ZIONISM

anti semitism's twin

in Jewish garb

Hitler's illusion was, that he could physically liquidate Europe's resistance against fascism. Begin's and his generals' illusion is, that they can physically liquidate the PLO and the Palestinian resistance against Zionist occupation.



ZIONISM AND ANTI SEMITISM

a continuing relationship



BRIGHTON LABOUR BRIEFING
discussion document

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30p

ZIONISM AND THE LABOUR PARTY

Although portrayed as a humanitarian and even idealistic movement, Zionism is one of the most ruthless political creeds of our time, tolerating absolutely no dissent within the Jewish community. It has cynically exploited the natural hatred of the labour movement for anti-Semitism. Dedicated to the establishment of a Jewish only state, it let nothing stand in its way, not even the plight of Jews in Nazi occupied Europe.

At first the Zionists bought the land the Palestinian peasants worked from absentee landlords and then evicted them from it, but in 1948/9 the Zionists took the opportunity to forcibly expel them. Today the Zionists claim that the Palestinians left what is now Israel, of their own accord, but the following account of Ben Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister, at a meeting with officers of Haggannah (the main Zionist terror group prior to 1948), should disprove that:

> *"Ben Gurion was still sceptical about any possibility of co-existence with the Arabs. The fewer there were living within the frontiers of the new Jewish state, the better he would like it...the impression which emerged from his intervention and remarks was clear enough...a major offensive against the Arabs would not only break up their attacks but would also greatly reduce the percentage of Arabs in the population of the new state. This might be called racialism, but the whole Zionist movement was based on the principle of a purely Jewish community in Palestine."(1)*

Since its foundation Israel has continued to expand, confiscating yet more Palestinian land with the latter becoming refugees, often two or three times over, or else turned into hewers of wood and the drawers of water of the Zionist state. An Israeli newspaper noted in respect of some Oriental Jewish squatters that:

> *"They truly believe, as do many in the slum quarters of Tel Aviv that squatting on public land entitles them to occupancy rights on the land. "Did the state of Israel buy all the lands now owned by the Israeli Land Authority?"(2)*

But the Palestinians have fought back and created their own representative organisation, the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The logic of a Jewish state in a land where, even by 1948, the majority of the populace were Palestinian (and in 1918 less than 10% of Palestinians were Jewish, the majority of whom were anti-Zionist inevitably led to the expulsion of the Palestinians:

> *"The majority of Jews (in Jerusalem) still belonged to the pre-immigration community either taking no interest in Zionism or were actively opposed to it."(3)*

It is clear, even as early as May 1911, that the expulsion of the Palestinians was being discussed.

(1) *M Bar Zohar, 'Ben Gurion The Armed Prophet' p109, re meeting of 26.12.47*
(2) *Yediot Aharanot, 28.5.76 cited in Uri Davies, 'Israel; Utopia Incorporated p116, Zed Press*
(3) *W.Lacquer, 'A History of Zionism' p213, Holt, Rinehart & Wilson, Chicago, New York, 1975*

"At one stage,in May 1911,he (Ruppin) suggested in a memo to the Zionist Executive a limited population transfer...the idea of a population transfer preoccupied the members of the Executive."(4)

Ruppin was the head of the World Zionist Organisations Palestine Office. But as Ruppin made clear:

"On every site where we purchase land and where we settle people, the present cultivators will inevitably be displaced."(5)

And during the civil war itself, the Zionists both through direct massacres and a psychological blitz drove the vast majority of the Palestinians out:

"I gathered all of the Jewish mukthars, who have contact with Arabs in different villages and asked them to whisper in the ears of some Arabs that a great Jewish reinforcement has arrived in Galilee and that it is going to burn all of the villages of the Huleh. They should suggest to these Arabs, their friends, toescape while there is still time. The tactic reached its goal completely. The building of the Police station at Halsa fell into our hands without a shot."(6)

And H Levin, a Zionist radio broadcaster relates how:

"Hagannah broadcast to civilian Arabs, urging them to leave the district before 5.15 am;'Take pity on your wives and children and get out of this bloodbath.' it said,'Surrender your arms. No harm will come to you...If you stay,you invite disaster."(7)

To its everlasting shame, the Labour Party manifesto of 1945 also supported the idea of a'population transfer',arguing that "the Arabs should move out as the Jews move in...",something which the Zionists fulfilled only too well. For too long the Labour Party,both left and right, has been politically supportative of the Zionists. Since 1920 Poale Zion,the overseas branch of the Israeli Labour Party, has been affiliated as a 'Socialist Society' to the Labour Party. From 1920 to 1925 Moshe Shertok,Israels second Prime Minister, acted as a liason between the British Labour Party and the Histadrut, the Zionist 'Trade Union'. And what other organisation other then the Labour Friends of Israel, has Tony Benn,Ian Mikardo,Harold Wilson, Roy Hattersley,Peter Shore,Gerald Kauffkann as members? The Trade Union leaders,both left and right are also prominently represented in the LFI. Bassnett,Sirs,Clive Jenkins,Kitson- all are members. The T.U.C. has official links with the Histadrut, the Israeli Trade Union which until 1959 barred Arabs from membership and which to this day has an Arab section. Histadrut is also the major employer in Israel. As socialists we have an elementary duty to support the Palestinians in their demand for a state of their own encompassing the whole of Palestine. In so doing we will be giving support not only to the Palestinians, but also to Jewish people for whom Zionism, far from being a solution to the question of anti-Semitism has in fact precipitated it where it did not exist, and legitimised anti-Semitic movements where they did exist. In addition Zionists have often consciously impeded the fight against anti-Semitism. Such is the record of Zionism, and the Labour Movement does itself a disservice by supporting it.

(4) Ibid. p231
(5) A Ruppin '3' Decades of Palestine',Schocken Books,Jerusalem 1936 cited in Davies op.cit p14
(6) Ha Sepher Ha Palmach Vol.2 p268,Yigal Allon
(7) H Levin,'Jerusalem Embattled,p160

ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

Introduction

When asked on the BBC Newsday programme as to whether there is a distinction between being a Jew and a Zionist, and hence whether being anti-Israel meant being anti-Semitic, the Chief Rabbi Emmanuel Jacobovitz replied:

> *"To me certainly there is no distinction...in theory that is possible, in practise it isn't."*

In an article,'Zionism War on Campus',in the Jerusalem Post, Hyam Corney, its London Correspondent wrote:

> *"The thin line,IF IT EXISTS AT ALL between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism is one which Jacobs finds hard to see...'The two may be distinguishable in theory, but in practice these attacks single out the Jewish student and force him to stand up and be counted or disappear into the shadows."(1)* (my emphasis).Jacobs was Chairperson of the Union of Jewish Students.

Emotive language about disappearing into the shadows is used to obscure a fundamental political point. Such is the big lie technique which has been used to intimidate all those who oppose the policies and practices of the Israeli state and who support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. If you are anti-Zionist in reality you must be anti-Semitic. This intimidation has been used to suppress all discussion about, and support for, the Palestinians. A cursory glance at for example the Jewish Chronicle will indicate the effort put into promoting the Zionist cause and in preventing any real discussion about Zionism through a variety of intimidatory techniques such as stating that those in the Diaspora have no right to criticise Israel at all. As I F Stone once put it:

> *"Finding an American publishing house willing to publish a book which departs from the standard Israeli line,is about as easy as selling a thoughtful exposition of atheism to the Osservatore Romano in Vatican City."(2)*

One of the purposes of this article is to show that far from anti-Zionists being anti-Jewish, it is the Zionist movement to whom this is most applicable. It is the Zionists who have worked hand in glove with the anti-Semites. In the words of the 'left' Zionist novellist,A B Yehoshua; in a talk he gave to the Union of Jewish Students:

"Even today,in a perverse way, a real anti-Semite must be a Zionist."(3)

Although of course it is true that the State of Israel is fundamentally racist and reactionary, this pamphlet will concentrate on the relationship between anti-Semitism and Zionism. Some,even on the left, accept that Zionism is a national liberation movement of the Jews. After reading this the origins of Zionism should be a little clearer and its actions today easier to understand as a result. It should also be clear that Zionism is not concerned about liberating anybody from anything, and that its attitude to Jews yesterday was little different from its attitude to Palestinians today.

(1) reprinted by the Union of Jewish Students December 1981
(2) New York Review of Books,9.3.78
(3) Jewish Chronicle 22.7.82

THE ORIGINS OF ZIONISM

Zionism arose as a political movement in response to the economic and political predicament of the Jewish petit-bourgeoisie. In the late 19th Century, this class found itself in a dilemma to which it could see no solution, other than the creation of a national Jewish political entity in another land, sponsored by one of the Imperial powers. This was still the age when the activities of colonialists and settlers were considered honourable and worthwhile. But this was a nationalism which didn't seek to struggle against oppression but the nationalism of a particular class which sought its own solution by transferring its own oppression to another people. It had nothing to do with the progressive nationalism in Europe which had led to the formation of nations from feudal principalities:

> *"Whereas the national movement is the product of the ascending period of capitalism, Zionism is the product of the imperialist era."(1)*

As Christopher Sykes, the pro-British historian noted:

> *"Zionism, one of the most powerful manifestations of the nationalist age...found itself closely bound to imperialism. It depended for its foundation and early growth on the success of British imperialism."(2)*

The dilemma of the Jewish petit-bourgeoisie originated with their confrontation with the political anti-Semitism of their non-Jewish business competitors on the one hand, and the growth of working class political and economic struggles on the other.

> *"Zionism appeared as a reaction of the Jewish petit-bourgeoisie (which still forms the core of Jewry), hard hit by the mounting anti-Semitic wave, kicked from one country to another, and striving to attain the Promised Land where it might find shelter from the tempests sweeping the modern world."(3)*

As Theodore Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism put it:

> *"When we sink we become a revolutionary proletariat...when we rise there rises also the terrible power of our purse."(4)*

The more fiercely the workers fought, and the greater the economic crisis, the more anti-Semitic the ruling class in Eastern Europe (and later Germany) became, as they strove to divide the working classes on racist lines and to divert the masses from anti-Capitalism to anti-Semitism. The Jew was capitalism personified as far as the anti-Semitic parties, in their battle to save capitalism itself, was concerned. Even though this meant dumping the Jewish bourgeoisie like ballast from a sinking ship. Capitalism moreover went into crisis almost as soon as it started developing in Eastern Europe. As Leon remarked :

> *"The Jewish masses find themselves wedged between the anvil of decaying feudalism and the hammer of rotting capitalism."(5)*

Under feudalism the Jews had played a specific economic and social role, a 'People Class' as Leon termed it. They were intemediaries between the Kings and Nobles on the one hand and the Peasants on the other, fulfilling the role of merchants and lending money in a natural economy based on use values. With the transition to Capitalism, the Jews were squeezed, as Marx put it, out of the pores of society. It was this impoverishment which led to mass immigration from Eastern Europe to Western Europe and the United States.

(1) *Abram Leon, 'The Jewish Question; A Marxist Interpretation' p249, Pathfinder Press, 1974*
(2) *Christopher Sykes; 'Crossroads to Israel' p26, 1973, Indian University Press*
(3) *Ibid. p245*
(4) *L. Stewart, 'Herzl', p 219*
(5) *Leon op.cit. p226*

But while many Jews entered the Polish and Russian working classes, albeit at the periphery, and became active in the Social Democratic and Communist Parties, the Jewish petit-bourgoeisie feared the prospect of proletarianisation and their consequent diminution of status. Their adoption of Zionism reflected the class outlook of the most reactionary section of Jews who feared both the working class and big business, just as their German counterparts took to Naziism in the thirties. Zionism's emphasis on the creation of a national state was but one of the solutions posed to the Jewish Question. As Noah Lucas emphasised, Zionism was a response:

> *" born of the tension between emancipation or the idea of emancipation and persecution. The transformation of the Zionist emotion from a mystical messianic bond, to a political idea was...one amongst a much larger number of Jewish responses."(6)*

Working class solidarity between Jews and non-Jews against the reactionary regimes in Eastern Europe and Russia, and the proletarianisation of the Jewish masses, was the socialist solution to the growing problem of anti-Semitism. This was the solution of the anti-Zionist Bund, a Jewish socialist and nationalist party in Poland, Russian and Lithuania. As Lacquer remarks:

> *"The hostility of the Bund to Zionist initiatives...did not mellow with time."(7)*

Zionism's solution to the Jewish Question was the establishment of a state based on exactly the same principles and social system as espoused by the Jews' anti-Semitic tormentors. The first thing the Zionists did in Palestine was to organise a boycott of Arab Labour and Produce. As Sir John Hope Simpson wrote, in his Report after the 1929 riots:

> *"From the beginning they (the Zionists-TG) had followed a natural tendency...to employ Jewish workers in preference to others in the budding colonies, but during the hard times of the mid twenties, this had become something of a principle...The principle of the persistent and deliberate boycott of Arab Labour in the colonies is not only contrary to the Mandate but it is in addition a constant and increasing source of danger to the country."(8)*

Leon summed up Zionism in a nutshell when he said:

"Zionism wishes to resolve the Jewish Question without destroying capitalism, which is the principle source of suffering of the Jews."(9)

An alternative analysis to Leon's argued by Moshe Machover stresses that anti-Semitism is in itself a fake anti-Capitalist reaction, it is not possible therefore to argue as Leon does that "Capitalism...is the principle source of the suffering of the Jews." There is no doubt that anti-Semitism and indeed much of fascist ideology borrows from a pre-Capitalist and feudal period, a past when the Jews did indeed play the role of a particular class. The mythical portrayal of a past golden age is also part of the Nazi ideological baggage. But in the context of capitalism today, the only role such a false anti-Capitalism has is to reinforce Capitalism by dividing its opponents. And given the active encouragement anti-Semites have received from the more reactionary (and sometimes not so reactionary) segments of the bourgeoisie, it cannot be wrong to attribute anti-Semitism to the capitalist system. This is particularly true of a capitalist system in acute crisis and unable to

(6) *Noah Lucas, 'A Modern History of Israel' p14, Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1975*
(7) *Lacquer 'A History of Zionism', New York 1972, Holt, Rinehart & Wilson p291*
(8) *Sykes op.cit. p115*
(9) *Leon op.cit. p249*

expand, which seeks out particular groups as scapegoats. The policies of the Thatcher government should be proof of this and this is why there is in reality a difference only of emphasis between Machover (Rodinson's?) and Leons' analysis. It was in the INABILITY of capitalism to expand and absorb both national minorities and other pools of labour that lay behind the staying power and transformation of anti-Semitism.

Large sections of the Jewish middle and upper classes had seen either assimilation,or Haskalah,'The Enlightenment'(the secularisation of Judaism) as the answer to the Jewish Question. Reform Judaism which grew indirectly out of the Haskalah:

> *"eliminated Hebrew and all Israeli centred allusions from the liturgy and ceremonies so that no vestige would remain of any implication that Judaism involved a collective allegiance beyond the confessional."(10)*

Zionism represented the final defeat of Haskalah and Jewish assimilation.

(10) Lucas op.cit. p15

ZIONISM: WHAT SORT OF REACTION?

Zionism today likes to pose as the answer to anti-Semitism. It is certainly a reaction. As socialists we have to say that whilst it was a reaction to anti-Semitism, Zionism was the most defeatist and conservative reaction. Zionism represented a running away from fascism and anti-Semitism. Zionism held that anti-Semitism was the eternal, natural reaction of a Gentile society to a Jewish presence. From the first, the Zionist movement decided to come to terms with anti-Semitism. Theodore Herzl who was President of the first 6 Zionist Congresses, noted after the Dreyfus trial which set him along the Zionist path:

> *"In Paris...I achieved a freer attitude towards anti-Semitism, which I now began to understand historically and to pardon. Above all, I recognise the emptiness and futility of trying to 'combat' anti-Semitism."(1)*

To the Zionists it was 'futile' to try and combat anti-Semitism because racism, like the existence of separate races was 'natural', and what was natural was in bourgeoise logic, by definition unchangaeble. The alternative would have been to analyse the social, political, economic and historical roots of anti-Semitism in order to combat it. But that would have called into question the very reason for Zionism's existence. Instead Zionism has, in Herzl's words, found it easier to come to terms with and pardon anti-Semitism. **Pinsker, a Zionist** who predated Herzl, held that 'Judaephobia' was a psychic abnormality whose symptoms were anti-Semitism:

> *"Judaephobia is then a mental disease, and as a mental disease it is hereditary, and having been inherited for 2 000 years, it is incurable."(2)*

And at the 1900 Zionist Congress in London, Herzl also described anti-Semitism as a contagious disease.

> *"Large scale immigration would be dangerous both for the English Jews and the immigrants. For these poor immigrants would unknowingly bring with them the very thing that provoked their flight-anti Semitism."(3)*

And Chaim Weizzman, President of the World Zionist Organisation for so long and first President of Israel, confided to the late Richard Crossman MP, a member of the 1946 Anglo American Commission of Inquiry, and himself an ardent Zionist that:

> *"anti-Semitism is a bacillus which every Gentile carries with him wherever he goes and however often he denies it."(4)*

As Leon wrote:

> *"Zionism transposes modern anti-Semitism to all of history; it saves itself the trouble of studying the various forms of anti-Semitism and their evolution."(5)*

From beginning to end, Herzl sought an agreement with the various anti-Semitic rulers. He explained the strategy thus:

> *"The governments of all countries scourged by anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in assisting us to obtain the sovreignty we want."(6)*

He travelled to Czarist Pussia to meet the notorious Interior Minister, Count von Plehve, who had organised the porgroms at Kishinev. Herzl outlined his vision of a Jewish state either in Palestine, Uganda or Argentina (the biblical 'justification' for such a state came later), sponsored he hoped by the Czar. In return he offered to rid Russia of its Jews, who he pointed out would feed the growing revolutionary movemnents. Plehve was all in favour, and when Herzl tried to convince him of the merits of Zionism, he

(1) *Diaries of Theodore Herzl, Gollancz, London 1958 p6*
(2) *Pinsker, Autoemanzipation, ein Mahnrufan seine Stammesgenossen, von einem russischen Juden Berlin 1882 p5*
(3) *Eli Lobel, 'Kodsky and Lobel, 'The Arab World and Israel' pp100/1*
(4) *FH Crossman, 'A Nation' Reborn', New York Atheneum 1960 p2*
(5) *Leon op.cit. p247*
(6) *Herzl, 'The Jewish State', New York 1946 p92*

interrupted him saying that he was already a firm supporter:Plehve wrote a letter pledging *"moral and material assistance"*,a letter which became "Herzl's *most cherished asset."(7)*

Herzl saw the Ottoman Sultan, the German Emperor,Lord Cromer,Count Witte of czarist Pussia,King Victor Emmanuel and even the pope! He was told by Count Witte, the Czars Finance Minister that:

> *"If it were possible to drown six or seven million Jews in the Black Sea I would be perfectly happy to do so, but itis not possible so we must let them live. But we encourage the Jews to emigrate,we kick them out."(8)*

Years later Jabtinsky, leader of the Revisionist Zionists, was to hold similar talks with the Ukranian leader Petlyura, whose fascist gangs murdered some 200 000 Jews between 1918 and 1920 and during the Nazi invasion. As Lacquer admits:

> *"The main culprit regarding the pogroms were the nationalist forces under Petliura."(9)*

Jabotinsky came to an agreement with Mussolini whereby the latter established a navy school at Civitavechia in 1934 as a training camp for the youth Zionist group of his, Betar, in order to produce a navy for the future Jewish state:

"This school was able to function right up to 1937. Jabotinsky was convinced- and managed to convince others- that it would be better for the Palestinian Jews for the Zionist movement and for Jews all over the world if Fascist Italy became the mandatory power in Palestine instead of Great Britain."(10) and

> *"at the same period Mussolini was cautioning the leaders of the international Zionist movement to be prudent and trying to dissuade them from organising or attempting to organise an anti-German movement."(11)*

Mussolini praised Jabotinsky in a conversation with the Chief Rabbi of Rome,David Pinto saying that:

> *"For Zionism to succeed you need to have a Jewish state with a Jewish flag and language. The man who really understands this is your fascist Jabotinsky."(12)*

And Mussolini,had in turn been told by Nahum Sokolow of the Zionist Executive that:

"true Jews had nver fought against him"

and this endorsement was echoed by Jewish periodicals the world over. Nathan Weinstock notes that:

"the Italian representatives to the Zionist Congress held in Prague in 1933-Sacerdoti and Lante Lattes- did their best to moderate anti-German statements. Hachsharot (training camps for pioneers) were established in Italy with official governmental approval. In short by the middle of the thirties, Mussolini was the darling of European Zionists as well as a hero to most Italian Jews." (13)

Mussolini also told Nahum Goldmann, the World Jewish Congress leader when he visited him (one wonders if there were any Zionist leaders who did NOT visit the worlds first fascist leader) that:

(7) Moshe Menhuin,' Decadence of Judaism in Our Time'(Institute of Palestinian Studies),1969 p46
(8) quoted by Reuben Ainsztein,'Jewish' Resistance in Nazi Occupied Eastern Europe',London 1974 p151
(9) Lacquer p441
(10) Lucy Steinberg,'Not As A Lamb;Jews Against Hitler'Gordon' & Cremones, University Press,Glasgow p56
(11) Ibid p.61 (12)M Zohar,Ben Gurion,The Armed Prophet (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall,New Jersey 1968 p46.
(13) N Weinstock,'Zionism;A False Messiah'Inklinks,1979 p150/1,see Michael A Ledeen'Italian Jews' & Fascism'Judaism Vol 18 no 3 (...

