

ZIONISM:
**“A Form of Racism
And Racial Discrimination”**
Four Statements
Made at the U.N. General Assembly

Fayez A. Sayegh, PH.D.
Representative of Kuwait

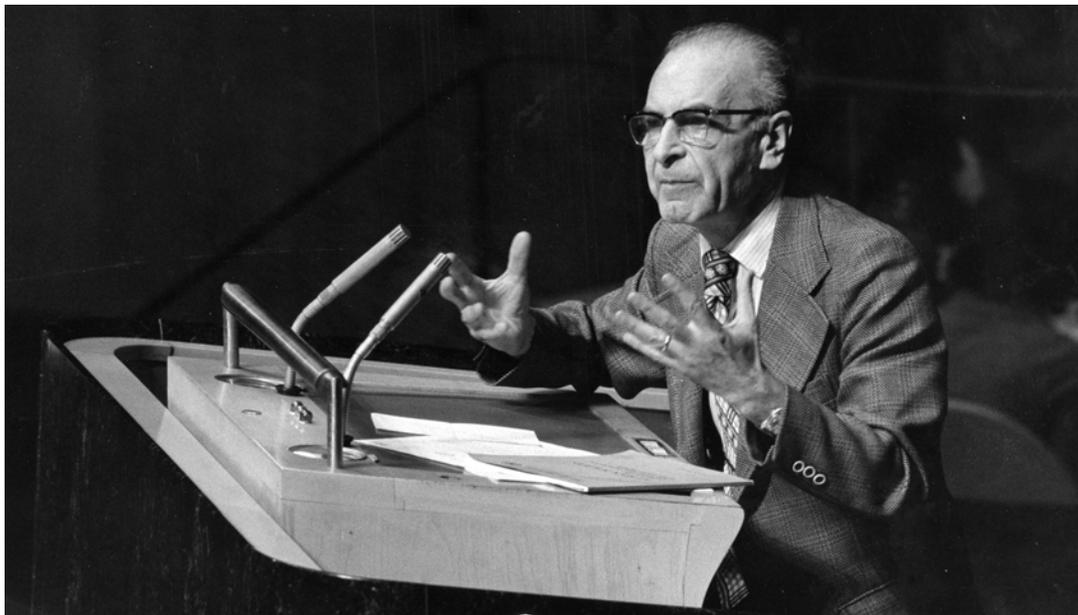
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Dr. Fayez Sayegh addressing the U.N. General Assembly. (UN/DPI Photo)

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*[Note: The original publication used footnotes. In this version, the foot-
notes are carried as endnotes.]*

Preface

At its thirtieth session in the Fall of 1975, the General Assembly of the United Nations considered and adopted its historic decision, in which it determined that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

This booklet contains the texts of four statements made by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, representative of Kuwait, at the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee and at the General Assembly in support of that decision, as well as the text of the decision itself.

The four statements made by Dr. Sayegh are identified, in the titles, in terms of the meetings at which they were made, the bodies before which they were made, and the immediate occasion on which they were made. As far as the statements made in reply to other representatives are concerned, the passages to which each reply addressed itself are provided; they are reproduced (without change or editing) from the verbatim records of the meetings, and the source is clearly identified after each passage.

Dr. Sayegh's four statements were made without a text. The statements made at the 2400th plenary meeting of the General Assembly are reproduced from the verbatim records of that meeting. The first statement, which was made at the Third Committee (whose proceedings are published in summary form only), is reproduced from a transcript made from the voice-recording. All records of his own statements were edited by Dr. Sayegh, who also supplied all additions, including the footnotes which provide the sources of information or quotations cited in the texts as well as relevant additional information.

I. STATEMENT MADE AT THE 2134th MEETING OF THE THIRD (SOCIAL, HUMANITARIAN & CULTURAL) COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 17 OCTOBER 1975

-I-

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to make a few preliminary observations with regard to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.3/ L.2159, of which my Delegation is proud to be a co-sponsor.

First: The issue before us is not the Palestine Question; it is not the Arab-Israeli Conflict; it is not the Situation in the Middle East. All these issues—and other related issues—are on the agenda of the General Assembly at its current session. They will be considered, in due course, either in plenary meetings of the Assembly without prior reference to a Main Committee or by the Special Political Committee in the first instance. The issue now before us, however, is: "The Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;" and the draft resolution under consideration addresses itself to Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination and to nothing else.

Secondly: Zionism, with which the draft resolution before us is concerned, is not a concept which has no precise definition.¹ The draft resolution does not refer to a word of indeterminate meaning. Zionism is not an amorphous concept which lacks precise form or specific content. On the contrary, the "Zionism" to which the draft resolution refers is a specific political reality. It is a political movement launched at a precise moment in time (in August of 1897) in a precise place (Basle, Switzerland) at the inspiration of a specific man (Theodor Herzl)—a movement which took the form of a specific organization (the World Zionist Organization), which has held twenty-eight regular Zionist Congresses which, in turn, have created specific legislative, executive and other institutions and have adopted a number of formal resolutions, constituting the official doctrine and the official program of Zionism. It is all this (and nothing else other than this) that the draft resolution speaks about. Any semantic play on words is entirely beside the point. We are not engaged in semantic games here, but in very serious business.

Thirdly: The meaning of "racial discrimination" is well known to this Committee. Items on "racial discrimination" have been on the agenda of the Third Committee for many, many years. And it was this Committee which formulated the authoritative United Nations definition of "racial discrimination" twelve years ago. The "United Nations Declaration on the

Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," proclaimed by the General Assembly on 20 November 1963 in resolution 1904 (XVIII), defines racial discrimination, in article 1, as "discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin." The "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 2106 A (XX) of 21 December 1965, defines racial discrimination, in article 1, as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin." It will be recalled that *both documents were passed by the Third Committee and by the General Assembly without dissent.*

That definition is precisely the one on which the draft resolution now under discussion is based; it is that definition that forms the criterion by which the draft resolution "determines that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

We do not come before this Committee today with a new, arbitrary definition of our own invention and ask it to adopt our definition in order to determine that Zionism is a form of racial discrimination. On the contrary, we come to this Committee with its own, long-established and universally-accepted definition of "racial discrimination," and ask it to judge whether or not Zionism, *as defined by the Zionist movement itself*, constitutes a form of racism and racial discrimination, *as defined by the Committee itself long ago.*

-II-

I submit that Zionism, as defined, is racist in its *ideology* (that is to say, in its *doctrines*, in its *objectives*, and in its *programs*); and that its *practices* constitute racial discrimination, as authoritatively defined by the United Nations.

Let me first offer a brief analysis of the ideology of Zionism and then proceed to describe some of its practices.

The central doctrine of Zionism is that the Jews of the world, wherever they may be and regardless of the degree or quality of their religious commitment to Judaism, constitute one nation, one people.² Zionism maintains that, whatever their citizenship or status in their respective countries, all Jews throughout the world constitute one, separate and distinct people. The corollary of this contention is the belief that Jewishness is a national/ethnic attribute, a bond that links together all Jews anywhere—including those to

whom Judaism as a religious faith may be totally irrelevant or only of minimal relevance, or who do not practice the rites or observe the teachings of the Jewish faith.

While maintaining that all Jews constituted one nation, or one people, early Zionists were not unaware that large and influential segments of Jewry rejected that contention³ and others were unconscious of their alleged common peoplehood. Hence the emphasis, in the Basle Program proclaimed by the First Zionist Congress in 1897, on "the strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness" as one of the four principal means to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.⁴ Even half a century later, when the Twenty-Third Zionist Congress, the first to be held after the establishment of Israel, adopted the Jerusalem Program, it felt it necessary to proclaim in its new program that one of the five principal aims of Zionism was "the preservation of the identity of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education."⁵

If all Jews—whatever their citizenship or other status in their respective countries and whatever the degree or quality of their commitment to Judaism—constituted one, separate and distinct people, it followed that the so-called "Jewish people" was entitled, and indeed called upon, to create a "*Judenstaat*" or *State of Jews*. The creation of a *State of Jews*—of all Jews, and *only* for Jews—was the principal *objective* of Zionism.⁶

The *doctrine* and the *principal objective* of Zionism give rise to the third part of the Zionist ideology: its *program*.

It is a program of total transformation of the situation of Jews. Its aim is nothing less than changing the condition of Jews, from the initial condition which prevailed at the time the Zionist movement was launched, when Jews were spread throughout the world, into the condition which would prevail if the Zionist objective were fully achieved, when all Jews would be *totally segregated* and assembled in one separate "State of Jews."

Two inter-related programmatic processes are required in order to accomplish such radical transformation of the situation of Jews:

Firstly: Jews must be separated from their respective countries and transplanted into one territory, the site of the "State of Jews;" and

Secondly: Non-Jews must be removed from that territory in order to make room for the transplanted Jews and thus make possible the establishment of a "State of

Jews."

Both processes must take place, if the Zionist objective is to be achieved.

Just as the heart-beat consists of two rhythmic operations—pumping-in and pumping-out—so too the program of Zionism consists of two inter-related operations, each of which is essential for the heart-beat of Zionism and neither of which is dispensable: the detachment of Jews from their respective countries and their mass-transfer to Palestine, and the detachment of the indigenous Palestinian Arabs and their mass-transfer from Palestine.

-III-

The dynamics of the "pumping-in operation"—namely, the program of mass-immigration of Jews into Palestinian territories under Israeli jurisdiction or occupation—are too familiar to warrant detailed elaboration. They involve manifold inducements for mass-immigration, institutions for financing and organizing mass-immigration, and legal and organizational arrangements for settling the immigrants.

If, notwithstanding all these efforts, a relatively small proportion of the Jews of the world has responded to the persistent Zionist call for immigration,⁷ it is certainly not for lack of perseverance or ingenuity on the part of the Zionist Establishment.

Nor should the limited success of the "pumping-in operation" obscure the fact that this operation has been, and remains, a primary programmatic principle of Zionism. In the Basle Program of the World Zionist Organization, proclaimed by the first Zionist Congress on 29 August 1897, the first of the four means to the attainment of the end of Zionism was "the promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers."⁸ In the "Proclamation of Independence" of 14 May 1948, the first paragraph following the declaration of the establishment of Israel and the designation of its provisional government opens with the words: "The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion."⁹ One of the first fundamental laws of Israel (the so-called "Law of Return" of 1950) states in section 1: "Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an *oleh*" (i.e., "a Jew immigrating into Israel");¹⁰ and the Nationality Law of 1952 states in section 2 (a): "Every *oleh* under the Law of Return, 1950, shall become an Israel national."¹¹ In the 23rd World Zionist Congress—the first to be held after the establishment of Israel—the Basle Program was replaced by the Jerusalem Program, and Jewish immigration (*Aliya*) was no longer viewed as one of the "means to the attainment" of the end of Zionism but as one of the "aims." The new Jerusalem Program states:

"The aims of Zionism are:

"The unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life;

"The ingathering of the Jewish people in its historic homeland Eretz Israel through Aliya from all countries..."¹²

-IV-

The "pumping-in operation," which was unequivocally proclaimed by the Zionist Establishment from the very beginning as a primary programmatic principle of Zionism, has met with less-than-spectacular success in practice. On the other hand, its counter-part, the "pumping-out operation," was enunciated as a correlative programmatic principle with greater subtlety, some equivocation, and not a little euphemization; but it was more efficiently conducted in practice and it has met with greater success.

