

American politicians to the Zionist cause, offered Zionism the prospects of an alternative Western sponsor for the new fateful phase of its capture of Palestine.

In the mid-forties, therefore, Zionist colonization of Palestine, sheltered and nursed for thirty years by British Imperialism, was ready to look for a more powerful and more militant supporter to see it through the forthcoming struggle for outright statehood; and the United States was available as a willing candidate that admirably fitted the requirements of Zionism.

**If the League of Nations was the instrument selected for bestowing upon the Anglo-Zionist partnership a semblance of international respectability, the United Nations was selected for a similar purpose by the American-Zionist entente. Britain had prevailed upon a predominantly European League to endorse a program of European Zionist colonization in Palestine: the United States led a European-American majority to overrule the opposition of an Afro-Asian minority in the General Assembly, and to endorse the establishment of a colonial Zionist state in the Afro-Asian bridge, the Arab land of Palestine.** For, apart from the Union of South Africa, itself ruled by an alien settler-minority, no Asian or African country spoke in favor of the "partition plan" proposed to the General Assembly by its Special Committee on Palestine; and, although in the final vote on 29 November 1947, one Asian and one African country (other than the Union of South Africa) did vote for the adoption of the recommendation, enthusiastic support for the proposal came exclusively from Europe, Australasia,

and the Western Hemisphere. **An alien state was to be planted in the land link between Asia and Africa without the free consent of any neighboring African or Asian country.**

It was at that stage in the tragic history of Palestine that Palestinian Arabs — debilitated by thirty years of British suppression — proved incapable of withstanding the assault of the Zionist community, organized and trained and armed as it was, and supported by the European-American international community of the day.

The Arab people of Palestine lost not only the battle for the *political control* of its own country — it lost its *country* as well. Palestinians were forcibly expelled from their homeland; and their land, thus ruthlessly emptied of its rightful inhabitants, was opened for a well-organized and liberally-financed new wave of colonization, speedily executed in order to create a seeming *fait accompli*, the reversal of which world public opinion would be reluctant to urge.

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The alliance of Zionist Colonialism with one Western Imperial Power was momentarily dissolved, after it had served its purpose; but it was simultaneously reincarnated in a new form, to suit the new world circumstances and the new stage of Zionist Colonialism. As one Western sponsor retreated to the background, other Western sponsors rushed to the foreground. Zionist Colonialism made a tactical change of allies — but did not abandon

the strategy of imperialist alliances as such. For, without the umbilical cord linking the Zionist settler-community with its extra-regional sources of supply and power, it has and can have little ability of its own to survive.

Even the alliance with British Imperialism was dissolved only momentarily. For, when the time came for a revised British imperial strategy, under altered world circumstances, to seek fulfillment through a new alignment with Zionist Colonialism — which was then aiming, in its new status as a state, at new objectives of territorial expansion — collusion between the old allies, along with the Fourth French Republic, was readily arranged. The 1956 invasion of Egypt promptly ensued.

And, when the collapse of the Fourth Republic in France and the chastening experience of Britain in Suez made it inexpedient for the Zionist settler-state to continue to depend upon those two countries for the tools of further aggressiveness, Zionism appears to have found little difficulty in recruiting another European Power to serve as a supplier of aggressive weapons. At the bidding of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany rushed to fill the vacuum — supplementing massive economic aid (which a tormented German conscience, cleverly manipulated by World Zionism, had prevailed upon the Federal Republic to extend to the Zionist settler-state under the alias of "reparations") with massive military gifts, secretly agreed upon and stealthily given.

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But, for all the means of survival it manages to

acquire, now from one Western Power and now from another, the Zionist settler-state remains *an alien body* in the region. **Not only its vital and continuing association with European Imperialism, and its introduction into Palestine of the practices of Western Colonialism, but also its chosen pattern of racial exclusiveness and self-segregation renders it an alien society in the Middle East.** No words could better describe the essentially alien character of the Zionist settler-state than the following passage, written by its veteran Prime Minister :

"The State of Israel is a part of the Middle East only in geography, which is, in the main, a static element. From the decisive aspects of dynamism, creation and growth, Israel is a part of world Jewry. From that Jewry it will draw all the strength and the means for the forging of the nation in Israel and the development of the Land; through the might of world Jewry it will be built and built again."<sup>3)</sup>

3) Ben-Gurion, David, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1954, p. 489.

