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INFORMATION PAPER

NUMBER 12

IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

Threat to Peace in the Middle East

by: Fawzi Abu-Diab

ARAB INFORMATION CENTER

120 EAST 56 STREET, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

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IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

A Threat to Peace in the Middle East

**By
Fawzi Abu-Diab**

ARAB INFORMATION CENTER

**120 East 56 Street
New York 22, N.Y.**

MAY, 1960

ERRATA

- Page 1, line 22 — Wrong, new programs; *Correct*, new pogroms
- Page 2, line 7 — Wrong, Rishoniezion; *Correct*, Rishon Le Zion
- Page 2, line 8 — Wrong, Peta Tikbah; *Correct*, Petah Tikvah
- Page 2, line 13 — Wrong, Yessad Hamaalah; *Correct*, Yasod Hamalah
- Page 2, line 21 — Wrong, pamphlet "The State of Jews"; *Correct*, pamphlet "The Jewish State"
- Page 4, line 4 — Wrong, both objectives; *Correct*, Both objectives
- Page 4, line 7 — Wrong, Britain was given; *Correct*, Britain became
- Page 5, line 19 — Wrong, and the Government Printer; *Correct*, and published by the Government Printer
- Page 8, line 4 — Wrong, the Zionists' organization; *Correct*, Zionist organizations
- Page 8, line 12 — Wrong, acquiesced with; *Correct*, acquiesced with
- Page 11, line 24 — Wrong, partition resolutions; *Correct*, partition resolution
- Page 12, line 5 — Wrong, *Haeretz*; *Correct*, *Ma'ariv*
- Page 12, lines 5-6 — Wrong, United States Jewish Agency; *Correct*, delete United States
- Page 12, footnote — Wrong, *Haeretz*; *Correct*, *Ma'ariv*
- Page 16, line 15 — Wrong, been allotted; *Correct*, been allotted
- Page 16, line 23 — Wrong, new Israelites; *Correct*, new Israelis
- Page 17, line 26 — Wrong, the Zionist; *Correct*, the Zionists
- Page 19, line 24 — Wrong, agreements were; *Correct*, agreement was
- Page 20, line 3 — Wrong, calls all Jews; *Correct*, calls on all Jews
- Page 21, line 34 — Wrong, territory also; *Correct*, territory but also

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I want to extend my thanks and appreciation to Miss Mary Ann Thomas of The Arab States Delegations Office for her assistance in writing this publication.

—F.A.D.

INTRODUCTION

Statesmen and political pundits of many nations have made attempts to interpret one of the most disturbing problems in the Middle East today — the partition of Palestine and the consequent dispute between Israel and the Arab states. But one pertinent and major aspect of the conflict has never been adequately analyzed and, therefore, never fully understood.

Even before the establishment of the Israeli state, Zionist aims of expansion have been based on wave after wave of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Each new cycle of immigration has had its own particular political function.

When the Zionists first came to Palestine, they hoped to gain a peaceful foothold in the Arab states. After World War II, they established an Israeli government. Today, through terrorism and threat of war, they aim to expand their territory by further immigration. Lebensraum, once the battle cry of Hitler's Nazis, has now become the demand of international Zionism for the establishment of a world Jewry in Palestine.

Many propaganda devices have been used to gain these ends. Even the recent outbreak of anti-Semitism, initiated by the defamation of a Cologne synagogue in December 1959, has been employed to achieve world sanction for Zionist expansion and to create the fear of new programs against the Jews and thus attract further Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Before the mass immigrations after World War I, the Arab states welcomed peaceful assimilation of Jews. But today with a million Arab refugees who still legally own about 88% of what is now Israel, the Arabs view further Jewish immigration as a threat to their very existence and to world peace.

Only when the political function of Jewish immigration is understood and Zionist expansion curbed can the Middle East pressures and tensions be released and international peace be assured.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Jewish immigration to Palestine began during the Eighteenth Century when 1,500 Jews migrated from Holland and Hungary. Later, in the early part of the Nineteenth Century, about 400 Jews travelled to Palestine from Lithuania.

The first permanent Jewish colony was founded in 1882 near Haifa by ten young Belgians headed by David Levantine and Joseph Feinberg, who named it Rishoniezion, First in Zion. About this same time Russian Jews helped to restore the colony of Peta Tikvah, Gate of Hope, also near Haifa, which had been founded in 1878 but abandoned after an outbreak of malaria. Two more colonies were established by Jews from Rumania, one at Rosh Pinah near Safed, the other at Samarin. They were followed the next year by Polish Jews who established the colony of Yessad Hamaalah. Thus, within a short period of time, a footing was secured in Palestine for further Jewish immigration.

It is interesting to note that this wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine took place at the same time that West European colonialism started to reach out towards the Arab world through the Nile Valley. When this imperialism was at its height, the first worldwide political Jewish movement was founded by a young journalist, Theodore Herzl, with the publication of his pamphlet "The State of Jews" in 1896. Born in Budapest, on May 2, 1860, Herzl devoted his life to the cause of creating an internationally recognized Jewish state. He succeeded in convening the first Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland, on August 27, 1897.

The outcome of this three-day Congress was the formulation of the Zionist program and the establishment of the Zionist organization. The Basle Program, as it was called, defined the concept of Zionism in the following terms: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."¹ In order to attain this objective the Congress adopted the following program:

1. Systematic promotion of the settlement of Palestine with Jewish agriculturalists, artisans and craftsmen;
2. Strengthening Jewish sentiment and national consciousness;
3. Making preparatory steps for procuring such governmental consent as necessary for achieving the objective of Zionism.

Two years later Herzl formally announced, at the third Zionist Congress in August 1899, that the immediate aim of Zionist policy

was to obtain a charter for an autonomous Jewish settlement in Palestine. But two years elapsed before Herzl succeeded in opening negotiations with the Ottoman Sultan on the project.

