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**THE TRUTH
ABOUT
ISRAEL AND
ZIONISM**

*by Nathan Weinstock
and Jon Rothschild*

CONTENTS

THE NATURE OF ISRAEL: THE PROPAGANDA AND THE FACTS by Nathan Weinstock	3
SOCIALISM AND ZIONISM: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE? by Jon Rothschild	10

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THE NATURE OF ISRAEL: THE PROPAGANDA AND THE FACTS

by Nathan Weinstock

1. Anti-Semitism is a racist ideology directed against the Jews. It must be fought by attacking its economic, social, political and psychological roots in society. There is nothing inevitable, incomprehensible or mysterious about racism, and anti-Semitism is only one of its variants. The Gypsies, for example, who continue to be subjected to humiliation and harassment, were exterminated en masse like the Jews by the Nazis. Today, there is a resurgence of racism in Western Europe, and it is particularly virulent with respect to foreign workers, especially North Africans. To fight racism effectively means to fight to abolish the social structures which engender it. (Example: In Cuba, there is complete cultural and religious liberty for the Jewish community; see Rabbi Everett Gendler's article in *Conservative Judaism*, Winter, 1969. This journal is published by the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Similarly, discrimination against Blacks has totally disappeared in Cuba.)

2. Anti-Zionism is the struggle against the *Zionist* movement, a tendency born in the 19th century, which projected the gathering of the Jews in Palestine to establish a monocultural Jewish state there at the expense of the native Palestinian population. In practice, Zionism was translated into the expulsion of the majority of the Palestinian people who were reduced to the condition of refugees. This policy is still pursued today, as the following quotation (*Davar*, Sept. 29, 1967) from J. Weitz, director of the department of colonization of the Jewish Agency for Israel, testifies: "The only possible solution lies in creating a Palestine, or at least a Western Palestine, without Arabs . . . and there is no other way to do this than to transfer all the Arabs to neighboring countries, to move all of them out of here. We should not leave a single village, a single tribe, and those transferred should be sent to Syria and Iraq."

The struggle against the policies and structures of Israel is thus an anticolonialist struggle to restore to the Palestinians their national rights in their country.

3. Colonialism is, above all, racism. The struggle against Zionist colonialism is thus the logical extension of the struggle against racism in general and, specifically, of the struggle against anti-Semitism. This is understood by many militants of Jewish origin, both inside and outside Israel, who, whether motivated by revolutionary convictions or simply by humanitarian or religious sentiments, refuse to be accomplices in the Zionist undertaking and solidarize with the oppressed Palestinian people's struggle for national emancipation. See Eric Rouleau (*Le Monde*, July 5, 1969): "Some militants of 'Matzpen'—a left, anti-Zionist Israeli organization—marched through the streets chanting the words, 'We are all Palestinian Arabs.' Last year, a hundred intellectuals signed a manifesto which included the statement, 'Every people that oppresses another necessarily loses its own freedom. Jewish citizens! Remember the courageous goyim who stood at our sides in our time of trouble. Are you going to turn aside, are you going to remain silent, in the face of the misfortune that has befallen our brothers, the Arab people?'"

4. Zionism and the state of Israel are independent of the Jewish religion and of Jewry in general. Orthodox Jews—especially those of Palestine—were bitterly hostile to Zionism for a long time. The *Meture Karta* (Guardians of the City) movement of Jerusalem remains so to the present day. It is extremely regrettable that many communal and religious leaders of Jewish communities are willing to cover the colonialist and racist policies of Israel with their moral authority. They thereby prostitute the faith of Moses to imperialism.

5. Not only does Israel oppress the Palestinian Arabs, but it makes no contribution to eliminating anti-Jewish racism. In the first place, anti-Semitism is independent of the existence or non-existence of a Jewish state (just as the existence of a mighty People's China has not sufficed to protect the Chinese of Indonesia from the persecutions of local reaction). But even more: By improperly posing as the representatives of world Jewry—although six-sevenths of the Jews live outside Israel—and by spreading in international public opinion the notion of unconditional solidarity of the Jews with Israel, Zionist leaders in fact stimulate anti-Semitism. This is especially true in the Arab countries, where each Israeli military victory has allowed reactionaries to blame it on the indigenous Jewish communities, which have, despite themselves, been compromised by the imperialist policies of the Jewish state.

