and an open heart," as he claimed in his Lusaka speech. For later in the same speech the US Secretary of State affirmed that he had "a new aid program for this continent." And his thinking on this matter had taken such concrete form that he was able to say that this "development through multilateral cooperation" would require the collaboration of "the industrial nations, the newly-wealthy oil producers, and the developing countries themselves." He must have made up his mind on what American aims are, for him to hold that Africa shall not achieve much by "tactics of confrontation with the United States," quickly adding menacingly that "our [i.e. US] self-respect is too strong to let ourselves be pressured either directly or by outside powers."

The one great truth that Henry Kissinger left out in his Lusaka speech is that the USA has interests in Africa's vast land surface. Indeed it is the land that has attraction for him, more concretely, the wealth that lies on or beneath Africa's land surface.

The second prop in the geopolitics of imperialism in Africa is the creation of two powerful military-political bases at both ends of the African continent. These are South Africa and Israel, the former under the banner of apartheid and the latter under the war cry of Zionism. These

military-political bases have evolved political perspectives decidedly anti-Africa. They have demonstrated, in recent months, that they have the capacity not only for self-protection, but also for offensive action thousands of kilometers beyond their borders.

The third prop of imperialist geopolitics in Africa is the establishment of military outposts and/or diplomatic axes in every African subregion. Here use is made of sovereign African states. The aim is to enhance the military and political operation of imperialism on the African continent.

Although these outposts are constantly altering as a result of internal developments within the countries concerned, it is still possible to have a clear idea of what is being systematically built up. In the northwest subregion, there is a military outpost—Morocco. Northeast Africa has a Cairo-Riyad diplomatic axis to which Jordan and Sudan are being increasingly attracted. The military outpost in east Africa is Kenya. West Africa has a Dakar-Abidjan diplomatic axis to which Togo and Cameroon are being increasingly attracted. The position of imperialism in Central Africa is pivoted on Zaire. And in the subregion of southern Africa a diplomatic role is being cast for Zambia. The process of giving effect to these diabolical schemes is on. A little time will be needed to see if the design will materialize; whether second thoughts and domestic developments may not force some of these states out of the role being cast for them.

A point should be stressed here: The use of Zionism as a military and political base against Africa, as well as the creation of the Cairo-Riyad diplomatic axis to serve imperialist positions, provide positive proof, if ever such proof were needed, that the African and Arab struggles are closely and inextricably intertwined. Those Africans who hold that the Arab cause is no concern of Africa, and vice versa, those Arabs who refuse to see the essential linkage between Arab and African struggles for national and economic independence, are casting their lot on the side of imperialism. Whether they are aware of this does not really matter to the analysis. And that some Arab oil wealth is placed at the disposal of Africa does not refute the case. Indeed this shows how carefully articulated the control mechanism has become. It is becoming clear that aid by imperialism is being increasingly routed through reactionary African and Arab forces, in order to make the recipient countries less able to detect the real source and motivation of the aid.

In essentials, imperialism is not a color or race phenomenon, even though historically the best known imperial edifices of modern times have been the creation of the white race. The fundamental factor has been economic power. The identical positions of the Arab and African nations in the global relationships created by imperialism give to these two people a unity and cohesiveness that cannot be easily, let alone permanently,

damaged by the propaganda and diplomatic intrigues of imperialism, Zionism, apartheid, and Arab-African reaction.

Broad conclusions can now be reached on imperialist aid strategy in Africa:

(1) Aid to national liberation movements is often meant to create and perpetuate divisions within these movements thereby arresting the march to political independence. Alternatively, should the termination of overt colonial rule become inevitable, such aid is meant to put the soon-to-emerge independent state on the path of neocolonialism.

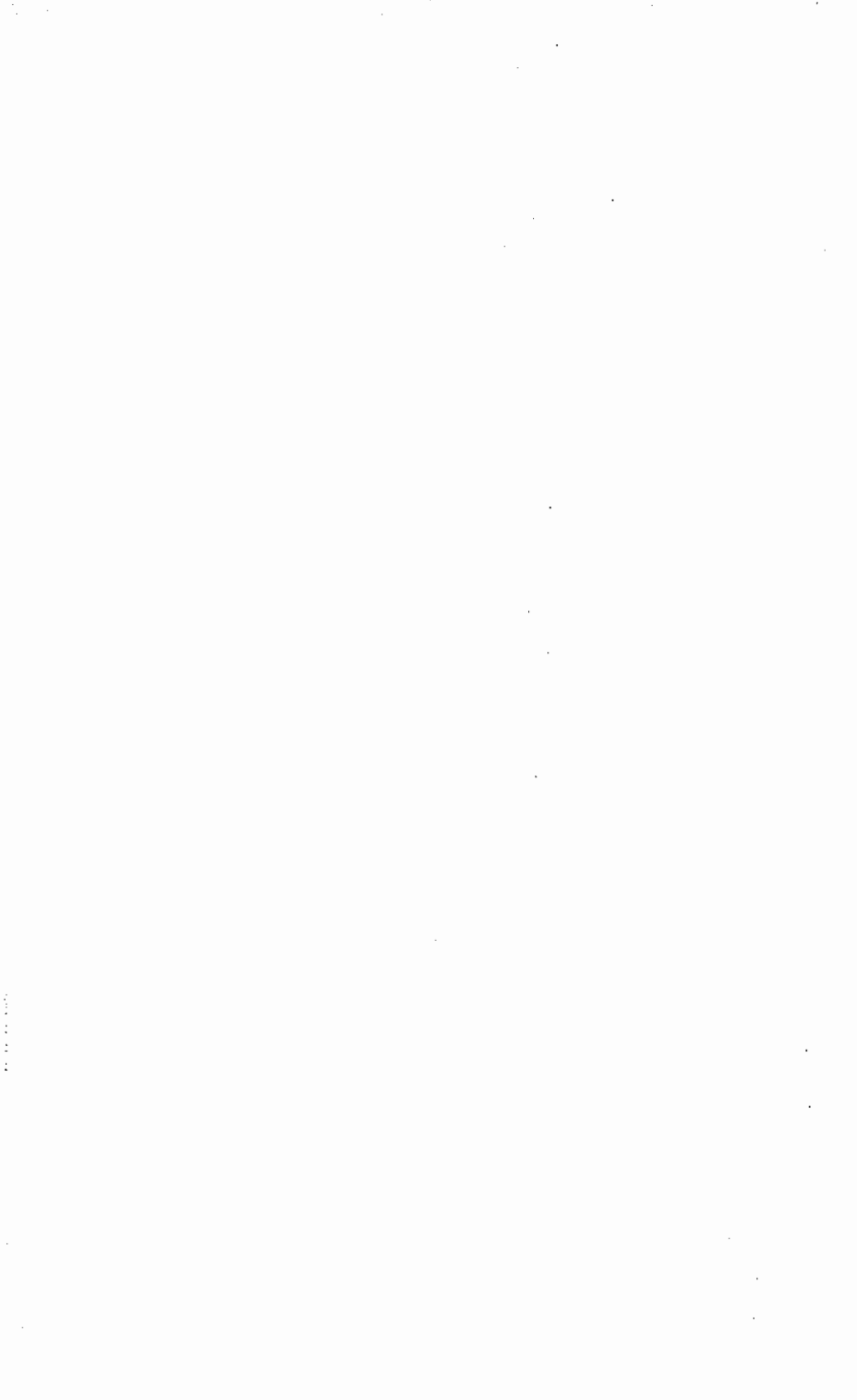
(2) Aid to independent African states is really meant for the reactionary (i.e., pro-imperialist) regimes. The aim is twofold—to sustain these reactionary regimes against popular domestic pressures for economic and cultural independence, and for enhanced living standards, and to sustain these reactionary governments for use in the process of destabilizing those African states that have taken the road of self-destruction and a rejection of the capitalist system.

(3) Aid to apartheid and Zionism is meant to sustain these primary bases for keeping Africa and the Middle East within the imperialist orbit.

To conclude, aid has become a major weapon for pushing imperialist positions in Africa and the Middle East. In the mechanics of aid-giving, use is made of apartheid, Zionism, and African-Arab reaction. The struggle against imperialism will demand not only united political and diplomatic action, but also a distinctive aid strategy by the forces of the Arab and African revolutions.

V

Critiques of Zionism



The Difference Between Judaism and Zionism

G. Neuburger

Where the Torah tells about the creation of the first human being, the most prominent Jewish commentator, Rashi, explains that the earth from which Adam was formed was not taken from one spot but from various parts of the globe. Thus human dignity does not depend on the place of one's birth nor is it limited to one region.

The greatness or worth of a person is not measured by his or her outward appearance. Jews believe that Adam was created in G-d's¹ image and that he is the common ancestor of all mankind. At this stage in human history, there is no room for privileged people who can do with others as they please. Human life is sacred and human rights are not to be denied by those who would subvert them for "national security" or for any other reason. No one knows this better than the Jews, who have been second-class citizens so often and for so long. Some Zionists, however, may differ. This is understandable because Judaism and Zionism are by no means the same. Indeed they are incompatible and irreconcilable: If one is a good Jew, one cannot be a Zionist; if one is a Zionist, one cannot be a good Jew.

For over 60 years I have fought Zionism, as did my father before me, and I am therefore quite familiar with it. For those who have been in this fight for only the last ten or twenty years, what I have to say may be surprising or even shocking. Nevertheless these matters must be stated clearly and openly, because unless the disease of Zionism is diagnosed accurately, it cannot be cured. Too long have those opposed to Zionism engaged in daydreaming and wishful thinking. In order to recognize Zionism for what it is, one has to know about Judaism, about Zionism—the opposite and negation of Judaism, and about Jewish history. In the time allotted to me, I am not going to talk about the actions of the Zionists; they will be adequately dealt with by others. As a Jew, I plan to discuss Zionism, which is rebellion against G-d and treason to the Jewish people.

To begin with, a few definitions: Who is a Jew? A Jew is anyone who has a Jewish mother or who converted to Judaism in conformity with *Halachah*, Jewish religious law. This definition alone excludes racism. Judaism does not seek converts, but those who do convert are accepted on

a basis of equality. Let us see how far this goes. Some of the most eminent and respected rabbis were converts to Judaism. Jewish parents throughout the world bless their children every Sabbath and holiday eve, and they have done it in the same way for millenia. If the children are girls, the blessing is, "May G-d let you be like Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah." Not one of these matriarchs was born a Jewess; they were all converts to Judaism. If the children are boys, the blessing is, "May G-d let you be like Ephraim and Menashe." The mother of these two was an Egyptian woman who became Jewish and had married Joseph. Moses himself, the greatest Jew who ever lived, married a Midianite woman who became Jewish. Finally, the *Tenach*, the holy writings of the Jew, contains the book of *Ruth*. This woman was not only not Jewish by birth, but she came from the Moabites, traditional enemies of the Jewish people. This book describes Ruth's conversion to Judaism and is read annually on the holiday commemorating the giving of the *Torah*, the "Law," i.e. the Pentateuch. At its very end, the book of Ruth traces the ancestry of King David, the greatest king the Jews ever had, to Ruth, his great-grandmother.

Apart from the Zionists, the only ones who consistently considered the Jews a race were the Nazis. And they only served to prove the stupidity and irrationality of racism. There was no way to prove racially whether a Mrs. Muller or a Mr. Meyer were Jews or Aryans (the Nazi term for non-Jewish Germans). The only way to decide whether a person was Jewish was to trace the religious affiliation of the parents or grandparents. So much for this racial nonsense.²

Racial pride has been the downfall of those Jews in the past who were blinded by their own narrow-minded chauvinism. This brings us to a second definition. Is there a Jewish people? If so, what is its mission? Let us make this completely clear: The Jewish nation was not born or reconstituted a generation ago by some Zionist politicians. The Jewish nation was born on Mount Sinai when the Jews by their response, *נעשה ונשמע* "let us do and let us hear," adopted the *Torah* given to them by G-d for all future Jewish generations. *היום הזה נהייח לעם* "This day you become a people," though valid still today, was spoken thousands of years ago.

According to Jewish tradition, there are seven Noachidic laws⁴ which apply to all human beings. Then there are the Ten Commandments which form basic standards of morality and conduct for adherents of all monotheistic religions. In addition to these, there are 613 laws obligatory for Jews, and every Jew has to observe those which are applicable to him or her according to Halachah. It is the carrying out of these *mitzvoth*, "commandments," which constitutes the essence of being Jewish, and therefore of the Jewish people and their covenant with G-d.

In what way are the Jews a "chosen people"? Every Jewish man anywhere and at any time when called to the reading of the Torah says, "Who has chosen us from all the peoples and gave us His Torah." This is the way in which the Jews are chosen. The Jewish people are chosen not for domination over others, not for conquest or warfare, but to serve G-d and thus to serve mankind. **והידיים ידי עשו** "And the hands are the hands of Esau," has been traditionally interpreted to mean that while "the voice is Jacob's," the hands—symbolizing violence—are Esau's. Thus physical violence is not a tradition or a value of the Jews. The task for which the Jewish people were chosen is not to set an example of military superiority or technical achievements, but to seek perfection in moral behavior and spiritual purity. Of all the crimes of political Zionism, the worst and most basic, and which explains all its other misdeeds, is that from its beginning Zionism has sought to separate the Jewish people from their G-d, to render the divine covenant null and void, and to substitute a "modern" statehood and fraudulent sovereignty for the lofty ideals of the Jewish people.

One means of misleading many Jews and all too many non-Jews is the Zionist misuse of names and symbols sacred in Judaism. They use the holy name *Israel* for their Zionist state. They have named their land-acquisition fund with a term⁵ that traditionally implies the reward for piety, good deeds, and charitable work. They have adopted as a state symbol the *menorah* (candelabrum). What hypocrisy, what perversion it is to have the Israeli army fight under an emblem, the meaning of which is explained in the Tenach (on the occasion of a previous return to the Holy Land) as, **לֹא בַחַיִל וְלֹא בַכַּחַץ כִּי אִם בְּרוּחִי אֹמֵר ד'** *צבאות*, "not with armed force and not with power, but in My spirit says the Lord of Hosts."

The infamous founder of political Zionism, **ש"י** "may his name be cursed," who only discovered his own Jewishness because of the antisemitism displayed at the Dreyfus trial in France, proposed various solutions to what he called the "Jewish problem." At one point he proposed to resettle the Jews in Uganda. At another he proposed to convert them to Catholicism. He finally hit on the idea of a *Judenstaat*, an exclusive Jewish state. Thus from its very beginning Zionism was a result of antisemitism and indeed is completely compatible with it, because Zionists and antisemites had (and have) a common goal: To bring all Jews from their places of domicile to the Zionist state, thus uprooting Jewish communities that had existed for hundreds and even thousands of years. Loyalty to the Zionist state was substituted for loyalty to G-d, and the state was made into the modern "golden calf." Belief in the Torah and fulfillment of religious obligations in Zionist eyes became a private matter and not a duty for every Jew or for the Jewish people. The Zionists made divine law subject to party or parliamentary votes, and they set their own

standards of conduct and ethics.

Neither the founder of political Zionism nor any of the prime ministers of the Zionist state believed in the divine origin of the Torah nor even in the existence of G-d. All prime ministers were members of a party that opposed religion in principle and that considered the Bible a document of ancient folklore, devoid of any religious meaning. And yet these same Zionists base their claim to the Holy Land on this same Bible, the divine origin of which they deny. At the same time they conveniently forget the Jewish holiday prayer, "ומפני חטאינו גלינו מארצנו" and for our sins have we been exiled from our land," and ignore the fact that the present exile of the Jewish people is divinely decreed and that the Jewish people are neither commanded nor permitted to conquer or rule the Holy Land before the coming of the Messiah. The Jewish people do, of course, recognize special spiritual ties to that land and call it *Eretz Yisrael*. Every morning, afternoon, evening, and night they mention it and Zion and Jerusalem in their prayers, and indeed a Jew does not sit down to a meal without doing likewise. To the Jew, the very soil of the Holy Land is different from that of any other spot on this globe, and wherever he is he turns his face toward Jerusalem during prayers. To live in the Holy Land or even to be buried there was always considered to be of high merit.

This love of the land and the Jewish longing for a return to it and for the coming of the Messiah have been exploited innumerable times during the past 2,000 years. Zionism has had many precursors and each has been a curse for the Jews. Individuals who proclaimed themselves the Messiah and messianic movements have sprung up from time to time, from the Roman era through the Middle Ages and down to the modern Zionists. Many of these pseudo-Messiahs posed as rabbis or as national leaders, though some of them eventually professed other faiths; many temporarily—some for longer periods—succeeded in misleading Jews, rabbis, and entire Jewish communities. All were in due course exposed and recognized as frauds, and those who had set their hope on them found only disappointment and all too often disaster.

In the early stages of the development of modern Zionism, the Mizrachi was founded, an organization of so-called religious Zionists who tried to combine their faith with political Zionism. This led to a constant conflict between the dictates of divine law and the demands of Jewish nationalism. Most of the time, the Mizrachi was outvoted at Zionist congresses and served only to give the Zionist movement a false religious aura. Whenever expediency called for it, these "religious" Zionist fellow-travelers have been used by the Zionist government to underpin national claims with "religious" authority. The National Religious Party in the Zionist state has been well rewarded for giving its stamp of approval to nationalistic measures and enactments, whether these rewards were of a financial

nature or in the form of cabinet or other government posts. The chauvinism of these religious Zionists frequently exceeded that of other Zionists, and it was always couched in religious terms—a prime example of the abuse of religion. The fraudulence of these “religious” Zionists was demonstrated during the past year when it was revealed that two of their world leaders had committed million-dollar thefts.

A Jewish world organization was founded in 1912 on the German-Polish border with the specific purpose of fighting Zionism. This organization, *Agudath Israel*, “Union of Israel,” was to represent the true Jewish people in the world and to unmask the unwarranted and unjust claims of the Zionists. Rabbis everywhere joined *Agudath Israel*, as did masses of observant Jews. Anti-Zionist congresses were convened in Vienna and in Marienbad. In countries such as Poland, *Agudists* were members of parliament. Under *Agudah* leadership more than 50 years ago, Jews in the Holy Land opposed to Zionism obtained permission from Britain, the mandatory power in Palestine, to declare in writing that they did not wish to be represented by the Zionists or any of their groups, particularly not by the Zionist quasi-governmental organizations such as the *Va'ad Leumi*, “National Council.”

