

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Said, "Foreword," ix.
2. Davis, *Zionism in Transition*, 76; Neusner, *Comparative Hermeneutics of Rabbinic Judaism*, 341; Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 343.
3. At its conclusion, the first World Zionist Congress issued a declaration of its intentions, known as the Basel Program. It stated, "Zionism strives for the establishment of a publicly and legally secured home in Palestine for the Jewish people." Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 89. In public declarations of their aims, the Zionists did not restrict their program to European Jews; but there is little doubt that this was a movement of, for, and by Western Jews. The Zionists brought non-Western Jews into their movement only later to compensate for the paucity of Western Jews willing to vote for Zionism with their feet.
4. See Sokolow, *History of Zionism: 1600–1918*; Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*; Laqueur, *History of Zionism*; Vital, *Origins of Zionism*; Davis, *Zionism in Transition*; Shimoni, *Zionist Ideology*; Shlaim, *Iron Wall*; Hertzberg, *Fate of Zionism*; Falk, *Fratricide in the Holy Land*; Rose, *Myth of Zionism*; Rose, *Question of Zion*; M. Brenner, *Zionism*; Kovel, *Overcoming Zionism*.
5. In an exclusionary settler colony, the settlers work to *exclude* the natives from their territory. The settlers may seek the exclusion of natives from two motives: the presence of cheaper native labor will bring down the wages of settlers below European levels; alternatively, the natives resist their dispossession and are a threat to the settlers.
6. Following Marshall Hodgson, "Islamicate," as a noun, will refer to a society consisting mostly of Muslims; as an adjective, it will refer to some characteristic of an Islamicate, which may or may not derive from Islam as a faith. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam 1*, 57–60.
7. In a recent book published in Hebrew in Israel, Sand (*The Invention of the Jewish People*) questions the validity of a central claim of Zionism: that the Jewish "diaspora" emerged when the Romans expelled the Jews from Palestine after the destruction of the Second Temple. Starting in the nineteenth century, Zionist thinkers began to propagate the myth of a common descent to provide a racial foundation to their claim that the Jews are a nation. Historical evidence indicates that mass conversions, mostly during the first millennium of the Common Era—not migrations from Palestine—created the Jewish communities of North Africa, Yemen, and Europe, among other places. The Jews of Palestine converted, first, to Christianity, and, after the Arab conquest, most of them converted to Islam. In a similar vein, Paul Wexler writes, "The Sephardic Jews are largely descended from a mixed population consisting of a majority of proselytes of Near Eastern, Arabian and North African origin and a small community of ethnic Palestinian Jews (and their mixed descendants)." Wexler, *Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews*, 229. Patai and Wing (*Myth of the Jewish Race*) showed—in the words of a reviewer—"that Jews are genetically closer to their

- non-Jewish neighbors than they are to Jews in other lands. Most particularly was this true when Oriental Jews were compared to those of Central and Eastern Europe.” Schnall, “Review,” 182. Claims that the Jews are a race were carefully debunked in 1894 by Lazare, *Anti-Semitism*, 119–28. In a recent book, Corcos (*Myth of the Jewish Race*), a biologist, has debunked the notion of a Jewish race.
8. The Orthodox Jews opposed Zionism because it wrote the Jewish Messiah out of the narrative of Jewish restoration. See Rabkin, *Threat from Within*. At the same time, the Reform movement in Germany dropped the doctrine of restoration from its creed in 1845; the reform movement in the United States followed suit in 1885. See Jewishencyclopedia.com, “Zionism”; and Neusner and Avery-Peck, *Routledge Dictionary of Judaism*, 116. In 1897, the German Rabbinical Council and the leaders of the Jewish community of Munich opposed Zionist plans to hold their first Congress in Munich. Theodore Herzl failed to garner financial support from two of the leading Jewish philanthropists of his time—Barons Rothschild and Hirsch—for his Zionist scheme. M. Brenner, *Zionism*, 26.
 9. Dror, “On the Uniqueness of Israel,” 247.
 10. See Said, “An Ideology of Difference,” 38.
 11. Studies that seek to establish a genetic link among Jews or seek to trace them back to common ancestors have engaged the interest of many geneticists in Israel and the United States. See Goldstein, *Jacob’s Legacy*.
 12. According to Hertzberg and Hirt-Manheimer, “Affirming Jews cleave to their Jewishness in the conviction that they are a chosen people. This may be a delusion, or at the very least an exaggeration, but this is at the very core of their self-image.” They also write, “it is the central affirmation of the Jewish faith that God had singled out their ancestors and entered into an eternal covenant with them.” Hertzberg and Hirt-Manheimer, *Jews*, 15–16.
 13. Herzl, *Jewish State*, 12.
 14. The doctrine of Jewish election incorporates three interlocking choices made by the God of the Jewish scriptures. First, God chose Abraham’s lineage through Isaac to be His “treasured people” (Deuteronomy 7:6), a people “consecrated” to the Lord and “a kingdom of priests and a holy nation” (Exodus 19:5). He also chose a land for His people; although its borders vary, this land always included the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. Like the chosen people, this land too was unique: it was a pure land, “flowing with milk and honey” (Exodus 33:3), devoid of impurities, the best of all lands on the earth; it was also a holy land, set apart from other lands, because it was His earthly dwelling place. Finally, God made a covenant with His chosen people. He promised to make them owners and rulers over this land, and to guide, bless and favor them as long as they observed His laws. Conversely, He threatened them with dire punishments, including exile from the promised land, if they break their covenant (Exodus 19:5). It appears that the cumulative moral deficit in Jewish conduct finally led to their expulsion from the promised land in the first century CE. In their centuries of exile, the overwhelming majority of the Jews have lived in Europe and the Middle East, outside of Palestine. All quotes from the Jewish Bible in this book are from Berlin and Brettler, *Jewish Study Bible*.
 15. According to Arthur Hertzberg, “The Jewish people had been warned [in the Talmud] that they should not try to predict the time of their redemption, because that was a mystery known only to God; nor should they engage in any active endeavors, and certainly not in the use of arms, to force “the end of day.” Hertzberg, *Fate of Zionism*, 6.
 16. Rose, *Question of Zion*, 16–17.

17. See Vital, *Origins of Zionism*, 369, and Herzl, *Old-New Land*, ii, for the two quotes from Theodore Herzl.
18. Rose, *Question of Zion*, 16.
19. Goldman, *Jewish Paradox*, 72.
20. Apparently, the profound irony of this position escaped the Zionists. They denied peoplehood to the Palestinians because the land they occupied was not a sovereign state: and yet, the Jews were a people, although they possessed neither a land nor a state.
21. Peters (*From Time Immemorial*) revived this argument. Falsely, she attributes the natural increase in the population of Palestine since the 1850s—a result largely of improvements in health care and sanitation—to immigration. A similar natural increase occurred in Israel's Palestinian population, whose numbers had plummeted to 150,000 after the ethnic cleansing of 1948–49. In 2004, this population had grown to some 1.3 million. Although it was widely acclaimed by the leading Zionists in United States—including such luminaries as Saul Bellow and Barbara Tuchman—Peter's book, according to Finkelstein (*Image and Reality*, xxxii) is a “colossal hoax.”
22. This was the starting point, the chief inspiration for nearly all the early Zionists. Shapira writes, “One of the covert assumptions present among all the poets and the majority of Zionist thinkers and leaders was that Jews had a special right to the Land of Israel, that is, Palestine.” Ahad Ha-Am, quoted in Shapira, commented that this was “a land to which our historical right is beyond doubt and has no need for far-fetched proofs.” Shapira, *Land and Power*, 40–41.
23. In 1919, in an address to British Zionist Federation, Chaim Weizmann declared, “I repeat it again. By a Jewish national home I mean the creation of such conditions that as the country is developed we can . . . finally establish such a society in Palestine that *Palestine shall be as Jewish as England is English, or America American*” (emphasis added). Rose, *Question of Zion*, 121–22.
24. In an essay he wrote in 1891, after a short trip to Palestine, Ahad Ha'am wrote that Jews in Europe believe that “all Arabs are savages of the desert, a people similar to a donkey.” Shapira, *Land and Power*, 42.
25. The Lord's instruction to the Israelites, as they prepared to take possession of the promised land, was unequivocal: “When the Lord your God brings you to the land that you are about to enter and possess, and He dislodges many nations before you . . . and the Lord your God delivers them to you and you defeat them, you must doom them to destruction: grant them no terms and give them no quarter.” Deuteronomy 7:1–3.
26. These more expansive promises are made in Genesis 15:18, Deuteronomy 11:24, and Joshua 1:4.
27. Shahak, *Jewish History*, 8–9.
28. In 1904, Rabbi Kook, the chief Ashkenazi rabbi of Palestine, wrote, “So on the collective level of Israel, God ordained these two faculties: a faculty corresponding to the physical entity, that aspires to material improvement of the nation . . . and a second facet devoted to the cultivation of spirituality. By virtue of the first aspect, Israel is comparable to all the nations of the world. It is by dint of the second aspect that Israel is unique, as it says, ‘The Lord leads it [Israel] alone’; ‘Among the nations it [Israel] shall not be reckoned.’ It is the Torah and unique sanctity of Israel that distinguish it from the nations.” Kook, *When God Becomes History*.
29. Dror “On the Uniqueness of Israel,” 247.
30. In the fifteenth century, Isaac Abravanel, a Jewish statesman and Bible commentator, offered a clear statement of the doctrine that Jewish election—in the words of his