6. Israel was not born of the Nazi persecutions. The foundations of the Zionist colonization of Palestine were laid during the last quarter of the 19th century (the first wave of immigrants disembarked in 1882). There is no way Palestine could ever have taken in the 6,000,000 Jews exterminated by the Nazi regime.

Moreover, the Jewish community of Palestine was not saved from genocide because of its presence in the Holy Land, but—like Amer-

ican and British Jews—simply because of the fortunate fact that Hitler did not conquer the Middle East. It is the western "democracies" who systematically refused to open their borders to the victims of fascism who are really responsible for the genocide. As for the Zionist leaders, they never hesitated to deal with the most prominent anti-Semites to gain their objectives.

7. It is equally necessary to refute the grotesque myth of the purported "historical rights" of the Jews in Palestine. Even before the Roman conquest of Judea (70 AD), three-quarters of the Jewish population lived outside Palestine. As for the indigenous Jewish community, it was gradually absorbed by neighboring populations during the following centuries, just as were the Philistines, the Phoenicians, the Nabateans, and other clans of the ancient Orient.

A consequence of this is the fact that paradoxically today's Palestinians are to some extent (there was much intermarriage with other communities) descendants of the Hebrews! Moreover, if the Jews have claims on Palestine, why don't the Arabs have claims on Spain or Sicily which were once upon a time integral parts of the Islamic Empire?

8. The Palestinians' resistance to the Zionist colonization (including the resistance of Levantine Jews) made itself felt from the very beginning of the Zionist enterprise, and especially from 1908 on. Their resistance was expressed in the harassment of Jewish colonies by the fellahs who had been run off their land and by the uprisings of 1920-1921, which were part of the general revolt of the Arab world (Syria, Iraq, Egypt) against French and British domination. It was manifested again in the troubles of 1929, and above all during the 1930s in strikes and street demonstrations against the pro-Zionist policy of Great Britain. It reached its climax in 1936-39—a general strike of six month's duration, followed by a generalized revolt in the countryside, which was crushed in blood by the British forces, mightily aided by the Zionist militias.

Prof. Y. Bauer of Jerusalem, in "The Arab Revolt of 1936" (*New Outlook*, July-August-September 1966), concludes: "The Arab revolt of the years 1936-39 was the last attempt of the Arab people of Palestine to prevent by force the entry of Jews into the country. . . . The conditions of the victory in 1948 were created during the Arab revolt."

It took a full generation for the Palestinian people to recover from that terrible bloodletting—the deaths numbered in the thousands. That is why the Palestinians' opposition after the Second World War was only sporadic and became extensive only after 1965.

9. The Zionist movement was able to sink its roots in Palestine because of the support first of the Ottoman Empire, then of Britain (Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917), and later of the U. S. (with, for some time, the support of the USSR). The Israeli community was constituted by a colonial process of forcefully displacing the indigenous population: "Without iron helmets and cannon, we would

never have been able to plant a tree or build a house," said Moshe Dayan (quoted from "Uri Avnery," by Eric Rouleau, *Le Monde*, July 4, 1969).

But one must not hold the present Jewish inhabitants of the state of Israel responsible for the crimes of their Zionist leaders or seek to make them pay for these crimes. The destruction of the colonial structures of the Zionist state means neither the expulsion nor the oppression of the Jews of Israel. In the Palestine of tomorrow — which we must hope to see reborn within the framework of a reunification of the Arab world that has been Balkanized by the colonial powers — the Jews must be able to freely choose their national destiny in fraternal alliance with the Arab revolutionary forces in general and the Palestinian revolutionary forces in particular.

10. There is no "Israeli miracle." After having benefited for several decades from the support of British colonialism, the Zionist leaders took advantage of their overwhelming technical and military superiority to impose the partition of Palestine, where the Jews constituted only a third of the population (partition plan adopted by the UN on Nov. 29, 1947).

Long before the proclamation of the state of Israel on May 15, 1948, the Zionist armed forces had already occupied a large portion of the territories that the UN had awarded to the Palestinian Arabs (occupation of Tiberias, Beisan, Safed, St. Jean Acre and Jaffe from April 13 on). In passing, it should be noted that the UN resolution was adopted without consulting the Palestinians, and despite their formal opposition to partition of the country.