Shortly thereafter, Jacob de Haan, a former distinguished Dutch diplomat who was then leader of *Agudath Israel* in Palestine, initiated talks with Arab leaders with a view toward the eventual establishment of a state there in which Jews and Arabs would have equal rights. In this way he hoped to forestall the creation of a Zionist state. Despite threats to his life, de Haan, fully aware of the ultimate dangers of a Zionist state, continued his talks and negotiations. On the eve of his departure in 1924 for Britain to meet with authorities there, he was assassinated by the Haganah, the Zionist paramilitary force, in the center of Jerusalem as he came from evening prayers. More than half a century ago, this devout and visionary Jew gave his life in a fight that he considered paramount, at a time when the world at large was still blind and deaf to the difficulties and problems that a future Zionist state would entail.

As a result of such terrorism and increasing Zionist pressure, *Agudath Israel* gradually began to weaken and to compromise. During the Nazi period, it entered into deals and arrangements with the Zionists, despite the fact that its fundamental aim had been to combat Zionism. After the Zionist state was established, *Agudath Israel* broke off with its past, participated in the Zionist government on the cabinet level and elected *Agudists* to the Zionist parliament. Still professing a nominal anti-Zionism, *Agudath Israel* established a network of “independent” schools in the Holy Land, but today the overwhelming part of the budget of these schools comes from the Zionist government.

In view of these developments, those Jews who wanted to continue the

fight against Zionism without any compromise left Agudath Israel and constituted themselves as the *Neturei Karta*, an Aramaic phrase meaning "Guardians of the City," i.e. the city of Jerusalem. The Neturei Karta in turn became a worldwide movement, known in some places as "Friends of Jerusalem."

The greatest leader of the Neturei Karta was Rabbi Amram Blau, an inspired and dedicated leader whose compassion equaled his courage. He could not keep silent in the face of injustice, immorality, or hypocrisy. He was beloved by Jews and respected by Christians and Muslims. Born in Jerusalem, he never left the Holy Land during his entire life. In his writings he stressed many times that Jews and Arabs had lived in harmony until the advent of political Zionism.⁶ Rabbi Blau was imprisoned in Jerusalem, not by the Ottoman authorities, not by the British, and not by the Arabs, but by the Zionists. What was his crime? He defended with vigor and honesty, without regard for his own safety, the holy character of Jerusalem against the "innovations" and encroachments of the Zionists. He fought for the sanctity of the Sabbath and actively opposed the inroads of indecency and immorality made under the Zionist regime. Unceasingly he denounced the establishment of a Jewish state before the coming of the Messiah as an act of infamy and blasphemy. Under his leadership, the Neturei Karta declared year after year that they did not recognize the legitimacy of the Zionist state or the validity of its laws.

During the first period of fighting between the Zionist state and the Arabs, the rabbis of the Neturei Karta went toward the combat lines, carrying a white flag, and stated that they wanted no part in this war and that they were absolutely opposed to the creation of a Zionist state. In his last proclamation, Rabbi Blau deplored the actions of the Zionists against the Muslim and Christian Palestinians and the grievous harm done by the Zionists to the Jewish people in endeavoring to change them from *ממלכת כהנים וגוי קדוש* "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" to a modern state, devoid of spiritual foundation, based on chauvinism, built on conquest, and relying on military prowess. *כי מספר עריך היו אלהיך* "The number of your cities constitute your gods," the prophet Jeremiah had thundered to the chauvinist and idolatrous Jewish government of his day. Like it, the Zionists are now establishing a new status quo and expanding their position by founding new settlements in the territories occupied since 1967.

Rabbi Blau in his last statement severely condemned the UN for recognizing and accepting as a member the Zionist state, thus giving the Zionists unprecedented prestige and power. It is high time that the anti-Zionist nations listen to him, heed his plea, and undo this great wrong and correct this fatal error. It is well known that no action was taken concerning the expulsion of the Zionist state because of the fear that

financial support for the UN would be withdrawn. Let those states, opposed to Zionism, who have become affluent during the past generation, show that they mean what they say by offering to replace any financial loss the UN may suffer as a consequence, and let the member states vote their conscience without fear and regardless of any intimidation.

There have been times before in Jewish history, as related in the Bible, when the masses were misled and only a minority of Jews clung to the true mission of the Jewish people. One of the first such occasions was the worship of the golden calf; today we unfortunately see a repetition of this, with the Zionist state now being the object of worship. Until the appearance and growing influence of political Zionism, Jewish leaders were chosen on the basis of their piety, decency, learning, and their love of justice and mercy. Today only too often so-called Jewish leaders are selected solely on the basis of their support for the Zionist state and their contributions to Zionist causes. And these so-called Jewish leaders, completely unqualified under Jewish law and traditional concepts, make pronouncements and decisions in the name and on behalf of the Jewish people. This is particularly true in the USA where there is the largest Jewish community in our time. I can never forget the remark of a woman in Oklahoma: "Isn't today's Judaism wonderful! All you have to do is give money."

Even at his death Rabbi Blau refuted the Zionists who had often claimed that the Neturei Karta were nothing but an insignificant sect of a few hundred souls. Yet when Rabbi Blau died in Jerusalem on a Friday morning two years ago, a few hours later no fewer than 22,000 men attended his funeral.

At all times in the past, the misleaders of the Jews have sooner or later fallen by the wayside, and only those Jews who upheld the validity of the Torah and the Talmud (the written and oral law) and of Halachah, and who resisted the demagogues, prevailed. The Neturei Karta follow in this tradition. They continue as a living rebuke to Zionism and speak in our time for the true Jewish people, those who have not been misled by Zionism.

During the Roman conquest of the Holy Land, there were Jews who on the basis of nationalism and racial pride were sure that they could not lose a war. They, like the Zionists of our day, were opposed to any compromise or settlement; they were determined to fight to the end. At that time, however, almost 2,000 years ago, the foremost rabbi, Rabbi Yochanan ben Sakkai, chose a different way. The military adventurers prevented him from leaving beleaguered Jerusalem to negotiate with the Romans, so the rabbi had himself carried out in a coffin by his disciples to the Roman headquarters. He said to the Romans that the Jews needed neither an

army nor weapons and asked for permission to establish a *yeshiva*, a Jewish religious school, at Yavneh. It was this religious school, and not the militarists or generals of the time, that helped to perpetuate Judaism and the identity of the Jewish people.

It must also be stated explicitly that while not all Jews are Zionists, not all Zionists are Jews. The motives of some of these non-Jewish Zionists, e.g. Lord Balfour and General Smuts, are at least open to question. From the beginning of the Zionist movement, some of the most articulate and fervent Zionists have been Christian clergymen, especially "fundamentalists," who hail Zionism as an important "religious" movement and welcome it as a fulfillment of prophecy. They also, and significantly, serve the cause of Zionism.

One of the basic aims of Zionism is *aliyah*, the immigration to the Zionist state of Jews from all countries. Nevertheless, during the past few years hundreds of thousands of Israelis have outgathered themselves from the Zionist paradise, and American Jews have "voted with their feet" and have chosen not to be ingathered. These Jews recognize that the Zionist state is in fact nothing but a giant ghetto.

Instead of being able to render assistance to Jewish communities in other countries, American Jews have been mobilized to concentrate on helping the Zionist state, making the USA the real and major source of Zionist power and influence. The Zionists, true to the nature of their movement, rely on technical superiority and on a forbidding military deterrent—provided largely by the USA—for their security.

Nothing could be farther from the true ideals of the Jewish people. The Jewish people were chosen in the first place **כי אחם המעט מכל העמים** "for you are the least of all nations." As the Psalm says, **אלה ברכב ואלה בסוסים ואנחנו בשם ד' אלקינו נוכיר** "they rely on vehicles and horsepower, but we invoke the name of the Eternal, our G-d."

One more vital point deserves mention. A former president of the World Zionist Organization has stated explicitly that a Zionist owes unqualified loyalty to the Zionist state and that, in the case of a conflict, the first loyalty of a Zionist must be to the Zionist state. According to Jewish law, however, a Jew owes allegiance and loyalty to the country of which he is a citizen, and, of course, no faithful Jew owes any loyalty or allegiance to the Zionist state which has been condemned by the foremost rabbis of our age.

It is not my purpose to detail how Zionism should be dealt with. Let me state, however, that isolated or spontaneous acts against individuals or the mere adoption of resolutions in the UN or elsewhere are not effective means of bringing an end to Zionism. Let me state also that the battle against Zionism must be waged first, not on the shores of the Mediterranean, but in Zionism's most powerful bastion—the USA.

As an American citizen, I deplore that our government and our politicians have adopted an attitude that is in complete contradiction to the advice of the father of our country George Washington. Instead of shying away from foreign entanglements and permanent alliances with foreign powers, the establishment in Washington has embraced Zionism so wholeheartedly that in its eyes any criticism of the Zionist state and any opposition to political Zionism in the UN by any nation has become a punishable offense. And the docile American media do not dare to speak out against such an absurdity.

Unfortunately, thus far, each year sees still further gains in influence by American Zionists. This fact has made possible events and developments that were unthinkable even ten years ago. It takes a lot of courage to be opposed to Zionism in the USA today. It also took a lot of courage during the Second World War to be anti-Fascist in Italy or anti-Nazi in Germany. In the long run Zionism is nothing but a passing aberration in the long history of the Jewish people and of the world.

Let us take faith and hope in the certainty that eventually prejudice, hatred, and injustice will disappear, and that the prophecy will come true that all nations of the world will participate in the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, *כי בתי ביח תפלה יקרא לכל העמים* "for My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations."

FOOTNOTES

¹*Orthodox Jews do not write out the name of the Deity in any language; instead devices such as this are used—Ed.*

²It should, however, be noted that Jews are proud of their spiritual ancestors, the patriarchs and matriarchs of old, and that Jews do identify personally with events of Jewish history.

³The declaration of the Jews, known in the biblical record as the Children of Israel, when Moses descended from Mount Sinai and informed them of G-d's commandments.

⁴These are (1) establishing a system of laws (and enforcement); (2) not to curse G-d; (3) not to worship idols; (4) not to commit sexual immorality (incest, etc.); (5) not to murder; (6) not to steal; and (7) not to eat any part of a living being (animal).

⁵The name in Hebrew of the Jewish National Fund is *Keren Kayemeth Leisrael*. The phrase *keren kayemeth*, "permanent fund" or "lasting reward," is taken from the Jewish daily morning prayers.

⁶Under Arab rule, Jewish life had flourished as it rarely had elsewhere, whereas in other countries Jews had been plundered, expelled, murdered, or forced to convert. The Rambam, the greatest Jewish rabbi of almost a thousand years ago, whose decisions are still binding for today's Jews, wrote some of his most memorable words in Arabic, and only later were they translated into Hebrew.

Rambam is an acronym formed from Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (1135-1204), also known as Maimonides, who lived in Cairo—Ed.

Historical Perspectives on Political Zionism and Antisemitism

Klaus J. Herrmann

No discussion of Zionism and antisemitism is complete without reference to the great Jewish philosopher Constantin Brunner. Born in Hamburg-Altona in 1862 as Leopold Wertheimer, grandson of Rabbi Akiba Wertheimer, chairman of the (Orthodox) Rabbinical Court there, Brunner established his claim to fame in the area of Spinozean exegesis. Beyond that, however, Brunner was deeply involved in scholarship and personal engagement in the whole complex of Jewish emancipation and in the struggle against the racism of Jew-hatred, or Jew-hatred under the guise of religious and social opposition. His inspired battle against antisemitism and Zionism terminated only with his death in The Hague, one day before his 75th birthday. Jews, wrote Brunner, 'have been taken in by the racial theories of the Jew-haters;' and he accused the Zionists of having taken as their teacher the notorious racist and forger of scholarly documentation Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose "confused nonsense revelations" had been "restammered" in a Zionist book on the subject of race. "How could Germans of Jewish background begin to talk of a Jewish nation, and to fashion of the worst calumny the dream of their greatest nonsense!"¹

One of Brunner's disciples, Ernst Ludwig Pinner, who had been a Zionist earlier, bitterly accused the Zionists of having

taken up Europe's newest nonsense, namely racial theory as the justification of national emotion. Racial arrogance and racial hate poison national emotion, as did previously religious arrogance and religious hatred. Today it is race which is exalted as the banner in whose name everything is justified.

Pinner also designated the Zionists as "Jews infected by the sickness of racial insanity . . . because, similar to the Jew-haters, they drew political consequences out of race-consciousness."² Pinner did absolve Zionists of "preaching arrogance and hatred;"³ whether or not he would have done so in later years remains open to conjecture.

In discussing Zionism and antisemitism, the emotional impact of these words requires careful examination and analysis. Jews—whether as communicants of the religion of Judaism, or as alleged members of some so-called "semitic" race, or because of economic and social hatred—have

throughout much of their history existed as a minority community. They have been subjected to persecutions because of their adherence to the religion of their ancestors, or their spiritual ancestors; it is difficult to cite many countries, at least in Europe, where such was not the case. The Nazi holocaust in particular resulted in the murder of at least 4.2 million European Jews and persons designated as Jews under the provisions of Nazi racial legislation.⁴

Zionism

The term *Zionism* has come to denote the colonizing movement whose leaders and adherents perceived the community known as Jews (also as Israelites, Hebrews, or Mosaists) as a separate, national people who were to be "re"settled as a sovereign political entity in Palestine. The first usage of Zionism in this sense was by Nathan Birnbaum in 1890. Since 1896, Zionism has been applied to Theodor Herzl's political movement which was founded in order to establish in Palestine a "Jewish national home."

It is not without its own irony that the relationship between the originator of the term *Zionism* and the founder of the political movement by that name was anything but cordial. Birnbaum, the son of Polish immigrants to Vienna, had under the pen-name of Mathias Acher been active in promoting Jewish nationalism as early as the 1880s, and, at the First Zionist Congress (Basle, August 1897), had posed as Herzl's predecessor. Herzl, whose vanity and self-esteem were second to none, and who had never before heard of Birnbaum or of other east European ideologists of Zionism, was unwilling to give credit to anyone and considered Birnbaum a vain and obstinate scoundrel.⁵ Herzl later wrote:

In shameless pan-handling (beggary) letters written to me and others, he represents himself as the discoverer and founder of Zionism, because he has written a pamphlet like many another And this fellow . . . dares to draw comparisons between himself and me.⁶

The supreme irony is that Birnbaum left the Zionist movement in 1899 and became a devoutly orthodox Jew, implacably hostile to Zionism.

Historically Zion was the name of one of the hills (of later Jerusalem) which the Jebusites had fortified: "Nonetheless, David did capture the stronghold of Zion, and it is now known as the City of David" (II Samuel 5:7). Thereafter, *Zion* became a poetically descriptive term for all of Jerusalem, then for all of Palestine, and, eventually for all of *k'hal adath yisra'el*, i.e. the Israelitic or Jewish religious community.

In discussing political Zionism, certain concepts are of course entirely excluded. Thus Orthodox Judaism adheres to an aspiration which has been called messianic or eschatological Zionism: the belief in a

supernaturally, messianically activated ingathering of Jews in the Holy Land. These spiritual longings presuppose the establishment of a *malchuth shamayin* (reign of heaven) and the institution by God of a universal kingdom of peace. Political Zionists, for obvious self-serving reasons, have identified chiliastic scriptural passages with their own aims and endeavors.

In Reform Judaism, whose 19th-century theologians had affected a radical elimination of all references in the prayer-book to an ingathering of Jews within the framework of an eschatological definition of the "return to Zion and Jerusalem," the phrase "true Zionism" has been used to distinguish their use from the political or national-cultural use of Zionism. Hence Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler, one of the chief theologians of American Reform Judaism, distinguished "official Zionism" from the "true Zionism" that demanded of Jews to be "martyrs in the cause of truth, justice and peace," which was, of course, only a symbolic phrase of general ethical application. Kohler's definition of "true Zionism" was predicated on an understanding of both Judaism and Jews which left no room for the geographic locale of Palestine. Rabbi Abraham Geiger, until his death in 1874 the most prominent scholar of moderate Reform or Liberal Judaism in Germany, proclaimed:

The *people* of Israel no longer live—also not in the hearts and in the desires of the present [the 1860s]. They have been transformed into a community of faith.

As for Jerusalem, Geiger made short shrift of it:

Jerusalem remains for us the holy source whence, in the past, sprang the teaching of truth. . . . the present heap of ruins, Jerusalem, is for us at best a poetic and melancholy memory, but no nourishment for the spirit. No exaltation and no hope are associated with it Jerusalem is a thought for us, not a spatially limited place. But where the literal meaning of the prayers could lead to the misunderstanding that we direct our adoration to that *place*, the words will have to be eliminated.