- modern biographer—offered them “exemption from the laws of nature and society that govern gentiles.” Feldman, *Philosophy in a Time of Crisis*, 137–38.
31. Stannard writes of other ways in which chosenness may escalate to racism “with its special emphasis on the maintenance of blood purity (e.g., Deuteronomy 7:3; Joshua 23:12–13), and on the either tacit or expressed pollution fear of corrupting that purity with the defiling blood of others, the ideology of the Covenant intrinsically is but a step away from full blown racism and, if the means are available, often violent oppression of the purportedly threatening non-Chosen.” Stannard, “Politics of Genocide Scholarship,” 275.
 32. Thus, Johnson, a Catholic and a fierce partisan of Israel, writes, “In the last half-century, over 100 completely new independent states have come into existence. Israel is the only one whose creation can fairly be called a miracle.” Johnson, “The Miracle,” 21.
 33. Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Address by Prime Minister Netanyahu.”
 34. Pipes, “[Michael Oren’s] Six Days of War.”
 35. Kook, “Rebirth of Israel,” 425.
 36. Rose, *Question of Zion*, 73.
 37. Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “PM Rabin Response.”
 38. “[Israel] has provided its citizens with the highest standard of living of any nation in the Middle East.” Brownfeld, “Judaism and the Jewish State,” 194.
 39. Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Address by Prime Minister Netanyahu.”
 40. Esther Benbassa develops this thesis in her book, *La Souffrance Comme Identité*. The thesis of a “lachrymose” conception of Jewish historiography was first offered in 1928 by Salo Wittmayer Baron, a leading historian of Jewish history in the twentieth century. He maintained that Jewish historians distort the history of Jews in Europe when they make anti-Semitism—that is, the discrimination, deportations and pogroms endured by Jews—the centerpiece of this history. Liberles and Lyman, *Salo Wittmayer Baron*, 340. This lachrymose tradition is far from dead, as it is an imperative of Zionism. For a recent example of this lachrymose history, see Vital, *A People Apart*. According to his reviewer, Vital “does not seem to find much to value in that existence [in exile] outside the Jews’ eventual reach for self-determination in their own land.” Young, “Bad for the Jews.”
 41. See Ye’or, *Dhimmi and Decline of Eastern Christianity*; Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism*. See M. Cohen, “Jews under Islam,” for an extensive review of the literature on Jews under Islam.
 42. Prager and Telushkin, *Why the Jews?* 3.
 43. Jewish sacred history speaks of two attempts in antiquity to destroy the Jews in their entirety: by the Egyptians in Exodus, and by Haman, the chief minister to Persian king Ahasuerus, in the *Book of Esther*. There is no evidence, however, that these events actually occurred.
 44. Merom, “Israel’s National Security,” 413.
 45. *Ibid.*, 414.
 46. *Ibid.*, 413–14.
 47. Jabbour (*Settler Colonialism*) and Rodinson (*Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?*) offered the earliest and most exhaustive analyses of whether Israel is a colonial settler state.
 48. On premeditation in the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, the two best sources are Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, and Pappé, *Ethnic Cleansing*.
 49. Close to 800,000 Palestinians were expelled from the territories that Israel seized in 1948, and another 320,000 were expelled from the West Bank in 1967. Farsoun and Aruri, *Palestine and the Palestinians*, 303.

50. Qumsiyeh, *Sharing the Land of Canaan*, 87.
51. See Carter, *Palestine*.
52. Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out*.
53. Cook, *Blood and Religion*, 7.
54. *Ibid.*, 8.

CHAPTER 2

1. Merom, "Israel's National Security," 411.
2. Ben-Gurion, *Ben-Gurion Looks at the Bible*, 35.
3. Telegraph, "Angola Is Offered for Zionist Colony," 8.
4. Brenner, *Zionism*, 19–22.
5. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 15–16.
6. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 19.
7. Dror, "On the Uniqueness of Israel," 257.
8. Consider the testimony of Ahad Ha'am ("A Truth from Eretz Israel," 14–15), who was writing after a trip to Palestine in 1891. "We who live abroad," he wrote, "are accustomed to believing that the Arabs are wild desert people who, like donkeys, neither see nor understand what is happening around them." The Jewish colons, he continued, "deal with the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, trespass unjustly, beat them shamefully for no sufficient reason, and even boast about their actions."
9. Most recently, Benny Morris, a leading Israeli historian, told an interviewer, "There was no reason in the world why it [the Jewish people] should not have one state. Therefore, from my point of view, the need to establish this state in this place overcame the injustice that was done to the Palestinians by uprooting them." He continued, "Even the great American democracy could not have been created without the annihilation of the Indians. There are cases in which the overall, final good justifies harsh and cruel acts that are committed in the course of history." See Shavit, "Survival of the Fittest,"
10. Neusner, "A 'Holocaust' Primer," 978, quoted in Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry*, 47.
11. Glazer, *American Judaism*, 171, quoted in Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry*, 48.
12. The Israel lobby in any country includes *all* the domestic forces that work in diverse areas—and through diverse instruments—to advance the interests of Israel, most commonly as defined by the government of Israel. As a result, the Israel lobby is larger than the Jewish lobby, but the latter lies at its core, and, in addition, the major mainstream Jewish organizations generally lead and orchestrate the activities of the Jewish lobby.
13. Dror, "On the Uniqueness of Israel," 257.

CHAPTER 3

1. A Marxist historian, Isaac Deutscher (1907–67) was born in Poland in 1907, moved to England in 1939 where he worked for *The Economist* and *The Observer*. See Deutscher, "Israel's Spiritual Climate," 30.
2. Shatz, *Prophets Outcast*, 40.
3. As early as 1891, Ahad Ha'am, after a visit to Palestine, wrote that the Jewish settlers "treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause, and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination." Rejwan, *Israel in Search of Identity*, 9.

4. Kushner and Solomon, *Wrestling Zion*, 18.
5. Horowitz, "Editor's Notes."
6. Shatz, *Prophets Outcast*, 51.
7. Rejwan, *Israel in Search of Identity*, 8–9. In 1929, in a letter to Chaim Weizmann, Judah Magnes complained that the "Palestine Arabs are unhappily still half savage, and their leaders are almost all small men." Kushner and Solomon, *Wrestling Zion*, 18.
8. Rejwan, *Israel in Search of Identity*, 7. Several Zionists—starting with Theodore Herzl—took this approach, trying to sway the Arabs or the Ottomans with sweet talk of the inestimable benefits that Zionism would bring to them, if only they would open up Palestine to Jewish colonization. It is the approach that adults take toward children when trying to foist a bad bargain on them. A fine example of this ostensibly naïve approach is provided by Yitzhak Epstein, even though he is aware of the risks of flouting Palestinian rights. "These two people," writes Epstein, "the Hebrew and Arab, can supply each other's deficiency, because what we can give to the Arabs they can get from no other people. Every nation that comes to Syria in the guise of an economic savior will seek to conquer, to subjugate, and to assimilate, which is not the case with us, the people without an army and without warships: we are guileless, we have no alien thought of subjugation and of diluting the national character of our neighbors; with a pure heart we come to settle among them in order to better them in all respects." As late as 1930, after the Arab revolt of 1929, Albert Einstein could write, "I am convinced that the devotion of the Jewish people to Palestine will benefit all the inhabitants of the country, not only materially, but also culturally and nationally." Shatz, *Prophets Outcast*, 48, 62.
9. Rejwan, *Israel in Search of Identity*, 14–20.
10. Rodinson, *Israel*, 54.
11. Shlaim, *The Iron Wall*, 13.
12. In 2005, Israel removed the Jewish settlers from Gaza, but, in collaboration with Egypt, continued to police its borders and shoreline, effectively placing the Gazans inside a cage.
13. Rejwan, *Israel in Search of Identity*, 11.

CHAPTER 4

1. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 57; Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, 257; Rejwan, *Israel in Search of Identity*, 11, 12. Col. House was aide to President Wilson.
2. Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 89.
3. The central idea of this book—Zionism contained a destabilizing logic that would inevitably pit the West against the Islamicate—was first presented in Alam ("Israel and the Consequences of Uniqueness"); it is reprinted in Alam, *Challenging the New Orientalism*, 103–16.
4. In the preface to his plan for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, Herzl (*The Jewish State*, x, 28) used the metaphor of steam (where Anti-Semitism is the force of the steam) to define the (steam) power that will propel the creation of his proposed Jewish state. He writes, "Now I believe that this power [of Anti-Semitism], if rightly employed, is powerful enough to propel a large engine and to despatch passengers and goods: the engine having whatever form men may choose to give it." He also writes that the "governments of all countries scourged by Anti-Semitism will serve their own interests in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want."

5. This alliance appears improbable because of the strong differences between Judaism and Christianity. The Jews view Christianity as a Jewish heresy, and Christ as a false Messiah. On the other hand, the Christians view Judaism as a religion that was superseded by their own. More importantly, since Christianity gained power over Jews in Europe—and, for a while, in the Middle East—it relegated Jews to the margins of society, forced them to live in segregated communities, denied them a wide range of civil and religious rights, and, often, unleashed pogroms against them. Later, starting in the nineteenth century, when Jews were granted greater equality of rights, they began to prosper financially and professionally. The last decades of the nineteenth century, however, witnessed the rise of new forms of anti-Semitism, which combined old hatreds with envy of Jewish prosperity, and (especially in Eastern Europe) growing fears of economic competition from Jews arriving in the towns and cities.
6. Lozowick, *Right to Exist*, 306.

CHAPTER 5

1. Shatz, *Prophets Outcast*, 45; Lewis, “The New Anti-Semitism,” 31; Goldman, *The Jewish Paradox*, 99.
2. Peters elaborated on this thesis in her book, *From Time Immemorial*. The book was a smashing hit in the United States. According to Finkelstein (*Image and Reality*, 21–22), “Virtually every important journal of opinion printed one or more reviews within weeks of the book’s release. Harper & Row reported that, scarcely eight months after publication, *From Time Immemorial* went into its seventh printing. Author Joan Peters reportedly had 25 speaking engagements scheduled for the coming year.” Even Saul Bellow joined the chorus of praise, predicting that “millions of people the world over, smothered by false history and propaganda, would be grateful for this clear account of the origins of the Palestinians.” However, Finkelstein has shown that the book was also a monumental fraud. “The fraud in Peter’s book,” he writes, “is so pervasive and systematic that it is hard to pluck out a single thread without getting entangled in the whole unraveling fabric.” When this book was published in Britain—where, according to Chomsky (“The Fate of an Honest Intellectual”), “you can’t control the intellectual community quite as easily”—it received very different reviews. Chomsky had sent an early version of Norman Finkelstein’s critique of Peter’s book to some authors and some journalists he knew in Britain. “As soon as the book appeared,” Noam Chomsky writes, “it was just demolished, it was blown out of the water. Every major journal, the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *London Review*, the *Observer*, everybody had a review saying, this doesn’t even reach the level of nonsense, of idiocy.”
3. Ye’or (*Dhimmi and Islam and Dhimmitude*) is the leading writer in this area. In these ranks also belong Julius (“Review of: Nathan Weinstock”) and the French writer Weinstock (*Zionism, Histoires de Chiens*, and *Use si Longue Présence*), a former Trotskyite who repudiated his earlier anti-Zionist book of 1979 to argue, in 2004, that Palestinian nationalism was motivated by anti-Semitism. In his 2008 book, Weinstock argues that Jews in the Islamicate received only a marginally better treatment than in Europe. See Julius (“Review of: Nathan Weinstock”) for a review of Weinstock’s work.
4. For balanced accounts of the status of non-Muslim communities in the Islamic world, see Cohen (*Under Crescent and Cross* and “The Jews under Islam”), Lewis (“The New Anti-Semitism”), and Menocal (*The Ornament of the World*).