Israel has been able to maintain itself since then thanks only to an influx of capital that, in 1968, amounted to 10 percent of world foreign aid to *all* the underdeveloped countries, or, in proportion to its population, 20 times as much as any state of the Third World received. One of the objectives of this permanent subsidy to the western showcase in the Near East is to contain the contradictions within Israel which place social classes in opposition to one another and place the disadvantaged Sephardic Jews in opposition to the relatively privileged Ashkenazim (those of western origin).

11. Israel never was a "peaceful little state." In 1947 and 1948, terrorist raids by its armed forces drove the Palestinian population from their towns and villages. It has never ceased to oppose with violence the uprooted refugees' return to their homes, and it has not hesitated to make repeated, bloody, "punitive" forays into neighboring countries to force — not without success — the Arab regimes themselves to guarantee the "policing" of the refugees. Moreover, in 1956, it participated in the Franco-British colonial expedition against Egypt to punish Nasser for having nationalized the Suez Canal, affirming on that occasion its expansionist designs.

In 1967, it succeeded in convincing world opinion that it was conducting a defensive war, while we know today that "the Egyptian military deployment in the Sinai on the eve of the war had a de-

fensive character" (Levi Eskhol, *Yediot Akharonot*, Oct. 18, 1967), that Nasser was "bluffing" and had no intention of attacking Israel (General Rabin, *Le Monde*, Feb. 29, 1968), and that Generals Dayan and Yaariv [military intelligence] deliberately organized a campaign of hysteria to force the council of ministers to unleash the war and also, no doubt, to form a coalition—of "national union"—with the extreme right (revelations of Moshe Guiboa, cited by Rouleau, *Le Monde*, July 3, 1969).

12. The opposition of the Arab masses to the Zionist state—pressure which has repercussions on their governments—has nothing in common with any kind of anti-Jewish prejudice. It is a simple reflex of defense and of solidarity with an oppressed, fraternal people, which is accentuated by Israel's belligerence and its expansionism, openly avowed since 1967.

This hostility is justified, moreover, by Israel's foreign policy, which has been systematically hostile to the Arab revolution (e.g., permission to the British air force to fly over Israel after the Iraqi revolution of 1958; support to France during the Algerian war; etc). These examples prove that Israel is determined to be the West's "policeman," even when its own interests are not involved.

Further, there was no anti-Jewish current in the Middle East before the birth of the Zionist movement, which is even more remarkable in view of the fact that the colonial powers have long stirred up religious and ethnic rivalries in the region.

13. Israel is not fighting alone. It is abundantly supported with arms, ammunition, and funds—money is the nerve of war—by the United States, West Germany, Great Britain and France. (The pretended French embargo did not prevent de Gaulle from authorizing the Turbomeca company to build a jet-plane factory in Israel). Even if the great powers sometimes manifest displeasure at certain Israeli initiatives which risk compromising their global interests in the region—by undermining "stability"—they support the Zionist structures of the Jewish state.

14. Israel is not a weak and unarmed country. On the contrary, it is the principal military power in the region, capable of fielding in periods of full mobilization as many soldiers as the three principal bordering states (Rouleau, *Le Monde*, July 2, 1969). It has more tank specialists and pilots than all the Arab countries put together. It possesses a formidable aircraft industry. It is able to build nuclear arms (the reactor at Dimona). Its military superiority over the neighboring countries is, as the three Israeli-Arab wars demonstrate, literally overwhelming.

15. Since 1967, by occupying the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula, Israel has become a colonial power in the full sense of the term. The struggle of the civilian population of the occupied territories is a normal and legitimate battle against foreign invaders who exploit the labor power and the resources of these regions, and who are instituting an eco-

conomic regime advantageous to the Israeli economy and a political regime committed to the brutal liquidation of every hint of national expression (use of tanks to break up student demonstrations in Nablus; firing on rallies of women outside the Gaza concentration camps for suspects; etc.).

The successive "conferences of billionaires" show that this exploitative undertaking is being carried out with the blessings of big international capital.

16. Israel is not a "socialist" state. On the contrary, it is the firmest bastion of capitalism in the Middle East. Its economy is dominated by the big capitalist groups and 10 percent of the Israelis receive a portion of the national income equal to that received by the lowest 50 percent of the social pyramid (Rouleau, *Le Monde*, July 2, 1969).

The kibbutzim—collectivist colonies involving only 3 percent of the population—are not the communist oases depicted by a simplistic propaganda. They are highly dependent on the banking sector, economically they rest on the exploitation of wage labor—frequently of Arabs—a tendency which has been accentuated since 1967.