On May 18, 1901, Herzl obtained his first audience with the Sultan, to whom he made various financial proposals in order to secure a charter. Negotiations dragged on over a year, and in his final interview on July 23, 1902, Herzl offered the Sultan a desperate £1,600,000.² But all his efforts were in vain.

When Herzl failed to obtain a charter from the Sultan, he then converted Lord Rothschild, the head of the Anglo-Jewish community who was a power in the financial world and a member of the Royal Commission, to the idea of creating a Jewish colony in British territory, either in the Sinai Peninsula or in Cyprus.

With the doors to the British Government now opened to him, Herzl had an interview on October 22, 1902, with the Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, who told him that a Jewish settlement in Cyprus would be opposed by the native population and that the question of the Sinai Peninsula must be discussed with the Foreign Secretary. The next day Herzl was received at the Foreign Office by Lord Lansdown, who favored the idea of a Jewish settlement at Wadi Al-Arish in the Sinai Peninsula. Herzl went to Cairo to negotiate with Lord Cromer, the British Pro-Consul in Egypt, but again his efforts were in vain, for the Egyptian Government rejected the scheme completely.

After the failure of the Al-Arish project, Chamberlain immediately offered Herzl territory in British East Africa for the establishment of a Jewish national home. Herzl, after some hesitation, accepted the offer. But prominent Russian Zionists, under the leadership of Menahem Ussishkin, vehemently protested this departure from the goals of the Basle Program, and in 1903 sent a delegation to Herzl in Vienna with an ultimatum. They warned that unless Herzl undertook in writing to abandon the East African scheme and to confine himself to Palestine, the Russians would create their own opposing Zionist movement.

At the Seventh Zionist Congress which met at Basle from July 7 to August 2, 1905, a resolution rejecting the East African scheme was adopted, and the same resolution voiced the hope that the British Government would help the Zionist project in Palestine.

After World War I the British imperialistic policy was designed

¹The Zionist Movement, by Israel Cohn, page 77.

²Ibid., page 81.

to facilitate domination of the Middle East, particularly for safeguarding the route to India. Zionists' aspirations to Palestine, under the friendly aegis of Britain, coincided with that nation's foreign policy.

Both objectives were assured after the peace settlement when Palestine and the other Arab states which had been part of the Ottoman Empire were placed under mandatory rule known as Class "A" Mandates. Britain was given the mandatory power over Palestine but acted more as if it were ruling a colony. The mandate system was indeed no more than the extension of the old colonial system, at a time, particularly after President Wilson's Fourteen Points, when colonialism was just beginning to be regarded with disfavor.

Under the British mandate, the main objective of Zionism was accomplished gradually in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which promised the establishment of a "National Home" for the Jewish people in Palestine "provided that such home did not prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Arabs." This Declaration was clarified by the British Government in the White Paper of June 1922 which stated, "The terms of the Declaration (Balfour) do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish national home, but that such a home should be founded in Palestine.

"When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish national home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish Community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a center in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. . . ." Surprisingly, when Balfour made his Declaration, the British Government had not yet secured a foothold in Palestine.

IMMIGRATION UNDER THE MANDATE

Before the British Mandate, early Jewish immigrants lived in peace and friendship with their Arab neighbors. Palestinian Jews enjoyed complete religious, social and political freedom. Many even held governmental posts. Such was the case with Jews living in all the Arab States prior to the Balfour Declaration. Rabbi Elmer Berger quotes a letter to him written by Elias Cohen, an Egyptian of Jewish faith. Writing on Jewish activities in Egypt before and after the Palestine campaign, Mr. Cohen said, "Egyptian and Foreign Jews living in Egypt have always enjoyed in this country complete freedom,

freedom of religion, freedom of speech and freedom of trade and commerce." Mr. Cohen went on to say, "As a matter of fact, the Egyptian Jews never felt anti-Semitism nor discrimination."³

It was not until large-scale Jewish immigration began after the Balfour Declaration that Arab resentment was aroused against the Jewish Zionists. This resentment was based upon the Arabs' realization of the ulterior motives behind this influx of Jewish immigrants. With the dawn of this realization the Arabs initiated movements of protest. The mandatory period was marked by outbreaks of violence which represented the intensity of the Arab resentment. The first such violent protest occurred in 1920 and was followed by continuous uprising in 1921, 1923, 1929 and between 1936-1939. From that time to the present, the Arab people have continued to protest this unjust invasion of their homeland.

When the mandatory power began to apply the "Jewish National Home" policy, the population of Palestine consisted of 650,000 Arabs and 56,000 Jews, or approximately 92% Arab and 8% Jewish. According to the *Survey of Palestine* which was prepared by the Palestine Government in 1946 and the Government Printer, the total land area of Palestine amounted to 26,320,000 dunums, of which the Jews living in Palestine owned 650,000 dunums. Thus the Jews at that time were the owners of only 2.5% of the total area of Palestine.

The number of Jewish immigrants to Palestine rose steadily during the thirty years of the British mandate. The mandatory authorities spared no effort in facilitating Jewish immigration to Palestine — under British bayonets.

The following table shows the Jewish immigration to Palestine during the British mandate:

³*Who Knows Better Must Say So*, by Rabbi Elmer Berger, page 14.

