# Five arguments why the struggle for founding and defending Israel was a great victory

In the struggle against the British imperialist colonial power, against the Arab feudal states and their Arab Palestinian supporters, Israel was founded on May 14, 1948, based on the UN partition plan of November 1947. Until today; controversial discussions ask: Was the founding of Israel in Palestine correct? Why was it supported by the international communist movement of that time? Around these and many more questions relating to Israel/Palestine there is an extremely big confusion even among groups that call them-selves communist or anti-fascist.

In today's debates in particular, we believe it is central to first discuss the question of the founding of the state of Israel. If no agreement is reached even on this fundamental question, because it is argued that the founding of Israel was supposedly a colonialist act aimed at the expulsion of the Arab-Palestinian population, then it is clear that further discussion is, if not impossible, but at least much more difficult. Delegitimization of the state of Israel, as advocated to-day above all by Palestinian organizations such as PLO, Hamas, etc., aims directly or indirectly at the destruction of Israel through a renewed war.

However, there is no doubt: Even if there were an agree-ment that the founding of Israel was correct, this would not resolve additional questions of the history and the current situation of Israel. But then at least the grounds would be laid for a discussion based on solidarity.

The struggle over the question of the founding of Israel is first and foremost a question of democratic struggle, a ques-tion in the struggle against hostility to Jews. But it is also about the struggle against anti-communism:

It is about communist positions in the struggle against the anti-Jewish falsification of history.

# 1. Struggle against British colonialism

Yes, this is true: "Historical Zionism" was based on the erroneous and historically overcome idea that the creation of a Jewish state could be realized as a colonial project by France under Napoleon III (Moses Hess), by the rulers of the Ottoman Empir, by Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm, or by British colonialism (Theodor Herzl and others). This "historical Zionism" ended at the latest since the war against Nazi fascism: Faced with the industrial and state-organized mass murder of the Jewish population in Europe at the hands of the Nazi fascists, the Jewish organizations, whether they called themselves Zionist or not, fought together with the communist organizations against the Nazis. After May 1945, at the latest, the following happened: Jewish organizations did not fight

with, but against British colonialism for the entry of Shoah survivors, for the establishment of an open State of Israel as a refuge for all Jewish survivors. Thousands were still held in so-called "displaced persons" camps in Europe.

Thus, the creation of Israel on the basis of the U.N. partition plan in no way put into practice the restoration of the ancient historical borders of a pre-existing Jewish state in this region, which some Zionist organizations had sought at the beginning of the 20th century. The UN partition plan, and even the expansion of Israel's national borders by one-third in 1949, was a difficult compromise for most reactionary Zionist forces to swallow. Basically, it was a theoretical and political blow to the false theory that borders could be drawn anywhere in the world based on historical events going back 2,000 years, without taking into account present circumstances and immediate historical background. The establishment of the State of Israel in the territory envisioned and subsequently realized was not based on the historical borders of a Jewish community that existed several thousand years ago.

This was a compromise derived from the realistic political situation in which it was unconditionally recognized that historical arguments alone could not decide the determination of borders, although they were not unimportant and should be taken into account as far as possible. Thus, for the record, the creation of the State of Israel did not coincide with the ideals of reactionary Zionist forces, but was openly recognized and accepted as politically necessary by communist, socialist and progressive Zionist organizations and forces.

So there was no historical argument? Well, there was an argument of a contemporary historical nature prior to the Nazi crimes. But it was also recognized and accepted that – albeit long ago – the historical roots of Jewish religion and culture originated in this region. This is very different from the colonial establishment of states such as Australia and New Zealand, which in addition had British colonial power as their backing.

Acceptable historical reasons include the following:

- the use of the historical language of this region
- relevance of the festivities and festivals of the historical period of this region.
- historical names of places
- religious and cultural aspects of the history of this region for today's Jewish population.