## THE CHARACTER OF THE ZIONIST SETTLER-STATE

Apart from its vital link with Imperialism and its inescapable status as a total stranger to the Middle East, in the heart of which it has chosen to plant itself, the political embodiment of Zionist Colonialism (namely, the Zionist settler-state of Israel) is characterized chiefly by three features : (1) its *racial complexion* and *racist conduct pattern* ; (2) its *addiction to violence* ; and (3) its *expansionist stance*.

### A. *Racism*

Racism is not an acquired trait of the Zionist settler-state. Nor is it an accidental, passing feature of the Israeli scene. It is congenital, essential, and permanent. For it is inherent in the very ideology of Zionism and in the basic motivation for Zionist colonization and statehood.

Zionism is the belief in the national oneness of all Jews — who are identified as such in terms of their supposedly common *ancestry*. Neither *religion* nor *language* comprises the alleged "national bond" of Jews, according to the Zionist creed: for relatively few Zionists are in fact believing or practicing Jews; and the Hebrew language was resuscitated only after the birth of Zionism. Recent legislation and precedent-making court decisions in the Zionist state, as well as the political literature of the Zionist Movement since its inception, would appear to indicate that it is *ancestry* — the sheer biological fact of

descent from other Jews — that makes a person “Jewish” in Zionist eyes.

Zionist racial identification produces three corollaries: *racial self-segregation*, *racial exclusiveness*, and *racial supremacy*. These principles constitute the core of the Zionist ideology.

The primordial impulse for Zionist Colonialism is the pursuit of “national self-realization” by the “Jewish nation”, by means of territorial regrouping and independent statehood. *Racial self-segregation is therefore the quintessence of Zionism.*

By its very nature, racial self-segregation precludes integration or assimilation. From Herzl to Weizmann, from Ben Gurion to Goldmann, the leaders of Zionism have all believed and preached that the chief enemy of Zionism is not Gentile “anti-Semitism” but Jewish “assimilation”. “Anti-Semitism” and Zionism thus agree on the basic premise: that all Jews are one nation, with common national characteristics and a common national destiny. The difference between them is that, whereas “anti-Semitism” disdains the alleged “national characteristics” of Jews and delights in Jewish suffering, Zionism idealizes those fancied characteristics and strives to bring all Jews together into a single Jewish state, to which even moderate Zionists attribute a “special mission”.

According to the Zionist creed, “assimilation” is the loss of “Jewish identity”; it is the prelude to the “dissolution” and “elimination” of the “Jewish nation”. “Self-segregation” is the Zionist retort to the call for “Jewish

assimilation”; for “self-segregation” is envisioned as the only pathway to national “redemption”, “salvation”, and “fulfillment”.

By the same logic, by virtue of which it uncompromisingly repudiates the assimilation of Jews into non-Jewish societies, the fundamental Zionist principle of racial self-segregation also demands *racial purity and racial exclusiveness* in the land in which Jewish self-segregation is to be attained. As such, the Zionist credo of racial self-segregation necessarily rejects the coexistence of Jews and non-Jews in the land of Jewish regrouping. Coexistence with non-Jewish communities — including the indigenous inhabitants — in the territory in which Jews are to be assembled is as much of a blemish on the image of pure Zionist racism as is continued Jewish residence in the lands of the Gentiles, i.e., the lands of so-called “Jewish exile”.

The Zionist ideal of racial self-segregation demands, *with equal imperativeness*, the departure of all Jews from the lands of their “exile” and the eviction of all non-Jews from the land of “Jewish destination”, namely, Palestine. Both are essential conditions of “Zionist fulfillment” and Jewish “national redemption”.