TABLE I
JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO PALESTINE, 1919-1945
According to Jewish Agency & Palestine Government Records

Year	Poland	Russia	Germany	Rumania	Britain	Rest Europe	U. S. A.	Rest Amer.	Asia	Africa	Stateless	Unspecified	Total Immigrants	Jewish Agency	Government	TOTAL
1919	...	806	57	1,239	163	39	285	108	—	1,000	1,086	—	—	1,086
1920	2,552	2,202	175	331	37	789	150	22	180	84	—	1,072	8,223	—	—	8,223
1921	1,800	3,781	185	424	37	789	150	22	180	84	—	842	8,294	—	—	8,294
1922	2,631	3,626	38	285	73	633	199	6	285	27	—	882	8,685	—	—	8,685
1923	2,175	2,948	71	364	13	637	89	10	431	11	—	1,344	8,903	—	—	8,903
1924	5,670	2,974	180	431	24	1,448	162	13	1,886	88	—	29	12,905	—	82	13,892
1925	17,115	7,780	262	1,701	30	3,304	331	30	1,986	63	—	533	33,135	—	987	34,386
1926	7,508	1,918	71	693	65	918	184	20	1,636	24	—	207	13,244	—	1,251	34,386
1927	836	506	9	126	11	154	27	4	580	1	—	66	2,320	—	611	13,855
1928	282	277	6	24	8	60	71	9	25	—	—	19	781	—	714	3,034
1929	1,978	399	43	282	12	363	80	6	583	—	—	169	3,915	—	1,287	2,175
1930	2,388	425	47	286	13	372	132	6	393	—	—	72	4,134	—	1,194	5,249
1931	1,610	357	42	196	10	366	171	14	181	—	—	51	2,998	—	695	4,944
1932	2,987	118	153	377	30	679	491	21	538	5	—	81	5,480	—	939	4,075
1933	12,879	408	5,750	1,374	85	3,858	1,063	130	1,424	36	—	282	27,289	—	3,730	9,553
1934	16,829	578	6,992	1,751	153	5,749	1,078	172	2,428	71	—	868	36,619	—	2,465	30,327
1935	29,407	446	5,464	3,616	275	8,862	1,602	277	3,635	106	—	265	55,407	—	4,115	42,359
1936	12,929	585	5,757	1,363	130	3,076	245	64	1,655	34	—	871	267	—	3,804	61,854
1937	3,578	268	2,665	256	73	872	103	21	1,037	11	—	130	26,976	—	1,817	29,727
1938	3,346	52	3,367	454	15	2,532	61	8	919	12	—	322	134	—	681	10,536
1939	1,892	18	5,832	357	45	3,727	28	6	632	6	—	1,060	11,222	—	1,427	12,868
1940	1,113	3	1,036	681	2	855	2	3	155	—	—	60	13,663	—	2,491	27,561
1941	441	5	174	733	1	597	—	—	66	—	—	299	42	—	23	8,398
1942	257	7	35	30	3	101	—	—	689	8	—	53	3,412	—	17	5,886
1943	1,869	3	45	137	29	506	—	5	4,803	9	—	15	1,407	—	7	3,038
1944	697	294	371	3,735	35	3,627	4	37	3,381	34	—	297	7,532	—	33	8,507
1945	2,456	52	361	1,158	13	3,471	14	24	1,349	188	—	—	13,207	—	302	14,464
TOTAL	137,225	30,836	39,131	21,165	1,242	48,795	6,400	954	31,162	946	8,421	8,809	335,066	18,148	28,852	393,490

TABLE II

Number of Jews in Palestine 1918	56,000
Jewish immigrants into Palestine (As shown in Table I from 1919-1945)	393,490
Jewish immigrants into Palestine 1946	17,761
Jewish immigrants into Palestine 1947	21,542
Jewish immigrants into Palestine 1948 (to May)	22,207
Approximate natural (or illegal) increase	29,000

Total number of Jews in Palestine on May 15, 1948 . . 540,000

The above tables indicate that the number of Jewish immigrants rose steadily during the first five years of the mandatory administration from 8,223 in 1920 to 34,386 in 1925. The first marked rise to 13,892 was in 1924 when the fourth "Aliyah" began, consisting of a large proportion of persons from Poland.

After reaching a record total in 1925, the annual number of immigrants sunk to 13,855 in 1926, and in 1927 there was a further decline of immigration to 3,034. In 1928, there were only 2,175 new arrivals, but in 1929 immigration rose again to 5,249. The trend of Jewish immigration after 1929 reflected the fluctuation in the attitude of the mandatory power. In both years 1930 and 1931 the total was below 5,000, but in 1932 when the fifth "Aliyah" began, it rose to 9,553 and in the next few years, it steadily mounted to 30,327 in 1933, 42,359 in 1934, and to 61,854 in 1935. This last year witnessed the peak of Jewish immigration into Palestine before the Partition Plan.

IMMIGRATION SINCE PARTITION

In 1942 the Zionists proclaimed their Biltmore program, to the effect that they were no longer satisfied with a "National Home" and demanded a "Jewish statehood."

During the second World War the Zionists' organization exerted great pressure upon many different governments, especially Britain, to admit more Jews into Palestine. While large-scale recruiting of Allied troops was underway during this war. Dr. Weizman, Israel's first President, endeavored to secure British consent for the creation of a Jewish fighting force. After the British Government declined the offer, Zionists began what was to be an approximately two-year period of continuous agitation on both sides of the Atlantic. Finally, on August 7, 1942, the British Government acquiesced with the decision "to create a Palestine Regiment consisting of separate Jewish and Arab infantry battalions for general service in the Middle East," and to complete the establishment of the special rural Jewish police by enrolling 2,500 additional recruits, necessary training staff and co-ordination officers, and by obtaining arms and equipment to be provided by the British Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East.