These exploitative collectives play a key role in defending the occupation of the conquered territories, a fact exemplified by the dozens of kibbutzim with military organization that have been established in the occupied territories.

The Histadrut trade-union federation is not the working-class success that it is customarily pictured to be any more than are the kibbutzim. It was formed in the 1920s to fight against the employment of Arab labor. It is a nationalist organization, aiming at the complete integration of the workers into the capitalist system. Moreover, it is the biggest employer of labor in the country. The Histadrut ruthlessly fights any form of autonomous organization of the laboring masses. All important strikes have been organized in spite of it, and it has sabotaged them and their leaderships. It supports proposed antistrike legislation and regularly concludes wage-freeze contracts with the bosses.

17. Israel is not a democratic state. It is a racist (and clerical) state, based on the expulsion of the indigenous population, the institutionalization of the "right of return" of every Jew (while return is refused to the Palestinian refugees), and the oppression of the Arab minority that remains within the country.

The Arabs are subjected to colonialist "exceptional" laws (the Emergency Regulations of 1945, inherited from the British colonial power and strengthened since then, which permit the military authorities to expel and to assign residence to any citizen; to imprison by administrative order; and to confiscate land). The proconsuls of the Israeli army do not hesitate to use them. (This is aside from the illegal dynamiting of suspects' houses, torture, etc.) When these colonial ordinances were applied to Palestinian Jews, just after the

Second World War, former Minister of Justice Shapira asserted, "Even in Nazi Germany, there weren't such laws." (*Hapraklit*, February 1946.)

18. Israel does not want "peace"—unless what is meant by that is recognition of its conquests, of the expulsion of the Palestinians, and of its racist and colonialist regime. In other words, "peace" is identical with the "pacification" all oppressors seek. It has nothing to do with pacifism and flows from a political strategy based on the *fait accompli*.

19. The only future that Zionism and the structures of the state of Israel offer to the Jewish population of Israel is war. To find a solution for the Hebrew community of Palestine—which has the right to determine freely its national future—it is essential to assure its integration into an Arab world that has been freed from the exploitation of man by man. This can be accomplished only if the Hebrew community allies itself with the struggle for a common future in a socialist, unified Middle East, liberated of the consequences of imperialist domination. Within this framework, the Israeli community, like all the non-Arab minorities of the Middle East (Kurd, South Sudanese) will be able to join fraternally with the Arab peoples, as indicated by the Palestinians who are now offering the Israeli community coexistence within a common secular, democratic state.

20. The Palestinian cause is a just, anticolonialist struggle and integral part of the great struggle of the Arab world against imperialism and of the struggle on a global scale against U. S.-led imperialism. The Palestinian awakening signifies that a new batallion of the wretched of the earth is arising to forge, arms in hand, its free human destiny. We are in complete solidarity with this struggle, for it announces a new dawn for the Arab world, of which, at present, it constitutes the vanguard. Thus, in the final analysis, it is part of the great cause of the emancipation of all humanity.

21. The dynamic of the Palestinian revolution puts all the reactionary, bourgeois and pseudoprogressive structures of the Middle East in question. It menaces all the antipopular regimes (whence the many attempts to limit or strangle it). By its very logic, it implacably unveils the collusion of the forces currently ruling the Arab world with imperialism, thus putting in question not only the colonialist structures of Israel but also those of the Arab world. And now, moreover, a Marxist wing of the Palestinian movement openly declares its determination to carry the struggle through to the end, that is, to the socialist revolution.

SOCIALISM AND ZIONISM: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE?

by Jon Rothschild

The current radicalization in the United States has led a substantial number of young Jewish radicals to question the mystique of the "Israeli miracle." The reactionary character of many of the policies of the Israeli government, both foreign and domestic, is increasingly recognized by today's "radical Zionists." Israel's support of the United States in the Korean War, its attack—along with Britain and France—on the United Arab Republic in 1956, its support of the French fascist Secret Army Organization during the Algerian War, its support of the U. S. intervention in Lebanon in 1958, its support of Mobutu against Lumumba in the Congo, and its support of the U. S. war in Vietnam are only a few examples of such policies in the international arena.

Internally, the Israeli government's witchhunt attack on its opponents, such as the Israeli Socialist Organization (*Matzpen*), its racist oppression of both Arabs and "Oriental Jews," its antilabor policies, and its military occupation of Arab lands are repugnant to radical youth.