It is only in such a condition of thoroughgoing self-segregation that “Jewish superiority” can at last manifest itself, according to the teachings of Zionism: the “Chosen People” can attain its “special destiny” only when it is *all together and all by itself.*

Herein lies an important difference between Zionist racism and other forms of European racism familiar, since the advent of Colonialism, to the peoples of Asia and Africa. *Race-supremacist European settlers elsewhere in Asia and Africa* have, by and large, found it possible to express their "supremacy" over the other strands of "lesser peoples" and "inferior races" within the framework of "hierarchical racial coexistence". Separate and unequal, the European colonists and the "natives" have on the whole coexisted in the same colony or protectorate. Though they have openly disdained the "natives", ruthlessly suppressed them, and methodically discriminated against them, European colonists have as a rule deemed the continued presence of the indigenous populations "useful" for the colonists themselves; and, as such, they have reserved for the "natives" all the menial functions and assigned to them inferior roles in the settler-dominated societies. Not so the Zionists! *Race-supremacist Zionist settlers in Palestine* have found it necessary to follow a different course, more in harmony with their ideological system. They have expressed their fancied "supremacy" over the Arab "natives", first, by isolating themselves from the Arabs in Palestine and, later on, by evicting the Arabs from their homeland.

**Nowhere in Asia or Africa — not even in South Africa or Rhodesia — has European race-supremacism expressed itself in so passionate a zeal for thoroughgoing racial exclusiveness and for physical expulsion of "native" populations across the frontiers of the settler-state, as it has in Palestine, under the compulsion of Zionist doctrines.** (Perhaps this divergence of Zionism from the norm of European colo-

nization may be explained in terms of the fact that conscious dedication to the racist doctrines inherent in the ideology of Zionism has preceded, stimulated, inspired, and at every stage guided the process of Zionist colonization in Palestine — at least since the inauguration of the new Zionist Movement in 1897.)

So long as they were powerless to *dislodge* the indigenous Arabs of Palestine (the vast majority of the country's population), Zionist colonists were content with *isolating themselves* from the Arab community and instituting a systematic boycott of Arab produce and labor. Accordingly, from the earliest days of Zionist colonization, the principle was established that only Jewish labor would be employed in Zionist colonies. The "Jewish Agency", the "Jewish National Fund", the "Palestine Foundation Fund", and the "Jewish Federation of Labor" vigilantly ensured the observance of that fundamental principle of Zionist colonization.

Contentment with *boycotting* the Arabs of Palestine instead of *evicting* them from their country was, however, only a tactical and temporary suspension of the Zionist dogma of racial exclusiveness. It was forced upon Zionism by the circumstances surrounding the early stages of Zionist colonization. And it was viewed as a necessary evil, to be endured only so long as a more rigorous application of the racist doctrines of Zionism was prevented by extraneous factors beyond the control of the Zionist Movement. The ultimate aim of ousting the Arab inhabitants of Palestine in order to make possible the incarnation of the principle of racial exclusiveness, though momentarily suspended, was never abandoned, however.

As early as 1895, Herzl was busy devising a plan to "spirit the penniless population across the frontier by denying it employment"<sup>(4)</sup>; and, in 1919, Weizmann was forecasting the creation of a Palestine that would be "as Jewish as England is English"<sup>(5)</sup>, and defining the Zionist program in terms of building "a nationality which would be as Jewish as the French nation was French and the British nation British"<sup>(6)</sup>. Thus, although it was not until 1948 that the Zionist aim was at last fulfilled, through the forcible expulsion of the majority of the Palestinian Arabs from their homeland, the objective of de-Arabizing Palestine (as a requirement of Zionizing that country) had been entertained by the Zionist Movement since its inception.