By the end of August 1944 there were 23,500 Jewish soldiers in various units of the British forces in the Middle East. A great majority of them were serving in Jewish units. In addition to the Jewish "fighting force," there were 5,840 in the auxiliary police, about 800 in the regular police force, and about 16,000 in the special police receiving part-time military training.⁴

These martially trained Zionists formed, after the war, the terrorist organizations which turned their fire, with guns stolen from the British army, against the defenseless, isolated Arab towns and villages. Thus, Herzl was proved correct when he said in his inaugural speech at the fourth Zionist Congress held in London in 1900, "England with her eyes roaming over all the seas, will understand us and our aims. From this place the Zionist idea will take a still further and higher flight, of this we may be sure." England had paved the way for the creation of Israel by her immigration policy during the mandatory period of Palestine; moreover, she helped train the Zionist terrorists who in many cases cold-bloodedly murdered hundreds of men, women, and children.

The Partition Resolution divided Palestine into a "Jewish State" and an "Arab State" and an "International Zone of Jerusalem." To

the "Jewish State" it gave 56% of the total area of Palestine — more than ten times what the Jews actually owned. To the Arab State and the International Zone was given only 44% of the land area, although the Arabs constituted 68% of the population and owned about 92% of the land. The figures speak for themselves. No special intelligence is needed to note the glaring injustice of the Partition Resolution.

After the first world war, the population of Palestine consisted of 650,000 Arabs and 56,000 Jews or roughly 92% Arab and 8% Jewish. When the Partition Resolution was adopted by the United Nations on November 29, 1947, the Jewish population had risen primarily through immigration, legal and illegal, to about 540,000, while the Arab population had increased by natural growth to about 1,350,000. This means that at the time of the Partition Resolution, the Arabs constituted approximately 68% of the population, while the Jews constituted only 32%. Jewish land ownership also increased from 2.5% to 5.6% of the total area.

According to an Israeli official publication⁵, the population of Israel totalled 2,066,983 in October 1959; of which 1,840,844 were Jews and the remaining 226,139 were minorities.

TABLE III

Total population of Israel—October 1959	2,066,983	
Jews	1,840,944	
Arabs	221,000	
Others	25,039	226,039
Total	2,066,983	2,066,983

From Table II we learn that the Jewish population in Palestine in 1918 was 56,000. This number increased during the British Mandate (as shown in Table II) until it reached 540,000 at the time Israel was created. The bulk of Jewish immigration to Palestine took place after 1948. During the eleven-year period between 1948 and 1959, 945,380 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine. Table IV shows the amount of Jewish immigration each year:

⁴*The Zionist Movement* by Israel Cohn, pages 111-112.

⁵*Statistical Bulletin of Israel*, Vol. X, No. 10.

TABLE IV

Jewish immigration to Israel between 1948 and October 1959

Year	No. of Immigrants
1948	101,825
1949	239,424
1950	169,720
1951	174,014
1952	23,408
1953	10,388
1954	17,485
1955	36,327
1956	54,996
1957	71,100
1958	26,093
1959 (through October)	20,600

Total Jewish Immigration
1948-1959 945,380

TABLE V

Jewish immigration to Israel between 1948 and 1959
according to geographical origin.

Continent	Per Cent
Asia	36.9
Africa	31.6
Europe	
Eastern	26.0
Western	4.0
North America	1.5
Total	100.0

As shown in the above tables, more Jews from the four corners of the globe entered Israel in the few years of statehood than in the two generations preceding it.

The Arabs rejected the Partition on the grounds that the United Nations Charter did not empower the world organization to partition countries against the will of the inhabitants, and they requested that the question of partition be referred to the International Court of Justice for an expression of opinion concerning the legal aspect of the

case. But the Jewish Agency refused to allow consideration by the International Court. How similar were these events to the reactions of the two contesting mothers when the ancient Jewish sage, King Solomon, suggested the partition of the baby which was claimed by both women. Only the real mother protested.

THE HIGH COST OF ISRAEL IMMIGRATION POLICY

The Israeli Declaration of Independence promises that the state of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion;⁶ and the law of return proclaims that "Every Jew has the right to come to this country (Israel) for settlement."⁷

The basic policy of Israel, therefore, is to implement the Zionist policy of "ingathering" i.e., the view that all Jews should return to Israel and those who have not done so are living in exile and will sooner or later be persecuted by the countries in which they are citizens; while they remain in exile (i.e. choose not to immigrate) according to this reasoning, Jews should direct all their energies toward the support of Israel.

Zionists spare no effort and use all means to implement their "ingathering" policy. The ultimate goal of this policy is the establishment of the "Eretz Israel" which, according to Zionist terminology, means the establishment of a Jewish state covering the area of the whole of Palestine and Transjordan — an area more than eight times larger than the area assigned to the Jewish state by the United Nations partition resolutions.

This "ingathering" policy of Israel, creates a vicious circle. In order to resettle new immigrants, Israel needs money. In order to raise money the Zionist Agencies, such as the United Jewish Appeal needs a constant "emergency" to arouse foreign interest in further immigration. One year the emergency was said to exist in North Africa, the next year in Hungary and the next in Rumania.

For example, when the Rumanian Government suddenly allowed the emigration of Rumanian Jews to Israel, this was hailed by Zionists as a desirable miracle since, Ben-Gurion said, "The existence of Israel depends only on one important factor and that is the mass Jewish immigration to Israel."⁸ He hoped that the Soviet Union would soon allow the Soviet Jews to immigrate to Israel.

During this period Israel started an extensive campaign in the

⁶Israel Government Year Book of 1950, page 44.

⁷Israel Government Year Book of 1950, page 298 Art. (1).

⁸New York Times, February 2, 1959.

United States to collect money needed for settling the emigrants from Eastern Europe. A large delegation of prominent Israelis, headed by Mrs. Golda Meir, was sent to the United States to conduct an emergency campaign for \$200,000,000 to finance this new immigration. In addition, an Israeli newspaper, *Haeretz*, reported that the United States Jewish Agency negotiated and agreed with seven different banks in the United States for \$30,000,000 loan as a first step towards coping with the immigration from European countries.⁹

In short, Israel's usual answer to her "crises" is for the United States Government and American Jews to provide the money. This would answer all questions and solve all problems. But will it?

