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The Anglo-American Support for Zionism: Israel from Emergence to Empowerment

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by

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is of my own work and efforts as it is a research free from plagiarism. All sources of information used in this work are all presented and academically acknowledged, and cited as required. Furthermore, I confirm that this work has not been previously submitted for any other degree or qualification to any other university or institution.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my beloved parents who have always been by my side. They represent to me the source of strength, inspiration, and motivation that I needed to reach this point. My teachers, from primary school to university have their part in every step I took towards success. Without their love, patience, guidance and concern, I would not have the ability to write these words. Therefore, this work is dedicated to them as well as they are the reason generations after generations are able to read and write.

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the British and American foreign policies towards Zionism from the very earliest times before and after the birth of the Zionist movement moving by the Israeli statehood to the nowadays Anglo-American-Israeli relations. It tries to explore why only the United States and Britain did assist the Zionists and kept supporting them until today. Besides, it examines the characteristics of such support that was unprecedented in history. As Jews were persecuted and hated all over the world, they found a window of hope in the British and American political arena. Therefore, adopting a historically oriented qualitative method focused on politics, culture and religion, this research investigates the reasons that shaped the British and American foreign policies, which began with sympathy and ended with a blind and costly support. Gradually, this work traces back the history of Jews, and then follows the Zionists' rise in influence starting with Britain that hosted the Zionist project to, finally, handing it to the U.S. This research provides a clearer understanding on how religion, culture and history shaped the British and the American foreign policies towards Zionism and Israel.

Keywords: Anglo-American Support, Israel, Jews, Foreign Policy, Zionism

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List of Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AIPAC	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
APC	American Palestine Committee
BCE	Before the Common Era
CE	Common Era
CMJ	Church's Ministry Among Jewish People
CPMJO	Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations
EEC	European Economic Community
EZF	English Zionist Federation
JCA	Jewish Colonization Association
JCT	Jewish Colonial Trust
JNF	Jewish National Fund
NEA	Near Eastern Affairs
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
RAF	Royal Air Force
U.S.	United States
UN	United Nations
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War
WZO	World Zionist Organization
ZOA	Zionist Organization of America

General Introduction

The state of Israel as it is known today has emerged by the turn of the first half of the twentieth century thanks to numerous and various factors and contributors that shaped it as a sovereign state in 1948. Jews were scattered across all parts of the world. However, by the turn of the nineteenth century a nationalist movement, Zionism, emerged and sought support.

Despite several attempts to seek support in Germany and the Ottoman Empire, Zionists found in Britain and the United States (U.S.) the support they needed. Well before the British capture of Jerusalem from the Ottomans, a spirit of recalling the past knew spread among Jews all over the world to be gathered in their promised land. Thus, the World Zionist Organization launched negotiations with the British to realize this goal. Therefore, On 2 Nov 1917, J.A. Balfour issued the Balfour Declaration declaring that Jews would be able to establish their national home in Palestine; and Britain is who to facilitate the implementation of such a promise.

After the defeat of the Ottomans in the First World War (WWI) and seizing most of their lands, Britain was granted a mandate for Palestine via taking the Balfour Declaration as reference. Furthermore, The U.S., like Britain, showed its support to Zionism by approving the declaration by President Woodrow Wilson whose blessings were effective in the making of the Zionist dream a reality. In 1922, the U.S. Congress adopted a resolution giving the right to Jews to establish their national home in Palestine. After decades of control of Palestine via the mandate system and establishing a number of powerful Jewish institutions, Britain withdrew the mandate to the United Nations. In the same day, Israel declared its independence on 14 May 1948. Immediately, the U.S. was the first to recognize the state of Israel. Thereafter, huge economic and military aids continued being given to Israel to this day not to mention the political support Israel enjoys by the U.S. In 2017, a century after the

Balfour Declaration, The U.S. President Donald Trump announced that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel.

The British and American governments played a major role in supporting Zionism until the latter formed a sovereign state. The British government had at first shown sympathy with the cause of Jews but later changed its attitudes with the intensifications of the WWI. Thus, it issued the Balfour Declaration, which was favored by the Americans. Furthermore, The U.S. was the first to recognize the state of Israel and assist her economically, politically and militarily later on. There are several possible reasons that would push Britain and America support the Zionist movement from the early days to nowadays. There exists a historical drive that would ally the Zionists with Britain and America. Also, there are religious reasons that bind Judaism and Christianity as they share common traditions and beliefs. Interests would also represent an enough reason for British and American Christians to do so. Therefore, this research attempts to answer the following question:

- **Why only Britain and The U.S. are always in the scene when it comes to assisting Israel before and after its recognition by the United Nations (UN)?**

To answer this question, this thesis is guided by some sub-questions such as:

- What are the reasons behind such a continuous support? Is it driven by historical, religious or/and strategic factors?
- Is this support justified?
- What are the ways of this support? Is it political, military and/or economic?

In recent years, a number of scholars have shown interest in exploring the real reasons behind the Anglo-American support for Zionism, and Israel after the latter became a sovereign state. Bernard Regan (2017) tells a lot about the historical background that preceded the Balfour Declaration and continued with the latter's consequences. In six

chapters, he thematically organizes the events that began before the declaration took place reaching the conflicts, which were risen as a consequence. Furthermore, he suggests that the British support for Zionism was blind as the government was ignoring all Arabs' rights. The reasons for such support, according to him, were shaped by religious and cultural basis that influenced the politics. However, the narration of events and its analyses suddenly ends by the rise of tensions between the Arabs and Zionists, who represented the British protégés.

David Cronin (2017) revisits the legacy left by the Balfour declaration after a century of time. He explains how Britain, increasingly, became involved in a biased support to Zionists. He, further, explains how the British government contributed tremendously, directly and indirectly, to the creation of Israel. Moreover, he continues to reveal realities about the British-Israeli relationship. The reasons of such a support, according to him, are imperialistic goals which favored "policy than prophecy". Thus, he concludes that Britain used Zionism for its self-interests.

A collection of data by Lawrence Davidson (2001) attributes the American support for Israel to the views drawn by Americans on the land of Palestine, which became considered as rightfully belonging to the Jews. Davidson acknowledges the role played by missionaries in the nineteenth century in shaping those views. Furthermore, Through Media, Davidson, assumes that the American mind was colonized by the Zionist ideology. He sheds little light on Christian Zionism and the British role in supporting Zionism, which was the main source of the Zionist power, which led to the emergence of Israel.

Although a considerable amount of literature is devoted to explain the roles played by either the U.S or GB, or even both in coordination, the main source that led only these two countries to support Zionism, and Israel now, is still ambiguous. Some scholars went on to explore the reasons behind their effective roles in bringing back the Jewish homeland, again,

into being. However, little is known about the main reasons that paved the way for Zionism, and now Israel, to be embraced by only American and British governments and public.

To explore the real reasons behind such a blind support, this work sheds light on the British and American foreign policies towards Zionism that changed from sympathy with Jews to a British-Zionist alliance in WWI to be followed by hosting the Zionist project by Britain and subsequently handing it to the U.S. Therefore, this research aims at exploring the reasons behind the American and British support for Zionism, which crystalized in the creation of the state of Israel and continued with a costly support afterwards.

The approach that is adopted in this research is historico-politico religious as the variables that control the research are political, historical and religious as well. This research is qualitative-historically oriented focusing on politics, and religious beliefs. Thus, this research adopts the qualitative method, as it makes use of library research materials such as books, journals' articles, official documents and the like.

As it attempts to contextualize the subject and then, answer the aforementioned questions, this work will be structured in three chapters. The first chapter will trace the historical background of Jews, Zionism and their roles in forming relations with both Britain and the United States. The second chapter will discuss how and why Britain contributed to the emergence and the success of the Jewish cause, the establishment of a national home in Palestine. The third chapter will shed light on the American-Israeli relations that made Israel a decision-maker state in the Middle Eastern region and hence in the whole world.

CHAPTER 01

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

JEWS FROM UNITY TO DISPERSION

TO UNITY

Chapter 01: Historical Background

Jews from Unity to Dispersion to Unity

The modern state of Israel has a rich, deep, and long history as the land is considered as the meeting spot of many civilizations over centuries. Israel, now, is the homeland of Jews. However, over a century ago, Jews had no specific state or homeland. Besides, they were scattered all around the world. Their dispersion is rooted many centuries ago throughout the rise and fall of civilizations. Jews were under the rule of many empires and countries inside and outside the land of Israel. Throughout history, the Jewish communities suffered from persecution and expulsion from the lands of those empires and countries. Consequently, they organized several rebellions that passed unsuccessfully. Finally, to put an end to the mistreatment the Jews received, they concluded that a nationalist movement (Zionism) based on Jewishness is the key to have a sovereign state gathering Jews from all parts of the world in their historical homeland, the Holy Land. Thus, they started their political campaigns negotiating with many countries that enjoyed the decision-making authority in the late 19th and early 20th Century. At the time, the United States and Great Britain were the ones upon which the Zionists would lay the foundations towards establishing their state.

