

**Zionists and Arabs - Historical Sources Unfold the Jewish State  
State-Seeking, **State-Making**, State-Keeping  
Socio-Economic and Geo-Political Histories**  
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**A) For Jewish history to 1897 at <https://israeled.org/era-early-history-1897/> This analyses relates to the origins of Judaism, and demonstrates the ancient and historic connection of the Jewish people to the land of Israel.**

**B) For Zionist history from 1898 to 1948-49, please consider reading Zionist history to Israel 1948, <https://israeled.org/era-1898-1948/> or read History of The Zionist Movement, Israel Yearbook, 1951.**

**C) Consider using Paragraph 1 –below, as an outline for teaching or learning about the period to 1947. There are hyperlinks in this item, Forming a Nucleus for a Jewish State, 1882-1947. It allows a user to choose to read only the prose or to probe deeper into the sources provided for the 65 years until Israel’s establishment.**

**D) Paragraphs 2-4 cover concepts on the **origins of Zionism** and a sampling of Zionist ideas about its definition for several important Zionist writers.**

**E) Paragraph 5 – discusses the origins and impact of the **Balfour Declaration** and its international recognition in the **League of Nations Mandate**, 1922.**

**F) Paragraphs 6 -8 **Arab impoverishment** -- Contributing significantly to Zionist capacity to build a national home was the administrative turmoil created by WWI in Palestine, the impoverishment of the majority rural Arab population that began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the 1936-1939 Arab riots severely hurt the Palestinian rural economy. Along with perennial peasant indebtedness and a dysfunctional Arab elite, the Arab community posed little threat to Jewish nation building.**

**G) Paragraphs 10 – 14 - **Jews buying land from Arab land owners who live in Palestine****

**H) Paragraph 15 - Jewish contribution to revenue in Palestine- depth of Jewish economy**

**I) Paragraph 16 – **Capital and Finance****

**J) Paragraphs 17-19 – **Political Realities, 1939, 1944, 1945-1949** What do the Arabs know, why reject Zionism, why did the Arab community in Palestine not succeed? [UN Partition Resolution](#) and [Israel’s Declaration of Independence](#) and a [timeline to the](#)**

## conflict

1. **Forming a Nucleus for a Jewish State 1882-1947** - For the idea of Zionism to become a territorial reality, a people needed to be connected to the land. Immigration, land acquisition, and institution building were required. These 20 maps and fifteen pages of prose in *Forming a Nucleus for a Jewish state* integrate the various *aliyot* (immigrations) and land purchase acquired by Zionists over seven decades. This can be used as a chronological unfolding of Jewish state-making. By 1945, at time that the world knew about the death of six million Jews, the nucleus for a Jewish state – demographic, physical and institution wise --was present in Palestine; the Arabs of Palestine were keenly aware that the Jews were on the brink of creating a state. The sources here – from Arabic, English, German, and English - help explain how the Zionists evolved a state.
  
2. **1880s -Ahad Ha'am Cultural Zionism** - He advocated for a spiritual Jewish renaissance, but not the in-gathering of the Jews to Palestine. Ahad Ha'am was the pen name for Asher Ginsberg – key advocate for cultural Zionism—national survival would come through fulfillment of the Jewish character through the Jewish mind—poetry, ethics, folklore—Palestine/Eretz Yisrael should be that center—he was on of the first Zionist advocates to point out that the Arab population in Palestine would in the future not view Jewish presence with positive feelings. He opposed Herzl and political or practical Zionism.
  