A quick glance at the Israeli budget reveals that foreign aid constitutes more than one-third of her income.

The following tables will illustrate the sources and amount of foreign aid, which indirectly or directly further the Zionist "ingathering" policy.

U. S. GOVERNMENT AID TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT
TABLE VI

Year	Amount in Dollars
1950-51*	\$ 73,000,000
1951-52	63,000,000
1952-53	70,000,000
1953-54	52,000,000
1954-55	40,000,000
1955-56	48,000,000
1956-57	25,000,000
1957-58	24,000,000
Total	\$395,000,000

*Official U. S. Grants to Israel started 1950-51.

AMERICAN OFFICIAL AID TO ISRAEL IN ONE DECADE
(1948-58)

TABLE VII

Kind of Aid	Amount in Dollars
Official Grants	\$ 395,000,000
Official Bank Loans	345,000,000
Technical Aid	200,000,000
Total	\$ 940,000,000

⁹*Haeretz* Israeli newspaper, February 25, 1959.

FOREIGN AID TO ISRAEL 1948-1958

TABLE VIII

Source	Amount in Dollars
American Official Aid	\$ 940,000,000
American Investment	80,000,000
Israeli Independent Bonds	500,000,000
Jewish Agencies Aid	883,300,000
German War Reparation	720,000,000
German Personal Reparation	108,000,000
Total	\$3,321,300,000

Despite the flood of foreign aid pouring into Israel, she still plaintively complains about her trade deficit and pleads for even more outside donations. The question which immediately comes to mind is, *why* is Israel so desperately seeking larger and larger sums of money?

The answer may well be found in the growing defense allocations which seem to indicate that Israel is channeling huge sums into a war machine. Israel's 1956-57 allocation, for example, earmarked \$76 million for this purpose, and only one year later, the 1957-58 budget provided \$182 million for defense.

Israeli authorities have also repeatedly shown a preference for immigrants between the ages of 16 and 40 years of age. Obviously, persons falling within this age group can more readily be used to build the manpower force. Such programs leave little to the imagination regarding Israel's expansionistic intentions.

The use to which tax-free foreign donations to Israel are being put and may be expected to be put in the future, is pretty clear. It cannot be supposed that Israel has no defined and practical reason for building a large striking force. Her aims for renewed aggression are painfully evident, and foreign financial subscription to Israel can, at present, only serve to speed her plans for conquest.

ANTI-SEMITISM A DEVICE FOR INCREASING IMMIGRATION

The flood of publicity which followed the recent outbreaks of anti-semitism created world-wide nervousness which at some stages has approached hysteria. This movement has attained incredible proportions in a short time. Countries experiencing waves of swastika-paintings and hate slogans such as "Jews go home," include England, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Brazil, Chile and Australia to mention

only a few. It is interesting to note, however, that the recent anti-Jewish campaigns did not produce one such incident in the Arab World. The February 8 issue of the *Jewish Newsletter* reported that even Israel has not been free of swastika-paintings and "threats":

Anti-Semitic slogans in English along with swastikas were scratched on the sides of many buildings in Haifa. Among the slogans were, "Jew, do not treat us like slaves, Heil America." One Jewish teenager was arrested in Tel-Aviv for painting swastikas on the walls.

Inquiries into the cause of these anti-Jewish demonstrations have produced many theories, none of which can be supported by evidence. Some say that a master-mind is behind this movement, while others interpret it as a coincidental chain reaction spurred on by imitation and wide-spread publicity. Psychologists have declared that juveniles, sick-minded "hooligans" and bigots are the main perpetrators who have had a hand in the rapid increase of incidents similar to those which first occurred in Germany. But the main purpose of all propaganda is to be found in its results, and those who are too quick to seek the source often fail to see the manifestations of this propaganda in their true light. Fear incites haste in action, and haste too often leads to a false evaluation of the subject being analyzed.

The Jew has obviously been cast in the role of the victim. Who, then, is to benefit from these acts? Does any other group except the Zionists, stand to gain immediate and important advantages? Obviously the encouragement of "paint-pot" propaganda, and the resultant heavy publicity, has proved beneficial to the victims, perhaps even more than many persons are willing to admit.

Zionism is reaping a bountiful harvest from the revival of anti-Semitism and would naturally be expected to want to see the "hate" program continued. Although this type of hatred has existed in the world almost as long as man can remember, never before has it been emphasized and exploited to such a degree. Not only is the general public being made aware of the hate campaigns, but Jews throughout the world are being kept abreast of the progress of the new "crisis." Publications on World War II Nazi persecutions in Jewish communities have increased considerably. It can be clearly seen that anti-Semitic uprisings intend to promote immigration through fear.

This motif, stressing the importance of anti-Semitism, incited Theodore Herzl to action: he became the father of Zionism. In a section of *The Jewish State* entitled "The Effects of Anti-Semitism," he forcefully explains how hatred of the Jews, and world reaction to

"hate" campaigns, can serve to unite them in their fight for nationalism. Prosperity weakens the Jews; the pressures of hostility, on the contrary brings them together:

Thus we are now, and shall remain, whether we would or not, a group of unmistakable cohesiveness.

We are one people — our enemies have made us one whether we will or not, as has repeatedly happened in history. Affliction binds us together, and thus united, we suddenly discover our strength. Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and, indeed, a model State.