"You must create a Jewish state. I am myself a Zionist. I have also said this to Dr Weizzman. You must have a true state...I will help you have a Jewish state."(14)

When Mussolini joined with Hitler, the Revisionists found a sponsor in the anti-Semitic Polish government under Marshall Pilsudski. These Polish anti-Semites trained Betar in the Carpathian mountains and the Zionists proposed that Poland:

"ask Britain to turn over the mandate for Palestine to you and make it in effect a Polish colony. You could then move all your unwanted Jews to Palestine."(15)

And the 20th Zionist Congress (Zurich,3-17.8.37) decided to send Chaim Weizzmann,the President:

"to Poland and Rumania to ensure the support of those countries for the creation of a Jewish state. The policy of those states was in reality very clear. A community ofnearly 3½ million Jews lived in Poland and nearly 800 000 Jews lived in Rumania. Just like Berlin, Warsaw and Bucharest were interested in seeing the Jews leave their national territory. So those two capitals were very favourable to the arguments put forward by the Zionists."(16)

Walter Lacquer,himself a noted Zionist historian and apologist,could not fail to raise the question which has haunted the Zionist movement since its inception, namely its relationship to the anti-Semites:

"It was a dilemma which faced Zionist leaders from Herzl onwards and caused them much heart searching. Thirty years later Weizmann was to be received in audience by Mussolini...to have refrained from meeting dictators and anti-Semites would have saved them a great many moral conflicts. But it would have severely limited their freedom of action..."(17)

From the very beginning, the Zionists realised that theirs and the anti-Semites interests conicided. After Herzl wrote the programmatic pamphlet, 'Der Judenstaat (the Jewish State or 'State of the Jews') which helped to bind the various Zionist fragments into one cohesive movement politically, and which outlined both the nature and means of achieving the future state, he recalled the reaction to it:

"Was at the printing office and talked with the managers...both are presumably anti-Semites. They greeted me with genuine cordiality. They liked my pamphlet."(18)

Similarly the atni-Semite Edouard Drumont wrote in La Libre Parole that Herzl accepted in his Jewish State,many of the accusations levelled at the Jews by those such as himself.*(19)*
Hanna Arendt tells how a von Mildenstein (see later) required Adolph Eichmann:

"to read der Judenstaat,the famous Zionist classic which converted Eichmann promptly and forever to Zionism...as late as 1939 he seems to have protested against desecrators of Herzl's grave in Vienna."(20)

In welcoming anti-Semitism Herzl wrote:

"Great exertions will hardly be necessary to spur on the movement. Anti semites provide the necessary impetus."21)

(14Ibid p151
(15) R Briscoe,'For the Life of Me'Longmanns 1959,London 1959 p268
(16) Eliahu Ben Elissar,p204,La' Diplomatique du IIIie Reich et les Juifs
(17) Lacquer op.cit p126
(18) Marvin Lowenthall'The Diaries of T Herzl'New York 1962 p91,cited in Zionism' & Racism,Billig' & Sons,International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racism,Klaus Herrmann p206; Distributed BAZO
(19) D Stewart,Herzl,p25
(20) Arendt,'Eichmann in Jerusalem;A Report on the Banality of Evil'p41,1979
(21) Herzl,The Jewish State,H Pordes,London 1967 p57 cited in Marion Woolfson 'Prophets in Babylon,Jews in the Arab World' p114

In regard to the Grand Duke of Baden, Frederich I, Herzl noted:

"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 anti-Semitism." (22)

And when planning his meeting with the German ruler he noted that:

"To the German Kaiser I shall say-'let us go we are aliens! They do not let us dissolve into the population nor are we able to do so."(23

When Zionist attention shifted towards Britain, anti-Semites were the first to receive Herzl's attention. In 1902 he appeared before the Aliens Commission, set up to formulate restrictions on Jewish immigration

"Herzl's appearance before the commission could have only two effects. The anti-Semites would be able to say that' Mr Herzl, the expert, maintained that a Jew could never become an Englishman."(24)

The Aliens Act, which came from the work of the Atiens Commission, following the agitation of the British Brothers League,was introduced into Parliament by none other than Arthur J Balfour, author of the Balfour Declaration in 1917. And not only was Balfour, then Home Secretary and later Foreign Secretary, an anti-Semite, so was his Prime Minister Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary. Of Lloyd George, an ardent Zionist and a supporter of Hitler in the thirties, it was said:

"He does not care a damn for the Jews or their past or their future." (25)

Similarly Churchill, who played such a pivotal role in the establishment of two very similar states, namely Ulster and Israel, was not above writing about Trotsky's:

"Schemes of a world wide communistic state under Jewish domination."(26)

The anti-Semites wanted the various nations to be rid of 'their' Jews and the Zionists also wanted the Jews to depart. The Zionists only qualification was that their destination be Palestine. Up to the first World War, there was a massive emigration of Jews from the poverty of Eastern Europe, treading the paths of the Irish and other national minorities before them. Virtually none chose to go to an inhospitable Palestine. As was pointed out:

"It was precisely the Zionists who showed themselves ready to free Germany of its Jews...the only Jews with whom, in the final analysis, various organs of the Third Reich and in particular the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Economy were to establish real working relations, were in effect the Zionists and the Palestinian Jews."(27)

As early as the 20th June 1932,

"300 Nazis marched through the streets of Breslau and terrorised Jewish passers by shouting,'Let the Jews go to Palestine."(28)

Heinrich Class, President of the Pan German League, who on Hitlers' elevation to power was made an honorary member of the Reichstage,wrote:

"Those who regard the Jews as a foreign race,which despite its participation in all the products of our culture,did not become German...must

(22) *Lowenthall op.cit. p118,Zionism p206*
(23) *T.Herzl,'Tagebuches, Vol II p27*
(24) *Lacquer op.cit. p119*
(25) *Asquith cited by Leanord Stein,p149-50,'The Balfour Declaration'London 1963*
(26) *Zionism versus Bolshevism,'Illustrated Sunday Herald' 8.2.80*
(27) *Eliahu Ben Elissar, La Diplomatique du IIIe Reich et les Juifs pp86/7*
(28) *J M Wise,'Swastika,the Nazi Terror',New York 1933 p45*
(27) *see also H Agar'The Saving Remnant' London 1960 on the original attitude of the SS to the Zionists*

rejoice over the fact that among the Jews themselves the nationalist movement called Zionism is gaining more and more adherents. One must take ones' hat off 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 laws of race...THE ZIONISTS CONFI M WHAT THE ENEMIES OF THE JEWS, THE A IHE IENTS OF 'THE' IACIAL THEO H HAVE ALWAYS ASSE ITE D...German and Jewish nationalists are of one opinion in regard to the indestructability of the Jewish race." (29) *my emphasis*

The book 'Wenn Ich der Kaiser War' (which went into 5 editions before the war) laid out the programme adopted by the Nazis in 1938 when Jewish property was confiscated. As Dawidowicz noted:

"German anti-Semites regarded Class's book as 'trailblazing' and his influence on the National Socialists was decisive." (30)

And so we see how Zionism legitimised all that the anti-Semites and later the Nazis, had to say. Is it any wonder that the anti-Zionist and socialist Bund attacked them so fiercely, and that the Jewish workers despised them? Similarly Theodore Fritsch stated:

"We still consider the Zionists as the most honest of Jews...we therefore demand together with the Zionists 'a clean separation' and the settlement of the Hebrews in a special Jews dominion."(31)

Fritsch was described as the 'grand old man of anti-Semitic propaganda and

"a lynchpin in the anti-Semitic movement was the author of a classic anti-Semitic text, 'Antisemiten Katechismus' (Anti Semtitic Catechism) renamed 'Handbuch der Judenfrage' of which Himmler said, "one can find all the relevant material...If only some of the eternally blind could have it put before their eyes."(32)

After the Nazis had come to power, the Zionists continued to receive warm praise. Schwarze Korps, paper of the SS, argued that the Zionists alone in the Jewish community should be supported:

"The Zionists adhere to a strict racial position and by emigrating to Palestine they are helping to build their own Jewish state."(33)

The Nazis ,just like the British with their Balfour Declaration and McMahon/Hussein double dealings sought to deal with both the pro-Nazi Mufti and the Zionists at one and the same time. The Nazis consistently encouraged emigration to Palestine:

"In addition to the flow of Jewish refugees from Germany to Eastern Europe ...a new type of immigration headed towards Palestine organised from the ports of Eastern Mediterranean early in 1939...But to a great extent it was organised by Gestapo agents bent on making Central Europe Judenrein...When passengers are needed...Jews are rounded up and threatened with the concentration camps unless they leave Germany. 'Where can we go' they plead, 'Palestine' replies the Gestapo...It was well known that the refugee traffic was run with Gestapo consent and sometimes on their strnuous initiative."(34)

The anti-Semites were not slow to recognise a coincidence of interest. And those that remained also saw Zionism, with its emphasis not on fighting anti-Semitism but on encouraging emigration as legitimising anti-Semitism:

(29) If I Were the Kaiser, 1912, D Frymman (pseudonym)
(30) Lucy Dawidowicz, 'War Against the Jews', Pelican 1975 p88
(31) Der Hammer (Leipzig) January 1922, cited in Hermann op.cit p207
(32) Dawidowicz op.cit. pp38, 68, 104
(33) Ibid p118
(34) M Wischnitzer 'To' Well in Safety', Philadelphia 1948, cited in Sykes pp220/1

"It should be remembered that the great majority of East European Jews were, up to the outbreak of the second World War, opposed to Zionism... the most fanatical enemies of Zionism were precisely the workers, those who spoke Yiddish...they were the most determined opponents of the idea of an emigration from East Europe to Palestine...in the idea of an evacuation, of an exodus, from the countries in which they had their homes and in which their ancestors had lived for centuries, the anti-Zionists saw an abdication of their rights, a surrender to anti-Semitism. To them anti-Semitism seemed to triumph in Zionism, which recognised the legitimacy and the validity of the old cry 'Jews get out!' The Zionists were agreeing to get out."(35)

As Dawidowicz wrote:

"The Zionists and the Ostjuden...were the more conspicuous minorities among German Jews, for they challenged the central tenet of German Jewish existence- Jewish belongingness to Germany.' During the life of the Weimar Republic, most German Jews regarded Zionism as an alien doctrine."(36)

The bourgeois leaders of the Jewish community in Britain felt the same way. In a letter to the Times (24.5.17) David Anexander and Claude Montefiore President of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo Jewish Association respectively, wrote pointing out that:

"A Jewish political nationality was an anachronism" and that it would *"compromise the Jews wherever they had secured equal rights for all."(37)*

This was the accusation of virtually all Zionism's Jewish opponents namely that it would legitimate anti-Semitism. And Leon wrote whilst working for the 4th International in Nazi occupied Belgium that :

> "The Zionist illusion began to lose its attractiveness...In Poland the last elections revealed that the Jewish masses were turning completely away from Zionism. The Jewish masses began to understand *that Zionism not only could not sericusly improve their situation, but that it was furnishing weapons to the anti-Semites by its theories of the objectiv necessity of Jewish emigration."(38)*

Of the twenty Jewish Council seats, the Zionists gained precisely one.

(35) *Isaac Deutscher, 'The Non Jewish Jew' & Other Essays-The' Russian Revolution and the Jewish Question' pp66/7*
(36) *Dawidowicz op.cit p218*
(37) *Lacquer op.cit p194*
(38) *Leon op.cit. p255*

ZIONIST IDEOLOGY

Zionists will often argue that while a co-incidence of interests between themselves and the anti-Semites exists, their political and philosophical world view, that is ideology sharply differs. But on closer analysis the similarity in outlook which made cooperation so easy is all to evident. Herzl in his 'Der Judenstaat' saw Zionism as a means of deflecting support for socialism amongst Jewish workers, just as the reactionaries used anti-Semitism to deflect the anti-Capitalism of the non-Jewish workers.

"In his memoranda, Herzl played on the fear of the Kaiser and his collaborators of revolutionary socialism Jews would continue to supply the revolutionary parties with leaders and lieutenants unless a remedy was found for their plight."(1)

And Herzl told Von Plehve:

"Help us faster to land and the revolt will end. So will the defection to the socialist ranks."(2)

In fact Herzl boasted that Zionism would dissolve all revolutionary socialist elements among the Jews. *(3)*

The anti-Semitism of the ruling classes was not aimless and based upon a personal dislike of things Jewish. On the contrary it recognised as did the Bolsheviks, that the Jewish proletariat was the most likely to be won over to the cause of revolutionary socialism because of the oppression and poverty they suffered, and it was thiswhich helped foster their anti-Semitic prejudices, in addition to the Jews being handy economic scapegoats. In much the same way that Hitler 20 years later was to hate the Jews because of his hatred of socialist revolution and his identification of the former with the latter. Of Plehve it was said that:

"What we pursued in the Jew was the revolutionary."(4)

As Lacquer noted:

"Herzl's critics maintained ...that he made a deal with Plehve promising that Jewish Socialists would no longer attack the tsarist government."(5)

And similarly the timing of the Balfour Declaration (coming as it did just days before the revolution in Russia, was not accidental. It was hoped that by giving support to Zionism, the Jewish working class in Russia might in turn give support to the allies - a somewhat forlorne hope. But for Balfour:

"Zionism was a valuable antidote to the revolutionary aspirations of the Jewish masses."(6)

and not surprisingly the *"Tsarist government...favoured the establishment of an independent Jewish state capable of absorbing several millions of them."(7)*

But according to Moses Hess, the **first modern political Zionist**, in his novel Rome & Jerusalem:

"The race struggle is the primary one, the class struggle is secondary."

Hess had no doubt at all where he stood in the political divide, when the question of socialism or nationalism reared its head. It is Hess incidentally who is held to have inspired Marx's essay 'On the Jewish Question', which in fact used the Jewish Question to illustrate wider philosophical and political questions. Hess's article bore the title 'On the Essence of Money' and it was noted that:

(1) The Complete Diaries, T Herzl, New York 1960, 5 Vols p769 cited in Lacquer see also Leanord Stein, The Balfour Declaration p325
(2) Ibid. p124
(3) Menhin op.cit pp46/7
(4) Baruch Hagani, 'Le Sionisme Politique et son fondateur' p170
(5) Lacquer op.cit. p125
(6) see Loreen Ingrams, Palestine Papers 1917-22 'Seeds of Conflict' London 1972 p7 and Stein op.cit p340 cited in Weinstock 'Zionism False Messiah' p99

"The similarities between Hess's article and Marx's Judenfrage are striking and can only be accounted for on the supposition that Marx copied heavily from Hess's essay presuming it would not be published."(8)

Marx's essay is held by many Zionists, erroneously, to be anti-Semitic, but they never mention who in fact it was who inspired it!

As Herzl's relationship with the various anti-Semitic rulers developed he came to the conclusion that:

"the anti-Semites will be our most dependable friends...our allies."(9)

and as Lacquer notes:

"many Jewish institutions and individuals claimed there was no Jewish Questi ...why stir up trouble and supply ammunition to the anti-Semites who had argued all along that the Jews constituted a nation apart with their own secret government."(10)

But as Lucas, a critical Zionist historian notes, Herzl's political Zionism

"was derived from the analysis of anti-Semites, many assumptions of which it shared; that the Jews were unique in a metaphysical sense and could not assimilate...and that anti-Semitism was a natural expression of folk feeling and hence ineradicable...the endorsement of anti-Semitic assumptio and assertions of the national character of the community was directly contrary to the beliefs and aspirations of the Jews of the West and it is not surprising that they vehemently rejected Zionism and regarded it as a threat to their progress and their very security. In the end however, the Zionist doctrine accorded closely with the experience of the Jewish middle class."(11)

and as Lacquer notes :

"the Zionists were in a position of strength because it was already obvious before the first World War that the tide was running against liberalism... the anti-liberal tide...(that) strengthened the Zionist thesis also put Zionism into undesirable ideological proximity with right wing and reactionary movements and ideas."(12)

The Zionists accepted the views fashionable in pro-imperialist circles, that the world was divided into superior (white) races and inferior (black) races. Those which were civilised and those which were savage. Such was the staple diet of racism which provided the ideological justification for the imperialist domination of the majority of the world by the Western powers, who went in search of raw materials, markets and pools of cheap labour. But the racism which justified colonial oppression, was also refined and used against the national minorities of Europe, not least the Jews. Racism (like sexism) legitimised the inequalities of the existing capitalist order, both between and within nations, and provided convenient scapegoats for the ruling classes. There is no better example of Herzl's racist and colonialist mentality than the account of his visit to Palestine. Like colonialists before and since, he took no account of the Palestinian population which had been living there for hundreds of years. As Amos Elon, an Israeli writer noted:

"The natives seemed to have vanished before his eyes...or else they assumed no political importance in his mind."(13)

(8) D McLellan, 'The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx' (London) 1970 pp154/5 cited in Weinstock op.cit. p268

(9) J B Agus. 'The meaning of Jewish History' p423 cited in Zionism & Racism p24, Humphrey Walz, 'Contrasting Perspectives & Perceptions'

(10) Lacquer p103

(11) Lucas op.cit. p30

(12) Lucas p397

(13) Amos Elon, Herzl, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London 1975 p290 cited in Marion Woolfson 'Jews in the Arab Lands-Prophets in Babylon' Faber p113

And in the words of Israel Zangwill, a member of the Zionist Executive in a phrase which was used continuously by the Zionist movement, Palestine was:

"a Land without a people waiting for a people without a land."(14)

But a certain Tschlenow provides an interesting justification of Zangwill's infamous saying:

"It is truethat the number of Arabs (in Palestine-TG) is higher than the number of Jews by about half a million, but on the whole Jews and Arabs today comprise no more than ten to fifteen percent of the population which formerly inhabited Jewish (?) Palestine. The country is therefore uninhabited and awaits those who will colonise it and regenerate it."(15)

And as other critics noted:

"Herzl visits Palestine but seems to find nobody there but his fellow Jews, Arabs apparently vanish before him as in their own Arabian nights."(16)

But Herzl saw them long enough to recommend that before they left

"the natives should be put to work exterminating wild animals such as snakes to which the Jews were not accustomed."(17)

Even Weizmann had said in 1931:

"If you look at prewar Zionist literature...you will hardly find a word about the Arabs"

and Lacquers' chapter on the Arabs in entitled 'The Unseen Question'. And yet the Zionists were for all the talk about an empty land, aware of the presence of the Palestinians. It was simply their racist mentality which prevented them becoming a factor in their calculations. When the 'cultural' Zionist Ahad Ha'am visited Palestine in 1891, he wrote:

"We abroad are used to believing that Palestine is almost entirely desolate, an uncultivated desert in which anyone who wants to buy land can do so at will. But this is not so. In the whole country it is difficult to find arable land that is not already cultivated."(18)

And Max Nordau, Herzl's Deputy exclaimed:

"But there are Arabs in Palestine! I did not know"(19)

And the Haycraft Commission, set up after the first wave of riots in Palestine, concluded that the Zionist Organisation:

"desired to ignore the Arabs as a factor to be taken into serious consideration."(20)

But it was official policy of the Zionist Executive in the 1920s not to enter into political discussions with the Arabs (Lacquer p249). And when at the Jewish Agency Council meeting in August 1937 in Zurich, Judah Magnes proposed negotiations with the Arabs he was shouted down and ruled out of order! Presumably it was out of order to mention the Palestinians. *(21)*

And the same conclusion is reached by Lucas:

"early voices calling for a political appraisal of what for Zionism became the 'Arab Question' were ignored in the higher councils of the movement and virtually silenced within Palestine by the fury of the reaction they

(14) Zwangwill, Israel The Return to Palestine; New Liberal Review II December 1901, cited in David Hirst 'The Gun' & the Olive Branch' p19
(15) EW Tschlenow 'La Guerre lo revolution russe et le sionisme, Copenhagen 1917 pp18/9 cited in Weinstock p79
(16) JN Jeffries; Palestine The Reality, London 1939 p40 cited in Lacquer p210
(17) Complete' Diaries of T Herzl, herzl Press and T Yoseloff, New York 1960 Vol One p98 cited in Hirst op.cit p18
(18) Ahad Haam, Collected Works (Hebrew) Vol 3 pp234/5 Tel Aviv 1977
(19) cited in 'Israelis, Founders and Sons', Amos Elon p148
(20) George Kirk, 'A Short History of the Middle East' London 1966, Methuen p157
(21) See J Marlowe, 'Seat of Pilate' London Cresset Press, 1959, cited in Sykes p

provoked...(they) associated any tenderness...with the sort of minority psychology which was typical of European Jewry and which was repudiated by Zionists."(22)

Eugenics, the 'science' of selective breeding which explained why the manority of the population were poor whilst the few were wealthy, was part of the ideological baggage of the early Zionist theoreticians. Just as there were elite races, so there were elites WITHIN the races (and of course 'inferior' elements). The wealthy were naturally part of the elite, and intelligence theories and IQ tests were used to provide the intellectual gloss. Poverty too was natural because the poor brought it upon themselves and one therefore had to control their breeding through forced sterilisation if necessary. It is from this ideological strata, the most reactionary segment of bourgeois ideology, that Zionism sprang.

In 1904,L'Echo Sioniste featured the contributions of Zionist scholar Herman Jacobsohn on craniometry. In a series of 5 articles he reveiwed the cranial measurements,eye and hair colour etc. in order to prove the existence of a 'Jewish Racial Type.'(23)

Today similar 'factsheets' are published by the Racial Preservation Society in order to prove that black people are inferior to the white anglo saxon races.In fact all the early Zionist theoreticians supported the racial science,social darwinist and Egenicist movements. For instance Max Nordau, was a follower of Lombroso the social Darwinist criminologist,Nordau claimed that:

> *"The Jews possess a greater enterprising spirit and abilities than the average European,to say nothing about all those Asians or Africans."(24)*

Nordau who briefly succeeded Herzl was author of a book 'Degeneration' (1968,New York) which attacked virtually every progressive thinker in racial/biological terms. And Moses Hess wrote in a similar vein that:

> *"Ihave even heard it said quite seriously that the Indo Germanic race improves its quality by mixing with the Jewish race."(25)*

Even Walter Lacquer, a Zionist himself, noted regarding the early Zionist theoreticians that:

> *"Far beyond the wishes and aspirations of individuals, there was the objective Jewish Question. This referred to sociological factors and also to the distinct character of the Jews as a race. Some western writers were influenced by the writings on race theory published during the two decades before the first World War and a few (including Ruppin and Elias Auerbach) pursued their own studies in this field. The theory of racial constancy taught that certain distinctive qualities were inherited irrespective of social,cultural and geographical circumstances...These views were later absorbed by the Nazis and provided the justification for Hitlers' racial policy."(26)*

Dr Ruppin,a relatively unknown but powerful figure in the Zionist project, opened the Jewish National Funds' Palestine Office in 1908 and headed the Palestine Office of the World Zionist Organisation during the 1920s and 30s,lending powerful support to the Kibbutz type of settlement (see later),he was someone that Dayan was prone to quote at length. In Zionist terms he was a 'dove',associated for a time with Juda Magnes's group,

(22) Lucas op.cit. pp140/1
(23) M R Marrus,The Politics of Assimilation (Oxford 1971) p271 cited in Zionism & Racism,p209
(24) Max Nordau to this People,New York 1941,p73 cited by S Goranov p32 in Zionism & Racism
(25) A Hertzberg,'The Zionist Idea' p127,New York 1959 cited in Ryan,Zionism & Racism p38
(26) Lacquer op.cit. pp386/7

Brit Shalom, (Peace League), Today the Jensens and Eysencks of this world continue to justify the oppression of women and black people in terms of their biological and genetically inherited differences.
In a similar vein Ben Frommer, a revisionist Zionist, outlined the theoretical tenets of his brand of Zionism:

"It is presumptious on the part of a Jew to demand that he be treated as lovingly as say a Teuton in a Teutonic country, or as a Pole in a Polish country. He must jealously guard his life and liberty but he must candidly recognise that he doesn't 'belong'. The liberal fiction of perfect equality is doomed because it is unnatural."(27)

As the modern Zionist historian Y Elam wrote in the Mapai newpaper:

"Zionism has not regarded anti-Semitism as abnormal, absurd, deformed and marginal phenomenon. It has regarded anti-Semitism as a natural phenomenon, something given and normal in the attitude of gentiles to the presence of Jews in their midst...a normal, almost rational reaction of the gentiles to the abnormal and deformed situation of the Jewish people in the diaspora."(28)

Zionism also distinguishes itself by its worship of the state. Israel's very name is the 'State of Israel' and everything the Zionists did from their beginnings in Basle in 1897 to their declaration of independence in 1948 was geared to one thing- the establishment of a state. Herzl's book was entitled the 'State of the Jews'. Isarel Shahak, President of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, commenting upon this state worship noted in reference to the Bible which is used as a source of legitimation for the state:

"But to be devoted to the State? I can well imagine Amos or Isiah splitting their sides with laughter if somebody had demanded them to be 'devoted' to the Kingdom of Israel or the Kingdom of Judah." (29)

Today the destruction of the state of Israel is automatically taken to mean the killing of every Israeli, just as the destruction of other colonialist regimes such as in Rhodesia, was taken by the settlers to mean white babies murdered in their sleep etc. Such are the siege fantasies of a settler population. But in Israel even this is exceeded as the state is virtually worshipped. Zionists talk of 'our national institutions' in revered and awed tones. Worship of the state is part and parcel of right wing bourgeois and fascist ideology.

"In asserting at the end of the 19th Century the centrality of the national principle contained within liberal thought, it (Zionism) was conceding the defeat of the individualist principle. While asserting the Jewish determination to obtain freedom as understood in the modern world, Zionism simultaneously in a sense repudiated that hope by sharing many key assumptions with the doctrine of anti-Semitism."(30)

In Israel the most revered institution of the state, the army, has by virtue of the Emergency Defence Regulations and other regulations, dictatorial powers which it uses daily against the Palestinians. Socialists quite rightly see the state as an instrument of class rule and in no way neutral. Hence why the advent of socialism would coincide with the withering away

(27) B Frommer, 'The Significance of a Jewish State', Jewish Call Shanghai 5/33
(28) Y Elam, New Assumptions to the same Zionism, (Hebrew) in Ot 1967 cited in 'Zionism; Why We Oppose It' Moshe Machover pp8/9, Pal. Solidarity Campaign
(29) A Jewish Duty or a Jewish Apostasy, The Times, 27.1.73
(30) Lucas op.cit. p18

of the state. But for Ben Gurion this was certainly not true:

> *"If the Zionist idea has any true content, it is the content of the state. Zionism is the desire for a state of the Jews, the yearning for the country of Palestine and for the establishment of a government."(31)*

There were others in their time who argued that what the German people wanted was their own national state. We also know what they or rather the Nazis did with that state. And in fact at the very same time that the Nazis were consolidating their hold on power, the Zionists too were arguing that what the Jews needed was a state of their own just like the German nation.

> *"Everywhere throughout the world symptoms develop which spell doom to the cornerstone values of liberalism. Parliament and democracy are increasingly shattered. The exagerrated harmful emphasis on the value of the individual is recognised to be mistaken. The concept and reality of the nation and the people is gaining, to our happiness, more and more ground. The last and most powerful and sublime formulation of national rights and the rejection of internationalism is found in the demands of socialism that it be founded exclusively on the unique character of every nation. The special demands of every nation namely national socialism... the state cannot desire any other Jews except those who subscribe to this principle amongst their own people. It cannot desire to have sycophantic Jews. It must demand from us recognition of our absolute uniqueness and qualities, since only those who give full honour to their own uniqueness, their own blood, could gain the respect and honour which is bestowed by similarly inspired nations subscribing to the same principle."(32)*

(31) *Ben Gurion, Memoirs, op.cit. p275 cited in Khamsin 6, Machover' & Offenburg, 'Zionism' & Its Scarecrows'*

(32) *J Prinz, 'Wir Juden' pp150/1, 155/6 (Berlin) cited in Uri Davies, Utopia Incoporated op.cit. p18*

SOCIALIST ZIONISM

It is often claimed that Zionism is a progressive,even socialist movement. What is not often understood is that without exception, the early Zionist theoreticians were reactionary to the core. The phenomena of 'Labour' or 'Socialist' Zionism occured because the Jewish workers in Eastern Europe were attracted to the left given the latter were the only ones who fought anti-Semitism, and it was necessary for Zionism to use the language of the left if they were to ever match the appeal of the left to Jewish workers.