The dislodgement of the bulk of the indigenous Palestinian Arab population of the territory seized by Zionism in 1948 was swift; the acquisition of their lands, homes and other property was immediate; and their return to their ancestral Homeland has been effectively prevented.

Since the aim of Zionism, as Weizmann put it in 1919, was that Palestine should become "as Jewish as England is English,"¹³ and since indigenous Palestinian Arabs constituted nine-tenths of the population of Palestine at that time, it followed that they (or most of them) had to be removed by one means or another if the aim of Zionism was to be attained. That is the reason why, as the American King-Crane Commission reported to President Wilson in 1919, "the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine."¹⁴ And that is why Theodor Herzl, the father of the Zionist idea and the founder of the Zionist Organization, had written in his *Diaries* on 12 June 1895 that "when we occupy the land ... we must expropriate gently the private property on the estates assigned to us" and "try to spirit the penniless population across the border."¹⁵

To be sure, Zionist leaders knew that the dispossession and removal of the Palestinians could not take place overnight. So long as a powerful Zionist community had not assembled in Palestine in adequate numbers, and so long as Palestine remained under the control of a third Power, the ultimate goal had to be deferred. But when, in 1948, the inhibiting factors had disappeared and that goal could be attained, no time was wasted in attaining it.

In his *Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine*, Count Folke Bernadotte, later slain by Israeli terrorists in Jerusalem, wrote:

"The exodus of Palestinian Arabs resulted from panic created by fighting in their communities, by rumours concerning real or alleged acts of terrorism, or expulsion...

"There have been numerous reports from reliable sources of large-scale looting, pillaging and plundering, and of instances of destruction of villages without apparent military necessity."¹⁶

Little wonder that Weizmann then described the panicky exodus of the bulk of Palestinian Arabs as a "miraculous simplification of *Israel's tasks*"¹⁷ or that Ben Gurion spoke of the lands emptied of their Palestinian owners and taken over by the Zionist government¹⁸ with equal elation: "For decades we collected pennies to buy a scrap of earth. Now we have millions of dunams to dispose of."¹⁹

The same logic that had originally decreed the inevitability of Palestinian dislodgement has also produced the corollary Zionist imperative: that the displaced Palestinians must not be permitted to return to their homes. The rationale of this inflexible Zionist policy was candidly expressed by General Moshe Dayan when, admitting that "economically we can" absorb the refugees, he nevertheless imperiously ruled out the return of the displaced Palestinians as being "not in accord with our aims." He explained: "It would turn Israel into either a bi-national or poly-Arab-Jewish state instead of the Jewish state, and we want to have a Jewish state."²⁰

The ideological requirements of the cardinal Zionist principle of "Jewish exclusiveness" have thus been given absolute precedence over the moral and legal requirements of inalienable human rights. As early as 1948, the late Count Bernadotte wrote:

"It would be an offence against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine, and, indeed, at least offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries."²¹

How ironical it is that, more than a quarter-century later, the world witnesses the Zionist Movement invoke universal moral principles in order to rally support for one part

of its exclusionist program (the "pumping-in operation") while flouting the same moral principles in furtherance of the other, correlative part of its program (the "pumping-out operation")—invoking, in other words, the principle of free movement of people in order to put pressure on certain countries to permit their Jewish citizens to emigrate *en masse* to Israel, while flouting the same principle in preventing the Palestinian Arabs from returning to their homes. Need I emphasize that the right of free movement is indivisible? Need I remind the Committee that that right was enunciated by the General Assembly, in article 13 (paragraph 2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the following words: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country?"

-v-

By its very essence, Zionism implies a system of "distinctions," "exclusions," "restrictions" and "preferences"—to use the four key-words employed in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination to define "discrimination."

The question now arises: Is the system of discrimination which is inherent in Zionism a form of *racial* discrimination? Are the "distinctions," "exclusions," "restrictions" and "preferences," which are inseparable from the objectives and programs of Zionism, based on "*racial*" grounds? Is the criterion by which Zionism makes "distinctions" between human beings—in accordance with which some are "excluded" and others "included," some are given "preference" and others are subjected to "restrictions"—a "*racial*" criterion?

Clearly, the basic criterion is *Jewishness*. In its pursuit of its objective of creating a "State of Jews," Zionism has developed a dual program for separating Jews from non-Jews—by detaching Jews from their respective countries and transplanting them into Palestine, and by detaching the indigenous Palestinian Arabs and removing them from Palestine. But is *Jewishness* a "racial" attribute?

My Delegation maintains that Jewishness is primarily a religious attribute. But it is not what we maintain that is relevant: in the present context, it is what Zionism itself believes that counts!

Moreover, I must once more remind the Committee that, in our attempt to determine whether "Jewishness," according to Zionism, is "racial," we must keep in mind the Committee's (and the General Assembly's) own *generic* definition of "race"—which encom-

passes not only "race" in the narrow sense of the term, but also "colour," "descent," "national origin" and "ethnic origin."

So, the question I raised a moment ago must be re-phrased as follows: Is the system of "distinctions," "exclusions," "restrictions" and "preferences" (which is inherent in Zionism, and which constitutes "discrimination") based on an interpretation of "Jewishness" which equates it with any of the following concepts: "race," "colour," "descent," "national origin," or "ethnic origin?" Or is that system of distinctions based on a view of "Jewishness" as a religious attribute? Is Zionism primarily, therefore, a form of "racial" discrimination, as we all understand that word, or is it primarily a form of "religious" discrimination—and therefore outside the purview of our present discussion of the item, "Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination?"

From the very beginning, Zionism opted to discard the *purely religious* interpretation of Jewishness. Jews, it proclaimed, are a people; and Jewishness, therefore, is a national/ethnic bond. While it eschewed more precise definitions of Jewishness (partly, perhaps, in order to avoid divisions within its ranks), Zionism did lay primary emphasis on the alleged peoplehood of Judaism. I refer members of the Committee to a relevant passage in the Diaries of Herzl, in which the father of Zionism described a conversation he had had with his chief lieutenant, Max Nordau. Wrote Herzl:

"Yesterday with Nordau, over a glass of beer. Also discussed the Jewish question, of course. Never before had I been in such perfect tune with Nordau. Each took the words right out of the other's mouth. I never had such a strong feeling that we belonged together. This has nothing to do with religion. He even said that there was no such a thing as a Jewish dogma. But we are of one race . . ."22

Herzl and Nordau may have over-stated the negative thesis: not all Zionists would agree that "there was no such a thing as a Jewish dogma." But certainly *all* Zionists must endorse the affirmative proposition that Jews are one people, and the corollary that Jewishness is a national/ethnic bond—or they would not be Zionists at all.

In an essay entitled, "Zionism," Herzl wrote:

"When the Jews, as Mendelssohn wished, came together only for religious services and for the rest adjusted themselves to the people among which they happened to be living, then they were no more related to each other than are perhaps the various peoples of the respective Christian rites. The history of the group was to be put to an end, its homogeneity was to become unrecognizable...

We do not want to give up our own nationality; on the contrary, we want to cherish it..."²³

For half a century (from its birth in 1897 until the proclamation of Israel in 1948), Zionism was able to avoid giving a more precise, legal answer to the question, "Who is a Jew?" other than reiterating that *all Jews are one people and that Jewishness is a national/ethnic bond, not merely a religious attribute.*" In fact, some Zionist scholars have offered an excuse for this delinquency. Thus, Dr. Nathan Feinberg, then Associate Professor of International Law and Relations at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, wrote just before the establishment of Israel that

"neither the Mandate nor any other international document contains a definition of the term 'Jewish people' or a criterion by which membership of the Jewish people could be ascertained. This is not accidental. The peculiar situation of the Jewish people, which is the outcome of its abnormal history, does not permit of a comprehensive legal formula which would be applicable to all Jews wherever they might be."²⁵

But, with the establishment of Israel, the resolution of the problem could no longer be deferred. Important day-to-day decisions had to be made in application of the so-called Law of Return, the Nationality Law, and a host of other laws and regulations governing questions of personal status (including marriage, divorce, burial, legitimacy, etc.); and they all presupposed the existence of a precise, legal definition of "Who is a Jew?" Nevertheless, it took twenty-two years for such a definition to be written into law. The definition of Jewishness has proved to be one of the thorniest public issues with which the so-called "Jewish state" has ever had to grapple! The clashes between religious and secular parties within the ruling coalition; differences between the views of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews; and differences between the position of the Judiciary, on the one hand, and the political interests of the Executive and the majority of the Legislature, on the other hand—all these contributed to the difficulty of providing a precise and definitive answer to the question, "Who is a Jew?" It was not until March 1970 that the question was resolved—who knows, perhaps only temporarily.

I would be straying far beyond the proper limits of my present statement were I to attempt to summarize the evolution of the question from 1948 until 1970. Suffice it to say that, after a showdown between the Supreme Court and the Cabinet over the Shalit case, the Court ruled on 23 January 1970 that a person can be considered a Jew without be-

longing to the Jewish faith. The Cabinet promptly moved to draft legislation (which was completed on 4 February 1970) restoring the compromise which had prevailed until the landmark ruling of the Court was made; and the Knesset finally enacted a law, on 10 March 1970, which in effect reaffirmed the rabbinical interpretation of Jewish law and determined that a Jew was one born of a Jewish mother or a convert. It was precisely this definition of Jewishness that had been assailed by a Supreme Court judge several years earlier as "biological," "racist" and reminiscent of the Nazis! Judge Haim Cohn, of the Supreme Court of Israel, had said:

"It is one of the bitterest ironies of fate that the same biological or racist approach which was propagated by the Nazis and characterized the infamous Nuremberg laws should, because of an allegedly sacrosanct Jewish tradition, become the basis for the official determination or rejection of Jewishness in the state of Israel."²⁶

The point I have been trying to make is simple. Zionism, essentially, vests certain rights—very important rights—in some people and denies them to others. For example: it says that a Jew, simply by virtue of being a Jew, has a "right" to "return" to the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel, even if he had never been there before! But it also says that his compatriot, a non-Jew, has no such right; and that the indigenous Palestinian Arab, dislodged in 1948 or 1967, also has no such right—because he is not a Jew. Here we have a clear-cut case of "distinctions," "preferences," "exclusions" and "restrictions"—that is to say, of "discrimination"—based solely on the basis of whether a person is or is not a Jew. And Jewishness, all Zionists would agree, is a national/ethnic bond; it is, under Israeli law, determined—for the vast majority of the persons involved—by birth and ancestry. Therefore, in accordance with the authoritative United Nations definition, the discrimination which is inherent in Zionism is incontestably a form of racial discrimination for it is based on "descent" or "national origin" or "ethnic origin," all of which are subsumed under the generic concept of "race."

