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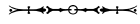
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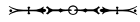
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Dedicated to
Bud Levin
and
Rose Mattus



ABBREVIATIONS

AJC	American Jewish Committee, Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Library
ADL	The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
CMIP	Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace
C.S.S	Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies
CZA	Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem
<i>F.I.N.</i>	<i>Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter</i> — Headquarters British Troops in Palestine
IMRA	Independent Media Review and Analysis
JTA	Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin
MEMRI	Middle East Media Research Institute
<i>NYT</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
<i>NYS</i>	<i>The New York Sun</i>
PMW	Palestinian Media Watch
SRI	Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Anti-Semitism and Racism, Tel-Aviv University
T.N.A.	British National Archives

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INTRODUCTION

This book traces the transformation of the United Nations (UN) from an organization that voted to partition the former British Mandate of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states — making Israel a nation state — and then passed a Zionism=Racism (Z=R) resolution to delegitimize and dehumanize that nation.

AN ABBREVIATED HISTORY OF ZIONISM

Zionism — the Jewish national renaissance movement — is one of the most misunderstood examples of modern nationalism. Part of the reason is that Zionism is founded on a paradox. In an attempt to transform the Jewish people into becoming like all the other nations of the world, Zionism sought a contemporary solution to the “Jewish problem” by returning Jews to their ancestral homeland.¹ Although secular Zionist thinkers drew upon sacred Jewish traditions of rebirth and restoration, they discarded or recast anything not connected to restoration, especially religious rituals. Zionism is therefore, again, paradoxically an endeavor to restore the Jew to his historical roots through national revival while at the same time “rebelling against Jewish history”; an effort to re-establish Jewish tradition while redefining Jewish practice and ritual; an effort to enable Jews to live in their own land like every other nation, while stressing the distinctive elements in their history, culture, and society.²

Those who initially immigrated to the *Yishuv* (Jewish settlement in Palestine before the establishment of the State of Israel) were motivated by a desire for self-determination, liberation, and identity within the context of the liberalism, secularism, modernism, and nationalism unleashed by the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Human Rights of Man.³ The Enlightenment, an intellectual utopian movement of the 18th century, posited that were logic and reason to reign in society, they would overcome superstition and hatred. As it pertained to Jews, it was

supposed to free them from their old ways and enable them to acquire roots in their adopted lands.

The idea that it would usher in an era where bigotry and prejudice would be replaced with tolerance and moderation turned out to be a fantasy. For Jews, it was an especial failure because in the 18th century Jews still lived behind ghetto walls, essentially cutting them off from society at large. Their dress, religious practice, and ways of thinking made them appear peculiar and parochial, and set them apart. Even after the ghetto walls no longer existed, masses of European Jews maintained their Jewish traditions instead of assimilating.⁴

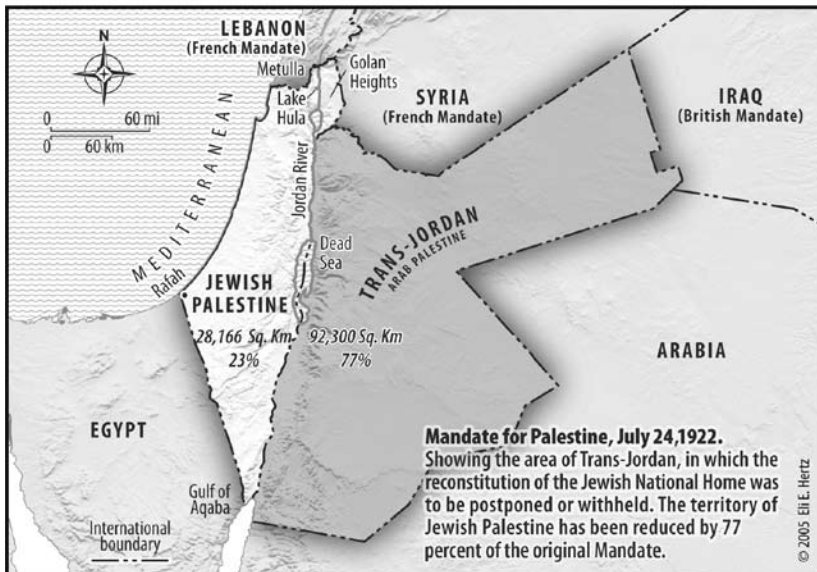
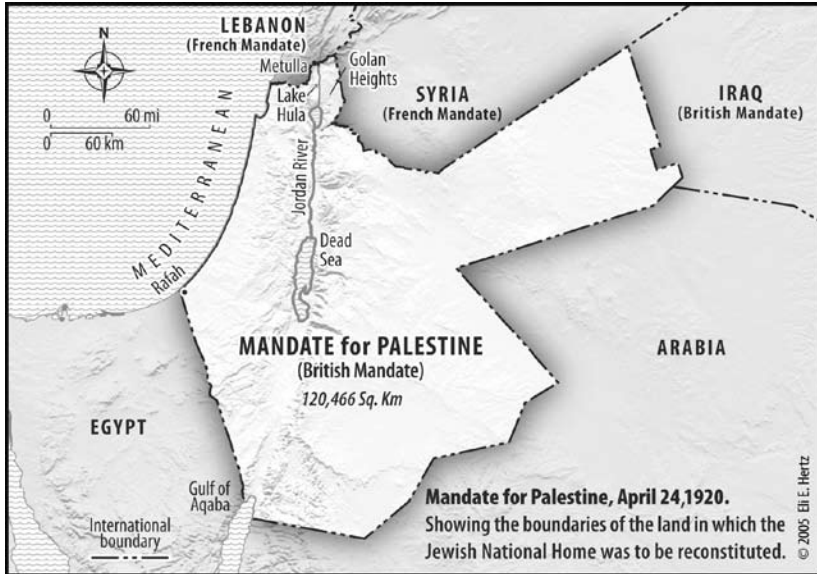
Though Jews had pined for the land of Zion for millennia, Zionism itself did not develop before the 19th and 20th centuries because it was much more than just a response to antisemitism. It was an attempt to create a new Jew based on Enlightenment ideas,⁵ but a Jewish return to Zion was more than the emigration of a people to a new land. Zionist settlers did not seek to go to Palestine to dominate another people and exploit the area's natural resources for export. They came to establish settlements and to develop the country. The future State of Israel would have no towns or villages named New Warsaw, New Lodz, New Moscow, New Minsk, or New Pinsk — unlike the New World, where settlements were named for old cities (e.g., New London, New Orleans, New York, New England, and New Madrid).⁶ Furthermore, by rejecting Europe and by creating the modern Hebrew language, the Zionists tried to create their own intellectual and cultural energy without imitating or transplanting the old ways. Using biblical (Hebrew) names to affirm control over their geography, they did not consider themselves outsiders or conquerors. Their settlements were tangible manifestations of the Jewish return to the homeland.⁷

Those Jews who settled in the *Yishuv* came to a land that was sparsely populated and economically underdeveloped, with sizable regions of desert, semi-arid wilderness, and swamps. Before the British arrived in Palestine at the end of World War I, the authorities in the Ottoman Empire had practically no involvement in regulating land use, health and sanitary conditions, or controls on the construction of private and public buildings. Except for a few roads and a rail line that projected the Ottoman Empire's imperial power, there were few public works projects. Resident Arabs, traditional in outlook, had no interest in new plans for their communities either. Thus, for Herzl and other European Zionists, in addition to its being the ancestral homeland, Turkish Palestine was inviting because of its lack of government accountability, absence of local Arab initiative, and the "empty landscape."⁸

At this point in history, post-World War I, political pressure caused the international community to endorse the Jewish desire for national self-determination and accepted that the Jewish people had a justifiable claim to return to their homeland.