5. Karsh, "The Long Train." Also, see Israeli, *War, Peace and Terror*, 61–80; Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 127–46; and Schoenfeld, *The Return of Anti-Semitism*, 7–56.
6. Lewis, "The New Anti-Semitism."
7. Some Islamicate states invoked this interpretation of Jihad, mostly in the medieval period, when waging wars against non-Muslim states; this did not preclude long periods of truce between Muslim and non-Muslim states. Over the past two centuries, however, Muslims have invoked Jihad almost exclusively in defensive wars, when resisting colonization of their lands by Western powers.
8. Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage."
9. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*.
10. Portis, "Zionism and the United States."
11. Davidson, "Christian Zionism." Some of the quotes in this paragraph are from the original article in *New York Times*.

CHAPTER 6

1. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 39.
2. Eliezer Ben-Yehudah (1858–1923) played a leading role in the revival of the Hebrew language. He was "the first to state, and to incarnate in a significant career, a main 'messianic' theme of Zionism—the notion that the Jews must end their peculiar history by becoming a modern nation." Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 159.
3. At first, Peretz Smolenskin (1842–85) embraced the Jewish Enlightenment and saw the Jews as a "spiritual nation," but, later, he rejected the Enlightenment and assimilation, developed a nationalist doctrine, and argued that the Jews should preserve their identity by returning to Eretz Israel. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 145.
4. Simon, *About Zionism*, quoted in Brenner, *51 Documents*, 29.
5. Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 58.
6. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 197.
7. Kessner, *The Other New York*, 39.
8. Jewish Virtual Library, *World Jewish Population*.
9. ProCon.Org, *Israeli-Palestinian*.
10. See Laqueur (*A History of Zionism*, 85) for the territories claimed by the World Zionist Organization; this included, in addition to the British mandate of Palestine, parts of the Sinai, southern Lebanon, a slice of Syria, and all of Jordan west of Amman.
11. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 41; Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 100–101, 115–19.
12. Leo Pinsker was perhaps the only eminent Zionist leader who argued that the "goal of our present endeavors must be not the 'Holy Land' but a land of our own." Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology*, 35. Theodore Herzl too was less rigid in his commitment to Eretz Israel.
13. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 579.
14. Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology*, 98–99, 335.
15. Brenner, *Zionism*, 113.
16. Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 12.
17. *Ibid.*, 12.
18. Leon, *The Jewish Question*.
19. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 518.
20. DellaPergola, *Demography in Israel/Palestine*.
21. Bell, *Jews in the Early Modern World*, 63.
22. Between 1881 and 1914, another 300,000 European Jews emigrated to the United Kingdom, 100,000 to Argentina, 80,000 to France, 60,000 to Canada, and 50,000

- to South Africa. Alroey, *Mass Jewish Migration*. The data on migration to Israel are from Jewish Virtual Library, *World Jewish Population*.
23. Moses Hess had anticipated this problem in 1862, when he wrote, "Even after the establishment of a Jewish state the majority of the Jews who live at present in the civilized countries of the Occident will undoubtedly remain where they are." Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 138.
 24. Some of the Zionist precursors had foreseen this difficulty. In 1881, Peretz Smolenskin wrote, "Not all Jews will go there—only those who are destitute or persecuted will look for a place to which to emigrate." Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 152.
 25. Nordau and Gottheil, *Zionism and Anti-Semitism*, 17, 19, 20.
 26. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 24.
 27. "Modern Zionism," writes Hertzberg (*The Zionist Idea*, 18–19), "agreed with the classical faith that the Jews had once been chosen to lead the world . . . Despite some remarks to the contrary, the weight of learned opinion in the authoritative religious writings and the whole of popular Jewish feeling had always been certain that the election of the Jew would persist to all eternity."
 28. Grose, *Israel in the Mind*, 14, 20. In the 1820s, Mordecai Noah tried to establish an agricultural Jewish colony—he called it Ararat—on Grand Island in Niagara River in western New York. Noah wanted Ararat to be a "City of Refuge," a "New Jerusalem" for the world's persecuted Jews. Not many Jews anywhere took up his offer: and the plan was widely ridiculed in the American Jewish press. See Dalin, "Jacksonian Jew."
 29. In 1845, Noah ("Restoration of the Jews") wrote, "The restoration is to be brought about by human agency, and can only be accomplished by and with the consent of the Christian powers, who, from their own active energies, and, if you please, spirit of conquest, now control, I may say, the whole world, civilized and barbarian. We can only be peaceably restored by and with their consent, and if so restored, we shall, beyond doubt, be secure and protected in all our national rights."
 30. In 1862, Moses Hess wrote, "Judaism is not threatened, like Christianity, with danger from nationalistic and humanistic aspirations of our time, for, in reality, the spirit of the age is approaching ever closer to the essential Jewish emphasis on real life." Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 125.
 31. In 1862, Moses Hess writes, "Through the industrial and commercial endeavors the Jews have become necessary to the civilized nations in whose midst they live, and they are an indispensable leaven to the future development of these peoples. I have even heard it said quite seriously that the Indo-Germanic race improve its quality by mingling with the Jewish race!" Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 127. Theodore Herzl (*The Jewish State*, 8) too wrote, "We have doubtless attained preeminence in finance, because medieval conditions drove us to it."
 32. Hertzberg (*The Zionist Idea*, 35) writes, "[Rabbi] Alkalai is particularly aware of the new political possibilities that the Emancipation had opened to the Jew. The prominence of individual Jews in European society and the later formation in 1860 of the Alliance Israélite Universelle to conduct the political defense of Jewish rights all over the world were used by him as arguments for Zionism: the Jew has now learned to deal as an equal on the international scene; let him act, with all the political and economic power he has achieved in freedom, for the restoration of his people." Pasachoff and Littman (*A Concise History*, 212) also write that Rabbi Alkalai and Rabbi Kalischer viewed the emancipation of Jews and the unprecedented rise of a few Jews—like Rothschild and Montefiore—to leadership in finance as signs of the coming redemption. In the 1830s, Kalischer urged the head of the Rothschild family and Moses Montefiore to buy Palestine—or, at least, Jerusalem—from the Ottomans for Jewish settlement.

33. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 133–34.
34. Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 12.
35. “We cannot assimilate,” writes Samuel (*You Gentiles*, 209). “It is so humiliating to us that we become contemptible in submitting to this process: it is so exasperating to you that, even if we were willing to submit, it would avail us nothing.”
36. Several prominent Jews in the United States, including Felix Warburg, worried that Zionism would encourage anti-Semites to question if American Jews owed their primary loyalty to the United States. Berman, *Nazism, the Jews*, 60.
37. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 265.
38. *Ibid.*, 15.
39. In June 1912, Portugal offered to create a “self-governing colony on the model of British South Africa or Canada” in Angola. This offer was made by the Portuguese government to Israel Zangwill in Lisbon. Telegraph, “Angola Is Offered,” 8.
40. This could not have been as fantastic an idea in 1900 as it sounds today, given the dramatic changes in the relative populations of world Jewry and the population of the Arab Middle East. In 1900, the world Jewish population stood at 10.6 million. Most likely, the total population of the Ottoman provinces of Syria, Iraq, and the Hijaz at the time was much less than the world total for the Jews. Jewish Virtual Library, *World Jewish Population*.
41. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 19.
42. Brown, “Iron and a King,” 7.
43. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 20.
44. *Ibid.*, 145.

CHAPTER 7

1. Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 49; Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 11; Shlaim, *The Iron Wall*, 101; Ottolenghi, “Anti-Zionism.”
2. The slogan, “a land without a people for a people without a land,” is often attributed to Israel Zangwill, but it was first used by the Earl of Shaftesbury, a leading Christian Zionist, in 1840s. Garfinkle, “On the Origins.”
3. At the hearings of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in 1902, Herzl said, “A nation is, in my mind, a historical group of men of a recognizable cohesion held together by a common enemy. That is in my view a nation. Then if you add to that the word ‘Jewish’ you have what I understand to be the Jewish nation.” Raisin, *A History of the Jews*, 411.
4. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 183. In 1900, Karl Kraus, an early critic of Zionism, wrote, “After all, what common bond could unite the interests of the German, English, French, Slavic and Turkic Jews into one political entity?” Brenner, *Zionism*, 45.
5. In 1905, Max Nordau wrote, “Since the destruction of the second temple by Titus, since the dispersion of the Jewish nation in all countries, this people has not ceased to long intensely, and hope fervently, for the return to the lost land of their fathers.” Nordau and Gottheil, *Zionism and Anti-Zionism*, 10–11.
6. As a result, in his negotiations with the Ottomans, Herzl (*The Jewish State*, 29–30) did not merely seek permission for the Jews to immigrate freely; he asked the Sultan to “give” Palestine to the Jews. “Suppose His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine,” Herzl wrote, “we could in return pledge ourselves to regulate the whole finances of Turkey” (emphasis added).
7. These ideas will be examined more extensively in Chapter 13 when we discuss the connections between Christian Zionism and the Zionist movement.

8. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, 63.
9. Ould-Mey, "Geopolitical genesis," 4–5.
10. The rivalry between Britain and France for global domination had been settled quite decisively in Britain's favor with Napoleon's defeat in 1815. In 1840, the expansionist bid made by Muhammad Ali Pasha had also been decisively contained. Moreover, given the overwhelming superiority of their naval forces, French control over the Suez Canal was only a minor irritant to the British. In 1882, this irritant too was eliminated when the British occupied Egypt.
11. Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology*, 34.
12. This was the common denominator of all Zionist movements: the belief that "Jews are a single, distinctive entity, possessing national, not just religious attributes. This understanding of the nature of the Jewish entity distinguished the adherents of Zionism sharply from those who abjured the national attributes of the Jewish entity and advocated the panacea of diasporic emancipation and integration." Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology*, 85.
13. Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 2, 4.
14. *Ibid.*, ix, 11.
15. In 1919, Sokolow (*History of Zionism*, 296) complains, "The official Jewish community [in Britain], with its rather parochial view, long looked askance at Zionism, and until quite recent years those who followed Herzl have been a minority struggling hard against a vast amount of prejudice and of indifference."
16. "The proper, the only remedy [for Jewish homelessness]," wrote Leo Pinsker, "would be the creation of a Jewish nationality, of a people living upon its own soil, the auto-emancipation of the Jews; their emancipation as a nation among nations by the acquisition of a home of their own" (emphasis added). Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology*, 34.
17. "The question, from whom was the land 'liberated,' is difficult to answer," writes Hans Kohn. "From the British, whose administration had alone made possible the growth of the Jewish settlement against the will of the great majority of Palestinians? From its native inhabitants who, though ruled by foreign empires, had tilled and owned the soil for many centuries." Kohn, "Zion and the Jewish," 209.
18. Lindqvist, *Exterminate All the Brutes*. In its narrative approach to history, this book reveals the banality of racism and genocide in the Western encounter with the Other outside of Europe.
19. Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*.
20. Meyer, "Editorial Notebook."
21. Just as Israel has refused to define its borders, the early Zionists too avoided defining the boundaries of their projected state. In private, different claims were made about the proposed borders of the Jewish state, some more ambitious than others. In 1918, David Ben-Gurion and Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, in a book written in Yiddish, described a Jewish state that (in the words of the Benny Morris) would stretch "from the Litani River in southern Lebanon, the Hermon Mountain foothills and Wadi A'waj (just south of Damascus) in the north, to the Gulf of Aqaba (Eilat) in the south. In the West it would reach as far as Al-'Arish in Sinai, and in the east it would stretch to a rough line between Aqaba and Amman." Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 75.
22. Superficially, the Zionists seem to have a point. How could Zionism not be a movement for liberation, given the armed struggle that Jews had to wage against a colonial power that was in occupation of Palestine? Isaac Deutscher, a Marxist historian, has offered a succinct response to the specious logic of this claim. "The fact that the Jewish community in Palestine," he writes, "afterward fought the British is no more evidence of its not being a colonial implantation than similar wars of British colonists