On another occasion, Geiger directed his ire against those Jews who "want to gain the rights of a citizen in the [German] fatherland, yet wish to remain a Palestinian in customs, language, and desires," an ambiguity he viewed as "nonsense."⁸

On the other side of the Jewish theological fence, that of Orthodox Judaism (in which no changes have been effected in the liturgy of rituals), Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, its foremost spokesman in Germany, agreed with Reform Judaism's anti-Jewish-nationalist position. Hirsch made it clear that the Hebrew word for "people" (*'am*) referred to the theological Israel exclusively, and to the Israelites (Jews) therefore only in its strictly religion-centered conceptualization.⁹ To Hirsch, the return to

Palestine was part of a supernatural plan which God was working out for the people of Israel and must therefore await God's time.¹⁰ According to the Orthodox interpretation of Judaism, the yearning for Zion and Jerusalem as expressed in the liturgy was never meant to be translated into practical politics, but belonged to the Divine scheme of things, and certainly called for no political action on the part of a Jew which might impugn his citizenship. Indeed, the *Agudath Yisreal*, the anti-Zionist world organization of Jewish Orthodoxy (excepting the Zionist *Mizrachi* movement), until the establishment in May 1948 of the Zionist state, actively agitated against Zionism and even worked together with Arab nationalists against the Zionists.¹¹

Another Orthodox clergyman of distinction, Chief Rabbi Moritz Güdemann of Vienna, approvingly cited a Christian professor of theology at the University of Königsberg, Carl Heinrich Cornill:

In consequence of the Babylonian exile, Judah was as much destroyed as a nation as was Israel by the Assyrian exile. But Judah transformed itself into Judaism: out of the state a church was created, out of the people a community. And this Judaism had a world mission without parallel to fulfill; the future and further development of religion was dependent on it.¹²

Chief Rabbi Güdemann averred, in opposition to the Zionists, that "on the fulfillment of this its religious task, and not on the emphasis and projection of a national character, is the so-frequently misinterpreted 'chosenness of Israel' predicated." This chosenness, continued Güdemann, was precisely in *opposition* to such characteristics as national arrogation and vaingloriousness; which is why God had repeatedly reminded ancient Israel of its *smallness* among the peoples of antiquity.¹³ Finally, this chief rabbi of Vienna postulated:

Never has any competent authority issued to the collectivity of the Jews a call for a so-called "bloodless crusade" for the regaining of its national autonomy. Such would have appeared as an intervention into God's leadership, in whose wise plan the diaspora also assumes its rightful place. Zion was and is to the Jews the symbol of their own future and that which encompasses all mankind. Our plea for a return to Zion in the context of our prayers is to be understood in this sense, *which is anything but national*.¹⁴

As is demonstrated by these few statements, and as could be substantiated by a host of further expressions along the same lines, anti-Zionism is an integral component of Judaism in both its Orthodox and Liberal-Reform branches. Official Zionism's infinitely repeated assertions, that Judaism is Zionism and that the contemporary republic of Israel in Palestine is synonymous with the theological Israel, are untenable. Also inadmissible are the statements of Zionism's clerical National Religious Party insofar as these identify messianic and symbolic Jewish aspirations with the acquisition of territory in Palestine.

Antisemitism

By itself, a few words in English are as absurd and devoid of intrinsic meaning as *antisemitism*. Shem was the biblical Noah's eldest son and is traditionally identified as the progenitor of those peoples or societies which are, more incorrectly than properly, referred to as Semites—the Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs, Ethiopians, etc., all speakers of one or another Semitic language. Thus *Semite* is a linguistic label and denotes a speaker of a language called *Semitic*. The latter term is a label for a group of related languages divided into two branches: Hebrew, Canaanite, Moabite, Phoenician, Syriac, Aramaic, etc., are members of the northern branch, while Arabic, Mehri, Soqotri, Amharic, Tigre, etc., belong to the southern branch. Thus Semite, properly used, identifies a person whose mother-tongue is a Semitic language; it provides no information about the person's race, nationality, citizenship, or religion.

The mischief of identifying a particular racial type with the speakers of a particular language began with a professor of Oriental languages, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827), who popularized *Semite* as a designation for the speakers of Arabic, Hebrew, and related languages. Eichhorn assumed that speakers of different language families (groups of related languages) had at one time been racially distinct and homogeneous. Hence *Semites* were assumed to be racially distinct from *Aryans*,¹⁵ speakers of related languages spread over most of Europe, Iran, the northern half of the Indian subcontinent, and elsewhere as a result of more recent migrations. By the 19th century, scholars of languages had come to recognize that, at least within historical times, there was no correlation between racial types and the speakers of particular languages or language families. Yet the earlier uses of terms such as Semite and Aryan survived in a distorted fashion in the popular literature, and thus Semite came to be used to denote Jews, incorrectly assumed to be members of a single and distinct racial type.

The first use of the derived term *antisemitism* in its modern sense was in 1879-80 in the writings of Hamburg journalist Wilhelm Marr, Bernhard Foerster (Friedrich Nietzsche's brother-in-law), and the French orientalist Ernest Joseph Renan. Marr may well have plagiarized the term from Renan. At any rate, in 1880 Marr published a series of hate-propaganda brochures, directed against Germans of Jewish faith, under the title *Zwanglose antisemitische Hefte*.¹⁶

The persecution of Jews as a religious minority did not of course require the origination of terms like antisemitism. The real significance of this nonsense-word was in its racist connotation. Until the invention of this word, opposition to Jews was by and large a concomitant of their religious adherence; they were members of a minority faith which was regarded by

the majority as heretical or "unbelieving." All of this was readily altered with the rise of racist Jew-hatred, whose leadership and adherents cared very little if at all about the Jew's *religious* identification, but were absorbed in determining their *racial* background. The fact that no such entity as a "Jewish race" had ever existed outside of the poetic license of literary men and the customs of 19th-century Europe (e.g. "the British race," "a race of sailors,") was of supreme irrelevance to the purveyors of Jew-hatred.

As a matter of historical record, the Nazis gradually shifted away from the term antisemitism in their campaign against the Jews. Certainly by 1936 the Nazis recognized that this term could be interpreted as opposition to speakers of all Semitic languages. This had not been intended, and one of the principal Nazi ideologists in the area of Jew-hatred, Johann von Leers, therefore stated: "The designation [antisemitism] is incorrect, insofar as the segregation is directed against the Jews and not against the Semitic peoples who do not adhere to Judaism."¹⁷ Nazi organizations had by 1942 generally replaced *antisemitic* by *anti-Jewish* in their vocabulary, as they pursued their campaign against the Jews and those so designated by them and their satellites.

Israel

Ever since the demise in 722 B.C.E. of the kingdom of that name, ISRAEL has referred to the community of Israelites, the *k'hal adath yisra'el*. This term thus served as a designation for the communicants of the Israelitic religion, more popularly known as Judaism, as it was practised in the former kingdom of Judah where the men known as prophets proclaimed their immortal messages. The central article of faith expressed in *sh'ma yisra'el, adonay elohenu, adonay echad* (Hear Oh Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one) is of course not directed to some secular or national people. If that had been the intention, the so-called ten lost tribes of the ancient kingdom of Israel would naturally have been included in the call. These tribes, incidentally, rather than being "lost," were assimilated, especially in the regions which today comprise the Arab countries, thus among the peoples now known as Arabs, including of course the Palestinian Arabs. In addition, substantial numbers of the contemporary *k'hal adath yisra'el* — the religious congregation of Israelites throughout the world—are not physical descendants of the populations of the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Judah. ISRAEL thus became a term of theology, and *Israelites* became the adherents of the religion by that name, or Judaism. Indeed during the 19th century great efforts were expended by the Jews of Europe and North

Africa to have the word *Jew* entirely substituted by the more ancient and venerable *Israelite*.¹⁸ To this very day, the Jewish community corporations in cities such as Vienna, Munich, Karlsruhe, Nürnberg, Würzburg, and Leipzig have retained the appellation *Israelitic* (*Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*). Accordingly ISRAEL represents the collectivity of Jews in the same manner as ISLAM stands for the collectivity of Muslims.

When the Zionist or national-Jewish republic in Palestine was founded in May 1948, and that contrary to the wishes of either the Palestinian Arabs or of important segments of the Jewish settlers in Palestine, the sacred name ISRAEL was deliberately misappropriated by its founders to grace it. In much the same way, the term *Zionist* had of course been taken out of the sacra of Judaism, especially that of Orthodoxy to whom *Zion* meant an aspiration of messianic and universal delineation. The deliberate confusion thereby created requires no elucidation in length. Whenever Zionists refer to *Israel* they speak of the state or republic by that name, thus intentionally identifying the religious community (*k'hal adath*) with a state in Palestine which, whatever else may be said about it, is quite unmistakably *not* the messianic restoration of the throne of David.

That the arrogation of the word ISRAEL as the name of the Zionist state in Palestine was unacceptable even to some Zionists is evident from the strong protest of Simon Rawidowicz. One of the eminent and intellectually brilliant Judaists of the 20th century, Rawidowicz had devoted his life to what may be called cultural Judaism. He bitterly objected to the Zionist state's name *Israel*, and went so far in his wrath against the "Israelizers" as to accuse them of seeking to uproot the very existence of the essence of Judaism.¹⁹

Another inadmissible manipulation of words occurs in the area known as anti-Zionism. Unfortunately there are instances on record in the context of which antisemitic scoundrels have camouflaged their racism against Jews by the term anti-Zionism. Not surprisingly, Zionists have avidly seized on these misuses of *anti-Zionism* and have propagated the false equation: anti-Zionism equals antisemitism. There are numberless examples of this kind of deliberate obfuscation and misrepresentation. Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, executive director of the World Union for Progressive Judaism (at one time a bastion of anti-Zionism), has uttered statements to this effect, and the list of Zionists in leadership positions of the most prominent Jewish organizations who continue to identify anti-Zionism with antisemitism is endless. A particularly gross example of disingenuity is provided by the very Zionists, both Jewish and Christian, who attack anti-Zionist Christian clergymen as antisemitic; at the same time, these Zionists themselves dip into the poisoned arsenal of antisemitism in order to obtain their arguments.²⁰

Zionism-Antisemitism Dialectic

The antisemitic movement, especially after 1879-80, was predicated on a racist conceptualization of history. Its progenitors and developers were obsessed by the views that Jews were an alien element within the "Aryan" nations, that Jews were "Semites," and that religious conversion to Christianity had no bearing on the essential "semiticness" of the Jews. Apart from that, some antisemites deemed Christianity to be a Jewish imposition on non-Jews, and therefore considered the elimination of Christianity essential. One of the Nazi scholars in 1940 reflected on the beginnings of the antisemitic movement:

The overriding and fateful significance of race within the world-concept of National Socialism [i.e. Nazism] has provided shape and goal-orientation to the anti-Jewish movement of our time. Race and blood were the value-determinative factors which guided the antisemitism of the National-Socialist movement.²¹

Adolf Stoecker (1835-1909), the Imperial Court Chaplain of the German emperor, perhaps typifies the prototype of the modern antisemite in the absurd and racist assertion that "the Jews place their unbroken semiticness (*Semitentum*) against the Germanic being."²² And this at a time when the patriotism of the Jewish Germans was unparalleled in its fervor and dedication even by non-Jewish Germans. Nonetheless Stoecker was one of the milder enemies of Jewish Germans; in his peculiar scheme of world happenings, the conversion of the Jews to Christianity would eradicate the congenital failing of theirs which he called "semiticness."

The man who proudly acknowledged the title "Founder of Practical Antisemitism" Theodor Fritsch (1852-1933) on the other hand had no patience with religious conversion. This worker in the vineyard of racist hatemongering—who has been described as the "Past Master of Antisemitism" (*Altmeister des Antisemitismus*)²³—was infuriated by references to "Jews and Christians":

Judah refers to a nation and not to a religion. He who places together "Jews and Christians" makes therefore out of himself a helpmate in misleading our people. Judah is an alien nation and it remains such even if one and all of them convert to Christianity. Germans and Jews confront each other, and therefore it is irrelevant whether or not the Germans are pagans and the Jews Christians. . . . this is a battle between two hostile nations and not a matter of an idle religious controversy.²⁴

Not surprisingly, this paradigm of antisemitism quoted approvingly the Zionist theoretician Jakob Klatzkin:

We are, in a word, naturally foreigners; we are an alien nation in your midst and we want to remain one. An unbridgeable chasm yawns between you and us²⁵

Klatzkin literally glorified antisemitism, viewing it as a natural ally of Zionism. Referring to the Czarist-ordained ghettoization of Jews in areas called the Pale of Settlement, he actually applauded

the contribution of our enemies in the continuance of Jewry in eastern Europe. One ought to appreciate the national service which the Pale of Settlement performed for us. How mightily would the stream of assimilation have swollen if our oppressors had removed this dam, if the Jews had obtained their freedom to move and had the opportunity to disperse all over the land. We ought to be thankful to our oppressors that they closed the gates of assimilation to us and took care that our people were concentrated and not dispersed, segregatedly united and not diffusedly mixed . . . that even baptism was not easily granted.²⁶

Then this greatest of Zionist ideologues continued:

One ought to investigate in the West and note the great share which antisemitism had in the continuance of Jewry and in all the emotions and movements of our national rebirth Truly our enemies have done much for the strengthening of Judaism in the diaspora Experience teaches that the liberals have understood better than the antisemites how to destroy us as a nation.²⁷

Far from equating anti-Zionism with antisemitism, the latter was typically and universally regarded as the closest ally Zionism had. In his diary Theodor Herzl recorded his audience with Friedrich I, Grand-Duke of Baden:

In an any case, he took my project for building a state with the utmost earnestness. His chief misgiving was that if he supported the cause people might accuse him of antisemitism.²⁸

Evidently Herzl was not taken aback by this candid assessment; he recognized that the antisemitic hatemongers were solidly arrayed on the side of the Zionists, that these racists thrived on plans designed to create a "sovereign Jewish state" in Palestine, and that they were in full and open support of his plans to this end. Thus the *Antisemitische Correspondenz* (later also known as *Deutsch-soziale Blätter*), whose first publisher was none other than the notorious Theodor Fritsch, acclaimed the convocation of the First Zionist Congress and sent it best wishes for the "speedy implementation of the Jews' exodus from Germany and thence to Palestine."

Inspecting the diaries of Herzl, it appears that he was at times uneasy with the obvious alignment of Zionism with the program of the antisemites. His city editor at the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, Josef Oppenheim, remarked on the publication of Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* in the London *Jewish Chronicle*: "If the *Jewish Chronicle* article appears in German, the antisemites will make a fine to-do of it. It will just suit them."²⁹ Herzl hoped that "things will change if my pamphlet proves a

success—and does not lead to the antisemitic rumpus anticipated by Oppenheimim.”³⁰ Eduard Bacher, the newspaper’s proprietor and also Jewish, too had “grave and great misgivings” about Herzl’s assertion that Jews were unassimilable, “and that the antisemites will seize upon this.”³¹ Arthur Levysohn of the prestigious *Berliner Tageblatt* also wrote Herzl that he would fight him vigorously on the Zionist scheme and that the antisemites would make capital of it. While Herzl avers that the “antisemites will seize upon this just as, in general, they will pluck out of my text any ‘plums’ that suit their purpose and quote them forever,”³² on the very day that he enters this disclaimer in his diary, he certainly does not appear particularly perturbed by the antisemites’ applause of his endeavors:

Was at the printing office and talked with the managers—the Hollinek brothers. Both are presumably antisemites. They greeted me with genuine cordiality. They liked my pamphlet. One of them said, “It was necessary that a man stand up and undertake the task of mediation.”³³

The Zionist gospel, it might ironically be noted, was set to the music of the musical master Richard Wagner. Anent the writing of his *Der Judenstaat*, Herzl wrote:

My only recreation in the evening consisted in listening to Wagnerian music, especially to *Tannehäuser*, an opera which I listened to as often as it was performed. Only on those evenings on which no opera was performed, did I feel doubts arising as to the correctness of my thoughts.³⁴

It may be recalled that the composer Richard Wagner was also one of the most notorious antisemites, even before that very word was coined. His defamatory brochure, *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, contained enough in the way of racist bigotry about the personalities and music of his confreres who were Jewish to suffice for all time. It is not astonishing therefore that Wagner’s 1859 brochure “inaugurated the last, but in Germany decisive, battle against Jewry.”³⁵ Indeed it seems appropriate that the gospel of Zionism was set to paper under the influence of Wagner’s music! Possibly the supreme mockery of Herzl’s life-work is the fact that to this very day the guardians of culture in the Zionist state of Israel have refused approval for the public performance of Wagner’s music—the very music which made possible the writing of Zionism’s basic document.

One organization which formally accepted the antisemitic ideology under the influence of its president in 1908 was the Pan-German League (*Der Alldeutsche Verband*). This president, Heinrich Class, had no hard row to hoe, as the League was always to some appreciable degree hostile to the Jews, in whom was perceived an element “alien to the German race and blood.” Under the guidance of Class, the League’s constitution was

amended so as to exclude not only Jews, but even those who were married to or had relatives who were Jewish. Class acknowledged that antisemitism "became a part of my body and soul when I was twenty years old; it essentially influenced my later political life."³⁶ This very same man was one of the most influential supporters and admirers of Zionism. Under the pseudonym of Daniel Frymann, Class in 1912 published a book, *If I Were the Kaiser*, of which in less than two years five editions were issued. In this book, Class expounded his antisemitic program and cited as his star witnesses none other than the Zionists:

Those who regard the Jews as a foreign race which, despite its participation in all the products of our culture, did not become German because it cannot become German on account of its basic differences must rejoice over the fact that among the Jews themselves the nationalist movement called Zionism is gaining more and more adherents. One must take off one's hat to the Zionists; they admit openly and honestly that their people are a folk of its own kind whose basic characteristics are immutable. . . . they also declare openly that a true assimilation of the Jewish aliens to the host nations would be impossible according to the natural law of race . . . *The Zionists confirm what the enemies of the Jews, the adherents of the racial theory, have always asserted*; and though they may be only a small group in relationship to their entire people, the truth they preach cannot be denied. Germans and Jewish nationalists are of one opinion in regard to the indestructibility of the Jewish race—who then wants to deny the Germans their right to draw the necessary political conclusions?