**The Zionist concept of the "final solution" to the "Arab problem" in Palestine, and the Nazi concept of the "final solution" to the "Jewish problem" in Germany, consisted essentially of the same basic ingredient: the elimination of the unwanted human element in question. The creation of a "Jew-free Germany" was indeed sought by Nazism through more ruthless and more inhuman methods than**

4) Herzl, Theodor, *Complete Diaries*, Vol. I, 1960, p. 88. (Entry of 12 June 1895; quoted in Childers, Erskine B., "Palestine: The Broken Triangle", in *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1965, p. 93).

5) Weizmann, Chaim, *Trial and Error*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, p. 244.

6) Quoted in *The Political History of Palestine Under British Administration*, Jerusalem, Government Printer, 1947, p. 3 (paragraph 12).

**was the creation of an "Arab-free Palestine" accomplished by the Zionists: but behind the difference in techniques lay an identity of goals.**

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If racial discrimination against the "inferior natives" was the motto of race-supremacist European settler-regimes in Asia and Africa, the motto of the race-supremacist Zionist settler-regime in Palestine was *racial elimination*. *Discriminatory treatment* has been reserved by the Zionists for those remnants of the Palestinian Arab people who have stubbornly stayed behind in their homeland in spite of all efforts to dispossess and evict them, and in defiance of the Zionist dictum of racial exclusiveness. It is against these remnants of the rightful inhabitants of Palestine that Zionist settlers have revealed the behavioral patterns of racial supremacy, and practiced the precepts of racial discrimination, already made famous by other racist European colonists elsewhere in Asia and Africa.

In fact, in its practice of racial discrimination against the vestiges of Palestinian Arabs, the Zionist settler-state has learned all the lessons which the various discriminatory regimes of white settler-states in Asia and Africa can teach it. And it has proved itself in this endeavor an ardent and apt pupil, not incapable of surpassing its teachers. For, whereas the Afrikaner apostles of *apartheid* in South Africa, for example, brazenly proclaim their sin, the Zionist practitioners of *apartheid* in Palestine beguilingly protest their innocence!

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The remnants of Palestine's Arabs who have continued to live in the Zionist settler-state since 1948 have their own "Bantustans", their "native reserves", their "Ghettos" — although the institution which they encounter in their daily lives is given by the Zionist authorities the euphemistic name, "security zone".

About 90% of the Arabs living under Israel's jurisdiction live in such "security zones".

Alone in the Zionist settler-state, these Arabs live under *martial law*. Whereas, in other parts of the country, civil administration prevails, in the Arab-inhabited "security zones" the administrative functionaries are military officers, serving under the Ministry of Defence. Arabs charged with offenses under the martial law in force in the "security zones" (the "Emergency [Defence] Regulations") are prosecuted before military tribunals, the decisions of which are not appealable. Deportation and forced residence, by fiat of the Military Governor, are commonplace.

Alone in the Zionist settler-state, Arab inhabitants of the "security zones" are subject to the *pass system*, which harshly restricts their movement and travel.

Alone in the Zionist settler-state, Arabs are denied the basic rights of expression, assembly, and association. They are not permitted to publish newspapers or to form political organizations.

Educational opportunities for Arabs are severely restricted; the higher the level of education, the more

discriminatory the restriction of opportunities. Nor is the quality of the educational system to which Arabs have disproportionately-limited access faintly comparable to the educational system open to Jews.

Economically, Arabs in the Zionist settler-state suffer from a threefold handicap: their limited access to employment opportunities creates large-scale unemployment; such employment as they are permitted to obtain is confined largely to menial services; and they are denied the right to "equal pay for equal work".

The agricultural lands and homes of the Arabs of the Zionist settler-state are subject to confiscation by administrative decree, under a succession of drastic laws, introduced by the state between 1948 and 1953, which deny aggrieved owners the ability to seek redress through the courts. Whole Arab villages have been expropriated and given to Jews for the establishment of Zionist settlements.

Arab participation in the administration of the Zionist settler-state, on any level of meaningful responsibility, is virtually unknown; in most government departments, Arab participation *on any level* is completely non-existent. Even in the government office charged with Arab affairs, no Arab is employed!