One more brief observation before I conclude this portion of my statement, on the ideology of Zionism:

Whenever a regime discriminates, in law or in fact, against a Jew, that discrimination is unhesitatingly described as "*racial* discrimination" by Zionists;²⁷ and the regime is duly

condemned as "racist." If a practice perpetrated by a non-Jew against a Jew is described as "racist" and "racially-discriminatory," how can it be denied that, when the same practice is perpetrated by a Jew against a non-Jew, the perpetrator is also a "racist" and the practice is also a form of "racial discrimination"? Does anyone suggest that an injustice inflicted by a non-Jew against a Jew is wrong but the same injustice inflicted by a Jew against a non-Jew is less wrong or not wrong at all? The suggestion itself—if and when it is made, in an effort to exonerate Zionism or to shield it from being branded "racist" and "racially-discriminatory"—would be a supreme instance of racism and racial discrimination!

-VI-

Let me turn now to the second part of my statement, on the practices of Zionism in Israel. I propose to deal with three aspects of those practices.

Like a cancer, racism has a propensity for expansion: it defies containment. Having adopted a racist approach towards non-Jews, Zionism soon came to draw a color-line or a racial line among the Jews themselves. The Zionist myth of "one Jewish people" was exploded as soon as Jews from different cultural, ethnic and racial backgrounds were assembled together. Oriental Jews and Black Jews found themselves subject to discrimination by *other Jews*—i.e., by the Jews of the "White Jewish Establishment."

If the "white" Jews from Europe and America, who constitute the backbone of the "Establishment," are Israel's first-class citizens, the Oriental Jews and the Black Jews constitute the second-class and third-class citizens of the *Judenstaat* respectively. This makes the Arab citizens, the remnants of the Palestinian Arab people in Israel, fourth-class citizens in their own land.

The discontent of Oriental Jews in Israel, and their restiveness under the system of *de facto* inequality to which they have been subjected, have erupted in demonstrations, disturbances and riots half a dozen times or more in the past quarter-century. First came the riots of Yemeni Jews in 1950; then the demonstrations of Iraqi Jews in 1951; then the uprising of Indian Jews, and their withdrawal from Israel, in 1952. Then there were the bloody riots of Moroccan Jews in 1959; and then, again, the rioting of Yemeni Jews in 1961 and of Iraqi Jews in 1965. And finally there appeared on the scene the phenomenon of "Black Panthers"—with outbursts in March, April, May and August of 1971. (Even the disturbances in Ashdod, which took place a few weeks ago, were not unrelated to the

grievances of Oriental Jews.)²⁸

When the lengthy disturbances of the "Black Panthers" in 1971 made headlines in the Western Press, the story of the inequality suffered by Oriental Jews began to be known among people who had been led to think of Israel as the "bastion of democracy in the Middle East." The true situation of Oriental Jews in Israel became better known abroad. Although Oriental Jews constituted more than half of the population, only one Oriental Jew was to be found in the eighteen-member Cabinet, and only 21 of the 120 seats in Parliament were occupied by Oriental Jews. It was also revealed, at that time, that only 3% of the officials in the top levels of the Civil Service and 4% of the chief executives of public companies were Oriental Jews. In high schools, only 25% of the enrollment was by Oriental Jews; in the universities, only 10%.

The situation of the Black Jew in Israel is even worse than that of the Oriental Jew. Two groups of Black Jews have been in the news in recent years: Fellasha Jews from Ethiopia, and American Black Jews coming to Israel either directly or via Liberia.

I have before me an article which appeared in *Sh'ma: A Journal of Jewish Responsibility* (Volume III, No. 44, dated 22 December 1972; pages 30 and 31) under the heading: "Does Color Determine Marginality?" I would like to read out a few paragraphs:

"The Fellashas are deeply religious Jews, and have been for two thousand years. They are intelligent, hard working people living off the land. It would be easy to settle them on kibbutzim. At present, there are only a dozen Fellasha Jews begging the Israeli consul to grant them visas. Among them are Samuel Wubshet, his wife and his baby...

"Recently, the case of the Wubshet family's departure for Israel reached the crisis point. After waiting two years for the right to make *aliyah* (to immigrate to Israel), the Israeli Embassy in Addis Ababa informed them they would finally be granted 'tourist' visas—if they could meet two prior conditions. First, they would have to produce their tickets to and from Israel (\$560 each way); second, they would have to produce \$100 for each member's stay in Israel in order to prove financial independence during their visit.

"Needless to say, these demands have never been asked of any tour-

ist—Jewish or non-Jewish—going to Israel..." (Emphasis added).

Let us keep in mind that this was in 1972—when Israel was pleading with the Jews of Europe and America to immigrate!

The story of American Black Jews can best be told through number of dispatches published in the semi-official, Zionist news bulletin, *The Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin*:

Vol. XXXVI, No. 243-24 December 1969:

"Israeli officials decided today to admit 39 American Negroes—15 of them children—who arrived here unexpectedly yesterday declaring themselves Jews seeking to settle in Israel as immigrants. They have been given temporary visas for a three-month stay in the country pending the issuance of permanent residence permits.

"The group, originally from Chicago, came here from Liberia...

"Whether the group will be granted immigrant status and the privileges that go with it remains to be seen..."

Vol. XXXVIII, No. 168-1 September 1971:

"A leader of the self-styled Black Hebrews who began coming to Israel from the United States two years ago and are demanding citizenship..., Ben Ami (formerly Ben Carter),... accused the government of being a 'racist, Jim Crow country.' He contended that the state and rabbinate refused to give them equal rights, housing, education or jobs because they were not considered Jewish. The first of the group arrived in 1969 after an unsuccessful attempt to settle in Liberia and were given resident status and flats in Dimona. Others, including Carter, came later and were given tourist visas. He has demanded that they be accepted at once as immigrants... *The Interior Ministry has refused to grant them citizenship which, under the Law of Return, is automatic for Jewish immigrants...*" (Emphasis added).

Vol. XXXVIII, No. 190-6 October 1971:

"The Interior Ministry has instructed immigration officials at Lydda Airport and Haifa port to deny admission to persons arriving in Israel without visible means of support. It was learned that the order stemmed from the small but

continuing flow of American Blacks... About 300 Black Jews ... have come to the country in the past two years...

"An American Black family that arrived at Lydda Airport on a TWA plane over the week-end with a one-way ticket and \$7 cash was returned to the U.S. aboard the same plane..."

Vol. XXX VIII, No. 191-7 October 1971:

"A group of 20 more self-styled Black Jews arrived at Lydda Airport from the United States today but were denied entry into the country..."

Shortly after the foregoing dispatch was disseminated, the Israeli Interior Minister referred to the question of the "Black Hebrews" of Dimona in a lecture in Tel Aviv. The following report on his statement appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition) of 19 October 1971:

"Recent statements made by members of the group—derogatory to the State and to Jews in general—reveal their true character,' he said. This was why he had given instructions to border control officials to prevent the entry of additional undesirable elements of this kind."

The next step was to begin to get rid of the Black Jews who had already been admitted to the country. Thus, in *The Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin* (Vol. XXXVIII, No. 202, of 26 October 1971) there appeared the following dispatch:

"An Interior Ministry spokesman said yesterday that the visitors visas of the self-styled Black Hebrews of Dimona would not be renewed when they expire at the end of this month..." Further developments in the case have not been reported with much regularity. Perhaps the following dispatch may have some bearing on the sudden fall of the curtain on the story of the Black Jews:

Vol. XXX VIII, No. 217-16 November 1971:

"TEL AVIV—Moshe Gilboa, Israel's Consul General in Atlanta, Ga., said here that the furor over the case of the Black Hebrews in Dimona is harming Israel's image among American Blacks in the South..."

From the few reports in the general press, however, one gathers that deportation of the Black Jews from Israel began in earnest in late 1973. One learns from a report in *The New*

York Times of 5 September 1973 that—according to police officials—Israel planned to deport the entire group of Black Jews of Dimona: "A spokesman said that about 15 members of the group had recently been deported to the United States and that it was 'just a matter of time until we send them all back.'" On 3 October 1973, it was reported that the Israel High Court postponed the expulsion of 28 more American Black Jews "but rejected their right to remain in Israel" (*New York Times*, 4 October 1973).

My Delegation has no further information on the present status of Black Jews in Israel; perhaps some other, more knowledgeable Delegation might enlighten the Committee on that question.

There is, however, one observation that must be made about the exceptional difficulties encountered by Black Jews, whether Fellashas from Ethiopia or "Black Hebrews" from the United States, *and by no other group of Jewish immigrants*.

Some reports have indicated, or intimated, that the "Jewishness" of these groups was in doubt, and that that was the reason for the refusal of the Israeli authorities to admit them under the so-called Law of Return or to extend to them the privileges following therefrom. This may be so. However, the same doubts had been expressed, often by the same authorities, about the "Jewishness" of some of the *European* Jews who were immigrating into Israel at about the same time. Yet one finds no evidence that any group of European or American white Jews was denied the status of *olim* (Jewish immigrants) under the so-called Law of Return, or was prevented from entering the country, or was deported, on those grounds.

As for the claim that Black Jews—Ethiopian "Fellashas" or American "Black Hebrews"—were denied entry into Israel because of their lack of funds, everyone knows that the Jewish Agency and a host of other Zionist organizations have spent millions of dollars annually on subsidizing the mass-immigration of needy European Jews; that lack of funds among the prospective immigrants has never been a barrier to the entry of white Jewish immigrants under the so-called Law of Return. After all, supporting the immigration and settlement of Jews is what Zionism is all about: need for such support cannot be the real reason why the immigration and settlement of Black Jews is obstructed by the Zionist authorities.

-VII-

Discrimination against the indigenous Palestinian Arabs by the Zionist regime in Israel may be discussed under two headings: discrimination against the majority, dislodged in 1948 and 1967 and prevented since then from returning to their homes and Homeland, because their return would alter the "Jewish character" of Israel; and discrimination against the remnants of the Palestinian Arab community who were permitted to stay behind. I have alluded already to the fate of the first group in earlier parts of my statement. As for the status of the minority—the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel—I am spared the need for discussing it at length by the brilliant statement made yesterday by my good friend, Wisam Zahawi, the distinguished representative of Iraq.

A few observations may be in order, however.

First: Discrimination against the remnants of the Palestinian Arab people in Israel exists both *in law* and *in practice*.