These necessary conclusions are then submitted by Class in his proposal for what he calls the solution of the "Jewish Question." He demands that Jews be barred from all public offices; they are to be deprived of their right of franchise; the professions of law and teaching are to be closed to them as also the management of theaters. Newspapers which employ Jews have to publish this fact, and newspapers which may generally be called "German" can neither be owned nor written by Jews. Public banks may not have Jewish directors, and rural property may neither be owned nor mortgaged by Jews. In addition, Jews should be compelled to pay twice as much taxes as non-Jews. Not surprisingly, on the accession of Adolf Hitler to power, Heinrich Class was appointed an honorary member of the *Reichstag*.³⁷

Support for the Zionist-nationalist concept of the Jews' place in European society also came from Theodor Fritsch. In his periodical *Der Hammer*, he made known his admiration for Zionist ideology:

We still consider the Zionists as the most honest of Jews, because they admit that . . . there can be no amalgamation with the non-Jewish people, that the diverse races moreover mutually disturb each other in their development and culture. We therefore demand together with the Zionists "a clean separation" and the settlement of the Hebrews in a special Jews' dominion . . .³⁸

To counter the coalition of antisemites and Zionists, in 1912, within the Association for Liberal Judaism, a number of distinguished leaders of Germany's Jewish communities decided to form an *Anti-Zionist Committee*. This Committee which by May 1914 had 1,007 members, mainly heads of families, took on the task of "enlightening the German Jews on and combatting Zionism."³⁹ Since the Committee spoke on behalf of the leading Jewish associations, it was in fact more representative of the more than half a million German Jews than its membership might indicate. In a number of brochures, the Committee minced no words in its excoriation of Zionism. Referring to Houston Stewart Chamberlain's "peculiar" book—*Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, characterized as a song of songs of dilettante superficiality and self-exaltation—the racism of Chamberlain's ideologies is provided its due contempt: "The antisemitism of our days is racial hatred." The authors then continue:

And this chauvinist, national racial insanity is the theoretic foundation, the spiritual mother soil of Zionism! Its specific typological aspects and its effectiveness have been borrowed from it. The mere pronouncing of this undeniable fact contains the most destructive criticism of this pseudo-messianic movement. With all precision one has to imagine to its last consequences the implications this has for the character and manifestations of Zionism, that it has grown in the same morass as has racial antisemitism, this scourge under which we Jews suffer so terribly. And always it is the same kind of water which derives from a poisoned well: be it colored Aryan-antisemitic or Jewish-national; no process in the world can transform it into a healthful beverage. Whoever is of the opinion that national demagoguery and racial antisemitism are a crime against culture—and who is not?—must needs also condemn its twin in the Jewish garb: national Zionism, for it works as destructively as the other.⁴⁰

The point of view of the Zionists is similar to that of the antisemites. To be sure, between the two—according to the differing milieu in which each is active—there are superficial differences. But just like antisemitism, Zionism expresses itself in disharmony, in strong intolerance, in injustice, and in lack of understanding of the opponent The accord with antisemitism—which has revealed itself in shameful plots against property, liberty, and honor of the Jews—would be even more sharply defined were Zionism to have as dominant a position as antisemitism. Every accusation which may be lodged against one is equally valid for the other, and many weak individuals who have been drawn into Zionism have accepted unthinkingly the premises of antisemitism. For their part, they have contributed to the proof that Zionism, like its twin-brother antisemitism, stands in sharpest conflict only to the Jewish religion but to every religion which has ethical principles.⁴¹

While the Jewish anti-Zionists were engaged in efforts toward exposing the racism of the antisemites, the Zionists busied themselves in activities which clearly assisted the antisemites in furthering their objectives. Thus in France the eminent archaeologist Salomon Reinach had written on the

so-called "Jewish race," fabricated by the antisemites for their self-serving purposes. Reinach, who had denied the existence of such a race, was promptly assaulted in the pages of *L'Echo Sioniste* and accused of assisting "the last and supreme effort made by the proponents of assimilation to break down every barrier between themselves and the non-Jewish world." In 1904, to crown this veritably absurd defense of antisemitic ideology, *L'Echo Sioniste* featured the contributions of a Zionist scholar, Hermann Jacobsohn, on craniometry. Jacobsohn, a scholar of Indo-European studies, in a series of five articles reviewed the whole apparatus of cranial measurements, eye and hair color, etc., so as to "establish" the existence of a distinct "Jewish racial type."⁴²

That same year a leading British-Jewish scholar and statesman summed up his case against Zionism: "The characteristic peril of Zionism is that it is the natural and abiding ally of antisemitism and its most powerful justification."⁴³

FOOTNOTES

¹Constantin Brunner, *Der Judenhass und die Juden* (Berlin, 1918), p. 112.

²Ernst Ludwig Pinner, "Meine Abkehr vom Zionismus" in *Los vom Zionismus* (Frankfurt a/M, 1928), p. 32.

³*Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴Howard M. Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (Cleveland, 1958), p. 457.

⁵Marvin Lowenthal, *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1962), p. 102.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁷Richard J. H. Gottheil, *Zionism* (Philadelphia, 1914), p. 100.

⁸Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Abraham Geiger, the Reform Jewish Liturgist" in *New Perspectives on Abraham Geiger* (New York, 1975), pp. 44-5; also Ludwig Geiger (ed.), *Abraham Geigers nachgelassene Schriften* (Berlin, 1875), vol. II, pp. 241-2.

⁹H. D. Schmidt, "The Terms of Emancipation 1781-1812" in *Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany, Year Book I* (London, 1956), p. 41.

¹⁰Mordecai M. Kaplan, *The Greater Judaism in the Making* (New York, 1960), p. 337.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 337-8.

¹²Cited in Moritz Glüdemann, *Nationaljudentum* (Vienna, 1897), p. 20.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁵*Aryan* (from Sanskrit *arya* "noble") was then used in the name of the language family later known as *Indo-Germanic* and now usually as *Indo-European*.

¹⁶S.v. *Antisemitism*. *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1901).

¹⁷Johann von Leers, "Zur Geschichte des deutschen Antisemitismus" in Theodor Fritsch, *Handbuch der Judenfrage* (Leipzig, 1936), p. 514.

¹⁸S.v. *Israeliten*. *Jüdisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1929).

- ¹⁹Simon Rawidowicz, "ISRAEL, The People—The State," *Judaism* II (1953), p. 35.
- ²⁰E.g. Arnold Forster & Benjamin R. Epstein, *The New Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1974), chapter 6, "The Clergy."
- ²¹Josef Müller, *Die Entwicklung des Rassenantisemitismus in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1940), p. 5.
- ²²Paul W. Massing, *Vorgeschichte des politischen Antisemitismus* (Frankfurt a/M, 1959), p. 238.
- ²³Müller, pp. 44-45.
- ²⁴Fritsch, p. 5.
- ²⁵Jakob Klatzkin, *Krisis und Entscheidung im Judentum* (Berlin, 1921), p. 118.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 62.
- ²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 63.
- ²⁸Lowenthal, p. 118.
- ²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 88.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 89.
- ³¹*Ibid.*
- ³²*Ibid.*
- ³³*Ibid.*, p. 91.
- ³⁴Leon Kellner, *Theodor Herzls zionistische Schriften* (Berlin, 1904), p. 18.
- ³⁵Fritsch, p. 12.
- ³⁶Massing, p. 252.
- ³⁷Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction* (New York, 1949), p. 247.
- ³⁸*Der Hammer* (Leipzig), January 1922.
- ³⁹"Antizionistisches Komitee" in *Handbuch der jüdischen Gemeindeverwaltung* (Berlin, 1913), p. xiii; also *Protokoll des Antizionistisches Komitee*, 2 May 1914.
- ⁴⁰Antizionistisches Komitee, *Schriften zur Aufklärung über den Zionismus*, Nr. 2, *Der Zionismus: seine Theorien, Aussichten und Wirkungen* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 11-12.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 20.
- ⁴²Michael R. Marrus, *The Politics of Assimilation* (Oxford, 1971), p. 271.
- ⁴³Lucien Wolf, "The Zionist Peril," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October 1904, pp. 22-3.

Political Zionism: A Jewish Critique

Gary V. Smith

On 10 November 1975, delegates of a majority of states in the United Nations—representing some 73 per cent of the world's population—voted to characterize Zionism as “a form of racism and racial discrimination.” This General Assembly resolution marked the latest in a series of actions supported by the UN and regional conferences and organizations to combat racial discrimination on a worldwide basis.

The American Zionist reaction to the UN resolution was both immediate and predictable. One full page advertisement placed in *The New York Times* by the American Jewish Congress was boldly captioned: “Proud to be Jews. Proud to be Zionists.” Among its claims was “the right of the Jewish people to a Jewish state—to Israel—is based on the biblical promise and on two thousand years of ritual that ended with the prayer, ‘Next year in Jerusalem’.”¹ Once again the myth was perpetuated that the spiritual beliefs of Judaism are fulfilled by the tenets of political Zionism.

The equating of Zionism with Judaism has proven to be one of the most durable propagandistic successes of the Zionist movement. The effect of this synonymous treatment has been to circulate the erroneous impression that political Zionism is at the core of Judaism. This pattern of thought was boldly expressed several years ago in an essay by Michael J. Rosenberg, who contended: “The observant Jew who does not accept the centrality of the modern state of Israel is not accepted and is rarely even tolerated.”²

In the endeavor to promote the Zionist idea, the critical distinction between the traditional “Love of Zion” and the restoration of the Jewish state has been obscured and distorted toward secular ends. Placed in proper perspective, however, this difference illustrates the reasons why little or no accommodation can be made between Jews to whom the spiritual tradition is supreme and those who view Jewish secular nationalism and the Zionist state as the culmination of the ideals of Judaism. The late American historian Hans Kohn, an authority on nationalism, described the traditional yearning for “Zion” as a spiritual passion of devout Jews to return to where the “Temple of the Lord” had been located. Zion's fulfillment was obedience to God's commandments:

Zion meant to live according to the word of the Lord. Such a life was a heavy burden. The Bible tells the story of the ever-repeated attempts of the Hebrews to escape the burden, to liberate themselves from the yoke, to live a "normal" life. The unending procession of rejections started at the very beginning, with the dance around the Golden Calf. It is still going on. It has been one of the unifying threads of Jewish history³

Prophetic Judaism had taught the principles of ethics, justice and mercy, in contrast to the alluring temptations to imitate other nations and to seek might and power. The ancient states erected soon tumbled and were overrun, but Judaism survived its political shell and flourished as a spiritual force in the world. In contrast, the very essence of political Zionism is its ethnic and territorial orientation. Its advocates view the concept of a Jewish people and the establishment of the Zionist state as a prime victory for Judaism. In the words of former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, the re-establishment of Jewish sovereignty in Palestine was the "greatest revolution of revolutions."⁴ Like Michael Rosenberg, Golda Meir echoes the Zionist ideological perspective of elevating the concept of Jewish nationality and Jewish political power to a status of greater significance than even the cumulative impact of thousands of years of diasporan existence. In a real sense, any belief in the prophetic mission of diasporan Jews and/or their contributions to humanity is either discounted or reduced to minor importance. Thus the Zionist state emerges as the modern Jewish revolution.

The roots of modern political Zionism do not lie in a messianic attempt of a return to spiritual Zion, but in an effort to change the socio-political conditions of late nineteenth century Jewish existence—especially from the indignities of antisemitism in eastern Europe. Spearheaded by Jews who had been exposed to western European culture, political Zionism was presented, in part, as an alternative to the complete cultural assimilation of western European Jews and the ghettoization of oppressed eastern European Jews. The "founding fathers" of political Zionism did not possess the religious fervor of devout Jews; their desire for a Jewish homeland was primarily a secular quest patterned after nineteenth century European nationalism, which sought to normalize Jewish existence along ethno-territorial divisions. Leo Pinsker and Theodor Herzl, products of the Jewish Enlightenment, lamented the powerlessness of Jews in a political world they believed to be hopelessly antisemitic. They desired to "reawaken the patriotic sentiments of progressive Jews," and advocated inspiring the Jewish masses with the message of self-consciously *Jewish* political action. Jews, they believed, constituted a national entity and should be like other nations. This would require a homeland where they no longer would be "strangers among nations."

By the turn of the twentieth century political Zionism emerged as one of

several possible alternatives to the Jewish problem. Its initial reception among Jewry itself, however, was quite hostile. Most of the leadership of religious Judaism attacked its doctrines wherever they spread. In fact, the convention location of the First Zionist Congress, in 1897, was changed from Munich to Basel, Switzerland, mainly due to the vigorous anti-Zionist reaction from the German Rabbinic Executive and local Jewish community officials. Opposition to political Zionism from Orthodox Jews in Palestine and central and western Europe stressed the distinction between religion and politics—between the sacred words of the Torah and the mundane rambling of petty politicians. Exemplifying this position was the attitude of Rabbi Joseph Hayyim Sonnenfeld of the Jerusalem separatist community, who in a letter to a colleague in Hungary in 1898, lashed out against Herzl as coming from “the side of pollution” and the Zionists for denying “the Unique One.” “They have also asserted the view,” he wrote, “that the whole difference and distinction between Israel and the nations lies in nationalism, blood and race, and that the faith and religion are superfluous”⁵ Isaac Breurer, one of the leading theoreticians of the Orthodox Agudath Israel movement, believed that the conflict between Zionism and Agudath Israel was between that of the “day of Babel confusion” and that of the “day of Sinai.” Political Zionism, he maintained, came to Palestine with “empty hands,” offering no idea which had not appeared in the national life of other nations in bygone ages.⁶

Reform Judaism in the USA and England was also opposed to the goals of political Zionism. As early as 1885, in the Pittsburgh Platform, the Central Conference of American Rabbis adopted the principle that Jews constituted a religious community, but no longer a nation. Addressing the Eighth Annual Convocation of the Central Conference, in 1897, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise referred to the “scheme” of political Zionism adopted that year, at the First Zionist Congress in Basel, as “a thoughtless utopia . . . a momentary inebriation of morbid minds, a prostration of Israel’s holy cause to a madman’s dance of unsound politicians.”⁷ For American Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler, the foremost principle of Reform Judaism was that “Judaism is no more a national religion than its God is a tribal God Judaism [is] a universal system of truths and ethics”⁸ He emphasized that a spiritual Zion for humanity could not be constructed at will by man, nor should it be interpreted as the possession of a strip of territory. At the turn of the century, Claude Montefiore, founder of Liberal Judaism in England, noted that the Zionist leadership had “little or no interest in the Jewish religion,” and that there existed an inherent conflict between Zionist aspirations for a political state and the continuation of Judaism as “a living and spiritual force.”⁹

Such representative views on Zionism from such diverse religious camps

of Judaism as Orthodox and Reform make for peculiar reading today, when for more than twenty-eight years the symbols of Judaism have been grafted on to the political structure of the Zionist state. One consequence of the manner in which the Agudath Israel and the general Reform movement have abandoned their opposition to Zionism—gradually entering into a cooperative relationship with it—is to be found in their abilities to reap the rewards of political competition and power, whether it be through the contesting of elections in Israel or promoting the overall cause of Zionism in the diaspora. Although many Orthodox Jews and a few Hassidic sects still remain inimical to the secular nationalism of the Zionist state, opposition to political Zionism is not widely supported among Jewry. The reluctance of various religious Jews to endorse Zionist ideology is often met with hostility, even contempt, from the officials of the Jewish state and diasporan Zionists who have come to accept the *centrality of Israel* as the basis for modern Jewish loyalties and allegiances.

Jewish Acceptance of Zionism

In seeking to normalize the condition of Jews, Theodor Herzl posed the Jewish question as a *national* problem to be solved through international political action. Inspired by German nationalism, his solution to antisemitism was to embrace and utilize its assumptions and to escape its seemingly eternal fury through the vehicle of a "homeland" or state for a conceptualized *Jewish* nationality. Although Herzl briefly considered several sites for the restoration of Jewish political power and sovereignty, he harbored no misgivings about the symbolic significance and emotional force of the idea of a return to Palestine—especially in its potential for the eventual ingathering of eastern European Jewish masses. Former efforts at colonization, such as the Lovers of Zion movement, he thought "interesting," but they had failed to attract large numbers of Jews to Palestine. What was needed, Herzl believed, was a grant of "exclusive sovereignty" by a powerful nation, over a "neutral piece of land." In stressing the insufficiency of mere immigration to the land, he underscored the importance of the political alliances necessary to secure legitimate title to the land:

An infiltration is bound to end badly. It continues till the inevitable moment when the native population feels threatened, and forces the government to stop further influx of Jews. Immigration is consequently futile unless we have the sovereign right to continue such immigration.¹⁰

Herzl died in 1904, before rising nationalism on the European continent had made a mockery of democratic liberalism and before political

Zionism had succeeded in promoting the acceptance among Jews of a *Jewish* national consciousness directed toward Palestine—one of the primary goals of the First Zionist Congress. Nevertheless, he had laid the foundations for what was in fact, as Michael Selzer observes a “counter-revolutionary movement” that endeavored to rekindle status quo which had long been rejected by the mainstream of Jewish history.¹¹ At the same time, in thrusting Judaism into active concert with nationalistic aspirations and imperialistic power politics, this movement had a decisive impact upon the conflicts resulting from Zionist claims to Palestine. For that sovereign title to Palestine has been authoritatively bestowed, nor has the Zionist colony there ever been accepted as legitimate by the Palestinian Arabs—the foremost victims of the creation and administration of the *Jewish* state.

Despite the ideological fragmentation of various Zionist groups during the twentieth century, the general thrust of Zionism has been to achieve and maintain an exclusive Jewish national character in Palestine. The quest for domination and political control of Palestine can be regarded as a colonialist struggle carried out by European, and later American, Zionists for total claims to a land which harbored a recalcitrant indigenous Arab majority.

In 1922, Palestine passed from Ottoman Turkish rule to the control of a British mandate. Five years earlier, Arab aspirations for independence had been thwarted by political intrigues in Europe which resulted in the Balfour Declaration. In this document, England viewed positively the concept of a Jewish national home in Palestine so long as the rights of the non-Jewish majority there, and Jews elsewhere, were not imperiled. Although the terminology of the Declaration was vague and restrictive, the Zionist leadership publicly hailed it as the foundation document of a Jewish state in Palestine. For the Palestinian Arabs, the Declaration was a forewarning of the inevitable struggle against the British and the Zionists who sought to control their land and lives.

With the rise of German nationalism on the European continent, the gradual process of enlightenment and assimilation, to which western Jews had been exposed since the late eighteenth century, was aborted. Under the nihilistic credo of Nazism, Jews and other minorities were sought out for destruction. This holocaust, perpetrated in the name of a superior Aryan race, forced among Jewry a desperate and simplex rethinking of Zionist ideology. The thesis of an ever-present, all-pervasive antisemitism—a cornerstone of Zionist theory—appeared to be vindicated against both the Liberal and Marxist analyses of human progress. As Zionism grew as an influential force among the Jewish leadership of western Europe and the USA, it also succeeded in capturing the necessary external political support to claim legitimacy for its programs which were

advanced as the only viable solution to the Jewish problem. The state of Israel was created within an international political climate which was sympathetic to the dilemma of European Jewry. In the process, however, the contradictions inherent in Zionist ideology were overlooked for immediate ends. It is these contradictions that most concern us today, for they furnish the theoretical perspective essential for elucidating the relationship between Zionism and racism.

Jewish Criticism of Zionism

The entire history of political Zionism has been accompanied by voluminous criticism eloquently authored by Jewish anti-Zionists, non-Zionists, and cultural and humanistic Zionists. It is not the purpose of this paper to differentiate between the many groups and the myriad of particularistic criticisms of political Zionism, or to examine the scope and variety of positions that characterized these Jewish groups and movements in their competition with political Zionism. Rather the discriminatory elements of political Zionism will be emphasized by focusing upon several outstanding early Jewish critics whose emphatic reservations about its character exhibited profound socio-political vision, embraced arguments of timeless relevance to its theoretical contradictions, and expressed preeminent concern for universal, humanistic values.

