

The background of the book cover features a stylized landscape. At the top, a large, bright yellow sun is partially obscured by a dark brown mountain range. Below the mountains, a blue wavy line represents a river or sea, flowing across the bottom of the cover. The overall color palette consists of earthy browns, yellows, and blues.

THOMAS SUÁREZ

PALESTINE HIJACKED

HOW ZIONISM FORGED AN
APARTHEID STATE
FROM RIVER TO SEA

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"A *tour de force*, based on diligent archival research that looks boldly at the impact of Zionism on Palestine and its people in the first part of the 20th century. The book is the first comprehensive and structured analysis of the violence and terror employed by the Zionist movement, and later the state of Israel, against the people of Palestine. Much of the suffering we witness today can be explained by, and connected to, this formative period covered thoroughly in this book."

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Other books by Thomas Suárez

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State of Terror [Olive Branch Press, 2017]

Palestine Sixty Years Later

[Americans for Middle East Understanding, 2010]

Early Mapping of the Pacific [Charles E. Tuttle, 2004]

Early Mapping of Southeast Asia [Charles E. Tuttle, 1999]

*Shedding the Veil: Mapping the European Discovery of
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West: America’s Westward Movement 1524-1890*, ed. P. Cohen
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APARTHEID STATE
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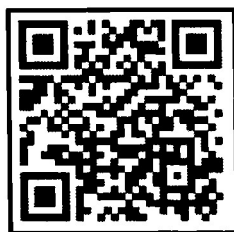
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**“The growth of Fascism in Palestine
at a time when the liberated nations will put it into its grave
is a tragi-comedy.”**

*—Physicist Wolfgang Yourgrau, a German Jew
who knew anti-Jewish violence
by both the Nazis and the Zionists,
in the journal Orient, February, 1943¹*



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Dedicated to the youth of Palestine,
who from their parents'
unwavering struggle for freedom
will build a future of their own choosing



Acknowledgments

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and photographs. On July 22, 1946, he delivered documents to the British headquarters in the King David Hotel and, breaking with his routine of heading straight to the canteen, left the building. As he did, it blew up. He awoke later in an oxygen tent. My thanks to Camilla Saunders for making our meeting possible.

I am grateful to my publisher, Michel Moushabeck, not just for his efforts regarding the present book, but for his and Interlink Publishing's decades of service to society with books that truly matter. Interlink's remarkable roster has always furthered the open exchange of ideas and knowledge, each in its own way a tool toward a better world. My great thanks to the entire Interlink staff, with special thanks to Pam Fontes-May for her expert assistance.

To my mother and my late father I owe everything, not least of which was growing up with their sense of universal fairness, of healthy skepticism, and of searching for truth beyond the headlines, that has led me to all that has mattered in my life.

Finally, my partner Nancy Elan was my constant alter-ego, perceptive critic, and idea tester. In the midst of my early research toward the book, its topic proved unexpectedly prescient when her activism in the Palestinian cause led its adversaries to come knocking at the door of her professional life.

Introduction

“Jews ... cannot be as entirely English in thought as the man who is born of English parents ... There is no use disguising this fact. To me it seems impossible to separate religion from nationality in Judaism.”

—*Norman Bentwich, Zionist advocate who would become attorney-general of Palestine, 1909²*

This is a book of history written to influence the present. It is written in the belief that knowledge of the past will contribute toward today’s collective efforts to bring peace to all of Palestine, from river to sea. History has the power to pierce the opaque narratives that hide the truth to perpetuate injustice.

The prevailing narrative of Israel-Palestine is of a complex, even irreconcilable, collision—conflict—between ancient enemies. What history and ongoing reality expose is however something vastly simpler: the single story of a racial-nationalist settler movement—Zionism—determined to ethnically cleanse a land for itself.

This of course is no revelation. It is what Palestinians have been saying since they were first displaced by Zionist settlers in the late nineteenth century. It is what outside observers warned of since the turn of the twentieth century, and what witnesses such as Moshe Menuhin have been chronicling since the 1950s. Expanded scholarship in the 1970s added documentary backbone to what should have long been self-evident from Israel’s behavior, and in the subsequent

two decades historians such as Ilan Pappé scoured Zionist archives that laid to rest any lingering doubts that the “conflict” was in truth settler-colonialism wrapped in elaborate mythology.³

Anti-Jewish persecution was the professed motivation of political Zionism’s architects, and a Jewish state its solution. For the victims of pogroms in Europe and Russia, the attraction to Zionism was unquestionably sincere. What history makes plain, however, is that the driving motivation of the Zionist movement itself was not Jewish safety and dignity, but an ethnically-predicated settler state for which persecuted Jews were its renewable fuel.