In some respects, they suffer *de jure* inequality: their enjoyment of certain rights is restricted by certain laws which purport to grant certain fundamental rights *to Jews only* and by other laws which provide for *different standards* relative to the enjoyment of other basic rights by Jews and non-Jews. For example, the so-called Law of Return purports to bestow upon every Jew, anywhere, the "right" to "return" to a country which he had never seen before: no non-Jew, including the indigenous Palestinian Arab, has such a "right" under Israeli law. The Nationality Law sets up different standards for the acquisition of Israeli nationality: section 2 provides that "*every oleh (i.e., Jewish immigrant) under the Law of Return shall become an Israel national*" (emphasis added); under section 3, however, the acquisition of Israeli nationality by a person to whom section 2 does not apply (i.e., by a non-Jew) requires the fulfillment of three conditions.

Under the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael Law of 1953, the Covenant of 1961 (on the relationship of Israel and the Jewish National Fund), the Agricultural Settlement Law of 1967, and other related legislation, all land acquired by the Jewish National Fund (see *above*, footnote 18) or by the state—including the lands owned by the Palestinian Arab refugees and lands requisitioned from the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel—is subject to the restrictive provisions of the Charter of the Jewish National Fund and the Constitution of the Jewish Agency. These provisions prohibit the *sale* of land to non-Jews, the *leasing* of land to non-Jews, or the *employment* of non-Jews!

In other respects, however, discriminatory treatment of the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel results not from specific mandatory provisions of discriminatory legislation but from

the application of permissive clauses in general legislation (such as the Emergency Regulations).

Secondly: As a result of the system of *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination to which the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are subjected, their daily life is governed by multiform "distinctions," "exclusions" or "restrictions" reminiscent of the most obnoxious forms of anti-Semitism perpetrated against Jews by racist regimes in other lands and other periods of human history. That former victims of racial discrimination elsewhere should have turned around and inflicted similar forms of discrimination against the remnants of the Palestinian Arab people is one of the more tragic ironies of contemporary history.

Thirdly: Some apologists for Israel and Zionism have sought to refute the charge of Israeli discrimination against Palestinian Arabs by pointing to certain political and civil rights which, they say, Palestinian Arabs do enjoy in Israel—such as the right to participate in national elections, including the right to be elected to Parliament. I fail to see how the enjoyment of one right can conceal—or justify—privation from other rights. Must discrimination be total and all-encompassing in order to be real, or objectionable? I leave it to members of this Committee to decide for themselves whether they would be persuaded by a defense against charges of cruelty, which is based on the assertion that one limb of a victim had in fact been spared amputation during his torture!

Fourthly: Another favorite argument of the defenders of Israel against charges of discrimination is the allegation that the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are economically "better off" now than they were in 1948 and "better off" than Arabs in other countries. Our immediate concern now is whether the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are in fact subject to discrimination in the Zionist *Judenstaat*. Are they, or are they not, subject in some instances to "restrictions" and in other instances to "exclusions?" Are there, or are there not, "distinctions" between them and the Jewish immigrants; and do these Jewish immigrants, or do they not, enjoy "preferences?" That is the question. And that question can be definitively resolved not by comparing the condition of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel in 1975 with their own condition under the British Mandate in 1948 (is there any place in the world, I ask parenthetically, where people have fewer television or radio sets in 1975 than they had in 1948?), nor by comparing their condition with that of Arabs in other Arab countries—but only by comparing their condition today with the condition of Jews in Israel today! Is there any representative in this hall—including the representative of the United States and the representative of Israel—who would contend that the remnants of the indigenous Palestinian Arab people enjoy equality with the Jewish immigrants in Israel?

-VIII-

The final aspect of the practices of Israel which I would like to discuss lies in the field of foreign policy and international relations. I refer to the growing intimacy and collaboration between Israel and South Africa.

I realize that, at this very moment, another Committee of the General Assembly (the Special Political Committee) is meeting in a chamber not far from us and considering this very question, under the general item, "Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa." Representatives in that Committee have before them a number of reports, prepared by the competent body of the United Nations (the Special Committee Against Apartheid) surveying recent developments in the relations between Israel and South Africa (documents A/AC.115/L. 383, L. 396 and L. 411) as well as other reports prepared by that same body containing information on the relations of South Africa in specific fields with other countries, including Israel (documents A/AC.115/L.414, L. 415, L. 416 and L. 417). These documents contain abundant information drawn from all the authoritative sources available to that specialized United Nations body. It would hardly be appropriate for me to take your time to present information which is available in official United Nations reports. I shall content myself with making three brief observations on the subject:

First: The wealth of evidence submitted by the Special Committee Against Apartheid shows that, precisely when the international community was acting to isolate the South African regime, Israel was stepping up its activities to de-isolate that regime.

Secondly: Confronted with this situation, the General Assembly proceeded at its twenty-eighth session (in 1973) and again at its twenty-ninth session (in 1974) to condemn what it has termed an "unholy alliance" between the two regimes.²⁹ In resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly—

"Emphasiz[ed] the collusion between Portuguese colonialism, the apartheid regime and zionism, as exemplified by the political, military and financial aid supplied to each other by Portugal, South Africa and Israel" (preambular paragraph 7), and

"Condemn[ed], in particular, the unholy alliance between Portuguese colonialism, South African racism, zionism and Israeli imperialism" (operative paragraph 5).

And in resolution 3324 E (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly—

"Condemn[ed] the strengthening of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa" (operative paragraph 5).

Thirdly: The expanding relations between the two regimes is a manifestation of an underlying ideological affinity that attracts the bastion of racism in western Asia and the stronghold of racism in southern Africa to each other.

-IX-

In lieu of a conclusion, I would like to call on two witnesses—two very different individuals: a non-Zionist and an arch-Zionist; a philosopher of history and a political activist—to shed some light, each from his own chosen perspective, on the ideological kinship of Zionism and *apartheid*.

My first witness is the renowned observer and analyst of the human scene, Arnold Toynbee. In his book, *Experiences*, Toynbee reflects on the great changes which came to the world during his eighty years of life. Chapter IV of this great work is devoted to what he calls, "The Struggle Between Human Feeling and Inhumanity;" and section ii of this chapter is entitled, "Human Feeling versus Genocide, Eviction and Apartheid." I cannot commend this whole section too strongly.³⁰

Toynbee begins by describing one of the anomalies of history in his lifetime:

"There has not, so far as I know, been any previous age in which the common humanity of all human beings, just in virtue of our all being human, has been so widely recognized and acted upon as it is today,"

he writes. But this is only one part of the story; for, he continues,

"the age through which I have lived has also seen the moral implications of mankind's common humanity repudiated in outrageous doctrines that have served as excuses for atrocious acts."

Toynbee has thus set the stage for his analysis of three varieties of "outrageous doctrines" which repudiate mankind's common humanity and serve as excuses for atrocious acts. He describes them in descending order of outrageousness.

Toynbee begins with genocide:

"Human beings have occasionally massacred each other unconstitutionally—apart from the hallowed ritual form of massacre in war—since the ear-

liest times of which we have surviving records. But in our time we have had to coin a new word, 'genocide,' to describe a new kind of massacre. The distinguishing marks of our twentieth-century genocide are that it is committed in cold-blood by the deliberate fiat of holders of despotic political power, and that the perpetrators of genocide employ all the resources of present-day technology and organization to make their planned massacres systematic and complete."

He cites several illustrations of twentieth-century genocide, of which the most effective" was—

"the Nazis' genocide of the Jews both in Germany and in the other European countries that were temporarily overrun and occupied by the German military forces."

Of the second variety of "outrageous doctrines" serving as an "excuse for atrocious acts," Toynbee writes as follows:

"To be massacred is a worse fate than to be evicted from one's native land and to be robbed of one's home and property. The refugee has ransomed his life at this price, and, so long as he remains alive, he can cherish at least a forlorn hope of eventual repatriation and restitution, or alternatively of compensation and resettlement... All the same, the eviction of entire populations, or even of diasporas, is a recent relapse, in the present age, into a barbarous practice that was occasionally followed in past times, but in those times less remorselessly and less thoroughly."

Again Toynbee cites several illustrations of twentieth-century mass evictions, and concludes that—

"The fate of these transplanted [populations] has been happy compared with the fate of the Palestinian Arabs who have fled, or have been evicted, from their ancestral homes and have been robbed of their property since the establishment of Israel on Arab-inhabited territory in Palestine in 1948. Since the Third Arab-Israeli War (the Six Days' War of 1967), the number of Palestinian Arab exiles, including children born and brought up in exile, had risen in 1967 to about one million and a half."

After describing the situation of the "residual Palestinian Arabs under Israeli rule" as

that of a "politically subject" population, Toynbee returns to the exiles:

"As for the Palestinian Arab evicted persons and refugees, those who were robbed of their homes and property by the Israelis in 1948-9 have been prevented, under pain of being shot at sight, from returning to their homes on the Israeli side of the 1949 armistice-lines, and they have received no compensation for their stolen and unrecoverable property either from the Israelis or from anyone else."

After Nazi genocide and Zionist eviction, comes South African *apartheid*. Writes Toynbee:

"To be massacred is a worse fate than to be evicted and despoiled, and to be evicted and despoiled is a worse fate than being left un-uprooted at the price of being penalized. The penalization of a weaker section of a population is not a new form of inhumanity in itself. People have been penalized in the past frequently on account of their religion, their nationality, and their race. Penalization of innocent people on any ground is immoral, but the outlook is the most ominous—and this for the persecutors as well as for the persecuted—in cases in which the ground for the penalization is a difference in physical race."

The supreme illustration is in southern Africa:

"Within my lifetime I have lived to see penalization on racial grounds intensified, and the obliteration of racial differences through interbreeding obstructed by increasingly harsh legislation, by the 'white' dominant minority in South Africa. The 'white' dominant minority in Rhodesia is taking the same road."

My second witness is David Ben Gurion—whose credentials as a Zionist are well known. I shall quote from an interview with Ben Gurion published in the *Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition) of 23 June 1969, immediately after his return from a trip to South Africa. He said:

"I spoke to the Prime Minister, a very interesting talk. I told him the white settlers made a mistake—they should have done what we have done here with *'Avoda Ivrit'*.³¹ Then they would have been spared their present trou-

bles. The Prime Minister agreed with me—but it is too late in the day now."

II. STATEMENT MADE AT THE 2400th PLENARY MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 10 NOVEMBER 1975 (Document A/PV. 2400, pp. 112-126).

Mr. President: Before I explain my Delegation's forthcoming vote on the draft resolution proposed by the Third Committee to the General Assembly in Recommendation III of the Report before us (A/10320), may I request—while I have the floor—that the vote on that draft resolution be by roll-call.