Significantly, in this recognition, the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate under the League of Nations make no mention of Palestinians as a separate and distinct people with their own national rights. The indigenous people were regarded as residents whose political identity was connected to the larger Arab nation.⁹

For the British, the matter was quite clear: Palestine was not a state but the name of a geographical area. This had been reinforced by the indigenous Arabs themselves.



(Courtesy of Eli Hertz.)

When the First Congress of Muslim-Christian Associations met in Jerusalem in February 1919 to select Palestinian Arab representatives for the Paris Peace Conference, they adopted the following resolution: “We consider Palestine as part of Arab Syria, as it has never been separated from it at any time. We are connected with it by national, religious, linguistic, natural, economic, and geographical bonds.”¹⁰

The purpose of post-World War I’s League of Nations was to prepare those liberated from the Turks for independence. Once the indigenous populations demonstrated their ability to assume control, the mandates given to the war’s victorious superpowers were supposed to be self-terminating. For the international community, justice for the Arabs meant guaranteeing their economic, civil, and religious rights. Awarding the Arabs any form of self-government within Palestine was precluded by British commitments to the Jews under the Balfour Declaration, which had been incorporated in the mandate of the League of Nations.¹¹

THE JEWISH CONNECTION TO THE LAND

Culturally, during the 18 centuries of Jewish life in the Diaspora, the connection to the land of Israel played a key role in the value system of Jewish communities and was a basic determinant in their self-recognition as a group. Without the connection to the land of Israel, the people who practice Judaism would simply be a religious community, without national and ethnic components. Jews were distinct from the Muslim and Christian communities in which they lived because of their religious beliefs and practices and the eternal link to the land of their forefathers. That is why Jews considered themselves — and are seen by others — as a minority living in exile.¹²

As Abraham Joshua Heschel, professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism at the Jewish Theological Seminary, explained:

For the Jews and for them alone [the land of Israel] was the one and only Homeland, the only conceivable place where they could find liberation and independence, the land toward which their minds and hearts had been uplifted for a score of centuries and where their roots had clung in spite of all adversity. . . . It was the homeland with which an indestructible bond of national, physical, religious, and spiritual character had been preserved, and where the Jews had in essence remained — and were now once more in fact — a major element of the population.¹³

The Jews did not publicly challenge the occupation of their land by the empires of the East and West. They did so in their homes, sanctuaries, books, and prayers. Religious rituals were instituted to remember the destruction of the temple and the subsequent exile. During times of joy and sorrow, Zion is always part of a Jew’s thoughts and liturgy. At least three times a day, observant Jews pray for the redemption of Zion and Jerusalem and for her well-being.¹⁴



Arthur Balfour
British Foreign Secretary
(Courtesy of Michael Duffy)

When the Muslims invaded Palestine in 634, ending four centuries of conflict between Persia and Rome, they found direct descendants of Jews who had lived in the country since biblical times. Rabbinical leaders there continued to argue about “whether most of Palestine is in the hands of the Gentiles,” or “whether the greater part of Palestine is in the hands of Israel.” (Such a determination was essential, since according to *halacha* [Jewish law] if Jews ruled the country, then they were obligated to observe religious agricultural practices in one way, and in another if they were not in control.)¹⁵

As Muslim hegemony prevailed, major Arab contributions to history originated in Damascus, Mecca, Cairo, and Baghdad. Little came from Jerusalem, indicating the low regard the area held for its captors and its minimal occupation by

Arabs. Similarly, while the land of Palestine was two percent of the Arab-controlled land-mass, to the Jewish people it was forever the fount of their religion, their homeland.¹⁶

David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, pointed out that more than 3,000 years before the Mayflower left England for the New World, Jews fled from Egypt. Jews even slightly cognizant of their faith know that every spring Jews commemorate and remember the liberation from slavery and the Exodus from Egypt to the land of Israel. Those who observe the *seder* (the Passover meal and retelling of the exodus from Egypt), end it with two sentences: "This year we are here; next year we shall be in [Jerusalem] the land of Israel. This year we are slaves; next year we shall be free."¹⁷

Though bound to its religious foundation, a Jewish State also means "Jewish security. Even in countries where he seems secure, the Jew lacks a feeling of security. Why? Because even if he is safe, he has not physically provided safety for himself. Somebody else provides for his security. The State of Israel provides such security."¹⁸

ANTI-ZIONISM BECOMES INTERNATIONAL IN SCOPE

For more than 20 years after the establishment of the State of Israel, anti-Zionism was a regional phenomenon — a clash between Arab and Jewish national movements in the Middle East. In the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, the Soviets exploited antisemitism for political purposes, but it was rarely part of international debate until after the Six-Day War in 1967. By the end of the 1960s, and since 1975, anti-Zionism became international in scope. It first appeared in the universities in the West where the New Left, in cooperation with Arab student associations, attacked Israeli policy.¹⁹

When the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 3379 on November 10, 1975, and declared "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination," it significantly expanded anti-Zionism into the sphere of international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and therefore into Third World countries. This was accomplished in a collaboration between the Arabs and the Soviet Union that endowed anti-Zionism with legitimacy and official recognition.²⁰

After the First World War, the Arabs expected Greater Syria — which included Palestine and Lebanon — to become a vast, united, and sovereign Arab empire. Instead, the French and the British divided the area into what the Arabs considered "irrationally carved out" entities that became the present-day states of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Trans-Jordan (later Jordan), Iraq, and Israel. The Arabs were outraged that a "non-Arab embryo state in Palestine" had been inserted into an area where it would never be accepted. They claimed that this shattered their dreams of unification and impeded their search for a common identity.²¹

The fight against a Jewish homeland became an integral part of their struggle “for dignity and independence.” Israel’s existence, they claimed, “implied that not only a part of the Arab patrimony, but also parts of Islam, had been stolen. For a Moslem, there was no greater shame than for that to happen.” The only way to eliminate this deeply felt affront — this “symbol of everything that had dominated them in the past” — was to rid the area of “imperialist domination.”²²

Zionism has been branded as the official enemy of the Arab national movement, but Arab governments have long been accused of using the Arab-Israeli confrontation to divert attention from their own critical domestic social and economic problems. When confronted, they respond that if this were not a real concern, it would not resonate so strongly among the Arab masses.²³