As the settler project progressed, so did its addiction to this “fuel” and the need to ensure that its wells would never run dry. Palestine’s history of religious tolerance was erased from the common memory as Palestinian opposition to ethnic domination was framed as antisemitism.*

Palestinians fought alongside the Allies in World War I against the Ottoman occupation of their land. The Palestinians had been promised liberation†; but upon victory Britain instead replaced the single Ottoman occupation with *two* simultaneous occupations, British colonialism facilitating Zionist settler-colonialism. Whereas the British occupation was one of traditional empire, the exploitation of the land and its strategic geographic position, the goal of the Zionist occupation it enabled was one of outright dispossession.

Messianism

Zionism flourished by rewriting turn-of-the-20th-century European ethnic supremacism as a messianic script, transforming Palestine into a Biblical theme park for the script’s—the narrative’s—stage. Palestine’s privileged turf in the collective Judeo-Christian mindset was exploited to seduce fundamentalist Christians, including those

* The term *antisemitism* is problematic, historically and linguistically, but as it remains the dominant term for anti-Jewish bigotry, I use it in this book.

† The promise of Palestinian liberation was part of Britain’s Hussein-McMahon Correspondence of 24th of October, 1915. Britain then secretly negotiated its 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement contradicting that promise, rumors of which Britain dismissed as Turkish propaganda.

in positions of power, to believe that they were living the Prophecies themselves, the beginning of the end of the world.

Yet however brilliant as marketing, that script would have been received with incredulity at best, were it not for a confluence of circumstances. Western powers saw the movement as symbiotic with their own imperial designs. Anti-Jewish bigots supported Zionism because it offered an easy way to send Jews to a ghetto far from their own shores without stigma. And finally, World War I brought new opportunity as Zionists exploited British notions of Jewish power to claim that they could assure Allied victory ... if only Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour would sign the 1917 Declaration now known by his name.⁴

Palestinian rights subjugated to Zionism

Despite the Balfour Declaration's evasive allusion to equal rights, the British imposed institutional superiority for the settlers—what today would be called apartheid rule. Zionist leaders across the spectrum, from the allegedly “moderate” Chaim Weizmann to terrorist leaders like Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, uniformly demanded Jewish supremacy in Palestine and denounced any suggestion of non-Jews' participation in democracy.

In justification, they variously claimed that non-Jews (“Arabs”) are inferior people and so do not deserve a voice in civil affairs; that Jews were a majority in a Biblical realm two or three thousand years ago, and that “they” never gave up “their” claim and thus are Palestine's exclusive electorate; that Jews are a nationality, by blood, and thus Jews worldwide are Palestine's voting public; that even a world-wide Jewish vote counter to Zionism would be void, since Zionists know what is best for Jews and must preserve Zionism for future generations; and that the Zionist claim to rule Palestine is not subject to norms applicable to the rest of the world.⁵

Language

Language as a weapon rather than as a tool of communication—its power to spark a message past linear reasoning and plant a conclusion by stealth—is a coveted perk of statehood. As much as control of

land, control of language is why Zionism needed statehood, and why it continues to fight to prevent Palestinian statehood.

Statehood gifted the Zionists an Orwellian inversion of language under whose shadow today's so-called conflict is informed. From the podium of statehood, Zionist terrorism became Israeli self-defense, and Palestinians attempting to step foot on their own land became infiltrators or terrorists. Armed Israelis invading Palestinian land, commandeering non-Jewish families' homes and expelling their inhabitants, were now "settlers" or "immigrants." Palestinian land seized and depopulated was not stolen, but annexed, and Israel pressured the media to refer to its illegal settlements as "Jewish neighborhoods," CNN among those acquiescing. Biblical and Hebrew nomenclature, and indeed the Hebrew language itself, were themselves exploited as weapons of expropriation, seamlessly woven into secular news coverage to make the absurd seem self-evidently true.⁶

Even the concept of Arab Jews has fallen victim, severed into two seeming opposing identities. Jews were as integral to the cultural landscape of Arabian lands as Christians and Muslims, but Zionism enforced a strict dichotomy between Jews and all others in Palestine, as European colonialism has done to some extent throughout the Middle East and North Africa. The false imagery of Jew *versus* Arab became another subliminal weapon informing the issue of Israel-Palestine.⁷

Terrorism

Ethnic depopulation is, by definition, deliberate violence against civilians—that is, terrorism. It is immaterial whether it is accomplished through outright annihilation, by expelling the land's people through pogroms, by expropriating all means of livelihood and thus starving them out, by commandeering their aquifers, through laws ethnically engineered for the purpose, or simply by making life so miserable for the wrong ethnicity that they leave "of their own accord."⁸

As Israel's narrative would have it, Zionist violence during the British Mandate was not terrorism, because it targeted the British occupation. Overlooking the irony that it was upon that same British occupation that the settlements' claim to legitimacy was founded,

civilians inconvenient to Zionist aspirations were always a target, whether Palestinian, British, or Jewish.