-I-

We shall vote proudly in favor of the recommended draft resolution III. We shall do so on the basis, first, of our knowledge of what the authoritative United Nations definition of racism and racial discrimination is; and, second, on the basis of our knowledge of what the Zionists' official definition of Zionism is. By comparing the authoritative and official United Nations definition of racism with the official Zionist definition of Zionism, we conclude—as I am certain every Delegation that took the trouble to view the matter without political, extraneous elements entering into the picture, would also conclude—that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

The United Nations definition of racism and racial discrimination is contained in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, annexed to resolution 1904 (XVIII), article 1 of which states that—

"Discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity and shall be condemned;"

and in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, proclaimed in resolution 2106 (XX), which goes even farther, in article 1, by stating that—

"In this Convention, the term 'racial discrimination' shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin."

We accept no abridgement of this definition. Racial discrimination is not only discrimination based on race in the biological, genetic sense of the term. Racial discrimination, the United Nations has maintained, is not only the discrimination that is based on color. Racial

discrimination is also discrimination that is based on descent, on national origin, or on ethnic origin. This is the definition of racial discrimination less than which we shall not accept, because this is already the approved, formal, authoritative definition by the United Nations.

Remarks to the effect that Zionism does not involve discrimination on the basis of color begin from an abbreviated and abridged definition of racism and racial discrimination, instead of beginning from the total definition adopted by the United Nations long ago.

As for Zionism—with all due respect to those who try to inject elements of semantic acrobatics into the debate—the Zionism that this draft resolution speaks about is a concrete political ideology, articulated by a concrete political organization which launched a concrete political movement at a precise moment in time, which created concrete political institutions, and which manifested itself in concrete practices which had the effect of excluding some people on the basis of their being non-Jews and including others on the basis of their being Jews—Jewishness being defined officially by Zionism as an ethnic and not strictly a religious attribute.

My Delegation presented the documentation supporting every word I have said just now, in the Third Committee; and I shall not take the time of this meeting to re-read into the record the statements made by the founder and father of the Zionist movement and reiterated and carried forward until the present day in Israel as a continuation of the idea that Jewishness and the Jewish bond are not only, and not even primarily, a religious bond, but rather the membership in the ethnic community of Jewry, and that it is that which makes a person a Jew or excludes him from being a Jew.

The essence of the political doctrine of Zionism is the concept that the Jews are one people, and the corollary that Jews must have a *Judenstaat*, a State of the Jews, of their own. And the program of Zionism, in fulfillment of that objective, is a dual program—the "ingathering of Jews," ethnically defined, from wherever they might be throughout the world, into one area; and the displacement of as many as possible of the non-Jews of that area in order to make room for the imported Jews. As in the beating of the heart two rhythmic operations—a pumping-in and a pumping-out operation—are indispensable for the heartbeat, so in the heartbeat of Zionism the pumping-in of Jews and the pumping-out of non-Jews are indispensable for the fulfillment of the goal of Zionism: the establishment of the *Judenstaat*.

How can a country in which there is a law called the Law of Return, permitting a Jew who has never been to Palestine to "return," and a policy prohibiting a Palestinian from actually returning to his home—both on the basis that the first is a Jew and the second a non-Jew—how can a country like that be described as a democracy? And how can the label of racism and racial discrimination be questioned in relation to that country?

The non-Jew who has not—or who has not yet—been pumped out of the *Judenstaat* suffers privations and inequalities which, if suffered by Jews in any other country, the Zionists would be the first to call anti-Semitic. But when the Jew, in the name of Zionism and in the name of the *Judenstaat*, inflicts that same disability, that same inequality, on the non-Jew, we are told that this is not racism, this is not racial discrimination.

By virtue of what principle of consistency can we say that a practice perpetrated against a Jew by a non-Jew is a form of racism but that the same practice perpetrated against a non-Jew by a Jew is not a form of racism?

Those who spoke about the dignity of the United Nations and the integrity of the United Nations—let them recall that dignity and integrity rest in the first instance on consistency and on truthfulness and not on twisting the truth to suit one's prejudices and one's biases with respect to who is affected here and who is affected there.

-II-

Zionism now makes a unilateral proclamation, saying that Zionism is synonymous with Judaism and that therefore opposition to Zionism is synonymous with opposition to Judaism—that is, it is anti-Semitism.

Let me remind you that the first opposition to the doctrines of Zionism, to the objectives of Zionism, and to the program of Zionism, came from Jews: prominent Jewish intellectuals, prominent Jewish leaders and prominent Jewish organizations.³² Long before Zionism had become a world phenomenon, it was within the Jewish community, within Jewry, that the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with Jewry and the claim of Zionism to be synonymous with and identical to Judaism were challenged.³³ And to this day, while many Jews support Israel, those who are enrolled in the Zionist organization and consider themselves card-carrying active Zionists are a minority among Jews.³⁴ Even in this country, where the Zionist organization is as strong as it is anywhere else, and perhaps much stronger than it is in many other countries, the membership of the Zionist organization is a minority mem-

bership within the larger body of American Jews.

We too reject the claim by Zionism that Zionism is synonymous with Judaism. We in the Arab world, be we Christian Arabs or Muslim Arabs or Jewish Arabs, have nothing but reverence for Judaism as a faith, Judaism as a religion, Judaism as a tradition of religious and spiritual values. We revere Judaism as Christians, whose Christ proclaimed that He came to fulfill and not to destroy. We revere Judaism as Muslims, whose faith teaches respect and veneration for all the prophets of Judaism. We reject the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with Judaism. We reject the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with the "Jewish people."³⁵ And therefore we reject the claim of Zionism that to be anti-Zionist is to be anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic.

There is no "ism" in the world that has not been fair game for criticism. Capitalism, socialism, communism—any "ism" you can think of—has been fair game for criticism. But there is one "ism" that comes now to this platform to proclaim: "Hands off! If you criticize me, you are criticizing a religion. If you criticize me, you are expressing hatred for a people."

I say that if this thesis were to be accepted, that would be tantamount to throwing a cloak of immunity over Zionism—singling it out from all the other "isms" in the world as the only "ism" that cannot be criticized without one being assailed, without one being insolently railed against, without one being called anti-Semitic and a hater of the Jews.

This is discrimination: it discriminates in favor of one "ism" against all other "isms."

Is criticism of Nazism a criticism of the German people and of Christianity? Why should criticism of Zionism automatically be considered criticism of Judaism and of the "Jewish people?"

We are all only too familiar with the abuse and exploitation of this argument by Zionism to silence all its critics, to intimidate its critics—and also to draw solidarity and sympathy to itself from Jews who had otherwise not shown much sympathy for Zionism.

We know that in many instances Zionism has been the chief exploiter of anti-Semitism, real or alleged; and therefore Zionism has been the first to proclaim that any criticism of Zionism is a form of anti-Semitism, in furtherance of the same principle that has animated all its activities.

We shall not be intimidated.

We are against Zionism as a form of racism. We are against anti-Semitism. And we reject the equation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. We revere the Jewish faith.

We in the Arab World showed hospitality to Jews who came fleeing from persecution in Europe when European anti-Semitism was driving them into our arms; we permitted them to come and share our lives and share our limited resources and have as much freedom as we ourselves had, because we were receiving them as human beings. It was only when the Zionists came, and instead of the Jews saying, 'I should like to live with you,' the Zionists came saying, 'I want to live in place of you'—it was only when the Zionists came that, despite our hospitality to the Jew, we showed hostility to the Zionist.³⁶ But we reject the contention that the hostility to the Zionist indicates any lessening of the hospitality to the Jew, the human being, who is not animated by the racism and exclusionism of Zionism.

-III-

We have also been told that Zionism is a national liberation movement. In fact, this claim was first voiced in 1968 by the twenty-seventh Zionist Congress. It took Zionism seventy-one years to discover its purported identity!

When Zionism started, it did not hesitate to call itself a colonial movement. Herzl wrote to none other than Cecil Rhodes. (I would refer members to Volume IV of his *Diaries*, page 1193 onward.) He pleaded with Rhodes: Please make a statement that you have examined my program and found it appropriate. Why do I come to you, Mr. Rhodes, you will ask? Because my program is a *colonial* program.³⁷

At that time, when colonialism was in vogue, Zionism had no difficulty in recognizing its true identity as a colonial movement. It called its first bank the colonial trust company.³⁸ It called its department of settlement the department of colonization.³⁹ It called its settlements "colonies." It likened its settlers to the conquistadores.⁴⁰ It likened them to the French colons in North Africa.⁴¹ This was the literature of Zionism. This was the recognition by Zionism of its colonial nature.⁴²

But now, in the 1970's, with national liberation movements the vogue of the day, Zionism also wants to jump on the bandwagon and call itself a liberation movement.

It tried it with Gandhi, and Gandhi said: No. It wanted to get from him a recognition that it was a legitimate national movement. He said: You are an alien body in the Middle East.⁴³

The true national liberation movements know themselves. And they know one another. There is no national liberation movement in existence today that does not maintain fraternal bonds with the Palestine Liberation Organization and condemn Zionism as a racist and colonial movement.

An authentic national liberation movement views its salvation through its own national liberation, but not through the enslavement of others. No movement that seeks its salvation through the enslavement of others can be a true liberation movement. No movement that seeks its "ingathering" through the dispersal of others can be a true national liberation movement. Zionism may try to jump on the bandwagon—but those on the bandwagon will push it away. Zionism is not—and cannot be—accepted by the ranks of national movements as a national liberation movement.

-IV-

I appeal to all Delegations which have already announced that they will oppose Recommendation III. I appeal to them in the name of consistency and in the name of the truth. I say to them it is not yet too late. If they truly abhor racism, if truly they are for the truth and for consistency, then, despite their announcement, let them vote for Recommendation III and save the United Nations: save the integrity of the United Nations; save the United Nations from being justly accused of being an Organization which would call a spade a spade in southern Africa but would hesitate to call a spade a spade in western Asia.

III. TWO REPLIES TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF BELGIUM, MADE AT THE 2400th PLENARY MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 10 NOVEMBER 1975

I

NOTE.—Early in the historic 2400th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the representative of Belgium, speaking on a point of order, formally moved that the Assembly proceed to vote on Recommendation III, regarding Zionism, before voting on Recommendations I and II, regarding the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, in the hope that, if the draft resolution on Zionism was defeated, the Delegations of Belgium and other Western countries would vote in favor of the two other draft resolutions on the general program for the Decade; but, if the draft resolution on Zionism was adopted, they would either vote against the draft resolutions on the Decade or abstain.

Mr. Longerstaey, of Belgium, spoke as follows:

"I wish to request formally that our Assembly take a decision on draft resolution III now before us, before a decision is taken on draft resolutions I and II... The aim of this formal proposal is to make one last effort—I repeat, one last effort—to obtain something that is very dear to our hearts, namely the possibility, in the event of draft resolution III being rejected, of our reaching a consensus on draft resolutions I and II." [A/PV. 2400, p. 171]

The motion of the representative of Belgium was opposed by the representative of Kuwait. Dr. Sayegh spoke as follows [A/PV. 2400, pp. 25-26]

In making his exceptional request for exceptional treatment—for deviation from the normal sequence—the representative of Belgium offered only one justification: namely, that this would be one last chance to reach a consensus on the draft resolutions regarding the Decade.