3. **1896, Theodor Herzl, The Jewish State** --- change the world about you. “No one can deny the gravity of the situation of the Jews. **Wherever they live in perceptible numbers, they are more or less persecuted. Their equality before the law, granted by statute, has become practically a dead letter. They are debarred from filling even moderately high positions, either in the army, or in any public or private capacity. And attempts are made to thrust them out of business also, "Don't buy from Jews!"** Is it not true that, in countries where we live in perceptible numbers, the position of Jewish lawyers, doctors, technicians, teachers, and employees of all descriptions becomes daily more intolerable? Is it not true, that the Jewish middle classes are seriously threatened? Is it not true, that the passions of the mob are incited against our wealthy people? Is it not true, that our poor endure greater sufferings than any other proletariat? I think that this external pressure makes itself felt everywhere. In our economically upper classes it causes discomfort, in our middle classes continual and grave anxieties, in our lower classes absolute despair **Plan for the Jews** --Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves. ”
  
4. **1897, Max Nordau, Address at the First Zionist Congress,**

Everywhere the Jews have settled in large numbers, **Jewish misery prevails; it is a peculiar misery which they do not suffer as human beings but as Jews. All kinds of vices are falsely attributed to the Jews. There is pre-existing sentiment for detestation of Jews. [Materially] the majority of Jews are a race of accursed beggars. Poverty grinds down his character. Fevered by the thirst for higher education, he sees himself repelled from the places where knowledge is attainable. The Jew is excluded from the society of his countrymen and is condemned to tragic isolation. Zionism has awakened Jewry to new life, morally through the national ideal, materially through physical rearing the first time since Bar Kochba does there exist among the Jews an inclination to show themselves and to show to the world how much vitality they possess. Zionism is Judaism and Judaism is Zionism.**"

**5. 1917, [Balfour Declaration](#), and 1922, [Mandate for Palestine](#) –**

International permission or sanction to establish a Jewish national home was provided by the League of Nations in 1922, in the Mandate for Palestine.

**6. Palestinian Arab peasants (fellaheen) economic condition –** “By the turn of the twentieth century usury capital had fractured the landscape of Palestine, alienating and dividing peasants from the aristocracy while providing merchants opportunities to accumulate great wealth and power; The peasants declared themselves “prisoners” of the urban elites who exploited them and benefited from their toils.” Charles Anderson, *From Petition to Confrontation: The Palestinian National Movement and the Rise of Mass Politics, 1929, 1939*, Doctoral Thesis, NYU, 2013, p. 389.

**7. In 1925, British High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel** said that "large numbers of the Arab peasantry are exceedingly poor;" in 1931, Chaim Arlosoroff, the head of the Jewish Agency, noted that "the Bedouin of the south are on the threshold of starvation;" in 1932 Moshe Smilansky, working for the Jewish Agency, remarked that "**in the Arab village nauseating poverty prevails.**" Also in 1932, the Director of the Palestine Department of Lands noted that, "**the fellah rarely had clear title [to his land] . . . and rarely ha[d] recourse to the formality of a regular mortgage with perhaps not 5% of the fellah's land mortgaged formally.** In 1935 “Though it was reported that many fellaheen were appreciative of British efforts [to establish agricultural credit], the great majority of them were in a state of depression.” Remarks by Mr. Sydney Moody of the Palestine administration, League of Nations, *Permanent Mandates Commission-Minutes*. 1937 “the volume of the individual fellah’s indebtedness represented the full value of his annual income from crops and agricultural stock, or in other words his temporary wealth. Great Britain, Palestine Royal Commission, “Rural Indebtedness,” *Memoranda Prepared by the Government of Palestine*, 1937. In December 1939, the Managing Director of the Jewish National Fund, Abraham Granovsky noted “that the Arabs were in monetary distress due to indebtedness.” (LP=Palestine Pound)

**8. 1938** – “An air of poverty and depression pervades most Arab villages. The fellah bears a heavy load of debts which robs him of most of his earnings and deprives him of the capital required for the amelioration of his land or the improvement of his crops. Any additional effort made, merely increase the usurer's share in the produce but does not benefit the cultivator himself to any great extent. The reasons for this state of chronic poverty and indebtedness are many: poor soil, lack of water, lack of knowledge of intensive methods of cultivation, bad means of communication with the towns, unsuitable marketing arrangements, frequent bad seasons and failures of crops, an antiquated land system, insecurity of tenure, unsuitable methods of taxation, and of the collection of taxes. ....Extortion and maladministration extending over many generations have had their inevitable effect. The combination of these factors have reduced the fellaheen to a state of overwhelming poverty. Government of Palestine. *Report by the Registrar of Cooperative Societies on Developments During the Years 1921-1937*, Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 10-11.