Above all, it erases the more than three-quarters of a million civilians ethnically cleansed by Zionist terror in 1948, ethnic expulsion that continues today. Finally, since Zionism depended not just on the transfer of non-Jewish Palestinians *out* of Palestine, but also on the transfer of Jews *into* Palestine, hundreds of thousands of people in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East became fair game for Zionist violence *because* they were Jewish. The fact that the Zionists' goal also required targeting the very British colonial establishment that had weaned it, is irrelevant.*

Zionist militias enjoyed wide support among the settlements, especially among the youth indoctrinated into their cause. The British, forever lamenting the very tragedy they continued to facilitate, were unable to control the Zionist terrorism ravaging Palestine and powerless to dampen the terror organizations' lucrative fund-raising in the US, Britain, and France. Though best remembered by the iconic Irgun and Lehi (Stern Gang), the Jewish Agency's Haganah was little different, and by early 1948 this official militia—soon to be the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF)—terrorized the non-Jewish population with barbaric depopulation campaigns that surpassed the abilities of the Irgun or Lehi.

Palestinians also committed terror attacks, and this book's focus on Zionist and Israeli terror must never be misinterpreted as excusing Palestinian violence against innocents. This book follows the *causes* and *driving force* behind the present tragedy; it is not an inventory of every incident of violence. Its coverage of Zionist violence during the several years leading up to the 1947 UN decision to partition Palestine, though by no means complete, will at times read like such

* Because of its widespread acceptance in the US, mention should be made of the construct that what we call Palestinians were Arabs who flocked to Palestine due to improvements brought by Zionist settlers and British colonization, and so have no claim to their own land. The World Zionist Organization tried to make such a claim, advocates like Churchill repeated it (page 303, below), Joan Peters gave it new life in her book *From Time Immemorial*, and it was further popularized by Alan Dershowitz (*The Case for Israel*). Beyond its historical absurdity, the claim is applied only to non-Jewish Palestinians, not to the influx of Zionist settlers who did indeed come to Palestine under the British occupation and with massive external financing.

an inventory. An understanding of the relentlessness of the terror, and the inability of the British military to dampen it, is key to an understanding of the UN's behavior in 1947 and the catastrophe it enabled.

Palestinian terror occurred principally during the uprisings of the late 1920s and late 1930s after years of being institutionally discriminated against for the benefit of the Zionists, and after non-violent resistance—diplomacy, entreaties, strikes, boycotts—proved futile. The British response to Palestinian terror was brutal: suspects were summarily hung, hundreds of houses of innocent people demolished, and Palestinians were used as human shields.

Any people attacked, will resist; and among any group there will be people who will resist in extreme ways, especially when denied any means of self-defense. A state or political movement cannot claim self-defence when putting down the resistance to its own violence—otherwise all aggression would self-justify. It was British and Zionist terrorism that dictated the course of events in Palestine between the world wars, Zionist terrorism that dictated events during the war and pre-state years, and it is Israeli state terrorism that has dictated events since 1948.

As the critical years 1940-1947 will illustrate, the virtual absence of Palestinian violent resistance changed nothing. Throughout the war and post-war years leading up to the partitioning of Palestine, the British remarked on Palestinian restraint in the face of increasing Zionist attacks. In contrast to their previous treatment of the Palestinians, the British avoided strong measures against the Zionists for fear of unleashing a revolt they could not control, as well as the propaganda windfall it would afford the Zionist movement, especially in the United States.⁹

As the British exit was assured in late 1947 by the UN's proposal to partition Palestine into a Zionist and Palestinian state, the terror militias focused their cross-hairs onto the sole remaining obstacle to seizing all of historic Palestine: the Palestinians themselves.

Emotionally scarred, vulnerable Jewish survivors of the war in Europe were indoctrinated in Zionist-run DP camps (displaced persons, refugees) and in the settlements with the message that

Palestine was their only hope of survival, but that it was inhabited by the heirs to their German tormentors, hardening the war's survivors against soul-searching when, barely three years after the defeat of the Nazis, they razed village after village because of people's ethnicity.