Zionism was a manifestation of the Jewish *will to action*. It sought to alter the course of Jewish history by thrusting Judaism into the arena of politics and by making political claims on the loyalties of all Jews. It asserted that only within the framework of the nation-state could Jews be secure from antisemitism and achieve fulfillment as a distinct people. But for British historian Lucien Wolf, writing in 1904, Zionism was "a natural and abiding ally of antisemitism and its most powerful justification."¹² Like American political philosopher Hannah Arendt four decades later,¹³ Wolf considered the attempt of Zionist re-nationalization in Palestine as a serious threat to Judaism.. He noted the disaster which befell Jewry during its last venture toward re-nationalization under the seventeenth century pseudo-messiah, Sabbatai Zevi.

Most western Jews did not view their existence as centering around the spiritual hopes and sentiments of oppressed eastern European Jews. Well integrated into the cultural fabric of their states, they saw political Zionism as a threat to Jewish security and liberties gradually acquired in the diaspora. Edwin Montagu, British Minister of State for India, termed Zionism "a mischievous political creed untenable by any patriotic citizen of the United Kingdom."¹⁴ In opposing the Balfour Declaration, he recognized that Zionism would not only jeopardize Jewish rights in all countries, but its goals, by necessity, meant that Jews were to be placed in

all positions of preference in Palestine. There were many Jews like Montagu and his British contemporary, novelist Laurie Magnus, who argued that Zionists should be disenfranchised in their home countries. In a statement to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, American orientalist Morris Jastrow warned against the "reactionary" nature of political Zionism which he believed to be a misinterpretation of the direction of Jewish history. For Jastrow, "double allegiance" was implicit in the Zionist aim of reconstructing Jewry as a national unit in Palestine. He rejected the attempt to build a state on the basis of race or religion because this would constitute "a plan of segregation," and would be, in principle, "antidemocratic."¹⁵

Much of the early Zionist writings emphasized the concept of the racial uniqueness of Jews. The basic argument of such pieces was that Jews comprised a separate race and only in Palestine could their national genius flower. Against this racial interpretation of Jewish history, American philosopher Morris S. Cohen wrote in 1919:

Nationalistic Zionism demands not complete individual liberty for the Jew, but group autonomy A national Jewish Palestine must necessarily mean a state founded on a peculiar race, a tribal religion, and a mystic belief in a peculiar soil Zionists fundamentally accept the racial ideology of . . . antisemites, but draw different conclusions. Instead of the Teuton, it is the Jew that is the pure or superior race. All sorts of virtues, love of family, idealism, etc., are the characteristic qualities of its spirit. Only in Palestine can this spirit find root, in the Hebrew language its true expression.¹⁶

In the light of Jewish history, Cohen viewed Zionism as an "evasion." It is futilely sought to recapture short periods of Jewish nationalistic history long since vanished. Furthermore, its racist orientation was based upon false premises which were contrary to "liberal or humanistic civilization."

Like Edwin Montagu and Morris Jastrow, Cohen strongly supported the establishment of a secular Palestine where no distinctions would be made as to race or creed.

The spiritual crisis within political Zionism has been a prominent theme in the Jewish critique on this ideology. In his essay "Transvaluation of Values," written in 1898, cultural Zionist Ahad Ha'am (pseudonym for Russian-born Hebrew writer Asher Ginzberg) lamented: the Zionism advocated by some young Jewish writers who betrayed a Nietzschean influence whereby "the Book gives place to the sword, and the Prophets to the fair beast."¹⁷ This pagan Zionism had cast Judaism aside and replaced it with tribalistic Hebrew nationalism. In a similar message twenty-three years later, Martin Buber, addressing the Twelfth Zionist Congress in Karlsbad, distinguished between "legitimate" and "arbitrary" nationalism. Modern nationalism, he cautioned, was in constant danger of succumbing to "power hysteria." Jewish nationalism had already

degenerated into "group egoism." It had abandoned the ethical demands of Judaism and was enamored with the idea of political normalcy—considering the state as an end in itself.¹⁸ Buber's disenchantment with political Zionism's divergence from Jewish ethics was illustrated by his concern with the injustices perpetrated against the Palestinian Arabs by Zionists. Writing in 1961, as a member of the *Ihud* Association (the spiritual successor movement to the *Brith Shalom*), he asserted:

Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred It is bound to bring complete ruin on us. Only then will the old and young in our land realize how great was our responsibility to those miserable Arab refugees in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought from afar; whose homes we have inherited, whose fields we now sow and harvest; the fruits of whose gardens, orchards and vineyards we gather; and in whose cities that we robbed we put up houses of education, charity, and prayer, while we babble and rave about being the People of the book and the "light of the nations!"¹⁹

In the process of Zionist colonization of Palestine the Arab lingered in the backdrop as an unfortunate shadow. For most Zionists he was psychologically invisible and thus it became so much easier to deny his humanity and worth. The abundance of official and unofficial plans to develop Palestine into a Jewish settler-state overlooked the desires and aspirations of the native Arab population. Palestine was hardly, as Israel Zangwill maintained, "a land without people," yet grandiose schemes were earnestly advanced in Europe and America without regard for the immediate rights of the Arab majority or the long-range impact that such colonization would have upon the Arab character of Palestine. One of the first Jews to stand against this trend was Ahad Ha'am, who as early as 1891 admonished the diminutive Zionist colony in Palestine that the land was not unpopulated or uncultivated, nor were the Arabs wild men who existed on the level of animals. In his essay, "The Truth from Palestine," he continued:

Serfs they [the Jews] were in the lands of the diaspora and suddenly they find themselves in freedom, and this change has awakened in them an inclination to despotism. They treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause, and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination.²⁰

Until his death in 1927, Ahad Ha'am consistently raised a prophetic voice against Zionist disregard for the Arab population of Palestine as a manifestation of political Zionism's deviation from spiritual Judaism. He opposed any form of boycott of Arab labor by Jewish workers, and warned

of inevitable conflicts in Palestine if Zionists did not pay heed to the aspirations of the Arabs. In criticizing the excessively optimistic Zionist public statements about the "real meaning" of the Balfour Declaration, Ahad Ha'am cautioned against interpretations which were oblivious of the rights of the native population. Although writing from a different perspective, Morris R. Cohen similarly observed that the non-Jewish majority in Palestine was ignored by the Zionist "idealists" whom he likened to "Teutonic idealists" of Europe, with their so-called "superior Kultur."²¹

The politics and economics of post-World War I Europe directly influenced the dimension and intensity of Zionist activity there, as well as the type of Jewish immigrant to Palestine. In 1934, William Zukerman, American founder and editor of the *Jewish Newsletter*, reflected upon the growing strength of fascistic groups within the Zionist movement. The new immigrants, he noted, were not like the Left-Socialist Zionists, but were largely representatives of the broken European middle class. They came to Palestine not out of any veneration for the land, but to remold it to conform to the socio-economic structures they had left behind. For Zukerman, these new Jews were "victims of fascism" but they were "spiritually also its supporters." Many found their political beliefs compatible with the right-wing ideology of the Zionist Revisionist movement, founded in Poland by Vladimir Jabotinsky in 1925. Zukerman counseled against the growing acceptance among Zionists of the tactics of violence as a legitimate means to desired ends. Such an endorsement could only lead to a "moral disintegration" of Judaism. Zionism already had "the lesson of German nationalism before it," he admonished, "and there is no excuse for ignorance and blindness now."²²

Nazism in Europe provided a potent impetus for Zionist groups to voice public demands for a Jewish state. The goals of the Zionist Revisionist party which had been termed "fascistic" and "Hitlerite" by most Labor Zionist groups in the 1920s and 1930s were officially endorsed in 1942, when the American Zionist Organization adopted the proposals of David Ben-Gurion, then president of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency. In addition to rejecting the British White Paper of 17 May 1939 (which sought to limit Jewish immigration and land purchase and ultimately to create an independent binational state in Palestine), the Biltmore Program called for the establishment of a Jewish army and demanded a Jewish state in *all* of Palestine. The Arab majority was accorded minority status within the context of the proposed Jewish state. By 1944, the American Zionist Organization, meeting in Atlantic City, unanimously adopted a resolution which demanded a Jewish state in "the whole of Palestine, undivided and undiminished." No reference was made

to the Arab majority there and, as Hannah Arendt concluded, the Palestinian Arabs were left with the option of "voluntary emigration or second-class citizenship."²³

In opposition to the Biltmore Program's determination to convert Palestine into a Jewish state, a small group of Reform Jews established the American Council for Judaism in 1943. Its declaration of principles affirmed:

We oppose the effort to establish a National Jewish State in Palestine or anywhere else as a philosophy of defeatism . . . We dissent from all those related doctrines that stress the racialism, the national and the theoretical homelessness of the Jews.²⁴

Leaders of the Council, such as Rabbis Elmer Berger and Morris S. Lazaron, attempted to reassert humanistic goals of Judaism and to explicate the Jewish anti-Zionist position. In rejecting the "nationalistic and ethnic" bases of Jewish life, Rabbi Lazaron wrote in 1944:

Here, then are two positions. In one Judaism is a national religion with universalistic overtones; in the other, Judaism is a universal religion and Jews and all who identify themselves with Judaism are the bearers and interpreters of this universal religion.²⁵

As late as 1946, Judah L. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, continued to plead for reason in Palestine. Like Martin Buber, he was a leading figure in the Ihud Association which opposed the partition of Palestine and advocated the creation of a binational state—emphasizing friendship and cooperation between Jews and Arabs. Speaking before a Zionist group in New York City, against the background of organized Jewish terrorism in Palestine, he declared that it was an error for Zionist leaders to teach that the Jewish state was the only salvation left for Jews. Such an objective, with its implicit exclusivism, was being carried forward by the Zionist mainstream at the expense of Jewish ethics. Force and coercion was the message of Vladimir Jabotinsky—the prophet of the Jewish state—and his ideological disciple, Menachem Begin. They learned more from the tribalistic literature of Micah Joseph Berdychovsky and Saul Tchernichovsky than from the teachings of prophetic Judaism. "A Jewish state," Magnes exhorted, "can be gotten, if at all, only through war."²⁶ "Is our nationality," he once queried, "like that of all the nations, pagan, and based upon force and violence, or is it a spiritual nationality?"²⁷

In 1948 the Zionist state was born, as predicted, in violence and controversy. In the process, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs were rendered homeless and stateless—a significant number of them victims of psychological terror and of the force of Jewish arms. Since 1948, three additional major periods of fighting between Arabs and Israelis have

occurred with more Palestinian Arab dispossessions and expansion of the territories under Israel's control. Yet the Zionist character of the state remains fixed. Its exclusivistic and antidemocratic aspects have become established in the social, economic, and political structures of the expanding state.

We live in an age where success appears to be largely measured by brute force, political influence, and effective propaganda, and is often erroneously identified with right. By this measure, political Zionism has been successful. Nevertheless, the fundamental arguments advanced in the Jewish critique of this ideology are still valid and forceful, an index of the critics' commitment to Judaism and/or universal, humanistic values and of their ability to rise above myopic appeals to race, petty tribal loyalties, and sacred nation-states.

Today the ranks of Jewish critics of Zionism have thinned and Jewry has largely endorsed (implicitly or explicitly) the discriminatory ideology and practices of Zionism institutionalized in the state of Israel. The tradition, however, is not dead. It continues to be expressed, eloquently and courageously, by individuals and groups in and outside of Israel. In 1972, Arie Bober of the Israeli Socialist Organization wrote:

Within the territories occupied since 1967, the Zionist state employs a system of direct military repression to expel Palestinian Arabs from their lands and secure Jewish colonization of them, and to crush every expression of Palestinian resistance. Within its own borders, the Zionist state engages in systematic national oppression of its minority of Arab citizens.²⁸

And directly to the topic of this symposium, Zionism and Racism, is the conclusion, written in 1975, of Israel Shahak, president of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights:

It is my considered opinion that the state of Israel is a racist state in the full meaning of the term. In this state people are discriminated against, in the most permanent and legal way and in the most important areas of life, only because of their [non-Jewish] origin. This racist discrimination began in Zionism and is carried out today mainly in cooperation with the institutions of the Zionist movement.²⁹

FOOTNOTES

¹*The New York Times*, 3 December 1975.

²"Israel without Apology" in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz (eds.), *The New Jews* (New York, 1971), p. 82.

³"Zion and the Jewish National Idea," *Menorah Journal* XLVI (Autumn-Winter 1958), p. 18.

⁴Address at Yeshiva University, New York, 8 March 1973.

⁵*Der Yid* (New York), 25 June 1965; cited in Emile Marmorstein, *Heaven at Bay: The Jewish Kulturkampf in the Holy Land* (London, 1969), pp. 79-80.

⁶"The Challenge to Israel" in Leo Jung (ed.), *Judaism in a Changing World* (New York, 1939), p. 189.

⁷Central Conference of American Rabbis, *Yearbook VII* (1897), p. xii.

⁸"The Faith of Reform Judaism" in Alumni Association of the Hebrew Union College, *Kaufman Kohler: Studies, Addresses, and Personal Papers* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 330-1. The essay originally appeared in *Menorah Journal* II (February 1916), pp. 8-15.

⁹"Nation or Religious Community?" in Michael Selzer (ed.), *Zionism Reconsidered: The Rejection of Jewish Normalcy* (New York, 1970), p. 64.

¹⁰*The Jewish State* (edited and revised by Jacob M. Alkow), (New York, 1946), p. 95.

¹¹Selzer, p. xv.

¹²"The Zionist Peril," *Jewish Quarterly Review* XVII (October 1904), pp. 22-3.

¹³"The Jewish State: Fifty Years After—Where Have Herzl's Politics Led?," *Commentary* I (May 1946), p. 8.

¹⁴"The Anti-Semitism of the Present Government," Classified Memorandum, 23 August 1917; Great Britain, Public Records Office, Cab. No. 24/24.

¹⁵See the entire statement (jointly authored) presented to President Woodrow Wilson by Congressman Julius Kahn on 4 March 1919 for conveyance to the Peace Conference, in the Appendix to Jastrow's *Zionism and the Future of Palestine* (New York, 1919), pp. 151-9.

¹⁶"Zionism: Tribalism or Liberalism?," *New Republic*, 8 March 1919, p. 183; reprinted with a postscript in Cohen's *The Faith of a Liberal* (New York, 1946), pp. 326-33.

¹⁷Leon Simon (ed. and trans.), *Selected Essays of Ahad Ha'Am* (New York, 1970), p. 233.

¹⁸"Nationalism," an address delivered 5 September 1921, in Buber's *Israel and the World* (New York, 1948), pp. 214-26.

¹⁹*Ner*, January-February 1961; cited in Moshe Menuhin, *Jewish Critics of Zionism* (Detroit, 1976), p. 21.

²⁰Cited in Hans Kohn, "Ahad Ha'Am: Nationalist with a Difference," *Commentary* XI (June 1951), p. 563.

²¹"Zionism: Tribalism or Liberalism?," p. 183.

²²"The Menace of Jewish Fascism," *The Nation*, 25 April 1934, p. 467.

²³"Zionism Reconsidered," Selzer, p. 213.

²⁴*The New York Times*, 31 August 1943; Elmer Berger, *The Jewish Dilemma* (New York, 1945), p. 246.

²⁵"Palestine: The Dream and the Reality," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1944, p. 86.

²⁶"A Solution through Force?," an address delivered 17 July 1946, in Gary V. Smith (ed.), *Zionism: The Dream and the Reality—A Jewish Critique* (New York, 1974), p. 110.

²⁷Cited in Norman Bentwich, *For Zion's Sake: A Biography of Judah L. Magnes* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 131.

²⁸*The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism* (Garden City, N.Y., 1972), p. 1.

²⁹"The Racist Nature of Zionism and of the Zionist State of Israel," *The Link* (publication of Americans for Middle East Understanding), VIII (Winter 1975-76), p. 10.

Jewish Critics of Zionism

Hatem I. Hussaini

From the beginning of the Zionist movement in the late nineteenth century, a number of prominent Jewish writers and leaders have warned of the dangers of Zionism, and of conflicts, disruptions, and oppression that would occur in the Middle East as a result of the creation of a Zionist entity. Representing different ideological schools, they all agree that a Zionist, exclusivist, militarist state in Palestine will not bring peace to the region and will not serve the interests of either Jews or Arabs. It will only cause more conflict and bloodshed, thus serving only imperialist interests.

These critics of Zionism can be classified into three ideological schools, differing in approach and analysis, yet all agreeing in their objective: criticism of Zionist ideology and practice.

(1) *The Socialist-Marxist School*: Among its most important members are Jewish thinkers such as Abram Leon, Isaac Deutscher, and Maxime Rodinson. Included also is a group of American Jewish Marxists such as Hyman Lumer, Jon Rothchild, and Larry Lockwood. More recently, a number of Israeli Marxists have emerged from this school such as Arie Bober, Haim Hanegbi, Akiva Orr, and Peter Buch.

(2) *The Binationalist Coexistence School*: Among its early founders are Judah Magnes, Martin Buber, and Albert Einstein. More recently, a number of American Jews have emerged such as Noam Chomsky, I.F. Stone, and Paul Jacobs. A number of Israeli intellectuals have also joined this school, including Amos Kenan, Arie Eliav, and Mattityahu Peled.

(3) *The Humanist-Religious School*: Its most prominent founder is Ahad Ha'am. It also includes William Zukerman, Elmer Berger, Norton Mezvinsky, as well as a sect of Orthodox Jews known as Neturei Karta.

The Socialist-Marxist School

This school views Zionism as a natural product of the capitalist bourgeois European system that existed in the early twentieth century. It notes that most of the founders and supporters of the Zionist movement come from the capitalist bourgeois class (such as the Rothschild family, Herzl, Weizmann), connected to the European ruling classes. That is why the founders of the Zionist movement sought assistance from the ruling

classes of the imperial powers such as Turkey, Germany, and later England. In return they promised to serve imperial interests through financing as well as establishing an outpost in Palestine to function as an imperial military base.