Herzl's thesis proved useless in the fifty years that followed for the Jewish community lived in peace with the rest of its neighbors, precisely the kind of prosperity which Herzl feared. When Hitler struck the nations of the world with his ideas of an Aryan race, however, the time was ripe for the growth of unity among the Jews. In his article on "Zion and the Jewish National Idea," Hans Kohn describes the effect of the "fearful reality of Hitlerism":

Herzl had regarded anti-Semitic governments as Zionism's best allies, because they would help the transfer of Jews from their homelands to the Jewish state. In an indirect way, foreseen by neither Herzl nor Hitler, Hitlerism did make the Jewish state possible.¹⁰

The recent resurgence of anti-Semitic expression, exaggerated by extensive publicity, has been utilized in the same manner as the persecutions of World War II. Anti-Jewish demonstrations, while arousing world concern for the danger of a renewed Nazi movement, have been forged by Jews into an instrument for realizing the aims of Zionism. In analyzing public sentiment and in evaluating the various trends of thought, the advantages which Zionists gain in periods of marked anti-Semitism prove to be numerous and potent.

Never before has such united, world-wide sympathy been shown as in the present swastika campaigns. The attention focussed on the Jew has been carefully nurtured and not allowed to waver at any time; the aim, in fact, has been to encourage and prolong the publicity so that ends otherwise attained with difficulty can be more easily realized. Six days after the seed of hate was planted in Cologne, members of the League of the Victims of Nazism, in the presence of Prime Minister Adenauer, laid wreaths on the memorial of the German resistance to Hitler. The Jews donned their mourning clothes and began to demand action to remove all Germans with any trace of a Nazi background from governmental office and even domestic jobs. As a

¹⁰*The Menorah Journal* of Autumn and Winter, 1958, Vol. XLVI, Nos. 1 & 2.

result, these demands, which almost seem to be "ultimatums," have incurred the support of many nations.

Another noteworthy advantage of the acute awareness of anti-Semitism is free money. Cascades of contributions have descended on the Jewish organizations as recompense for "injuries" suffered in the hate campaigns. People, whose painful memories of the second World War were awakened by the publicity of swastika-attacks, not only voiced their protests, but also showed their sympathy by writing checks. The inevitable recipient of a great portion of these funds is the state of Israel.

These large sums of money only serve to furnish an additional resource for the Zionist aim toward expansion. As a growing state, Israel is faced with the problem of financing industry and agriculture in order to surmount the difficulties of existence. More immigrants will require more land, and when the amount which has been allotted to Israel is used up, she will undoubtedly attempt to get more. Having the sympathies of influential groups on their side, the Zionists might have a good chance of achieving their desires for expansion. This is another important way that Israel has benefited from and taken full advantage of the free publicity of newspaper sensationalism.

The cost of the absorption of immigrants can also be eased by this new source of income. It is logical that as the perplexities of resettlement and assimilation of new Israelites are eliminated, the attraction of more immigrants will increase. Perhaps this most important utilization of the anti-Semitic outbreaks as a device to achieve Zionist ends is clearly revealed in an article in *Davar*, the official organ of the socialist labor (Mapai) party in Tel-Aviv, the newspaper of Israel's governing party, Mr. Sharun 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 — intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with desire to help redeem Jews, and I would send them to the countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jews, and, acting upon the brutal Zionism, plague these Jews with anti-Semitic slogans, such as "Bloody Jew," "Jew go to Palestine" and similar intimacies. I can vouch that the results, in terms of considerable immigration to Israel from these countries, would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of

emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears."¹¹

New immigrants driven from their "adopted" homeland through fear of anti-Semitism will add to the number of "selfless" Israeli pioneers who are willing to fight for Israel. The spirited words of Herzl reflect this irrepressible national egoism: "And what glory awaits the selfless fighters for the cause!"

But there is also another value to be found by the Israelis in the anti-Semitic outbreaks. They tend to deter the dissatisfied Jewish settlers from leaving Israel in search for more favorable economic conditions. It is little known, but Jewish emigration from Israel has been continuing at a steady pace. In 1958, for instance, the number of Jews leaving the country due to bad economic and housing conditions, amounted to 11,500.¹² According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Tel-Aviv, March 3, 1960, United States and Canadian settlers balked at issuing a call for further immigration because of acute lack of housing and jobs. Thus, by raising fears of anti-Semitic discrimination outside Israel, the Zionists hope to halt this stream of dissident emigrants, so paradoxical to Zionist claims of a glorious life in the "promised land."

As the leader in the state of Israel, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's attitude is that of a fanatic Zionist. To the dismay of many Jews, he still firmly holds the view that Jews who do not intend to settle in Israel at some stage in their lives cannot consider themselves Zionists. This attitude is strengthened by the prevailing opinion in Israel that only in the independent Jewish state can the Jew be free and proud. He neither considers nor respects the desires of Jews to remain in their places of birth throughout the world.

M. J. Stein, a non-Zionist Jew and a prominent and patriotic American businessman, rightfully criticized Ben-Gurion's ability for giving the Jews outside of Israel an inferiority complex.¹³ Stein's statement was made in defense of the millions of Jews who prefer to remain loyal to the nation of their choice. These are the Jews who object to Ben-Gurion's methods: they are also the object of his constant and stirring plea.

The primary aim of the Zionist in the state of Israel, now in its second decade, stresses the need to effect the *voluntary* return of the majority of Jews to Israel. Perhaps voluntary decisions can be made

¹¹From an article in *Davar*, and quoted from Kemper, Yiddish paper, New York, July 11, 1952, in *What Price Israel* by Alfred Lilienthal, page 207.

¹²*Statistical Bulletin of Israel*, Vol. X, No. 10, October 1959, p. 368.

¹³*Jewish Spectator*, February, 1959.

more quickly because of the renewed fears and pressures of anti-Semitism. At any rate, Zionists believe that as long as this ideal Jewish state is not realized, Zionism has not fulfilled its mission, and they will keep prodding the Jews in exile until they convince them of the need to return to Israel.