British documents state explicitly what is overwhelmingly supported by the cumulative evidence: that UNGA Resolution 181, the partitioning of Palestine, was a capitulation to Zionist terror. The UN feared that backing a single, secular democratic state would unleash a new and unprecedented wave of Jewish terrorism (as they called it) that would not be confined to Palestine. Resolution 181 was also a fraud: Its advocates were fully aware that the Zionists backed Partition only to extract the single prize of Israeli statehood and disregard the rest.¹⁰

The US Truman Administration bullied Resolution 181 into passage well aware that the Jewish Agency's acceptance of it was a pragmatic chess-move within the walls of the UN. For the Zionists, Partition was a necessary inconvenience to achieve statehood—which in turn was the one weapon powerful enough to defeat Partition.

The Palestinians, fully aware that the proposed Zionist state would be merely a beachhead to further conquest and expulsion, refused to endorse Partition. That did not negate their right to their half of the deal, but no effort was made by the international community to enforce it or to prevent the ethnic cleansing that any informed official feared was imminent. The British, whatever limited control they exerted slipping away precipitously, washed their hands of the catastrophe they had created and—to use their own word—evacuated.

By the time the Armistice Line established a cease-fire at the end of 1948, Israel had seized and ethnically cleansed not just the 56.5% of Palestine that the United Nations had designated for the state, but fully half of the Palestinians' portion as well. This Line was not a redrawn Partition—it did not give Israel the extra land it had seized—but Israel hurriedly settled new immigrants on that Palestinian territory, rather than on Israel's side of Partition, in order to make the theft appear irreversible. Thus in January 1949, the eminent *New York Times* correspondent Anne O'Hare McCormick declared the two-state solution dead due to Israeli aggression.¹¹

Meanwhile, the terror gangs' leaders moved on to key positions in the new Israeli government. The most notorious of them, Menachem Begin, went to New York and openly fundraised for the violent takeover of the rest of Palestine.

Crowded into that remnant of Palestine were the people Israel had ethnically cleansed, both from its own side of Partition and from the Palestinian land it occupied to the Armistice Line. Destitute, the refugees were captured or killed on sight if caught trying to reach their homes, if only to pick their harvest or retrieve hidden savings. Israel flouted the UN's demands to desist even as it sought—and won—membership in the world body.

By the mid-1950s, two events might have ended Israeli aggression. One, its violence against its neighbors had become so serious that Britain made plans to neutralize the entire Israeli air force and key Israeli military and communications installations. Secondly, Israel was caught targeting British and US citizens in a botched false-flag operation, the so-called Lavon Affair. But cynical geopolitics took precedence: instead of attacking Israel, Britain joined forces with Israel and France to attack Egypt, creating the Suez Crisis.

Sources

I have relied chiefly on declassified source documents in the National Archives of Great Britain (Kew). Their many authors certainly had their own biases; but they were also professionals, bureaucrats, and firsthand observers, recording clinically and commenting candidly.

For Zionist records I have used the terror organizations' own words when possible, transcripts of meetings, Jewish Agency documents, and the works of Israeli scholars who have scoured the limited Zionist archives made available, principally Ilan Pappé and Benny Morris. I supplement these with documents from US intelligence and from existing scholarship on the topic. Interviews with two eye-witnesses to events provided additional corroboration.

My original intent had been to check the Zionist Archives for any newly-declassified material not yet tapped by Israeli scholars, with the help of an Israeli archivist and translator. But Israel began resealing some records and prevented the unsealing of others due

for release, while a “Malmab unit” has been searching the country’s archives to remove evidence of war crimes.¹²

Jewish terrorism was the term commonly used during the Mandate, but when not quoting or paraphrasing a source, I have preferred the more accurate *Zionist terrorism*. When referring to the native people of Palestine, I have preferred the obvious term *Palestinians* rather than the broad ethnic term *Arabs*, which was—and is—misused as a tool of expropriation, painting the natives of Palestine as nomadic blurs in a great Arab mass who should be happy to vanish into that mass.¹³

Any quotes not specifically identified are from British Colonial, Foreign, or War Office records as cited in the relevant endnote. Other than quotes, spellings of Palestinian villages and Jewish settlements are modern when their identity is clear, otherwise spelled as cited in the source documents. All emphasis within quotes (underline, italics, uppercase) is original.

Tom Suárez, London, May 2022

A selection of lesser-known source documents cited in this book are online at the author’s document website, paldocs.net, or via thomassuarez.com.



Zionism, Messianism, and Marketing

“Zionism is a kind of intoxication which acts like an epidemic.