Bernard Lewis, professor emeritus at Princeton University, the dean of Middle Eastern scholars in the West, says Arab fixation with Israel “is the licensed grievance. In countries where people are becoming increasingly angry and frustrated at all the difficulties under which they live — the poverty, unemployment, oppression — having a grievance which they can express freely is an enormous psychological advantage.”²⁴

The Israeli-Arab conflict is the only local political grievance that can be openly discussed. If the population were permitted freedom of speech, Lewis believes that the obsession with Israel would become far less important. Like most people, Arabs are concerned about their own priorities. For the Palestinian Arabs, who view themselves as the permanent victims, the main issue is their struggle with Israel. If Arabs in other countries were permitted to focus on their own problems, they would do so.²⁵

For Arabs, the attempt to blame Western imperialism is nothing more than an excuse to attack Israel, as another historian asserted: “For decades the Arabs have been obsessed by memories of past glories and prophecies of future greatness, mocked by the injury and shame of having an alien and despised race injected into the nerve center of their promised pan-Arab empire, between its Asian and African halves, just at a time when the colonial powers had started their great retreat from their colonial possessions in Asia and Africa.”²⁶

To lessen their feelings of shame for losing every war against Israel, the Arabs attributed the success of Jewish settlement in Palestine and the Israeli military triumphs of 1948 and 1956 to Western imperialism. As the representative of the Great Powers, Israel became the Arabs’ scapegoat whenever they became frustrated in their attempt to transcend “centuries of social, economic, and cultural development, and catch up” with the West. This anti-Israel fixation precipitated a methodical “Manichean metaphysics, the focus of an entire philosophy of history, with the Jew as the devil incarnate from the days of patriarch Abraham himself till his assumption of the role of the linchpin of an American-Imperialist-Zionist world-plot against the Arab world, the Socialist Commonwealth and all colonial peoples.”²⁷

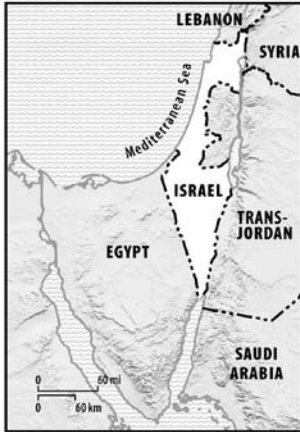
THE SIX-DAY WAR

The crushing defeat of the Arabs in the 1967 Six-Day War shattered this fantasy and accentuated Arab humiliation, since the Israelis won without the backing of any imperialist nations. Arab rage was exacerbated by the casualty rates in Israel's favor — about 25 to 1 — and by the number of prisoners of war Israel captured. At least 5,000 Egyptian soldiers, including 21 generals, 365 Syrians (30 of whom were officers), and 550 Jordanians were taken. Only 15 Israelis were held as POWs. Arab military hardware losses were in the billions of dollars — most of it coming from Soviet Bloc countries.²⁸



Israel's Minister of Defense during the Six-Day War,
Moshe Dayan, 1967.

(Courtesy of Israeli Government Photo Office)



1949
Israel's boundaries after the Israeli War of Independence.



1956
Sinai Campaign; Israel gains control over the Sinai Peninsula territory.



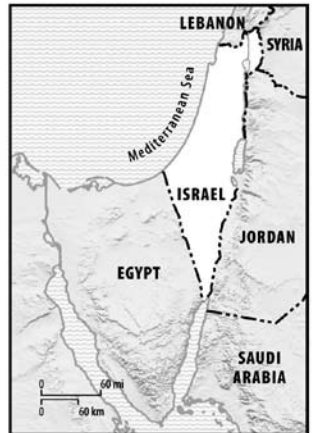
1957
Israel agrees to withdraw its troops from the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip, handing over these territories to Egypt.



1967
Israel's boundaries following the Six-Day War. Egypt, Jordan, and Syria in a war of aggression lose the territories of the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. For the first time, Israel is in control of Jewish Mandated Palestine.



1973
Israel's boundaries following the Yom Kippur War. In a clear act of aggression, Egypt and Syria attacked the State of Israel, but were driven away.



1979–Present
On March 26, 1979, Israel and Egypt signed a peace treaty on the White House lawn. Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula territory to Egypt.

(Courtesy of Eli Hertz.)

Civilian casualties were minimal: Israelis estimate that 175,000 Arab noncombatants fled the West Bank to Jordan; Jordanians claim that number is 250,000. Though the Israelis did not initiate the Arab exodus, they did not attempt to stop it. The refugees were not encouraged to return, but Moshe Dayan, Israel's Minister

of Defense, stopped the practice of preventing them from crossing back to the West Bank a week after the war, after observing ambushes and concluding that they were inhumane.²⁹

Israelis wanted to resolve the 1948 and 1967 refugee problem — to be determined when a comprehensive peace agreement would be negotiated. The Arabs rejected the offer and insisted that the refugees be allowed to return, unconditionally, and receive compensation. Yet, in the summer of 1967, when Israel agreed to allow Arabs to come back to the West Bank, only a handful returned.³⁰

At the same time, the Arabs persecuted and tormented their own Jewish residents. Jews were attacked in Yemen, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Morocco. Synagogues were burned and Jews were arrested and detained. In Damascus and Baghdad, Jewish leaders were fined and imprisoned, and 7,000 Jews were expelled after their property and most of their belongings were confiscated. Eight hundred of Egypt's 4,000 Jews were arrested, including the chief rabbis of Cairo and Alexandria. The UN and the Red Cross did nothing to intervene on their behalf.³¹

Despite this treatment of Jews in Arab lands, the 1.2 million Arabs under Israeli governance did not experience any systematic mistreatment. Looting and vandalism were reported in some areas, but the Israelis repaired whatever damage they found. Though Jordanians had destroyed synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem and used the tombstones from the Jewish cemeteries on the Mount of Olives to pave roads and use in latrines, Moshe Dayan participated in the Friday prayers at the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Perhaps the greatest trauma for the Arabs was that Israel had conquered 42,000 square miles — and was now three-and-a-half times larger in size than before the war.³²