- against the mother country from the American Revolution to Rhodesia. In the case of Palestine, as of other such struggles, the Mother Country was assailed because it showed more concern for the native majority than was palatable to the colonist minority.” Kushner and Solomon, *Wrestling Zion*, 30.
23. Shlaim, “Why Zionism Today.”
 24. Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial Settler State*, 30.
 25. In a conversation with Nahum Goldmann in 1955, Ben-Gurion declared, “Why should the Arabs make peace? If I was an Arab leader I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country. Sure God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs. We come from Israel, but two thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been antisemitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They only see one thing: we have come here and stolen their country. Why should they accept that? They may perhaps forget in one or two generations’ time, but for the moment there is no chance. So, it’s simple: we have to stay strong and maintain a powerful army. Our whole policy is there. Otherwise the Arabs will wipe us out.” Goldmann, *The Jewish Paradox*, 99.

CHAPTER 8

1. Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 9–10; Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 161; Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian*, 50; Shavit, “Survival of the Fittest.”
2. DellaPergola, *Demography in Israel/Palestine*.
3. Jewish Virtual Library, *Jewish and non-Jewish Population of Palestine-Israel*.
4. In 1994, Elia Zureik (“Palestinian Refugees,” 11) surveyed the different estimates of the numbers of Palestinians expelled from Israel: these estimates range from 700,000 to 800,000; but Salman Abu-Sitta (*The Palestinian Nakba*, 14) maintains that the numbers expelled were 935,000.
5. Many Arabs who were forced to flee their homes in 1948 and 1949, but stayed inside Israel, were also prevented from returning to their homes; they became refugees inside Israel. Masalha, *Catastrophe Remembered*.
6. Avi Shlaim (*The Iron Wall*, xiii) identifies four works, all published in the late 1980s, with the beginning of revisionist history: Flapan, *The Birth of Israel*; Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–49*; Pappé, *Britain and Arab-Israeli Conflict*; and Shlaim, *Collusion across the Jordan*. Since then, these books have been followed by others, notably Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*; and Morris, *1948: A History*.
7. Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History*.
8. Finkelstein, *Image and Reality*, 8.
9. Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 161.
10. According to Herzl (*The Jewish State*, 10), the “immediate cause” of anti-Semitism “is our excessive production of mediocre intellects, who cannot find an outlet downwards or upwards—that is to say, no wholesome outlet in either direction. Whenever we sink, we become a revolutionary proletariat, the subordinate officers of the revolutionary party; when we rise, there arises the terrible power of our pursers.”
11. Israel Zangwill proposed to expel the Palestinians. As early as 1905, he declared, “[We] must be prepared either to drive out by the sword the [Arab] tribes in possession as our forefathers did or to grapple with the problem of a large alien population, mostly Mohammedan and accustomed for centuries to despise us.” Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 10.
12. *Ibid.*, 176.

13. Finkelstein, *Image and Reality*, 8–9.
14. Ibid., 9; Sternhell, *The Founding Myths*, ch. 2.
15. Colonial settler states come in at least three forms. In the first, the alien settlers in the colony end up displacing or exterminating all or nearly all the “natives”; this is the exclusive settler colony. In a second version, the settlers appropriate the best lands and use the displaced natives as a reserve of cheap labor; this is the mixed settler colony. In its third form, the settlers in the colony replace the extinct native populations—killed by diseases, the savagery of the colonists, or both—with imported slaves or indentured workers; this is the plantation settler colony. See Fieldhouse, *Colonial Empires*, 11–12.
16. Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 27.
17. “The Zionist public catechism, at the turn of the century, and well into the 1940s, remained that there was room enough in Palestine for both people; there need not be a displacement of Arabs to make room for the Zionist immigrants or the Jewish state. There was no need for a transfer of the Arabs and on no account must the idea be incorporated into the movement’s ideological-political platform.” Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*, 43.
18. The mayor of Jerusalem had written to the chief rabbi of France, advising the Jews that they (in the words of Herzl) “would do better to go somewhere else.” Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 91–92.
19. It may be worth noting that Herzl (*The Jewish State*, 11) displays an obsessive interest in working out all manner of details that he thinks will ensure the success of his plan for a Jewish state. He dedicates an entire paragraph on how to rid Palestine of “wild beasts.” Instead of pursuing them with the primitive spear and lance, they should be exterminated with “melinite bombs.” Yet there is no mention of the Arabs in the pages of *The Jewish State*: as if Palestine were truly empty.
20. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 21–22.
21. Khalidi, “The Jewish-Ottoman Land Company,” 44; Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 138–39.
22. Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 161.
23. Ibid., 171.
24. Elon (*The Israelis*, 149) attributes this phrase to Israel Zangwill. In 1903, Zangwill wrote, “Palestine is a ruined country and the Jews are a broken people. But neither is beyond recuperation. Palestine needs a people; Israel needs a country.” See Simon, *Speeches, Articles*, 80.
25. Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 5–6.
26. Zangwill, *The Voice of Jerusalem*, 104, quoted in Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 6, 14.
27. Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 15.
28. Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 162–63.
29. Ibid., 184–85.
30. In 1937, when the members of *Hashomer Hatzair*—a *kibbutz* federation who advocated a binational state—objected that the creation of a “Hebrew state” would create barriers between Jews and Arabs, Yosef Baratz, a Mapai leader, answered: “Isn’t such a barrier already existing and permanent in the country? Aren’t we building *exclusive* train stations, an *exclusive* post service, *exclusive* government office, an *exclusive* sea port, *exclusive* roads, and an *exclusive* economy as far as possible?” (emphasis added). Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 75.
31. Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem*, 44.

32. The quotes in this paragraph are from Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem*, 44, 50.
33. *Ibid.*, 47–48.
34. *Ibid.*, 48, 50, 54.
35. *Ibid.*, 50.
36. Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, 48.
37. *Ibid.*, 55–60.

CHAPTER 9

1. Grose, *Israel in the Mind*, 14; Slezkin, *The Jewish Century*, 50.
2. Lindemann (*Essau's Tears*, 14, 15) has argued that a Jewish historiography of victimization has focused excessively on anti-Semitic violence in the history of European Jews and on anti-Semitism as an ideology that has dominated Western thinking in medieval and modern times. He suggests that this historiography, in part, serves as an “ideology of revenge” against Gentiles. Its primary purpose, however, is to prevent Jewish suffering “largely by exposing the sinful or corrupt nature of Gentile society and its responsibility for Jewish suffering.”
3. Ben-Sasson (*A History of the Jewish People*, 790) writes, “The Jewish rate of increase was twice as fast as that of the non-Jewish population, and several scholars have spoken of the ‘demographic miracle’ of the Jewish people in the nineteenth century.” Based on new estimates of Jewish populations in Netherlands, the Polish province of Posen, and Germany, Straten and Snel (“The Jewish ‘Demographic Miracle’”) conclude that claims of a Jewish demographic miracle in the nineteenth century are exaggerated; the exaggeration is put down to underestimates of the Jewish population in 1800.
4. Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 27; Rottenberg, *Finding Our Fathers*, 43.
5. Roupp, *Teaching World History*, 121.
6. Dellapergolla, “An Overview,” 62; Rottenberg, *Finding Our Fathers*, 43.
7. Dellapergolla, “An Overview,” 62. According to earlier estimates by Ettinger (“Demographic Changes,” 792), the share of Western and Central Europe in the world’s Jewish population was only 11 percent.
8. Dellapergolla, “An Overview,” 62. According to Ettinger (“Demographic Changes,” 792), 37 percent of the world’s Jews lived in the Islamic world; their share had declined to 10 percent in 1880.
9. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 41, 130.
10. Jewish Virtual Library, *World Jewish Population*. The share of the Americas in the world’s Jewish population increased dramatically from 0.3 percent in 1825 to 11 percent in 1900. On the contrary, the share of the world’s Jewish population in Africa and Asia declined from 16.5 percent in 1825 to 6.7 percent in 1900. Engelman, *The Rise of the Jew*, 103.
11. Ettinger, “Demographic Changes,” 793; Gelvin, *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 42.
12. Elazar and Cohen, *The Jewish Polity*, 242.
13. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis*, 44. In his assessment of European Jewish society from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Katz (*Tradition and Crisis*, 55) writes, “We have before us the classic example of a social minority whose very segregation and isolation ideally conditioned it for economic activity—and for that alone.”
14. Lazare, *Anti-Semitism*, 108.