It may, and presumably will, also pass away like one.

But not overnight.”

—*the political theorist Eduard Bernstein, writing in the German socialist journal Die Neue Zeit, 1914*¹⁴

Palestine was a popular destination in the nineteenth century. People from myriad walks of life came as tourists, pilgrims, adventurers, writers, and as hopeful immigrants—all at a time when various nations jostled for political, religious, economic, and strategic interests in the Levant and greater Middle East.

Beginning in the early 1880s, Europeans who championed the new ethno-nationalist movement of Zionism began arriving in Palestine. In principle, the movement was to serve an urgent and noble purpose, offering victims of European and Russian anti-Jewish persecution a route to safety and dignity. Zionist ideology, however, made the land exclusionary, effectively excising it from the shared inheritance. For the people of Palestine who had lived, loved, and died on the land for millennia, including Palestine’s Jews, the settlers were seen not as immigrants, but as usurpers.

Zionism’s leaders, however, made a starkly different claim: they were neither settlers nor immigrants, but as Jews they were the actual sovereigns of the land, returning home after a two-millennia absence.



Through the decades to come, from mainstream leaders like David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann* to the fanatical terror gang Lehi, the ideological pronouncements of the settler project were couched in the language of messianism. Zionism was building the final Kingdom, the Biblical Third Temple, a resurrection rising from the ashes of the fabled Second Temple and Solomon's Temple. Zionism's battles, its enemies, its conquests, its tragedies, were Biblical, and its establishment of the Israeli state in 1948 was sold as the resumption, the reconstitution of the Biblical realm. As Ben-Gurion put it, "the Bible is our mandate" to take Palestine.¹⁵

Zionism's imagery touched deep into the collective cultural subconscious of much of the Christian world. In the United States, Christian fundamentalists were seduced by this opportunity to believe that they were living the prophecies themselves, the beginning of the end of time.

"Are we not witnessing," US Congressman Albert Rossdale testified in 1922 in support of the Zionist colonization of Palestine,

the truth of the words of the prophets of the return of Israel, the assurance of whose restoration gleams through the whole vista of prophecy?¹⁶

Fast-forward a century, and the need for "the Jewish people [to] go back to their homeland [in order for Christ to] come back to the earth" is among the reasons voiced by US lawmakers for legislation prohibiting US citizens from boycotting the Israeli state.¹⁷

Marketing Zionism

Like other European settler movements, Zionism had to sell itself. Its marketing challenges were however novel, because its narrative was reversed from that of traditional settler movements. Instead of colonists settling faraway lands and spreading the faith, Zionism had

* Israel's first Prime Minister and President, respectively. Weizmann was the main constant figure of influence to span the years from the Balfour Declaration to the Israeli state. Ben-Gurion was the dominant figure in the post-war years and is considered Israel's "founding father."

to sell the opposite story: that Jews were already foreign settlers in the European countries they now inhabited. They had gone there involuntarily from Palestine two thousand years ago, and now wanted simply to go back to where they came from, a covenanted people returning to a land to which they'd never been, yet had never left. And in contrast to Europe's Christian colonists settling in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and the Pacific, the Zionists had no interest in spreading their faith to Palestine's (actual) natives who, as the script read, had somehow moved in during their absence.¹⁸

Thus to sell its product, what would become the Israeli state, Zionism inverted the historic relationship between religion and colonialism, between Bible and sword. By sailing to the Holy Land, the settlers were sailing to the final page of the Old Testament in order to begin the page's overleaf.

Branding was crucial. The other-worldliness of the name *Israel* would clinch the messianic narrative and place the state apart from all others. The very sound of the name summons imagery of that place exalted in some of the most profound music and art of the Western canon and beyond, celebrated in Negro spirituals, sung with reverence in the finest Christmas carols, and invoked with adoration every Sunday at Christian mass, that place in the *Book of Genesis* that was seemingly created by God. Who would challenge such a name hard-wired with veneration into our cultural womb?

The branding of Israel was equally important for another, practical reason: as Ben-Gurion would explain in private, without it, the state would never attract enough Jewish settlers.

Palestine was the principal piece of the imagery, the stage itself. There could be no ingathering (as it was called) except to the actual soil of the Hebrew lands in the Bible. Other locations were considered as stepping stones to Palestine, never as substitutes. Proposals like Argentina, Uganda, the Sinai, or Cyprus were what Zionism's founder, Theodor Herzl, called "auxiliary colonization" that would only attract "a few thousand proletarians" and—the key point—"serve no political end." In contrast, "the very name of Palestine," Herzl argued, "would attract our people with a force of marvelous potency." Only in Palestine could Zionism's messianic narrative play out.