**9. 1939 Gershon Agronsky, Palestine Economy Undermined by**

**Disturbances** “The almost uninterrupted disturbances which the Arabs have kept going since April 1936 have reduced their economy to a parlous state. Although one of the motives of the promoters of the “rebellion” undoubtedly was to bring the Jewish community here to their knees by wrecking their economic life, it is doubtful if they thought far enough ahead to visualize the paralysis and decay which they were bound to inflict on their own people.

**10. 1926, Remarks by Yehoshua Hankin, real estate agent – for Zionist buyers in Palestine** “I assume that you all know how much land we can purchase in Eretz Israel in the next ten years. The areas are as follows: In the south, half a million dunams (dunam = quarter of an acre); in Bet Shean Valley, despite the foreseeable difficulties, about 200,000 dunams; in the lowland and the Shomron - 150,000 dunams; in Yehuda – 50,000 dunams; in the area east of the Jordan River – 1,000,000 dunams; on west side of the Jordan River, in the Negev region, we have the possibility of purchasing 500,000 dunams and an additional 500,000 dunams in various other locations.” (3 million dunams = 75 million acres). JNF meeting November 22, 1926, CZA, KKL5, Jerusalem.

**11. 1931-1949 - Arab land sales to Jews - Palestine Arab Press, British and Zionist accounts**

*al-Jami'ah al-Islamiyyah*, 21 August 1932, “...because the Jews are alert, and our leaders are asleep, the Jews are buying the lands.”

*al-Jami'ah al-Arabiyyah*, 24 May 1934, “The situation is unbearable, and our lands are now falling on easy prey into the hands of the raiders. The brokers are increasing every day among various classes of rich and poor people who have been dazzled by the Zionist gold.”

*al-Difa'*, 5 November 1934, “Is it human that the covetous [Arab landowners] should store capital to evict the peasant from his land and make him homeless or even sometimes a criminal? The frightened Arab who fears for his future today melts from fear when he imagines his offspring as homeless and as criminals who cannot look at the lands of their fathers.”

*Al-Jam'iah al-Islamiyyah*, 22 January 1936. ‘It is on our leader’s shoulders that our calamity of land sales lies. They themselves as well their relatives were guilty of selling lands to the Jews”.

14 June 1940. “...the Arab landowner [needed] to be protected against himself,” Remarks by Sir John Shuckburgh, British Colonial Office official, 14 June 1940, Colonial Office, Record Group 733/425/75872, Part 2.

10 November 1946. “...the potential for land purchase has not decreased. The potential remains each year at 200-250 thousand dunams. It can clearly be determined that the source of land in the country has not run out..., it can be concluded that the will to sell in the Arab camp hasn’t decreased. If there were no obstacles set up in our way, we could purchase land without restraint.” Remarks of Joseph Weitz, Jewish National Fund official “A Meeting of those dealing in buying lands for the JNF,” November 10, 1946, Central Zionist Archives, Record Group S25/ file 6560.

**12. 1937 - The Political Significance of Land Purchase.** “We have already acquainted you with the fact that, as foreseen by the JNF management, the disturbances in Palestine have brought about a considerable increase in the offers of land for sale. At a meeting of the Board of Directors held on 6 December a report was submitted showing that these offers were on a scale unprecedented since the World War. **If means were available, contracts could be closed for 200,000 dunams (one dunam = ¼ of an acre) in various parts of the country, including both areas in the projected Jewish and Arab State, and on their borders, with an undertaking on the part of the vendors to complete the transaction in a short time.** Of these offers at least 150,000 dunams have been examined and found satisfactory in respect of lands in Upper Galilee, Districts of Beisan and Acre, Judean Hills (the -British corridor- Tel- Aviv-Jerusalem Road) and in the south. The acquisition of this territory would require a 1,100,000 additional, [above] of course to the regular budget of the JNF. Mr. Ben Gurion referred to it as not less than the “rescue of the homeland.” Eliyahu Epstein to JNF Directorate, December 31, 1937, CZA, S25/10250, Jerusalem.