> *"The Bunds' leaders claimed that the Socialism of the left Zionists was a deliberate sham, that they wore a red mask to hide their real intentions and to adjust themselves to the radical Zeitgeist."(1)*

Of 'left' Zionism, Lucas notes that:

> *"Zionism came into direct conflict with the Jewish proletariats perceived interest. It was in this context that the ideas of socialist Zionism were formulated."(2)*

And yet many Jewish people genuinely believed it was possible to be both Zionist and Socialist. Some found out to their cost under Nazi occupation that the movement they had joined was not one which was formed to fight anti-Semitism. Some particularly those in the further left groups such as Hashomer Hatzair, made common cause where they could with non or anti-Zionist Jews and left groups in combatting anti-Semitism. But what mattered was: not the individual motives and sincerity of left Zionists. After all in the Russian Revolution, a 'Borochov' regiment fought with the Red army and the Russian Poale Zion joined the Bolshevik Party after 1917(though keeping a certain limited independence up to about 1925). When those fighting for socialism were on the offensive, then Zionism found it difficult to hold its own and in the left Zionists in particular, the socialist aspect gained ground as the Zionist dream faded. Conversely when the fight for socialism seemed more distant and when the reactionaries were triumphant,(as after the 1905 Russian Revolution and the 1881 pogroms) then support for Zionism and emigration to Palestine increased. Zionism like all reactionary nationalisms, only offer hope to those who at times of defeat and despair can see no other solution, and when the achivement of a classless society is further away than ever. But within 'left' Zionism there was this constant battle between class solidarity and national solidarity. A minority in Achdut Haavodah, Hashomer Hatzair and Left Poale Zion,at different times broke away to either form as in Belgium part of the 4th International or in Palestine the Communist Party.

In Palestine itself, the Zionist Organisation not only agreed but was anxious to see the British authorities suppress and deport the leaders of the Jewish Communist Party MOPSI (Mifleget Poalim Sotzialistim Ivrim) after the May Day riots in 1921.(3)
The Palestinian Communist Party moved from a position of left Zionism to an anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist outlook. It was formally expelled from the Zionist Histadrut in April 1924 and the Zionist Labour leader, Berl

(1) Ben Ehud,Zionismus oder Sozialismus (Yiddish) Warsaw 1899p30 and Origins of the Russian-Jewish,L Monst, Melbourne,1947 p136 cited in Lacquer p273
(2) Lucas op.cit. p35
(3) See Nathan Weinstock,'Zionism A False Messiah'Inklinks,pp115-17

Katznelson, referring to them said:

"We don't want national (as opposed to social-TG) strikebreakers in our midst."(4)

The Communist Party organised its own union, Ichud, after their expulsion and the 4th Congress of the Communist International in 1922 condemned, referring to the Histadrut and others:

"The pseudo socialist tendencies towards colonialism of some categories of well paid European workers in the colonies." and as Weinstock notes:

"the tendency to create separate European communist organisations was simply a concealed form of colonialism incompatible with proletarian internationalism."(5)

But the Histadrut, a Jewish only union, tried hard to prevent both Jewish Arab working class solidarity (for example by trying to split the joint railworkers union (see M Offenburg op.cit) and at the same time trying to prevent the development of nationalist consciousness among Arab workers through the establishment in 1927 of its own Arab section, the Palestine Labour League. As Hurewitz notes after the Arab revolt, its membership

"shrank almost to the vanishing point. To offset Arab nationalist indoctrination against Zionism, which tended to keep the League's direct influence over Arab workers at a minimum, the Histadrut exploited every advantage."

This included using Histadrut ownership of companies like Solel Boneh, Israels largest Construction Co., to insist that Arab workers (who if there were government contracts had to be employed) join what was in effect a company union. (6)

As Weinstock says of the Palestine Labour League:

"The Histadrut inevitably found it difficult to organise Arabs whilst denying them equality on the Labour Market."(7)

The President of the Zionist Executive also held discussions with the British Police on how to combat Communist propaganda among the Arabs, (just as they were to supply similar information to the Nazis later on)*(8)*

This shows quite clearly that what the Zionists feared above all was not that the leadership of the Arabs should fall into the hands of feudal reactionaries like the Mufti of Jerusalem and the Nashashibis (most of whom were subsidised by the Arab Department of the Jewish Agency under Kalvarisky) but that a left wing would emerge among the Arabs which would not divert the anti-Zionist struggle into the blind alley of religious fanaticism.

The Kibbutzim, (where less than 5% of Israelis live) areoften cited as examples of Israeli socialism. Leaving aside their role as employers and exploiters of Arab labour, it should be noted that Kibbutzim always served as the vehicles of expansion (as well as being Jewish only!). For the very act of colonisation required collective action in the face of Arab resistance. Just as State ownership of industry doesn't necessarily change the capitalist nature of it, so collective forms of colonisation does not change the nature of colonialism.

(4) Mario Offenburg, Kommunismus in Palaestina Nation und Kalassein der anti-Kolonialen Revolution, Meisenheim am Glan 1975 (Ph D Thesis, W Berlin 1975) p187 see also Recent Studies on the History of the Palestine CP, Flores Khamsin No 7 pp41-51

(5) Weinstock p185 op.cit citing Schram Helene Carrere d'Encausse pp 194-5 London, Marxism & Asia 1969

(6) Hurewitz, pp122/3 'The Struggle for Palestine' 1976 Schocken Books

(7) Weinstock op.cit. p186 citing Revusky pp238-42 (8) Ibid. p134

Lucas described the Kvutza, forerunners of the Kibbutzim but which were much smaller, as the result of:

> *"an alliance between the embryonic labour movement and the Zionist financial institutions. The pragmatism of the more radical socialists among the pioneers was revealed in their readiness to enter such an alliance with the Jewish bourgeoisie abroad."*

and it was an associate of Ruppin, Professor Franz Oppenheimer, who :

> *"propagated cooperative theories in Palestine...The Kvutza did not originate as a deliberate social experiment. Its forms were elaborated by accretion in the school of circumstances."(9)*

And it was probably Ruppin himself no socialist who summed it up best:

> *"I can say with absolute certainty : those enterprises in Palestine which are most profit bearing for the businessman are almost the least profitable for the national effort, and per contra many enterprises which are least profitable for the businessman are of high national value."10)*

Which is why Labour Zionism either rejected class struggle or gave it a subordinate position within the national effort, because Zionism always involved class collaboration. A D Gordon, founder of Hapoel Hatzair:

> *"rejected outright the Marxian doctrine of class struggle and formulated an idealistic theory of nationalism in which social goals were subordinated to national...Gordon came to the same conclusion as the orthodox socialists that socialism and nationalism were incompatible."'11)*

Ben Gurion from Achdut Haavodah (which in 1930 merged with Hapoel Hatzair to form Mapai):

> *"coined the slogan from class to nation...both perspectives saw the role of labour as a nationalist role...the Zionist themes of nationalism and socialism were henceforth closely intertwined in labour culture."(12)*

and as time took its toll so:

> *"Poale Zion gradually came to give priority to the nationalist range of goals over the socialist."(13)*

Ben Gurion as early as 1906 had at the Congress of the Palestinian Poale Zion in Jaffa opposed Savransky and others who wished to organise Arab labour instead of excluding it. *(14)*

And from the earliest days of Zionist colonisation, explicitly racist attitudes developed amongst the Zionists:

> *"One observer wrote that on a few occasions he had detected an attitude towards the Arabs which reminded him of the way Europeans treated the blacks." (15)* and
>
> *"Levontin, director of the local Anglo-Palestine bank wrote to Wolfssohn the head of the World Zionist Executive, that the young men from Poale Zion were largely responsible for the growing tension...behaving towards the Arabs with arrogance and contempt."(16)* and that:
>
> *"from the outset the pioneers and their trade unions fought for the replacement of Arab by Jewish labour."(17)*

(9) Lucas p56
(10) Ruppin; Building Israel, New York 1949 pp47-9.65
(11) Lucas p46 *(12) Ibid. pp49/50*
(13) Ibid p51
(14) Offenburg op.cit pp146-8 cited in Weinstock op.cit p87
(15) Hugo Bergmann, Jawne und Jerusalem , Prague 1919 p60 cited in Lacquer p217
(16) Quoted in Alsberg, 'The Arab Question in the Policy of the Zionist Executive before the 1st World War' in Shivot Zion 4, p163 cited in Lacquer p219
(17) Lacquer p219

Hans Kohne, as early as 1919, denounced the:

"chauvinism of the new immigrants"(18)

And was it any wonder? Zionism was a colonial project from its very beginnings and it sought to ignore the Palestinians, excluding them first from the economy and then from the country altogether. The official racism of the Zionist movement permeated downwards to the Halutzim (pioneers) as racist attitudes socially and politically. As Israels 1st Prime Minister, Ben Gurion wrote:

"First and foremost I am a Zionist and strive for the concentration of the Jewish people in its own country. Only after that do I see the Arab question arising."(19)

Little wonder that a Harris Poll in Time Magazine (12.4.71) found that 3/4 of Israelis believed Arabs to be "less intelligent" and 2/3 thought Arabs 'inferior'.

With regard to the Boycott policies, many private capitalists and even the British administration often found themselves in opposition, on a mixture of grounds, not the least being that Arab Labour was cheaper being unorganised. Histadrut, stood for General Federation of HEBREW Labour). As Lucas remarks:

"The Histadrut thus found itself in the paradoxical position of defending what appeared to be a reactionary doctrine from what appeared to be a liberal critique by the political right wing."(20)

In fact contributions by United States unions to the Histadrut budget ranged from 2/3 to 3/4 of its entire revenue after the declaration of independence. The AFL-CIO Union in the states has a long history of subverting genuine unions and sponsoring yellow unions.*(21)*

The consequence of their 'national' trade unionism and the relegating of socialist to nationalist goals is that:

"Israels' economy is perhaps unique in the capitalist world in that it is controlled by a labour bureaucracy." (22)

But even that is changing as private capital asserts itself, as shown in the victory of Begin in 1977 and 1981. Yet again the thesis holds that those 'socialists' who stay running a capitalist economy and who relegate their own theory and practise to national aims, end up being changed before the system they operate changes. In practise whenver the needs of Zionism and Socialism conflicted, it was the latter which gave way: *Yitzhak* ben Zvi, Israels second President put it succinctly when, in 1921, as the Histadrut was being formed, he stated that:

"whenever we come accross a contradiction between national and socialist principles, the contradiction should be resolved by relinquishing the socialist principle in favour of the national activity. We shall not accept the contrary attempt to solve the contradiction by dispensing with the national interest in favour of the socialist idea."(23)

Indeed Borochov, the 'Marxist' Zionist forerunner of Hashomer Hatzair and Mapam, used the formulation of an inverted pyramid to describe the Jewish social composition in Eastern Europe. He argued for a postponing of the class

(18) Der Jude, July 19, 1919
(19) Ben Gurion, Memoirs, Part 1 Tel Aviv 1971 pp299/300 Hebrew, cited in Machover op.cit p49.
(20) Lucas p154
(21) Histadrut Executive Committee, Ha Bik Koret ba-Histadrut (Tel Aviv 1949) pp46-7 cited in Lucas op.cit fn p454
(22) Lucas op.cit. p344
(23) Achduth No 16 Tel Aviv 1921 cited in Machover/Offenburg op.cit pp49/50

struggle in Palestine between the Jewish working class and its bourgeoisie until the economic strength of the Yishuv was built up and the pyramid re-inverted. Borochov and the 'left' Zionists argued that if there were to be class struggle, they first needed a Jewish proletariat and that required the investment of a Jewish bourgeoisie, if not the creation of the latter. Hence at least in the short term an alliance with Jewish capital against the Palestinians was necessary. Mapam, which still subscribes to Borochovism, despite portraying itself as a leftist party abroad, is as racist as any of the other Zionist parties. But its left image does not prevent it from trading with South Africa or its Kibbutzim from confiscating Arab lands such as at Kfar Birim or paying differential rates of pay to Arabs.

"Many plants in Israel are trying recently, quietly but intensively to increase their commercial relations with South Africa. One of the most active enterprises in this field is Asia Malaharot belonging to the Kibbutz Ma'abarot of Hashomer Hatzair. The plant has set itself an objective. To increase every year by 20% the export of its mixture for cattle feeding to South Africa. According to the scientific director of the plant, David Shimoni, the export of its produce to South Africa was worth one million dollars."(24)

But Mapam's trade with South Africa is only a logical continuation of the history of this 'left' Zionist group (which incidentally continues to grow weaker in internal Israeli politics as those who don't have to face the strain of reconciling socialism and racism take over). Mapam has continually sacrificed its 'socialist' principles to those of national (ie Zionist) hegemony. As David Hirst wrote of the settlers:

"Their socialism did not extend to their non-Jewish fellow men."(25)

David HaCohen, former Managing Director of Sollel Boneh and described as *"a classical proto-type of a Labour Zionist leader and member of the inner-most circle 'Unser Menschen'* by Uri Davies wrote:

"I had to fight my friends on the issue of Jewish socialism to defend the fact that I would not accept Arabs in my Trade Union, the Histadrut; to defend preaching to housewives that they should not buy at Arab stores; to defend the fact that we stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there... to pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes; to attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash Arab eggs they had bought... to buy dozens of dunums from an Arab is permitted but to sell God forbid one Jewish dunum to an Arab is probibited; to take Rothschild the incarnation of capitalism, as a socialist and to name him the 'benefactor'- to do all that was not easy. And despite the fact that we did it- maybe we had no choice-I wasn't happy about it."(26)

In fact the Histadrut, the Zionist Trade Union was never set up to defend the rights of workers, be they Jewish still less non Jews, it was set up as an instrument of Zionist colonisation and was formed through the joint efforts of the same two parties, Achduth Haavodah and Hapoel Hatzair in 1920 which later formed Mapai. The Histadrut was:

"Under Katznelson's leadership a 'non party'... a roof organisation of Labour Zionism relegating the parties to the cultivation of abstractions"

and it was *"a general union based on direct individual membership rather than a a federation of craft or industrial unions with block membership."(27)*

As Golda Meir said: *"then (1928) I was put on the Histadrut Executive Cttee at a time when this big labour union wasn't just a trade union organisation It was a great colonising agency."(28)* Such was Labour Zionism.

(24) *Yediot Aharanot 12.10.76 cited in' Davies p98 op.cit.*
(25) *Hirst op.cit. p25*
(26) *Ibid p63*
(27) *Lucas pp61, 85*
(28) *Observer 24.1.71 cited in' Davies p142*

THE JEWISH RACE

The leader of the German Zionists and later Deputy Chairperson of the World Jewish Congress, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, (who became a Zionist 'dove' wrote)

> *"(The Jews) have been drawn out of the last recesses of christening and mixed marriages. We are not unhappy about it...the theory of assimilation has collapsed. We are no longer hidden in secret recesses. We want to replace assimilation by something new. The declaration of belonging to the Jewish nation and the Jewish race. A state built according to the principles of purity of the nation and race can only be honoured and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind."(1)*

Prinz went on to declare that:

> *"On the foundation of the new state which has established the principle of race, we wish to fit our community into the total structure so that for us too...fruitful activity for the fatherland is possible. Our acknowledgement of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities. We don't wish to falsify these fundamentals, because we too, are against mixed marriages and are for maintaining the purity of the Jewish group and reject any trespasses of the cultural domain...For its practical aims, Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration even of a government fundamentally hostile to the Jews...the realisation of Zionism could only be hurt by resentment of Jews abroad against the German development. Boycott propaganda ...is in essence fundamentally unZionist, because Zionism wants not to do battle bu to convince and to build."(2)*

Jacob Klatzkin, a Zionist 'radical' no less, wrote:

> *"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 us. A loyal Jew can never be other than a Jewish patriot...We recognise a national unity of Diaspora Jews no matter in which land they may reside...no boundaries can restrain us in...pursuing our own Jewish policy."(3)*

Just as the anti-Semites defined the Jews as a race, despite the physical, cultural, linguistic and even religious differences between Jews of different countries, so too did the Zionists. They accepted that being Jewish was a question primarily of being members of the same Race and Nation, and was not a question of a shared religion. Most early Zionists had in fact been atheists or agnostics. Herzl wrote:

> *"I consider the Jewish Question neither a social nor a religious one... it is a national one...In our native lands where we have lived for centuries we are still decried as aliens...the majority decides who the 'alien' is; this, and all else is the relationship between peoples, it is a matter of power."(4)*

And this idea of a nation was not based on the progressive nationalism of the French Revolution, which asserted the political equality of all, but was a reactionary, racial and biological concept of nationhood directly counterposed to notions of equality, liberty and fraternity. It was no different to the nationalism of the ultra-reactionary German Junker class. Herzl

(1) *J Prinz, 'Wir Juden' Berlin 1934 p154 cited in Khamsin No 6, Pluto Press op.cit*
(2) *Ibid cited in Glaser, 'Some of my best friends are Nazis', Jewish Guardian Vol 2, No 2, November 1978*
(3) *J Klatzkin, 'Krisis und Entscheidung in Judentum', Berlin 1921, p118 cited in Zionism & Racism p204 Klaus Hermann, (Crisis' Decision) see Menhuin pp482/3*
(4) *Herzl, the Jewish state quoted in Hertzberg op.cit. p209, cited in Ryan op.cit p39 also cited in Lacquer p86 based on 1st English translation by Sylvie d'Avigdor*

went on to define a nation as:

"an historical group of men of a recognisable cohesion, held together by a common enemy. Then if you add to that the word Jewish, you would have what I understand to be the Jewish nation."(5)

Nordau similarly in an interview with 'La Libre Parole' in 1903 stated that:

"(Zionism) is not a question of religion but exclusively of race and there is noone with whom I am in greater agreement on this position than M' Drumont."(6)

And 40 years later, Abraham Stern, the terrorist leader of the Stern gang developed this type of thinking further in his first of 18 Principles of Liberation:

"(i) The People
The Jewish People is the chosen people which gave birth to monotheism, to the ethics of the prophets and the culture of the world, it excels in tradition and devotion, its will to live, its endurance and its confidence in the coming liberation."(7)

Jacob Klatzkin explained that:

"To be a Jew means the acceptance of neither a religion nor an ethical creed...in short to be part of the nation one need not believe in the Jewish religion or the Jewish spiritual outlook."(8)

R J Gottheil, Professor of Semitic Languages at Columbia University and the first President of the Federation of American Zionists, wrote in the first official statement by the Federation of its philosophy:

"We believe that the Jews are something more than a purely religious body, that they are not only a race but also a nation."(9)

And of course the idea that Jews, however fragmented and scattered they are, consist of one race and nation, is the basis of the anti-Semitic world conspiracy theory which forms the central core of Nazi ideology. In fact:

"Jews were indignant when an anti-Semite like Ruhs argued that they still constituted one nation..."(10)

Yet again Zionism was legitimising what the anti-Zionists were saying. Moses Hess attributed German anti-Semitism to the fact that:

"The Germans hate the religion of the Jews less than they hate their race- they hate the peculiar faith of the Jews less than their peculiar noses... reform, conversion, education and emancipation, none of these open the gates of society to the German Jew, HENCE HIS' ŒSI Æ TO ŒNY HIS ŔACIAL O ĦGIN."(11)

At the same time, prominent Zionists were quite happy to accept that there were racial differences between Jews and Gentiles which made their co-existence impossible:

"Jewish noses can't be reshaped and black curly hair can't be changed into blond hair or combed straight by christening. The Jewish race is a basic one and reproduces itself in its integrity...the Jewish type has itself always remained the same throughout the course of the centuries...the Jewish type can't be exterminated."(12)

One could be forgiven for thinking that this was another Nazi race theoretician. Of course it was Moses Hess, a 'socialist' Zionist. Little wonder

(5) *Ibid*
(6) *C Parker/Pottins, Labour Review*
(7) *Pi ha Aton 24.2.71 cited in Davies op.cit p150*
(8) *Hertzberg op.cit p317 cited in Ryan op.cit p39*
(9) *Ibid p500*
(10) *Lacquer op.cit. p23* (11) *Ibid. p49 see also p71*
(12) *Hess, 'Rome & Jerusalem-The Last Nationality Question', 1862 pp25/6 cited in Machover/Offenburg op.cit*

that the Zionists saw it as no part of their duty or raison d'etre to fight for an equality of political and social rights for Jews in the countries they lived in. In fact when the prominent French archeologist Salomon Reinach wrote attacking the concept of a Jewish Race, he was in turn attacked by L'Echo Sioniste and accused of assisting:

"The last supreme effort made by the proponents of assimilation to break down every barrier between themselves and the non-Jewish world."(13)

Zionism could only see people in terms of the race and nation they belonged to. The individual existed in order to serve the State,not the other way round. American philosopher,Morris S Cohen wrote in 1919:

"Nationalistic Zionism demands not complete 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.. anti-Semites but draw different conclusions. Instead of the Teuton it is the Jew that is the pure or superior race."(14)

(13) M R Marrus,The Politics of Assimilation (Oxford 1971) p271
(14) Zionism-Tribalism or Liberalism? New Republic 8.3.19 p183 reprinted in Cohen's'The Faith of a Liberal' New York 1946 pp326-33,Gary Smith'Politica Zionism A Jewish Critique' in Zionism & Racism p217

FUTURE JEWISH STATE

Just as racism functioned as an ideological justification of imperialism,so too did Zionism with its messianic message and claims of biblical fulfillment in pursuit of its colonial project. In fact the first people in the modern colonialist era to suggest the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine were non-Jewish imperialists such as Palmerston and Laharrane, Napoleon IIIs Secretary. Laharanne wrote a pamphlet in 1860,"The New Eastern Question: Egyptian and Arabian Empires.Reconstitution of the Jewish Nation" which inspired Hess, the earliest Zionist theoretician to write 'Rome & Jerusalem'. As Weinstock says:

"For his part Hess was captivated right away by the prospect of an alliance of the Jews with French imperialism in the Middle East."(1) and

"In 1839,Palmerston gave instructions to the British Vice Consul in Jerusalem,for the protection of the Jews and the 'restoration of the Jews."(2)

And in 1840 Palmerston wrote on the reasons behind this sudden burst of idealism:

"It would be of manifest importance forthe Sultan to encourage the Jews to return to and settle in Palestine,because the wealth which they would bring with them would increase the resources of the Sultan's dominions, and the Jewish people,returning under the sanction of,protection and at the invitation of the Sultan would be a check upon any future evil designs of Mohammed Ali or his successor...and strongly recommend them to hold out every just encouragement to the Jews of Europe to return to Palestine."(3)

Another similar pamphlet was 'Paris,Rome,Jerusalem ou la question religieuse au XIX siecle'(Paris 1860). As Lacquer remarked:

"Hess drew heavily on Laharannes analysis of the Eastern Question."

The British Consul in Beirut,Colonel Henry Churchill, even submitted in 1841 a plan for Jewish colonisation of Palestine to the Jewish Board of Deputies. Herzl had envisaged that the Jewish state:

"would form part of a defensive wall for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilisation against barbarism,Europe would guarantee its existence."(4)

Those settlers who tried like the Ihud and Brit Shalom to forge a common cause with the Palestinians were told:

"Ishmael is not our uncle. We belong to God,to Europe."(5)

But then even Eichmann and Stahlecker,the latter being commander of the Death Squad Einsatzgruppen A,proposed in the spring of 1941 that an autonomous Jewish state be set up as a Protectorate in Poland as a solution to the Jewish Question.*(6)*

Strange indeed how the solutions posed to the Jewish Question by the Nazis, assorted racialists and Zionists converged,and also how their 'solutions'

(1) Weinstock op.cit p36 *(2) Ibid. p95*
(3) George E Kirk,'A Short History of the Middle East',University Paperbacks Methuen,London 1966 citing A N Hyams on 'The British Consulate in Jerusalem'
(4) Lacquer op.cit. p95
(5) Ibid. p228
(6) Arendt op.cit. p74

stood out in opposition to the socialist solution. The western Jewish bourgeoisie was,however,at this time assimilationist. Religious bodies had played a very important part in colonial enterprises. They often entered the territory first and the home country then sent in an army- purely to protect their freedom to worship of course! Such was the role of Zionism in relation to the conquest of Palestine- no matter that the religious Jewish community in Palestine wanted no part of it.