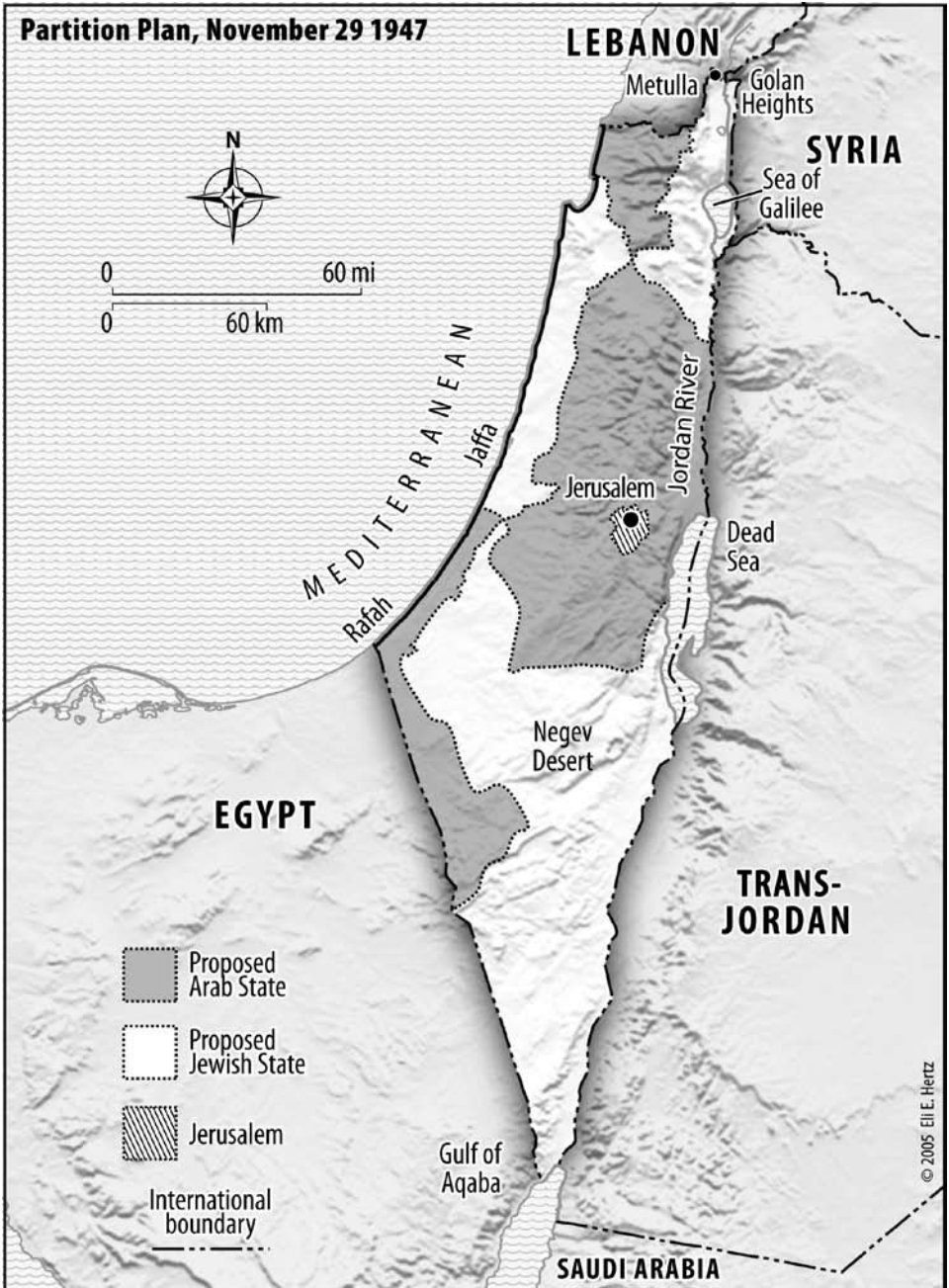
Anti-Zionism entered the international scene when Israel and Egypt reached political rapprochement after the Yom Kippur War by signing an interim agreement on September 1, 1975. That agreement emphasized, “The conflict between them and in the Middle East shall not be resolved by military force but by peaceful means.”³³

Concerned that this might lead to peace, the Soviets, Syria, and the PLO tried to exclude Israel from international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), like UNESCO, “for having transgressed the United Nations Charter, and having failed to adopt its resolutions.” When this strategy failed, they began to question Israel's legitimacy and discredit and condemn Zionism in the UN, and to internationalize their propaganda against her.³⁴

POLITICAL ANTISEMITISM

Irwin Cotler, Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, wrote:

Traditional anti-Semitism was the denial of the right of individual Jews to live as equal members in a society. The new anti-Jewishness is the denial



Courtesy of Eli Hertz.

of the right of Jewish people to live as equal members in the family of nations. . . . All that has happened is that we've moved from discrimination against the Jews as individuals to the discrimination against the Jews as a people.³⁵

Demonizing Israel has turned it into a physical target for terrorist organizations, and into a political target for left wing and reactionary forces. Whether there are *fatwas* (legal rulings by Muslim clerics that routinely legitimize suicide terrorism) or there are organizations demanding divestment from Israeli corporations, destruction of Israel — physical, spiritual, or economic — is one of the mantras of the day. This is what Cotler calls political antisemitism.³⁶

For the majority of the member states in the UN, Israel is a locus of evil, deserving international condemnation — unlike many countries in the UN that practice ethnic cleansing, offer no rights to women or the poor, starve their own people for political reasons, and commit genocide.

These same nations, in the halls of an institution that was designed to prevent exactly this from happening, deny Israel her rights even in the courts of international law. Israel is the target of the majority of UN sanctions, is vilified by the International Court of Justice at the Hague for defending herself, and is singled out by the Geneva Convention as the utmost violator of human rights.³⁷

It has been suggested that this deliberate delegitimization leads to gradual erosion of Israel's stature and ultimately her right to exist. Those targeted are the last to recognize the transformation until the consequences of ostracism become evident. This occurs when remarks by the country's spokesman are seen as irrelevant, and when the leadership is no longer regarded as worthy of engaging in legitimate discourse with other countries.³⁸

Branding Israel as racist portrays her as a country that harms civilian populations, oppresses minorities, and establishes restrictive immigration laws and religious statutes as part of its ideological *raison d'être*. Thus, Israel's wars — its military response to terror and laws passed by the Knesset — are racist. A significant danger to Israel is that if this charge becomes a new stereotype through popular culture, the media, literature, and daily speech, it will taint the Jewish state and become a part of the legacy of the West.³⁹

How does one respond to such charges? No logical argument ever succeeded in disputing the blood libels or any other spurious allegation leveled against the Jews. Yet, limited response to Z=R ensured that anti-Zionist resolutions continued to be passed. To counter the process of delegitimization, the charges have to be seen as a "corruption of language and thought," a threat to freedom, and a campaign of disinformation orchestrated by the Arab states and the Soviet Union.⁴⁰

This book examines the initial reactions to the Z=R resolution by the United States, Israel, and others, the political and cultural environment at the UN, and the provocative roles played by Arab states, the Former Soviet Union (FSU), African nations, and NGOs in the new war against the Jews.