15. Lazare (*ibid.*, 109) writes, "At the beginning of the great industrial development, after 1815, when canal, mine, and insurance companies were formed, the Jews were among the most active in promoting combination of capital."
16. Slezkin, *The Jewish Century*, 47–48; Ettinger, "Demographic Changes," 796.
17. "In 1912, 20 percent of all millionaires in Britain and Prussia . . . were Jews. In 1908–11, in Germany as a whole, Jews made up . . . 31 percent of the richest families . . . In 1930, about 70 percent of the richest Hungarian taxpayers . . . were Jews. And of course, the Rothschilds . . . were, by a large margin, the wealthiest family of the nineteenth century." Slezkin, *The Jewish Century*, 48.
18. *Ibid.*, 50.
19. Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, 40, quoted in Slezkin, *The Jewish Century*, 51.
20. Ettinger, "Demographic Changes," 797–8.
21. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 81, 92.
22. The Gypsies were another transnational community in Europe, but their numbers were smaller, and, more importantly, they were unable to rise above their marginal existence in European societies.
23. In 1911, Lucien Wolf, an eminent Jewish activist, wrote, "So far from injuring the Jews, it [anti-Semitism] has really given Jewish racial separatism a new lease on life . . . Its agitation . . . has helped to transfer Jewish solidarity from a religious to a racial basis." Lindemann, *Essau's Tears*, 330.
24. Jewish activists were already an important force in the various non-Marxist but radical movements in Russia during the 1870s and 1880s. "In the peak years of 1886–89 [in the career of the People's Will party], the Jews accounted for between 25 and 30 percent of all activists, and between 35 and 40 percent of those in southern Russia." Moreover, with "the rise of Marxism, the role of Jews in the Russian revolutionary movements became still more prominent . . . The first group of 29 [exiles] that arrived with Lenin included 17 Jews (58.6 percent). At the Sixth (Bolshevik) party Congress of July–August 1917 . . . the Jewish share was about 16 percent overall, and 23.7 percent in the Central Committee." Slezkin, *The Jewish Century*, 151–52.
25. "A stream of about two and a half million Eastern European Jews gave the United States the largest Jewish community after World War I." Brenner, *Zionism: A Brief History*, 68.
26. Lindemann (*Essau's Tears*, 320) writes that Zionism "might also be considered corroboration, by eloquent Jewish leaders, of the charge made by anti-Semites that there was something deep in Jewish consciousness that finally could not accept absorption into a modern nationalist identity."
27. Theodore Herzl (*The Jewish State*, x) compared anti-Semitism to the power of steam that, "if rightly employed, is powerful enough to propel a large engine and to despatch passengers and goods: the engine having whatever form men may choose to give it."
28. "From the start of the mass migration in 1881," writes Hochberg ("The Repatriation of Eastern European Jews," 49–50), "repatriation was one of the pillars of communal policy for an Anglo-Jewish community opposed in principle to the settling of foreign Jews in Britain."
29. Slezkin, *The Jewish Century*, 166–70.
30. *Ibid.*, 149–50.
31. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 329–90; Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology*, ch. 5.
32. Lacqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 84–135.

33. Ibid., 97–98
34. Ibid., 101.
35. Ibid., 109.
36. For example, Theodore Herzl gained access to the Ottoman Sultan through the services of Arminius Vambery, an Orientalist, traveler, and friend of the Sultan, who was of Hungarian-Jewish origin. Lacqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 111–12. In January 1915, Herbert Samuel, the postmaster general and a Jew, submitted “the first British proposal to conquer Palestine” in a detailed memorandum submitted to the British cabinet. Segev, *One Palestine Complete*, 33. In addition, two close associates of President Woodrow Wilson—Rabbi Stephen Wise and Louis Brandeis—were Jews.

CHAPTER 10

1. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 109–110; Schuldiner and Kleinfeld, *The Selected Writings*, 126; Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 133; Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, 295; Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 576.
2. Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 12.
3. Grose, *Israel in the Mind*, 14.
4. Mordecai Noah wrote that since the Jews, on their own, cannot take possession of Syria, the Christian nations that “now control the destinies of the world, must be invoked in carrying out this most interesting project.” Specifically, he expected the British to take up this task. Noah predicted that Britain will colonize Egypt to secure access to its possessions in India; once this happens, a Jewish state in Palestine could serve as a reliable buffer between the British in Egypt and the Russians. Moreover, the Jews are prepared—and they have the capability—to take on this great task. “The whole sect are . . . in a position,” according to Mordecai Noah, “as far as intelligence, education, industry, undivided enterprise, variety of pursuits, science, a love of the arts, political economy, and wealth could desire, to adopt the initiatory steps for the organization of a free government in Syria.” Schuldiner and Kleinfeld, *The Selected Writings*, 139, 141.
5. Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, 133.
6. Pinsker, *Auto-Emancipation*, 96, quoted in Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 41.
7. Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 2, 6. In a letter written in 1899 to Zia Al-Khalidi, the mayor of Jerusalem, Theodore Herzl, had assured him that “the Jews have no belligerent Power behind them” and “there is absolutely nothing to fear from their immigration.” Yet Theodore Herzl had spent the last few years in a frantic bid to secure the support of just such a “belligerent Power.” Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 91–92. In addition, the draft of the charter for the Jewish-Ottoman Land Company (JOLC)—that Herzl wanted the Ottomans to endorse—included plans for setting up a Jewish army and navy under the control of the JOLC. Khalidi, “The Jewish-Ottoman Land Company,” 46.
8. The endorsements of the following governments of the Balfour Declaration were entered into the record of the U.S. Congress in April 1922: France, Italy, Holland, Greece, Serbia, China, Siam, and Japan. Zionist Organization of America, *The American War Congress*, 151–54.
9. The territorial Zionists had a different list of “surrogates” that included smaller European powers, such as Portugal, with colonies in Africa.
10. In Poland, the victims of the new communist regime as well as ordinary members of the communist party saw Jews in the party as “servants of Stalin and betrayers of national communism.” Naimark, “Revolution and Counter-Revolution,” 76–77.

In the revolutionary movements that sought to capture power in the wake of the collapse of the Hohenzollern, Romanov, and Hapsburg empires after World War I, “Jews played important roles.” Jews played a leading role in the Hungarian revolution of 1919, led by Bela Kun, a Transylvanian Jew; in addition, eighteen of the twenty-nine members of the Hungarian Soviet Revolutionary Council were Jewish. Jews also “played key roles in the revolutionary upheavals in Berlin and Munich.” Brustein, *Roots of Hate*, 272.

11. It should be noted that not all Christians favored Zionism on religious grounds. “It is revolting,” the special correspondent of a British newspaper, wrote, “that a Christian country such as Britain is should turn the Holy Land into the domain for freethinking Judaeo-Slavs. Our forefathers made the Crusades; but our statesmen . . . hand over the country of the Redeemer to infidels such as Richard Coeur de Lion knew.” Kerekes, *Masked Ball*, 272.
12. Brenner, *Zionism in the Age and 51 Documents*; Black, *The Transfer Agreement*; Hecht, *Perfidy*.
13. Czechoslovakia began to supply arms to Israel in January 1948, and by late summer of the same year they had supplied “84 fighter planes, 22 tanks, 16 artillery pieces, 60,000 light arms, and tens of millions of rounds of ammunition.” Sachar, *Israel and Europe*, 56–57.
14. Lewan, “How West Germany Helped,” 41–43. At the end of 2000, the total value of German reparations for its persecution of Jews amounted to 55 billion Euros, and of this amount, 40 percent went to Israel or recipients in Israel. Germany, *Israel*.
15. Safran, *Israel*, 376.
16. Kamrava, *The Modern Middle East*, 79.
17. Yaacobi, *Breakthrough*, 184.

CHAPTER 11

1. This is how Sir Mark Sykes, secretary to Britain’s war cabinet in 1917, greeted Chaim Weizmann with news that the British cabinet had approved the statement of support for Zionism, known as the Balfour Declaration. Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, 297.
2. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 15. In his speech to the first Zionist Congress, Theodore Herzl stated, “Asia is the diplomatic problem of the coming decade. Let us recall in all modesty that we Zionists . . . foresaw and proclaimed this development of the European contest [over Palestine] several years ago.” Straus, *The Congress Addresses*, 13.
3. Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 167.
4. Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 12. The second sentence in this quote is missing from the cited edition, but is present in other editions.
5. Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, 8.
6. Kayyali, “Zionism and Imperialism,” 100.
7. Jabbour, *Settler Colonialism*, 22–23.
8. Jeffries, “Analysis of the Balfour Declaration,” 173.
9. Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*; Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 203; Levene, “The Balfour Declaration,” 54.
10. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 162.
11. Information in this and the previous paragraph is from British Embassy, Vienna, *Herzl in England: UK and Austria, Bilateral Relations*. <http://www.britishebassy.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1107298483043>

12. Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, 274.
13. Sidebotham, "British Interests in Palestine," 128–33.
14. Toward the end of 1914, when Lord Kitchener asked his Oriental Secretary in Cairo for his opinion on the significance of Palestine in relation to a French or Russian presence to the north, he wrote back, "A buffer State [in Palestine] is most desirable, but can one get one up?" A Jewish state in Palestine, he offered, was not feasible, since the Jews formed only one-sixth of the population. Instead, he proposed that Palestine should be incorporated into Egypt. Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, 142–43.
15. *Ibid.*, 269–71.
16. Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, 721.
17. See note 15.
18. Lord Balfour—in a cabinet meeting in October 1917—expressed the British viewpoint very well: "The vast majority of Jews in Russia and America, as indeed all over the world, now appear to be favorable to Zionism. If we could make a declaration favorable to such an ideal, we should be able to carry on extremely useful propaganda both in Russia and America." Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 74.
19. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 177.
20. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 74.
21. "While [Dr. A.] Hankte, [Kurt] Blumenfeld and [Richard] Lichtheim [leading Zionists in Germany] impressed on their Berlin contacts that England was about to make an important pro-Zionist declaration, Weizmann used the reverse argument in his dealings with the British cabinet and Foreign Office: unless the British hurried the central powers would come out first and secure an important advantage." Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 177.
22. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 73.
23. Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, 724.
24. The three assistant secretaries in the war cabinet were Sir Mark Sykes, William Ormsby-Gore, and Leopold S. Amery. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 72–73.
25. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 456.
26. Smith, *Palestine*, 64.
27. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 103.
28. Shlaim, *The Iron Wall*, 10; Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 103–4.
29. Smith, *Palestine*, 90–92.
30. *Ibid.*, 103.
31. *Ibid.*, 102–5.