The creation of the State of Israel was achieved without and against British imperialism. "Historical Zionism" emerged in Europe as a response to hostility towards Jews with the backing of European colonial states. During the period of Nazi fascism, the Jewish population fought in the partisan struggle and with the armies of the anti-Hitler coalition. However: British imperialism held colonial power in the so-called "Mandate Territory of Palestine" since the end of the First World War. The British colonialists prevented the Jewish survivors of the Shoah from entering Palestine as much as they could. British colonialism became a bitter enemy, especially after the defeat of Nazi fascism, and used its military and police apparatus against the Jewish fighters for a state, for an independent Israel.

This struggle against British colonialism was an anti-colonial liberation struggle. It was also supported by the progressive sectors of the Palestinian Arab population who wanted to expel British colonialism and fight against the imperialist policy of divide and rule. This struggle ended in victory. In the face of the armed struggle of the Jewish organizations, the British colonial power was forced to withdraw from the area after heavy clashes and withdrew. To sum up:

#### First argument

The claim that the creation of Israel was a colonial project is absolutely untenable. Israel was founded in the struggle against British imperialism.

# 2. Just struggle against the aggression of Arab feudal states and Arab-Palestinian reactionary forces

In the years leading up to the British withdrawal in 1948, it was already clear that another great struggle lay ahead: The struggle against the Arab feudal states and their reactionary Arab-Palestinian helpers (including the Mufti of Jerusalem, a Nazi collaborator and war criminal). In keeping with the Nazi tradition of hostility to Jews, these forces launched an anti-Semitic agitation against the Palestinian Jewish population and against Jewish survivors of the Shoah who had arrived (against great odds) in the British colonial power's Mandate for Palestine. A coalition of Arab feudal states openly threatened war. Mercenaries from Egypt and other Arab feudal states were brought into the country even before the war began in May 1948. The most reactionary sectors of the Palestinian Arab population were incited to carry out armed attacks and massacres against the Jewish population, and they did so.

Azzam, Secretary General of the Arab League, had already explained this in an interview given to the Egyptian newspaper Akhbar Al-Yom's on October 11, 1947:

"This war will be a war of extermination and a great massacre that will later be spoken of as the Mongol Wars or the Crusades."

It was proclaimed by the Arab Supreme Committee on May 1, 1948:

"Now that the Holy War has been declared, there is no chance for a Jewish state to survive. Sooner or later all Jews will be exterminated." (Translated and quoted: Morris, Benny: A History of the first Arab-Israel War, New Haven 2008, p. 395)

This extreme hostility towards Jews has a long tradition, nurtured and spread especially by the Nazis from 1933 onwards.

Even before the Nazi invasion of Poland in 1939, German Nazi-fascists throughout the world gave considerable political and military support to reactionary forces, organizations and influential personalities in the anti-British movements in the colonial countries. This was the case in India, Ireland and the vast majority of Arab countries, including British colonial "Mandate Palestine". The Mufti of Jerusalem later helped Nazi Germany organize Bosnian Muslim SS units.

The integration of the Arab countries into the Nazi-fascist war and the influence of Nazi ideological-political ideas on the peoples of these countries was the aim of the Nazi-fascists. And this they achieved to a large extent beyond 1945. After all, many important Nazi criminals found refuge after World War II not only in the countries of South and

Central America, but also in the Arab countries in particular, where they put their experience of the "struggle against the Jews" at the service of the respective state apparatuses.

When it comes to the sympathies of the reactionary outraged Arab-Palestinian population and a large part of the Arab countries for Nazi fascism, not only the question of participation in the war against the anti-Hitler coalition is decisive, but this basic mentality: If Hitler had prevailed, the Arab-Palestinian population would no longer have any problem with Jewish immigration. Then the Nazis would have already solved the problem. In a nutshell, this is how one can sum up the great sympathy for Nazi Germany, which united all those who fought against Jewish immigration to the British-mandated Palestinian territories in words and in armed action.