Endnotes

1. Abraham I. Edelheit, *The History of Zionism: A Handbook and Dictionary* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000), p. xv.
2. Ibid.
3. Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1981), p. 5, 13.
4. George L. Mosse, *Germans and Jews* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1970), p. 42–76. Many Jews, particularly on the left, were influenced by the ideas of the Russian revolution that all oppressed nations should unite in their fight for emancipation against a common enemy. Jacob L. Talmon, *Israel Among the Nations* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), p. 142.
5. Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, p. 5, 13.
6. S. Ilan Troen, *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 7–9, 55, 142.
7. Ibid., p. 151–152, 158.
8. Ibid., p. 70, 90–91, 159.
9. Eli E. Hertz, Reply, *Myths and Facts*, 2005, p. 24. See Yehoshua Porath, *The Palestinian Arab National Movement: From Riots to Rebellion*, Volume 2 (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1977), p. 81–82.)
10. Ibid.
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12. Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, p. 3.
13. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Israel: An Echo Eternity* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1967), p. 57.
14. Ibid., p. 55, 61–67.
15. Yaacov Herzog, *A People That Dwells Alone* (New York: Sanhedrin Press), 1975, p. 33; Ibid., p. 57. While Jewish settlement in recent times began in 1881, in the 3rd and 4th centuries, Palestine was probably the largest and most significant Jewish community in the world. Benjamin of Tudela, Saadia Gaon, Maimonides and Judah Halevi were there from the 12th century and Nachmanides from the early 13th century. Rabbi Estori Ha-Parhi, author of *Kaftor va-Ferah*, demonstrates how, since biblical times, Jews have lived on the land continuously.
16. Heschel, *Israel: An Echo Eternity*, p. 59.
17. *The Jewish Case Before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine* (Jerusalem: The Jewish Agency For Palestine, 1947), p. 63, 65.
18. Ibid., p. 68; David Ben Gurion, “Ben-Gurion and De Gaulle: An Exchange of Letters,” *Midstream* (February 1968), p. 12.
19. Yohanan Manor, “Anti-Zionism,” (Jerusalem: World Zionist Organization, 1984), p. 8.
20. Ibid.

21. Saul Friedlander and Mahmoud Hussein, *Arabs and Israelis: A Dialogue* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975), p. 6, 18, 21.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 9, 34.
23. *Ibid.*
24. "Islam's Interpreter," *The Atlantic Online* (April 4, 2004), Online.
25. *Ibid.*; Friedlander and Hussein, *Arabs and Israelis: A Dialogue*, p. 32–33, 36.
26. Talmon, *Israel Among the Nations*, p. 169–170.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
28. Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 305–306.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, p. 306–307.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Manor, "Anti-Zionism," p. 9–10.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
35. Irwin Cotler, "Why Is Israel Singled Out?" *The Jerusalem Post* (January 16, 2002), Online.
36. *Ibid.*; see also Irwin Cotler, "Human Rights and the New Anti-Jewishness," *The Jerusalem Post* (February 5, 2004), Online; Irwin Cotler, "Durban's Troubling Legacy One Year Later: Twisting the Cause of International Human Rights Against the Jewish People," *Jerusalem Center For Public Affairs*, Volume 2, Number 5 (August 20, 2002), Online.
37. *Ibid.*
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CHAPTER ONE

THE FORGOTTEN FRIENDSHIP: ISRAEL AND THE SOVIET BLOC

The Soviet Union played a key role in passing Z=R by establishing the ideological framework to transform Zionism into an evil entity. It vigorously promoted the resolution's enactment by the UN General Assembly and kept the issue alive for a number of years at UN-sponsored conferences — even when there was decreased interest in the subject.

Soon after the resolution passed, the Soviets launched a propaganda campaign against Zionism, exposing it as the enemy of the Soviet Union. From 1975 on, any official Soviet material about Zionism was based on the premise that it was evil. *Zionism as a Form of Racial Discrimination* by Lydia Modzhorian, an expert on international law and a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, became the standard work on Zionism.¹

In the fall of 1984, Soviet representatives on the Committee on Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Affairs (the Third Committee) attempted to include the Z=R formula in a draft resolution by Ethiopia to establish a “Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.” Resistance from the United States, the West, and moderate Third World African countries prevented it. In July 1985, Soviet delegates were thwarted when they tried to insert language into the final conference document equating Zionism with racism and apartheid at the “Decade for Women” UN conference in Nairobi, Kenya.²

THE ROOTS OF SOVIET ANTI-ZIONISM

Soviet opposition to Zionism began in November 1917 with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the signing of the Balfour Declaration in Great Britain. After World War II, the establishment of the State of Israel and the post-Six-Day War period were watershed events with severe repercussions.

In the 1920s, Bolshevik leaders essentially ignored the well-organized and determined Zionist organizations developing in Russian and Ukrainian Jewish communities before the revolution, and they rejected Jewish nationalism as reactionary and unscientific.³ The intense resistance to Zionism came from the Jewish Socialist Bund, giving anti-Zionism the appearance of a clash inside the Jewish community.

During the first decade of the Soviet regime, local Jewish Communist officials from *Yevesktsiia*, a special section of the People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs, were more vigorous than the Soviet government in harassing and criticizing Zionism as "nationalistic," "counter-revolutionary," and "clerical."⁴

In the post-revolutionary years, however, anti-Zionism was mostly free of antisemitism. In his celebrated 1919 speech against pogroms, Bolshevik leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, declared, "Only the most ignorant and downtrodden people can believe the lies and slander that are spread about the Jews. . . . Shame on those who foment hatred towards the Jews, who foment hatred toward other nations."⁵ Lenin was disgusted by the persecution and torture perpetrated against Jews under the "accursed Tsarist monarchy," which in its last days sought to "incite ignorant workers and peasants against the Jews."⁶ Lenin and other Bolsheviks attacked Zionism for advocating class-collaboration instead of class struggle, but this criticism was in the context of the events from 1917–1920.

The Balfour Declaration worried Soviet leaders after pro-British articles appeared in the Russian Jewish press and pro-British demonstrations were held in Petrograd and Odessa, causing fear that France and Britain could use Zionism against them.

Appeals by the Central Zionist Committee in Russia urged the Jews of Russia to oppose the Soviet regime. Russian leaders feared that a brain drain to Palestine might weaken their ability to recruit Jewish masses into the Red Army during the Civil War as well. Thus, a national separatist movement was seen as a real threat when the Soviet regime was fighting for its existence. They also felt that with the Jews and Zionists supporting nationalistic movements, other nationalities in the country might follow their example and be influenced to secede from Russia.⁷

BLAMING THE ZIONISTS

The Bolsheviks blamed Russian Jewish sympathy for Zionism and the Balfour Declaration for the decline in their own socio-political and economic system. They feared that secular Jewish intelligentsia — doctors, pharmacists, architects, engineers, and experts in banking, commerce, foreign affairs, and the secret police (professionals who were needed to build the Soviet economy) would leave for Palestine. To preclude the further growth of the Zionist movement and keep Jews from emigrating, the Bolsheviks offered them the possibility of civil equality and an agricultural settlement in Russia.⁸

The idea was for Russian Jews to become farmers in the harsh and barren Soviet Far East, in Birobidzhan, a Jewish autonomous region they created in 1934. The Soviets thought that Jews would practice their Jewish national culture instead of Zionism. In addition to Birobidzhan being isolated and harsh, the Jews had no historical, religious, or emotional connection to the area, so the experiment failed. By then, Joseph Stalin had established his totalitarian regime. Those who thought up the Birobidzhan project and the leaders of *Yevesktsiia* were purged, exiled, or imprisoned.⁹