"Meanwhile in 1920, the Zionist leaders convened an 'Assembly of Deputies' which appointed a 'National Council'(Vaad Leumi)...Orthodox Jews descended from the old Palestinian community refused to be part of it... For their part they formed a separate association of practising Jews, 'Agudat Yisrael'. The strange leader of this violently anti-Zionist tendency, the' Dutch poet Jakob de Haan, was murdered in Jerusalem at the beginning of the Twenties."(7)

The leaders of the Ottoman Palestine Jewish community including the Chief Rabbi,Hakham Bash Chaim Nahum also vigorously opposed the Zionist project.Similarly with the Orthodox community of Jews outside Palestine. Herzl's own Chief Rabbi,when approached by Herzl for support said:

"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 intervening into Gods' leadership. 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."(8) my emphasis

And then years before Herzls' Judenstaat, the Convention of Reform Rabbis had declared:

"We consider ourselves no longer a nation but a religious community and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine..."(9)

And the Reform Central Confederation of American Rabbis attacked Political Zionism:

"Zionism was a precious possession of the past...as such it is a holy memory, but it is not our hope of the future, America is our Zion."(10)

Whatever claims are now made that the establishment of a Jewish state is the fulfillment of a biblical dream, at the time of Zionism's rise, it was the Orthodox Jews who were most fearful of it:

"It (Zionism) was taken far more seriously by the Orthodox, who with some notable exceptions (the Mizrahi-TG) regarded it as their main enemy."(11)

And of Herzl,the founder of Political Zionism,it was said:

"That he was 'one on whom his Jewish origin lay so lightly that it is probable that...he often completely forgot it."(12)

The Zionists proposed that their Jewish state be organised on exactly the same racist principles that the anti-Semites espoused.According to Vladimir Jabotinsky, the founder of Revisionist Zionism:

(7) Weinstock pl47 from Hurewitz.'Struggle for Palestine' New York 1950
(8) Moritz Gudemann, Rabbi,'National Judentum'Vienna 1897 cited in Hermann p200
(9) Lacquer op.cit. p402
(10) Naomi Wiener Cohen,'The American Jewish Historical Society',June 1951 p365
(11) Lacquer p407
(12) George Kirk op.cit. p148

"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."(13)

Today Jabotinsky is honoured as the greatest Zionist theoretician and practician after Herzl and is worshipped by Begin. Herzl's vision of the future Zionist state showed,as Hanna Arendt noted,

"to which category of politician,in the framework of European history, Herzl belonged to."(14)

Herzl envisaged:

"a standing army (strength 1/10 of the male population)...Education would make use of patriotic songs...men in full dress, the women altogether sumptuous...high priests in the Jewish state would wear impressive robes the cavalry would wear yellow trousers..."etc.(15)

The Zionists justified their project with biblical mystique, mythology and messianism linked to the supposed 2000 years biological/racial link to the twelve Hebrew tribes which conquered the ancient land of Canaan. This should not be surprising. As there was no valid reason based on actual realities for emigrating to Palestine of all places, as Lucas notes:

"Zionism...represents a radical break with the spirit of Jewish messianism transmuting it from an essentially religious insight to a doctrine of secular politics."(16)

Indeed the South African Afrikaaner press asked:

"Is there any difference between the way the people of Israel are trying to maintain themselves amid the non-Jewish peoples and the way the Afrikaaner 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 Afrikaaner does this too."(17)

Dr Verwoerd, a former South African Prime Minister noted:

"The Jews took Israel from the Arabs after the Arabs lived there for a 1000 years.In this I agree with them.Israel like South Africa is an apartheid state."(18)

And the Jerusalem Post made clear in April 1976 on the conclusion of a pact between Israel and South Africa, after Vorster's visit there:

"The Afrikaaners were especially enthusiastic...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."

As Harold Soref, former Tory MP for Ormskirk and a member of the Board of Deputies wrote:

"No country in the world has done more to further the Zionist cause than South Africa..Politically they share the same enemies not least the UN"(19)

But there is a long history of solidarity between the Zionists in Palestine and the white settlers of South Africa. Both the white leaders of Rhodesia and the South African leaders, especially General Smuts,were strongly sympathetic to Zionism,realising that Zionism just like apartheid

(13) B Hainov,'The Roads to Zionism' Sofia 1969 p63
(14) Hanna Arendt,'The Dream and the Reality'
(15) Lacquer p94
(16) Lucas op.cit. p21
(17) Henry Katzew,South Africa-A Country Without Friends,Midstream Spring 1962 p73 I P Stevens,'Israel & South Africa' Zionism & Racism p16
(18) Rand Daily Mail,23.11.61,Stevens op.cit. p168
(19) Jewish Chronicle 25.8.78

was an inter-class ideology and practise, able to secure a strong organic base by deflecting the class antagonism in the Jewish working class onto the Palestinians,just as happened with South African miners in the 1920s vs the Blacks. In a draft letter to Cecil Rhodes, whom he greatly admired, Herzl wrote almost pleadingly:

> *"Please give me a statement saying you have examined my programme and found it appropriate. And why do I come to you,Mr Rhodes,you will ask. Because my programme is a colonial programme."(20)*

Given the battery of Israeli laws,regulations,administrative and other practises which discriminate against the Palestinians it is hard to disagree. It is relevant indeed to remember the warning words of Chaim Weizzmann , President of the World Zionist Organisation almost continuously from Herzl's death to the establishment of the state of Israel and 1st President of Israel; to the 14th Zionist Congress in 1925:

> *"The Zionist Congress must not confine itself to Platonic formulae.It has to learn the truth that Palestine is not Rhodesia and that 600 000 Arabs live there."(21)*

But if there is one person whose name is synonomous almost with the establishment of the state of Israel it is Arthur J Balfour. His Balfour Declaration promised Palestine to the Zionists as a Jewish national home whilst ignoring those whose home it already was.

> *"For in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country,though the American commission (King Crane-TG) has been going through the form of asking."(22)*

This is the same Balfour whose Aliens Act:

> *"forbade persecuted Jews access to British territory."(23)* and who:
>
> *"described himself as 'an ardent Zionist',but this did not mean that he was a natural Judeophil;on the contrary in common with many Zionists of the time; both Jews and Gentiles,he accepted many of the allegations made against the Jews anti-Semites."(24)*

The same is true of another British official Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen, who was Chief Political Officer under Allenby. Sykes writes of his Middle East Diary 1917-56 that:

> *"as an ingredient of that remarkable little book...it attracted little attention...not the least being an emergent self portrait of the author as a Zionist extremist who recommended the adoption of anti-Jewish laws in England among the other singlular discords of will and temperament."(25)*

Which is presumably why Weizzmann described him as:

> *"an ardent Zionist...And that not merely in words. Whenever he can perform a service for the Jews or Palestine he will go out of his way to do so."(26)*

(20) T Herzl, Diaries,Vol III p105
(21) Sykes p95
(22) Ibid. p51
(23) N Weinstock,'Le Sionisme contre Israel'(Paris 1969) pp106-7 see also Hansard 10.7.05 Vol 149 col. 154-5
(24) Sykes op.cit. p6 *(25) Ibid. p58*
(26) Trial & Error p229 cited in Doreen Ingrams,'Seeds of Conflict' p82

THE JEWISH STATE TODAY

Today the activities of the Israeli state in Lebanon speak for themselves. But there were those, Zionists amongst them, who predicted bow that state might develop even before the Israeli state was established. Judah Magnes, first President of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and founder of Brit Shalom and then Ihud, was one who gave repeated warnings: He wrote:

"We are told that when we become the majority we shall show how just and generous a people in power can be. That is like the man who says that he will do anything and everything to get rich, so that he may do good with the money thus accumulated. Sometimes he never grows rich- he fails. And if he does grow rich under those circumstances, his power of doing good has been atrophied from long lack of use. In other words its not only the end for which Israel but what is of equal importance, the means must be conceived and brought forth in cleanliness."(1)

For this and similar statements, Magnes was reviled and eventually had to leave Palestine altogether for the United States. The role of the Zionist Movement and its creation, the Jewish state, have remained the same since the Balfour Declaration, namely as a partner of western imperialism. An interview with ex President Richard Nixon's Jewish advisor, Rabbi Baruch Korf, illustrates this very neatly:

Bashan (interviewer) :"Would you now in retrospect say that Richard Nixon was a true friend of Israel?"
Korf :(storming)"Yes,yes,yes, without a shadow of a doubt. More than Truman, Eisenhower, Johnson and Kennedy."
Bashan :"Why?"
Korf :(smiling) "I too asked that once, and do you know what he told me? he said) 'Why not? Israel costs the US less than the Sixth Fleet." (2)

or as Levi Eshkol, who later became the Israeli Prime Minister,said in a speech to the Knesset:

"What is our regime? It is a regime of clearing the ground and paving the way for private capital, if only it exists and wants to come here." (3)

It is precisely as a partner of,and a watchdog for, western and in particular American Imperialism, than one can understand the built in conflict between Israel and the Arab people, the Palestinians in particular,as the latter struggle for the right to self-determination. Racism is the handmaiden of colonialism, and given that Zionism is by its own admission a colonising venture, anti-Arab racism is to be expected in Israel today. This expresses itself in both economic exploitation and in the expulsion of the Palestinians, which in themselves represent the main contradictions in Zionisms relations with the Palestinians. The following description of differences in a Histadrut Company illustrates the roles of Arab Labour in Israel:

"At the beginning the Jewish workers objected to the employment of Arabs at the plant, and there were some slight scuffles. The local (trade

(1) Like All the Nations,Magnes, Jerusalem 1930 p28
(2) Yediot Aharanot 5.3.76 cited in U. Davies op.cit p.104
(3) M.Sneh'The Israeli Economy',Central Committee of the Israeli Communist Party 1960, cited in 'Zionism and its Oriental Subjects' Khamsin No.5, Raphael Shapiro, p14

union) Labour Council significantly assisted in changing the Jewish workers attitudes and they came to realise that the Arab workers do not replace them, andin reality even relieve them to some extent, in that they usually do the unskilled, hard and dirty jobs."(4)

Or as a Jewish farmer put it:

"If Arabs exist, let them work. Why shouldn't Jews be the bosses. The Arab workers are naturally built for it. I have one who is 50 years old and works bent double for 8 hours a day. Show me a Jew like him."(5)

But this did not prevent the 'Labour' Agricultural Minister, Aharon Uzan, describing Arab Labour thus:

"The domination of Jewish agriculture by Arab workers is a cancer in our body." (6)

And the same Minister went on to introduce the Agricultural Settlement Law which prevented Arabs from leasing Jewish or 'national' land.
But racism in Israel does not merely operate at the level of employment. If you are a Palestinian and actually wish to invest capital and employ others, you will still have problems as the following report makes clear:

*"Closed to **non-Jews**' the answer given to a retired Druze officer who wanted to start a quarry. This area is closed to non-Jews, thus replied in writing the director of Israel Land Authority to Mr Ismail Qablan... who wanted to start a marble quarry next to the development town of Karmiel."(7)*

Karmiel is situated in the Galilee where over 50% of the inhabitants are Arabs. The Galilee was the subject of the 'Koenig Report',so named after the Northern District Commissioner of the Ministry of Interior, Israel Koenig,which recommended measures for the 'Judaisation of the Galilee' in order to ensure that the Palestinians were thinned out. Koenig proposed:

"to redress the drastic situation by giving Arabs no more than 20% of the available jobs; by changing the selection system to reduce the number of Arab students in the universities and encouraging the channel ing of these students into technical professions...and thus to leave them with less time for dabbling in nationalism- also to make trips easier while making the return and employment more difficult, which is to encourage their emigration...(and that) big family grants to Arabs should be transferred from the national insurance system to the Jewish Agency or the Zionist Organisation."(8)

To this very day, Arabs inside Israel are subject to Military Law as embodied in the Defence (Emergency) Regulations,1946, introduced by the British. Yaacov Shapiro, later an Israeli Minister of 'Justice' said:

"The system established in Palestine since the issue of the' Defence Laws is unparalleled in any civilised country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany. There is indeed only one form of government which resembles the system in force here now, the case of an occupied country. They try to pacify us by saying that these laws are only directed against malefactors, not against honest citizens. But the Nazi Government

(4) Maariv 14.2.71 cited in U.Davies op.cit p93

(5) ' Davar 8.11.72

(6) Ha'aretz, 13.12.74

(7) Yediot Aharanot 8.2.71 cited in U. Davies op.cit p132/3 see also the 'Shahak Papers', Institute of Palestinian Studies p 230

(8) Al Hammishmar 7.9.76

of Occupied Oslo also announced that no harm would come to citizens who minded their own business...It is pure euphemism to call the Military Courts 'courts'. In fact they are nothing more than (to use Nazi nomenclature) Military Judicial Committees Advising the Generals. (9)

These laws are today used almost exclusively against the Arabs in Israel. Like all such racist entities, the Israeli state denies even the existence of a Palestinian nation, although today it might pay lip service to the idea if pressed hard enough. Golda Meir, the former Prime Minister. put it bluntly when she said:

"It was not as though there was a Palestinian people and in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them, they did not exist."(10)

And it was the same Golda Meir who was quite explicit in regard to what a 'Jewish' state meant in practise:

Interviewer : "If the Jews as a minority had the same priveleges as those you are promising the Arabs as a minority, would you be satisfied?"

Meir : "No Sir. For there must be one place in the world where Jews are not a minority."(11)

The racism of the state, its laws and institutions is quite naturally reflected in the day to day perceptions and attitudes to, Arab people. The telling exchange between a visiting Conservative MP,Maxwell Hyslop, and the Chairperson of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset is illustrative:

Maxwell Hyslop :" Dr Hacohen, I am profoundly shocked that you speak of other human beings in terms similar to those in which Julius Streicher spoke of the Jews. Have you learnt nothing?"

Dr Hacohen : "But they are not human beings,they are not people,they are Arabs."(12)

The cause of the dispute between the Palestinians and the Israelis is often held by the latter to be the refusal of the Arabs to recognise the latters state. The reality is somewhat different as Moshe Dayan explained to some university graduates:

"During the last 100 years our people are in the process of building up this country and this nation, of expansion, of getting more Jews and more settlements to expand the borders. LET NO JEW SAY THAT THIS IS THE END OF THE PROCESS : LET NO JEW SAY THAT WE ARE NEAR THE END OF THE ROAD." (13)

And Ben Gurion,Israel's first Prime Minister,explained in a similar vein just what kind of state Israel really was:

"To maintain the status quo will not do. We have to set up a dynamic state bent upon expansion."

and Dayan again explained why the Palestinians have resisted for so long:

"Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You don't even know the names of these Arab villages and I don't blame you,

(9) Ha Praklit (The Lawyer) February 1946, cited in Sabri Jiryis 'The Arabs in Israel',Institute of Palestine Studies,1968 p4

(10) Suday Times 15.6.69

(11) Marie Syrkin,'Golda Meir' p133,1966

(12) Hansard 18.10.73 as recounted by M.Hyslop

(13) Maariv 7.7.68

(14) D.B.Gurion,' Rebirth and Destiny'pp276-7

because these geography books no longer exist. Not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahal arose in the place of Mahlul, Ovat in the place of Jibta....there is not one single place built on this country that did not have a former Arab population."(15)

Or as Yoram Bar Porath wrote at the time of the infamous confiscations of the land of the Arab villages of Birim and Ikrit,(by the 'left' Zionist MAPAM villages nearby!):

"It is the duty of the Israeli leaders to explain to the public with clarity and courage a number of facts that have been submerged with the passage of time. The first of these is the fact that there is no Zionism, settlements or Jewish state without eviction of the Arabs and expropriation of their lands."(16)

And Dayan in another post 67 speech, which was part of a process of acclimatising Israelis to the gains of the 1967 War (and preparing for new wars) explained that:

"We are doomed to live in a constant state of war with the Arabs and there is no escape from sacrifice and bloodshed. This is perhaps an undesirable situation but it is a fact. If we are to proceed with our work against the wishes of the Arabs we shall ahve to expect such sacrifices. This is what used to be called 'Jew after Jew', 'Aliyah after Aliyah', or acre by acre','goat by goat'. It means expansion,more Jews, more villages, more settlements. Twenty years ago we were 600 000,today we are nearly 3 million. There should be no Jew who says 'thats enough',no-one who says we are nearing the end of the road...It it the same with the land...Your duty is not to stop, it is to keep your sword unsheathed, to have faith, to keep the flag flying. You must not call a halt-heaven forbid and say'thats all;up to here,up to' Eganda,to Mufallasim, to Nabil Oz.For that is not all."(17)

When Israelis demonstrated against the confiscation of land in the Gaza and the heavy repression that the Palestinians were subject to (under General Sharon),Israel Galil,Golda Meir's advisor said in another post 67 adjustment:

"Our right on Gaza is exactly like ou r right on Tel Aviv. We are colonising Gaza exactly in the same manner in which we colonised Jaffa. Those who doubt our right on Gaza should doubt our right on Tel Aviv as well." to which Amos Keenan, an Israeli Journalist replied, as one of the demonstrators:

"if one who believes that he has no right to Gaza must also doubt his right to Tel Aviv" then he Amos Keenan *"would begin to doubt if indeed I have a right to Tel Aviv, at least Tel Aviv as it is now, A Jewish city in a Jewish state with a million Arabs deprived of rights."(18)*

But if the Palestinians are the most oppressed section, then we should remember that the Oriental or Arab Jews are also discriminated against by the western Ashkenazi establishment. Within the Jewish community there is also an ethnic division of labour, though Zionism has managed to contain this oppression and the inherent class contrad-

(15) *Ha'aretz 4.4.69*
(16) *Yediot Aharanot 14.7.72 cited in Lillienthall,'Zionist Connection' page 113, Dodd Mead & Co. New York,1978*
(17) *Haolam Hazeh, 3.7.68*
(18) *Ha'aretz 18.4.72 cited in U.Davies,op.cit p15*

ictions by deflecting the anger of the Oriental Jews onto the Palestinians in a re-run of the poor whites syndrome of the southern states of the United States. First the history of the Oriental Jews has been obliterated and re-written just as it has in the case of the Arab population generally. Abba Eban, then Israeli Foreign Minister put it thus:

"So far from regarding our immigrants from Oriental countries as a bridge towards our integration with the Arab speaking world, our object should be to infuse them with an Occidental spirit rather than allow them to drag us into an unnatural Orientalism."(19)

This attitude of the Ashkenazi establishment has been best described as the :
"Self determination of other poeple"(20)

An interview with the representatives of some Morrocan Jews returning home from Israel illustrates the position of Oriental Jews in Israel today.

"Why do you Ashkenazim make such a fuss when we declare our resolve to return to Morocco?...There was no Holocaust there. On the contrary there Jews were treated with respect!"(The spokespersons uncle) Albert adds :
"We have never suffered in Morocco. If there was in Morocco any oppression, it wasperpetrated by the French regime..."
"And what" the interviewer asks, "if King Hassan is ousted and a madman like Colonel Qaddafi gets to power"
"And what" they respond "if the Arabs settle scores with Israel... History will tell who was wiser. Anyway you should know that we have always gotten on well with the Arabs. Wonderful people It is only the Ashkenazim that we have never gotten on with."(21)

And similarly the State of Israel has consistently discriminated against Black Jews, refusing to register their births,preventing them from entry to the country and even deprting them back to the U.S.A. As one of their representatives said"Israel isracist to the core." (Maariv 4.6.73 cited in Lillienthall p134).

Israel is none the less held out as a symbol of western enlightenment,especially with regard to Women and their role in Israeli society. Little mention is made of how women have always been the servicers of Israeli men and the Zionist economy and of how their role as producers of Jewish babies (Aliyah Pnimit- internal immigration) has always been considered pivotal, especially in a siege state which counts its members ethnically. Abortion has for example been considerably restricted. For two excellent articles on the myths behind Israeli Womens Liberation see' Avishai Erlich "Zionism Demography and Womens Work" Khamsin No.7 and N Yuval Davies/D Hecht 'Ideology Without Revolution. Jewish Women in Israel' Khamsin No 6. The last article in particular demonstrates why the fight for womens liberation is incompatible with support for the Zionist state.

(19) A Mack, 'Oriental Jews, class, ethnicity and Ideology' in U Davies, A Mack and N Yuval Davies 'Israel & Palestinians" Ithaca, London 1975, cited in Davies op.cit p34
(20) R Shapiro, Zionism & Its Oriental Subjects, op cit p6
(21) Ha'aretz 6.6.76 cited in U Davies, op.cit p119

ZIONISM & ANTI-SEMITISM

Not only did Zionism share the same ideological territory as anti-Semitism, it also concluded that anti-Semitism was vital if it was to succeed in its mission. Without the spur of anti-Semitism, Jews would feel little need to emigrate. Herzl had already noted early on that:

"Anti-Semitism has grown and continues to grow and so do I."(1)

Herzl compared anti-Semitism to *"a propelling force that could be used in the same way that boiling water produces steam power."(2)*

In 1958 Nahum Goldmann, then President of the World Zionist Organisation, warned that the current decline of anti-Semitism:

> *"might constitute a new danger to Jewish survival...the disappearance of anti-Semitism in its classical meaning while beneficial to the political and material situation of Jewish communities, has had a very negative effect on our internal life."(3)*

And 8 years later he was repeating much the same message:

> *"The danger represented to the survival of the Jewish people by the integration of Jewish communities into the peoples among whom they live is greater than that constituted by external threats, anti-Semitism.."(4)*

But Nahum Goldmann is a liberal Zionist. For suggesting that Soviet Jews should be encouraged to fight for civil and political rights WITHIN the USSR, he was howled down and prevented from speaking by Herut at a World Jewish Congress conference. This worry that anti-Semitism might eventually disappear, and Judaism with it, is reminiscent of the opposition of Orthodox Rabbis in the 19th Century to the granting of full civil and political rights to the Jews of Europe, who feared their powers and that of the Kehillot (Jewish Councils) over the Jewish communities would be eroded. Zionism felt equally threatened as assimilation became easier. Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress went one step further:

> *"Such discrimination may well be a blessing. It is possible that some anti-Semitism is necessary in order to ensure Jewish survival."(5)*

Michael Sasher, former Israeli Consul for Jewish Affairs in New York wrote:

> *"the more the Jews suffer from oppression and discrimination, the less danger to their Jewish future."(6)*

Nearly 40 years earlier, Jacob Klatzkin had written:

> *"The contribution of our enemies is in the continuance of Jewry in Eastern Europe. One ought to appreciate the national service which the Pale of Settlement performed for us...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." (7)*
> (the Pale of Settlement was an area where Russian Jews were confined by the Czarist police and forced to live and work).

(1) M Lowenthall op.cit p7
(2) Hanna Arendt, 'The Jewish State 50 years after-Where Have Herzl's politics led?' Commentary Vol 1 No. 7, May 1946 cited in F Yahya 'Zionist Relations With Nazi Germany' Palestine Research Centre, Beirut, 1/78 p10
(3) New York Times 24.7.58 cited in Lillienthall, Zionism & Facism p56/7
(4) Le Monde 13.1.66 cited in Weinstock op.cit
(5) The National Jewish Post & Opinion 6.11.59 cited in Lillienthall ibid.
(6) Yediot Aharanot 1.4.75
(7) J Klatzkin 'Crisis' Decision' p62 cited in Hermann op.cit. p205

And so Zionism, which arose as a reaction to anti-Semitism, ends up thanking anti-Semites for having preserved the Jewish 'nation' and 'race'. They had come full circle in recognising that without anti-Semitism there would be no Zionism and hence no Jewish state. The Zionists even came to share many of the anti-Semites attitudes towards Jews:

> *"Nahum Sokolov, the chief negotiator with Weizzman for the Balfour Declaration, spoke with contempt of the sentimentalities of the 'Judeophills' as he called them, and he praised Sir Mark Sykes because he like Balfour, harboured no sort of illusions about Jews. The early Zionists were somewhat too liable in fact, to share the ideas of anti-Semites about the mischievious role which the Jews as a displaced people tended to play in the world...Lord Boothby has told the writer of an occasion when he was listening to speeches at a Zionist Congress with Dr Weizzman. The venerable President turned to him and whispered, 'This is the sort of speech that brings out all my latent anti-Semitism!'"* (8)

Nowhere more than Israel was the necessity of anti-Semitism recognised if a steady flow of immigrants was to be maintained. Zionists have always been contemptuous of Jews living in the Diaspora or Galut (exile) as they term it. Ben Gurion could see no future in the Diaspora and Jabotinsky saw the Galut devouring its Jews.