After the withdrawal of the British troops and the proclamation of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948 in part of the former "British Mandate Territory of Palestine", the Arab feudal states (Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, Lebanon) invaded the newly created State of Israel on May 15, 1948 with their armies, partly with the participation of vanguard Nazi criminals who had fled to these countries, with the aim of destroying the State of Israel. These occupation forces were supported to varying degrees by Palestinian Arab armed groups fighting against the Jewish armed forces, but also against the Jewish civilian population. For example, Arab reactionaries seized the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem and destroyed synagogues there. Violent clashes took place in which men, women and even unarmed children were killed. The Arab-Palestinian population emigrated en masse.

In this battle, the small but fledgling Jewish-Israeli army, made up mostly of conscientious fighters, eventually prevailed. The attackers were repulsed and defeated. To sum up:

#### Second argument

The claim that the Jewish armed forces were the actual attackers is absurd. Several Arab states invaded the newly formed Israel. They and their Arab-Palestinian helpers were defeated by the Israeli army. Their aggression was repulsed

# 3. Why was only Israel founded and no state for the Arab-Palestinian population?

In 1945, when it became clear that the British colonialists would withdraw, the newly created UN debated at length how to deal with two populations with their own nationalities, the Palestinian Arabs and the Palestinian Jews.

On the diplomatic level, in 1947, the then socialist Soviet Union succeeded in getting the UN to recognize by a majority of states the principle that there was an Arab nationality and a Jewish nationality in the territory of the Palestine Mandate and that both had the right to form a common bi-national state or each had the right to form its own state. Several UN committees met. After long sessions and discussions with representatives of both nationalities, they prepared a detailed partition plan based on economic and population criteria, in case a bi-national state was not possible in the current heated situation. This showed that the creation of two states was a perfectly feasible plan from the point of view of the UN member states.

The socialist Soviet Union, which played a leading role in the world communist movement and at the same time was the main force in the struggle for victory over Nazi fascism, explained in detail in the speeches of its representatives at the UN that two nations existed on the territory of the former colonial power Great Britain. In particular, it was emphasized that the Jewish nationality, after the genocide of the Jewish population in Europe by Nazi fascism, had the right to establish its own state that would protect the Jewish population. It was also explained that the Palestinian Arab population, which has never had a state, has the right to establish its own state on part of the territory of the mandate of its former British colonial masters.

The division into two states, as envisaged by the UN, was not discussed. This is because both the Arab states and the representatives of the Arab-Palestinian population rejected outright, without compromise, the creation of a state that would preserve the Jewish population.

Thus Israel was created, the Arab states occupied Israel and were defeated. As a result of the occupation by the reactionary Arab states of the newly created Israel, which politically and morally relied on the UN resolution, through armed struggle against the British colonizers, the following situation arose: The vast majority of the Palestinian Arab population, who had fled the acts of war, now lived in a part of the British Mandate territory of Palestine (Wesbank and Gaza Strip), which the UN had recommended for a Palestinian state, but in which no Palestinian state was established. Both territories had been annexed by Egypt and (Trans)-Jordan, aggressors against Israel. The misery of the Palestinian refugee camps began here. Neither the Egyptian nor the Jordanian state, who had worsened the situation of the Arab-Palestinian with the invasion of Israel, fulfilled their humanitarian obligations to support these sectors of the Arab-Palestinian population. On the contrary, these states acted as thieves of land that should have been part of the Palestinian state, leaving the majority of the population in their miserable housing and tent camps.

The idea of the great catastrophe propagated by the Arab-Palestinian reactionaries, the so-called Nakbah, is basically the frustration of the loss of the war and the impossibility of eliminating Israel as a state and expelling or killing the Jewish population! To sum up:

#### Third argument

The reason why large parts of the Arab-Palestinian population fled was above all due to the fact that the the coalition of Arab states invaded Israel. It was not Israel's fault, not "the Jews' fault" that no separate Arab-Palestinian state was established in 1948/1949, but the Arab-Palestinian leadership as well as the states of Egypt and Jordan, which occupied illegally the parts reserved for a Palestinian state and who were and still are responsible for the misery in the refugee camps.