CHAPTER 12

1. Avishai, *The Tragedy of Zionism*, 28; Patai, *The Complete Diaries*, quoted in Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, Zionism*, 55; Quigley, *Flight into the Maelstrom*, 167; Seidman, *Socialists and the Fight*, 26; and Chomsky, "Anti-Semitism, Zionism."
2. According to Katz ("The Jewish National Movement," 273), the early nationalist theories of Rabbi Alkalai (1798–1878) and Rabbi Kalischer (1795–1874) "were derived from reinterpretation of the old Messianic tradition in the light of new historic experiences. In view of later developments it is well to remember that *modern anti-Semitism was not amongst these experiences*" (emphasis added). The two rabbis developed their nationalist theories "during the flourishing period of Middle European Liberalism, i.e. between 1840–1875, when optimism as to the possible integration of

- Jews into the life of European nations was almost universal." In addition, Katz writes that Rabbi Kalischer interpreted the emancipation of Jews in his youth "exclusively in terms derived from Jewish tradition. The emancipation and even more the ascendance of Jewish individuals, as, for instance, the Rothschilds, to unheard of economic and political influence appeared to him to be the fulfillment of the old prophecy of liberation which according to Jewish tradition was to terminate the exile."
3. On the "lachrymose" history constructed by Jews, see Liberles and Lyman (*Salo Wittmayer Baron*), Foa (*The Jews of Europe*, 219), and Kiener (*The Jewish Experience of Suffering*). Contrary to their Gentile colleagues, the Jewish scholars of Islam and the Middle East, during the height of Orientalism, were more generous in their recognition of Islamic and Islamicate achievements, as a snub to European claims of superiority. Once Zionism became the dominant discourse among the Jews, starting in the 1940s, a new generation of Jewish scholars began to practice a more predatory Orientalism that blamed Islam for all the problems of the Islamicate. Alam, "Bernard Lewis," reprinted in Alam, *Challenging the New Orientalism*, 3–23. A revisionist history of the Jews in the Islamicate has also been added to the arsenal of Zionism, described as neo-lachrymose by Cohen, "The Neo-Lachrymose Conception."
 4. Frankfurter, "An Interview," 196.
 5. Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out*; Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry*, 11–38; Alam, "A New Theology," reprinted in Cockburn and St. Clair, *The Politics of Anti-Semitism*, 73–77. For the attacks launched against Mearsheimer and Walt ("The Israel Lobby") for their article on the Israeli lobby, see Solomon, "The Lobby and the Bulldozer," and Cohen, "Yes, It's Anti-Semitic." See Finkelstein, "The Ludicrous Attacks," and Lipstadt, "Jimmy Carter's Jewish Problem," for the attacks on President Carter's book, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*.
 6. In 1894, Lazare (*Anti-Semitism*, 124) wrote, "If the anti-Semite reproaches the Jew for being part of a strange and base race, the Jew vaunts of belonging to an elect and superior race; to his nobility and antiquity he attaches the highest importance and even now he is the prey of patriotic pride. Though no longer a nation, though protesting against those who see in him the representative of a nation encamped among strange nations, he nevertheless harbors in the depth of his heart this absurdly vain conviction, and thus he is like the chauvinists of all lands."
 7. Herzl, *The Jewish State*, x; Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 286.
 8. Herzl, *The Jewish State*, x.
 9. Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 285–86.
 10. Lilienthal, *The Other Side*, 184, quoted in Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 286.
 11. Zionist and Jewish organizations in the United State did very little to register their protest against the immigration restrictions during the 1930s when Nazi persecution of the Jews was common knowledge. Seidman (*Socialists and the Fight*, 30) concluded, "Leaders of Zionists and most Jewish organizations raised no significant protests against the policies of the Roosevelt administration that left hundreds of refugees, Jews and others, to die at the hands of the fascist and anti-Semites in Europe during the 1930s."
 12. Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, xxxi. In 1938, David Ben-Gurion wrote, "If Jews will have to choose between the refugees, saving Jews from concentration camps, and assisting a national museum in Palestine, mercy will have the upper hand and the whole energy of the people will be channeled into saving Jews from various countries. Zionism will be struck off the agenda not only in world opinion, in Britain and the USA, but elsewhere in Jewish public opinion. If we allow a separation between the

- refugee problem and the Palestine problem, we are risking the existence of Zionism.” Quigley, *Flight into the Maelstrom*, 167.
13. Quigley, *Flight into the Maelstrom*, 167. In an entry on the Evian Conference, Taylor (“Evian Conference,” 213) writes, “The expectation that the Jewish organizations would present a stable immigration plan was unfulfilled when they proved unable to agree among themselves.”
 14. This is not the only example of Zionist resistance to various proposals and offers to rescue Europe’s Jews. Miller, *Awake My Glory*, excerpted in *Jews Against Zionism, Words of the Rabbis*.
 15. Ernst, *So Far So Good*, 172–76.
 16. According to Feingold (“American Jewry,” 6), “When news of the systematic killing of Jews leaked out of Switzerland in 1942, American Jews found the stories too gruesome to believe and hence were slow to urge the U. S. government to take action to stop the Nazi implementation of the Final Solution.”
 17. Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial Settler State*, 45.
 18. Brenner, *Zionism in the Age*, chs. 5, 14, and 19.
 19. Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, Appendix I.
 20. Kerekes, *Masked Ball*, 271.
 21. Lilienthal, *What Price Israel?*, 146.
 22. *Ibid.*, 148–50, 153–54.
 23. Lilienthal, *The Other Side*, 47, quoted in Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 286.
 24. Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, 281–83, 288–89.
 25. Shiblak, *Iraqi Jews*, reviewed in Al-Shawaf, “Review: Abbas Shiblak.”
 26. Prager and Telushkin, *Why the Jews*, 183.

CHAPTER 13

1. Strauss, *The Congress Addresses*, 12; Berle, *The World Significance*, 15; Jastrow, *Zionism and the Future of Palestine*, 16; Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, 54; Lazare, “The Chosen: Ideological Roots,” 80; Pipes, “Israel’s Ultimate Strategic Asset.”
2. The most prominent of the Jewish thinkers of the nineteenth century, who advocated Jewish restoration, include Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai, Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Moses Hess, Peretz Smolenskin, and Leo Pinsker.
3. Vreté, “The Restoration of the Jews,” 3.
4. The English Protestants, in particular, saw the Jews as allies against the Catholic Church and the Turks. Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 173–75.
5. The Protestant support for restoration was inspired in part by the belief that—somehow—they would gain victory over Islam and Catholicism *before* the restoration of Jews to Palestine. Moreover, the Jews would convert to Christianity before the restoration. Matar, “The Restoration of the Jews,” 23–36.
6. In the middle of the seventeenth century, there were no Jews living in Spain, Portugal, England, France, and parts of Germany; by the end of the eighteenth century, there were 175,000 Jews in Germany, 40–50,000 in France, 70,000 in the Austrian Empire, 50,000 in Holland and 25,000 in Britain. Malino, “Jewish Christian Relations,” 208.
7. Lazare, *Anti-Semitism*, 76. The Ebionites were an early Judaizing Christian sect in Palestine who retained Jewish Law and rituals as part of their practice.
8. “*Hebrew* was a favorite study with Puritan ministers, who dwelt much upon the Messianic hopes and promises of the Scriptures and *Rabbinical* works.” Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, 40.

9. Ould-Mey, "The Non-Jewish Origin of Zionism," 2.
10. Ould-Mey, "The Non-Jewish Origin of Zionism," 6.
11. Roth, *Essays and Portraits*, 13, quoted in Ingram, "Christian Zionism," 4.
12. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, 40–46, 53.
13. Sharif, "Christians for Zion," 125.
14. Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism*, 36.
15. Snobelen, "The Mystery of this Restitution," 95–118.
16. Sharif, "Christians for Zion," 127.
17. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 8.
18. King, "William Eugene Blackstone."
19. Prior, "Israel-Palestine," 69.
20. Merkley, *The Politics of Christian Zionism*, 89.
21. Sharif, "Christians for Zion," 123.
22. This connection was made as early as 1649 in a petition to the English sovereign, submitted by two English Puritans then living in Amsterdam. The petition stated, ". . . that this Nation of England, with the inhabitants of the Netherlands, shall be the first and the readiest to transport Israel's sons and daughters in their ships to the land promised to their forefathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob for an everlasting inheritance." Sharif, "Christians for Zion," 125.
23. Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology*, 61, 64.
24. Merkley, *The Politics of Christian Zionism*, 100–106; Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 158–59.
25. Prior, *Zionism and the State of Israel*, 142; Stone, *Professor Reinhold Niebuhr*, 262.
26. Prior, *Zionism and the State of Israel*, 106.

CHAPTER 14

1. Vladimir Dubnow was one of the early Jewish colonists. Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 49.
2. Nordau and Gottheil, *Zionism and Anti-Semitism*, 13.
3. If ethnic cleansing of Palestinians was not initially the goal of mainstream Zionists—although, there are strong indications to the contrary—they would start thinking in terms of this goal at the first signs of Palestinian resistance to their colonial project.
4. Gershon Gorenberg, an Israeli-American journalist, nicely sums up how Jews fit into the Christian Zionist narrative of end times. According to Gorenberg, the Christian Zionists "don't love real Jewish people. They love us as characters in their story, in their play, and that's not what we are . . . and the play is not one that ends up good for us." Clark, *Allies for Armageddon*, 228.
5. Theodore Herzl met several times with senior Ottoman officials, including the Sultan, offering to pay off their foreign debts in return for a charter to colonize Palestine. The Ottomans offered limited Jewish immigration to all provinces of the empire *except* Palestine, provided the Jewish immigrants became Ottoman subjects and did not concentrate in any one place. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 100–101, 114–19.
6. Quite implausibly, Mordecai M. Noah, an early American Zionist, had raised this possibility in a speech in 1818. Jews, he said, "hold the purse strings, and can wield the sword: they can bring 100,000 men into the field." Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America*, 14.

CHAPTER 15

1. Johnson, *A History of the Jews*, 566.
2. Edward House, adviser and confidant to President Wilson, wrote this in a note to him. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 16–17.
3. Rabbi Stephen Wise (1874–1949) founded the Federation of American Zionists in 1897. In 1918, he became the first president of the Zionist Organization of America and was the president of the American Jewish Congress from 1925 until he died in 1949. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 21.
4. Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 33.
5. de Novo, *American Interests and Policies*, 340.
6. Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 34.
7. Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 17.
8. In its report to President Wilson, the King-Crane Commission included a table summarizing a count of the petitions it had received from three geographical divisions in Syria (including present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel) in favor of some form of the Zionist project and against it: only 19 petitions favored the Zionist project, while 1,350 petitions expressed opposition to the project. Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 213–14.
9. Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 197.
10. “Among all of its challenges around the globe,” according to Donald Neff, “the State Department had little reason to devote much attention to Zionism or, when it did, to support Zionist goals. The aloof tone of the State Department’s attitude was illustrated in 1912 when the Zionist Literary Society sought a public endorsement from President William Howard Taft. Secretary of State Philander C. Knox turned it down with the reply that “problems of Zionism involve certain matters primarily related to the interests of countries other than our own . . . and might lead to misconstructions.” Neff, *Fallen Pillars*.
11. Paul, “Great Power Conflict.”
12. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 17–18.
13. *Ibid.*, 19.
14. Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 32–33; Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 20.
15. Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 35.
16. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 55; Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 35.
17. Gaebelin, *The History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, 11.
18. Currie, “God’s Little Errand Boy.”
19. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 8.
20. Prior, *Zionism and the State of Israel*, 140.
21. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 9.
22. Ariel, “An Unexpected Alliance,” 79, 80.
23. Stork and Rose, “Zionism and American Jewry,” 41; Maisel, *Jews in American Politics*, 472–74.
24. Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization*, 24–29.
25. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 160.
26. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 159; Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization*, 24.
27. Stork and Rose, “Zionism and American Jewry,” 41; Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization*, 180.
28. All the quotes in this paragraph are from Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 179.