This was the same ultimatum that we have been hearing since 3 October, when the Third Committee was first seized of the draft resolution regarding Zionism.

What do the representatives of Belgium and the European Community (EEC) group, in whose names I presume he was speaking, mean by "consensus on the Program for the Decade?" Is it *words*? Is it *votes* in support of the Program for the Decade? Or is it *action*?

After all, the Program is called: Program for the Decade for *Action* to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It is *action* that is the substance of the consensus. Is there anybody in this hall who is gullible enough to believe that Belgium would have participated in *action* in order to combat racism and racial discrimination, were it not for the draft resolution on Zionism? Is there anybody in this hall who is gullible enough to believe that the EEC group of countries would have opposed racism in South Africa *actively*, by *action*, were it not for the draft resolution on Zionism?

The record is clear.

Every member of the European Economic Community maintains relations with South Africa.

The EEC members make up the majority of the "major trading partners" of South Africa.

All of them voted against the report of the Credentials Committee, at the twenty-ninth session, rejecting the credentials of South Africa.

All of them voted against the suspension of South Africa at the twenty-ninth session.

Was the representative of Belgium on the verge of coming to this podium in order to say: "We will sever our relations with South Africa, we will stop trading with South Africa, we will stop opposing the suspension of South Africa, if you do not support the draft resolution on Zionism?" He said nothing of the sort! The consensus he promised us was only a *verbal* consensus. But the Program for the Decade is a program for *action*.

Therefore, the ultimatum of the representative of Belgium is irrelevant, and I urge my fellow-representatives to vote against it.

II

NOTE.—the General Assembly proceeded immediately to vote on the motion of the representative of Belgium. The motion was rejected by 74 votes to 36, with 26 abstentions.

Towards the end of the meeting, the representative of Belgium, speaking in exercise of the right to reply, spoke as follows:

"At the beginning of this afternoon, during the debate on the procedural motion which I submitted on behalf of my Delegation, a colleague accused me of issuing ultimata... In a more or less distant past, my country was sub-

jected both to ultimata and to intolerable pressures, which proves that I know how unpleasant it is to be exposed to such procedures. I can assure you that at no time has either my Government or my Delegation engaged in intimidation, nor shall we do so in the future.

"The ... colleague I referred to went even further. He went so far as to doubt the validity of the position taken by my Government on the subject of racial discrimination. For his sake, and for his sake alone, I should like to say that, since the beginning of the Decade we have voted in favor of resolution I. This year we did it twice, once in the Economic and Social Council and again in the Third Committee. As to resolution II, concerning the convening in Ghana of the Conference on the Decade, my Delegation, both in the Economic and Social Council and in the Third Committee, supported the candidacy of Ghana as organizer of that conference." (A/PV. 2400, pp. 186-1871.

In exercise of his right of reply, Dr. Sayegh, of Kuwait, said [A/PV. 2400, pp. 212-213]:

The representative of Belgium took exception to the word "ultimatum." We take exception to being treated by ultimata.

We have been patiently listening, since 3 October, to representatives of the Western Powers telling the United Nations that, unless this resolution [on Zionism] was defeated, they would reconsider their support for the Decade; they would withdraw their support from the Decade; and so on. Are we playing semantic games—whether this is an *ultimatum*, or a warning, or a threat? The important thing is that the United Nations is being told by a minority of States that—regardless of democratic rules, regardless of parliamentary rules—the majority must change its mind under duress or else something grave will happen. If this is not an "ultimatum," I do not know what is.

In my reply, I pointed out that that was a *fraudulent ultimatum*. I pointed to the fact that the promised support for the Decade, in case of the defeat of the draft resolution on Zionism, was itself a *fraudulent support*—because the United Nations was promised a *vote* for the Decade, *words* about the Decade, which, however, is supposed to be a Decade for *Action*. I pointed to the record of the States that were serving the ultimatum upon us. If the representative of Belgium wishes me to speak specifically about the record of Belgium regarding South Africa—whose chastisement, isolation, frustration and defeat are the objec-

tives of the Decade—I will remind the Assembly of what that record is:

Belgium opposed the first report of the Credentials Committee rejecting the credentials of South Africa.

Belgium opposed the ruling of the President of the General Assembly suspending South Africa from participation in the twenty-ninth session.

Belgium maintains a diplomatic mission and a consular mission in South Africa; and South Africa maintains in Belgium a diplomatic mission, a consular mission, a commercial and technical mission, an information office, an emigration office and a military, naval and air attaché; (the last-mentioned, however, is resident in the Federal Republic of Germany).

Belgium is one of the ten "major trading partners" of South Africa.

Belgium has one of the cities served by South African Airways. And so on, and so on.

Is that a country that was earnestly coming to tell us: "But for the resolution on Zionism, we would have participated whole-heartedly in the Decade for action to destroy the apartheid system in South Africa?" I do not think that any of us is gullible enough, or foolish enough, to believe that.

IV. REPLY TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES, MADE AT THE 2400th PLENARY MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 10 NOVEMBER 1975

NOTE.—After the draft resolution on Zionism was adopted by the General Assembly, the representative of the United States made a lengthy statement, in which he said:

"The very first point to be made—and here I must respectfully take issue with my colleague from Kuwait, a man genuinely distinguished for his scholarship but who none the less on this matter is simply wrong—is that the United Nations has declared Zionism to be racism without ever having defined racism...

"Lest I be unclear, the United Nations has, in fact, on several occasions defined 'racial discrimination.' The definitions have been loose but recognizable.⁴⁴ It is 'racism,' incomparably the more serious charge—racial discrimination is a practice, racism is a doctrine—it is racism that has never been defined.⁴⁵ Indeed, the term has only recently appeared in United Nations General Assembly documents. The one occasion that we have been able to find on which we know it to have been discussed was the 1644th meeting of the Third Committee on 16 December 1968... On that occasion,... the question arose as to what should be the relative positioning of the terms 'racism' and 'Nazism' in a number of preambular paragraphs. The distinguished representative of Tunisia argued that 'racism' should go first because, he said, Nazism was a form of racism. Not so, said the no less distinguished representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for, he explained, Nazism contained all the main elements of racism within its ambit and should be mentioned first. That is to say that racism was merely a form of Nazism. The discussion wound to its weary and inconclusive end, and we are left with nothing to guide us, for even that one discussion of 'racism' confined itself to word orders in preambular paragraphs and did not at all touch on the meaning of the words as such.

"Still, one cannot but ponder the situation we have made for ourselves in the context of the Soviet statement on that no-so-distant occasion. If, as the

distinguished [Soviet] representative declared [in 1968], racism is a form of Nazism, and if, as this resolution declares, Zionism is a form of racism, then we have step by step taken ourselves to the point of proclaiming—the United Nations is solemnly proclaiming—that Zionism is a form of Nazism."⁴⁶ [A/PV. 2400, pp. 156-158].

In exercising his right of reply as the last speaker in the debate, Dr. Sayegh said [A/PV. 2400, p. 216]:

Mindful that it is close to 10:30 p.m.—we have been meeting for more than seven hours—I feel constrained to be brief. I would like to say a word or two about the statement made by the representative of the United States...

The representative of the United States came with a facetious argument. He commented on what I had said regarding the definition of "racial discrimination" by the United Nations and then said that the United Nations did not define "racism." At that point he proceeded to create an absurd syllogism, out of which he thought he reached an absurd conclusion: that Zionism is a form of Nazism, or the other way around—I even forget what he said. But by this diversionary trick he evaded answering the question: Does the definition of "racial discrimination" adopted by the United Nations apply to Zionism or does it not?

He admits that there is a United Nations definition of "racial discrimination." But then, instead of answering the question—Does that definition apply to Zionism or not?—he goes off at a tangent to give us his own philosophy of "racism." He has left unanswered the question: Does the United States agree that Zionism perpetrates "racial discrimination," as defined by the United Nations, or does it not?

Does his complete silence on this question, coupled with his emphatic denial that Zionism is a form of "racism" (on the ground that the United Nations has not defined "racism"), imply concurrence with the statement that Zionism is a form of "racial discrimination?" May I take it that his silence on the question of "racial discrimination" means that he half-agrees with the resolution—that he questions only the statement that "Zionism is a form of racism," but does not question the statement that "Zionism is a form of racial discrimination?"

Finally, unlike my good friend Ambassador Baroody, I am not chagrined by verbal abuse—by the insolent railing, the name-calling, to which the Delegation of the United States has resorted, both inside and outside the United Nations, ever since 3 October.

"Perverse," "obscene," "indecent," "lies"—these words have graced and punctuated the statements of the representatives of the United States. I am not chagrined and I am not disconcerted. Long, long ago, in my first elementary course in philosophy, I was told by my professors: Only he who has no argument resorts to name-calling.⁴⁷

Name-calling is no substitute for rational discourse; name-calling is an admission of intellectual bankruptcy.

APPENDIX

TEXT OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION NO. 3379 (XXX) OF 10 NOVEMBER 1975

NOTE.—This text, as first submitted to the Third Committee, was contained in document A/C.3/2159. It was adopted by the Third Committee without amendments on 17 October 1975. It was then presented to the General Assembly in the report of the Third Committee, document A/10320, as Recommendation III. It was adopted by the General Assembly on 10 November 1975 without amendment as resolution 3379 (XXX) and issued in document A/RES/3379.

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and in particular its affirmation that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable (and) socially unjust and dangerous" and its expression of alarm at "the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative or other measures,"

Recalling also that, in its resolution 3151 G (XXXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned *inter alia* the unholy alliance between South African racism and zionism,

Taking note of the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace proclaimed by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975, which promulgated the principle that "international co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, zionism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in all its forms as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination,"

Taking note also of resolution 77 (XII) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and

Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975 which considered "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being,"

Taking note also of the Political Declaration and Strategy to strengthen International Peace and Security and to intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries, adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lima, Peru, from 25 to 30 August 1975, which most severely condemned zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology,

1. Determines that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

ENDNOTES

¹During the debate at the Third Committee and at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, some representatives sought refuge in semantic acrobatics as a means of escape from a substantive discussion of the issues. Some attributed to the concept of "Zionism" a very general and wide-ranging meaning; others thought it was an old, indeed, ancient, movement. Perhaps it is appropriate here to cite the definition of "Zionism" which may be found in a very authoritative Zionist reference work.

The two-volume *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* was published in New York by the Herzl Press in 1971. It was edited by Raphael Patai; and the Chairman of its Editorial Advisory Committee was Emanuel Neumann. That both these gentlemen are prominent Zionist luminaries is evidenced by the fact that each of them is the subject of an independent, full-length entry in *the Encyclopedia* itself; and the details of their respective biographies attest to their authoritativeness on matters of Zionism. Furthermore, the *Encyclopedia* informs its readers that it was prepared "under the distinguished patronage of Zalman Shazar, President of Israel." The Zionist credentials of our source are therefore unassailable.