## 4. Expulsion and flight of the Jewish population from Arab States

In the Arab States, especially after 1948, there was not only extreme persecution of the expelled Jewish population. There was also a wave of persecutions, imprisonments and

executions of members of the Communist Party and its democratic circles in the Arab States.

It is not so well known: some 700,000 Jews were expelled from the Arab states. A large part of them fled to Israel and formed a large part of the population there. They were recognized as Israeli citizens. It is no coincidence that this part of the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict is not mentioned or acknowledged, or is deliberately hidden in order to claim that only the Arab-Palestinian population suffered from these wars and conflicts.

As early as November 1945, Jews in several Arab countries were threatened, attacked and beaten to death. In Syria, synagogues and Jewish stores were attacked. In Egypt, a group recruited from Nasser and Sadat's "Young Egypt" attacked Cairo's Jewish quarter and synagogue. Many Jews were killed and wounded. In Libya, according to official figures, 130 Jews were killed in a pogrom.

In December 1947, shortly after the UN partition resolution, there was another wave of terror. In Syria, 82 Jews were officially killed in massacres.

After the creation of Israel, the situation of the Jewish population in the Arab countries worsened. In Egypt, the government declared martial law on the night of May 14, 1948, and had 2,000 Jews arrested. In Iraq and Syria, Jews were subjected to arbitrary arrests, interrogations and beatings. Their property was confiscated and compulsory taxes were imposed on them. They lost their jobs and were forced to accept numerous legal restrictions.

In the early 1950s, there were only 25,000 people left in Morocco's Jewish community, which once numbered 265,000. In Algeria, out of 140,000, only 500 remained in the country. In Tunisia, the Jewish community dropped from 105,000 to 2,000 members. In Libya, Egypt and Iraq, where there were some 250,000 Jewish communities, fewer than 1,000 Jews remained.

Between May 1948 and December 1951, some 700,000 immigrants arrived in Israel from these countries. This doubled the Jewish population, about half of which came from Europe (including 100,000 survivors of concentration and extermination camps). To sum up:

## Fourth argument

There were not only Arab-Palestinian refugees after the 1948/1949 war, who, by the way, were not welcomed by the Arab states like "sisters and brothers", on the contrary. There was also mass expulsion of the Jewish population from the Arab states, who fled to Israel. Another point why the foundation of Israel was so important: as a place of refuge for all those affected by hostility towards Jews.

# 5. The attitude of the communist world movement to the foundation of the State of Israel and the Arab-Israeli War 1948

The documents of the Communist Party of Israel and the Communist Parties of the Arab States, such as those of the internationally oriented journal "For Lasting Peace and Peo-

ple's Democracy", show that the world communist movement openly supported the position of the socialist Soviet Union, rejected and opposed the aggression of the Arab States, but supported and welcomed the creation of Israel. The fact that the Jewish fighters received arms from Czechoslovakia shows that this was not merely verbal support.

In July 1948, KP delegations from Egypt, Syria, Iraq and the National League for the Liberation of Palestine (NLL) met in Beirut. They issued a declaration which was distributed as a leaflet in Mandate Palestine and the Arab states. It strongly condemned the interference of the Arab League States in Palestinian affairs. It condemned the reactionary Palestinian Arab leaders for calling on the Palestinian Arab masses to leave the country. In doing so, the leaflet argued, these reactionaries are playing into the hands of the British and U.S. imperialists and the Jewish forces that are preventing the realization of the two-state solution. The Memorandum called on the Arab population of Palestine to stay where they live and to unite in a common Arab-Jewish struggle: for the liberation of Palestine from imperialism and all the reactionary forces allied with imperialism. In Iraq large mass rallies and demonstrations were organized under the slogans of the Beirut Conference. Thousands of Iraqi communists were arrested. Four leaders of the Iraqi Communist Party were publicly hanged in Baghdad.