Abram Leon indicated that Zionism was not a "movement of national liberation" as Zionists claim, but rather an "ideology that is unnatural and unscientific," and he felt that Zionism would not be able to solve the "Jewish problem" without facing the capitalist system itself which is the root of the problem. Leon believed that the liberation of the Jews will be achieved through destroying the capitalist and imperialist systems.¹

Isaac Deutscher confirmed Israel's ties with American imperialism and stressed that Israel serves as a military base to protect American interests in the region. He wrote:

. . . the Israelis are not independent agents. The factors of Israel's dependence were to some extent "built in" in its history over two decades. All Israeli governments have staked Israel's existence on "western orientation." This alone would have sufficed to turn Israel into a western outpost in the Middle East, and so to involve it in the great conflict between imperialism (or neocolonialism) and the Arab peoples struggling for their emancipation.²

Deutscher indicated that Israel served American imperialist interests when it struck against Egypt in the 1967 fighting, and he foresaw that Israel would continue to play this role until the Arab people could communicate with the Israeli people and their progressive and radical movements, and thus create an alliance that could defeat Zionism and other forms of racism. Deutscher was well aware of the racist nature of the Zionist state and he wrote that "from the outset Zionism worked toward the creation of a purely Jewish state and was glad to rid the country of its Arab inhabitants."³

The Jewish historian Maxime Rodinson also concluded that the state of Israel was established on Palestinian land as a result of European-American expansionist movement in the early twentieth century that aimed at creating colonial settlements to exploit the Third World peoples politically and economically.⁴ Rodinson, moreover, documented the racist nature of the Israeli settler regime by examining its attitude toward the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, their exploitation, persecution, and expulsion. He differed, however, with Deutscher because he did not view the struggle as one between the Arab people on one hand, and Israel and imperialism on the other. He did not thus support the Arab struggle for liberation as Deutscher did, but rather called for a "humanist" solution on the basis of Israel's coexistence with the Arabs.⁵

American Jewish Marxists have been very critical of Zionism and viewed

Israel as an imperialist base in the Arab region to protect American capitalist and strategic interests. In a brief study, Hyman Lumer documented how Israel functioned as an imperialist base by examining its role in the 1956 and 1967 fighting which, he felt, were aggressions against the Arab nationalist movement. He also examined Israel's role in Africa in collaboration with the United States to defeat nationalist liberation movements.⁶ Lumer stressed that Zionism is a racist movement due to its outlook and policies toward the Arabs in occupied Palestine.⁷

Both Jon Rothchild and Larry Lockwood also indicated in their studies that Israel is tied to the capitalist system, and that it had nothing to do with socialism or socialist institutions. Lockwood, who lived in an Israeli kibbutz, focused on the Israeli economy and documented its organic link to American companies and stressed that the Israeli economy exploited not only the Arabs but also the Oriental Jews (Sephardim), who had begun to demonstrate against oppressive government policies. Rothchild, on the other hand, stressed that Zionism has functioned as a tool against socialist and liberation movements and focused on its ties to racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.⁸

Recently a group of Israeli Jews began to criticize Zionism from a socialist perspective. Known as *Matzpen* (Israeli Socialist Organization), these young men published a number of statements, documents, and studies that analyzed Israel's foundation as a colonialist outpost exploiting the Arab inhabitants. They have been critical of the Israeli government's occupation policies, and have recognized the national rights of the Palestinian people and called for self-determination for them. They tried to prove through a number of scientific studies that Zionism is a racist, colonialist movement that tries to use antisemitism for its own benefit. In their declarations they have called for a common struggle between the oppressed Israeli and Arab masses and working classes to defeat Zionism and build a new socialist democratic order in Palestine.⁹

Another Israeli Marxist, Peter Buch, who left Israel and joined the American Socialist Party, has also strongly condemned Zionism. He wrote that as an aggressive military movement it participated in the 1967 fighting to serve American interests and defeat the Arab progressive nationalist movement. Buch also called for common Arab-Jewish struggle along class-lines to defeat imperialism and Zionism and build a socialist society throughout the Middle East.

There is no doubt that the harshest indictment of Zionism as a racist, colonialist movement has come from the Socialist-Marxist Jews. From Europe, the USA and Israel they have compiled a large volume of works all pointing to one conclusion: Zionism is a doomed movement because it has aligned itself with imperialism and thus has no chance in the emerging Third World.

The Binationalist Coexistence School

The founders and supporters of this school disagree with the Zionist leadership not over basic ideology, but over the approach and tactics used, especially in Palestine toward the Palestinian Arabs. From the outset, this school has argued that Jewish settlers have a right to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, and do not view this as part of the colonialist or imperialist attempts to create outposts or to colonize the Arabs. They disagree with Zionist leaders over the issue of the Palestinian Arabs, who they feel were persecuted and denied their national rights by Zionism. They thus recognize the "national rights of the Palestinians" and call for the establishment of an Arab state to coexist with the Israeli state.

This school bases its views on the assumption that there are two equal rights in Palestine; the right of Jews to settle and create their own national home, and the right of the Arabs to remain in their national home. The two peoples would therefore coexist in a binational state in Palestine.

Zionist leaders accuse advocates of binationalism of betraying the Zionist cause because they recognize Arab rights to nationhood. They also accuse this school of being idealistic, since they feel the Arabs would not recognize any rights for Jewish settlers in Palestine. The binational school has, therefore, remained as a minority view within the Zionist movement, vocal but unable to influence events in Palestine.

One of the leaders of this school is the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber who was very critical of the chauvinist and nationalistic trend in Zionism and the emphasis on the supremacy of the Jewish state. Buber was a spiritual humanist and he called for the return to Palestine, but on a more spiritual and tolerant basis, and within the framework of coexistence with the Palestinians.¹⁰

In a similar fashion, the Jewish thinker Judah Magnes was also critical of the Zionist movement because of its persecution and exploitation of the Arabs, due to its emphasis on brute force and militarism. He wrote:

Will the Jews here [Palestine] in their efforts to create a political organism become devotees of brute force and militarism as were some of the late Hashmoneans? We seem to have thought of everything except the Arabs. If we have a just cause, so have they. If promises were made to us, so were they made to the Arabs. If we love the land and have a historical connection with it, so too the Arabs. If we wish to live in this living space, we must live with the Arabs, try to make peace with them. We stand over the great Arab democracies as interlopers. We must look for an entente cordiale. Not upon the basis of force and power, but upon that of human solidarity and understanding.¹¹

From this perspective Magnes called for cooperation with the Arabs of Palestine, but he was met with Zionist prejudice and criticism. He was not able to realize many of his ideas, but many of his fears and predictions

about Zionism and Israeli policies were later proven true as Israel occupied Arab lands and imposed military government over the Palestinians.

Albert Einstein had the same reservations about Zionism and the idea of a Jewish state. Like Magnes, he called for coexistence with the Arabs and this is why he did not express complete support for the Zionist movement. He wrote:

I should much rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish state. Apart from practical considerations, my awareness of the essential nature of Judaism resists the idea of a Jewish state, with borders, an army, and a measure of temporal power, no matter how modest. I am afraid of the inner damage Judaism will sustain—especially from the development of a narrow nationalism within our own ranks.¹²

The American Jewish school that advocates binationalism also consists of such men as Noam Chomsky, I.F. Stone, and Paul Jacobs, who disagree with the Zionist leadership and are highly critical of the policies of the Israeli government. They demand an end to Israeli military occupation of Arab lands and Israel's recognition of the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and freedom. Both Chomsky and Stone are critical of Israeli policies in an advertisement that they signed with thirty other Jewish leaders. In it they called on the Israeli government to "accept the full right of the Palestinian people to a state of their own where they now live" and stressed that Israel must "negotiate with the whole range of Palestinian leadership on how to withdraw Israeli troops from the West Bank and Gaza."¹³

Stone, on the other hand, showed some understanding of the UN resolution condemning Zionism as racism. He wrote in an article, after the resolution was adopted, that, although he disagreed with it, yet he felt there was some element of truth in it, especially due to Israeli persecution of Arabs and the denial of their human and civil rights. He called therefore for an end to Israeli military occupation and for recognition of the rights of Palestinians to self-determination and independence.¹⁴

These American Jews began, recently, to cooperate with a small group of Israelis who share their views, criticize their government, and call on it to withdraw from the occupied territories and establish a Palestinian state there. The Israeli critics advocate this policy as the only alternative to gain Arab recognition and acceptance of Israel, and thus coexist with it peacefully. Amos Kenan has criticized the policies of the Israeli government by saying:

The state of Israel controls one million human beings who are not Jews. They are not equal citizens, but Israel controls them all the same. Arabs provide Israel with cheap labor power without which she cannot maintain her high

standard of living Perhaps the role of the Israeli peace seekers is to fight for the realization of a binational state in which two peoples live as equals.¹⁵

Israeli and American Jewish critics of Israel have recently formed a new, small organization called *Breira* (Alternative), which seeks to present new ideas on the issue of peace and peaceful coexistence among Israelis and Palēstinians, but cannot be identified as anti-Zionist. It advocates a two-state solution within a federation and has published a number of proposals on this basis. In public, the Israeli government has been critical of the two-state solution and has rejected the idea of creating a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Humanist-Religious School

Advocates of this school oppose the Zionist movement and all its ideas and policies from a religious or spiritual stand. They believe that Judaism is a religion and not a nationality. It calls for universal values of brotherhood and humanism, and thus has nothing to do with statehood, nationality, or narrow tribal loyalty.

One of the early founders of this school of thought was Ahad Ha'am who opposed the narrow tribal nationalism advocated by the founder of the Zionist movement, Theodor Herzl, beginning in the late nineteenth century. Ha'am differed with Herzl on a number of issues, among them the rights of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, who, he felt, were entitled to remain on their land without persecution or oppression. Ha'am did not approve of creating a Jewish state in Palestine exclusively for Jews. He called for Jewish immigration to Palestine on a spiritual basis and stressed that Jewish immigrants should coexist with the Arab inhabitants. He criticized Herzl for his chauvinism and warned that disregarding the rights of the Arabs in Palestine would mean conflict and war.¹⁶

While Ahad Ha'am was a "humanitarian Zionist," other Jewish leaders totally rejected Zionism and refused to join the Zionist movement because they felt it stood against universal Jewish teachings and ideals. Rabbi Elmer Berger, one of the leading anti-Zionists, stressed that Judaism was a universal religion of great spiritual values and had nothing to do with national or state identity. He strongly criticized the Zionist movement because of the damage it inflicted on Judaism, and felt that Zionism, by creating an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine, had denied non-Jews, i.e. Palēstinians, equal rights in their own homeland.¹⁷

From the same perspective, the Jewish writer Norton Mezvinsky described Israel as a racist society, because it was established by denying the Palēstinian Arabs their national rights, as well as their civil and

human rights. He examined the case of the "Israeli Arabs" who remained in Israel and concluded that they lived as second-class citizens, although they are full citizens according to the law. Mezvinsky viewed the solution to the problem as follows:

The solution . . . is to de-Zionize the state of Israel. This proposal, which points further past peaceful destruction of the Zionist state to the establishment of a secular, democratic, multiracial state, will not solve the problems for all the people of the Middle East, but it could be one concrete and positive step.¹⁸

A religious sect of Orthodox Jews known as Neturei Karta with branches in Israel and the USA has also opposed Zionism from a conservative, religious perspective and considered it a deviation from the spiritual teachings of Judaism. During the UN debate on the question of Zionism, they sent an open letter to the UN Secretary General expressing their opposition to Zionism as well as to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, and called for the coexistence of all religions in the holy land in a democratic state.¹⁹

In conclusion, basic and sound criticism of Zionism and its ideology has come from Jewish intellectuals and leaders since the emergence of the Zionist movement in the late 1800s. Some of these Jewish critics were members of the Zionist movement, but later became disenchanted with its policies and methods.

The writings and conclusions of these critics indicate that the only solution to the conflict in Palestine is removing Zionism as an ideology and institution, and establishing in its place a new ideology based on tolerance, equality, and coexistence. Jewish critics of Zionism prove, therefore, that the solution proposed by the Palestinians is correct, the establishment of a secular, democratic state in Palestine where Jews, Christians and Muslims will coexist in peace and equality.

FOOTNOTES

¹Abram Leon, *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation* (New York, 1970), pp. 244-56.

²"Interview with Isaac Deutscher: On the Israeli-Arab War," *New Left Review*. No. 44 (July-August 1967), p. 31.

³*Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴Maxime Rodinson, *Israel a Colonial Settler State?* (New York, 1973), p. 91.

⁵Rodinson suggests the following: "It would be necessary, first of all, for Israel to make reparations for the material and moral injustices that it has inflicted on the Arabs and, second, for it to adopt new political structures of such a nature that further injustices would not be propagated." "The Future of Palestine: A Humanistic Perspective" in Abdeen Jabara and Janice Terry (eds.), *The Arab World: From Nationalism to Revolution* (Wilmette, Illinois, 1971), p. 183.

⁶Hyman Lumer, *Zionism: Its Role in World Politics* (New York, 1973).

⁷Lumer, "Zionism is Racism," *Jerusalem Times* (Canada), January 1976.

⁸Larry Lockwood, *Imperialism and the Israeli Economy* (Buffalo, New York, 1973); Nathan Weinstock and Jon Rothchild, *The Truth about Israel and Zionism* (New York, 1970).

⁹The Palestinian resistance movement and the PLO differ with this group and do not agree that Jews have a right to self-determination and therefore to a Jewish state in Palestine. The PLO proposes coexistence of Jews and Arabs within a secular, democratic state in Palestine and rejects the idea of a two-state solution. See Arie Bober (ed.), *The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism* (London, 1972), pp. 145-75; Peter Buch, *Zionism and the Arab Revolution* (New York, 1967).

¹⁰Martin Buber, "Nationalism" in Gary V. Smith (ed.), *Zionism: The Dream and the Reality* (New York, 1974), pp. 56-66.

¹¹Cited in Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* (Beirut, 1969), p. 317.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 324.

¹³*The New York Times Review of Books*, 1 July 1971. The advertisement called for mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians within the framework of two states, one Palestinian, the other Israeli.

¹⁴I.F. Stone, "Zionism and Peace," *The New York Times*, 23 November 1975.

¹⁵Amos Kenan, "Between Gaza and Tel Aviv, De Facto, We Already Live in a Binational State" in Gary V. Smith, pp. 187, 193.

¹⁶Ahad Ha'am views are discussed by Hans Kohn, "Zion and the Jewish National Idea" in Michael Selzer (ed.), *Zionism Reconsidered: The Rejection of Jewish Normalcy* (London, 1970), pp. 193-212.

¹⁷Elmer Berger, "The Real Issues in the Arab-Israeli-Zionist Conflict" in Gary V. Smith, pp. 218-43.

¹⁸Norton Mezvinsky, "The Zionist Character of the State of Israel" in Gary V. Smith, pp. 254-5.

¹⁹*The New York Times*, 7 November 1975. This group also sent a letter to Yasser Arafat during his visit to the UN supporting the PLO's proposal of a secular, democratic state in Palestine.

Zionism: The Obstacle to Middle East Peace

Mick Ashley

A final solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict remains a matter for speculation because Israel continues her search for an agreement which would bypass the rights of the Palestinian Arabs and leave under her control territory belonging to the neighboring Arab states. The result of this shortsighted and acquisitive Israeli policy is an area continually living under the threat of war and mistrust, when it should be possible with goodwill on both sides to promote peace and prosperity for Arab and Jew.

Israel can produce no arguments, except some doubtful religious and security ones, to justify her retention of her neighbors' territory, and the counter-productive effect of this illegal acquisition of land increases the threat of war. It is, however, in the Israeli attitude towards the Palestinian Arabs that can be found the major obstacle to a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, for there is little doubt that the territorial dispute between Israel and the Arab states would be resolved quite easily if there were an end to the Palestinian-Israeli disagreements.

We need to be quite clear therefore on the justice of the Palestinian claim to establish a national identity within the borders of mandated Palestine and the right of the Palestinians to return if they so choose. Alongside the Palestinian claims must be laid the Zionists' justification for denying the right of return to most of the Palestinian exiles on the grounds that they want to build a Jewish state. The Zionists claim, on the one hand, that the existence of Israel is based on UN decision and ignore, on the other hand, the resolutions of the same authority which uphold the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland. There is little doubt that the Zionist propaganda machine has successfully misled the western world into accepting its policy of discrimination against the Palestinians because of the belief that it rests on UN decision, and doubters are silenced with the infamous charge of "antisemite." The illusion remains widespread that modern political Zionism represents world Jewry, whereas it is of course a political doctrine launched and supported by people of Jewish origin misusing the Bible as an ally. It is also an attempt to deny someone of Jewish background the right to form an independent political judgment on Israel and Zionism because it is "our" country.

It was in 1878 that the Chief Rabbi of England, Rabbi Hermann Adler, wrote:

Ever since the conquest of Palestine by the Romans we have ceased to be a body politic. We are citizens of the country in which we dwell. We are simply Englishmen or Frenchmen or Germans, as the case may be, certainly holding particular theological tenets and practising special religious ordinances; but we stand in the same relation to our countrymen as any other religious sect, having the same stake in the national welfare and the same claim on the privileges and duties of citizens.¹

Unfortunately many Jewish religious leaders have been swept along by the tide of Zionist pseudo-nationalism into a position where, perhaps unconsciously, they provide a religious cloak for Zionist racism. Thus the biblical prophecy of a return to Israel through a Messiah is short-circuited in favor of a resort to arms and political chicanery.

The present Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, Immanuel Jacobovitz, interviewed on the British Broadcasting Corporation television program *Newsday*, 9 February 1976, lent his considerable standing as a religious leader to the myth of no distinction between a Jew and a Zionist, and he added the opinion that to be anti-Israel was to be antisemitic. When asked by the interviewer if there is a distinction between being a Jew and being a Zionist, he replied: "To me certainly there is no distinction. . . ." His reply to the question on whether one can be anti-Israel without being antisemitic was equally short on facts; he said: "In theory that is possible; in practice it isn't." These replies underline the formidable task involved in correcting Zionist misinformation and bringing public opinion to support a program, based on the facts about the Israeli-Arab conflict, which might contribute toward peace in the Middle East. A first step is the freeing of people from the fear of being labeled antisemitic and presenting them with the facts concerning the UN and the creating of Israel, which has had such a disastrous effect on the Palestinians, the victims of Zionism and European antisemitism.