Zionist efforts to revitalize their immigration campaign has been strengthened immeasurably by naively sympathetic world-public reaction to the swastika campaigns, and world Zionism has not failed to take full advantage of the situation. Anti-Semitism can be expected to arouse bitter resentment in war-scarred nations and sympathetic generosity from philanthropic organizations.

It is unfortunate that so few have taken time to look beyond the surface of these incidents to assess the tragedy of oppression and aggression for which they are being exploited. It is still not too late, however, for Jewish expansionist schemes to be stopped and equilibrium restored in the Middle East.

THE JUSTIFICATION OF ARAB FEARS

The Arab governments and people view the continuing mass influx of Jewish immigrants into Israel with unconcealed alarm. The mere creation of a foreign state like Israel on land that had belonged to the natives for thousands of years would have been sufficient to enrage the mildest of people, let alone Arabs who had been fighting for years to overthrow the yoke of colonialism.

When the Arabs finally acceded to the United Nations Partition Plan, they were faced with Israel's refusal to adhere to the provisions of the partition agreement or to comply with United Nations Resolutions, particularly the one calling for repatriation of the Palestinian refugees. Little wonder, as a result of this bitter experience, then, that the Arabs regard mass Jewish immigration as based upon ulterior motives detrimental to peace in the Middle East.

First of all, Arabs believe that Israel will use this immigration as an excuse for never complying with the standing United Nations resolutions on Palestine. Israel, it seems to them, intends to confront the World Organization with a *fait accompli* thereby forcing the United Nations to change or withdraw its original plan and resolutions. Secondly, the number of immigrants coming from the communist indoctrinated countries of Eastern Europe, as well as large leftist and communist vote in Israel, raise fears of communist infiltration into the Middle East via Israel. Finally, and of greatest danger to peace and stability in the Middle East, the continued mass immigration into

Israel must ultimately lead to expansion, and expansion means war with the surrounding Arab states which might lead to a universal war.

By confronting the United Nations with a *fait accompli*, Israel hopes to keep the territory she holds in excess of that given her by the Partition Plan and to avoid repatriating the Arab Palestinian refugees to their lawful homes. The United Nations has never recognized the territory gained through terrorism by Israel in Palestine as legally belonging to the Jewish state. Every armistice agreement arranged by the World Organization was explicit in stating that the boundaries demarcated therein were not to be construed as a definite political border. The Egyptian-Israeli agreement, as an example, states: "The Armistice Demarcation line is not to be construed in any sense as a political or territorial boundary and is delineated without prejudice to rights, claims, and positions of either party to the Armistice as regards ultimate settlement of the Palestine question."¹⁴

But it is evident that Israel has every intention of retaining territory gained by war. And she is using the newly arrived immigrants as the *modus operandi*. Great efforts are being made to settle the new immigrants in well fortified settlements along the boundary lines. With this excess territory heavily populated with Jewish settlements, how can it be returned to the Arab state established by the Partition Plan? With this motive in mind, David Ben-Gurion, in his announcement of the attack against Egypt to the Israeli Parliament in 1956, declared that the armistice agreements were "null and void."

This same rationale applies to the repatriation of the Arab Palestinian refugees. Since all the available land is being settled by Jewish immigrants Israel has no room for the Arab refugees! It must be noted here that in 1948 the United Nations Mediator, Count Bernadotte, warned that "No settlement can be just and complete if recognition is not accorded to the right of the Arab refugee to return to the home from which he has been dislodged. . . ."¹⁵ It was on this basis that the General Assembly adopted Resolution No. 194 (III) of 11 December, 1948, on repatriation of those refugees who wish to return to their homes and the payment of compensation for the property of those choosing not to return. This resolution has been reaffirmed every year by the United Nations since it was first adopted.

In view of this resolution, Israel cannot, either in law or in equity, settle Jewish immigrants on land and in homes which are legally owned by the Arab Palestinian refugees against the expressed

¹⁴United Nations Document (S/1269/REV.1.)

¹⁵United Nations Document (A/648).

wishes of the rightful owners. But Israel continues flagrantly to violate international law with the same excuse that she has no room for the refugees. Yet she repeatedly calls all Jews around the world to move to Israel. As Mr. Ben-Gurion declared in mid-February 1959, "The right to exist, the power to exist, and the motive for existence of the state of Israel lie in mass immigration."¹⁶ How can there be room in Israel for some 15 million Jews but no room for about one million Palestinian refugees?

The Arabs look upon the immigrants from Eastern Europe as a potential threat of communist infiltration into the Middle East. Although the Arab states have maintained a neutral stand in the East-West conflict, at home they have outlawed the communist party and have foiled hundreds of "underground" communists. Recent experiences have emphasized the dangers of communist subversion and clarified the communist threat to the Arab states. On the other hand not only has Israel a legal and unrestricted communist party, but nearly a quarter of the representatives to the Israeli Parliament belong to leftist parties, the "Mapam," and the "Ahdut Haavoda — Poalizon." Six communists were also elected to Parliament in 1956. Thus combined, these three extreme parties control twenty-five seats out of a total of one hundred and twenty seats in the Israeli Parliament. Israeli elections are based upon proportional representation, which means that the electorate votes for parties, not for individuals.¹⁷ When election results are computed, each party is assigned a number of seats proportionate to the votes it received; it, in turn, names the individuals who occupy those seats. The fact that the communist and leftist parties have won twenty-five seats out of one hundred and twenty, therefore, means that about 22% of the Israeli electorate votes for the extreme left.