"Radical Zionists" seek to change these antidemocratic features of Israel while preserving its Zionist character as a state for all the Jews. They assert that Israel is the manifestation of the Jewish people's right to self-determination, that Zionism represents "Jewish liberation." From this viewpoint they conclude that the Middle East crisis can be solved without a major change in the character of Israel. They believe that the Palestinian Arab revolutionary movement is reactionary and racist since it aims at destroying the Zionist character of Israel. They believe that the government of Israel, while deserving criticism, must be supported against the Arab regimes and the Palestinian commandos. While acknowledging collusion between the United States and Israel, they assert that this collusion can be broken down without destroying Zionism.

Is the alliance between Zionism and Western (most recently U. S.) imperialism accidental? Is Zionism a liberation movement?

In the early days of the Zionist movement it was fashionable for its theoreticians to compare their movement with the European nationalism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The English have a state; the French have a state; the Italians have a state; the Jews should also have a state, "as Jewish as England is English," ran the argument. Since the old bourgeois form of nationalism has today become somewhat discredited, some Zionist theoreticians are now comparing Zionism to the revolutionary nationalism of the Afro-Americans or Chicanos. Actually, both the analogies are misleading.

Early European nationalist movements were based on developing bourgeois society. French nationalism, for example, was a reflection of the will of the rising capitalist class in France to create a national basis for production and exchange of commodities, to eliminate old restrictions on free trade and free production.

During that time, most of the Western European countries were undergoing a tremendous economic expansion. Also during that time the Jewish bourgeoisie was completely assimilationist in its outlook. The economic processes which gave rise to the European nation-states began to lay the groundwork for the integration of the Jews into the newly developed nations. But these processes did not proceed evenly.

Eastern European society, especially after the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1863, found itself in continuous crisis. The old feudalism began to decay rapidly. But there was no concurrent flourishing of a healthy capitalism to take its place, as there had been in Western Europe during the decline of feudalism. Eastern European capitalism was weak, distorted in its development, and in general unable to expand at a pace sufficient to absorb the dislocation resulting from the rapid collapse of the old society.

Consequently, the influx of peasants into the cities and towns during the ruin of feudalism began to make the position of the Jews, concentrated mainly in the urban areas, untenable. Poverty-stricken peasants flocked to the cities to look for jobs. Relatively wealthy peasants came to seek investment possibilities. But because of the weakness of capitalism in these countries, there were few jobs to be had and even fewer opportunities for investment.

So the Eastern European Jews found themselves caught among three fires. The non-Jewish petty bourgeoisie sought to enrich itself in a contracting market at the expense of the Jews. The non-Jewish proletarianized peasantry saw the increasingly impoverished Jewish community as competitors in a shrinking labor market. And the landowning and capitalist classes sought to divert the wrath of the non-Jewish proletariat and peasantry from themselves toward the Jews. All this resulted in a qualitative increase in anti-Semitism, continual anti-Semitic riots and pogroms.

The Eastern European crisis led in turn to a massive Jewish emigration. Some three million Jews left Eastern Europe, mostly for Western Europe or the United States. The arrival of the Jewish immigrants exacerbated the latent anti-Semitism of the Western European societies. Although in the late 1800s the Western European

economies were experiencing a general expansion, the expansion was accompanied by a process of monopolization. The less powerful capitalists were being ruined by competition with the bigger capitalists. The Western middle classes, threatened by proletarianization, viewed the newly arrived Jewish immigrants, generally of the same class origins as themselves, as threats to their precarious social position. They began to turn against the Jews with increasing virulence. The ruling classes naturally lost no opportunity to divert the rising militancy of the workers and lower middle classes against the Jews. The result was a rise in Western European anti-Semitism.

In general, the collapse of feudalism and with it the traditional position of the Jews as small merchants, moneylenders, peddlers, and artisans in the craft production of certain consumer goods, along with the inability of capitalism in Eastern or Western Europe to integrate millions of displaced Jews, led to the rise of modern anti-Semitism, different from and qualitatively more severe than medieval "anti-Semitism."

Modern anti-Semitism is thus rooted in the dual historical processes of the ruin of feudalism and the decline of capitalism.