In 1964 a spokesman for the American State Department stated that "it should be clear that the Department of State does not regard the 'Jewish people' concept as a concept of international law."² But this legal fact does not inhibit the Israeli government and the Zionists from claiming that Israel is the land of all the Jews, and in so doing develop the myth that Jews outside of Israel are exiles from their "homeland." The acceptance of this mythology has influenced many people in western countries to support Zionist aggression against the Palestinians because the "Jews are returning to their country," with the centuries of Arab occupation completely ignored.

We are all entitled to our religious beliefs and the mythology which invariably accompanies them, and expect that they should be respected by

people practising other religions. Israel and the Zionists, however, are insisting that the religious mythology, in a corrupted form, of the Old Testament be accepted as the political justification for the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes and land and the annexation of territory belonging to her Arab neighbors. Their claim that all Jews are descendants from the tribes later known as Hebrews, that invaded Palestine and established a kingdom there, implies a degree of racial purity over a period of two thousand years that surpasses the limits of credibility.

A distinguished anthropologist dealt in the following way with the myth of the "Jewish race" perpetrated by the Zionists. Professor Juan Comas of the National University of Mexico explained:

. . . though the idea of "racialism" evokes in most a negative response, it is curious how the idea survives, because various groups find it useful. Zionist Jews, for example, speak constantly of a "Jewish people," with distinct racist-like overtones, by which they mean a continuity not only of history but of blood, culture, and destiny as well. Such an approach is the more remarkable after the terrible treatment their co-religionists in Germany endured in the name of racialism. They do so to justify their establishment of a "homeland" in Israel, and to strengthen the ties with, and the support from, Jews by religion in other countries The anthropological fact is that Jews are racially heterogeneous and there is no foundation for the claim that there is a Jewish race. Their constant migrations through history and their relations—voluntary or otherwise—with the widest variety of nations and people have brought about such a degree of cross-breeding that the so-called people of Israel can produce examples of traits typical of every people. . . .³

Professor Comas went on to develop his argument by pointing out that in Germany, between 1921 and 1925, for every 100 Jewish marriages, there were 58 all-Jewish and 42 mixed. In Berlin, in 1926, there were 861 all-Jewish marriages and 554 mixed. He then concludes, "the figures speak for themselves, especially if we take into account the large numbers of partners who became Jews by religion although there was nothing 'Semitic' about them."⁴

In addition, the conversion of many other people to Judaism makes a mockery of the Zionist claim that the policies of discrimination pursued by Israel against the Palestinians is justified on the grounds of the biblical ingathering of the Jewish exiles. It is ironic, to put it mildly, that Israel and the Zionists use the memory of the Jewish victims of the Nazi gas chambers to justify building a society based on the same concept of a racially pure and superior people, minus only the gas chambers, as they deny the Palestinian Arabs the right to return home because it might imperil the "Jewish state." The Nazis, of course, expelled or destroyed the German Jews in the interest of an Aryan state; the Zionist policy in Israel

is different only in degree. But even if it were possible to establish for all Jewry a direct link with a kingdom that hasn't existed in Palestine for over two thousand years (originally established by conquest of the indigenous population), this would not be sufficient justification for the expulsion or the humiliation of the Palestinians by Israel. In addition to citing alleged biblical authority for their actions, the Zionists continually maintain that the existence of Israel is justified by action of the UN. Even if the doubtful legality of the UN General Assembly's vote on the partition of Palestine (resolution 181 (II), 29 November 1947) is accepted, it does not provide justification or a legal basis for Israeli expansionism or racism. The Jewish-American author Alfred Lilienthal wrote:

The UN dealt a severe blow to the prestige of international law and organization by its hasty, frivolous, and arrogant treatment of the Palestine question. The General Assembly turned down the only two reasonable suggestions—a referendum in Palestine and submission of the legal problems to the International Court of Justice.⁵

The 1947 UN recommendation to partition Palestine was unfair to the indigenous Palestinian Arabs in that it allocated 56 per cent of the land to the proposed Jewish state, while the mainly immigrant Jews constituted about one-third of the population. In addition, the Jewish state would have had as many Arabs as Jews, if the nomads of southern Palestine were included, with Arabs owning about a third of the land. Thus in no sense did the plan envisage an exclusively Jewish state in even part, let alone all, of Palestine. Accordingly the UN proposal did not give Israel the authority to occupy the whole of Palestine, nor to refuse Palestinians the right to return to their homes and lands, and certainly not to occupy territory belonging to the adjacent Arab countries. Yet this is precisely what Israel has done and for which UN authorization is claimed. It is the failure of Israel to honor the UN partition and other resolutions which affirm Palestinian rights, and at the same time using the authority of that organization to justify its own existence, which is a major cause of the Arab-Israeli dispute. It requires from the Israeli Jews a recognition that the universal application of justice to both Arab and Jew is the way to a lasting peace, for there is no reason why the Palestinians should accept banishment from their homeland (or second-class status if allowed to live there), or the Arab states the loss of the occupied territories.

It is unlikely, however, that the Israeli Jews will lightly shift their ground and accept that their state is racist and immoral and could lead to more bloody conflicts as the Palestinians and her neighbors seek justice. It would be foolish to ignore the lessons of history: Colonialists do not relinquish their dominant position in occupied territories on moral grounds. It is unlikely that the Israeli Jews, trying to ignore the lessons of

October 1973, are ready to give justice priority over their belief that they have the strength to impose a solution on the Arab world. This is, of course, a challenge to the Arabs, which could lead to war. It is also a challenge to those progressives who speak out against South African apartheid but remain silent about Israel's racism. Their silence is more disturbing because there is ample documented evidence of Zionist discrimination against the Arabs. And a campaign against Israel's racism would in the long term benefit the Israeli Jews by making them realize that racism is the road to perennial conflict with the Arab world. It is a false friend that remains silent while the Israeli Jews continue to build up hatred, when the price of peace and friendship is only justice.

Support for a more just Israeli society would also strengthen the hands of the small band of Jews in Israel fighting for the universal application of human rights to both Arab and Jews. Courageous fighters like Israel Shahak and Felicia Langer need to be sustained in their unequal battle against the Zionist establishment with the knowledge that the international community is principled enough to condemn Zionist racism as well as apartheid in Africa. Perhaps we can all take heart from the words of Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, in a letter he wrote to Moshe Menuhin, in which he tells of his own turning point:

I [was] . . . a brainwashed Zionist till the 1956 war. What made me think was the notorious massacre at Kafr Qassem and the proclamations of Ben-Gurion about the annexations, the third kingdom, etc. Then, the 1967 Six Day War—the cruelties, the expulsions, the lies, the wish for further expansion—made me a real activist . . . Because of the great love I bear for Israel and my people, I think our Nazification can be the worst fate which can befall us. The danger is real.⁶

The message from Israel Shahak is quite clear: Zionism threatens the hopes of both Israeli Jew and Palestinian Arab that they may live in peace in a moral society. But the realization of this fact will come more quickly to the Israeli Jews supporting Zionist racism when it becomes quite clear that the international community will fulfill its obligations to the Palestinians as laid down in various UN resolutions.

Certainly UN policy on the Palestinian exiles is quite clear, and has been reaffirmed every year since 1948, when it passed a resolution (194 (III), 11 December 1948) outlining the basis for their return home: "The General Assembly . . . resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under the principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the governments or authorities responsible . . ."

(paragraph 11). Unfortunately, although the UN has reaffirmed this sentiment each year since, it has never taken any positive steps to secure its implementation; the result has been resort to armed struggle by the frustrated Palestinians, which is now labeled a threat to peace. The real threat to peace comes from Israel's refusal to implement this resolution and the failure of the UN to enforce it. But the passage of time and the comparative success of the Zionist aggression against the Palestinians does not legitimize it or make its racism worthy of a civilized face.

The Israeli authorities discriminate against the Arabs in the application of laws concerned with land acquisition, security, and citizenship. But Israel's racism is perhaps seen most clearly in her July 1950 Law of Return. Based on the false premise that every Jew is an exile from Israel, it gives them the right to enter the country and to become a citizen. In the meantime the indigenous Palestinian who is a refugee is denied entry. This blatant discrimination against the Palestinians surpasses anything practised in South Africa, where the black African is a second- or third-class citizen but, unlike the Palestinians, is allowed to live within the borders of his homeland. Israel refuses the exiles the right to return home because it would result in a dramatic challenge to the Zionist structure of Israel. This has been developed in a manner designed to ensure a permanent built-in Jewish majority, hence the restriction on the return home of the Arabs and the continual appeal for a flow of Jewish immigrants to Israel. The traumatic effect this discrimination has on an Arab refugee can best be described in the words of a Palestinian lawyer, Ahmed Khalil, now in exile. He said:

I was born in Haifa, and so was my father and my grandfather. Now I am a refugee. Golda Meir was born in Russia, educated in America, and now she is Prime Minister of my country. I studied law with Abba Eban in Cambridge. He was born in South Africa and educated in England. Now he lives in my country and I can't.⁷

The late Bertrand Russell in his last public words on the Middle East conflict quoted the Jewish-American journalist I.F. Stone as saying that the Palestinian refugees were "the moral millstone around the neck of world Jewry."⁸ It is time that world Jewry found the integrity and the courage to face this issue honestly.

It is immoral for Jews to quote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as giving Russian Jews the right to leave or to return to their country, while as Zionists they continue to support the denial of this right to the Palestinians. It is also morally wrong for non-Israeli Jews to support the dispossession of the indigenous Arabs by Jewish settlers on the grounds that it is a Jewish homeland, while they continue to ignore Israel's Law of Return. Hypocritically most non-Israeli Jews welcomed the Law of Return as the fulfillment of the ingathering of the exiles, but 80 per cent of

them voted against it with their feet by remaining in the land of their birth. It would be a principled approach therefore if non-Israeli Zionists took a hard look at the implications of Zionism as it affects both Israeli Jew and Palestinian Arab. In the short term, Israel has provided for non-Israeli Jews an emotional outlet (assuming they accept Israel's racism) by supporting a seemingly unconquerable state. But time has strengthened and not eroded the Palestinian will to fight for nationhood and the right to live within the borders of Palestine. And the October 1973 fighting destroyed the myth of Israel's invincibility. The result being that more than ever the Israeli Jews live in a nation-ghetto, dependent on the gun for security that must diminish with time as the Arabs grow stronger. It is time for world Jewry to adopt a more responsible attitude and, from the security of their native homelands, remind the Israeli Jews of the words of Isaac Deutscher in 1967, quoting a German saying: "*Man kann sich totsiegen!*" 'You can drive yourself victoriously into your grave'." The real friends of the Israeli Jews are also friends of the Palestinian Arabs, for a lasting peace for Israeli Jews will come only from a just recognition of Palestinian rights, which would enable friendship between Arab and Jew to provide a genuine security for both. And a just settlement must give the Palestinians no less than world Jewry, quite rightly, expect for themselves—the right to live as equals in their homeland.

The issues then are quite clear. The Palestinians ask only that they be allowed to enjoy their legal and human rights as a people within the borders of their homeland. There is no legal or moral justification for a racist Israel denying the Palestinians this elementary human right. It is time that the international community and world Jewry faced the issue with the courage and integrity of a Jewish Israeli student, and having faced it, then they should find the means to end the injustice. The student said:

I do not wish to debate any justifications for the racist policy. The most important fact is that it exists. Therefore the first step consists in admitting the truth: The state of Israel is a racist state, and its racism is a necessary consequence of the racism of the Zionist movement. Facts are facts. After this we can debate, if we wish to do so, why such a racism is "forbidden" against the Jews and becomes a good deed when it is carried out by the Jews.¹⁰

It is the racism of Zionism which remains the major obstacle to a peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict, because there are no valid reasons why Israel's Arab neighbors should accept the loss of their lands or the Palestinians the loss of their rights in order to satisfy the political ambitions of the Zionist movement.

Time has not dimmed the wisdom of the words written in a petition

presented to President Woodrow Wilson by Congressmen Julius Kahn of California, and supported by many distinguished American Jews, which was published in 1919; it concludes:

We ask that Palestine be constituted as a free and independent state, to be governed under a democratic form of government, recognizing no distinctions of creed or race or ethnic descent, and with adequate power to protect the country against oppression of any kind. We do not wish to see Palestine, either now or at any time in the future, organized as a Jewish state.¹¹

The past years of conflict may have reduced this splendid ambition—a call for a democratic, nonsectarian government in Palestine—to an even more distant dream. But in the meantime justice should make it possible for Jew and Arab to live in peace together in the Holy Land with both working for a peaceful reunification of Palestine. In simple human terms, the answer to the conflict may be found in the words of a young Arab woman I spoke to several years ago in a refugee hut. She said, "I have no dignity without my home."

A rejection of the racism of Zionism by Jews could restore the dignity of both Arab and Israeli Jew and open the way for fruitful cooperation. But it will require from non-Palestinians unwavering support for the rights of the Palestinians, who have paid a very heavy price for European antisemitism and Zionist racism.

FOOTNOTES

¹Cited in Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration* (London, 1961), pp. 75-76.

²Letter by Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of State, to Rabbi Elmer Berger, dated 20 April 1964; cited in W.T. Mallison, Jr., "The Zionist-Israel Juridical Claims to Constitute 'The Jewish People' Nationality Entity and to Confer Membership in It: Appraisal in Public International Law," *George Washington Law Review* XXXII (June 1964), p. 1075.

³Cited in Sami Hadawi, *Bitter Harvest: Palestine between 1914-1967* (New York, 1967), p. 34.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵Alfred M. Lilienthal, *What Price Israel* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 72-3.

⁶Moshe Menuhin, *Jewish Critics of Zionism* (Detroit, 1976), p. 35.

⁷*The Guardian* (London), 22 December 1973.

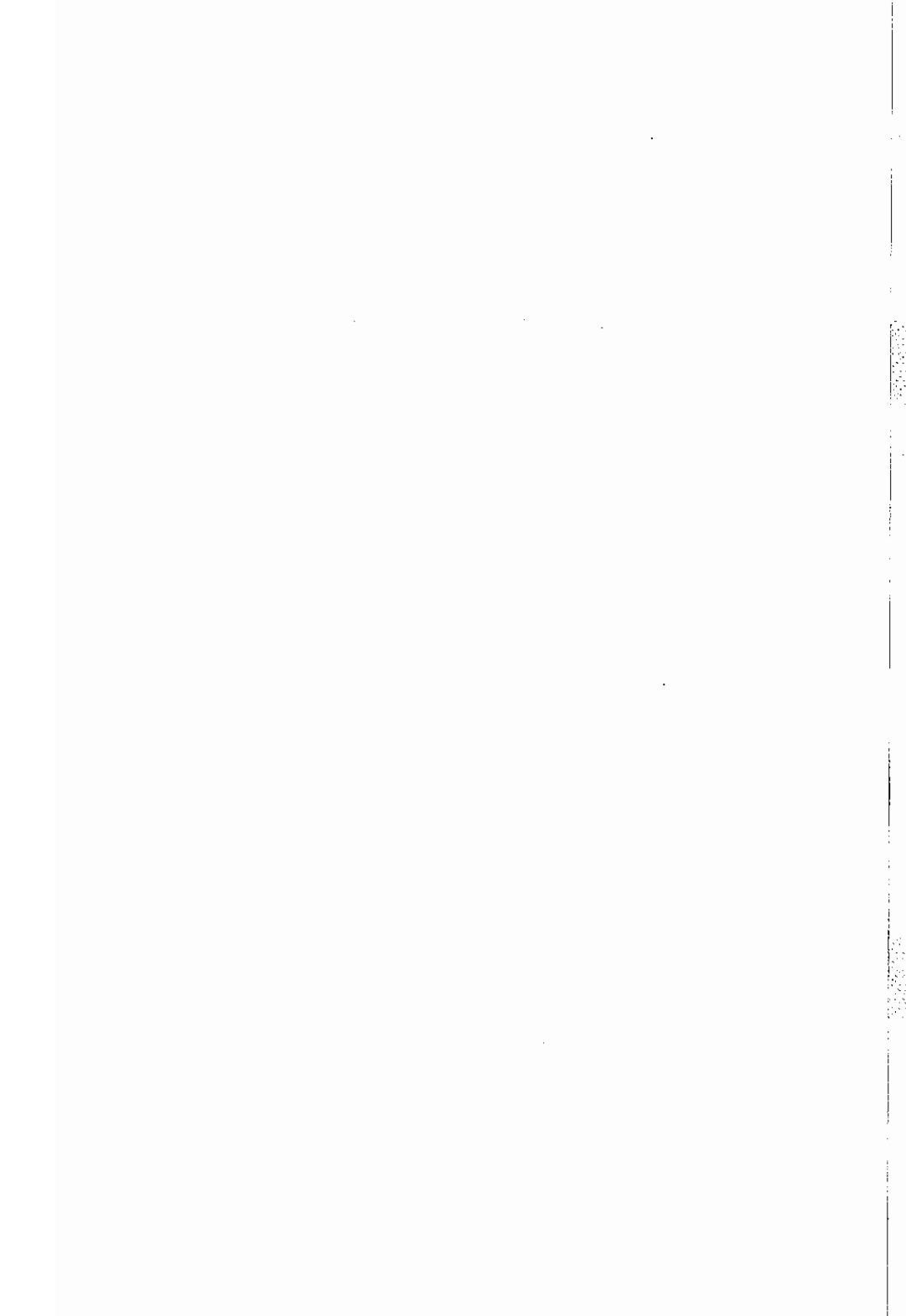
⁸Message to International Conference of Parliamentarians, meeting in Cairo, 2 February 1970.

⁹Isaac Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays* (London, 1968), p. 141.

¹⁰"The Racist Nature of Zionism and of the Zionist State of Israel," *Pi Ha'aton*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem student newspaper, 5 November 1975.

¹¹*The New York Times*, 5 March 1919; reprinted in *Middle East International*, September 1976.

Appendix



Declaration of the International Symposium on Zionism and Racism

Tripoli, 24-28 July 1976

1

Racism diminishes man. It denies some men and women equal dignity, equal rights, equal human status. To others, it attributes greater dignity, assigns a higher status, and grants superior rights and special privileges. The borderline between the privileged and the deprived is determined not by individual merit but by group identity; the distinction is based on race, as defined by the United Nations (in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on 21 December 1965) to embrace "race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin."