A. The Land of Palestine

The land of Palestine (also known as the Holy Land, Canaan, and the Land of Israel) is situated between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. Across history, it was under the sway of many empires, peoples, and religions starting from the Babylonian, the Christian Romans to the Muslim Arabs to be under the Ottoman Muslim Empire reaching the current Jews of the state of Israel. It has been always a focal point for conflicts as it represents a sacred place for numerous religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The Canaanites first

populated the area many centuries Before the Common Era (BCE) until a population identifying themselves as the Israelites emerged in 10th Century BCE presenting a different culture from the Canaanites. The Assyrians and the Babylonians were next in taking control over the land. The Greeks succeeded them before the coming of Roman conquest that lasted until the 7th Century of the Common Era (CE) when the Muslim empires took control over the area. However, until the end of the crusades in the 13th century, Palestine was getting a Muslim majority that lasted also after the Ottoman Empire until the British conquest and Jerusalem capture in 1917. Consequently, Britain was given the mandate of Palestine by the League of Nations for the sake of helping Israel be a state for Jews in Palestine.

The land of Palestine, Jerusalem specifically, has a holy significance for Jews, as it contains of the Holy Temple; for Christians, as it represents the place for Jesus's crucifixion and resurrection; and for Muslims, it is the place where the prophet Muhammad travelled by night in an incident known as Isra and Mi'raj. All holy books of the aforementioned religions show how important the land is to followers of those religions.

Jews lived in many parts of the world forming a Jewish Diaspora either via voluntary migration or via several expulsions. Therefore, Jews throughout history experienced several restrictions and persecutions spurred by anti-Semitism that left them live far away from their alleged Holy Land for centuries. They were dispersed in many countries in Mesopotamia, Spain, Portugal, North Africa, Russia, America and some other parts of the world.

B. Jewish Migration, Persecution and Forming the Diaspora

Circa 1200 BCE, the land of Israel was under the occupation of two kingdoms. In the north, it was occupied by the kingdom of Israel whereas in the south it was occupied by the kingdom of Judah. These two kingdoms were united under King Solomon in the 10th Century BCE. (Myers 36) In The late 8th Century BCE, the kingdom of Israel fell to the Assyrians

resulting in the depopulation of many Israelites to Mesopotamia. Similarly, the kingdom of Judah fell to the Babylonians in the early 6th century BCE. Eventually, the Holy Temple, which was built by King Solomon, was destroyed and Jerusalem was captured by the Babylonians. As a consequence, Thousands of residents were deported into exile in Babylonia. In 538 BCE, the Persian Cyrus the Great, the Leader of Achaemenid Empire, conquered Babylonia and allowed Jews to go back to their homeland, though many decided to stay. Thus, they were permitted to reconstruct the Temple in 520 BCE marking a beginning to the Second Temple period in Jewish history. The Jewish culture had been revived at the time by writing the Torah.

In 334 BCE, Alexander the Great, the Macedonian king, took over many areas among which was the land of Israel as he built many cities. The Jewish community settled in Alexandria, where the Torah was translated into Greek, forming a massive Jewish Diaspora there. After Alexander's death, a Seleucid Kingdom took control of the area out of the division of the Hellenic kingdom. However, Jews led a successful revolt against the Seleucid rule due to the former bans on religious practices. As a result, a Jewish independent kingdom called the Hasmonean kingdom knew the light lasting from 165 BCE to 63 BCE.

A century later, the Romans succeeded the Seleucids in taking control of the whole region, including the Hasmonean kingdom, in 63 BCE. Jews enjoyed the freedom to move throughout the whole Roman Empire pushed by economic reasons. The turning point that made Jews scattered in many parts of the world, but only not in Jerusalem, was the revolt that led to the first Jewish-Roman War (66-73 CE). As a result, the temple was destroyed by the Roman army, Jerusalem was besieged and massive fatalities reached 1.1 million (the majority were Jews) were the consequence (Myers 55). The Jews ever since shifted to follow a "diasporic, rabbinic Judaism" rather than a "Temple-bound Judaism" (Myers 56). Thereafter, the Jews (mostly in the diaspora) revolted again against the Romans in the Kitos War in 115

CE but this revolt was again put down in 117 CE. The last Jewish Roman War (known also as Bar Kokhba revolt) took place in 132 CE. At first, the war seemed to be a success for Jews but it ended in 136 CE with huge losses for the Jews. The casualties of the massacres were about 580.000 Jews were killed as “the blood reached their horses’ noses.”(qtd in. Botticini and Eckstein 21). Furthermore, many villages and towns were razed including most of Jerusalem. The Romans replaced the name of Judea with Syria Palestina aiming at disconnecting Jews from their historical homeland. Consequently, the Jews became forbidden to enter Jerusalem again except the day of Tisha B'Av¹. Therefore, Jews lived away from their holy city suffering from the Romans’ persecution.

The Byzantine Empire made a continuation for the Roman Empire as it was named the Eastern Roman Empire due to the fall of most of the former’s western territory. Under Constantine the Great (324-327 CE), Christianity, which diverged from Judaism after Jerusalem’s fall in 70 CE, was legalized to be later the empire’s endorsed religion under Theodosius I in 380 CE. Jews were about to rebuild the Temple under Julian (361-363 CE) but it went unsuccessful due to his sudden death in a war against the Sassanids. Few weak attempts to rebel against the Byzantine Empire by the Jews worsened their state as they received more persecution. The adoption of Christianity has affected Jews directly and other pagans as they were forced either to convert to Christianity, to be slaves, or to accept baptism. Furthermore, Jews were accused of killing Jesus, the Christians’ prophet; thus, they were treated so badly due to restrictions imposed on them. The number of Jews fell so dramatically from the time of Jesus as it was about 5-5.5 million to be 1-1.2 million by the time of Muhammad, Islam’s prophet. (Botticini and Eckstein 1)

Once the Byzantine Empire had defeated the Sassanids in 651, Arab tribes rushed to invade the latter’s territories in the Middle East. The Muslim Caliphs under the Umayyad rule

¹A mourning and fast day celebrated by Jews to commemorate the tragedies that happened in Jewish history such as the destruction of the Temple.

conquered many parts including Syria, Mesopotamia, North Africa, parts of Spain, parts of Turkey, and Persia. Muslims treated Jews, like other non-Muslim communities, as Dhimmis who should pay taxes for protection and keep their religion. Some Jewish communities, such as Khaybar, were expelled from Arabia during the time of Muhammad after several conflicts went successfully for Muslims. Jews at the time of the Caliphates were well treated as they could integrate easily in the Muslim society holding various positions and jobs alongside keeping their religious practices. Nevertheless, under the Abbasid rule, Jews were forced to dress differently from Muslims so that they would be recognized. During the Fatimid caliph in the early 11th Century, forced conversions were imposed on Jews under Al-Hakim's rule. In 1066, Jews were massacred in the Andalusian city of Grenada, which was under the Islamic rule. Furthermore, Jews in North Africa witnessed similar massacres under Almohads.

During the middle ages, the Jews were living their golden age, as they knew prosperity intellectually and economically under either the Muslim rule or the Christian rule. However, they experienced several massacres and expulsions from some of the European countries. Jews were the subject of the Crusades, which were military campaigns that took place in the middle ages by Christians, calling themselves the crusaders, seeking the liberation of the Holy Land from the hands of Muslims. Consequently, many Jewish communities were massacred as they were seen as the killers of Jesus. In the first crusade (1096-1098), the crusaders killed thousands of Jews in Mainz, Worms, and Speyer. (Myers 60)

Jews' episodes of persecutions and expulsions never ended in the middle ages. In 1290, 15,000 Jews preferred to leave England after King Edward I's decree that limited their businesses. This mass expulsion was followed by another one from France, starting from the reign of King Philip Augustus to continue after King Charles IV. More importantly, European Jewry suffered from an accusation of poisoning the wells that caused the Black Plague in the 1340s. This was a turning point in the history of Jews living in Western Europe as it resulted

in the Black Death persecution. Consequently, a huge number of Jews were massacred and expelled eastward to Eastern Europe. Thus, Jews formed a diaspora in Poland, Ukraine, and Lithuania. In 1492, Alhambra Decree gave the Jews the choice between either to convert to Christianity or to leave Spain. Eventually, many thousands of Jews left Spain to Portugal. Briefly, after that, they were expelled again from Portugal to the Ottoman lands where they found some liberty of life and religion. Other Jews migrated to Amsterdam through which they found their way the New World, the Americas. The Golden Age of Jews came to an end after all those expulsions.