The Soviets were also anxious about the “colonial question” in the Middle East. After the British won Palestine in 1917 and the English and French partitioned the region, Lenin felt they would carve up the globe between them.¹⁰ The Bolsheviks were fundamentally opposed to colonialism, and viewed the British as oppressors and the power most determined to destroy them. Zionist leaders who enthusiastically cooperated with the British government were considered imperialist tools. As a presentiment of their future activities in the area, acting as agent provocateurs, the Soviets sought out Palestinian Arab peasants and workers as a natural source of anti-British sentiment, and told them that part of their problem was the Zionists — even though the Soviets were not yet involved with the Middle East in any significant way.¹¹

During the 1929 riots in Palestine and the Arab revolt of 1936–1939, the Soviet press attacked Zionist imperialist oppression. Jewish nationalism until then had marginal importance to the Soviet leadership and criticism of it was left to the officials in *Yevesktsiia*. Although these functionaries were misguided in their zeal to remove Jewish religious institutions, Zionism, and the Hebrew language from Jewish life, they most likely did so to improve the lives of Russian Jews.¹²

When the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union in July 1941, the Soviets reversed themselves and encouraged nationalistic and religious feelings to strengthen the people’s resolve against the Nazis, even as antisemitism increased. In April 1942, the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was even established to gain material support for the Russian Army in the United States and Britain. Yet Stalin generally discouraged Soviet Jews from identifying with fellow Jews abroad and ridiculed the idea of world Jewry in Soviet anti-Zionist propaganda.

Then in November 1944, Shachna Epstein, secretary of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, wrote that Jews have “a right to political independence in Israel.” This, however, had no relevance to Russian Jews who were committed to strengthening communism.

Ironically, Stalin’s pro-Israel policy during 1947–1948 occurred while he was attacking Jewish nationalism, Jewish culture, and the Jewish leadership inside his own borders. From 1948 to 1952, the Soviets even murdered their own Jewish intelligentsia.

SOVIET RATIONALE FOR SUPPORTING ZIONISM

The Soviets supported the establishment of Israel for several reasons: the Jews were anti-British, they were on the frontlines of the *armed* “anti-colonial struggle,” and Russia wanted to play an active role in the Middle East. Furthermore, her southern flank was becoming more vulnerable to increasing East-West tensions and there was concern that the West would control oil from the Persian Gulf and the Middle East.

Most importantly, this was an opportunity to weaken — and perhaps cause a rift — between the United States and its allies. The Middle East was the most obvious place to provoke this split in order to prevent the British and Americans from strengthening their Cold War alliance,¹³ since a split already existed over the future of a Jewish state.

President Harry S. Truman and British Prime Minister Clement Attlee had been at odds over whether the remnants of European Jewry could immigrate to Palestine. The British wanted to stop the flow of Jews, and the Russians believed that after the Holocaust, the British would be criticized in the West for trying to keep them out of Palestine. Thus, the Russians did not interfere with the *Brichah*, the illegal emigration of Jews to Palestine, figuring that they could use sympathy for Jews as a moral cudgel and public relations weapon against the West, instead of playing power politics.¹⁴

Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Ambassador to the UN, explained on May 14, 1947, that the “aspirations of an important part of the Jewish people are bound up with the question of Palestine, and with the future structure of that country. . . .” Though Arabs and Jews had historically inhabited Palestine, the “suffering and miseries of the Jewish people are beyond description . . . and it would be difficult to express by mere dry figures the losses and sacrifices of the Jewish people at the hands of the Fascist occupiers.” The UN “cannot, and should not, remain indifferent to this situation,” he declared, because it would be “incompatible” with the “high principles” of the UN Charter. “This is a time to give help, not in words, but in deeds.”

The fact that not one state in Western Europe could protect the Jews from the Nazis and their allies or “compensate them for the violence they have suffered . . . explains the aspiration of the Jews for the creation of a state of their own. . . . And it is impossible to justify a denial of this right of the Jewish people.”¹⁵

At the 125th UN Plenary Meeting on November 26, 1947, Gromyko went further when he reversed his government’s long-standing support for a single, federated bi-national state in the Middle East:

The representatives of the Arab States claim the partition of Palestine would be an historical injustice. But this view of the case is unacceptable,

if only because, after all, the Jewish people have been closely linked with Palestine for a considerable period in history.

Apart from that — and the U.S.S.R. delegation drew attention to this at the Special Session of the General Assembly — they could not overlook the position of the Jews as a result of the recent World War.

The solution of the Palestine problem into two separate states [added Gromyko] will be of profound historical significance, because this decision will meet the legitimate demands of the Jewish people, hundreds of thousands of whom, as you know, are still without a country, without homes, having found temporary shelter only in special camps in some Western European countries.¹⁶

To reassure the Arabs, who resented his enthusiastic support for a Jewish homeland, Gromyko prophetically added to his November 26 speech that, “The U.S.S.R. delegation is convinced that Arabs and Arab states will still, on more than one occasion, be looking towards Moscow and expecting the U.S.S.R. to help them in the struggle for their lawful interests, in their efforts to cast off the last vestiges of foreign dependence.”

Soviet representatives met privately with members of various UN delegations to reinforce Gromyko’s assurances that “the Arabs will soon find out that the Soviet



Andrei Gromyko,
Soviet Ambassador to the UN, 1947
(Courtesy of Marc Schulman)

Union is their friend.” The Soviets would be the main provider of weapons to the Arabs and use the Middle East as a testing ground.¹⁷

The Soviets’ apparent willingness to accept a two-state solution prompted Ben-Gurion to intensify efforts to acquire desperately needed arms from Eastern Europe. He sent many Haganah (covert Jewish defense force) agents to buy arms wherever they could, but they ran into a number of obstacles. The Jewish Agency did not represent a recognized government, only an underground army. The United States, the British, and the UN declared an embargo on selling weapons to the Middle East, and the FBI and the British disrupted well-established gun-running operations, heavily funded by American Jews. (Eastern Europe, and especially Czechoslovakia, were the key suppliers of military equipment.)¹⁸

Without Soviet approval, there would have been no gun and aircraft sales to the Israelis, as since World War II the Czechs needed permission from Moscow for any of their significant economic enterprises. Czechoslovakia had a definite need for an infusion of foreign currency, but exporting of weapons is a political, not simple, trade. Their motivation seems to have been the promise of closer ties to Israel by a “pro-Soviet socialist government.” Using Czechoslovakia to funnel weapons and material gave the Russians the ability to blame the Czechs for “ideological errors” if and when the relationship between the Soviet bloc and Israel soured.¹⁹

Gromyko’s use of the Holocaust to tweak the West was a bold and risky move. Russian Jews murdered in the Soviet Union by the Nazis were counted as Soviet citizens and not as Jews. Except for Poland, more Jews were killed in the Soviet Union than anywhere else. Cooperation and, at times, active participation in the process of Jewish destruction by Latvians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and White Russians was so pervasive that the Soviets were no better at protecting their Jews than the West was. This argument, had it been raised at the time, might have further justified Jewish immigration to Palestine.²⁰

REVERSAL OF SOVIET POLICY

Despite the duplicitous nature of the Soviet posturing, they still realized that the Arabs were not reliable partners with whom they could establish their foothold in the Middle East. The Arabs were tarnished by their connections to fascism and the Nazis, ruled by *effendis*, monarchs, and feudal cliques, and were tied to the British through treaties and alliances. As such, the Soviets condemned the Arab attack on Israel in May 1948 as “reactionary . . . and as having been orchestrated by the British.” Typically, once Israel was no longer perceived as a potential source of influence in the area, the Soviets adopted a neutral policy toward the Zionist state between 1948 and 1952.