Herzl tried to buy Palestine from the occupying Ottomans in exchange for settling their foreign debt (1896), and when that failed he tried to get it as payment from Germany for helping that country to extend its suzerainty to the Middle East (1898). The exercise continued after his death until his followers found a willing state sponsor—Britain, as it happened.¹⁹

As Zionism's salespeople looked to the heavens to claim their divine right of return, they turned to the ground below to corroborate their Biblical story and their connection to it. So effectively were archaeology, mythology, nomenclature, divine right, the collective Western subconscious, and genetics fused in the service of Zionism that today, when Israel designates Levantine archaeological sites as Israeli national heritage sites, subliminally, the ancient ruins are not just those of a realm from antiquity; they are the living heritage of the Israeli state and its settlers. Israel's leaders visit these sites and speak as though the stones awaken in them a distant memory, an intrinsic familiarity, like one returning to his childhood home and clearing cobwebs from a faded photo album.

The militarization of the Hebrew language

Deep under those ancient cobwebs—under what Herzl called “the musty deposits of two thousand years” since the Roman conquest—lay another piece of the imagery of the ingathering: language. Clearing away two-millennia worth, Herzl dug through Arabic, brushed aside some Greek and a bit of Latin, and found Aramaic. But digging down through a few more centuries, he unearthed the right answer: Hebrew, the language to be resurrected and promoted as the settlers' native tongue. No mere historical society re-enacting pages from the past, the settlers learned the language of the Biblical realm because Zionism required that they be its people.²⁰

Although by the second decade of the twentieth century the lack of a common language in the settlements had become a serious problem, there was wide resistance to reviving an ancient language as the remedy.

German was a popular candidate. Dr. Paul Nathan, a prominent Jewish leader in Berlin, made an extensive trip through the Middle

East in 1907 with the aim of improving the educational systems among Jewish communities. Seven years later, he returned to Palestine on behalf of the German Jewish National Relief Association, as plans were made to establish a technical institute in Haifa. But in what language would the Institute operate? An impassioned dispute was underway as to whether it should be a language that was already widely spoken in the settlements, such as German, versus Hebrew. Nathan argued that knowledge of Hebrew was fine, but that it is an utterly impractical language for a discipline like engineering.

What shocked Nathan more than the illogic of Hebrew for the sciences were the tactics of those insisting on it. In a pamphlet published in January 1914, he charged that the settlers were carrying on “a campaign of terror modeled almost on Russian pogrom models” to enforce the use of Hebrew. Nor was this terror confined to the Jewish settlements: Nathan accused them of stirring up discord with their “arrogant Zionist activity” and “overwrought Jewish nationalist chauvinism,” including against “the Mohammedan and Christian populations.”

But the push for Hebrew was fierce. The Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization branded Dr. Nathan part of “an anti-Zionist alliance, which finds no methods too base to use in fighting Zionism.” Why Hebrew? Because “our children must know that they belong to an ancient civilized race.” Hebrew, however, was being treated more as a tool of political Zionism than as a venerable ancient language. The imagery of the messianic ingathering would have a cosmetic flaw if its native tongue were any of the living languages being spoken in the settlements: German, Polish, Russian, Ladino, Yiddish, or the Arabic of many indigenous Palestinian Jews.

Annie Landau, a paramount figure in Jerusalem education during the first half of the twentieth century, taught Hebrew—but drew the ire of the Zionists for teaching English as well. This however paled next to the outrage she caused for slighting another symbol of Zionist sovereignty: music. In March 1919, she refused to stand for what was called the Zionist national anthem, *Hatikva*, at the inauguration of a new music school. Furious, *Haaretz* compared her to Dr. Ya’acov Israel de Hahn, a critic of Zionism whom the newspaper called

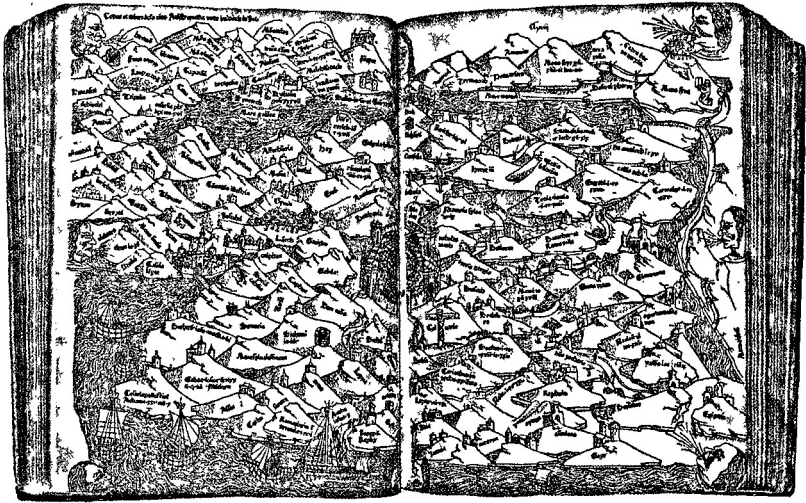
“antisemitic scum,” whom Ben-Gurion denounced as a traitor, and whom the Haganah would soon assassinate.