In Eastern Europe, Jews enjoyed a period of peace until they became exposed to anti-Semitic mistreatments. Chmielnicki massacres (1648–1649) resulted in about 20,000 to 100,000 Jews were murdered (Myers 63). The number of Jews fell so dramatically to less than 1 million scattered in Western and Eastern Europe, the Ottoman lands, North Africa, and the Middle East. Thanks to the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, Jews were given a little consideration alongside the Hebrew language and the Bible. In 1655, Oliver Cromwell readmitted Jews to England. In 1700, the number of Jews in Eastern Europe was about half a million out of 1.1 million of the world Jewish population.

Jews finally were treated somehow equally to other Christian citizens after the American Revolution and the French Revolution. However, Jews in Eastern Europe were not well treated and emancipated as it was the case in Western Europe and the newly independent America. Anti-Semitism, in Russia, started eventually with the partition of Poland that made Jews' presence limited to one area due to the Pale of Settlement. Jews received discriminatory and exclusionary policies under the Tsarist rule. What made Jews suffer more from Anti-Semitism is the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in which the blame was on them. Consequently, several pogroms took place during Tsar Alexander III and continued after him. A huge number of Jews left Russia to the United States at the time. Many other Jewish

communities immigrated to Palestine in a movement known as Aliyah². More importantly, a propaganda spurred by the publication of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion³ made it worse as it assumed that Jews are threatening the world by their plans of economic hegemony. This propaganda spread all over the western world and resulted in waves of Anti-Semitism in many countries.

Another episode of Anti-Semitism that chased Jews across history is the Nazi Anti-Semitism that took place in Germany in the 20th century. The rise of Adolf Hitler to power in 1933 was a bad memory of Jewish history. As Anti-Semitism was a government policy, hatred towards the Jewish race was a practice of German people in their daily life. Germans saw Jews as an inferior race and even called for its eradication. Thus, the Germans ended with the “final solution”⁴ plan. Between 1941 and 1945, during the Second World War (WWII), the world witnessed the bloodiest genocide against Jews. Germany and its allies killed between 5.2 and 6 million Jews in one of the brutal genocides of all history, the Holocaust. (Myers 68)

In brief, Jews across history witnessed episodes of persecutions, expulsions, and massacres. Furthermore, they were treated badly as they were marginalized in most of the societies they lived in. They were deprived of holding important posts equally to other citizens. Moreover, to justify some incidents, the Christian citizens laid the blame on Jews. Blood libels, Plagues, Jesus’ death, and many other accusations found Jews as scapegoats. Consequently, the world treated Jews in a discriminatory and exclusionary manner. Therefore, Jews thought of social and political activism that would save Jews their rights and put an end

² A Jewish term that means the process of immigration from the countries wherein the Jewish diaspora lived to the land of Palestine.

³ Also called Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion, an anti-Semitic document attributing a plot of Jewish plans of global domination.

⁴ In German “Endlösung der Judenfrage”, a Nazi plan for eradicating all Jews of Europe.

to the tragic episodes of mistreatment they received over centuries. Zionism was the key to realize such a goal.

C. Zionism and the Dream of a State

As Anti-Semitism rose in most of the world's countries and Jews received all kinds of persecution, a call for a nationalist movement took place. Jewish activists foresaw the solution for Jews to escape Anti-Semitism in establishing a state wherein they would constitute a majority rather than a minority in the diaspora under severe restrictions imposed by majority groups. Zionism was that movement that would rid Jews in the diaspora from all the sufferings they experienced in the past. It derives its name from the word "Zion" which refers to Jerusalem. This state, that will make Jews forget about the horrors of the past, will be in Palestine, their promised land. This nationalist movement was fueled by the Jewish Enlightenment known as Haskalah. Furthermore, Cultural Zionism helped Jews tremendously to develop liberal ideas of having a sovereign state even though it opposed Herzl's Zionism at the beginning. This movement of renaissance started in Eastern Europe as many Jewish writers began writing in Hebrew in an attempt to revive their identity.

Zionism did not emerge just suddenly without any precursors for the movement. From the very first time of experiencing exile caused by the Babylonian takeover, Jews attempted to return to their homeland and form their sovereign kingdom, which did not live for long. Furthermore, several false Messiahs claimed the prophecy of the return of Jews to their historical religious homeland, the land of Israel. Additionally, Jewish prayers were not void of Jews' wishes to return to *Eretz Israel*⁵, the aspired homeland that would repair the wounds caused by tow millenniums of exile full of persecution and dispersion. During the 19th century, Jews of Eastern Europe were receiving pogroms of the Russian Tsarist autocracy. This led

⁵ The Jewish traditional name for the Land of Israel.

Jews to form the first official Zionist campaigns led by a number of Jewish activists such as Leon Pinsker who founded Chovevi Zion⁶, one of the financial funds for the Jewish settlements in Palestine. (Avineri 58)

Therefore, Zionism is not new to Jews but it required certain circumstances to see the light in politics. The rise of liberal, national movements in Europe was one of the factors, if not the only, which gave Jews a push towards unification under the umbrella of Zionism despite little opposition amongst Jews themselves at the beginning. Thus, several activists, notably Theodor Herzl, began political campaigning seeking the goal of giving Jews a voice on the international arena. Modern Zionism was crystalized finally in an international organization after a congress held in Basel, Switzerland. The World Zionist Organization (WZO) was founded in 1897 upon such a congress presided by Theodor Herzl, the father of modern Zionism. Herzl's ultimate aspiration was the creation of "The Jewish State"⁷ in Palestine to put an end to the anti-Semitism that chased Jews for a long period. To do so, a number of well-funded waves of immigration, Aliyah, were organized by those Zionist enthusiasts.

Political Zionism that knew the light for the first time in Russia started, eventually, moving to the West in the late 19th century. Establishing the English Zionist Federation (EZF) in 1899 was a preparatory step for upcoming events. In the same year of the WZO foundation, the Zionist Organization of America was founded to back Zionism in the US. Several organizations in the countries where Jews lived played the role of representatives of WZO. They worked for the same reason which is claiming a historical land as theirs and belonging to all Jews who are dispersed around the world. Zionism found its financial support in the Jewish Colonial Trust (JCT) and in the Jewish National Fund (JNF) that were founded by the

⁶ A number of organizations were unified in response to the Russian Tsarist pogroms. They are considered as the forerunners of Zionism.

⁷ A Pamphlet published in German by Theodor Herzl under the name "Der Judenstaat", which means that Jewish state.

WZO in the early Twentieth century. JNF was responsible for funding the settlements as well as land purchasing from the Arabs who were under the Ottoman rule in Palestine. Tel Aviv was the first city that contained all-Jewish residents as it was founded by Yishuv⁸ in 1909. The Jewish Territorial Organization was also founded for the same reasons attributed by WZO. Nevertheless, the ITO aimed at finding whatever land to be the Jewish homeland. It came to existence in the light of the Uganda Scheme, a proposal offered by Joseph Chamberlain, Britain's colonial secretary at the time. Herzl did reject this offer and kept his ambitions for gaining Palestine. Thus, he launched negotiations with the Ottomans to have Palestine as a Jewish homeland. However, this did not happen, and consequently, he turned his plans of looking for allies elsewhere. In Britain, Jews were more than active in the political scene as they formed the Board of Deputies of British Jews in the 18th century. One of the presidents of the Board is Moses Montefiore, a British activist who donated huge amounts of money to promote the Yishuv. Another prominent president of the Board is Walter Rothschild, the one who brought the Balfour Declaration into life.

Overall, Zionism was the movement that the Jews wanted and longed for as a safe haven for Jews who suffered for a long time of mistreatment by most societies wherein Jews lived. In spite of some obstacles, political Zionism was the key to give Jews a voice to act in the international stage. Thereafter, Zionism moved to the West to Britain and the United States, as well as other places, for the sake of establishing a cause that would crystallize later in a Jewish homeland and why not a Jewish state.

D. The World Zionist Organization and Its Plans

Zionism that was present only in theory, which needed to emerge in practice. For realizing their goals, Zionists met officially in Switzerland to make it official by founding the

⁸ A Jewish term referring to the Jewish population that lived and continued living in the Land of Palestine.

WZO. As the World Zionist Organization was founded, Jews rushed to think of plans to make the Zionist movement a success. In Basel, where the First Zionist Congress was held, members of the organization agreed on particular points known as the Basel Program. Herzl's determination to realize the movement's ultimate goal, establishing a Jewish state, was very strong as he convened the First Zionist Congress. He was so sure to establish the state as he predicted "in five years perhaps, and certainly in fifty years, everyone will perceive it."(1897: The First Zionist Congress takes place in Basel, Switzerland).

The First Zionist Congress, in Basel Program, had emphasized on keeping the promotion of settlements for Jews who entered Palestine, and on facilitating the entry for immigrants. In addition, it concluded to the necessity to increase efforts to unite Jews all over the world internationally and locally in their countries by means of creating Zionist institutions. Furthermore, active Zionist Jews in each country were asked to work out with governments to gain international recognition and support as well. The Zionist Congress managed to meet every year after installing the president, Theodor Herzl, three vice-presidents, and the members from various countries. Membership was given to every Jew who accepts the Basel program and hence endorses Zionism.