After 1955, under the regime of Nikita Krushchev — which needed access to oil and the Mediterranean for its growing fleet and industries — an aggressive

anti-Israel policy was adopted as part of a pro-Arab approach. Krushchev saw the developing and anti-imperialist Third World countries as natural allies, and granted Egypt military aid.

Anxiously observing the inflow of Soviet military hardware into regional Arab states, Major-General Moshe Dayan, then Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces, noted that the implementation of the Joint Egypt-Syria-Jordan Military Command agreement convinced the Israelis that war was imminent. In 1956, it was clear Egypt was preparing for “an all-out war” against Israel. Acts of terror by groups of trained Arab guerillas “soared to the tens of thousands,” and were now being used by Egypt “as a means of warfare.” Also, Israeli shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba was blockaded — a clear act of war according to the Geneva Convention. In addition, the massive arms deal concluded between Czechoslovakia and Egypt in September 1955 provided the Arabs with arms greater in numbers and quality than those possessed by Israel.²¹

Realizing that a joint Israeli campaign with Western allies might jeopardize its Arab clients, the Soviets attempted to intimidate Israel. When Israel joined the Anglo-French Sinai campaign against Egypt in 1956, the Soviets sent the Israeli government an ominous note warning that the “very existence of the state” was in question.²²

After the defeat of its clients in the Sinai Campaign until the Six-Day War in June 1967, Israel became a target of Soviet propaganda. Portrayed in the Soviet press as a puppet of Western imperialists, prepared to initiate unprovoked aggression against its neighbors, Israel became a focal point in Soviet attacks against the West. In this hostile environment, the Soviets assumed the role of guardians of the “national liberation movements in the Third World.”²³

After the resounding defeat in the Six-Day War — a war Israel waged on its own without the assistance of the superpowers, while the Arabs relied on Soviet equipment and advisors — the Soviet ministry of information consistently and constantly began using the term anti-Zionism in its propaganda. Until the 1970s, the phrase was not found in dictionaries. Previously, the Soviets had characterized Judaism as parasitical, seditious, and a disgusting religion at the foundation of Jewish rationalism. In the early 1960s, antisemitism manifested itself in accusations of “economic crimes,” and Jews were convicted as economic criminals.²⁴ Now there was a new locus for the antisemitism so easily stoked to foment international discord.

Zionism became the euphemism for Jews, and Russian Jews were again used to attack Israel. The Soviets wanted to increase military activity in the Middle East and crush the Zionist nationalist stirrings of Soviet Jews, particularly among the young. General Alexander Tsirlin, a military scholar and the grandson of S. Ansky, author of *The Dybbuk*, aggressively criticized Israel by trying to equate Zionism with Nazi

racism. Then 51 Ukrainian Jewish professors of medicine, members of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, composers, poets, engineers, actors, journalists, and a Yiddish writer made that same declaration in *Pravda* on March 12, 1970.²⁵

By writing letters of protest to Soviet leaders and newspapers, some Russian Jews responded to the defamation of Zionism, the proscriptions on emigration to Israel, and the antisemitic discrimination in universities. The letters were never published, but a number of them were circulated through *samizdat* (self-published, clandestinely copied, and suppressed material). Hundreds of letters were also smuggled to non-Communist countries, bringing Jewish national feelings out into the open.²⁶

The vitriolic anti-Zionist campaign gave the Soviets a chance to rationalize the abysmal defeat of their Arab clients in the June 1967 war. Zionism now became number one in the lexicon of “Soviet demonology” with goals to separate Israel from the civilized nations of the world by condemning its alleged aggression — its “genocide” of the Palestinian Arabs — and to force Israel to leave what it labeled the “occupied territories.”

Not even during 1952–1953, in Stalin’s assault against the Jewish intellectuals, was there such a barrage of hate propaganda against Jews. This anti-Jewish hatred was the subject of thousands of articles, broadcasts, films, and lectures. In academic circles, Jewish religious doctrine was defined as advocating genocide and “the enslavement of non-Jews.” Judaism was the foundation for Zionist racism and belligerence in the Middle East. Zionism was a world menace and the Trojan horse for Western imperialism in Africa and Asia.²⁷

THE BIRTH OF THE NEW ANTISEMITISM

The antisemitic propaganda campaign conveniently forgot the former Soviet Union’s support for the establishment of the State of Israel and Stalin’s extensive relationship with Hitler before being attacked by the Nazis. It ignored Soviet involvement with Arab nationalists and fascist governments.

Why did the Soviets replace Nazism and fascism with Zionism as the focus of their animosity? Why did they feed Nazi and Czarist antisemitic propaganda like the caricatures of those in Julius Streicher’s *Der Stürmer* and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to the Arabs?

The campaign was most likely a product of the crisis within the Communist system. By blaming Israel for impeding Soviet ambitions in the Middle East, they could deflect attention from the real problems affecting the regime. Because Jews were visible in dissident movements in Eastern Europe and Russia, anti-Zionism was a powerful tool to deter non-Jews from becoming involved in these “instruments of imperialism” or founding their own movements.

If Jewish nationalism was revived and emigration permitted, national separatism would once again become an issue. The nationality policies for the Jews,

the Armenians, the Georgians, Ukrainians, the peoples of the Baltic, the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars, and the Chechens all failed. An anti-Zionism campaign was supposed to stop the Jews and the others from making their own demands.

The Jews in Russia were certainly the canaries in the coal mine. Intimidation and harassment, threats of imprisonment, exile, and antisemitism were designed to isolate the Jews from elements in Soviet society that might sympathize with them. Having the assimilated Jews join the anti-Zionist campaign gave the operation legitimacy and created an environment for conflict in the Jewish community.²⁸

THE ROLE OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy played a role in the anti-Zionist campaign, too, but it was not the decisive factor. Hatred of Israel, according to this view, was because of the ever-changing Middle East landscape. In their quest to influence the Middle East, the Soviets encountered a strong Israel and a U.S. proxy. Since Israel impeded Russian interests in the region, whatever enervated Israel hurt the United States and the West. By identifying Israel as overly aggressive, expansionist, fascist, Nazi-like, colonialists, and racist, the Soviets isolated the Jewish state in order to hasten its ultimate demise.²⁹

The anti-Zionists made many of the same accusations against the Jews that the Nazis did. In using these methods they adopted previous methods of antisemitism: “the religious/spiritual and the socio/ethnic/cultural.”