Hebrew remains an important subliminal dimension of the imagery for Israel’s sponsor states. A settler in Hebron fresh off the plane from his native United States, speaking acquired Hebrew or flaunted by Hebrew settlement signs, is intuited as more native than the Arabic-speaking actual native whose house or land he is commandeering and whose family has lived there for a thousand years.²¹

Legal precedent made a brief resurrection from Herzl’s musty deposits of two thousand years. When in Tel Aviv in 1938 Talmudic scholar Jacob Melnik was caught married to three women, each unknown to the other two, he successfully argued that it was the Torah, which contains no prohibition against polygamy, that was the law in effect. Not even a Talmudic ban on polygamy changed matters: the defense successfully argued that “a Talmudic law is not as strong as one in the Torah.” Melnik won twice, in both the District Court and the Court of Appeal. The not-guilty verdict elicited controversy and misgivings, but nonetheless was said by the defense to have “forestalled a social upheaval in the Jewish National Home.”²²

At the UN’s 1947 sessions deliberating Palestine’s future, Ben-Gurion testified that Palestine belonged to the Jews because *they* never gave up *their* claim to it from Biblical times—three thousand five hundred years ago, to use his figure. Even if the UN accepted the extraordinary claim that he was the descendant of a particular ancient Middle Eastern people, the argument itself would have been laughable, indeed delusional, had his audience’s mindset about Palestine not also lay under Herzl’s musty deposits of two thousand years.

We still see Palestine through the eyes of the medieval mapmaker. Post-Crusades *mappaemundi* typically flaunted Palestine at the center of the earth, a symbolic location even when the presumption of a spherical earth made any notion of geographic centrality symbolic as well. It is not happenstance that the first Western printed map of certain date based on actual observation was of Palestine, printed from a woodblock in the northern Germany city of Lubeck in 1475.



Palestine, in the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, Lübeck (Germany), 1475. Woodblock, with inserted moveable type. Anonymous (perhaps the printer Lucas Brandis), based on the reports of Burchard de Mont Sion, a German priest and Dominican friar who spent a decade in Palestine, 1274 to 1284. East is at the top. This is the first European printed map of certain date based on actual observation. It extends from Damascus and Sidon on the north (left), to the Red Sea on the south (right). (Library of Congress).

Even during the scientific revolutions of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, most European cartographers presented Palestine in a Biblical framework despite their appetite for the latest geographic data. That mindset still informed the Palestine Exploration Fund's British surveyors in the nineteenth century.

Biblical nomenclature increasingly became a weapon of aggression rather than mere chauvinism. "Is it not absurd to turn the Hills of Judea, Samaria and the Galilee over to non-Hebrew ownership?" Irgun Commander Menachem Begin asked UN representatives in 1947, the circular reasoning eliciting no recorded protest. "Do not the names themselves bear evidence to whom they rightfully belong?" Today, when Israel calls the occupied West Bank *Judea and Samaria*, or when it assigns Hebrew or Biblical names to new settlements it builds over the remains of Palestinian villages it depopulated, they sound like they are part of the Israeli state and always have been.²³

Zionism and the idea of Jews as a nationality-race

Zionism's advocates invariably treated Jews as a monolithic "nationality," defined above all by the so-called ingathering back to Palestine. From Ben-Gurion to the Irgun and Lehi, the previous two millennia of Jewish life were discarded as barely relevant to Jewish history. In 1919, Christian Zionist Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen, Chief Political Officer of the (British) Egyptian Expeditionary Force, went so far as to claim scientific interest in "re-establishing a race after a banishment of 2000 years," as though an ancient tribe's DNA had been frozen for two or three millennia and Palestine was the petri dish where a bolt of lightning would bring it back to life for the fascination of anthropologists.²⁴

When that precipitous bolt of lightning struck in 1948, Israel's leaders anointed their creation "the Jewish state," not in the sense of Judaism and the state, but Jews *as* the state, a tribal definition altogether distinct from one of a national religion in the sense of other nations.