The Second Zionist Congress was held in 1898 in Basel again with new devices established such as the Jewish Colonial Trust, the financial body for the movement. Herzl asked his fellow Zionist delegates to work inside communities, wherein the Jewish diaspora lived, in order to strengthen the position of the Zionist movement and hence legitimize its goals. The congress closed on the third day by creating the Anglo-Palestine Bank, a source of funds for the Jewish immigration to Palestine. Significantly, this congress witnessed the presence of socialist Zionists who claimed representation in the WZO. Finally, the delegates proposed for the first time the flag of their futuristic state.

In the Third Zionist Congress, Delegates and members passed the first constitution, which organized the work of the Zionist movement from 1899 onward. Herzl explained the meeting held with Kaiser Wilhelm II, the German emperor at the time, and stressed on political Zionism, which according to him will crystallize in a success for the movement. Thereafter, in London, The Fourth Zionist Congress was held in 1900. The purpose of having it in England was to get the public's sympathy especially Jews were being executed elsewhere in Europe. The members discussed the major problems faced by Jews in Palestine. The Fifth Zionist Congress was held in 1901 in Basel again as Herzl reported his meeting with Sultan Abdul Hamid II of the Ottoman Empire. Chaim Weizmann and some other delegates emphasized on embracing cultural Zionism, which would be realized through reviving Hebrew. To fund the process of purchasing land in Palestine, a Jewish National Fund (JNF) was established by the WZO. The Sixth Zionist Congress was held in 1903 in Basel as "El Arish Project"⁹ was negotiated. The latter project had failed and another proposal was offered by Britain known as the Uganda Scheme, which aims to establish a Jewish state in East Africa. The congress decided to meet once every two years. A year later Theodor Herzl died to leave the campaign for other Zionists to continue the project. The following Congresses, until the 1921 congress, discussed the matter of settlements and were characterized by disagreements amongst delegates between supporters of political Zionism and Practical Zionism. A mixture between the former and the latter would result in Synthetic Zionism led by Chaim Weizmann.

E. Jewish Immigration: The First and Second Aliyah

Jews did always dream of the day that they would return to their historical land, the land of Palestine. Despite all attempts which went unsuccessful, Jews never stopped attempting to restore the land of their very old ancestors who had been expelled and

⁹ A British proposal for Zionists to establish their state in El Arish, Sinai Peninsula, Egypt.

emigrated, willingly or unwillingly, to be dispersed in the different parts of the world. United under the umbrella of Zionism and escaping Anti-Semitism, Jews either systematically or randomly organized several waves of immigration from the diaspora to Palestine known as Aliyah. The main factor that led Jews to immigrate was a push factor, the Russian Pogroms that commenced in the 1880s.

The land of Palestine was under Ottoman rule until the British conquered the area. Those waves of immigration took place first because Jews believed that their return to their historical land would grant them redemption, forming Old Yishuv. Therefore, this type of immigration was not upheld by Zionism, which emerged only in the 19th Century. Then, several waves took place as a form of building settlements in the Ottoman Palestine. Some other waves were organized under the British mandate over Palestine. The early immigrants were mainly agriculturists, and later they joined urbanized cities.

Only two decades after the Russian pogroms pushed Jews to immigrate, 25,000 Jews entered Palestine marking the timeline of first Aliyah (Kark and Glass 90). This wave of immigrants was organized by some groups such as Chovevi Zion and Bilu¹⁰, but most of the time it was taking place in an unorganized way. It was a Zionist immigration that helped future Zionists establish settlements, and hence establish a living in Palestine. However, early immigrants afforded harsh conditions of life in those settlements. The land used for settlements was purchased from the Arabs. The money, to purchase land, was raised out of donations of Businessmen who supported Zionism such as Edmond James de Rothschild. Furthermore, Jewish immigrants were not coming only from Eastern Europe but also from Yemen. Those newcomers could establish an agricultural economy to sustain the life in there. Nevertheless, there were several conflicts between the old settlers and the new ones on

¹⁰ A reactionary movement to 1881 Russian pogroms that aimed at promoting immigration and agriculture in the Land of Palestine.

economic and ideological issues. This wave had its end by 1903 to be followed by a second wave of the New Yishuv I. Overall, Jewish immigrants could successfully establish several settlements and mark an initial success for the movement.

The Second Aliyah took place in 1904 as Anti-Semitism spread in Eastern Europe. Therefore, Jews sought refuge in other countries such as the U.S., Australia, and South America...etc. Others sought refuge in Palestine, which was being populated by Jews escaping the restriction and persecution received in Eastern Europe. Due to Ottoman strictness, Jewish immigrants found it hard to reach Palestine; and the ones who entered Palestine suffered from illnesses, famine, and some other issues. Thus, most of the immigrants chose some other destinations for their escape. Most of the ones who entered Palestine went back to the countries of their origin. The Jews who succeeded to stay in Palestine worked on the revival of the Hebrew language. This step was as important as it could unite Jews altogether and revive their forgotten identity. This wave of Zionist immigration ended in 1918, which coincided with the end of WWI and the fall of Palestine under the British rule.

Only the first and the second waves of Zionist immigration took place when Palestine was under Ottoman rule. However, the most effective waves that helped the establishment of the Israeli state were under the British mandatory rule over Palestine. In the period of the Second Aliyah, Zionists achieved unprecedented success as they could establish relations with the superpowers of the time after they failed to seduce the Ottomans and the Germans. Therefore, Jews penetrated the British and the American political scenes seeking international recognition and support.

F. The Zionist Penetration of GB and the U.S. and Establishing Relations

After having established the WZO and unsuccessful support sought elsewhere, Zionists rushed to penetrate the decision-making authorities in both Britain and the United

States as they were among the most powerful entities at the time. The primary step the Zionists took was establishing local Zionist institutions in whatever country contained Jews. In 1898, in New York, the same year of the WZO foundation, the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA)¹¹ presided by Richard Gottheil and Stephen Wise as secretary, was founded to support the World Zionist movement in the U.S. Alongside several local Zionist institutions such as the American Jewish Committee, ZOA worked to support the movement. Supporting Zionism meant spreading and backing the idea of establishing a “Jewish National Home” for Jews in Palestine. In the period of late 19th Century and the beginning of the early 20th Century, the number of Jews, escaping harsh conditions of life and persecution, had increased tremendously in the United States. This helped the Zionist movement find support in America. However, this support was minor until 1912.

Supporting Zionism in the U.S. was not new to American politics and the American public. The second U.S. President John Adams (1797-1801) desired the idea of Jews returning to their homeland (Finney 21). What helped Americans believe in Zionism, as a belief before it appears as a movement, was the biblical interpretations that spread amongst Americans at the time. Furthermore, the similarities between the American experience, Puritanism, which led people to form the “New World” for the “New Chosen People” in a promised land, fostered supporting Zionism. More importantly, those puritans exerted an ethnic cleansing for the indigenous “uncivilized” Indian population, which exactly resembles the experience of the creation of Israel.

In 1891, a few years before Herzl officially established political Zionism, American Zionist influence took place. Several influential men wrote a petition to the U.S. President Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893) expressing their sympathy with Jews being persecuted in Russia, and asking for granting them the land of Palestine. This petition is known as

¹¹ The organization was founded under the name of the Federation of American Zionists (FAZ).

Blackstone Memorial, which gave Zionism a voice amidst the American public and government. It was written by William Eugene Blackstone and signed by high-potential Americans such as John D. Rockefeller, future U.S. President William McKinley (1897-1901), J.P. Morgan, the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, some Senators, Congressmen, mainstream media editors, and many others (Green). However, this campaign was of a less success due to the lack of widespread support amongst American Jewry. By Louis Brandeis involvement in 1912, ZOA got significant support from Jews. This period coincided with the WWI, which the U.S. joined late. Given the fact that Brandeis was a Jew who, in 1916, was nominated as a Supreme Court justice by the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921). The fruit of such penetration of the American politics was gaining huge support and international legitimacy of the Zionist cause. Starting from approving Balfour Declaration in 1917 to the creation of the Israeli state to be the U.S. closest ally in the Middle East with the biggest aids given to her, the American- Israeli relations had become even stronger than ever.