> *"The Revisionists talked in extravagant terms about liquidating the Diaspora."(9)* and similarly:

> *"The second Aliya, a handful of people reduced by 1909 to a mere 165... were quite clearly persecuted by the 50 000 Yishuv, which was relatively well established as urban middle class and farmers (not Peasants) and they in turn utterly despised Petah Tikva, hallowed as the Mother of Jewish (agricultural) settlemen-s was often referred to by them as shmutzige (dirty) shtetle, worthy of nothing other than contempt. The embodiment of Jewish life which they were determined to end, a replica of precisely that which they committed themselves to abolish. They were committed to establish in Palestine the complete and radical antithesis of the despicable traditional Jewish diasporah existence... the heat of their vision was plainly fed by their utter rejection and hatred of Jewish Diasporah existence and culture. They, the committed few, would pull the people they so despised out of their 2000 year long inferior humanity and pathological degradation into the light of redemption and the march of liberation and progress."(10)*

> *"To the Israeli majority, the minorities abroad appeared as the pitiful victims of a fatal illusion."(11)*

The Nazis and other fascists spoke in very much the same way about nations infested with liberalism, and in need of redemption. This talk of "pathological redemption" is not new nor is the hatred evident in the above passages. Not once is class mentioned. Jewish people are seen as just one amorphous mass, indeed just as the anti-Semites saw them. As Uri Davies notes:

> *"Zionist contempt of Diasporah Jewishness was directed against the poor Jew. The Gvir, the rich merchant, trader or banker, always commanded respect...the Zionist leadership itself came from the wealthy Jewish strata as David HaCohen typically demonstrates."(12)*

(8) Sykes op.cit. pp268/9 fn.4
(9) Hurewitz op.cit p49
(10) H Enosh, 'The 2nd Aliyah Viewed Today' Ba Mahareh (official Israeli Army Weekly) 25.4.73 cited in Davies p24 1
(11) Lucas p415
(12) Davies op.cit. p5

The only purpose of Jews outside Israel is to provide support, political and financial, to those inside. In the early 50s, a columnist in Davar, the Histadrut paper wrote:

> *"I shall not be ashamed to confess that if I had the power, AS I HAVE THE WILL, I would select a score of efficient young men...and I would send them to the countries where Jews absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction(!). The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jewish and plague Jews with anti-Semitic slogans such as 'Bloody Jews', 'Jews go to Palestine' and similar intimacies. I can vouch that the results, in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel, would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears."(13) My emphasis*

As Eric Mardon wrote:

> *"Paradoxically it seems that after centuries of complaining of persecution, Israelis are now tempted to see a lack of anti-Semitism as an obstacle to encouraging emigration to Israel."(14)*

And as the logic and momentum of Zionism's own position took its toll, they did indeed help to stimulate/simulate anti-Semitism on occasions. Uri Harari spelt this out quite clearly in an article in an Israeli daily. He also revealed the true as opposed to synthetic feelings of outrage that many Zionists experience when they hear of anti-Semitic attacks abroad that is when they are not stirring up a cold war campaign against the Soviet Union or trying to convince others of the 'plight' of Jews in the Arab countries:

> *"When we hear of riots, pogroms or hanging (of Jews) we seethe with anger and justly so...then we ask ourselves 'where were they all these years? Why did they not immigrate to the country (Israel) in time?' Still later and deep in our heart there is also a tiny flicker of vicious joy. 'Serves them right!' "We warned them!" It is of course not customary to talk about it in public but many of us felt a tiny bit of joy at another clamity when we read in the papers reports about the swastika epidemic in Europe in 1960 or about the (pro-Nazi) Takuara movement in Argentina... Despite all the anger and the shock and the insult these phenomena fit into our wold view because Zionism said then as it says today that this is the state of affairs, and that it must be so long as the Jews live among the Gentile nations. In our great enthusiasm for the achievement of Israeli independence and sovreignty we sometimes forget the negative aspects of Zionism, its cruel world view...But does the state of Israel have duties towards Jews who can immigrate to the country and do not wish to do so? Furthermore do we have the right to tell them, "We know better than you what is good for you and we shall therefore act to get you to immigrate to this country, we might even act in order to facilitate the deterioration of your situation (in the' Diasporah) so that you have no other choice but to immigrate to Israel." One should note that this last question is not imaginary. We have already had to face this question in very concrete situations and we may have to face it again in the future."(15)*

(13) A Lillienthall, 'The Other Side of the Coin' New York p184 cited in Hirst p160
(14) Sunday Times 16.11.75
(15) Uri Harari, 'Our' Responsibilities Towards the Jews in the Arab Countries, Yediot Aharanot, 9.2.69 cited in Davies pp18/9

Indeed this isexactly what happened in Iraq and to a lesser extent in Egypt and Algeria. In Iraq, Zionist emissaries had been operating since the beginning of the second World War (David Paziel,chief of Irgun,Begin's terrorist group was killed there on a mission for British Intelligence, and Hagannah was represented strongly in the British army stationed there) and had access to arms there. In Iraq, the Zionists after the war concluded an agreement with the reactionary Nuri e Said regime, whereby the Israelis would have the 120 000 Iraqui Jews physically, and the regime would have their property. The only snag was that the Jews refused to leave Iraq. They had been there for some 2 500 years, the oldest Jewish community in the world,and they were a rich,well established community. 100 000 Jews lived in Baghdad alone. As a correspondent in an Israeli paper noted:

> *"Among the Iraqui Jews who immigrated to Israel in 1950-1 (over 110 000 in a single year) the proportion of physicians was 4 times higher than among the (pre-48) Jewish Yishuv in Eretz Yisrael... Iraqui Jews in fact administered the Iraqui state and the Iraqui economy." (16)*

Then suddenly bombs started exploding outside places Jews frequented-cafes and synagogues. When a bomb exploded outside the Masuda Shemtov synagogue killing one person and injuring at least one more, there then started an exodus of Iraqui Jews. Kaduri Salim,who was injured by the bomb at the Masuda Shemtov claimed in Black Panther:

> *"I was hurt by the bomb. The Court of Law established that the bomb was thrown by the Movement. The Israeli Government has to give me compensation."(17)*

> *"But after 2 more bombs and after the arrest of the Israeli envoy- it was too much, the police started acting, and it was impossible to stop the wheels. There is only one more thing to add in the objective conditions of the issue. The trial was made according to international law. The evidence was just such that it wasn't difficult at all to pronounce such sentences."(18)*

As Sassoon Khedduri,Chief Rabbi of Iraq explained:

> *"By mid-1949 the big propaganda guns were already going off in the US. American dollars were going to save the Iraqui Jews-whether Iraqui Jews needed saving or not. There were daily pogroms in the New York Times and under dated lines which few noticed were from Tel Aviv."(19)*

As Haolam Hazeh, an Israeli weekly stated:

> *"On one point all the immigrants who followed the Iraqui affair closely or were involved in it, including the families of those who were hanged (2 were caught and hanged after being tried by the Iraquis-TG) ...were agreed. That they praised Haolem Hazeh for its decision to expose the secret. The time has come for the people of Israel to know what efforts were made to bring the Jews of Iraq to Israel and what they left behind them."(20)*

Besides the two who were hanged, other very senior Zionists were involved including Yehuda Tajar, former Defence Attache at the London Embassy, and a Yehoshua Ben Porat,ex Knesset (Parliament) member. A number of the emissaries have admitted the part they played in the affair and those injured by the bombs have demanded compensation from the Israeli Government. And so the

(16) B Nadel,Yediot Aharanot 23.7.76 cited in Davies p38
(17) Hirst op.cit. p159
(18) Ibid
(19) Hirst p163 citing Elmer Berger,'Who Knows Better Must Say So',Institute for Palestine Studies,Beirut p34
(20) Haolem Hazeh 20.4.66,see also Black Panther 9.11.72 (reprinted in D from Israel,Ithaca Press,Uri' Davies/N Mezvinsky,pp126/33, D Hirst op pp155-64 & M Woolfson,Prophets in Babylon-Jews in Arab Lands,Faber

Iraqui Jews,as a result of Zionist activities designed to 'save' them,were made destitute refugees, in order that Israel could have a Jewish proletariat (the Ashkenazi Western Jews providing the Israeli ruling class).(21)

> *"Suddenly one of the richest and most splendid Jewish communities in the world had lost everything...from a highly educated group with a very large proportion of university graduates, it was reduced to one that was poorly educated,oppressed and discriminated against in every wasy,trapped in the Ashkenazi culture."(22)*

For years the Zionists had had their eyes on Arab Jewry as potential immigrants. In October 1949, a Jewish Agency memorandum stated that:

> *"The main group of would be immigrants are...(ii) Jews in those oriental countries where their safety and well being are in permanent jeapordy.' (Who was jeapordising their safety is another matter!).(23)*

And the Israelis have had indirect (and possibly direct) relations with European Nazi groups for years. It is well documented that the Phalangists in Lebanon (supplied and protected by the Israelis) have provided weapons and training for those such as the German Hoffman group *(24)*
Some of these Nazis are even active within Israel operating on the West Bank against the 'gooks'. One such Nazi,a Vietnam veteran, was amongst six members of Kach (the Jewish Nazi group headed by 'Rabbi' Meir Kahane) killed in Hebron. By his own admission he admired Hitler (and therefore hated Arabs). Today Israelis trying to establish a Phalangist buffer state to its north. So the Israelis are supplying and supporting the very Nazis who in Europe are making bomb attacks on Jewish targets. And with the recent invasion of Lebanon there have been anti-Semitic attacks in France and even in Eire against Jews. Far from ensuring the safety of Jewish poeple around the world the 'Jewish' State ensures the very opposite. And Zionism has always manipulated if not created the very existence of Jewish refugees in order to bolster up the national state. Today the Zionists are quite openly trying to deny all humanitarian and welfare assistance to the 80% of Soviet Jews who once they've left the USSR, prefer to go to the West rather than Israel. The Jewish Agency has turned the screw on NIAS,the main Jewish welfare agency,and the main reason for their lack of success is the existence of an anti-Zionist welfare organisation, Rav Tov and also the help that the Catholic organisation,Carritas, has given. An Israeli newspaper reported that:

> *"The suggestion that an unequivocal,binding commitment be taken from Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union stating that their aim is to immigrate to Israel, will be considered in the framework of the current discussion on the new policy towards the 'dropouts' that should be adopted by the Government and the Jewish Agency. The opinion that is forming at the Jewish Agency is that drastic steps must be taken against the 'drop outs' who now make up some 60% of those who receive immigration certificates from the USSR to emigrate to Israel, and who subsequently arrive in Vienna..The problem is how to influence HIAS, the Jewish Welfare association and other institutions to cooperate in the implementation of the policy that will be determined in Jerusalem." (25)*

The Zionists care little for the Soviet Jews as people in their own right, but see them as pawns to be used in the battle against the Soviets, a source of fresh immigration to Israel and Cold War fodder for those such as Henry Jackson on the US Right. The attitude of the Zionists to the Soviet Jews was

(21) see Munya Mardor's Strictly Illegal translated H A G Shmucklev, Robert Hale,London 1964 with foreword by Ben Gurion
(22) M Woolfson op.cit. p189
(23) Hurewitz op.cit p205
(24) For further information see the anti-fascist magazine Searchlight January 1980 and June 1982.
(25) Yediot Aharanot 6.6.76

best summed up in a memorandum from Herman Edelsberg, Bnai Brith Washington representative:

"The issue which offers by far the richest promise for a long sustained propaganda campaign is the plight of the Jews in the Soviet Union. Experience has shown that this issue can be exploited to block or at least delay agreements made at the Summit."(26)

Begin even argued with Reagan, as reported in the Jerusalem Post, that Soviet Jews should not be treated as refugees as they had Israel to go to. Similarly the thousands of Jews who found themselves in DisplacedPersons camps after the last war were treated as ideal human fodder for the new state, and were coerced into going to Palestine. In the infamour Klausner Report, Chaplain Klausner declared (2.5.48) to the American Jewish Congress:

"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. The first step in such a program is the adoption of the principle that...those who are not interested (in going to Palestine) are no longer to be wards of the Jewish community to be maintained in the camps...it becomes necessary for the Jewish community to make them as uncomfortable as possible..a further procedure would call for an organisation such as the Hagannah to harrass them."(27)

(The Hagannah was the main Zionist terrorist organisation in Palestine during the British mandate. After the War it also operated in Europe, many of its members being members also of the Jewish Brigade of the British army). As a US Labour Leader noted at the time, there was a campaign:

"to force displaced persons to accept Zionism, to join the Palestine Jewish army, and to give up legitimate differences."(28)

Similarly the Zionists used the refugees herded together in boats like the Exodus, drifting from country to country as cannon fodder to hurl at the British immigration barriers, as and until the barriers gave way. They were not of course interested in lowering the US immigration barriers and in fact were in total agreement with anti-Semitic US Congressmen:

"Hagannah activists, by stirring the passengers to a wild mood of resistance and threatening those who hesitated, were able to represent them (passengers on the Exodus) as unanimous in their demand to be landed in Palestine and nowhere else."(29) As a Yiddish paper stated:

"By pressing for an exodus of Jews from Europe, by insisting that Jewish 'Esplaced Persons do not wish to go to any country outside of Israel; by not participating in the negotiations on behalf of the DPs and by refraining from a campaign of their own, by all this they (the Zionists) certainly did not help to open the gates of America for Jews. In fact they sacrificed the interests of living people to the politics of their own movement."(30)

And the Editor of the New York Times, Arthur Sulzberger (before the Zionist boycott which nearly bankrupted the paper to change its policy) wrote:

"I cannot rid myself of the feeling that the unfortunate Jews of Europes' D.P. camps are helpless hostages for whom statehood has been made the only ransom."(31)

As Ian Gilmour, former Deputy Foreign Secretary noted:

(26) Cited in A.Lillienthall, 'The Zionist Connection' p512
(27) A Lillienthall, 'What Price Israel' (Chicago 1953) pp194/5
(28) Louis Nelson, manager of Knit Goods WorkersUnion, later Vice Pres. of International Garments Workers Union, letter in New Leader 21.8.48 cited in Lillienthall, 'Zionism' & Racism' op.cit p47
(29) Sykes op.cit p32
(30) Yiddish Bulletin, Free Jewish Club, 19.5.50 cited in Lillienthall, Zionist Connection p57
(31) New York Times 27.10.46

"Zionism has almost a vested interest in racial discrimination. The Israelis mount rescue operations to save allegedly threatened Jews in other countries...In Arab countries, Jewish difficulties and emigration to Israel were the result not of anti-Semitism but of Zionist activities and the existence of the state of Israel. Zionism aggravates the disease it professed to cure."(32)

And Judah Magnes noted even before the establishment of the Israeli state, that:

"We had always thought that Zionism would diminish anti-Semitism in the world. We are witness to the opposite."(33)

Small wonder that the Anti Zionist Committee in Germany,referring to Houston Chamberlain's book 'Foundations of the 19th Century' said:

"This chauvinist,national racial insanity is the theoretical foundation the spiritual mother soil of Zionism...And always it is the same kind of water which derives from a poisoned well; be it coloured Aryan anti-Semitic or Jewish national. Whoever is of the opinion that national demagoguery and racial anti-Semitism are a crime against culture must also condemn its twin in the Jewish garb;National Zionism." (34)

Ten years earlier, Lucien Wolf, President of the Anglo Jewish Association, declared:

"The characteristic peril of Zionism is that it is the natural and abiding ally of anti-Semitism and its most powerful justification." (35)

(32) Spectator 27.6.60
(33) 27.10.47 quoted in Council News (New York,American Council for Judais cited in Lillienthall 'What Price Israel?' Chicago 1954 p52
(34) Anti-zionistisches Komittee Schriften zur Aufklarung uber den Zionismus Nr 2 Der Zionismus- seine Theorien,aussichten und Wirkungen (Berlin 1913) pp11-12 cited in Hermann op.cit p208
(35) Lucien Wolfe,'The Zionist Peril' Jewish Quarterly Review,October 1904

ZIONISM & NAZISM

Not surprisingly the Zionists had little trouble in co-operating and collaborating as a movement with the Nazis. From 1933 until the beginning of the war, they instituted an economic agreement between the Yishuv (the Jewish community in Palestine) and the Nazis, which enabled German Jewish capitalists on emigrating to Palestine, to take capital with them. This gave rise to a barter agreement between Nazi Germany and the Yishuv. This agreement, Ha'avara, was as Weinstock points out, responsible for giving the Jewish economy in Palestine an enormous boost precisely at the time that the rest of the world bar Germany, was in the throes of Depression. From 1929 the Palestinian economy started to grow just as the rest of the world went into recession. (1) Ha'avara also served to break the anti-Nazi boycott of Germany which anti-fascists were trying to enforce. In a letter from Blumenfield, on behalf of the Zionist Federation to Nazi official Bulow Schwante, of 11.6.34, the official Zionist position regarding the boycott of Germany was made clear:

> *"The propaganda which calls for boycotting Germany in the manner it is frequently conducted today, is by its very essence completely unZionist",* (2)

This was even though according to the Nazi officials themselves, Ha'avara was only agreed to "in order to make a breach in the wall of the anti-German boycott" and also to further Nazi propaganda:

> *"Hitler said that while England was hindering Jewish settlement in Palestine, Germany was aiding it even to the extent of letting the emigrant take out of the country the currency required for the landing fee in Palestine."(3)*

The result of which was that;

> *"when American Jewry took great pains to organise a boycott of German merchandise, Palestine of all places was swamped with all kinds of goods, 'Made in Germany'."(4)*

And it is the same Kurt Blumenfield, previously Secretary of the German Federation of Zionists from 1909-11, Secretary of the World Zionist Organisation from 1927 and as President of the German Federation, in a letter to Rathenau, the Jewish Minister in the Weimar Government later assasinated by the anti-Semites, warned:

> *"Under no circumstances does a Jew have the right to represent the affairs of another people."(5)*

The 17th World Zionist Congress rejected the call for a boycott of Nazi Germany, and the 19th Zionist Congress at Lucerne (20.8.-3.9.35) placed the Ha'avara under the direct control of the Zionist Executive Committee. (6)

Even within Germany, the Zionists were eager to adapt to the Nazis racial laws. In fact the Zionist Federation demanded, in response to the Nazis attempt to foist the revisionist **Zionist** banker, Kareski, upon them:

> *"That it be given the full jurisdiction on the adaption of German Jewry to the conditions created by the Nuremburg Laws."(7)*

Kareski was appointed by the Gestapo as Director of the Jewish Cultural Leagues *(8)*

(1) Lacquer p320
(2) See' David Yisraeli, 'The Third Reich' & the Transfer Agreement' in Journal of Contemporary History, Vol 6, no2 1971 pp129-48.
(3) F Melka, Nazi Germany & the Palestine Question, Middle Eastern Studies 5 ... (1969) p221 cited in Lawidowicz p116, 'War Against the Jews'
(4) Arendt op.cit. p60
(5) Weinstock op.cit. p135
(6) Elissar op.cit. pp186/7, Yahya pp22/3
(7) Weinstock op.cit. p136
(8) American Jewish Congress Bulletin cited in Weinstock p36

Kareski was considered by the Jewish community to be little more than a Gestapo agent. The Palestine Post in 1936 stated that:

> *"The position is now such that no Jew can speak in Germany if Mr Kareski objects, and that anyone who offends him is liable to severe penalties for an attitude of animosity towards the state. This is what the Gestapo told the representatives to the State of the German Jews, and through them to the Jews in General."(9)*

Naturally Kareski,political ally of Begin, advocated the mass emigration of Jews from Germany and even Lacquer admits that Zionisms' Jewish critics

> *"(asserted) that Nazi and Zionist were working hand in glove and that the Nazi leaders in their speeches and writings quoted Zionist sources from time to time to prove that Jews were different, that they could not be assimilated."(10)*

JB Agus wrote on the similarity of Zionist and Nazi writings:

> *"Did the Zionist programme and philosophy contribute decisively to the enormous catastrophe of the extermination of 6 million Jews by the Nazis by popularising the notion that the Jews were forever aliens in Europe?"(11)*

and on 21.6.33 the Zionist Union for Germany proposed in a memo to the Nazis that:

> *"The new German state recognise the Zionist movement as the most suitable Jewish group in the new Germany with which to deal, that Jewish status in Germany henceforth be regulated on the basis of a group status rather than individual rights...in the event the Germans co-operated the Zionists would try to get the Jews abroad to call off the anti-German boycott."(12)*

Reading this it is hard to believe the Nuremburg Laws were termed the most murderous legislative instrument known to European History.(13)

The Zionist weekly, *Die Judische Rundschau*, (the only Jewish paper allowed to publish) contributed towards the Spirit of Nuremburg by coining the slogan,'Wear it with Pride, the Yellow Star' at a time when its wearing wasn't even compulsorary. But the :

> *"polemical point of the slogan...was directed against the 'assimilationists' and all those people who refused to be reconciled to the new 'revolutionary developments'...during its first few years, Hitlers rise to power appeared to the Zionists chiefly as the decisive defeat of assimilationism!"(14)*

And because Zionism was a political movement engaged in battle with its Jewish critics, the rise of the Nazis was seen as vindicating all they had been saying. To them Hitler meant their own success.*The* preamble to the Nuremburg Laws had paid handsome tribute to the Zionists:

> *"If the Jews had a state of their own in which the bulk of their people were at home, the Jewish Question could already be considered solved today, even for the Jews themselves. The ardent Zionists of all people have objected least of all to the basic ideas of the Nuremburg Laws because they know that these laws are the only correct solution for the Jewish people too."(15)*

Hanna Arendt commenting upon the trial of Eichmann wrote:

> *"Israeli citizens,religious and non-religious seem agreed upon the desirability of having a law which prohibits intermarriage and it is chiefly for this reason...that they are also agreed upon the undesirability*

(9) Weinstock op.cit. p149
(10) Lacquer op.cit. p500
(11) J B Agus 'Meaning of Jewish History',New York,1963 Vol 2 p447
(12) Dawidowicz pp231/2
(13) G Reitlinger,The Final Solution,(New York) 1961 p7
(14) Arendt op.cit. p59
(15) Die Nurnberger Gesetze 5 Auflage Berlin 1939 pp13/4 quoted in Machover/ Offenburg op.cit. p38

OF A written constitution in which such a law would embarrasingly have to be spelt out...there certainly was something breathtaking in the naivette with which the prosecution denounced the infamous Nuremburg Laws of 1935, which had prohibited intermarriage and sexual intercourse between Jews and Germans."(16)

The Zionists also negotiated with Adolph Eichmann and others in the SS, including Heydrich, to secure the setting up of agricultural training camps in Europe for Zionist pioneers who were to leave for Palestine. They sent Moshe Bar Gilad over from Palestine and Ehud Avriel, who'd lived in Vienna, from London to conduct these negotiations.*(17)*

According to the Kimches:

"These Jews from Palestine spoke a language not totally different from that of Eichmann. They had been sent to Europe by the communal settlements in Palestine and they were not interested in rescue operations"
After all that was not their job,
"...they wanted to select 'suitable material' and their chief enemy prior to the extermination programme was not those who made life impossible for the Jews in the old countries,Germany or Austria, but those who harred access to the new homeland; THAT ENEMY WAS DEFINITELY BRITAIN NOT GERMANY."(18)

The Central Jewish organisation 'Zentral auschuss der Deutschen Juden fur Hilfe und Aufbau' was established in 1933. It set up ten agricultural training camps for Zionist youth emigrants *(19)*

The policy of 'encouraging' the emigration of Jews to Palestine had the support of the whole of the Nazi leadership from Hitler down:

"In January 1938,he (Hitler) had already given orders that Jewish emigration was to be directed primarily to Palestine."(20)

It was in consequence of this that the policy of favouring the Zionists (allowing them a newspaper,letting the Zionist youth movement Betar wear uniforms) was also approved from the top down. In fact:

"The Zionists and proponents of emigration to Palestine were less badgered in their activities by the police and the SD than the non-Zionists."(21)

On 28.1.35.,Heydrich issued an order stating that:
"the activity of the Zionist oriented youth organisations are not to be treated with the strictness that it is necessary to apply to the members of the so called German Jewish organsations (assimilationists)."(22)

Within Germany the Zionists used the rise of the Nazis in order to bolster their own position and to remove the traditional anti-Zionist leadership of the German Jewish community. As even Dawidowicz,herself a Zionist notes:

"Publicly noone attributed the Zionist power bid to the then current National Socialist policy favouring the Zionists,but the connection did not pass unnoticed...the Zionist demand for parity (between Zionists & non-Zionists on the Reichsvertretung (the German equivalent of the Board of Deputies) stunned the non-Zionists. The CV-Zeitung of 9.5.35 branded it 'unjustified,disruptive and astonishing..an attempt to turn present events in Germany to Zionist profit."(23)

In 1939 the Nazis reconstituted the Reichvertretung as a Judenrat,now called the Reichsvereinigung under control of the Zionists.

(16) Arendt op.cit p
*(17) For details see Jon & David Kimches' 'The Secret Roads-The Illegal Migration of a People 1938-48'London 1954,*David Kimche is now Director General of *and Ehud Avriel,'Open the Gates'* Israel's Foreign Ministry
(18) cited in Arendt op.cit. p6
(19) N.Bentwich,'The Refugees from Germany',London 1936 pp142/3
(20) Kimches op.cit. pp217,230 *(21) Dawidowicz p118*
(22) Mommsen 'Der Nationalsozialistische Polizeistaat pp78/9; Dawidowicz p487
(23)' Dawidowicz op.cit. p24

"In the event of a Jew choosing not to accept the invitation (to be deported to a concentration camp) the Reichsvereinigung could and did send henchmen to the home of the recalcitrant with orders to bring him by force."(24)

Arendt noted that:

"all leading positions..were held by the Zionists...because Zionists according to the Nazis,were the decent Jews since they too thought in 'national'terms."(25)

With all this in mind, it is obviously incorrect to say that Hitler gave support to the Mufti against the Zionists, in fact knowing that the Mufti couldn't deliver in terms of an Arab uprising, the Nazis cemented their relationship with the Zionists.