Communism is not only entrenched in the political life of Israel today, it manifests itself even more strongly in the day-to-day life of the inhabitants of the rural settlements, the Kibbutzim, where a large number of the newly-arrived Eastern-European Jews are being settled by strictly communal and collectivistic plans. Life in these settlements, according to a special study mission of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States House of Representatives, is "a form of elementary communism," and these settlements "cannot be classified among democratic institutions."¹⁸

¹⁶American Council of Judaism publication, Issues, Spring 1959.

¹⁷Facts and Figures, Israel Office of Information, New York, 1955 page 7.

¹⁸House Report No. 2147, pages 30 and 32.

Undoubtedly, all Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe are not communists. But the fact that these people have been exposed to communist indoctrination for more than 15 years coupled with the increasing leftist vote in Israel is enough cause for worry. Russia herself is the prime example of what results can be obtained by a militant, well-organized few. Realizing this all too well, the Arabs are deeply disturbed by the potential danger of this type of Jewish immigration. They believe that the greatest threat to Arab unity now facing the Arab world is "the real menace of International Communism."¹⁹

The average American does not realize that his tax-free contributions to aid the settlement of Jewish immigrants in Israel may actually be supporting communist infiltration into the Middle East. Furthermore, the average American fails to realize that other funds from the United Jewish Appeal have gone toward the support of Israeli political parties, including those of the extreme left and the communists.

But it is the number of immigrants, communist or not, which primarily arouses Arab consternation. Israel, at its present size — no matter how industrialized she becomes — cannot possibly support a population as large as Zionist leaders hope to achieve. Crowding more people into a territory which is not large enough to absorb them will, out of necessity, lead to expansion, similar to pre-war Germany's action in Europe which was based upon claims for "Lebensraum."

As early as 1948, such a situation was foreseen by the late United Nations Mediator, Count Bernadotte, who, in his report to the Security Council dated July 12, 1948 (S/888) said: "It cannot be ignored that unrestricted immigration to the Jewish area of Palestine, might, over a period of years, give rise to a population pressure and economic and political disturbances which would justify present Arab fears of ultimate Jewish expansion in the Near East." Count Bernadotte then added: "It can scarcely be ignored that Jewish immigration into the Jewish area of Palestine concerns not only the Jewish people and territory also the neighbouring Arab world."

Adding weight to such Arab fears are the periodic declarations of Israeli leaders and governmental authorities since 1948 which unmistakably confirm the belief that expansion is indeed the ultimate goal of Israeli policy in order to implement the Zionist aims of "Eretz Israel."

¹⁹From a statement by Ambassador Kamil Abdul Rahim in a speech at a dinner commemorating the founding of the U.A.R., February 1960.

Writing in the Israeli Year Book of 1952, Mr. Ben-Gurion stated:²⁰

Every state consists of a land and a people, Israel is no exception, but it is a state neither with its land nor with its people. It has already been said that when the state was established, it held only 6% of the Jewish people. . . . *It must now be said that it has been established in only a portion of the land of Israel.*

Then in 1955, Mr. Ben-Gurion declared that "the creation of the new state by no means derogates from the scope of the historic Eretz Israel."

That Israeli leaders support plans for territorial expansion is made abundantly clear in a statement by Yaacov Lieberman, a member of the Herut Party in Parliament. Mr. Lieberman said on January 24, 1956, that "Israel should take the offensive immediately and capture strategic points along its border, including the Gaza Strip, and then should take over the British-backed Kingdom of Jordan."²¹

Israeli apologists will now protest that statements by members of the Herut Party should not be given serious attention because this party is known to be extremist. But the Herut Party is the second strongest political party in Israel, second only to Ben-Gurion's "Mapai" Party, and Mr. Lieberman's remarks were made nine months before Israel's invasion of the Egyptian territory. These considerations easily demand that a second thought should be given to claims that this party has no effect on Israeli policy.

Israel's aggression against Egypt in October 1956 was a determined attempt to translate words into reality. In his announcement of the attack to the Israeli Parliament, Ben-Gurion said: "The army did not make an effort to occupy enemy territory in Egypt proper, but limited its operations to *free* the area from northern Sinai to the tip of the Red Sea." The significance and implications of this statement are self-explanatory.

Furthermore, as recently as June 1959, in the general Zionist convention held in Jerusalem, Mr. Ben-Gurion said: "Give us two million more Jews, and we will do the work . . . words alone are not sufficient. We must work hard to strengthen Israel. And the most important thing is to strengthen the relations between Israel and the world Jewry and to encourage the mass Jewish immigration to Israel."

And about the same time, Mr. Shimeon Peres, Director-General

of the Ministry of Defense, and one of Ben-Gurion's Chief Lieutenants, reported in an address on immigration at the Weizmann Institute in Israel that:

The greater the population of Israel, the greater will be her army. A million soldiers will safeguard the state of Israel against any Arab attack. No Arab country will dare to attack Israel if her army will be a million strong.²²

It seems quite clear from these and other statements by Israel's leaders that one of the primary motives behind the entire "ingathering" policy is to strengthen Israel militarily in order to implement her expansionistic designs. But in doing so Israel is only increasing the already serious war tensions in the Middle East.

In summary, the Israeli immigration policy appears, to the Arab countries, to have three objectives:

First to confront the world with a *fait accompli* so that the Arab refugees will be unable to return to their homes and lands as ordered in the United Nations resolutions.

Second, to build up the necessary manpower for an ever-expanding Israeli military machine; and third to create, eventually, a crisis of over-population which can then be used as a pretext for expansion.

In view of the grave implications of unlimited Jewish immigration into Israel, it behooves every peace-loving person to reconsider seriously the Israeli policy of "ingathering" and the unqualified support of those organizations and campaigns which aid and abet this policy—a policy which the Arab states can only consider as aggressive Zionist expansion.

²⁰Israeli Government Year Book, 1952, page 63.

²¹New York Times, January 25, 1956.

²²Jewish Telegraphic Agency, February 6, 1959.

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