In Britain, Zionists penetrated the scene in the 19th Century as Restorationism¹² rose amongst Britons. Thanks to the Protestant Reformation, British Christians backed the idea of restoring Jews to the Holy Land. This was pushed by the prophecies adhered by Restorationists and Dispensationalists who believed in the second coming of Jesus. Christian Zionism crossed overseas to reach the United States, which supported the cause of Jews. The British politician Lord Shaftesbury, a Christian restorationist, became the president of the Church's Ministry among Jewish People (CMJ) in 1838. Soon afterwards, in 1839, he addressed the status of Jews in the Parliament calling for creating a Jewish state in Palestine. Lord Shaftesbury convinced Lord Palmerston, who later became Prime Minister for two terms, to express his support, in a letter to Britain's ambassador in the Ottoman Empire, and to

¹² A Nineteenth century movement upholding the belief of restoring Jews to the Holy Land out of biblical interpretations.

support the “strong notion that the time is approaching when their[Jewish] nation is to return to Palestine”(qtd. in Falk and Fuller 18). Afterwards, in 1865, under Queen Victoria’s wish, the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was established to explore the Palestinian lands. Shaftesbury was thinking of a religious and imperialist restoration of Jews into the land of Palestine.

However, in Britain, the Zionist penetration took place earlier in the 18th by the establishment of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. In his presidency of the Board, Sir Moses Montefiore had been contacting Charles Henry Churchill, the British consul in Ottoman Syria, to establish the cornerstones of the Zionist plans of creating a Jewish state in Palestine. In addition, establishing the Zionist Federation in Britain in 1899 helped the Zionists penetrate the British politics and establish relations with prominent politicians. Chaim Weizmann had regularly met several influential people and easily established friendships with them, namely, Asher Ginzberg who was known as Ahad Ha’am, Nahum Sokolow...etc. When Arthur Balfour was an MP, Weizman met him and discussed the Jewish issue. In the same period, Herzl met with the British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, to discuss the Jewish cause. Chamberlain later offered him the creation of a Jewish state in East Africa, Uganda Scheme, which was rejected by the WZO. However, their activism never stopped and continued to seek support, sympathy, and recognition in both Britain and the United States.

To sum up, since the old times, Jews received all kinds of persecution either at home or in the diaspora. They were dispersed across all parts of the world. They had experienced tragic episodes of Anti-Semitism in theory and practice, which increased their sufferance in the diaspora. Notably, the last events of the Russian pogroms made them realize that the only solution to their problem will be in creating a Jewish state. This state was decided to be in Palestine despite few proposals to have it elsewhere. Zionism was crucial in making the

Jewish dream closest to reality than ever. Political activism was very significant to voice the Jewish cause to the world. Gradually, Zionists had successfully penetrated the political arena in both GB and the U.S. In the early 20th Century, Zionism got some attraction in the aforementioned countries thanks to the efforts made by Zionists. However, the Zionists were effective and influential in the political arena of both GB and the U.S. in the period of WWI as they exercised a significant pressure on leaders to recognize them and give their cause legitimacy. This pressure, finally, resulted in a promise given to the Jews through Lord Rothschild in a declaration from the British Foreign Secretary James Arthur Balfour, the Balfour Declaration.

CHAPTER TWO

BRITAIN'S ISRAEL

Chapter Two: Britain's Israel

In Britain, the Zionists found the support they did not find elsewhere as they enjoyed a direct contact with the British officials. Approaching those officials helped them express and seek legitimization of their goals. With the outbreak of WWI, Britain allied herself with several parts only to win the war. Time and circumstances were in favor of the Zionists to pressure the British for giving them an official statement as a form of a promise. Hence, the Balfour Declaration was issued. However, Britain had other commitments with the other parts. That promise turned to be an obligation and a constant policy undertaken for the Zionists under the mandatory Palestine. In 1948, Britain withdrew the mandate paving the way for an Israeli state to emerge. Though the relationship with Israel was strained, Britain recognized it and kept supporting it militarily afterwards.

A. The Origins of the Balfour Declaration and the Triple-Dealing

Over a century ago, there was no existence for country called Israel nor did Jews constitute a majority in Palestine. Thanks to a letter of a few sentences, the Zionists got legitimacy to turn Palestine into a Jewish state. This letter was addressed to Lord Rothschild from “His Majesty’s [British] Government” which offered “the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object”¹³(qtd. in Shlaim 01). On November 2, 1917, a new history for Jews was to be written by a British legitimization of their right to the land of Palestine. Therefore, Britain committed itself to the very same goals of Zionism, creating a Jewish state in Palestine. However, by the letter was written and delivered to the public, Britain had not yet taken control over the latter land. This commitment was the origin of a mixture of events and promises that Britain had given to the different parts allied with her in WWI.

¹³ An extraction from the Balfour Declaration quoted in Shlaim, p 1.

In 1915, there was a contact between Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, and Sharif Hussein of Mecca. They discussed the possibility of an Arab Revolt against the Ottomans with the help of the British. What motivated Sharif Hussein to ally himself with the British was his dreams of founding an independent Arab Kingdom in the area. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence was of a number of letters exchanged between the two men, one representing the people of the area under the Ottoman rule and the other representing London. Such Arab Revolt became important to the British by the outbreak of WWI in which the Allies, including Britain, were in a war against the Central Powers, including the Ottomans. This exchange of letters concluded to an agreement between the two of mutual support and promising the Arabs of an independent kingdom. One of the issues that were discussed was the borders of such a kingdom. According to the British, Palestine was not included in Arabia, whereas according to Sharif Hussein, in the Damascus Protocol, Palestine was considered as part of Arabia, the future Arab kingdom. Be it an attempt by McMahon to “tempt the Arab people,” or “a matter of words,” (qtd. in Schneer 110) or even required their French ally’s consultation, Britain did always want the land of Palestine to be at its grasp. However, this deal was not the only deal that Britain negotiated regarding the area and its future.

In 1915-16, the British, through Sykes met its ally, France, through Picot, to make a plan for the future of the region. The British did not inform their new ally, the Arabs, about the results of Sykes-Picot discussions. The plan was to see and decide the future of the Ottoman territories. The two men reached the conclusion to divide the provinces into 3 areas A, B, and an area under international law. There were provinces under British and French protection along with others under direct rule. With H.H. Asquith resignation as a Prime Minister, David Lloyd George replaced him. To Lloyd George’s imperialist view, the

Ottoman Empire would be partitioned rather than supporting its provinces' independence as aimed by Asquith.

David Lloyd George appointed James Arthur Balfour as Foreign secretary as he wanted a victory against the Ottomans. Another key figure in the process of bringing the declaration into existence is Mark Sykes who was working in the War Cabinet Secretariat. The three men met regularly with Zionists to discuss the Zionist project and how will Britain help them realize it. Through Herbert Samuel, an active politician in the British Cabinet, Sykes met a number of Zionists such as Weizmann and Sokolow. The Zionists succeeded to convince Walter Rothschild to support their cause. In 1915, Samuel presented a memorandum to the Cabinet backing the idea of colonization of Palestine, as it would please the Zionists. Prime Minister George Lloyd supported this memorandum. With the ongoing of the war, propaganda was being consumed claiming that the Germans were tempting the Jews. As Britain wanted the U.S. to join the war and to keep the Russians in the war as well, seeking Jewish support was required. Thus, The British government began preparing for a promise of support to be given to the Jews. Later in 1939, in his *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, Lloyd George, to justify his support of Zionism, states that "Men like Mr. Balfour, Lord Milner, Lord Robert Cecil, and myself were in whole-hearted sympathy with the Zionist ideal. The same thing applied to all the leaders of public opinion in our country and in the Dominions, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour. There were only one or two who were not so favourably inclined to the policy."(726). More importantly, Lloyd George and Arthur Balfour share the point that they are both religious who received Old Testament biblical teachings. That is to say, such 'sympathy' was religiously justified as 'all the leader of public opinion' believed in a Christian Zionist Restorationism. As Balfour made it clear "I am a Zionist" and that seeking a Jewish home would "in vain to seek it anywhere but in Palestine" (qtd. in Davidson 14-15),

to this day, his name is connected with the declaration that gave birth to a Jewish state rather than a Jewish homeland.

Another dealing was important to legitimize the Jews' cause and support them instantly and afterwards. Zionists, to gain formal British support, needed an American hand in the Balfour Declaration. James Balfour met the U.S. President many times but never discussed the issue of Palestine and the Zionists. However, he met Louis Brandeis, the ZOA leader at the time, and spoke deeply about the Zionist goals, which Balfour believed in. Through Brandeis and Stephan Wise, and most effectively Colonel House, Wilson seemed in favor of the Zionist cause as he affirmed that he “should be able to help restore the Holy Land to its people.” (qtd. in Davidson 16). Nevertheless, Wilson did not approve the Balfour Declaration until October 13, 1917. It is noteworthy that Wilson was Christian of a Presbyterian faith. In addition, Wilson's friendship with Cleveland Dodge, a president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for long, shaped his views on Palestine. Finally, the U.S. entered the war against the Central Powers along with the Allies. To the U.S. idealist Wilsonian policy, the peoples to be independent had to enjoy the right of self-determination, which was ignored in the Paris Peace Conference.