The Zionist movement, which arose in the late 1800s as the response of a minority of the Jewish middle class to the new wave of anti-Semitism, held that anti-Semitism was *not* caused by particular historical processes, but that it was inevitable, as long as Jews lived among gentiles. The Zionist leaders sought to solve the problem of Jewish oppression not by attacking its cause, the decadence of the European social systems, but by physically removing the Jews from the non-Jewish nations, and forming a new state for the Jewish people.

The most immediate programmatic problem for the Zionist movement was where the new state was to be located. By 1897 (the founding year of the World Zionist Organization) virtually the entire world had been colonized. The same processes which had created modern anti-Semitism, and thus Zionism, had also given rise to imperialism. The Western European states and the United States had spread out into Asia, Africa, and Latin America, integrating those continents into the world market and subordinating them politically to the European countries. Colonization was not in process of development; it was largely complete.

Consequently, "new nations" could be created from just two sources: either from the European countries themselves, or from a colonial territory under the control of one of the European countries (or the United States). It is around this question that the class character of Zionism becomes decisive.

Had the Jews in Europe occupied a social position analogous to the Blacks in the United States, for example, Jewish nationalism might have developed in a fashion similar to Black or Chicano nationalism in the U. S. That is, if the Jews had constituted, numerically and socially, an important element of the working class, with the power to grind the whole society to a halt through direct mass

action, then it is possible that there would have developed a movement for "Jewish power" within the European societies. Perhaps that movement would have even developed a separatist perspective, demanding a Jewish state. But that movement would have directed itself *against* the European ruling classes. Such a movement would have gone through an evolution similar to the evolution of the Black liberation movement, tending in a revolutionary socialist direction.

But the Jews in Europe had no such decisive social power, and therefore developed no such movement. An additional obstacle to the development of a revolutionary Jewish movement was the existence of a considerable number of Jewish petty capitalists. These people were generally supporters of the Zionist movement, encouraging Jewish workers to oppose only "gentile society" rather than to struggle against capitalism as a whole.

On the other hand, not being a *bourgeois* nationalist movement, basing itself on the development of the productive forces of a particular nation, the Zionist movement obviously did not have anything like the power to *force* any imperialist country to give up any of its colonies. (As the German capitalists, for example, sought to do in the First World War.)

Being a *petty-bourgeois* movement, lacking the strength to act independently, Zionism embarked on its only possible road. The Zionist leaders began negotiating with various European ruling classes, seeking to convince one of them that the establishment of a Jewish state in the colonial world would be in their interest. Lacking independent strength, and rejecting social struggle against the European ruling classes as utopian, the Zionists sought an alliance with imperialism. This negotiation process resulted in 1917 in the Balfour Declaration, in which Great Britain declared its support for the establishment of a "national home for the Jews in Palestine."

The attempt of the Zionist leaders to create a new nation-state in Palestine dictated their policy toward the native inhabitants. Generally, when European settlers came to colonial countries, their aim was to exploit the wealth of the country, including the labor power of the inhabitants. They tended to turn the inhabitants into a proletarian class in a new capitalist society.

The Zionists, however, wanted not just the resources of Palestine, but the country itself, to serve for the creation of a new national state. The Arabs, therefore, were not to be exploited economically, but *replaced* by Jewish immigration. It was this fundamental aim that determined Zionist policy in Palestine from 1917 to 1948. Until there was sufficient Jewish immigration to constitute a Jewish state, Britain had to maintain control of Palestine; obviously, if Palestine were granted independence at a time when the Jews constituted only 10 or 25 percent of the population, the dream of the Jewish state would disappear. So until they felt strong enough to strike out alone, the Zionists consistently supported the British Mandate, and opposed Palestinian independence.

While supporting the Mandate, the Zionists proceeded to construct a "society within a society." The Jewish National Fund (JNF) purchased land from absentee Arab feudal landlords and then evicted the Arab tenant farmers who worked the land. Selling or leasing Jewish lands to Arabs was prohibited. The JNF opposed land reform, as this would have put the land into the hands of Arab farmers who, unlike the feudal sheiks, would refuse to sell.

A policy of "Jewish labor" and "buy Jewish" was established. Arab labor and production were boycotted by the Jewish settlers. This meant that Arab farmers who were evicted from their land were unable to become proletarians in the Jewish sector.

Throughout the period of the British Mandate, the Zionist colonizers confronted the Arabs as a foreign invading force, intent on ousting them from their own country, opposing Palestinian independence, fighting along with the British Army, opposing land reform. The process initiated in 1917 culminated in 1948 with the establishment of the state of Israel.