"Hitler concluded that Jewish emigraiton should be concentrated on Palestine,because this would create only one centre of Jewish trouble in the world which Germany could oppose by concerted counter-measures."(26)

The pro-Nazi sympathies of the Mufti are often used by the Zionists to 'prove' that the Palestinians were also pro-Nazi. In fact the Mufti who was appointed by the British:

"was for years denounced by extremist Arab politicians as a British agent!" (27)

"The majority of politically minded Syrians,like their brethren in Palestine, decided that there was nothing to choose between oppression by a democracy and that excercised in the name of fascism."(28)

The Nazis also sent an SS Officer, Baron Leapold Itz von Mildenstein to Palestine accompanied by Kurt Techler of the German Zionist Federation, to continue negotiations on Ha'avar and training camps.*(29)*

There were articles describing Mildenstein's visit in Der Angriff,Goebbels paper in 1934. Mildenstein himself was soon to occupy the Jewish desk in Heydrich's Security Service. In fact Mildenstein hired Eichmann at the end of 1934 as his *"expert on Zionism."(30)*

And Adolph Eichmann could declare that:

"As a matter of fact, there was a very strong similarity between our attitudes in the SS and the viewpoint of these immensely idealistic Zionist leaders...I believe that Kastner would have sacrificed a hundred or a hundred thousand of his blood to achieve his political goal."(31)

Arendt relates that:

"(Eichmanns) first personal contacts with Jewish functionaries,all of them well known Zionists of long standing were thoroughly satisfactory... these Jews,unlike the Assimilationists,whom he always despised...were 'idealists' like him..! Dr Kastner as Eichmann understood it,had sacrificed his fellow Jews to his idea, and this was as it should be...he agreed that today the Jews might not be happy to recall this pulling together and he did not want 'to hurt their feelings'."(32)

Just in case it is thought that these are the delirious fantasies of an old Nazi about to meet his maker, it should be borne in mind that Dr Rudolph

(24)'Jews Against Hitler-Not As a Lamb' L Steinberg,Gordon & Cremones' University Press, Glasgow p12
(25) Arendt op.cit. p60
(26) Interview with Dr Max Gruenwald,New York,1.2.73, Lawidowicz op.cit. p120
(27) Barbour,Nisi Dominus,a Survey of the Palestine Controversy,London 1946 p401 fn,cited in Kirk op.cit p154
(28) Kirk op.cit p206
(29) See History Today,January 1980,"A Nazi Travels to Palestine" Dr J Boas
(30)' Lawidowicz p113 (31)Life Magazine 28.11/5.12.60 quoted in 'Perfidy',Ben Hecht,New York 1961 Julian Messner Inc. pp260/1
(32) Arendt op.cit pp41/2

Verba, the first Auschwitz escapee, tells much the same story from the other side of the fence about how his warnings of Hungarian Jewry's fate were used by Kastner to his own advantage.(33) All this was taking place in the midst of the European carnage. It is no wonder that whilst Rudolph Kastner, head of the Jewish Agency's 'Rescue Committee' in Hungary was saving 600 souls of the Zionist elite, Moshe Kraus was sacked by the Agency from his job with them as he obtained passports and visas for 40 000 of the Jewish poor. It is estimated by Steinberg that Kraus rescued up to 90 000 Hungarian Jews by using collective visas/passports. Count Folke Bernadotte, a member of the Swedish Royal Family, who came to Palestine as a UN Mediator had:

"on his own personal initiative succeeded in rescuing a surviving remnant...some 30 000, from the concentration camps."(34)

Bernadotte was killed in cold blood by the Stern gang not long after coming to Palestine, for failing to turn a blind eye to the activities of the Zionists although initially he was very sympathetic to them. Today one of the leaders of the Stern gang, Yitzhak Shamir, is Foreign Minister in Begins' Government. Others such as Raoul Wallenburg the Swedish diplomat, and Rabbi Weissmandel the orthodox Chasidic Rabbi, were also doing their best to save thousands by means of false visas, passports, immigration certificates etc. For some 2 years, the deportation of the Slovakian Jews was postponed when Wisliceny accepted in 1942 50 000 dollars from the Jewish Relief Committee in Bratislava:

"Wisliceny received the Jews offer of a bribe on condition that he put an end to the deportations...the deportations were halted. What is more, Rabbi Weissmandel set up a veritable life saving campaign known as Europa Plan to rescue all the Jews in German occupied territories. It was simply a matter of finding the necessary money. During the following 2 years Rabbi Weissmandel sent request after request to the Jewish organisations in Switzerland, each one more urgent and more anguished than the last begging for money...the amounts he received were paltry...Switzerland did not really believe in the Europa Plan.. Be that as it may, during those 2 years there were no deportations of Jews from Slovakia so that Slovakian territory even came to be a territory for those Jews who escaped from the camps and ghettoes of Poland...Incidentally it was Rabbi Weissmandel who smuggled the Wetzler (Verba-TG) Rosenburg report to the West at the beginning of 1942...written by 2 Auschwitz escapees."(35)

In fact none of Weissmandel's messages were replied to. And when Weissmandel communicated the news of the two escapees, he transmitted the news to Dr Kastner...

"The account of the 2 escapees, Wetzler (Verba) and Rosenberg had broken the wall of silence. It might be more fitting to call it a deliberate deafness. News of the gassings had reached London just after they had commenced. The delegate of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland, Gerhard Riegner, had sent a detailed telegram about the matter during the summer of 1942...Soon after, the American State Department requested its mission in Switzerland not to send any more private messages. The Jewish press in Palestine which had received detailed information in the summer of 1942, that is to say around the time that Riegner was writing his report, hardly mentioned it for

(33) February 1961, London Daily Herald see Perfidy p261 fn 68
(34) Hirst op.cit p14 see Menhuin p512
(35) Steinberg op.cit. pp295/6

6 months, and when it did, all it had to say was that the information appeared to be extremely exageratted : A good idea to be on the alert but there was no need to panic."(36)

The Weissmandel-Fleischman group was to be deported to Auschwitz,though Weissmandel escaped.

Time and again the Zionists, when faced with a choice between fighting the Nazis and saving refugees, or using the Holocaust to create their own state deliberately chose the latter course. As Lucas notes:

> *"While hopes and efforts for the rescue of Europes Jews continued, the struggle for a Jewish state became the primary concern of the(Zionist) movement."(37)* And in consequence:
>
> *"Once the achievement of statehood became the overriding goal of the movement, the Zionist realpolitik developed a rigorous logic and a momentum of its own in which humanitarian considerations were subordinate."(38)*

At every single stage the Zionists when given a choice between opposing the Nazis or trying to make a deal with them chose the latter. This was because the Zionist movement had not been set up to oppose anti-Semitism but to ahieve a political state. As Steinberg notes:

> *"The Zionist movement...was going through a grave crisis since it realised that it was not in a position at this stage to solve the Jewish problem. Its advice to Jews that they should emigrate to Palestine could only be taken up by a very small minority..." (39)*

And the desire of American Jews (and others) to rescue Europes' Jews:

> *"was conveniently structured by the Zionist programme in a way that involved only helping Jews to reach Palestine."(40)* and
>
> *"As the European Holocaust erupted, Ben Gurion saw it as a decisive opportunity for Zionism...Ben Gurion above all others sensed the tremendous possibilities inherent in the dynamic of the chaos and carnage in Europe...the forces unleashed by Hitler in all their horror must be harnessed to the advantage of Zionism."(41)*

in an analogy much like that of Herzl's when comparing anti-Semitism to the pressure of steam.

In the course of the war, the Zionists provided the vast majority of the members of the Judenrats- the Nazi appointed Jewish Councils which pacified people within the ghettoes and selected who would depart for the concentration camps first.*(42)* Getting Jewish collaborators to serve on the Judenrats and in the Jewish police was essential if the Final Solution was to succeed:

> *"The final rounding up of Jews in Berlin was...done entirely by Jewish police, there would have been either complete chaos or an impossibly severe drain on German manpower...Hence the establishment of Quisling governments in occupied territories was always accompanied by the organisation of a central Jewish office."(43)*

As Judge Halevi elicited from Eichmann in the latters trial:

> *"The Nazis had regarded this co-operation as the very cornerstone of their Jewish policy."(44)*

(36) Ibid. p288
(37) Lucas op.cit. pl88
(38) Ibid. pl90
(39) Steinberg op.cit. pl69
(40) Lucas pl89
(41) Ibid. ppl87/8
(42) See Hertzberg, Ha'aretz 24.9.63)
(43) Arendt op.cit. pll7
(44) Ibid. pl24

Arendt points out wherever there was a Jewish leadership, this leadership collaborated with the Nazis, whereas:

> *"If the Jewish people had really been unorganised and leaderless..the total number of victims would hardly have been between 4½ and 6 million poeple."(45)*

Arendt gives Holland as a prime example of this, but the Zionists for example in Dawidowicz's book and Trunk, devote a great deal of time to proving that the existence of Judenrats somehow benefitted the Jews of Europe. As Steinberg even notes:

> *"This argument of Arendt provoked a general outcry among the Jewish historians of the catastrophe but could not be refuted...the Jewish Councils had been created by the Germans for the sole purpose of destroying the Jews."(46)*

In Israel the Supreme Court in the Hirsch Birnblatt appeal exonerated the Jewish Councils and Police. Arendt wrote regarding Belgium:

> *"The Jewish Council did not command any authority among native Jews. With this'lack of understanding' on all sides,it is not surprising that very few Belgian Jews were deported."(47)*

Where anti-fascist opposition was strongest such as in Belgium,Denmark and Bulgaria, the number of Jews exterminated was least. In Holland the efforts of non-Jewish anti-fascists came full square up against the Zionist led Jewish Council in Amsterdam which was eager to collaborate. The same is true of Greece. The political dominance of Zionism could only result in defeat. This despite the fact that Zionists, even the European leadership in some cases, died in the holocaust; written off by the movement outside. Zionism as a political movement was simply incapable of fighting anti-Semitism and wherever possible tried to adapt to it. Where as in the Warsaw Ghettoe Zionists fought, it was in spite of rather than because of their Zionist affiliations. In the case of Hungary in particular, by sabotaging the rescue efforts of others while securing the safe exit of the Zionist elite, Zionism bartered the lives of whole communities in exchange for the saving of a select few.This was termed 'selectivity':

> *"Selectivity is an inescapable factor in dealing with the problem of immigration to Palestine...there could be no more deadly ammunition provided to the enemies of Zionism...if Palestine were to be flooded with very old people or with undesirables."(48)*

Montor was described in his obituary as a:

> *"Key figure in the raising of huge amounts of money for Israel from diaspora Jewry..and as Executive Vice President of the United Jewish Appeal (1934-50) he directed the raising of previously unparalleled amounts for Israel from overseas Jewry."(49)*

He was also Chief Executive 1951-9 of the American Financial Development Corporation for Israel in charge of the Israel bond campaign. But he was zealous in ensuring that the vast amounts of money raised didn't go to help save some of the Jews of Europe (as the rest of the letter quoted above,which was a letter of refusal) makes clear. Chaim Cohen, Attorney General and Prosecutor in the Kastner trial (see later) makes clear the Zionist position:

(45) Arendt op.cit. p125 *(46) Steinberg op.cit. p109*
(47) Arendt op.cit. p166
(48) Letter from Henry Montor, Executive Vice Chair,United Jewish Appeal to Rabbi Baruch' Rabinowitz 1.2.40,facsimile reproduced in 'Holocaust Victims Accuse, Reb Moshe Shonfield,pp89-94,Neturei Karta,New York,1977
(49) Jewish Chronicle 16.7.82

"It has always been our Zionist tradition to select the few out of many in arranging the immigration to Palestine...Are we to be called traitors?"(50)

Dawidowicz describes what selectivity meant in practise:

"The Zionist movement itself set up rigid standards for prospective immigrants. The 18th Zionist Congress in 1933 established within the Jewish Agency for Palestine a Central Bureau for the settlement of German Jews which to begin with excluded anti-Zionists as applicants for certificates (ie. most Jews-TG). Young poeple in good health, with some training for agricultural work or manual trades and persons with capital were the preferred candidates for aliya IN A PROCESS WHERE THE NEEDS AND INTERESTS OF PALESTINE TOOK PRECEDENCE OVER A STRATEGY OF RESCUE."(my emphasis-51)

But at the time of the 2nd Aliya, the Zionist Organisation had opposed unpropertied immigration.*(52)*

KASTNER

The Kastner Trial which began in 1953 lasted till 1955, not counting the appeal. Kastner sued Malchiel Greenwald, the author of a right wing newssheet for criminal libel and the government sent its Attorney General Chaim Cohen along to prosecute, Cohen later became a Supreme Court Judge. Shmuel Tamir, the Defence Attorney and ex Irgun member became Justice Minister in Begins' Cabinet as a member of Yigael Yadin's Democratic Movement. The case collapsed with virtually the whole government being put on trial instead. As the right wing paper, Yediot Aharanot said:

"If Kastner is brought to trial, the entire government faces a total political and national collapse- as a result of what such a trial may disclose." (53)

It was said that during Eichmanns' trial:

"Hovering over the courtroom...was the ghost of Israel Kastner"(54)

Eichmanns' trial allowed the deal between Kastner, Becher, Krumey and Wisliceny to become submerged by pinning all the blame on Eichmann*(55)*
The Prosecutor, Hausner, preferred not to call Biss, Kastner's Deputy, because the last thing that was wanted was for the Kastner affair to raise its head. The same was true for Verba.

The Communist Party newspaper, Kol Haam, wrote after the Kastner trial:

"All those whose relatives were butchered by the Germans in Hungary know now clearly that Jewish hands helped the mass murder."(56)

Kastner was later killed by Ze'ev Eckstein who had strong connections with the Israeli Secret Service, Shin Beth, and he was apparently paid by them. The Judge Benjamin Halevi summed up in the trial thus:

"The Jews of the ghettoes would not have trusted the Nazi or Hungarian rulers. But they had trust in the Jewish leaders...those of the Jews who tried to warn their friends of the truth (of the deportations) were persecuted by the Jewish leaders in charge of the local rescue work. The trust of the Jews in the misleading information and their lack of knowledge that their wives and children and themselves were about to be deported to the gas chambers of Auschwitz, led the victims to remain quiescent in their ghettoes...and the Jewish leaders did everything in their power to soothe the Jews in the ghettoes and to prevent such

(50) Hecht. op.cit. pp194/5
(51) Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews, Report to the 19th Zionist Congress and 4th Council of Jewish Agency in Lucerne, London 7/35 p21 & Landauer 'Der Zionismus in Wandel' pp13-46 cited in Dawidowicz op.cit. pp23/9
(52) Lucas op.cit. p79 (53) 23.6.55 cited in Nazi-Zionist Collaboration-BAZO
(54) M Pearlmann, The Capture and Trial of A Eichmann, New York 1963 p534 p22
(55) See L Susman, Analysis of Perfidy, American Council for Judaism, cited by Menhuin p484 (56) Nazi-Zionist Collaboration p22, (23.6.55)

resistance activities...the Nazi chiefs knew that the Zionists were a most vital element in Jewry and the most trusted by the Jews...Eichmann did not want a second Warsaw...the Nazis' patronage of Kastner, and their agreement to let him save 600 prominent Jews were part of the plan to exterminate the Jews...the opportunity of ***rescuing prominent people*** *appealed to him greatly. He considered the rescue of the most important Jews as a great personal success and a success for Zionism...He concentrated his efforts in the rescue of the prominents and treated the camp of the doomed as if they had already been wiped out from the book of the living.*

One cannot estimate the damage caused by Kastner's collaboration and put down the number of victims which it cost Hungarian Jews...Just as the Nazi war criminals knew they needed an alibi and hoped to achieve it by the rescue of a few Jews at the eleventh hour, so Kastner also needed an alibi...Collaboration between the Jewish Agency Rescue Committee and the Exterminators of the Jews was solidified in Budapest and Vienna. Kastners duties were part and parcel of the general duties of the SS...the Nazis opened a 'Rescue' Department headed by Kastner."(57)

If the Nazis did not want a second Warsaw Ghettoe, neither did the Zionists. According to one of those who died in the uprising:

"our leaders abandoned us in time of danger, they scattered in all directions like mice."(58)

Neither did the Zionists provide or attempt to provide arms or other help. *(59)*

And even in Warsaw prominent Zionists collaborated. Those such as Abraham Gancawajch of Hashomer Hatzair and Rabbi Blumenfeld and Glacensztajn of Agudat Yisrael, who held that the Nazi persecution was Gods' blessing in disguise. Mordechai Anielwicz, also of Hashomer Hatzair was very much the exception that proved the rule, in that he went down fighting leading the resistance.

Kastner also obtained the freeing from US custody of Lt. General Kurt Becher of the Waffen SS, responsible for implementing the Final Solution as regards Hungary's Jews, again in his role as Jewish Agency official. As Chaim Cohen pointed out:

"The man Kastner does not stand here as a private individual. He was a recognised representative, official or non-official of the Jewish National Institutes in Palestine and of the Zionist Executive; and I come here in this court to defend the representative of our national institutions."(60)

Little wonder that Dr Karlebach wrote in Maariv:

"What is going on here? The Attorney General has to mobilise all the government's power, appear in court himself to justify and defend collaboration with Himmler. And in order to defend a quisling, the government must drag through the streets one of the grimmest stories of our history."

Not that Hungary was the only example by any means of an indifference to the rescue of Jews from Hitlers' furnaces. When it was possible to rescue 70 000 Rumanian Jews from certain death with funds the Zionists refused point blank and in fact did their best to discredit the story:

" *"Henry Morgenthau Jnr reports, according to Wischnitzer, a scandalous case of neglected opportunity whilst the Bermuda Conference was sitting, 70 000 Jews...could have been rescued from Rumania against funds*

(57) Judge Benjamin Halevi, Jerusalem District Court 22.6.55, Protocol CC 124/53 cited in Hecht op.cit. pp178/83
(58) Chaim Kaplan, Scroll of Agony, a Warsaw Diary (London 1966) p33
(59) see Martin Grey, Au Nom de Tous les Miens (Paris) 1970
(60) Hecht op.cit. fn p268

deposited in Switzerland...The first news of the proposed transaction appeared in the New York Times in mid February."(61)

Although Sykes attributes the stymying of the deal to the British and US Governments,(who without a doubt were not keen on such a rescue mission) it was the Zionists,who by denying that there was any danger to the Rumanian Jews, gave legitimacy to the two governments reluctance.

This sabotage of all rescue work extended to opposing the lowering of immigration barriers in the West. For the Zionists,it was a question of Palestine or nowhere. Zionism never had as its goal the rescue of endangered Jews, it was a political movement with a political goal, not a rescue or charity mission. Indeed to have rescued Jews and then sent them to countries other than Palestine would have negated the reason for Zionism's existence. Even during the period of mass immigration into Palestine between 1932 and 1935, less than one eighth of the immigrants were German with 47% coming from Poland, where the Zionist leadership also originated. The Jewish Agency controlled the allocation of immigration certificates(62) Zionism's ruthlessness even extended to blowing up a ship, the Patria, in Haifa harbour on 24.11.40.,killing 240 refugees who had already escaped from Nazi Germany. Why? Because the British were about to transfer them to Mauritius. The Jewish Agency even claimed this was a mass suicide by those on board,whereas the explosion was the work of a small Hagannah group. The same is suspected as regards the Struma which sank in the Black Sea on 24.2.42 with over 700 lives lost. Again as Marlowe points out, lives could have been saved if the Jewish Agency had:

"concentrated on the humanitarian instead of on the political propaganda aspect."(63)

Kirk describes the Struma as an:

"object of a political gesture of despair or defiance."(64)

In a letter to the Times of 6 June 1961,Rabbi Dr Solomon Schonfield, chairperson of the Chief Rabbis' Rescue Committee wrote:

"My experience in 1942/3 was wholly in favour of a British readiness to help openly,constructively and totally, and that this readiness met with opposition from Zionist leaders who insisted on rescue to Palestine as the only form of help."(65)

And after the war in the United States it was much the same story:

"It was only with extreme reluctance that Congress agreed to admit a mere 200 000 of these self same remnants of the Holocaust and especially the Jews among them; 3 years were needed to persuade it to accept a bill which, in Trumans' words, 'discriminate in a callous fashion against displaced persons of the Jewish faith."(66)

As Hurewitz notes:

"Congressman generally voiced support of Zionism and the demand for large scale immigration into Palestine,sentiment in Congress strongly opposed the relaxation of American immigration laws,which might have relieved the pressure on Palestine."(67)

Ernest Bevin,the right wing Foreign Secretary, in a comment which infuriated the Zionists and fellow Congressmen,noted that the Americans wanted the displaced Jews to go to Palestine because they didn't want them to come to

(61) Sykes p242 see also pp101/3 Holocaust Victims Accuse and pp189/92 Perfidy. Ben Hecht was one of those responsible for placing adverts in the NYTimes and had first had knowledge of the affair.
(62) Sykes p136 also see Hyamson,Palestine Under the Mandate,London 1950
(63) Ibid. pp224/7 and also Holocaust Victims Accuse,Schonfield
(64) Kirk op.cit. p203
(65) Schonfield, Rabbi op.cit pp60/1 see also Zionist/Nazi Collaboration pp45-57
(66) H Divine,American Immigration Policy 1924-52,Oxford University,Press,p128
(67) Hurewitz op.cit. p257 London 1952

New York! Noone did more to encourage the American denial of entry certificates for the Jewish refugees than the Zionists themselves. Trumans' predecessor,Roosevelt,had sent Morris Ernst,a Jewish lawyer on a mission to explore the possibilities of an international effort to take in the refugees,with every country taking a reasonable share of them. Ernst recalled:

> *"I was amazed,even felt insulted, when active Jewish leaders decried, sneered and then attacked me as if I was a traitor...I was openly accused of furthering this plan for freer immigration in order to undermine Political Zionism. But that did not prevent Truman or the Zionists from demanding that the gates of Palestine be thrown open...Nor did it prevent them from reviling Britain for refusing them entry."(68)*

Everywhere Ernst went he found those to whom rescue was important only as a means of building a Jewish state in Palestine. *(69)*

When the Stratton Bill was introduced into Congress in 1947 allowing for 400 000 refugees to enter the US,what was the reaction of the Zionists? They totally ignored the Bill in contrast to the Wright Compton resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth (when 500 pages of testimony were produced in 4 days), with only one witness,Senator A Lehman appearing for all the major Jewish organisations and in total just 11 pages of testimony from the same organisations. Yet again the Zionist leadership was determined that Zionism would not be confused with'refugeeism'. As the President of the Zionist Organisation in America stated:

> *"I am happy that our movement has finally veered around to the point where we are all,or nearly all,talking about a Jewish state..But I ask...are we again,in moments of desperation going to confuse Zionism with refugeeism which is likely to defeat Zionism...Zionism is not a refugee movement. It is not a product of the Second World War,nor of the first. Were there no displaced Jews in Europe...Zionism would still be an imperative necessity."(70)*

And similarly the Zionists put pressure on the Australian Government not to go ahead with the Kimberley project for the settlement of Jewish refugees in Western Australia,sponsored by the Freeland League. The latter asked:

> *"Who can tell how many thousands of Jewish lives might have been saved from Hitlers' claws if these anti-Jewish pressures exerted by Jews had not been effected."(71)*

Barnet Litvinoff (citing his book Weizzmann:Last of the Patriarchs,1976) tells how Weizzmann in December 1938 turned down a British offer to allow 10 000 Jewish refugee children to come to Britain. Weizmann demanded that they be sent to Palestine only.*(72)* He also told much the same story of the US Zionists. One such was the US Ambassador to Moscow and then Turkey,Lawrence Steinhardt,former American Zionist Federation official in the twenties anda fierce opponent of Jewish immigration to the United States whom the Assistant Secretary of State,Breckenbridge Longe used to cite in justification of his anti-Semitic immigration policy (see Henry Eingold,'Politics of Rescue") The Israeli anti-Zionist group,Matzpen wrote:

> *"The intervention of the Zionist movement in the question of the possibility of Jews emigrating to America,is a classical example of the cynicism of the 'Cruel Zionism'. At the time of the 2nd World War hundreds of thousands of European Jews could still have escaped the Nazis by emigrating to other countries. It is beyond all doubt that representatives of the Zionist movement in the US tried to sabotage the plan to save Jewish refugees by bringing them to the US or any*

(68) Hirst p115 citing ML Ernst 'So Far So Good',Harper & Bros,New York 1948 pp138/9 see also Tzzi Cohen,'The Cruel Zionism' Matzpen April 1974
(69) see Ernst pp170-7 cited in 'Zionist Connection',Lillienthall p36
(70) Rabbi Hillel Silver to 49th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organisation of America,New York Times 27.10.46
(71) A Lillienthall,'The Other Side of the Coin' New York,1965 p26
(72) Jewish Chronicle 27.7.79

place other than Palestine."(73)

Ben Gurion's letter (17.12.38) to the Zionist Executive makes this approach to saving the lives of Jewish refugees quite explicit:

"If the Jews are faced with a choice between the refugee problem and rescuing Jews from concentration camps on the one hand, and aid for the national museum on the other, the Jewish sense of pity will prevail ...We are risking Zionism's very existence if we allow the refugee problem to be separated from the Palestine problem."(74)

And on a similar theme,Yitzhak Greenbaum (a member of the 'left' Hashomer Hatzair and Mapam and a member of Ben Gurions' first Cabinet in addition to being Director of the Jewish Agency's 'Rescue'Committee..) at a meeting on the Diaspora and the Redemption in Tel Aviv,February 1943 said:

"When they come to us with 2 plans- the rescue of the masses of Jews in Europe or the redemption of the land- I vote without a second thought, for the redemption of the land. The more said about the slaughter of our people,the greater the minimisation of our efforts to strengthen and promote the Hebraisation of the land."(75)

In his book 'In Days of Holocaust and Destruction' he wrote:

"And when I was asked,but you could donate from the resources of the United Jewish Appeal (Foundation Funds for the rescue of Jews in Europe, I said no.And I say again no. I know that people wonder why I found it necessary to say that. Friends tell me that even if these things are true,one should not reveal them in public at a moment of such sorrow and anxiety...I cannot agree. In my opinion one should resist this wave which relegates the Zionist activities to secondary importance. And because of that I was called anti-Semitic and was judged to be responsible for the fact that we do not absorb ourselves completely in the rescue activity."(76)

In these statements Greenbaum actually advocates saying less about the extermination of Jews. Something borne out in the Kastner trial when the Dean of the Law Faculty of the Hebrew University,Professor Aktzin, was questioned:

Tamir : "Is it true that the Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency did suppress the news of the extermination in the US up to and through 1941?"