**13. 1939 - The Land Frontier, Jewish National Fund Jerusalem, Avraham Granovsky** “The terror factor had diminished our [land purchasing] opportunities. On the other side, we witnessed the predicament of those Arabs who wanted to sell their lands. **The economic situation in the Arab Sector had worsened** throughout the years and selling land became an economic lifesaver for them and for their families. **However, despite their growing fear we were able to act aggressively during those years, though it required an immense effort.**” CZA, KKL Library, June 1939, Jerusalem.

**14. 1946, Purchasing Lands for the Jewish National Fund – 1946 - Yosef Weitz, JNF official** “For several years now we have practiced the custom of projecting the possibilities of land purchases at the beginning of each year. **From the totals of the past years, we can conclude that the potential for land purchases has not decreased. The potential remains each year at 200-250 thousands of dunams. It can clearly be determined that the source of land in the country has not dried out.** Since we have purchased extensive tracts of land from the Arabs these past years and the possibility of more purchases still exists, it can be concluded that the will to sell in the Arab camp has not decreased. If there were no obstacles set up in our way, we could purchase land without restraint. Minutes of JNF meeting, November 10, 1946, CZA, KKL5, Jerusalem.

**15. Jewish contribution to Mandate Revenue-** In **1928**, while the Jewish population was only 17 percent of the total population, Jewish revenue contribution to the Palestine administration amounted to 44 percent of the administration's revenue. Great Britain, *House of Commons Debates*, Remarks by Lloyd George, November 17, 1930, 5<sup>th</sup> Series, vol. 245; and *Manchester Guardian*, 3 April 1930. **1944/45** The Jewish share in Government revenue in 1944/45 is estimated at 65% whereas Jews constitute only 32% of the total population. Hence the Jewish contribution to Government income is four times per head greater than that of the rest of the population. (The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, *Reports of the Executives submitted to the Twenty-Second Zionist Congress*, Basle, Switzerland, December 1946, p.6)

**16. Capital and Finance –** “**This flow [of Jewish capital imports] accounted, in 1932-1946, forming at least 85 per cent of the influx of long term capital to Mandatory Palestine from all sources combined,...**for the entire Mandatory period Jewish capital investment accounted for 60 per cent of the addition to Palestine’s overall fixed capital formation. For the entire Mandate Jews invested 72,929,000 LP (60.2%), the Arabs (34,811,000 LP (28.7%), the British Government, (13,449,000LP (11.1%).” Jacob Metzger, *The Divided Economy of Palestine* Cambridge, 1998, p. 104-05. The implications of this **availability of capital** allowed the Jewish sector to grow phenomenally, not from British taxpayer funds or subventions from the British government, or intrusion into the financial or monetary sector by Britain to protect the Jewish economy, but from capital imported by Jews for the Jewish economy. **This allowed the Jewish economy before WWII, to undertake massive investments without**

having to resort to borrowing or to domestic savings. The imported capital by Jews came from primarily (75% private sources) consisting mostly of immigrant transfers. Capital was not sufficient to create jobs, increase demand, generate supply--what was required banking, financial, and mortgage institutions, numbering more than half a dozen, which primarily serviced the Jewish economic sector. See Jacob Metzger, *The Divided Economy of Palestine*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 105-115.