29. The new leaders that Louis Brandeis brought into the Zionist movement “occupied positions of some prominence in American society, and all were reformers connected with different progressive causes. All were listed in *Who’s Who in America*.” Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization*, 54–55.
30. Louis Brandeis (1856–1941) was a Harvard Law graduate and one of the most respected progressive lawyers in the country. As head of the Provisional Executive Committee for Zionist Affairs, he was the leader of the American Zionist movement from 1914 to 1918. Brandeis was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1916 by President Woodrow Wilson, where he served until 1939.
31. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 181.
32. Davidson, *America’s Palestine*, 16–17.
33. *Ibid.*, 49–51.
34. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 194–95; Reinharz, “His Majesty’s Zionist Emissary,” 259–77.
35. In September 1936, forty-six senators wrote letters to the president asking him to use his influence with the British to keep Palestine open to unrestricted Jewish immigration. This was followed in August 1937 by a Senate resolution warning against any dilution in the terms of the British mandate. Again, in June 1939, two hundred congressmen and twenty-eight senators put their signatures to statements demanding the Jewish right to unlimited immigration into Palestine. Finally, in January 1944, despite the fact that the United States was at war, some members of the Congress introduced a resolution urging U.S. support for unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Only direct intervention from the president, and the State and War Departments, persuaded the Congress to shelve this resolution. Davidson, *America’s Palestine*, 118, 124, 140, 142.
36. In June 1936, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, instructed the U.S. ambassador in Britain to inform the British foreign secretary—informally and unofficially—of the concerns of Jewish Americans on the question of Palestine. Davidson, *America’s Palestine*, 116.
37. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 105.
38. The Zionist policy during the war is best summed up by a slogan coined by David Ben-Gurion: “We will make war as though there were no White Paper, and we will fight the White Paper as though there were no war.” Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion*, 63.
39. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 530.
40. Here is Moshe Shertok’s evaluation in 1939 of the strength of the Jewish diaspora in the United States: “There are millions of active and well-organized Jews in America, and their position in life enables them to be most dynamic and influential. They live in the nerve-centers of the country, and hold important positions in politics, trade, journalism, the theatre and the radio. They could influence public opinion, but their strength is not felt since it is not harnessed and directed at the right target.” Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, li.
41. In 1939, David Ben-Gurion wrote, “For my part, I had no doubt that the center of gravity of our political efforts had shifted from Great Britain to America, who was making sure of being the world’s leading power and where the greatest number of Jews, as well as the most influential, were to be found. All Europe was under Nazi domination. Hitler would be defeated in the end, but Europe would emerge from the war enfeebled and dependent for many years upon economic aid from the United States.” Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion*, 64.
42. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 537.
43. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 117–8.

44. Libo and Skakun, *The Clash of the Titans*.
45. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 549; Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 73.
46. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 549–50.
47. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 118; Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 118.
48. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 556.
49. *Ibid.*, 551.
50. *Ibid.*, 554–55.
51. Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 73.
52. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 556.
53. Druks, *The Uncertain Friendship*, 39–41, 55–56.
54. Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 49.
55. Bain, *The March to Zion*, 20; Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 150–2.
56. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 172.
57. *Ibid.*, 177, 180–81, 183.
58. Khalidi, *Palestine Reborn*, 60. “The British say,” wrote James Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, “that they cannot do all they would like to do for the Arabs because of the pressure that we were able to exert in connection with the British loan.” Sharabi, *Palestine and Israel*, 25.
59. Shlaim, “The Impact of U.S. Policy,” 17.
60. Benson, *Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel*, 78.
61. “According to contingency war plans devised during the late 1940s by strategists in Washington and London, military bases in Arab states would prove essential to victory in any armed conflict with the Soviet Union. Possession of bases in Egypt would enable the Western allies to conduct a punishing aerial offensive against the Soviet industrial heartland, to concentrate armored forces for offensive ground action, and to position intelligence gathering, propaganda, and covert action operations close to the enemy’s frontier. The Suez Canal, interregional air routes, and other communications facilities gave the Middle East additional security importance in peace and war.” Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East*, 21.
62. Benson, *Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel*, 82, 84.
63. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 176.
64. Benson, *Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel*, 80.
65. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 188.
66. Benson, *Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel*, 196.
67. Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 73.
68. “Some of Truman’s assistants conducted a study of Palestine correspondence and drew up detailed statistics running from 1946 through 1951. From 1947 to 1948, Truman received 48,600 telegrams, 790,575 cards, and 81,200 pieces of other mail—far and away a record for unsolicited mail for any president until that time. In 1948, during one three-month period alone, Truman received 301,900 postcards.” Benson, *Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel*, 94.
69. Benson, *Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel*, 95.
70. Miglietta, *American Alliance Policy*, 112.
71. Cohen, *Truman and Israel*, 70, 72–73.
72. Benson, *Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel*, 175.
73. *Ibid.*, 156–57.
74. Millis, *The Forrestal Diaries*, 344, quoted in Sharabi, *Palestine and Israel*, 24–25.

CHAPTER 16

1. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 184; Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America*, 258; Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 82. Loy Henderson was Office Director of the State Department's Office of Near East and African Affairs.
2. Davidson, *America's Palestine*, 19–20; Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*, 32–33.
3. "Virtually every professional in the foreign affairs bureaucracy, including the secretaries of state and war (later, defense) and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, opposed the creation of Israel from the standpoint of U.S. national interests." Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest*, 9–10.
4. "On all salient questions—partition, trusteeship, recognition of the state of Israel, arms embargo, and disposition of the Negev—Truman . . . took a consistently pro-Zionist line." Shlaim, "The Impact of U.S. Policy in the Middle East," 17.
5. Schweitzer, "Moshe Dayan," quoted in Beit-Hallahmi, *The Israeli Connection*, 5.
6. Crosbie, *A Tacit Alliance*, 16–20.
7. Sachar, *Israel and Europe*, 14–15, 18.

CHAPTER 17

1. Green, *Taking Sides*, 20; Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 276.
2. Green, *Taking Sides*, 20–21.
3. American air force and army experts knew in 1950 that Israel had "the preponderance of striking power" in the region. Indeed, they turned down Israeli demands for large weapons systems in May 1950—at least in part—because this "would increase Israel's offensive capabilities and give incentive to offensive planning." Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East*, 73.
4. On the continued ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, Jonathan Cook writes, "Regular, small-scale expulsions of Palestinians continued throughout the early years of the state. In 1950, for example, the remaining population of 2,700 Palestinians in the town of al-Majdal were transported over the border to the Gaza strip . . . As many as 7,000 Bedouins were expelled from the Negev, either to Jordanian or Egyptian territory, over the period of a year from November 1949. And more than 5,000 Palestinians were forced out of their villages in the Wadi Ara region and made to cross over into the West Bank in the summer of 1949." Further, under the cover of the 1956 Suez war, Israel was planning to expel 40,000 Arab citizens into Jordan. This plan backfired because of an Israeli massacre in Kafr Qassem, but they did expel 2,000 Palestinians from two villages in Galilee into Syria. Cook, *Blood and Religion*, 112–13.
5. Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest*, 51.
6. Mearsheimer and Walt ("The Israel Lobby") write, "Prior to the Six-Day War . . . Israeli intelligence assessments painted a grim and frightening picture of Egyptian capabilities and intentions, which American intelligence officials believed was both incorrect and politically motivated."
7. Gazit, "Israeli Military Procurement," 89.
8. Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 73.
9. Ben-Zvi, *The United States and Israel*, 54.
10. Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East*, 28.
11. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, 61–62.
12. Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 79–81.
13. Burns, *Economic Aid and American Policy*, 21.
14. Tivnan, *The Lobby*, 36–38.

15. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 299.
16. Sharabi, *Palestine and Israel*, 26.
17. Tivnan, *The Lobby*, 38, 41.
18. Ben-Zvi, *The U.S. and Israel*, 69, 73.
19. Tivnan, *The Lobby*, 52, 53, 56.
20. It is customary for studies of the special relationship to focus on these statistics. Organski, *The \$36 Billion Bargain*, 15–24.
21. The timing of acceleration in U.S. aid to Israel does not change when we compare the aid flows over these two periods in terms of their share in total U.S. aid flows. Between 1950 and 1970, Israel received 1.14 percent of all U.S. aid; over the period of 1971 to 1983, this share had jumped a little more than eighteenfold to 20.7 percent. Laufer, “U.S. Aid to Israel,” 126–27.
22. Aliya Bet & Machal Virtual Museum, *Pictorial History*.
23. In October 1958, the United States facilitated the sale of fifty-five British Centurian tanks to Israel; between 1962 and 1965, it pushed through the sale of 150 Patton tanks from German stocks; and in August 1956, it authorized Canada to transfer F-86 fighter planes to Israel even though they were originally scheduled for delivery to the United States. On yet another occasion, the United States set aside NATO priority for French Mystère planes in favor of Israel. Levey, “Israeli Foreign Policy,” 42, 44; Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 77.
24. Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 72, 76–78, 81; Wenger, “Recipe for an Israeli Nuclear Arsenal,” 11–12.
25. Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 75.
26. *Ibid.*, 76.
27. According to Abba Eban, the United States established regular consultations with Israel during the late 1950s: “The U.S. was obviously coming to regard Israel not as a burden to be chivalrously sustained, but as an asset in the global and ideological balance.” Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 79–80.
28. In the fall of 1964, West Germany entered into a secret deal with Israel to deliver fifty aircraft, 150 American tanks, two submarines, six speedboats, and several trucks, antiaircraft rockets, and antitank rockets. Israel did not have to pay for these weapons, estimated conservatively to be worth \$250 million. Lewan, “How West Germany Helped to Build Israel,” 56–57; Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 81–83.
29. Howard, “Israel: The Sorcerer’s Apprentice,” 16–17.
30. Bainerman, “End American Aid to Israel?”
31. Balabkins, *West German Reparations to Israel*.
32. Nahum Goldman also threatened Chancellor Adenauer with dire consequences if the Zionist demands for reparations were not met: “The violent reaction of the whole world, supported by wide circles of non-Jews, who have deep sympathy with the martyrdom of the Jewish people during the Nazi period, would be irresistible and completely justified.” Lewan, “How West Germany Helped to Build Israel,” 53–54.
33. Wyman and Rosenzweig, *The World Reacts to the Holocaust*, 866.
34. Sachar, *Israel and Europe*, 51. *Wiedergutmachung* refers to the reparations paid by West Germany to the direct survivors of the Holocaust.