Finally, the enjoyment by Arabs of the elementary right to citizenship in their own country is curtailed by *statutory discrimination*. Whereas a Jew, under the Nationality Law, is eligible for citizenship immediately upon arrival, indigenous Arabs of the Zionist settler-state

are subject to a system of qualified eligibility which has left a majority of Israel's Arabs languishing in the limbo of non-citizenship.

### B. Violence and Terrorism

Habitual resort to force, by the military or para-military arms of the Zionist settler-state, has been directed principally against the Arabs — whose very existence in the land coveted by the Zionists rendered them automatically the primary and the ultimate target of Zionist hostility. But this addiction to violence has not been totally confined, in its manifestations, to Zionist relations with the Arabs. Towards the end of the British Mandate — when the alliance of British Imperialism and Zionist Colonialism, having served its purpose, was beginning to undergo the strains which finally led to its dissolution — the para-military and terrorist Zionist organizations (which Britain had respectively aided and condoned for decades) turned against the British garrison and British civil authorities in Palestine. And, after the outbreak of Zionist-Arab hostilities in Palestine, and the advent of United Nations mediators and truce observers, Zionist violence turned against the international personnel also. The assassination of the first United Nations Mediator and his military aide, and the occasional detention of United Nations observers, have served notice that no one who stands athwart the path of Zionism is immune from Zionist vengeance.

But, obviously, it is against the Arabs that Zionist violence has been most long-lasting, most methodical, and most ruthless.

Prenatally and at birth, the Zionist settler-state resorted to violence as its chosen means of intimidating the Arabs of Palestine and evicting them. Such massacres as those which were perpetrated at Dair Yaseen, Ain ez-Zaitoun, and Salah ed-Deen (in April, 1948) were calculated measures in a formal program of eviction-by-terrorization.

Since its establishment, the Zionist settler-state has turned its violence both inwardly and outwardly: against the Arabs remaining under its jurisdiction, and against the neighboring Arab states.

In the Zionist-occupied territories of Palestine, *massacres and other outrages* visited upon such Arab towns and villages as Iqrith (December, 1951), Al-Tirah (July, 1953), Abu Ghosh (September, 1953), Kafr Qasim (October, 1956), and Acre (June, 1965) have been the most infamous — but by no means the only — instances of a program of racial hate elevated to the level of state policy and efficiently executed by the official apparatus of the state.

To these instances must be added the large-scale *pogroms* unleashed on the Arab population of Gaza and Khan Younis during the brief but eventful period of Zionist occupation of the area, in the wake of the Tripartite Invasion of Egypt in 1956.

Systematic *military attacks* on the territories of neighboring Arab states are perhaps the most widely known manifestations of Israel's ready resort to violence — for many of these attacks were fully discussed by the



United Nations Security Council. In addition to the *full-scale war*, launched jointly by Zionist Colonialism and British and French Imperialism against Egypt in 1956, and deplored by the General Assembly in six resolutions adopted between 2 November 1956 and 2 February 1957, *smaller-scale* attacks on Hamma (April, 1951), Qibiya (October, 1953), Gaza (February, 1955), and across Lake Tiberias (December, 1955, and March, 1962) were duly condemned by the Security Council, on 18 May 1951, 24 November 1953, 29 March 1955, 19 January 1956, and 9 April 1962, respectively. Other attacks, too numerous to cite individually, have elicited similar condemnations from the competent Mixed Armistice Commissions.

### C. Territorial Expansion

No student of the behavioral pattern of the Zionist Movement and the *modus operandi* of the Zionist settler-state can fail to realize that Zionist attainments at any given moment, if they fall short of the standing objective constantly aimed at by the Zionist Movement, are only temporary stations along the road to ultimate self-fulfillment and not terminal points of the Zionist journey — notwithstanding the assurances to the contrary which are solemnly given by Zionist and Israeli leaders.

For example, although from 1897 until 1942 the official leaders of Zionism constantly denied in public any intention of seeking "statehood", emphasizing that it was merely a "home" that they were after, the internal documents of the Movement and the diaries of its leaders clearly indicate that, notwithstanding public disavowals, it was indeed statehood that was the objective of Zionism all along.