On page 1262 of Volume II, under the heading, "Zionism," we read:

"Term coined by Nathan Birnbaum in 1890 for the movement aiming at the return of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel (Palestine). From 1896 on Zionism referred to the political movement founded by Theodor Herzl, aiming at the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine..."

²"We are a people—one people," wrote Herzl in *Der Judenstaat* (Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, [tr. by Berl Locker], Tel Aviv, Newman, 1956, p. 38). "We are a people—one people," he repeated in an essay on "The Solution to the Jewish Question" (Theodor Herzl, *Zionist Writings: Essays and Addresses*, [tr. by Harry Zohn], New York, Herzl Press, 1973, Vol. I, p. 23). "We are a nation... A nation is a historical group of people who recognizably belong together and are held together by a common foe," he wrote in reply to an anti-Zionist essay by Dr. Gudemann, Chief Rabbi of Vienna (*Ibid.*, p. 67). "We are a group, a historical group of people who clearly belong together and have a common enemy; this seems to me an adequate definition of a nation," he wrote in an essay on "Judaism" (*Ibid.*, p. 51; see also p. 146).

His chief aide, Max Nordau, put it succinctly in an essay entitled, "Zionism," as follows:

"The one point which excludes, probably forever, the possibility of understanding between Zionist and non-Zionist Jews is the question of Jewish nationality. Whoever maintains and believes that the Jews are not a nation can indeed not be a Zionist... He who is convinced to the contrary that the Jews are a people must necessarily become Zionist... We are a people apart and desire to bring about an unequivocal separation between us and the other nations." (Arthur Hartzberg, *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, New York, Doubleday and Herzl Press, 1959, p. 243).

³To illustrate: Much of the first volume of Theodor Herzl: *Zionist Writings: Essays and Addresses, op.cit.*, covering 1896-1898, is devoted to replies to statements and essays by the leading rabbis of the day—including Dr. Gudemann, Chief Rabbi of Vienna; Dr. Maybaum, Chairman of the German Rabbinical Association; Dr. Vogelstein, Founder and President of the Association of Liberal Rabbis and Rabbi of Pilsen and Stettin; Chief Rabbi Adler of London; and Rabbi Bloch of Brussels. Considerable space is devoted also to a reply to Claude Montefiore, President of the Liberal Jewish Movement in England and President of the Anglo-Jewish Association. There is a reply also to a declaration issued by the Executive Committee of the Association of Rabbis in Germany, and signed by the Rabbis of Berlin, Frankfurt, Breslau, Halberstadt and Munich, contesting the "erroneous notions" about the "tenets of Judaism and the objectives of its adherents" which had been disseminated through the convocation of the First Zionist Congress and the publication of its agenda. And there are comments on the opposition of the Jewish Religious Community of Munich to the convening of the First Zionist Congress, which compelled the organizers to change the venue of the Congress from Munich to Basle. (See pages 62-70, 89-97, 119-124, 148, and 232-239.)

Rufus Learsy sums up the early reaction of European Jewish organizations to Herzl's message in the following words: "The important Jewish organizations of western Europe—the French *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, its Austrian counterpart, the *Israelitische Allianz*, the Jewish Colonization Association in London—came out in opposition... The Maccabees, a society of Jewish intellectuals in London, listened to Herzl politely but coldly..." While there was some opposition from Orthodox rabbis, he adds, "the most bitter opponents of all were the Reform rabbis. The Jews, they asserted, were not a nation and must not seek to become one." (Rufus Learsy, *Israel: A History of the Jewish People*, Cleveland, World Publishing Co., 1966, pp. 521-522.)

⁴For the text of the Basle Program, see N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, London, 1919, Vol. 1, pp. 268-269.

⁵For the text of the Jerusalem Program, see *The Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition), 6 April 1970.

⁶Although Herzl made it quite plain, by the very title and contents of his booklet, *Der Judenstaat*, and in all his other writings, that the aim of Zionism was the establishment of a "State of Jews," the First Zionist Congress found it expedient to euphemize; it declared: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." (Even the Biltmore Program of 1942 confined itself to speaking of a "Jewish Commonwealth.") However, in his *Diaries*, Herzl candidly wrote on 3 September 1897: "Were I to sum up the Basel Congress in a word—*which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly*—it would be this: At Basel I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it." (*The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* [tr. by Harry Zohn], New York, Herzl Press, 1960, Vol. II, p. 581. Emphasis added). Weizmann reminisces fifty years later: "We, not less than Herzl, regarded it [the Zionist Congress] as the Jewish State in the making" (*Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, p. 68). And Ben Gurion speaks of the early Zionist immigrants as having "resolved to devote all their energies to the revival of their homeland ... and eventually to establish a State and become a sovereign people" (*Ben Gurion Looks Back*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1965, p. 165).

⁷During the twenty-seven years which have elapsed since the establishment of Israel, only one out of every ten Jews in the world has immigrated. This modest accomplishment becomes even less impressive when it is viewed in conjunction with three other facts: (1) Since more than 45% of the immigrants arrived during the first few years of euphoria following the establishment of Israel—some 685,000 arriving between 15 May 1948 and 31 December 1951—it follows that, during the past twenty-four years, less than 7% of the Jews of the world have immigrated. (2) Since 1948, more than 250,000 Jews have *emigrated from* Israel, constituting the equivalent of over 16% of the total number of immigrants *notwithstanding the extraordinary difficulties placed in the way of emigration*. (3) In the same period, several hundred thousand other Jews emigrated from their countries and chose to go to *destinations other than Israel*. In all, then the results of the intensive Zionist program of inducing mass-immigration during the past quarter-century have been less than spectacular.

⁸See N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, London, 1919, vol. 1, pp. 268-269.

⁹J. Badi (ed.), *Fundamental Laws of the State of Israel*, (tr. by Leo Kohn), New York,

Twayne, 1961, pp. 8-11.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 156-157.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 254-258.

¹²See *Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition), 6 April 1970, p. 10.

¹³*Chaim Weizmann: Excerpts from His Statements, Writings and Addresses*, New York, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1952, p. 48. See also, Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann*, op. cit. p. 244; and *Palestine Government, The Political History of Palestine Under British Administration*, Jerusalem, Government Printer, 1947, p. 3, para. 12.

¹⁴Quoted in: Palestine Government, *The Political History*, op. cit., p. 3, para. 13.

¹⁵*The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 88.

¹⁶*Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine*, U.N. Document A/648 (General Assembly Official Records: Third Session, Supplement No. 11, Part I, chapter V, paragraphs 6 and 7.)

¹⁷James G. McDonald, *My Mission in Israel*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1951, p. 176 (Emphasis added).

¹⁸For a Zionist assessment of the area of the Palestinian Arab lands taken over by Zionist authorities, see Jewish National Fund, *Jewish Villages in Israel*, Jerusalem, Keren Kayemeth Leisrael Head Office, 1949, page xxi: "Of the entire area of the State of Israel [approximately 8,000 square miles] only about 300,000-400,000 dunams [75,000-100,000 acres]—apart from the desolate rocky area of the southern Negev, at present quite unfit for cultivation—are State Domain which the Israel Government took over from the Mandatory regime. The J.N.F. [Jewish National Fund] and private Jewish owners possess under two million dunams [under 500,000 acres]. *Almost all the rest belongs at law to Arab owners, many of whom have left the country.* The fate of these Arabs will be settled when the terms of peace treaties between Israel and her Arab neighbours are finally drawn up. The J.N.F., however, cannot wait until then to obtain the land it requires for its pressing needs. *It is, therefore, acquiring part of the land abandoned by the Arab owners, through the Government of Israel, the sovereign authority in Israel.*" (Emphasis and explanations within wall brackets added).

¹⁹David Ben Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel* (tr. by Mordekhai Nurock), New York, Philosophical Library, 1954, p. 504.

²⁰CBS NEWS, "TRANSCRIPT: FACE THE NATION (as broadcast over the CBS Television Network and the CBS Radio Network)," 11 June 1967, p. 12.

²¹*Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine, op. cit.*, Part I, chapter V, para. 6.

²²*The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 196.

²³"Zionism," in Ludwig Lewisohn (ed.), *Theodor Herzl: A Portrait for This Age*, Cleveland, World Publishing Co., 1955, p. 321.

²⁴In his monumental book, *The Balfour Declaration*, which is a Zionist classic, Leonard Stein summarizes very neatly the essence of Zionism, as "proclaiming that the Jews were a people or a nation, and not a sect or religious brotherhood." (Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1961, p. 73).

This belief remains the essence of Zionism. A few recent illustrations may be useful.

William Mehlman, then Editor of the now-defunct, *The Times of Israel and World Jewish Review*, asserted in 1974: "Historically speaking, the Jews were promised the state long before they ever got the Torah. *We are not a religion—let's get that straight right now. We are a people and we began our political existence with the promise of a state. Without that state we are no longer a people or a religion.*" (*The Times of Israel and World Jewish Review*, Volume I, No. 3, February 1974, p. 76; emphasis added).

An Israeli Zionist professor, Amos Perlmutter, stated in a recent interview: "For me, Judaism is symbiotic. It is both a people and a religion. If you look at the history of the Jews, you see *there could no Jewish religion without the ethnic group, the Jewish people, and there could not be a Jewish people without the Jewish religion...*" (*Newsweek*, 2 February 1976, p. 39; emphasis added).

According to the London *Jewish Chronicle*, a statement by Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Chancellor of Austria (who is a Jew) to the effect that "there is no Jewish nation, only a Jewish religious community or a community of faith" appeared to have indirectly affected relations with Israel (No. 5560, of 14 November 1975, p. 3).

²⁵N. Feinberg, "The Recognition of the Jewish People in International Law," in N. Feinberg and J. Stoyanovsky (eds), *The Jewish Yearbook of International Law: 1948*, Jerusalem, Rubin Mass, 1949, p. 18.

²⁶The *Times* (London), 25 July 1963. Mr. Justice Cohn's views appear to be shared by other Israelis, including some prominent members of the "Establishment." Thus, Men-

achem Israel, Israeli correspondent for the *Jewish Press* (which reminds its readers three times in every issue that it has "the largest circulation of any Anglo-Jewish weekly newspaper in the world"), wrote recently: "The fact seems to be that there are far more Jews than we are aware of, in Israel as well as in the Diaspora, who not only do not know, but who are also nodding their heads in agreement—some vigorously, some ruefully—with the U.N. resolution" (*Jewish Press*, 14 November 1975, p. 4). In a later dispatch from Israel he becomes more explicit—referring not only to Cohn but also to Mrs. Shulamit Aloni, then-head of the Ya'ad faction in the Parliament of Israel (*Jewish Press*, 12 December 1975, pp. 4 and 23). Another article in the same issue, by Mordecai Bar Lavoy, was devoted to an analysis of Mrs. Aloni's statements ("Racist Israel: According to Shulamit Aloni," *Jewish Press*, 12 December 1975, p. 16).