## 17. What are the political realities in 1939, 1944, in 1947 and 1949?

**1939 Arab Leaders meeting in Damascus, Zionist have built a state** “There is no boundary to the aspirations of the Zionists. If until September 1937, the Jews spoke about building a National Home in Palestine; today they are already talking about the establishment of a Jewish State in part of Palestine. The Jewish community in Palestine has proven in the last two years of the uprising that they could defend themselves. There is no denial that the Jews had held up quite well in their confrontations with the Arab gangs on the roads, in the orchards, and in the agricultural settlements. There is no boundary to the aspirations of the Zionists. **If until September 1937, the Jews spoke about building a National Home in Palestine; today they are already talking about the establishment of a Jewish State in part of Palestine.**” Remarks by Izzat Darwazah, Palestinian Arab political leader, September 30, 1938, CZA, S25/105263

**1944, Remarks by British High Commissioner Oliver Stanley– Partition is the only solution** “This brings me to my central point. ...I see no alternative to partition; whereby Jewish immigration would lose most of its terror for the Arab – and much of its attraction for the Jew. Jewish immigration into a Jewish State would become a problem for the Jews themselves to deal with as they thought best. By partition it may be possible to save the Middle East from major disturbances and prevent our name being blackened for generations from India to Egypt and from Aden to Aleppo. I do not deny that it will involve riots and some bloodshed, protests and speeches galore from both sides, but I am convinced that the situation, firmly handled, can be restored with no great damage done and no permanent detriment to our essential interests. Some degree of finality will at long last have been achieved and the way remain open to the gradual consolidation of inter-racial relationships. Jews and Arabs alike would enjoy the possession of their own respective territories, the former protected by international guarantees for their security and the latter relieved from the fear of further encroachments at the instance of a foreign mandatory. For neither would there be the same inducements as before to out-vie the other in a crescendo of demands for more. As things stand, with fanatical extremism growing daily, partition has come to provide the only road out of an impossible impasse. Maybe partition must be interpreted as the deferred penalty of vacillation, but if it is treated as an opportunity for well-planned reconstruction it need not constitute a final confession of failure.”

**September 1947, [Arab League Secretary General Abdul Rahman Pasha](#) no compromise with Zionism - Zionists (Jon Kimche, David Horowitz and Abba Eban) –Azzam Pasha, head of the Arab League -- “The Arab world regards you as invaders and is ready to fight you. The conflict of interests among nations is, for the most part, not amenable to any settlement except armed clash.” The Arab world is not in a compromising mood. It is likely, Mr. Horowitz that your plan is rational and logical, but the fate of nations is not decided by rational logic. Nations never concede; they fight. **You will not get anything by peaceful means or compromise. You can perhaps, get something, but only by the force of arms. We shall try to defeat you. I am not sure we will succeed, but we will try. We were able to drive out the Crusaders, but on the other hand, we lost Spain and Persia. It may be that we shall lose Palestine. But it’s too late to talk of peaceful solutions.**”**

**Horowitz:** “Then you believe in the force of arms alone? You don’t think there has been any progress whatsoever in the settlement of controversial issues among different peoples?”

**Azzam Pasha:** You speak of the Middle East. We do not recognize that conception. We only think in terms of the Arab world. Nationalism, that is a greater force than any that drives us. We do not need economic development with your assistance. We have only one test, the test of strength. David Horowitz, *State in the Making*, Knopf, 1953, --. 233-235.

## **18. [UN Partition Plan, 1947](#) and the **May 1948 [Israel Declaration of Independence](#)****

## **19. 1945 - 1949 [1945-1949 Reasoned Views for Palestinian Arabs Dysfunctional Condition](#)**

## **20. Israel and Arab-Israeli Conflict Timeline – 1800s to the Present <https://israeled.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Israel-and-A-I-Conflict-Timeline-1800s-2020-6.18.2020-11-am-MF-2.pdf>**

## Comparison of the 1947 Palestine Partition Plan and Israel's 1949 armistice lines

According to the UN's partition plan to create Arab and Jewish states in Palestine, 14,700 sq km were allotted to the proposed Jewish state, about half of all of Palestine. Arab states and the Palestinians rejected any partition of Palestine, where a Jewish state would be created. At the end of the 1948-1949 war, Israel, the Jewish state, controlled 20,500 sq km, an increase of 37%. The rest, 5600 sq km was controlled by Jordan (the West Bank) and 160 sq km was controlled by Egypt (the Gaza Strip). No Palestinian state was created because of Arab choices.

1947 UN Partition Plan



1949 Armistice lines