(The goal of establishing a Zionist state, first admitted openly in 1942, was attained six years later.)

Similarly, until 1948, the leaders of Zionism were constantly assuring the world that they harbored no intention of dispossessing or evicting the Arabs of Palestine from their homeland — although evidence abounds that, in fact, they were aiming at nothing less than the thorough Zionization and de-Arabization of Palestine from the very beginning; and, when the opportunity arose in 1948, Zionists wasted no time in pushing the Arabs across the frontiers.

In these two vital matters, the true aims of Zionism had been well known to all students and close observers of the Movement; the Zionist stratagem of public disavowal was merely a smoke-screen designed to conceal the true and unchanging objectives, in order to gain time for preparing the ground for the right move at the right moment.

Territorial extent is a third element of the Zionist plan, regarding which the same stratagem of deceptive public disavowal has been utilized. It differs from the other two elements (*viz.*, statehood and eviction of Arabs) only in that, whereas these two aims have been realized and the camouflage has finally been removed, the third aim (*viz.*, territorial expansion) remains only partly realized, and the veil remains only partially lifted.

The perennial aim of Zionism was and still is *statehood in all of Palestine* (called by Zionists "Eretz Israel", or the Land of Israel), *completely emptied of its Arabs*.

The minimum definition of the territorial scope of Palestine, as Zionism envisions it, was officially formulated in 1919; and it covers about double the area currently occupied by the Zionist settler-state. It includes — in present geographical terminology — the Kingdom of Jordan (on both sides of the River), the "Gaza strip", Southern Lebanon, and Southern and Southwestern Syria, as well as the portions of Palestine now occupied by the Zionists. This area still falls short of the territory bounded, in accordance with the famous Biblical phrase, by the Nile and the Euphrates — which is the territory claimed as their national heritage by Zionist "extremists". But, even if only the minimum Zionist concept of Palestine is taken to be the real basis of Zionist planning, that will leave the road towards Zionist territorial expansion in the future wide and open. For no more than one-half of this coveted area is now under the control of the Zionist settler-state. (See maps on pages 36 and 37).

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Twice since its establishment has the Zionist settler-state demonstrated the fact that, as far as *territorial scope* was concerned, it was following the same *modus operandi* which the Zionist Movement had followed so successfully in the preceding fifty years with respect to *statehood* and the *eviction of Arabs*: (1) In 1948 and early 1949, it occupied areas not earmarked for the "Jewish state" in the General Assembly recommendation for the partition of Palestine — only a few months after the Zionist Organization had assured the Assembly that it was content

with the territories "given" to the proposed "Jewish state". And, (2) in late October and early November, 1956 — taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Egyptian armed forces with the defense of Egypt against the invading forces of Britain and France — the Zionist partner in the aggressive tripartite conspiracy found it possible to occupy the "Gaza Strip" and parts of the Sinai Peninsula. For four months thereafter, the Zionist state rejected repeated United Nations demands for immediate withdrawal — pleading that the annexed Palestinian and Egyptian territories were part of the Zionist "historical homeland" and "national heritage".

Not only by ominous deeds, but also by ominous words, has the Zionist settler-state given indication of its intention, when the time was propitious, to grab new territories lying within the boundaries of what it claims as its national patrimony. The veteran Premier of the Zionist state, David Ben Gurion, on at least two occasions has solemnly announced, in two official state documents, that the state was created "in a part of our small country"<sup>(7)</sup>, and "in only a portion of the Land of Israel"<sup>(8)</sup>; and the state itself has proclaimed that "the creation of the new State by no means derogates from the scope of historic Eretz Israel."<sup>(9)</sup>

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7) State of Israel, *Government Yearbook*, 5712 (1951/1952), Introduction p. x.

8) State of Israel, *Government Yearbook*, 5713 (1952), Introduction p. 15.

9) State of Israel, *Government Yearbook*, 5716 (1955), p. 320.