Prof.Aktzin :"The Zionists,Jewish Agency and Joint Distribution Committee did refrain from publicising in the American press the massacre of the Jews." (77)

As Ari Bober of Matzpen wrote:

"When the Zionists had to choose between the Jews and the Jewish state, it unhesitatingly preferred the latter."(78)

And in case anybody is still not convinced or thinks these were the ramblings of a few isolated individuals and not the policy of the movement as a whole, let us quote Moshe Sharrett (Shertok),a 'dove' who was Israel's first Foreign Minister and its second Prime Minister (before Ben Gurion reached out from retirement in a southern Kibbutz to knife him in the back:

"The fate of Zionism is to be sometimes cruel towards the Jewish Diaspora, that is when the building up of this country requires it."

(73) Matzpen April 1974

(74) Y Elam,'Introduction to Zionist History' Tel Aviv 1972 pp125/6 cited in Machover/Offenburg op.cit. see also 'Ot', organ of the Youth cadre of the Israeli Labour Party,no 2 Winter 1967 (75) Shonfield op.cit. p26

(76) Ibid. and Y Greenbaum, Bi Mei Hurban ve Sho'ah Haverim (Tel Aviv 1946) pp68/9 cited in Davies p25-(slightly different translation)

(77) Hecht op.cit. pp92/3 *New Yorkp171*

(78) A Bober,'The Radical Case Against Zionism-The Other Israel' Anchor Books

and similarly the Zionist historian,S Beit Zvi wrote:

"Narrowmindedness and the fear of the territorialist danger (that is emigration of Jews to countries other than Palestine) led the Zionist movement to act in a number of cases against the efforts of other Jews and non-Jews to save Jewish lives."(79)

And as Richard Crossman,right wing Labour Minister and Zionist put it:

"The Zionists...main preoccupation is not to save Jews alive out of Europe but to get Jews into Palestine."(80)

This opposition to rescuing Jews applied also in Sweden where fortunately they were unable to prevent the transfer of Denmark's Jewish community.(81) Even pro-Zionist historians such as Christopher Sykes and Noah Lucas,agree that the fate of Europe's Jews was of little concern to the Zionist movement, obsessed as it was with the Biltmore Programme,(*formulated in 1942 by US Zionists, for the first time explicitly for the formation* of a Jewish state in Palestine. The other main campaign of the Zionists during the war was an obsession with the creation of a Jewish Brigade. The British were rightly wary of creating such a force (despite,formal acceptance) because it could form the nucleus of opposition to them after the war, and would have dual loyalties.As the President of the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee wrote in April 1942 of this demand:

"I do not think that it is wise for the Agency to assume the grave responsibility of pressing for a measure which can in no way enhance the opportunity for service by Jews to the war effort."(82)

But of course the purpose of the demand was not to further the war effort but to further the creation of a Jewish state by helping create the nucleus of a future Zionist army. The demand was incidentally put into effect in late 44 **Naturally** the last thing the Zionists wanted was for the Evian and Bermuda Conferences on (supposedly) saving the Jewish masses of Europe,to succeed.

"The Zionists who played no part in the (Evian) Conference,were not worried by its failure...From the start they regarded the whole enterprise with hostile indifference. Zionist writers scarcely mention it...If the 31 nations had done their duty and shown hospitality to those in dire need, then the pressure on the National Home and the heightened enthusiasm of Zionism with Palestine would both have been relaxed. THIS WAS THE LAST THING THAT THE ZIONIST LEADERS WISHED FOR. As things stood after Evian, the outlook for the Jews was bleak throughout the world except for (to to quote Norman Bentwich) the bright spot of Palestine and the speck of Dominica. The Zionist leaders preferred that it should remain that way. Even in the more terrible days ahead they made no secret of the fact even when talking to Gentiles that they did not want Jewish settlements outside Palestine to be successful...The Zionists wanted to do something more for Jews than merely help them to escape danger. They wanted to make them the object of respect,not the object of pity...If their policy entailed suffering then that was the price that had to be paid forthe rescue of the Jewish soul.It is hard perhaps impossible to find a parallel in history to this particular Zionist idea...that such was the basic Zionist idea is not a matter of opinion but a fact abundantly provable by evidence...There can be no doubt that here again one is confronted with an idea which even if judged as morally wrong is such as could only be conceived by a great people. As time went on it grew rather than diminished in strength. It formed another crossroads."(83)

(79) S Beit Zvi,Post Ugandan Zionism in the Crucible of the Holocaust (Hebrew) p458,Bronfman,Tel Aviv,1977 cited in Machover 'Zionism;Why We Oppose It"
(80) R H Crossman,Washington Diary for 1946
(81) For details of Zionist obstruction in Sweden see Schonfield,Holocaust Victims Accuse where records of Parliamentary proceedings where this obstruction is debated are reproduced. Sweden's Chief Rabbi led the obstruction.
(82) Hurewitz p130,citing Aguda Yisrael World Organisation,New York branch 2nd Confidential Report 1.1-30.6.42) p13
(83) Sykes op.cit. pp188/9

And similarly with the Bermuda Conference which gave rise to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration ((UNRRA) and also the American War Refugee Board:

> *"Mark Wischnitzer, one of the fairest of Zionist commentators, even goes so far as to describe this effort (the Bermuda Conference) as 'deplorable'. The truth of the matter seems clear : The Bermuda Conference undertook humanitarian duties without reference to Zionist political aims, so it was of no interest to Zionists, and its weak result was not regretted by them."(84)*

Lucas comes to exactly the same conclusion:

> *"The Zionists were not displeased by the failure of the Evian Conference, since the opening up of barriers to immigration elsewhere would have eased the pressure on Palestine."(85)*

Not all Zionists of course realised the implications implicit in Zionisms' rejection of the fight against anti-Semitism. One such was Joel Brand, the emissary that Hungarian Jewry sent abroad in a last ditch effort to prevent their own extermination. Brand was himself a member of Mapai. Brand wrote a letter to Moshe Sharrett concerning how the Zionists had obstructed him (including colluding with the British who arrested him in Syria, Ehud Avriel who accompanied him from Turkey also being in the pay of the British Intelligence).

> *"For decades our people strove towards one end- the Zionist goal which was again and again aspired to...In the days of Hitler another goal should have taken precedence to save the lives of our people...You Comrade Sharrett, and all the agencies did not do a single thing...to alarm without delay, the whole world, or to alert all the newspapers in the free world as much as possible."(86)*

And this unfortunately is the record of the whole Zionist movement during the Holocaust which did not merely do nothing itself but actively obstructed those who did wish to do something.

(84) Ibid. p242
(85) Lucas op.cit. p458 fn. 2
(86) Ha Satan V'Hanefesh (Satan and the Soul), Joel Brand cited in Holocaust Victims Accuse, Schonfield, pp58/9

REVISIONISM & RESISTANCE

The Revisionist Zionists founded by Jabotinsky were in even more of a quandery with regard to the rise of the Nazis and anti-Semitic parties throughout Europe. Politically there were many ideological and political similarities between them and the European fascist parties. Given the class basis of the Revisionists, their attitude to militarism and uniforms and other such trappings, and most of all their total hostility to all manifestations of working class organisations, there can be little doubt that it is correct to class them as fascist. In Palestine they organised an openly scab union,the Revisionist Labour Federation:

"which enjoyed the patronage of some factory owners and leading orange growers."(1)

In fact the Revisionist movement in Palestine, in particular Brit Habir-yonim,(A small group of para military thugs who overlapped with Betar)

"saw the main enemy in the Labour Movement."(2)

But though a small group of activists:

"Jabotinsky gave his blessing to all actions of the Biryonim."(3)

Revisionism itself:

"became more and more anti-socialist in character...(and) identified with opposition to organised labour"(4)

Revisionism in fact saw the class struggle as :

"an insidious subversion of the national struggle."(5)

And similarly in Nazi Germany itself, the Revisionists were busy collaborating with their political mentors. The President of the German Revisionist State Zionists, was interviewed in Goebbels paper, der Angriff,under the heading: *"The Nuremburg Laws Fulfill Ancient Zionist' Demands."*
It is hard to quarrel with this assessment of the Revisionists, but as Weinstock notes:

"The Nazi propaganda vehicle gleefully introduced the interview with the remark that the Ghettoe' Regulations enforced in Germany found favour among some sections of Jewish opinion."(6)

Lacquer maintains that because Jabotinsky was not a fascist,the movement he led could not be fascist either. Even if it is true that Jabotinsky did not believe much of the rubbish that filled the heads of his supporters he did little to counter the leader cult, the wearing of Brownshirts by Betar or their military salute,Fuhrerprinzip (7) or indeed the open worship of fascism by so many of his supporters. The fact that Jabotinsky's disciples had taken to wearing brownshirts reminiscent of the German SA did not endear them to the left,and as Lacquer admits_

(1) Lacquer p318 *(2) Ibid. p363*
(3) Ibid. pp364/5 citing an article on adventurism in Chasit Ha'am 11.3.32 quoted in Schectman, *(4) Ibid.*
(5) Lucas op.cit. p131
(6) Weinstock p149 see Wiener Library Archives,American Jewish Congress Bulleti 24.1.36,Palestine Postt3.1.36 and Selbstwehz 3.1.36,a Jewish weekly in Prague which published Kareskis interview of 23.12.35 in full
(7) see Abraham' Revusky,Les Juifs en Palestine,Paris 1936 p202

"the stress on military training...gave (Betar) a certain similarity to the fascist youth movements of the 1920s and 30s."(8)

Abba Achimeir, a frustrated would be leader, the Enoch Powell of the Palestinian Revisionists described by Lacquer as the *"leading ideologist of Palestinian neo-revisionism"*, wrote a column in the newspaper, Doar Hayom, entitled 'Diary of a Fascist'. It is in fact quite possible for a fascist party to have a non-fascist leader eg. O'Brien, the Powellite chairperson of the National Front after Chesterton. Today Begin's Likud has representatives in it of the old fascist past and of Israel's private capital, such as Yoram Aridor of the Maritime Fruit Company. But even Jabotinsky compared Begin to the "screeching of a useless door" and Ben Gurion said of him:

"When for the first time I heard Begin on the radio, I heard the voice and screeching of Hitler."(9)

The Revisionists slogan when Hitler came to power was:

"Hitler for Germany, Mussolini for Italy and Palestine for us."(10)

As Jabotinsky's biographer explained:

"The organ of the Palestinian extremists expressed the view that but for Hitler's anti-Semitism, German National Socialism would have been acceptable, and that anyway Hitler had saved Germany."(11)

And Weinstock relates how:

"fascist tendencies sprang up in the Revisionist movement, particularly in its Palestinian section, whose leaders, Abba Achimeir, Y A Yevin and the poet Zvi Greenberg, all ex members of the Zionist Labour Movement, glorified the National Socialist creed- except for its anti-Semitic components of course- in their paper Chazit Ha'am (Peoples Front) and hailed Hitler as Germanys' saviour."(12)

In fact Achimeir wrote in his diary that

"I wish that a million Polish Jews might be slaughtered, then they might realise they are living in a Jewish ghettoe."(13)

Jabotinsky's followers in Jerusalem told a **District** Court:

"Yes we entertain great respect for Hitler. Hitler has saved Germany. Without him it would have perished four years ago. And we would have gone along with Hitler if he had only given up his anti-Semitism!"(14)

Indeed Jabotinsky, who had described Achimeir as:

"our spiritual guide and teacher"(15)

became increasingly exasperated with, if not the politics, at least the tactics of Achimeir and company. In a letter to Yevin of 14.5.33, again quoted in Schectman's biography of him (Schectman was one of Jabotinsky's closest colleagues and followed him into the wilderness when he left the Zionist Executive), Jabotinsky wrote:

"Articles and notices on Hitler and the Hitlerite movement are to me and all of us, like a knife thrust into our backs...to find in Hitlerism some feature of a 'national liberation movement' is sheer ignorance. Moreover AND UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES ALL THIS BABBLING IS DISCREDITING AND PARALYSING MY WORK."(16) my emphasis

(8) Lacquer op.cit. p318
(9) Israel No 108, 15.6.77 cited by A' I George, Guardian 30.6.82
(10) Maxime Rodinson, 'Israel a Colonial State' fn
(11) Lacquer op.cit. pp361/2 citing Schectman, 'Fighter and Prophet"
(12) Weinstock op.cit. p150
(13) Jewish Daily Bulletin 8.9.33
(14) ' Die Welbuhne (Berlin) 31.5.32 pp835-6
(15) Lacquer op.cit. p364
(16) Ibid.

Albert Einstein,Hanna Arendt and others wrote on the occasion of Begins' first visit to the United States:

"Herut (is) a political party closely akin in its appeal to the Nazi and Fascist parties...it is inconceivable that those who oppose fascism throughout the world, if correctly informed as to Begin's political record and perspectives could add their names and support to the movement he represents."(17)

Herut is the party that Begin formed after 1948 out of the Irgun and Stern Gang terrorist groups plus someof Israel's bourgeoisie. Begin of course is now Israels' Prime Minister. In the 1930s the Revisionists were in a small minority and broke away from the World Zionist Organisation to form the New Zionist Organisation. Inside Palestine their differences with theLabour Zionists were essentially tactical eg. their decision to break the ceasefire with the British much earlier than Hagannah (January 1944) or their call for the establishment of a Jewish state when the Labour Zionists were using formulations such as a Jewish homeland. Their differences largely centered around questions of timing, though Jabotinsky believed the Zionists should not be purchasing land from the Arabs,(as the mainstream Zionists were doing) but getting it free from the British. Weizmann's retort that this was not quite an empty country like Rhodesia shows how natural it was to compare the Zionist project then with Rhodesia (which of course was not empty) although Zionists today deny the colonialist nature of Zionism.*(18)*

The Irgun in fact resumed its war against the British when the threat from Rommel to Palestine had faded, and the Stern Gang even made an agreement with the Nazis against the British. Its leader Abraham Stern:

"One of the central figures in Irgun...believed that Britain not Germany was the main enemy. Consequently he refused to stop the fight against the mandatory power."(19) and

"in addition to his other misdeeds came into some sort of treasonable relationship with Italian Fascists...he held...there could be no radical distinction between German Nazis or the British because both were opposed to the total realisation of the Jewish state." (20)

"The ultra patriotism(!) of the Stern gang had manifested itself even earlier...in their attempts in 1941 to contact German emissaries in Beirut in order to establish a common anti-British front."(21)

And in fact Stern elaborated his programme:

"which was to assist Germany to conquer Palestine in return for the transfer of Europes' Jews to its shores. Stern believed that a deal with Hitler offered better hope for Jewish independence than a truce with Britain."(22)

And this reluctance regarding the allied cause was not just confined to the Revisionists.

"In the free countries the feelings of most Jews about the war was straightforward and uncomplicated...Britain and France were at war with the persecutor of their race so,whatever their feelings regarding Palestine they rallied to the democratic side. In Palestine...Jewish feelings remained dominated by Zionism and in consequence were not simple."(23)

(17) Letter to New York Times 4.12.48
(18) Lacquer p465
(19) Ibid. p376
(20) Sykes op.cit. p243
(21) Lacquer p556
(22) Lucas op.cit. pp212/3
(23) Sykes op.cit p204

Irgun also had extensive contacts with the Nazis, as a memorandum dated 1/41 from a report by the Naval attache at the German embassy in Turkey makes clear.

"The NMO(National Military Organisation or Irgun-TG) which is well acquainted with the goodwill of the German Reich government and its authorities towards Zionist activity inside Germany and towards Zionist emigration plans, is of the opinion that...the establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis and bound by a treaty with the German Reich would be in the interest of maintaining and strengthening the future German position of power in the Near East. Proceeding from these considerations, the NMO in Palestine offers to take an active part in the war on Germany's side,provided the above mentioned national aspirations of the Jewish liberation movement are recognised by the German Reich government."(24)

Not that the Irgun were the only ones to supply intelligence. Hagannah,in the form of their commander Felvel Polkes,held discussions with Eichmann on October 10-11.1937 in Jerusalem and subsequently in Cairo, approved of the 'radical' German policies and supplied information on pro-Soviet Arab leaders trying to prevent an Arab-Axis alliance. Polkes in turn visited Berlin from 26th February to 2nd March. This information came out when German war records were captured by the United States.*(25)*

Kastner's assistant in Budapest, Andre Biss, revealed in the course of a book which tried to exonerate Kastner, that the latters 'Rescue Committee' had also cooperated with German military intelligence headed by Admiral Canaris.

"For a long time past (Canaris's men) had been in contact with Jewish circles and especially with the Zionists and the representative of the American Jewish Welfare organisation known as the American Joint Distribution Committee."(26)

The Zionists provided up to 98% of the Jewish police in the ghettoes, half of whom were Revisionists appointed by the Nazis to police their own community. This they did with a determined ruthlessness *(27)*The Revisionists provided a major share of collaborators and members of the Judenrats. Figures such as Jacob Gens, head of the Vilna Judenrat,responsible for the torture and murder of Yitzhak Wittenburg,Communist leader of the underground. The Vilna Judenrat consisted of members of the General Zionists,Mizrahi (religious Zionists) Revisionists and Aguda.*(28)* Gens was also Deputy commander of the ghettoe police, the commandant of which was another revisionist, Muszkat,a Warsaw lawyer. The Chief of Police, Salek Desler,was a revisionist too *(29)* The smashing of the Vilna resistance and the subsequent appointment of 'left' Zionist Abba Kovner as leader of the resistance with Gens approval, is in contrast to ghettoes such as Lachwa in Byelorrusia where without even arms,the inhabitants attacked the Nazis. The same was true for Bialystock.*(30)*
Even in Warsaw as Chaim Kaplan noted:

"divided views prevailed among his Zionist friends"(31)

Kovner,the Zionist resistance leader,was one of those who prevailed on Wittenburg to give himselfup to the Gestapo.*(32)* Similarly the head of the Lodz Judenrat, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, who was"elected to the Lodz kehilla on the Zionist ticket" and Moses Merin who *"had been elected on the Revisionist ticket to the Kehilla" (33)*
Rumkowski in fact established 20 kibbutzim under his Judenrats' jurisdiction

"These members of the Kibbutzim were on the way to becoming elitist having

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(33) Lawidowicz p280 see Trunk pp25/6,Philip Friedman,2Saviours Who Failed' 479/91
(24) Klaus Polkehn,"The Secret Contacts;Zionist Nazi Relations,1933-41" Journal of Palestine Studies,'Spring-Summer 1976
(25) Microfilm Roll EFSS Cll Frames 2936012-2936069- archives of the Reichsfuhrer of SS,Himmler see Nazi-Zionist Collaboration p34,Heinz Hohne, Der Orderunterdem Totenkopf,Gutersloh,1967
(26) Andre Biss,'A Million Jews to Save' London 1975 cited in Yahya pp62/3
(27) see Isiah Trunk,'Judenrats;the Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi occupation' MacMillan New York 1972 (28) Lawidowicz op.cit. p279
(29) see Ainsztein pp505-7 and Tenenbaum p344/5 and 353/4
(30) Yuri Sahl,They Fought Back,London 1968 p191 (31) Lawidowicz op.cit. p279
(32) Steinberg op.cit p237
(33) Lawidowicz p280 see Trunk pp25-6 & Philip Friedman,'2 Saviours-Who Failed' Commentary 26 1958 pp479-91

distanced themselves from the teeming ghettoes and the masses of Jews."(34

As Faris Yayha notes, Ainsztein in his painstaking 894 page study does not quote a single instance of military assistance to the revolts in the ghettoes and concentration camps by the Zionist movements' highly organised world wide apparatus outside Nazi occupied Europe. In fact he repeatedly points out that the only allies the ghettoe fighters had outside their ghettoe walls were local groups of leftists or other anti Nazis such as the Peoples guard. Ainsztein is himself a Zionist and his book is filled with anti-Soviet comments and glorifications of those Zionist individuals and small groups that were overwhelmed by the Holocaust after 1941 and who had no choice but to resist. *(35)*

As the left Zionist Steinberg points out:

"Most of the Jewish members of the German resistance belonged to left-wing political groups,in particular...the Social' Democratic Party...and to the Communists."(36)

Where the Zionists played a role as in the Baum group *(37)* it was very much a subsidiary one. In France it was the communists and left Jews who were prominent in the resistance, in fact:

"several thousand Communist Jews were actively engaged in combat."(38)

The Zionist militant from Palestine,Polonski, a member of Mapai:

"had no objection to the Jews fighting in France against the Germans but, above all, he wanted them to assist in the creation of the Israeli Jewish state."(39)

In Belgium when Professor Flam attempted to organise resistance:
"certain Zionist leaders regarded Flams' ideas as particularly audacious some groups going as far as to accuse him of provocation."(40)

And in Holland it was much the same story:
"the members of the various Knokploegen (combat groups) were Socialists, with a small number of Communists and a few Zionists."(41) but

"some Zionist groups mostly German refugees living on farms, were preparing to leave for Palestine."(42)

In the ghettoes of Kovno and Minsk it was similarly the Communists who led the revolt. In Bulgaria,communist influence played a large part in the political pressure to save the Jews. *(43)* One of the Bulgarian resistance leaders joining the Israeli CP after the war. In Rumania,the Young Zionists again set up"their agricultural and ideological training (camps) for t training for life in Israel which had been their one and only aim for years." (44)
Bu the:

"Zionist movement and indeed the whole of the Zionist organisation...was looked upon quite favourably by the' Rumanian authorities,for they tended in the long run to diminish the numbers in the Jewish community."(45)

As Steinberg remarks:

"Wherever the Communists took part in the' Resistance and they took part almost everywhere, they injected it with fresh energy."(46)

But as some fought the Nazis so others collaborated with them:

"The only Jewish political party from which a sizeable proportion of police were drawn was the Zionist' Revisionists."(47)

(34)' Lawidowicz op.cit. p322
(35) Yahya p37/8 citing' I.Ainsztein,'Jewish' Resistance in Nazi Occupied E Europe (London 1974) pp408,442,468,634-8,see also letter from M Anielewicz to Polish Home army Command and Governments' Delegate Office 13.3.43
(36) Steinberg op.cit p22 *(37) Ibid. pp26-43*
(38) Ibid. p104 *(39) Ibid. pp112/3*
(40) Ibid. p133 *(41) Ibid. p158* *(42) Ibid. p159*
(43) Ibid. p308 *(44) Ibid. p314* *(45) Ibid p320*
(46) Ibid p337 *(47)' Lawidowicz op.cit p288*

The Revisionists in the Warsaw Ghettoe, the only place they ever fought the Nazis:

"failed to maintain security among their members".. and they had:

"unilateral contacts with right wing Polish military groups outside the ghettoes. They refused to share the weapons they had obtained and tried to bully their way to ZOB leadership."(48)

Even those such as Dr Szyper,"a militant political Zionist of moderate views opposed the Warsaw Ghettoe."(49) It was only the left Zionist groups, Dror, Hashomer Hatzair and Poale Zion that agreed to form a united front with the communists.