Each of these approaches has three distinct steps: creating specific negative character traits for the Jews, isolating them, and then annihilating them. Racism dehumanizes Jews in order to rationalize their removal before being exterminated. The process is then justified as a matter of “public health.” Thus, anti-Zionism has more to do with the advocates of antisemitism than it does Zionism.³⁰

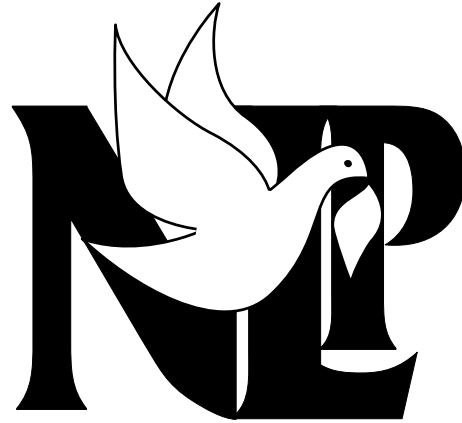
With a lengthy ideological history of anti-Zionism, it was not difficult for the Soviets to increase the intensity of their campaign in the Middle East to impress the Arabs. The hostility also helped enlist the support of the home front for a policy that would otherwise not be very appealing to those footing the bill.³¹

Endnotes

1. William Korey, “The Kremlin and the ‘Zionism Equals Racism Resolution,’ ” in *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights*, Volume 17 (Dordrecht and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987), p. 135, 137, 143–147; William Korey, “Bigotry in the Hall of Brotherhood,” *The American Zionist* (January 1972): p. 12–15.
2. Korey, “The Kremlin and the ‘Zionism Equals Racism Resolution,’ ” p. 148–149.
3. Robert S. Wistrich, “Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R: From Lenin to the Soviet Black Hundreds,” in *The Left Against Zion: Communism, Israel and the Middle East*, Robert S. Wistrich, ed. (London, England: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1979), p. 272–273.

4. Hyman Lumer, ed., *Lenin on the Jewish Question* (New York: International Publishers, 1974), p. 22–24; Wistrich, “Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R.,” p. 273. Their goal was to secure complete control of the Jews and “make the revolution of the Jewish street.” Zvi Gitelman, “The Evolution of Soviet Anti-Zionism,” in *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism in the Contemporary World*, Robert S. Wistrich, ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1990), p. 13.
5. Lumer, *Lenin on the Jewish Question*, p. 135–136.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 134–135.
7. Ran Marom, “The Bolsheviks and the Balfour Declaration,” in Wistrich, *The Left Against Zion: Communism, Israel and the Middle East*, p. 20–21, 27–28; Wistrich, “Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R.,” p. 274–275.
8. Marom, “The Bolsheviks and the Balfour Declaration,” p. 22–25.
9. Wistrich, “Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R.,” p. 276–277; Arnold Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship: Israel and the Soviet Block 1947–1953* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 23.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 275.
11. Marom, “The Bolsheviks and the Balfour Declaration,” p. 17–19; Wistrich, “Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R.,” p. 275.
12. Wistrich, “Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R.,” p. 275–276.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 281, 284, 286; Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship*, p. 2–21, 32–34; Joshua Rubenstein and Vladimir P. Naumov, eds., *Stalin’s Secret Pogrom: The Postwar Inquisition of the Jewish Ant-Fascist Committee* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Walter Z. Laqueur, “Soviet Policy and Jewish Fate,” *Commentary* (October 1956): p. 303–312; Jon Kimche, “Middle East Moves and Counter-Moves,” *Commentary* (March 1948): p. 214–221; Hal Lehrman, “Partition in Washington: An Inquiry,” *Commentary* (March 1948): p. 205–213; Joseph Sherman, “Sevenfold Betrayal: The Murder of Soviet Yiddish,” *Midstream* (July/August, 2000), Online.
14. Wistrich, “Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R.,” p. 283.
15. Quoted in Jacob Robinson, *Palestine and the United Nations: Prelude to Solution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1947), p. 236–239.
16. Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship*, p. 16, 20–21.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 20–21. For Jewish response to the speeches, see Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship*, p. 17–18; Clifton Daniel, “Palestine Excited Over Soviet Stand,” *NYT* (May 16, 1947), p. 3.
18. Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship*, p. 56–81; Uri Bialer, “Top Hat, Tuxedo and Cannons: Israeli Foreign Policy From 1948 to 1956 as a Field of Study,” *Israel Studies* vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring 2002): p. 41.
19. Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship*, p. 81–82.
20. Wistrich, “Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R.,” p. 283.
21. Moshe Dayan, *The Sinai Campaign Diary of Moshe Dayan* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 4–5; Bialer, “Top Hat, Tuxedo and Cannons,” p. 7, 48–49; G.F. Hudson, “America, Britain, and the Middle East,” *Commentary* (June 1956): p. 516–521; Hal Lehrman, “Three Weeks In Cairo: A Journalist in Quest of Egypt’s Terms for Peace,” *Commentary* (February 1956): p. 101–111; Hal Lehrman, “Is An Arab-Israeli War Inevitable?: A Challenge to American Leadership,” *Commentary* (March 1956): p. 210–221; George Lichtheim, “Nationalism, Revolution, and Fantasy in Egypt: Behind the Arms Deal with Czechoslovakia,” *Commentary* (January 1956): p. 33–40; Joel Carmichael, “On Again, Off Again: Egypt’s Blockade of the Suez Canal,” *Midstream* (Summer 1960): p. 56–64.

22. Wistrich, "Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R," p.286; George Lichtheim, "Soviet Expansion into the Middle East," *Commentary* (November 1955): p. 435–439; Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship*, p. 32–33.
23. Wistrich, "Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R," p. 286; Manfred Gerstenfeld, "Language as a Tool against Jews and Israel: An Interview with Georges-Elia Sarfati," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Number 17 (February 1, 2004), Online.
24. Gerstenfeld, "Language as a Tool against Jews and Israel; S.L. Shneiderman, "Russia's Anti-Zionist Campaign: Jews vs. Zionists," *Midstream* (June/July 1970): p. 66; Wistrich, "The Left Against Zion," p. 287.
25. Shneiderman, "Russia's Anti-Zionist Campaign: Jews vs. Zionists," p. 71–72, 75.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 66, 71, 73–75.
27. Wistrich, "Anti-Zionism in the U.S.S.R," p. 288–291.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 294–295. The Zionists pressured the Soviets to let Jews immigrate to Israel. Their constant petitions and appeals were not reported in the Soviet press, but they did reach the outside world. From an ideological perspective, the Zionists demonstrated that the communists had not "solved" the Jewish problem via assimilation, as they claimed they did.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, p. 296, 300; Gerstenfeld, *op. cit.*



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