As a result, the nationality of Jewish citizens of Israel is not Israeli, but *Jewish*—by Israeli law and upheld in its Supreme Court. Any acknowledgment of a national identity or individual voice among world Jewry would undermine Israel's premise of ethnic (Jewish) nationalism.

The irony of Zionism selling its ethnic-nationalist project in the wake of the Allies' defeat of racial-nationalism in Europe was repeatedly noted at the time, including by people who knew Nazi—and Zionist—fascism firsthand. It was, as Wolfgang Yourgrau put it in this book's epigraph, "a tragi-comedy."

Like the Germany that Jews fled during fascist rule, the Israeli state defines Jews by ethnic descent, accords itself the right to define its genetic parameters, and seeks to protect its perceived purity through laws prohibiting what it considers to be mixing-of-blood—in Israel's case, marriage between a Jew and a non-Jew. Since national self-determination in Israel is by its own laws "unique to the Jewish people," Israel as such would soon cease to exist without such race laws (discussed further in the Postscript, page 368).

Zionism freed nationalism from the constraints of geographic borders, making ethnicity itself the frontier. Ethnicity and state were made one and the same.²⁵

The nature of Zionist settlement and land acquisition

Zionist settlement was not immigration *per se*, but the extra-nationalization of land, resources, and labor, excised from the shared Palestinian inheritance. In 1919, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, a principal early funder of the settlements, made this explicit: the settlers' success in displacing the Palestinians from their land "had been shown when the original Zionist colonies were established," that is, since he began financing those settlements in the 1880s.²⁶

A firsthand glimpse of the pioneering Zionist settlers came from the Jewish essayist Ahad Ha'Am (Asher Zvi Ginzberg). Visiting Palestine in 1891, he reported of the settlers

suddenly they find themselves in unrestricted freedom and this change has awakened in them an inclination to despotism. They treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination...

Yitzhak Epstein, speaking at the Seventh Zionist Congress in Basel, 1905, warned of land purchases that uproot and dispossess:

We must not uproot people from land to which they and their forefathers dedicated their best efforts and toil. If there are farmers who water their fields with their sweat, these are the Arabs ... Can this type of land acquisition continue? Will those who are dispossessed remain silent and accept what is being done to them? In the end, they will wake up and return to us in blows what we have looted from them with our gold!²⁷

Intensively cultivated Palestinian lands, such as one described by a visitor in 1882 as "a huge green lake of waving wheat," were acquired by the Jewish National Fund (JNF), usually from absentee (or alleged) landlords living abroad who began registering land as theirs to take advantage of the high prices being offered.

As with Zionist immigration, its purchases of land were not land sales as commonly understood. The sales would have been illegal in

“A tour de force ... Suárez’ diligent archival research looks boldly at the impact of Zionism on Palestine and its people in the first part of the 20th century ... the first comprehensive and structured analysis of the violence and terror employed by the Zionist movement, and later the state of Israel, against the people of Palestine.”

—Ilan Pappé, Israeli historian and author

How terror was used by Zionist militias to transform Palestine into an apartheid settler state

The Israel-Palestine “conflict” is typically understood to be a clash between two ethnic groups—Arabs and Jews—inhabiting the same land. Thomas Suárez digs deep below these preconceptions and their supporting “narratives” to expose something starkly different: The violent takeover of Palestine by a European racial-nationalist settler movement, Zionism, using terror to assert by force a claim to the land that has no legal or moral basis.

Drawing extensively from original source documents, many revealed here for the first time, Suárez interweaves secret intelligence reports, newly-declassified military and diplomatic correspondence, and the terrorists’ own records boasting of their successes. His shocking account details a litany of Zionist terrorism against anyone in their way—the indigenous Palestinians, the British who had helped establish Zionism, and Jews who opposed the Zionist agenda.

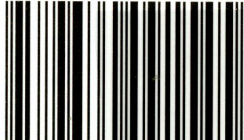
Far from being isolated atrocities by rogue groups, the use of terror was deliberate and sustained, carried out or supported by the same leaders who then established and led the Israeli state. We are still living this history: The book proves that Israel’s regime of Apartheid against the Palestinians and the continued expropriation of their country are not the result of complex historical circumstances, but the intended, singular goal of Zionism since its beginning.

Thomas Suárez is a London-based historical researcher as well as a professional Juilliard-trained violinist and composer. A former West Bank resident, he devoted several years to researching poorly-tapped and newly-declassified historical archives to compile this story.



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