A triple dealing managed by the British government made it difficult for them to keep the promises and agreements made with different parts. First, they promised the Arabs of an Arab state if they cooperated in the Great War. Then, with her ally France, Britain managed to make of Palestine an internationalized area. Finally, Zionists were promised to establish their state in Palestine. A triple plan for the land ended with only one to be a long-term commitment for Britain. Weizmann's acetone production that helped Britain during the war was regarded as the reason behind the Balfour Declaration. However, Barbara W. Tuchman (1956) regards the declaration as “Biblical rather than imperial. If the Biblical culture of England can be said to have any meaning in England's redemption of Palestine from the rule

of Islam, it may be epitomized in Balfour” (299). Additionally, Britain kept her word to the Zionists as in 1923 Lord Cavendish, the colonial secretary asserted that “going back on a promise. . . .The Jews would naturally regard it as an act of baseness if, having appealed to them in our hour of peril, we were to throw them over when the danger was past.” (qtd. in Davidson 12). This proves that Britain did not support the minority Jews and went back on a promise given to the Arabs out of seeking its interests. To Wilson, his idealism, the right of self-determination, democracy, and his fourteen points were all put off when it came to the Zionist project. He, in 1919, met with the Zionist leaders namely Stephan Wise to tell him “Don’t Worry Dr. Wise, Palestine is yours.” (qtd. in Davidson 21). Back to the agreements Britain made, in McMahon-Hussein correspondence Britain told Sharif Hussein that only her ally, France, required consultation. However, The British government consulted another part, the Zionists, of a land that is not yet hers. The Declaration, although was carefully worded, did not imply a clear statement of a foreign policy (Shlaim 03). A Jewish homeland did not exist in international law. Considering the majority of Arab Muslims and Christians as "non-Jewish communities" was as if the British would make of Palestine a Jewish state for Jews wherein the rights of the other communities will be preserved. This was according to Shlaim, an “arrogant, dismissive and even racist....double standard” decision made by the British government (08). Despite all, the declaration in theory instantly, and in practice later, knew the blessings of the leaders of the victors, as they met in Paris Peace Conference, and by the League of Nations, which adopted it literally. The principle of “the consent of the governed” was not even applied on the communities that lived in Palestine as it was replaced by the consent of the occupiers. The Implementation of such a policy was exemplified in the British Mandate over Palestine. The United Nations consider the Balfour Declaration and the British triple-dealing as illegal but this reality “appeared decades after the commitments to the Arabs not only had been infringed by the Sykes-Picot agreement but, in disregard of the inherent

rights and the wishes of the Palestinian people, the British Government had given Zionist leaders” (UN: The Origins and Evolution of the Palestine Problem:1917-1988).

B. Britain's Mandate for Palestine: Zionism as a British Policy

Fearing Germany, France, and even Russia to take over the legacy of the Ottoman Empire even before the end of the war, Britain rushed to secure its interests in the Middle East region. In April 1920, the allied powers met, in what became known as San Remo conference, to discuss the future of the lands, which were just freed of Ottoman presence. As a result, France and Britain were given those lands to be ruled by the system of Mandates. Syria and Lebanon were given to France whereas Palestine and Mesopotamia were given to Britain. However, Britain did not gain Palestine just simply but it aimed at realizing the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist project. The conference took the 1917 declaration by Balfour as reference to grant Palestine to Britain as it committed itself to facilitate the establishment of a national home for Jews. To this moment, Britain was only helping Jews seek home that was decided to be in Palestine. However, in a meeting in 1922, James Balfour and Lloyd George told Winston Churchill, the colonial secretary at the time, and Weizmann that Britain “had always meant [to establish] a Jewish state” (Shlaim 4). Thereafter, the newly founded League of Nations adopted the previous decision of the San Remo conference, which legitimizes British mandate over Palestine justified by the Zionist project, establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. Palestinian Arabs were outraged of the decision made by the British government that was willing to support Zionism, as Churchill made clear, “even if they did horribly stupid things” (Stewart). Thus, riots took place in Palestine opposing the Zionist project protected by the British government. The Jewish population was minor compared to the Arab Muslims and Christians. The Zionists, Britain, the U.S., the League of Nations did not seek to refer to democracy and self-determination to be applied in Palestine until Jews form a majority. To help Zionist Jews form a majority in Palestine, The British government sought to facilitate

land purchase and the Jewish immigration, Aliyah, which did local residents oppose. Zionists got the recognition of the international community to be the legitimate administrators of Palestine under the protection of the British governments. For instance, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution in September 1922 favoring the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine.

Churchill's White Paper of 1922 was an introduction to what the policies of the mandatory power were like as they were following a pure "Zionist policy". Despite little opposition from the House of Lords, Churchill, defended the pro-Zionist policy in the House of Commons and reinforced this policy via giving Jews a full administration and control of the means of production such as, Electricity. As the British Mandate for Palestine came into effect in September 1923, the Jewish immigration was allowed again for the Fourth Aliyah after the third wave the lasted from 1919 to 1923. To foster the immigration process, the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PJCA) was established and directed by James Armand de Rothschild in 1924. Establishing the Jewish Agency in 1929 was of a significant role to play in organizing and preparing Palestine to be Israel afterwards. It was not attributed to Zionist Jews only but to all Jews. Thus, a number of influential people, such as Herbert Samuel, former High Commissioner for Palestine and current Home Secretary, Albert Einstein as well as important bodies such as the Board of Deputies of British Jews joint the complain..

In response to the 1929 riots, the British government organized two commissions to investigate certain issues in Palestine such as immigration, land purchase, and the like. The first commission was managed by Sir Walter Shaw, whereas the second was managed by Sir John Hope Simpson. Consequently, The British government, through the Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield, made a change in its policy. Thus, the Passfield White Paper altered the statement of the previous Churchill White Paper. Limiting the Jewish immigration was put as

a priority as well as restricting land purchase. Lord Passfield was convinced that Zionism transformed the life of “non-Jewish communities” as well as their properties radically to the degree that “There is no room to swing a cat in Palestine” (Cohen 133). However, the government withdrew the statement in Passfield White Paper due to a significant pressure from worldwide Zionist organizations and their sympathizers. In a letter by the Prime Minister, James Ramsay MacDonald, the government had to clarify the Passfield White Paper and to express, instead, its intention to continue the policy that allows immigration and land purchase, which caused Arabs’ sufferance. Weizmann received the MacDonald Letter¹⁴ in 1931, which represented an apology more than a clarification; which meant that Zionists were too influential inside and outside the cabinet.

The period of the Fourth Aliyah witnessed harsh economic crisis, which left the Jewish immigration rate less than expected. However, the Fifth Aliyah was of different circumstances and of a different number of immigrants as well. As the Nazi regime ascended to power, tensions rose against Jews as they were sent out of Germany. Sometimes put in camps, Jews were hated by Adolf Hitler, who wanted to purify Germany from their existence via the final solution. This instance helped Jews immigrate in huge numbers to Palestine. Furthermore, the appointment of Arthur Wauchope as High Commissioner for Palestine and Trans-Jordan, who was pro-Zionist, fostered immigration and land ownership for Jews. However, this wave angered the Palestinians and paved the way for the Great Revolt¹⁵. In 1936, Palestinian Arabs rebelled against the Zionist institutions and hence against the British administration that was for decades, so blindly, supporting them. Therefore, the British government was alarmed to revise its policies in its mandate for Palestine. Thus, in the same year, Lord Peel was asked in to lead a Royal Commission of Inquiry, known as Peel

¹⁴ It is labeled “The Black Letter” by Palestinian Arabs who regarded it as unsupportive to their cause.

¹⁵ A nationalist uprising of the Palestinian Arabs against the British Zionist policies and the Jewish flow of immigrants.