At the unification conference of Arab-Palestinian (NLL) and Jewish-Palestinian (CP of Palestine) communists held in Haifa in October 1948 to form the CP of Israel, its representative (Tafiq Toubi) stated.

"With its war of aggression (against Israel) the Arab reaction has not served the interests of the Arab masses at all. On the contrary, it is serving its masters – US and British imperialism – as a loyal servant. This is diametrically opposed to the true interests of the peoples of the Arab states. However, there is no doubt that Arab reaction also pursues its own class objectives and serves the interests of the ruling class of the Arab states. Faced with the strengthening of the national liberation movements in their countries, faced with the growing struggle of the masses for the improvement of their very difficult living conditions, the ruling class of these Arab countries wants to take advantage of the Palestinian war to establish military regimes in the states it rules. By means of a brutal military regime, the ruling class intends to repress the movement of the Arab peoples for national liberation and for liberation from the voke of feudal and foreign slavery. It wants to intensify the repression of the working class and repress its growing struggle for better living conditions, to deal a crushing blow to the democratic forces, the trade union leaders and the communists. In this way, Arab reaction hopes to use the Palestinian war to preserve its own tottering regimes" (Kinus Ha'ichud (Conference on the Unification of Jewish and Arab Communists within the framework of the Communist Party of Israel, Haifa, October 22-23, 1948), Hebrew, ed. by CK of CP of Israel, pp. 36/37).

The socialist Soviet Union was also the first state to officially recognize Israel. To sum up:

# Fifth argument

It is concealed — also for anti-communist reasons: The revolutionary and communist forces of the whole world have defended the foundation of Israel and condemned the invasion of the Arab states.

### A thorough discussion of further issues is necessary

The founding of the State of Israel and the defense against Arab aggression in 1948/49 were correct and just, especially from the communist point of view. But this does not mean that "everything is settled" with it. It must be discussed and studied not only on paper, but in the lively exchange of opinions with the local democratic-revolutionary and communist-oriented forces - at the moment very few - how things developed and what the situation is today.

- In view of the struggle against the sectors of the Arab-Palestinian population that undertook armed actions against the Jewish people, it is necessary to analyze whether, and to what extent, the Jewish-Palestinian paramilitary organizations such as the Lechi and the Irgun made wrong decisions in the military struggle of the 1947-1949 war, which resulted in avoidable civilian casualties, as some "New Israeli Historians" believe.
- It is necessary to discuss the role of Jewish leaders who supported US imperialism before and shortly after the creation of Israel. The overt orientation of Israeli governments towards Western imperialist powers, especially the US, from the Korean War in 1950 onwards and the state-logistical involvement of Israeli governments in the suppression of democratic struggles in Chile, South Africa and Nicaragua in the 1970s and 1980s should not be overlooked.
- Of course, one can and should speak of the war over the Suez Canal in 1956 (4 years after the coup d'état of the ultra-reactionary Nasser in Egypt in 1952).
- All other Arab-Israeli wars with their causes and consequences since 1967, 1973 and the Lebanon war in the 1980s (the Sabra and Shatila massacre) should be discussed, especially the first and second so-called "Intifada" and others.
- Today, in the face of the Hamas dictatorship and a reactionary PLO led by a Jewhater like Abbas, there is no doubt that a debate is needed on the methods of treatment of Palestinian civilians by the Israeli government and army, both in Israel and in the Palestinian Autonomous Territories.

The democratic progressive forces in Israel rightly request such a debate. We are, of course, in solidarity with them, as we are with all democratic Arab-Palestinian forces that are rightly resisting the Hamas dictatorship in Gaza and the reactionary police administration of the PLO under Abbas in the West Bank

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