Whatever diminishes some, diminishes all. All mankind, therefore, has a stake in the racism and ethnocentrism which continue to be brazenly proclaimed and ruthlessly practised in some areas of the world.

Racist ethnocentrism is inescapably self-centered; it is particular. Antiracism is universal; its concern ranges over the entire earth, wherever racism holds sway and whatever form it takes.

The cause of antiracism has therefore come to be espoused by the international community as a whole. It is no longer viewed as the cause of the immediate victims of a particular racist system alone.

Just as the triumph over a particular racist system is not a triumph for its victims alone but for all mankind, so too must the struggle against the remaining outposts of racism be in every respect a world struggle.

2

We welcome the adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations of resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, in which that supreme organ of the organized international community determined that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." That pronouncement gave formal expression to the growing recognition throughout the world of the racist character of Zionism, its dogma, its program, and its practices.

The ruthless campaign of vilification to which the United Nations has been subjected, by Zionism and its racist and imperialist allies, in response to its principled and courageous adoption of the aforementioned resolution, reveals the desperation and isolation of the forces of racism and Zionism in today's world.

Nothing is more dishonest than the slogan—unleashed by the United States and Israel as the principal weapon in their campaign against the decision of the United Nations—that anti-Zionism is antisemitism. This dishonest slogan is predicated on the false equation of Judaism with Zionism, and the equally false equation of Jews with Zionists.

It should be remembered that the first opposition to political Zionism was forcefully voiced by Jewish spiritual leaders, who stressed that Zionism's ethnic, nationalistic, and territorial priorities were incompatible with the beliefs and moral precepts of the Jewish faith. The essence of "Zion," they insisted, was a spiritual yearning; its fulfillment lay in obedience to the commandments of God and not in a political nationalism which sought normalization along ethnoterritorial lines. This spiritual opposition continues until today.

Other prominent Jews have opposed the exclusivist nature of Zionism, its ethnocentrism, and the racial injustice it has perpetrated on moral, humanistic, and universalistic grounds.

Moreover, most Jews throughout the world look upon themselves as citizens of their respective countries rather than as "exiles" or as temporary sojourners in those countries, destined sooner or later to migrate and settle in an exclusive *Judenstaat*. The vast majority of Jews have thus resisted the insistent call of Zionism to perform the first duty of all Zionists: to migrate to Israel. Only a small fraction of world Jewry has responded to that call in the eight decades which have elapsed since the inauguration of the Zionist movement, including the twenty-eight years which have passed since the creation of the *Judenstaat*. Of Jews who do emigrate from their countries, many seek destinations other than Israel. And, of the Jews who have immigrated to Israel, hundreds of thousands have subsequently expressed their disillusionment with Zionism by emigrating from Israel.

In short, the base charge that anti-Zionism is antisemitism is belied by the fact that the most forceful opposition to Zionism has come from Jews; by the fact that Judaism is clearly distinguishable from (and, in the considered judgment of many Jews, incompatible with) Zionism; and by the fact that the majority of Jews have refused to join the Zionist organizations, to identify themselves with Zionism, or to perform the first

obligation of Zionism, namely, migration to Israel.

It is redundant to state that we deplore antisemitism as forcefully as we deplore any and every other form of racism.

4

Zionism is rooted in and derives principally from nineteenth century European imperialism. From the beginning, its designs upon Palestine were formulated and undertaken in the manner common to the European colonial settlements of Africa, Asia, Australia, and the Americas. Israel itself could not have been carved out of Palestine without the active and indeed central role of European and United States colonial imperialism. The actual inhabitants of Palestine were either condemned to be nonexistent or, as their treatment by Zionists was later to show, they were treated as racially inferior. The methods of Zionism were designed first to ignore, then to isolate, then finally to dispossess, evict, and if possible exterminate the native non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine.

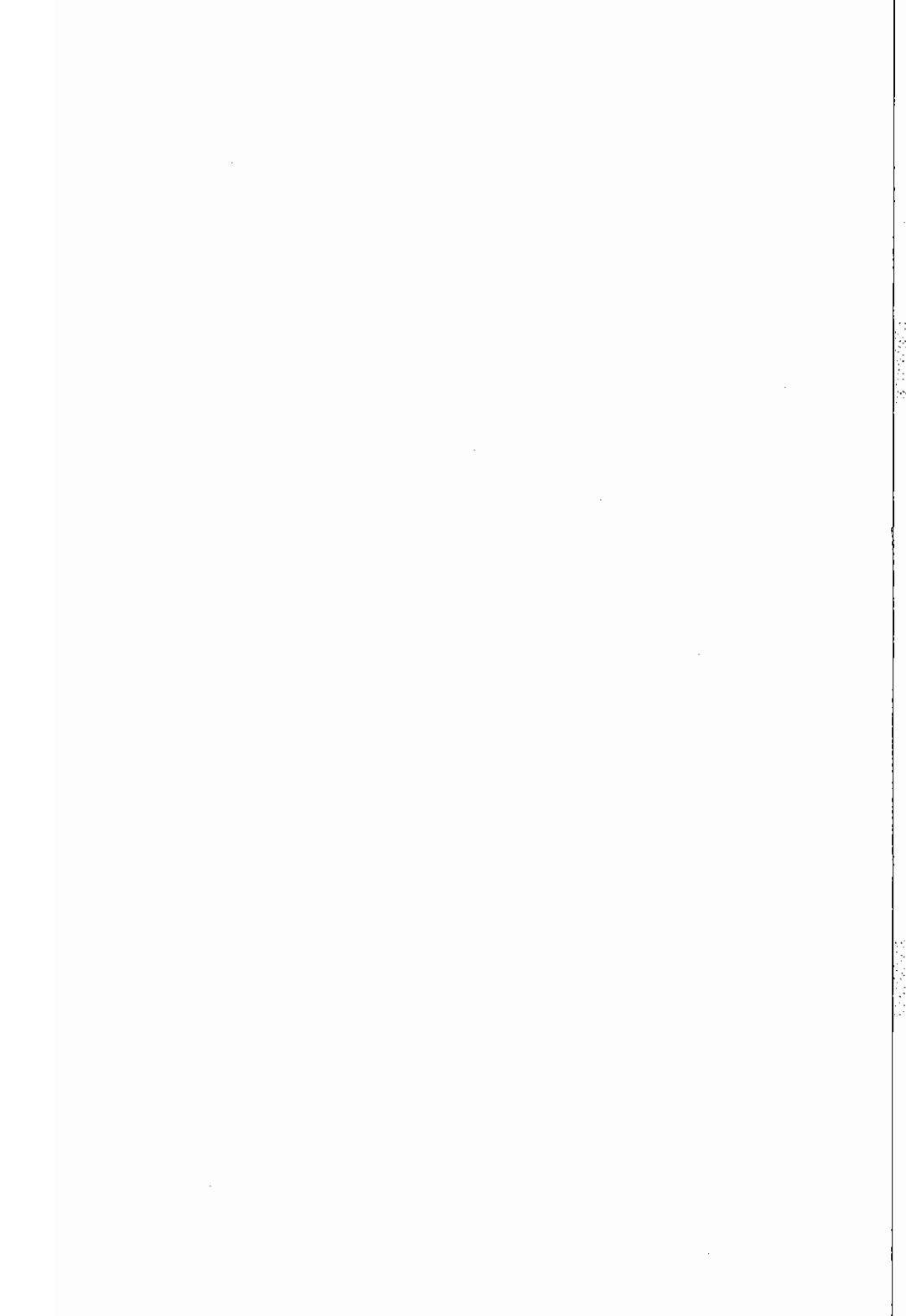
Zionism thus is not only a systematic ideology, it is also a systematic body of racial discrimination against non-Jews. As the political philosophy on which Israel was founded, and as the basis of Israel's present and past political practice, Zionism is institutionalized, state-consecrated racism.

5

Zionism preached and Israel implemented the expulsion of non-Jews (Muslim and Christian Palestinian Arabs) from their ancestral homeland. According to Zionism, every Jew anywhere, regardless of country of birth, citizenship, and nationality, must migrate to Israel; and according to the so-called Law of Return, which is one of the Fundamental Laws of Israel, any Jew has the right to do so (although, in practice, the immigration of Black Jews is subjected to severe restrictions). Thus, on the one hand, Zionism is an ideology of eviction of non-Jews; on the other, it is a philosophy of settler-colonialism by and for Jews. It is an ideology of segregation—separating Jews from their respective countries and segregating them in one land, and evicting the indigenous non-Jewish inhabitants of that land.

6

Across the whole land of Palestine, including the territories occupied and settled upon illegally since 1967, Zionism casts a net of juridical racism, held firmly in place by policy and army, that brutally regulates the



Resolution Establishing the International Organization

Tripoli, 28 July 1976

The International Symposium on Zionism and Racism recognizes the need to step up the struggle against racism, especially the forms known as Zionism and *Apartheid*, and the need to organize efforts to this end.

And whereas the international community recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle against racial discrimination, the Symposium resolves as follows:

1. An international organization to be known as THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION is hereby established. The seat of the Organization shall be the headquarters of the Bar Association of the Libyan Arab Republic, Tripoli. The Organization shall be an independent, nongovernmental people's organization.
2. The Organization shall adopt all means contributing to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination everywhere, in particular Zionism and *Apartheid*, and shall organize efforts to that end to ensure a greater measure of effectiveness, including the following:
 - a. Collection of information and preparation of studies and references on racism in general and racist Zionism and *Apartheid* in particular and the dissemination thereof;
 - b. Development of awareness of the problem of racism and its danger to the human community, human dignity, and world peace through publications, conferences, symposia, and other means;
 - c. Confirmation of the moral and human values of equality, brotherhood, and justice without discrimination because of race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin;
 - d. Support of liberation movements struggling against colonialism, racism, and imperialism;

- e . Exposure of the interrelationships between racism and colonialism and imperialism;
- f . Cooperation and coordination with other organizations and movements for the realization of the same objectives.

[The remaining paragraphs of the resolution deal with organizational and administrative details and are here omitted—Ed.]

Resolution 3379

Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 November 1975

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and in particular its affirmation that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable (and) socially unjust and dangerous" and its expression of alarm at "the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative or other measures,"

Recalling also that, in its resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned *inter alia* the unholy alliance between South African racism and zionism,

Taking note of the declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace proclaimed by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975, which promulgated the principle that "international co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, zionism, *apartheid*, and racial discrimination in all its forms as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination,"

Taking note also of resolution 77 (XII) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975 which considered "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being,"

Taking note also of the Political Declaration and Strategy to strengthen International Peace and Security and to intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries, adopted at the Conference of

Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lima, Peru, from 25 to 30 August 1975, which most severely condemned zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology,

1. *Determines* that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

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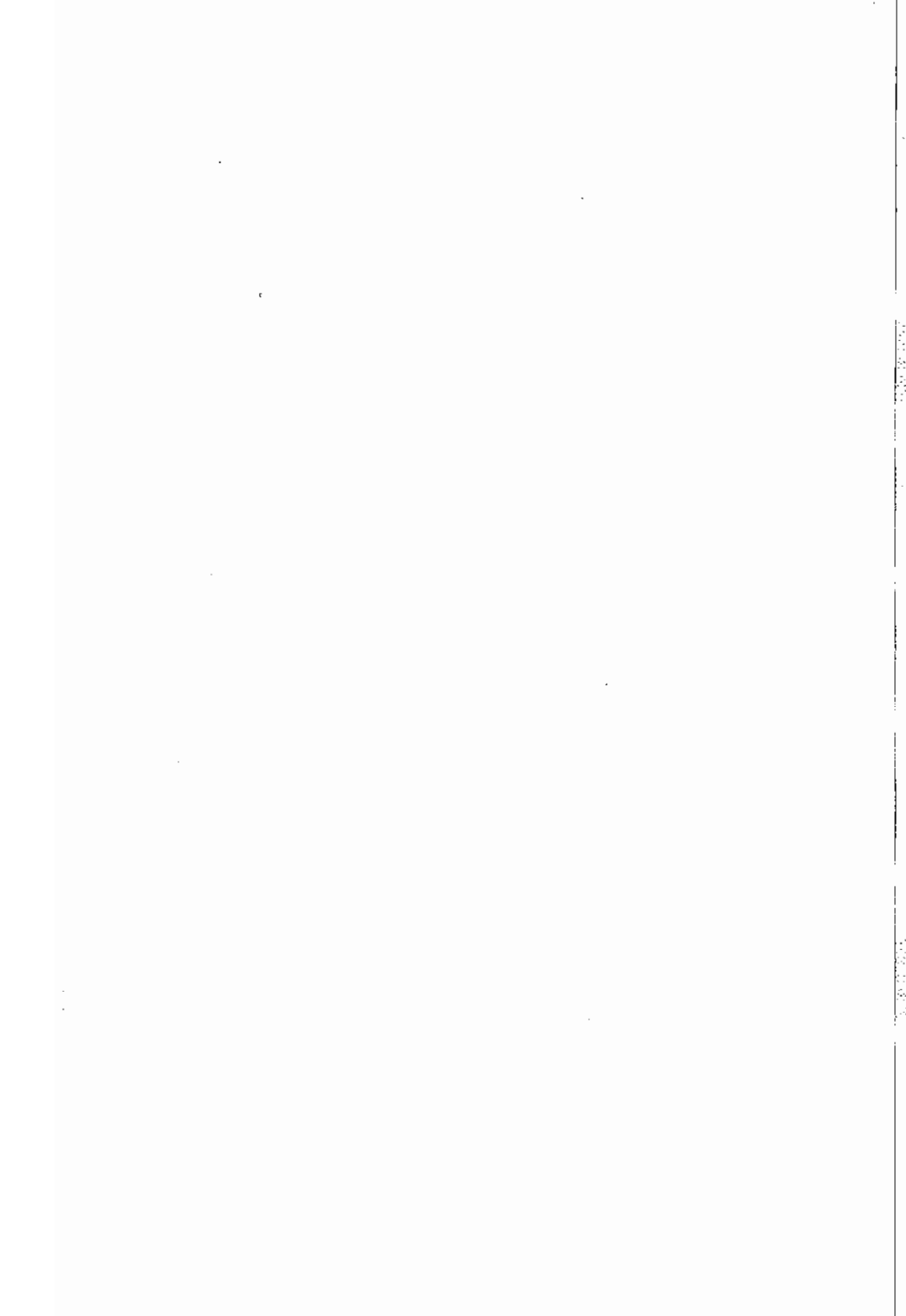
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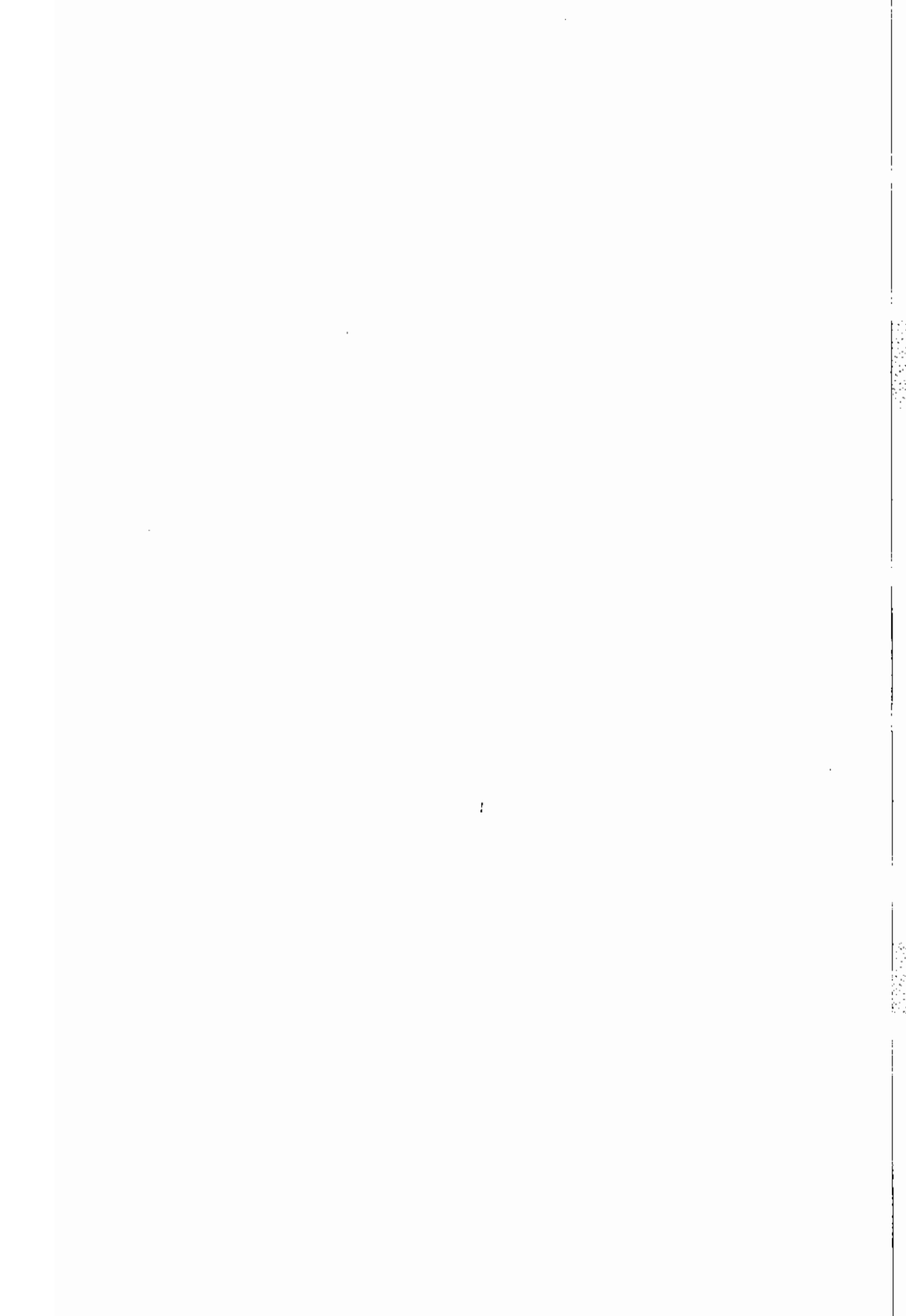
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