²⁷Weeks after the present statement was made at the Third Committee, a prominent Zionist leader who had railed against the General Assembly resolution (Arthur Hertzberg, who, among many other things, is president of the American Jewish Congress), described U.S. immigration quotas which had restricted the immigration of Jews to the United States as "avowedly racist." (See Lawrence Mosher, "Five American Backers of Israel," in *The National Observer*, 10 January 1976).

²⁸More recently, Joseph Harmatz, Director of ORT-Israel, stated in a report presented to the National Conference of the American ORT Federation: "The gap between the 'two Israels,' those of Western and those of non-European origin, continues to be one of the most anguished sores on the social fabric of Israel." (*Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin*, 30 January 1976, p. 4).

²⁹Towards the end of its thirtieth session (of 1975), the General Assembly adopted another resolution, again on the recommendation of its Special Political Committee, in which it reaffirmed that "continued collaboration" with the South African regime "impedes the efforts for the eradication of *apartheid*" and "again condemn[ed] the strengthening of relations and collaboration between the racist regime of South Africa and Israel in the political, military, economic and other fields" (preamble paragraph 7 and operative paragraph 4, respectively, of resolution 3411 G (XXX), adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1975.)

³⁰Arnold Toynbee, *Experiences*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 241-252.

³¹The doctrine of 'Avoda Ivrit,' or Hebrew Labor, is an important doctrine in Zionist ideology. The following brief summary of its genesis and rationale appears in Volume I of *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, *op. cit.*, p. 213, under the item, "Conquest of Labor

(Kibbush 'Avoda)," to which the reader is referred under the item, 'Avoda Ivrit' (on page 99):

"Doctrine developed by the Second'Aliya (1904-1914) and, in particular, by Ha Po'el Ha Tza'ir, stressing the importance of Jewish labor as the basis for a Jewish society in Palestine. By the beginning of the 20th century, the development and consolidation of the Jewish agricultural settlements, especially those in Judaea and Samaria, had reached a stage at which they were in need of hired labor. Most of the laborers employed were Arabs; some worked on a permanent basis, but by far the larger number were seasonal laborers drawn from neighboring Arab villages. Joseph Aronowicz, leader of the Ha Po'el Ha Tza'ir party and editor of its weekly, *preached the replacement of Arab labor by Jewish labor, not only because of the need to provide employment for Second 'Aliya immigrants but because without Jewish hired labor a Jewish majority in Palestine would be unattainable. Palestine would not be made Jewish by the mere possession of title to properties or merely by Jewish management but only by the performance by Jews of their own manual labor, whether on the farm or on the factory; in other words, only the 'Conquest of Labor' by Jews and not the mere conquest of land by purchase would assure the realization of Zionism and the attainment of a Jewish majority.*" (Emphasis added).

³²See above, footnote 3, for information on the opposition of the leading rabbis and Jewish organizations to Zionism in the 1890's.

³³The principal opponent to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 was the only Jew in the Cabinet of Lloyd George, namely, Sir Edwin Samuel Montagu. His messages and memoranda to his colleagues on the subject, released after the lapse of fifty years by the British Government (in particular *British Public Record Office*, Cab. No. 24/24, 24/27, and 24/28), remain forcefully relevant today. In the United States, a strongly-worded statement, signed by 31 prominent Jewish leaders, was presented to President Wilson by Congressman Julius Kahn of California ("Protest to President Wilson Against Zionist State," *The New York Times*, 5 March 1919, p. 7).

A compilation of statements by several prominent Jewish intellectuals critical of or hostile to Zionism appeared recently: Gary V. Smith (ed.), *Zionism, The Dream and the Reality: A Jewish Critique*, New York, Barnes and Noble Books, 1974.

³⁴In an article on the Jewish community in France, which appeared in *The Jewish*

Chronicle of London, No. 5564, of 12 December 1975, p. 5, it is stated: "A community of some 600,000 supports no fewer than 309 organizations of all kinds... According to a study last month, there are no more than some 75,000 members of the 309 organizations... Of the 309 organizations..., 26 [belong] to the Zionist movements..."

³⁵During and after the debate on the resolution on Zionism, many Jews publicly dissociated themselves from the unilateral Zionist declaration that Zionism is synonymous with Judaism and coextensive with the "Jewish people."

The Jewish Chronicle of London (which describes itself on its masthead as "the organ of British Jewry") wrote editorially: "Zionism unquestionably is the political expression of a Jewish belief and a Jewish hope nurtured over 2,000 years of dispersion. But it is not identical with Judaism, a fact most clearly demonstrated by the many non-believers and even Gentiles who have proudly acclaimed themselves Zionists or by those sincere Jews who, observing all the tenets of religious observance, nevertheless reject political Zionism." (Issue No. 5560 of 14 November 1975, p. 22).

The Jewish organization, *Neturei Karta* of U.S.A., published advertisements in several American newspapers under the heading, "Zionism is not Judaism."

The National Executive Committee of the *American Council for Judaism* released a statement on 8 December 1975 stating: "The American Council for Judaism is anti-Zionist but not anti-Israel and cannot stand silent at efforts to sanctify Zionism by equating it with Judaism, leading to the false assumption that all Jews are Zionists." (*Special Interest Report*, American Council for Judaism, Vol. VII, No. 1, January 1976, p. 1).

American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, Inc., devoted one whole issue of its *Report* (No. 25) to a refutation of the Zionist proposition. A letter to that effect from its President, Rabbi Elmer Berger—an author of several profound books refuting the doctrines of Zionism—appeared as an advertisement placed in several American newspapers by the Arab Information Center under the heading, "A Letter from an American Rabbi to an Arab Ambassador."

Dr. Alfred Lilienthal, a leading Jewish anti-Zionist and currently publisher of *Middle East Perspective*, published a "White Paper on Zionism and Racism" in which, *inter alia*, he reiterated that "all Jews are not Zionists."

Not a few letters have appeared in recent weeks in the American press, in which the writers, identifying themselves as Jews, have repudiated the contention that Zionism and the "Jewish people" are coextensive. How many similar letters were received by the press

but not published, and how many other Jews had the same feelings but did not express them in letters, is anybody's guess.

³⁶"In a confidential despatch to the Foreign Office which is dated December 1934, this is how Sir F. Humphrys, the then British Ambassador in Baghdad, described the position of the Jewish community in Iraq:

"...Before the [First World] war they probably enjoyed a more favourable position than any other minority in the country. Since 1920, however, Zionism has sown dissension between Jews and Arabs, and a bitterness has grown up between the two peoples which did not previously exist..." (Eastern E 7701/6395/93).

This passage appeared in a letter published in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* of 21 December 1975, p. 2.

³⁷ On 11 January 1902, Herzl wrote the following letter for transmission to Rhodes: "...I need you. In fact, all things considered, you are the only man who can help me now... You are being invited to help make history... It is not in your accustomed line; it doesn't involve Africa, but a piece of Asia Minor, not Englishmen, but Jews. But had this been on your path, you would have done it yourself by now. *How, then, do I happen to turn to you, since this is an out-of-the-way matter for you? How indeed? Because it is something colonial... And what I want you to do is not to give me or lend me a few guineas, but to put the stamp of your authority on the Zionist plan and to make the following declaration to a few people who swear by you: I, Rhodes, have examined this plan and found it correct and practicable...*" (*The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, op. cit., pp. 1193-1195. Emphasis added).

³⁸The first instrument created by the World Zionist Organization to implement the Babel Program was called "The Jewish Colonial Trust, Limited," which was founded by the Second' Zionist Congress in 1898 (I. Cohen, *The Zionist Movement*, London, Muller, 1945, p. 51).

³⁹The Twelfth Zionist Congress set up a "Colonisation Department" under the direction of a member of the Executive (Ibid., p. 128).

⁴⁰"We are a company of conquistadors," wrote Ben Gurion in 1917 (David Ben Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, op. cit., p. 9).

⁴¹Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, op. cit., p. 191 and p. 244.

⁴²See Fayez A. Sayegh, "The 'Non-Colonial' Zionism of Mr. Abba Eban," in *Middle East Forum*, Volume XLII, No. 4, pp. 43-74.

⁴³See Carl Hermann Voss, Rabbi and Minister, Cleveland, World Publishing Company, 1964, p. 205. See also G.H. Jansen, "The Limits of Lobbying: The Zionist Failure with Mahatma Gandhi" in *Middle East Forum*, Volume XLII, No. 2, pp. 27-37.

⁴⁴It is a matter of record that the United States Delegation accepted those definitions and supported them. In fact, no Delegation voted against the Declaration of 1963 or the Convention of 1965. Whether Ambassador Moynihan's description of those definitions as "loose" reflects second thoughts on the part of the United States Government or is merely a rhetorical expression of Mr. Moynihan's individual views is not clear from the statement reproduced above.

⁴⁵As Mr. Moynihan correctly observes, the term "racism" has only recently appeared in United Nations documents. At first, the United Nations had used the term "racial discrimination" alone; some years ago, however, it began to couple it with the term "racism." There is no record whatsoever of any attempt by any Delegation (including that of the United States) to make or elicit a distinction between the connotations of the two terms. On the contrary, the record shows that—in every instance in which the two terms appeared together in a United Nations document—they were used synonymously. Occasionally, one of the two terms would appear alone; but it has always been the practice of the United Nations in such cases to use the terms interchangeably. In short, the two terms have always been used either conjunctively and synonymously or else interchangeably and synonymously— but never disjunctively and never differentially!

⁴⁶Ambassador Moynihan here presents what purports to be a classical syllogism, formally consisting—like all good syllogisms—of a major premise, a minor premise and a conclusion. Unfortunately, however, he overlooks the disparity of the two premises. Whereas the minor premise (that "Zionism is a form of racism") was indeed a formal proclamation of the General Assembly, the major premise (that "racism was a form of Nazism") was merely a view expressed by one representative; and, as Ambassador Moynihan himself admitted, it was contradicted by another representative and was not endorsed by the General Assembly. In other words, the Moynihan syllogism juxtaposes two propositions, of which only one constitutes a proclamation by the United Nations. Yet Ambassador Moynihan uninhibitedly—indeed, triumphantly—professes to deduce from the arbitrary and contrived joining of the two propositions a "conclusion"—which he promptly attributes to the United Nations itself. He even describes it as a "solemn" proclamation of the United Na-

tions!

It is very doubtful that Professor Moynihan would approve of that exercise in sophistry in which Ambassador Moynihan has permitted himself to engage.

⁴⁷Mr. Moynihan apparently agrees. Exactly a month later (according to the *New York Post* of 11 December 1975) he said, in reference to another representative: "When you don't have the facts on your side, calling names is a substitute for argument."