Commission. The revolt lasted for three years that left the commission conclude to a partition plan in 1937. Both parties, Zionists and Palestinian Arabs rejected the British proposal despite all attempts to convince them. Thereafter, the British government, through the Woodhead Commission, thought that this solution would be “impracticable”. The partition plan for Britain was to keep her promises given to both the Arabs and the Jews. However, to respond to the failure of negotiations, Britain, under Neville Chamberlain’s Premiership, passed the 1939 White Paper that promised Jews that their Jewish homeland would be created within ten years. Nevertheless, at the same time, it limited the Jewish immigration to a low number and restricted land purchase. Both Palestinian Arabs and Jews rejected the 1939 White Paper. In this period, Jews of Europe were receiving ill-treatment either in Germany or in Eastern Europe. Therefore, Zionists organized waves of clandestine immigration to Palestine, known as Aliyah Bet, due to the British restrictions imposed on them. The British armed response to the Great Revolt had weekend the Palestinian Arabs, which led to dissolving the Arab Higher Committee and considering it as illegal. The number of casualties in the Palestinian Arabs’ part was estimated between 2,000 and 5,000. (Ginat 3)

Zionists, after having lost the British blind support, shifted to seek an American Zionist pressure. In Baltimore Hotel, New York, the Jewish Agency, chaired by David Ben-Gurion, decided to adopt a plan for mass immigration that will allow the creation of a Jewish state. The Baltimore Program began with the proposal of transferring one million Jews into Palestine. However, after the Holocaust tragedy chased Jewish communities, who were refugees in camps, Zionists sought to increase the number to reach two million. Zionists found in the U.S. the support they needed. By the rise of Harry Truman to the presidency, and based on Harrison Report in 1945, he asked Britain to admit a big number of Jewish refugees who could survive the Holocaust and to allow Jews purchase land that were restricted by 1939 White Paper. Thus, an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was created especially to treat

the Jewish issue. In July 1946, a plan was proposed to both parties, Palestinian Arabs and Jews, known as the Morrison-Grady Plan, which aimed at establishing Arab and Jewish provinces under the British trusteeship with keeping control over Jerusalem and Negev. The British were convinced that it would be rejected as Jews refused to attend the committee. Moreover, the British expressed their readiness to accept the plans only with an American assistance in case of uprisings either by the Arabs or by the Haganah.¹⁶ Americans rejected the British call for assistance. Thus, none plan was implemented. However, by the end of 1946, the British government granted entry to a huge number of Jewish refugees. Obviously, it was the result of an American pressure, which itself was the result of a Zionist pressure. Before withdrawing the mandate to the United Nations (UN), a final plan was proposed by the government of Clement Attlee, as he asked his foreign secretary to find a solution for the Palestinian issue. Negatively, there was no agreement set by all the parties.

To sum up, at first, Britain fought for getting Palestine that was triply promised to Arabs, to Zionists, and agreed on to be under international rule. However, it ended under the British Mandatory rule but via hosting the Zionist project that was endorsed by the international community, which represented only the victors of the WWI. Neither Arabs were granted Palestine nor the Sykes-Picot were adopted but the Balfour Declaration in the mandate articles. It sought to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish homeland for Jews all over the world. Neither in the Balfour Declaration nor in the Sykes-Picot agreement nor in the McMahon-Hussein Correspondence nor in international law did what the Balfour Declaration and the articles of the mandate undertaken as a responsibility for Britain, a Jewish National Home exist. However, Lloyd George and James Balfour admitted to Winston Churchill that a Jewish state is intended to be created. Similarly, the U.S passed a resolution supporting the creation of a Jewish homeland despite the recommendations of the King-Crane Commission.

¹⁶ The official Jewish Paramilitary body of the Jewish community (Yishuv) during the period of the British Mandate. After the creation of the State of Israel, it became the base for the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF)

The policies undertaken by the British government were in most of the time pro-Zionist as they turned a blind eye the Jewish immigration, land purchase and the consequences they brought to the life on the non-Jewish communities, which represented a majority, but were treated as second-class citizens.

The British government acted late and according to the alarms of the Palestinian Arabs such as the riots of 1929 and the Great Revolt of 1936. Peel Commission revealed that the promised that Britain had given to both parties the Zionists and the non-Jewish communities were not to be realized due to the rising tensions between them. Thus, the 1939 White Paper took place limiting Jewish immigration and restricting land purchase from the Palestinian Arabs. Those restrictions witnessed the aggressive opposition by the Zionists, known as Palestine Emergency. For instance, the King David Hotel Bombing intensified the relations between the Mandate government and the Zionists. However, Churchill, the lifelong friend of Jews, stood always with Zionists. Because of the Nazi harsh treatment of the Jews of Europe and also because of a well Zionist pressure the U.S, finally, intervened to find a solution for the Jewish refugees in camps. Primarily, Americans took the Jewish problem as a priority but later on, in collaboration with the Attlee's government, sought to find a solution for Palestine. After all attempts went unsuccessful to settle the problem, the Palestinian issue was handed over to the UN. The U.S. now is a key player in the scene especially by the outbreak of a civil war in mandatory Palestine in 1947 between the two conflicting Arabs.

C. Withdrawing the Mandate and the Israeli Statehood

Britain, in accordance with the U.S, worked jointly to solve the Jewish problem that gained a significant sympathy both in the U.S. and in Britain. Winston Churchill worked hard to repeal the 1939 White Paper, the source of Nazi-expelled Jewish sufferance. Harry Truman, who learnt the Old Testament and believed that Palestine is a pure Jewish land, was

worried about the issue of those Jews (Davidson 174). Without even consulting the State Department's Division of Near Eastern Affairs (NEA), he asked Clement Attlee's Labour government to leave Jewish refugees enter Palestine. The British government was happy with the request but asked for collaboration in finding a solution for Zionists, Arabs, and the current issue of the Jewish refugees in camps. After several commissions and an Anglo-American Committee, Britain became convinced that this issue is "insoluble". Moreover, tensions between the two communities that dwelled Palestine rose and intensified into conflicts. Thus, the issue was transferred to the UN as it failed to control the mandate. In May 1947, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was created for the sake of solving the Palestinian issue. Based on its report, the UNSCOP concluded the decision that two separate states to be created under economic cooperation, and an international area under UN trusteeship. The deliberations were adopted in the 181(II) resolution. This meant that the British Mandate over Palestine to be terminated soon. Harry Truman who "had faith in Israel before it was established" (US Cong. House.), proposed a plan to the UN in March 1948. As the Jewish agency was satisfied with both the UN plan and the American proposal, the U.S. voted for either plans proposed. Palestinian Arabs, like all Arab leaders, rejected the plans and demanded one independent state for majority Arabs and the already existing Jews. More immigration was completely opposed by the Palestinian Arabs. In May 1948, The British Mandate came to end leaving the conflict to continue. After the civil war, that was taking place during the British Mandatory days, Israel declared its independence on May 14 angering neighboring Arab states. The U.S. was the first to de facto recognize it. On May 15, the Arab-Israeli broke out. It is worthy to be noted that Britain had contributed indirectly in the strength of the Israeli forces. Either by training the Haganah or by weakening the Arab Liberation Army after the Great Revolt, or even by leaving or losing the British strategic arms to the paramilitary Jewish organizations, Britain made Israel stronger than ever. Subsequently, a

coalition of a number of armies from the Arab League, which encompassed Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Transjordan worked together to rival Israel. The Arab army entered Palestine, or the Israeli lands as Israeli forces invaded most of the territory of the two states meant by the UN partition resolution. As unprepared the Israeli forces were, the well-armed Arab army was expected to win the war. However, aided by France, the U.S., and mainly by Czechoslovakia, Israel could rival the Arab army. Well-trained American aviators, France transporting arms to Israel and blocking its entry to the Arab states, and Czechoslovakia's armament contracts all played a decisive role in the war in part of the Israeli army. After several operations, which went successful for the Israeli side, a truce by the UN took place. The UN worked on a proposal to settle peace in the region but was rejected by both parties. The war was not over as it was resumed by both parties. Israeli forces increased in number due to the entry of immigrants who joined the Israeli army. In an unprecedented event, the Israeli forces attacked the British Royal Air Force (RAF) in Sinai. Consequently, Britain was at the edge of declaring war on Israel. However, the conflict was avoided thanks to the recommendations of British commanders. An armistice with all the countries that made part of the war made the end of the war. The war is named by Israelis as the War of Independence whereas by Arabs as the Nakba, which means "the disaster". As a result, more than 750,000 Palestinian Arabs were driven out of their homes, not to mention the villages and provinces totally moved as Cronin finds in Britain the "midwife of that mass expulsion" which Weizmann finds "miraculous" (78). Furthermore, Israel took over a large territory of the normally Palestinian state as the former's borders reached the countries with which it was at war. The UN 194 resolution was not put into effect that promised the displaced Palestinian Arabs the right to return.

To conclude, during the last decade of its Mandatory rule and after two other decades of blind, costly support to Zionists, Britain attempted to be neutral with the two parties, the

Zionists and the Palestinian Arabs. After three years of conflicts between the Holy Army and the Zionists backed by the British, Palestinian Arabs were exhausted with huge losses. Despite pressure from the British supporters of Zionism and from the Americans, represented by President Truman, the British government remained neutral seeking a solution to a problem it caused decades ago. When the problem became “insoluble”, it was transferred to the UN, which, again, was not effective. The civil war between the already exhausted Palestinian forces and the Jewish forces was decided by an Israeli victory declaring independence. Britain, through the Balfour Declaration, fighting for a mandate over Palestine, adopting the Zionist project as a mandatory policy, ignoring Palestinian Arabs’ issues, crushing the armed rebellions, and finally withdrawing the mandate at a crucial period, had successfully realized the British aim in establishing a Jewish state not only a homeland for Jews. At last, the British pledge to Zionists, or Jews as whole community, were fulfilled to the letter. However, the pledge given to non-Jewish communities was not fulfilled while an ethnic cleansing took place in the Palestinian exodus after the Arab-Israeli war. Therefore, Britain was instrumental in transforming Palestine into Israel, directly or indirectly, wherein persecuted Jews found refuge, and consequently gave the world a new community of refugees. All of this, however, kept the British-Israeli relations shaken for years to come, beginning with the late recognition and followed by a strained relationship afterwards.