"It did not strike the Zionist moderates that any sort of immediate danger hung over the ghettoe, and they feared the consequence of any ill considered action."(50) and

"the Jewish Combat Organisation (ZOB-TG) executed a few Jewish Gestapo agents among them a 75 year old German Jew,' Dr Alfred Nossig."(51)

Dr Nossig was also a prominent Zionist.

In Amsterdam, the Revisionist Jacques de Leon led the Judenrat against the Jewish and non-Jewish anti-fascist opposition and he condemned the General Strike against anti-Jewish measures.*(52)*

As Dawidowicz, herself a Labour Zionist notes:

"Only the left wing parties and the socialist Zionist youth movements succeeded in transforming their pre-war apparatus into functioning underground organisations. The largest of these was the Jewish Labour Bund...the Jewish section of the Communist Party had been second in numerical strength before 1939...smaller and weaker than the communists were the Labour Zionists,split into left and right wings."(53)

And as Dawidowicz is forced to admit:

"except for the left labour Zionist movement in Warsaw and Czestochowa... no substantial Zionist underground existed."(54)

Whereas the Bund argued that the Jewish working class had more in common with the Polish working class than its own bourgeoisie. the Zionists,except the left Labour Zionists, argued the contrary and Dror in 1942 in Warsaw still collected for the Jewish National Fund in Palestine!! The Bund was at this time keeping the traditions of May Day alive and workers solidarity. In Lodz, the Bunds' youth organisation SKIF picketted outside the Zionist head of the Judenrats' office, Rumkowski, declaring:

"Rumkowski, you are our misfortune."(55)

Such is the record of Zionist resistance and the Revisionists role in it, under Nazi occupation. When Begin invokes the Holocaust against the Jews as a reason for perpetrating a similar one against the Palestinians, it should be noted what the role of his own organisation was between 1939 and 1945.

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(48) Y Zuckerman 31.12.72 in 5 page Yiddish letter,see Dawidowicz p382
(49) Steinberg op.cit. p182 *(50) Ibid. p195*
(51) Ibid. p207
(52) see J Presser,'Ashes in the Wind' & W Warmbruum 'The Dutch Under German Occupation' cited in C.Parker,Zionism' & Anti-Semitism' Labour Review 2
(53) Dawidowicz p321
(54) Israel Gutman,'Youth Movements in the Underground and Ghettoe' Revolts Jewish Resistance' pp260-84 cited in Dawidowicz p323
(55) Dawidowicz p336

REGRETS AND RECRIMINATIONS

The history of Zionism during the Holocaust is a special example of Zionism's traditional attitude towards anti-Semitism. It regarded the rise of Naziism as a golden opportunity to advance towards their goal of a Jewish State. That the Zionists did nothing to rescue the victims of the Holocaust, and regarded attempts to do so as a distraction from their work around the Biltmore Programme cannot be doubted. Chaim Weizmann stated at the 20th Zionist Congress in 1937:

> *"...the hopes of 6 million are centered on emigration...I was asked : "But can you bring 6 million Jews to Palestine?" I replied "no"...In the depth of the Jewish tragedy- I want to save 2 million of youth... the old ones will pass, they will bear their fate or they will not. They are dust, economic and moral dust in a cruel world...Only a remnant shall survive...we have to accept it."(1)*

or in Kastners' words:

> *"Hungarian Jewry was a branch which long ago dried up on the tree"*

Weizmann was a member of the General Zionists and in Nazi occupied Europe

> *"many of their ranking leaders were in the Judenrate...the substantial number of General Zionists in the Judenrate militated against their maintaining the party as an underground movement."(2)*

Even Nahum Goldmann confessed that:

> *"the main responsibility rests on us because we didn't go beyond routine petitions and requests. I received a cable from the Warsaw Ghettoe asking why the Jewish leaders in the US hadn't resolved to hold a day and night vigil on the steps of the White House until the President decided to give the order to bomb the extermination camps or the death trains. We refrained from doing this because most of the Jewish leadership was then of the opinion that we mustn't disturb the war effort of the Free World against the Nazis with stormy protests."(3)*

As Lacquer remarks:

> *"The Jewish community in Palestine had come of age during the war...the victors in the war had an uneasy conscience as the stark tragedy of the Jewish people unfolded before their eyes. It was only now that the question was asked whether enough had been done to help them and what could be done for the survivors."(4)*

As is understandable given Lacquers Zionist convictions, he skirts around the subject and gently broaches the uneasy conscience that many leading Zionists beside Nahum Goldmann had of their role in the war. Noah Lucas probably sums this mood of both self justification and regret up best:

> *"For the Israeli leaders and survivors of Naziidom, a gnawing sense of guilt was perhaps their most painful personal burden. Did the Jewish Agency and other organisations do all that had been possible to save*

(1) *Zionist Nazi Collaboration op.cit. p54, Kongress Zeitung 5.8.37 and Lacquer p518*
(2) *Lawidowicz op.cit. p320*
(3) *N Goldmann, 'Jewish Heroism in Siege', In the Dispersion, Winter 1963 and see Davar 22.4.64*
(4) *Lacquer op.cit. p56*

the Jews of Europe from extermination. Were the various wartime negotiations with the Nazi executives of death morally impeccable? Also, while Jewish statehood was theoretically an instrument of rescue, in the event it came too late to avail the millions.' Did the concentration on attaining statehood itself impede rescue?' Did Zionist statecraft contribute to the toll of Jewish life? These and other questions involving the historical and ideological relations of Israel with world Jewry were submerged in the unconscious mind of the nation like the reservoir of a chronic nightmare. From time to time they came to the surface demanding precise elucidation in the courts of law, as in the Kastner case."(5)

But if the Zionists didn't want to disturb the "Free World's war effort with stormy protests"about the murder of European Jewry, this didn't stop the Jewish Agency in Palestine organising mass demonstrations in Haifa, Jerusalem, Petah Tikva and Tel Aviv against the Land Transfer Regulations of 28.2.40. Seventy two Jews were seriously injured, two died and 323 slightly injured with 25 British casualties. When the British censored reports of the demonstrations, the Hagannahs' illegal radio, 'Voice of Israel' saw to it that details got out. *(6)*

As Hurewitz in his extremely pro-Zionist account notes:

"The rest of the (Palestinian-TG) community, DESPITE THE DISTRACTIONS OF WAR, was passing through a state of political turmoil. The issue on which all others converged was the controversy over the Biltmore programme."(7) my emphasis

The Jewish leadership referred to was the Zionist leadership. The telegram Goldmann referred to was from Rabbi Weissmandel in Slovakia. What the 'Jewish leadership' did do was to sabotage the rescue efforts of non/anti Zionist orthodox Jews, including picketting Jews sending food packages to the starving Jews of the ghettoes. Stephen Wise, chairperson of the US Zionists, and Congressman Sol Bloom actively tried to prevent the setting up of Roosevelt's War Refugee Board. But as Menachem Bader of the Jewish Agency stated in the Kastner trial:

"Letters like this came to us everyday"(8)

But when it came to British policy in Palestine, the Zionists didn't feel their hands were tied by the war. Ben Gurion had after all promised to fight the 1939 White Paper, which restricted Jewish immigration and land sales as if there were no war, and vicer versa. As **Sykes** notes:

"Ben Gurion...wanted the struggle against the White Paper to take precedence over everything else...several meetings of the Executive between February and May 1940 were devoted to a consideration of proposals for intensifying resistance to the White Paper."(9)

But when it came to the 6 million who died in the Holocaust the war effort came first. A war effort which wasn't even primarily anti-fascist, no country which was a colony before the war gained its independence as a result of the war eg. Vietnam which had pushed the Japanese out then had to fight the British and the French with the British using the Japanese as fighting troops.Precisely because the war was NOT anti-fascist/racist literature was allowed freely in the barracks of the Free Polish army here, and the Polish Government in exile refused to repeal pre-war anti-Semitic legislation.*(10)*

(5) Lucas op.cit. pp326/7
(6) JC Hurewitz,'Struggle for Palestine' pp135/7 (7) Ibid. p201
(8) Hecht p143
(9) Sykes op. cit p239
(10) Zvi Avital, the Polish Government in Exile,Wiener Library Bulletin, Vol XXVII new series 33,34,1975, cited in Zionism & Anti-Semitism,S Cushion 'Socialist Review' Feb/March 1982

With the siege of the Warsaw Ghettoe, the Polish Bunds' representative in the Government in exile, committed suicide in protest at the inactivity of the Allies who refused to bomb the railtracks leading to the concentration camps. The Zionists refused to pressurise them,despite it being quite possible...Air Vice Marshall Sir Arthur Bomber Harris stated:

> *"I can't recall that I ever heard such a plea (to bomb Auschwitz)...to the best of my recollection,I never knew of the existence of German extermination camps until we liberated Bergen-Belsen at the close of the war."(11)*

Why was it that the Zionists felt so incapable of going public over a small matter such as the bombing of concentration camps when they could scream blue murder over their right to buy land in, and immigration curbs regarding Palestine? Similarly Col, Leanord Cheshire admitted:

> *"The bombing of Auschwitz in 1944 although difficult was feasible. Had we known that the Jews requested to bomb the place there would have been no difficulty at all in mobilising an air group to carry out this task." (12)*

Whether Bomber Command did know of the existence of the concentration camps and simply refused to do it or as is more likely, Churchill (the 'ardent Zionist') refused to order it, matters little, given the Zionists refusal to challenge them over it. Even today Thatcher justifies the refusal to bomb the rail lines, a statement which produced virtually no reaction from the Zionists. There was only one occasion,that of the Servigliano operation, where the RAF helped to support a campaign aimed at preventing the deportation of Jews.*(13)*

The Zionists even tried to play down knowledge of what was happening in occupied Europe, despite having extensive contacts with the Nazis and listening posts in neutral countries such as Switzerland, which were in the heart of Nazi occupied Europe. In 1944 with the extermination of Hungarian Jewry, the last such community to survive, the Zionist press in Palestine was full of news of elections to the Jewish Council. Hardly a word was mentioned regarding the fate of Hungary's Jews (many of them refugees from other parts of Europe). As Ben Hecht records, Davar at the time noted:

> *"The Nazi denial of extermination has a good foundation. Not as many were annihilated as was feared."(14)*

And today there is an attempt by the Zionists,most notably the historian Martin Gilbert, to assert that nothing was known of the Final Solution until 1944 ie. over 2 years after its start. As Sykes points out the Zionists knew about the Holocaust by August 1942 at the latest.*(15)*

The news about the mass exterminations spread as early as December 1941 in Poland. Vilna was the Jewish ghettoe which first became fully aware of its fate.*(16)*

One victim M Podhlebnick escaped from Chelmno and carried word of what was happening as early as December 1941:

> *"Early in August 1942 an agent of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland brought a report to the American legation in Berne."(17)*

As Tamir noted in the Kastner trial:

> *"Until mid July,6 weeks after the killing of 12 000 a day had begun, still not a single authoratative word is uttered by the Jewish Agency or any Zionist officials that the deportations had started- that already*

(11) Ma'ariv 1.6.61 cited in Schonfield op.cit. p67
(12) Daily Telegraph 2.6.61 (13) Steinberg p77
(14) Hecht op. cit p145
(15) Sykes op.cit. p234 see also Lacquer op.cit p238/9
(16) J Tenenbaum,'Underground,The Story of a People',New York 1952 pp81/2
(17) Michael Elkins,'Forged in Fury' New York 1971 pp59,66

½ a million were exterminated...for a full month and a half, Mr Sharrett and the Jewish Agency are knowingly and wilfully suppressing all the news known to them."(18)

The Revisionist Zionists from whom Tamir came, decided for their own reasons to wash Labour Zionist dirty linen in public. The Revisionists differed with their Labour colleagues over selectivity in particular. The Revisionists paper, Herut, asked:

"How are we to explain the fact that the leaders of the Jewish Agency and the chiefs of the Zionist movement in Palestine kept silent? Why didn't they raise their voices? Why didn't they shout about it over the whole wide world?...By silence they collaborated with the scoundrels who provided the Germans with the death lists...Was not the very existence of the Jewish Agency a help for the Naais?"(19)

Henry Feingold, himself a dedicated Zionist is forced to ask whether or not

"a gnawing doubt remains. Is it possible that there was an element of truth in the contention of the Bergson group that the goal worked at cross purposes during the war?"(20)

Despite the Zionist silence and denials regarding the extermination of Hungarian Jewry, (and with the mission of Joel Brand they can't help but have known) the story broke and Admiral Horthy was forced to call a halt to the deportations after American threats. Such is the record of the movement which now uses the Holocaust in order to justify the oppression of of the Palestinians.

(18) Hecht op.cit. p147
(19) Herut 25.5.64
(20) H Feingold,'Politics of Rescue- The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust,1938-45' Rutgen University Press, New Brunswick, 1970 p264

CONCLUSION

Zionism from its very beginnings as a modern political movement reliant on imperialism, worked with anti-Semites. This was quite understandable because it started off from thepremise not of fighting anti-Semitism but of adapting to it, in order to propel themselves forward. As Lacquer remarks in his summing up of Zionism:

> *"Zionism has always regarded assimilation as its main enemy,without clearly distinguishing between emancipation and assimilation."(1)*

When the fight against fascism and anti-Semitism was at its strongest, Zionism was at its weakest, whereas during the war, the Zionists captured the leadership of every Jewish community in Europe, starting with Germany, and offered a mirror image of anti-Semitism with the Jews as the chosen race, and with the Palestinians taking the place of the traditional Jewish scapegoat. The PLO being at the centre of a world wide anti-Jewish conspiracy. Despite its relationship to anti-Semitism, Zionists use the label 'anti-Semite' as a means of attacking all those opposed to them. No doubt this pamphlet will be so termed, just as Hann Arendts book,'Eichmann in Jerusalem' was so attacked. Attacks which pretend that the writing in question puts over arguments that only fascists could possibly adhere to. Having set up their Aunt Sally, they then proceed to attack it. As Arendt wrote_

> *"Certain reviews chose to draw conclusions from the image of a book created by certain interest groups, in which I allegedly had claimed that the Jews had murdered themselves. And why had I told such a monstrously implausible lie? Out of self hatred of course."(2)*

The Holocaust is often used as the justification for the State of Israel. Unfortunately in the eyes of the Zionist leadership, and some such as Nathan Schwalb of the Swiss Jewish Agency made this explicit, the reverse is also true. Zionism did not prevent the murder of 6 million and without a Zionist movement- both within and without occupied Europe, it is hard to believe that anything like 6 million would have been allowed to die. If it was the Nazis who pulled the trigger it was the Zionists who provided them with the alibi. As Sykes notes:

> *"From the very beginning of the Nazi disaster, the Zionist leadership determined to wrest political advantage from the tragedy."(3)*

Despite Stalins' anti-Jewish policies, some 2½ million Jews were saved from the clutches of the Nazis only by the existence of the only non-capitalist state in Europe. Even Menachem Begin, vicious anti-communist though he is, is forced to admit that:

> *"I cannot forget, and no Jew should forget, two fundamental facts. Thanks to the Soviet Union hundreds of thousands of Jews were saved from Nazi hands."(4)*

That hardly suggests that the socialist strategy of fighting fascism and anti-Semitism is wrong, nor that the eradication of capitalism which is the root cause of modern political racism is wrong compared to the Zionist solution of creating ones own national capitalist state. It was only because Rommel was stopped at El Alamein that the Yishuv in Palestine also didn't perish. Even today the most dangerous place in the world for Jews is Israel! As Trotsky wrote, a Jewish state could prove a gigantic trap for the Jews. The existence of Zionism saved nobody apart from a few Zionist cadres. It obstructed the saving of a great many and helped stimulate anti-

(1) Lacquer p591
(2) Arendt p284
(3) Sykes p137
(4) Begin; The Revolt 1953 p13

Semitism. As Leon wrote in Nazi occupied Belgium :

> *"But in what way will the existence of a small Jewish state in Palestine change anything in the situation of the Polish or German Jews? Admitting even that all the Jews in the world were Palestinian citizens, would the policy of Hitler have been any different?"(5)*

Trotsky wrote in 1938 that:

> *"Even without war, the next development of world reaction signifies with certainty the physical extermination of the Jews. Palestine appears a tragic mirage."(6)*

As long as Diaspora Jews support the racist policies of the Israeli State, they will be that less able to fight racism and anti-Semitism at home. Zionism legitimates all that the National Front say and in fact todays Nazis increasingly take up the refrain of 'Jews go back to Palestine',in addition to associating Jews in this country with the brutal and racist policies of Israel. Little wonder that the Zionist Board of Deputies was so hostile to the Anti Nazi League when it was founded in 1978. For both the Board and the Zionist Jewish Chronicle talk about the "anti-Semitism of the left and right" while the latter is quite happy on occasion to print letters from open fascists, and the former combats racism via chats with Home Secretaries and Police Chiefs. To the Board, the presence of anti-Zionists such as Peter Hain in the ANL meant that for them joint anti-fascist work was impossible, though the Board has a disgraceful recor ,when it comes to opposing fascists, going back to the 30s, when it opposed Jews and workers smashing Moseley off the streets of the East End in the battle of Cable Street.

Zionism as a bourgeois ideology cannot help but tie Jews down to the very system that gives rise to racist and anti-Semitic movements, spawned as they are by the high unemployment and poverty of present day capitalism. And support for Israel increasingly means support for those powers,in particular the United States, who support Israel. It means support for a world view which defines those who are fighting for their freedom and liberation as 'terrorists' and 'communists' and those who are the oppressors and imperialists as part of the 'Free World'. It means justifying the role of Israel as the US's strategic ally and watchdog in the Middle East. Inevitably that means placing oneself on the side of Imperialism. All the leaders of the major Israeli political parties,Labour Gahal (Likud) supported the United States in Vietnam. Similarly the Zionist organisations in the diaspora also lent their support. For example in November 1969, the President of the Zionist Organisation of America appealed for support for the Vietnam War effort and attacked Reform Jewish leaders for urging a ceasefire. *(7)*

It is essential that the grip of Zionism on the Jewish community here in Britain is broken, if ever again large numbers of Jewish people are to involve themselves in the fight against racism and fascism. As Moshe Machover of Matzpen,the Socialist Organisation in Israel put it:

> *"Zionism can only begin after you have given up the struggle against anti-Semitism."(8)*

The same was even more true with respect to Nazi Germany. Only the Zionists could negotiate with the Nazis because the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith had the fight against anti-Semitism as its main task."(9)

(5) Leon. op.cit. p253
(6) Appeal to American Jews menaced by Fascism and anti-Semitism,22.12.38 printed in 4th International,12/45,see'On the Jewish Question,L Trotsky,3/80,Pathfinder Press "
(7) Lillienthall,Zionist Connection pp799/800 fn 27
(8) Weinstock op.cit. p.xxi
(9) Arendt op.cit p59

Zionists were also not interested in fighting for full equality of political and civil rights for Jews in the Diaspora. After all why fight for Jewish rights in a country other than Palestine when you don't even wish them to stay there in the first place? As Lloyd George noted with regard to Curzon:

> *"He was all in favour of increased Jewish immigration...and giving the Jews the same civic and religious rights as other inhabitants. But this was of course not what the Zionists wanted."(10)*

As Lucas remarks:

> *"Zionism was the antagonist above all of the individual, assimilation associated with emancipation."(12)*

Jacob Klatzkin, described as the chief Zionist idealogue in pre-war Germany, went so far as to argue that Jews should in fact be fighting not against the fascists but against the anti-fascists, a point the present Board of Deputies and its Jewish Chronicle mouthpiece, seem to have taken to heart:

> *"Instead of establishing societies for defence against the anti-Semites who want to reduce our rights, we should establish societies for defence against our friends who desire to defend our rights."(13)*

There is one other reason for writing this pamphlet. Whenever support is given to the fight of the Palestinians, the spectre of anti-Semitism is raised. When Dundee's Labour Council twinned with Nablus on the West Bank, the Board of Deputies and the Union of Jewish Students cried 'anti-Semitism'. Not only that, but they discovered Nazi graffitti in Dundee! A cursory reading of Bulldog, would reveal that Dundee has one of the most active Young National Front groups in the country and thatpicketting and harrassing a Labour Council (with the support of right wing Tories!) is hardly going to change that. Judging by the pages of the Jewish Chronicle, it would appear that Dundee is the only town in Britain with Nazi graffitti on its walls. And it is for this, if no other reason, that it is necessary to break the lie which says that to support the Palestinians and to oppose Zionism is to be anti-Semitic. In fact when the Jewish community in the Wadi Abu Jamil area of Beirut was under siege in the Lebanese civil war, as a result of the Phalangist offensive, it was the PLO who broke the siege and ensured their safety.*(14)*
When in Beirut, a member of the Jewish community told me that prior to that there had been a political concordat between the leaders of the Jewish community and those of the right wing Christians (arising as a result of their position in pre-independence Lebanon) but that that had not prevented Phalangists from attacking the community the moment war broke out. And again today with the Israeli bombardment of Beirut, the Jewish community too came under a sustained barrage from the'Jewish' state. Zionists have on the face of it, managed what is the remarkable feat of equating fascism and anti-Semitism with anti-fascism by asserting that there is no difference between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. In short opposition to and hatred of a complete religious category of people is equated with opposition to a political creed. Today Begin classes Yasir Arafat as the new Hitler and Beirut as the new Berlin. But even Lacquer admits that the opposition of the Palestinians to Zionism has always been:

> *"basically political in character...because they anticipated that the Jews intended one day to become masters of the country and that as a result they would be reduced to the status of a minority."(15)*

or as Dayan put it: "Why do the Arabs hate us? Because we took their land."
In short their opposition, despite the feudal character of Palestinian

(11) Lloyd George, 'The Truth About the Peace Treaties' London 1938 vol2 pll.23 cited in Lacquer pl98 (12) Lucas op.cit. pl8
(13) J Klatzkin, B'Matovu 'The Zionist Wish and the Nazi Deed' Issue Winter 1966-7, cited in' Davies op.cit pl7
(14) Times 4.11.75 (15) Lacquer p228

society in the early 20th Century, was political not racial. In fact the association of a whole religious grouping of people with a political creed is itself racist and the attempt by Zionists to argue that Judaism and Zionism are, and always have been, intertwined is erroneous. The idea that a religion, any religion, remains static for 2000 years irrespective of changes in society is laughable. But this hasn't prevented the history of the last 35 years being full of examples of sincere anti-fascists and even Zionists being accused of anti-Semitism because they dared to criticise the State of Israel. In fact it is hard to think of any prominent anti-Zionist Jewish or non-Jewish, who HASN'T been so labelled. Dorothy Thompson, a famous US broadcaster during the war, described by Ehud Avriel as an

"outstanding journalist"(16)

for her work in pressurising the US Government to accept Jewish refugees in the war, when she criticised Israels' policy towards the Palestinians was in turn accused of anti-Semitism. Even Meir Weisgal, friend of Ben Gurion,wrote of the campaign against her, which included pressurising the New York Post to drop her as a columnist:

"the attacks upon her became outrageous, she was accused among other things of having laundered her pockets with the fees of Zionist organisations." *(17)*

And Dorothy Thompson herself wrote that:

"continual emphasis should be put on the extreme damage to the Jewish community of branding people like myself as anti-Semitic...They just tend to make anti-Semitism more respectable than it might otherwise be." *(18)*

Fr Daniel Berrigan, famour for his role in the anti-Vietnam war movement incurred similar wrath when he ventured to criticise Israeli policies. And Margaret McKay, Labour MP for Clapham, was subject to abusive phone calls, obscene letters, bomb threats,physical intimidation, and rumours spread in the local party itself concerning her financial affairs which resulted in her being deselected by this party within a party, on account of her support for the Palestinians. *(19)*

We have to say that on the contrary it is the Zionists themselves who have most in common with the anti-Semites and fascists. And it is ironic that Begin, for all his invocation of the Holocaust against the Palestinians, received an honorary degree from the North Western University in Illinois, where Arthur Butz, author of'Hoax of the 20th Century' which denies that the Holocaust even happened and is a professor, happens to lecture.

It is Jewish people- socialists,orthodox,communists,liberals and even conservative/bourgeois Jews, who have always been the most vociferous opponents of Zionism. Even within the Board of Deputies a bitter battle was fought between the Zionists and their opponents before the former secured control. The allegation that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism is nothing less than a blood libel directed against all those who wish to see the Palestinians return to their homeland and the establishment of a secular and democratic socialist Palestine in a socialist Middle East.

(16) E.Avriel,'Open the Gates',Weidenfield & Nicholson,London 1975 p20,foreword by Golda Meir

(17) Marion Sanders 'Dorothy Thompson : A Legend In Her Times' New York,Houghton Mifflin 1973 p323

(18) Jewish Newsletter, New York 6.4.51 cited in Lillienthall,op cit pp419/20

(19) see Evening Standard,29.7.69 cited in Lillienthall op.cit pp119/120/444-51