The character of the state flows directly from the manner of its creation. The Israeli leadership has created a vicious circle vis-a-vis the Palestinian Arabs. The circle starts with the oppression of the Palestinians. This is followed, quite naturally, by Palestinian resistance. The resistance then becomes the excuse for further oppression, and so on. The circle can be broken *only* by ending the oppression.

The continued existence of the state of Israel means the continued denial of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. There is no way around this. The continued existence of the state of Israel means continued dependence on Western imperialism, the only force which will aid a state in basic conflict with one sector of the colonial liberation struggle. Continued dependence on the West, primarily the United States, dictates the form of society Israel will have. The only way for any country to achieve real independence from the U. S. is to nationalize its own industry and resources, place them under the control of the workers and poor peasants in a planned economy operated in the interests of the people.

It is not accidental that the "left Zionists" have been an ever-decreasing minority of the Zionist leadership. Implementation of the Zionist program called for, and still calls for, policies which are totally antithetical to any form of socialism.

The creation of Israel as a Jewish state necessitated the ousting of the Palestinians. This obviously could not have been accomplished in alliance with the Palestinian masses, but only in alliance with Western imperialism and Arab reaction. Alliance with Western imperialism requires a capitalist economic and political structure within Israel. Maintenance of the state of Israel requires increasing oppression of both Palestinians and Jewish opponents of Zionism.

At each decisive point in history, the "left Zionists" were faced with a clear choice: adherence to socialism—and thus opposition to Zionism, or adherence to Zionism—and thus rejection of socialist principles. Placing loyalty to nation above loyalty to class, the

"left Zionists" became, despite their original intentions, merely the left profile of Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan.

What is the alternative for Jewish radicals who are concerned with both the survival of the Israeli people and the progress of socialism? To answer the question we must look briefly at the Palestinian resistance movement and its interrelationship with the development of an anti-Zionist movement inside Israel.

The Palestinian resistance movement is fundamentally a struggle by the Palestinian people for self-determination. With the development of the resistance movement, the Palestinians have, for the first time, begun to forge a leadership of their own, uncontrolled by non-Palestinian Arab regimes. The revolutionary evolution of this movement is apparent in several respects. The commandos have begun to break down the old Jew-baiting rhetoric of reactionary Arab forces, pointing out that the enemy of the Palestinian people is Zionism (a political movement), not the Jewish people. They have challenged the backward semi-feudal regimes of Saudi Arabia and Jordan, as well as the regimes of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. They have politicized and mobilized the Palestinian people, shaking them from the despair of the refugee camps. Increasingly numerous sections of the commando movement have moved in a revolutionary socialist internationalist direction.

At the same time, the worldwide youth radicalization has begun to take root in Israel. Zionism has failed the Jewish people. It has not protected Jews around the world from anti-Semitism; it has created not a haven for the Jews, but merely one more death-trap. Besides their failure to fulfill their own program, the Zionist leaders have been unable to deal with the problems facing the Jewish people within Israel: poverty, inflation, racism, unemployment, militarism. They have created a Jewish state, with all the insoluble problems of modern capitalism, at the price of turning the Jewish people into oppressors of another people.

Despite the witchhunt atmosphere created by the Israeli ruling class, the anti-Zionist movement, best represented by the Israeli Socialist Organization (*Matzpen*) is steadily, if slowly, growing. This process will continue and deepen. The choice facing the Israeli people, and the Jews around the world, is clear. They can continue to support Zionism and the state of Israel; or they can break with Zionism, forge links with the Palestinian movement and the revolutionary forces in the rest of the Arab world, and struggle with them against the enemies of both the Arab and Jewish peoples: imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.

A revolutionary alliance between the Arab and Jewish workers and peasants would create the basis for the only realistic solution to the "Arab-Israeli dilemma." A revolutionary struggle on the part of the Arab and Jewish workers and peasants for the creation of a socialist union in the whole Middle East, this is the only path to both Arab and Jewish liberation.

FURTHER READING

- AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM**
by James P. Cannon 1.95
- BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM**
Anthology, edited by Tony Thomas 2.45
- CAPITALISM IN CRISIS**
by Dick Roberts 1.95
- FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM**
Anthology, edited by Linda Jenness 1.95
- GAY LIBERATION: A Socialist Perspective**
by Kipp Dawson .35
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