CHAPTER 18

1. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 329; Bregman, *A History of Israel*, 120; Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 329; Teger, "Coming Together, Falling Apart." Michael B. Oren is a senior fellow at the Shalem Center.
2. Mansour, *Beyond Alliance*, 86.
3. President Nasser knew of Egypt's military vulnerability in the 1960s. In 1963, at Port Said, he put it plainly, "I am not in a position to go to war; I tell you this frankly, and it is not shameful to say it publicly. To go to war without having the sufficient means would be to lead the country and the people to disaster." Sharabi, *Palestine and Israel*, 111.
4. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 317–18.
5. Shlaim, *The Iron Wall*, 240–41.
6. In the days before the June War, the United States secretly moved its 38th Tactical Reconnaissance Squadron into the Negev Desert from where it provided vital surveillance data on the destruction of the Egyptian air force and the movements of the Egyptian land forces. Green, *Taking Sides*, 204–11.
7. In one specific formulation of this doctrine, Moshe Dayan stated in 1969, "Sharm el-Sheikh without peace is better than peace without Sharm el-Sheikh." Shlaim, *The Iron Wall*, 290.
8. Israel's terms for a peace settlement with Egypt included: freedom of navigation and overflight rights over the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba; rights of navigation through the Suez Canal; and demilitarization of the Sinai. *Ibid.*, 253.
9. *Ibid.*, 254.
10. Gerges, "The 1967 Arab-Israeli War," 195.
11. Sharabi, *Palestine and Israel*, 135.
12. *Ibid.*, 136.
13. *Ibid.*, 135.

CHAPTER 19

1. Burns, *Economic Aid and American Policy*, 20; Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 225; Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 146; Schwartz, *Is It Good for the Jews*, 121; Goldberg, "Real Insiders"; Reed, "No Happy Ending." Isaiah Kenen founded the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, the precursor to American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC); J. J. Goldberg is director of foreign policy issues, AIPAC; and Douglas Bloomfield is AIPAC's former legislative director.
2. In response to Zionist offers to relinquish Palestine for offers of financial assistance, the Ottoman Sultan insisted, "He could never part with Jerusalem." In 1896, he told Theodore Herzl—through an intermediary—"My people have won this empire by fighting for it with their blood and have fertilized it with their blood. We will again cover it with our blood before we allow it to be wrested away from us . . . Let the Jews save their billions." Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 39, 41.
3. Jewish Virtual Library, *US Assistance to Israel, FY 1994–FY 2006*.
4. Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 26–28, 32; Mark, *Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance*, 8–9.
5. Zunes, "US Aid to Israel."
6. Sharp, *U.S. Foreign Assistance*, 6–7; Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 28–29.

7. Stauffer, "The Cost of Conflict in the Middle East," 45, 61.
8. Reich, *Securing the Covenant*, 43–45; Rabil, *Syria, the United States*, 80–82; Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 31–36.
9. Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 35; Thomas, *Gideon's Spies*, 93.
10. Cockburn and Cockburn, *Dangerous Liaison*, 78–81.
11. Pry, *Israel's Nuclear Arsenal*, 28–29.
12. On September 12, 1991, a frustrated President Bush went over the heads of the Congress to make a direct appeal to the American public; but this was a mistake. A few weeks later, the Israel lobby mobilized to defeat Richard Thornburgh, a close friend of the President, in his senatorial bid. Thornburgh had been leading the polls with a huge margin only a few weeks before President Bush's speech of September 1991. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, xv–xvi, xxiv.
13. Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 37.
14. *Ibid.*, 40.
15. Lovett, Eckes, and Brinkman, *U.S. Trade Policy*, 95.
16. AFP, *Egypt, Israel Enhances Trade*.
17. "Virtually every professional in the foreign affairs bureaucracy, including the secretaries of state and war (later, defense) and the joint chiefs of staff, opposed the creation of Israel from the standpoint of US national interests." Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest*, 9–10.
18. In 1952, the British controlled substantial military and economic assets in the Middle East; "80,000 troops manned the Suez Canal base complex; there were naval facilities in Aden; air squadrons in Iraq; the Arab Legion in Jordan; rear bases in Cyprus and Malta; they controlled Iranian oil production and owned the world's largest oil refinery in Abadan; and, finally, Britain was in charge of the defense and foreign policies of a string of protectorates along the Persian Gulf." Peterson, *The Decline of the Anglo-American Middle East*, 1.
19. At the same time, in violation of the arms embargo, the United States allowed Israel to import World War II surplus personnel carriers and to recruit American Jewish veterans of World War II to fight in Israel, the latter in violation of US citizenship laws. Aliya Bet & Machal Virtual Museum, *Pictorial History*.
20. "The Almighty placed massive oil deposits under Arab soil," an Israeli diplomat once told a State Department official [in the 1950s]. "It is our good fortune that God placed five million Jews in America." Bass, *Support Any Friend*, 6.
21. Chomsky (*Fateful Triangle*, 9–83) and Zunes (*Why the U.S. Supports Israel?*; "U.S. Aid to Israel") have been the leading exponents of this position. More recently, this position has been defended by Amin and Kenz (*Europe and the Arab World*, 39–41), Massad ("Blaming the Lobby"), and Abu-Manneh ("Israel in the U.S. Empire"). Zionist apologists who take this position are a legion, including Spiegel ("The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict"), Organski (*The \$36 Billion Bargain*), and Kramer ("The American Interest"). For writers on the left who blame the Jewish lobby, see Petras (*The Power of Israel*, 168–81), Cockburn ("The Uproar over the Israel Lobby"), and Blankfort ("The Israeli Lobby and the Left"; "Damage Control").
22. This assessment comes from a 1945 report of the State Department. Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 17.
23. *Ibid.*, 13.
24. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism*, 134.
25. Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 17.

26. Indeed, the term is in some ways a misnomer. The online Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines a lobby as “a group of persons engaged in lobbying especially as representatives of a particular interest group.” This speaks of a distinction between the “lobby” and “the interest group,” the former acting as an agent for the latter. Largely, this distinction breaks down in the case of the Jewish “lobby” because of the diverse channels through which this lobby seeks to influence government officials, including the media, academia, voting, campaign contributions, political activism, rallies, and intimidation. As voters, donors, writers, academics, politicians, field workers, and activists, a large part of the Jewish community engages in lobbying activities on behalf of Israel. The activities of the American Jewish community in support of Israel are better described as a movement—part of the global Zionist movement.
27. Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 17.
28. *Ibid.*, 17.
29. *Ibid.*, 17.
30. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the British maintained a substantial military presence in the Arabian Peninsula. In a memorandum to Robert McNamara, Secretary of State, the Joint Chiefs of Staff wrote, “The UK forces in the Middle East can conduct effective military operations anywhere in the Arabian Peninsula. The combination of coordinated US and UK military capability represents a responsive and flexible force for stabilizing a credible deterrent.” Peterson, *The Decline of the Anglo-American Middle East*, 38. In addition, in order to deter Egyptian attacks on Saudi Arabia, the United States stationed—between July 1963 and January 1964—a squadron of eight F-100 planes and five hundred troops on Saudi territory. Peterson, *The Decline of the Anglo-American Middle East*, 36.
31. Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 143.
32. *Ibid.*, 145.
33. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 112.
34. Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace*, 1.
35. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 280.
36. Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace*, 1.
37. Lipset and Raab, *Jews and the New American Scene*, 26–27.
38. Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace*, 1, 103.
39. One book lists seventeen Jewish holidays in its table of contents; some of them commemorate pivotal events in Jewish history; some date back to the Torah, others were instituted later. Goodman, *Teaching Jewish Holidays*.
40. Some American Jews prefer to see the roots of their liberalism in Jewish tradition. However, according to Goldberg (*Jewish Power*, 27), “Many non-Jewish activists who came in contact with the organized Jewish community see Jewish liberalism in much more straightforward terms: as a simple matter of self-interest.”
41. *Ibid.*, 23.
42. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 549–50.
43. Bass, *Support My Friend*, 6.
44. The Jewish lobby continued to exert pressure on President Eisenhower to provide military assistance to Israel. In the fall of 1955, it organized public rallies, attended by such luminaries as Harry Truman and Eleanor Roosevelt, “to demonstrate the strength of American sympathy for Israel.” It also sponsored a congressional petition, signed by 40 Republican congressmen in support of U.S. military assistance. The lobby met with greater success in mobilizing the Senate and House against American support for the Aswan Dam project. Burns, *Economic Aid and Foreign Policy*, 21, 49.

45. The turning point in President Eisenhower's approach to Egypt can be dated to early 1956, when it was becoming clear that he could not persuade Gamal Nasser to accept Israel or give up his growing friendship with the Soviet Union. The new approach, spelled out in the *Omega Memorandum*, spelled out the need to undermine Egypt and the nationalists in Syria, to shelve assistance for the Aswan Dam, and continue to block military supplies to Egypt. Burns, *Economic Aid and American Policy*, 77–70.
46. Ben-Zvi, *Lyndon B. Johnson and the Politics of Arms Sales*, 70.
47. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 149.
48. *Ibid.*, 146–47.
49. *Ibid.*, 147, 149.
50. *Ibid.*, 171, 174.
51. Timothy Weber, former president of the Memphis Theological Seminary, writes, “Before the Six Day War, dispensationalists were content to sit in the bleachers of history, explaining the End-Time game on the field below . . . But after [the] expansion of Israel into the West Bank and Gaza, they began to get down on the field and be sure the teams lined up right, becoming involved in political, financial, and religious ways they never had before.” Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 133.
52. Pipes, “Israel’s Ultimate Strategic Asset.”
53. Ginsberg (*The Fatal Embrace*, 231) writes that the neoconservatives moved to the right primarily because of “their attachment to Israel and their growing frustration during the 1960s with a Democratic party that was becoming increasingly opposed to American military preparedness and increasingly enamored of Third World causes.”
54. The neoconservatives Jews kept predicting, during the 1970s, “that the Jews were done with liberalism and would now switch their allegiance to the Republican column.” Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 161.
55. Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 455–63.
56. Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 128–32.
57. “Further, the process of transformation [to new technologies that will ‘preserve American military preeminence in the coming decades’], even if it brings revolutionary change, is likely to be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event—like a New Pearl Harbor.” Project for the New American Century, *Rebuilding America’s Defenses*, 51.
58. Schwartz, *Is It Good for the Jews*, 121.
59. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 15.
60. In the Zionist worldview, writes Goldberg (*Jewish Power*, 18), it was the Jewish state that “would give a voice to the voiceless people and return Jews to the stage of history after centuries of helplessness. American Jewish power has turned the Zionist idea on its head.”

CHAPTER 20

1. Ahad Ha'am wrote this upon hearing a rumor that the Jews of Jaffa, in an act of revenge, had killed an Arab boy. Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 831.
2. Laskier, “Israel and Algeria,” 7; Rodinson, *Israel and the Arabs*, 92.

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