D. Post-state Relations

In the 1940’s the Jewish paramilitary organizations angered the British, as they became a source of danger to their officials and institutions. Churchill, who in many occasions confirmed he was a Zionist and supported Zionism blindly, affirmed that the British people’s “dreams of Zionism are to end” because of those deeds (Cronin 61). It was doubted the source of the Jewish armament. They were the British in Palestine who acted at an ease against it. Clement Attlee’s government that succeeded Churchill’s, despite Labours’

promises in campaigns, did not give up the 1939 White Paper's policies. Britain was not satisfied with the Israeli statehood, as it did not recognize it immediately after the latter declared independence. Churchill was known for his fierce criticism defending Zionists and the British policies urging support. He, in a number of occasions to all key politicians, in the House and elsewhere, kept telling that he was a "Zionist from the days of the Balfour Declaration" (Gilbert 299). Because the British government did not want to recognize Israel, Churchill in 1949, raised the issue of recognizing Israel and criticized the delay, as the U.S. and the Soviet Union had done so. He invoked the debt that civilization owes to Jews and their history who changed the "desert" into "bloom". He, further, pointed out that Judaism was the source of civilization. Eventually, just a few days after the debate, Britain had recognized Israel de facto in April 1949. Chaim Weizmann, the first Israeli president, sent a letter to Churchill thanking him for his efforts. As the sensibilities intensified between the Arab League and the embryonic state of Israel, Abdullah, the king of Transjordan, wanted to seize the territory belonging to the Palestinian Arab state drawn by the UN. Allied with the British militarily, the British Foreign Secretary ordered the British officers not to enter the Jewish state and if the King asked them to intervene, they ought to leave the whole Palestine. Therefore, Britain even though, strained with Israel, kept her promises to Jews while Palestinian Arabs, who were promised as well, were completely ignored. It was clear that Britain insisted to keep her army in the Arab Legion¹⁷, for the sake of avoiding war between the embryonic weak Israeli army and the Arabs (Cronin 72). Ernest Bevin, Attlee's government Foreign Secretary, was not in favor of recognizing Israel immediately but not against recognizing it later. He feared that, in doing so, he would lose the influence enjoyed on Arabs. Finally, after its de facto recognition, Britain recognized Israel de jure in 1950. As a leader of the opposition, Churchill had never stopped criticizing the Labour's policies towards

¹⁷ The Jordanian army trained by British officers as Jordan was allied with Britain after the latter's departure.

Israel, which was blockaded by Egypt. In 1951, Winston Churchill won the elections and returned to Premiership. During his term, he showed a big support for Israel. He was rarely seen on TV but to pass a tribute of Weizmann's death, he addressed a very sentimental speech on TV. He kept silent for the massacres that the Israeli forces were committing. Moreover, he ignored the Transjordan calls for providing British troops to guarantee the Israelis that Britain was not to intervene or even assist those who represented a threat to Israel.

Despite an agreement on limiting arms purchase to Israel and the Arabs, Britain and France kept selling Tanks and airplanes to Israel. This step was to keep the region in peace. However, despite the repetitive violations by the Israeli forces against the Palestinian Arabs using their weapons, those suppliers never stopped purchasing arms to Israel. In the light of the Israeli attacks on Gaza, Gamal Abdel Nasser, then president of Egypt, changed his attitudes towards Britain and the West to ally himself with the Soviets. This was a violation of the armistice agreement. The U.S. imposed an embargo on armament of Israel. Britain did the same but only with some arms. With the rise of Anthony Eden as prime minister in 1956, Britain resumed its armament of Israel. When Egypt decided to nationalize the Suez Canal, both France and Britain, threatened by the loss of interests, rushed to cooperate with Israel violating again the Tripartite Declaration¹⁸. To punish Egypt's support for Algerian independence, France offered Israel heavy military supplies. Britain, France and Israel met in Paris to discuss the plans of attacking Egypt. In late October of the same year, Israeli forces advanced attacking Egypt the refugee camps of the Palestinians. The UN, informed by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), accused Israel of killing a number of civilian people, including people employed by the UNRWA, in a cold blood (Cronin 91).

Thanks to pressure from the U.S., ceasefire took place on 6 December. During his last days in government, Eden, denied the cooperation with Israel to attack Egypt, which

¹⁸ A joint statement in 1950 by France, U.S. and Britain to limit arms exports to both the Arabs and Israel.

happened just accidentally. The massacres that Israeli forces made were in way or another fueled by the British plan of the attack of Egypt. It is to be noted that Shimon Peres, the director-general of the Israeli forces, had visited London regularly before and even after the attacks took place. Britain, respecting a resolution passed by the UN not to provide arms to the areas of hostilities, imposed an arms embargo on Israel. However, this did not last for long as Britain agreed to sell £3 million of arms to Israel. Furthermore, Britain went on empowering the Israeli navy power. In 1959, Britain and Israeli signed a contract of selling 60 Centurion tanks alongside technical training yet the deal had to be kept secret. In the first half of the 1960s, Israeli could purchase two German submarines and 250 Centurion tanks from Britain. Along tow Chieftain tanks, Harold Wilson's government provided Israel with 300 Centurion tanks. This deal was also kept secret until the 1980s. With the outbreak of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Israeli could easily win the war and occupy Palestinian lands, the West Bank and Gaza, as, again, "Britain's arms exports had contributed to ethnic cleansing" (Cronin 99). Despite the results of the war and the recommendations of the UN, Britain kept supplying Israel with both offensive and defensive "deadlier weapons". Ironically, the aim was to help Israel survive and rival the Arab states because he feared the absence of peace in the region.

By the 1973 War, Britain stopped arming Israel along with other Arab countries, which made part of the conflict. However, though convinced that it should protect its oil interests, Britain gave up on the arms embargo on Israel in 1974. Therefore, Israel rated among the first clients of the western arms, namely Britain and the U.S. This rate was given by the British embassy in Tel Aviv. Cronin (2017) argues that "The rating revealed much about how Britain's diplomats – even those stationed in the Middle East – saw Israel as belonging to the West" because of "a historical and psychological connection with the Zionist movement"(109). Furthermore, Britain voted against the motion raised in the UN claiming

that Zionism would be regarded as racism. Thus, the British would not consider any Palestinian voice as it blindly supports Israel.

Later on, any British government would not intervene in the Palestinian-Israeli issues without the American pressure and permission. Not recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and neglecting meeting its activists publicly and officially was considered as a way of support for Israel. Britain affirmed that to take the negotiations to a further level the PLO should recognize Israel and accept concessions. Britain warned its diplomats that they should avoid any contact with the PLO. When Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, Israel signed a trade agreement in 1975. This introduced Israel to the European market ever since. Moreover, with the rise of Margaret Thatcher to Premiership, Israel was fiercely defended in the EEC. For instance, in the light of Venice declaration, Thatcher put Israel's security as a priority. Her Foreign Office adopted a pro-Israel middle-eastern policy. In the light of the Israeli operation called "Opera" or "Babylon", in which Israel attacked an Iraqi-French nuclear reactor, Thatcher, like the American President Ronald Reagan, was willing to veto the sanctions to be put against Israel. Eventually, the U.S. was successful to remove those sanctions. Commenting on the attack, Regan noted "I swear I believe Armageddon is near," (Regan 24) in a biblical religious implication. By the Falklands War in 1982, and despite the Israeli military support to Argentina, Britain remained silent. However, in the light of the invasion of Lebanon and the massacres caused by the Israeli forces, Britain imposed restriction on arms sales to Israel. Thatcher's government was characterized by a strict alienation of the PLO and by attempts to approach the Israelis. In 1986, Thatcher became the first British Prime Minister to visit Israel.

Her successor, John Major, witnessed the removal of all restriction on arms, as he was excited for an open trade between the two countries. As a member of the group Labour Friends of Israel since 1983, Tony Blair won the elections of 1997. One of Blair's favors to

Israel is the British participation in the invasion of Iraq. Israel was happy that the Iraqi threat would be removed. Thereafter, The British government followed its fellow, the American, blindly in its support for Israel. After he left the government he was appointed as a “peace envoy” a job in which he played the role that he admitted his pride to be “a friend of Israel” (Cronin 154). Consequently, Britain was always pro-Israel even if the latter’s attacks were targeting civilians. His successor, Gordon Brown, adopted the same foreign policy especially enthusiast with the drones’ cooperation. The Conservative and Liberal Democrat government kept on with the same policy. David Cameron treated Israeli as Britain’s “greatest friend”. Theresa May, Cameron’s successor, expressed her pride to celebrate the centenary of the Balfour Declaration.

All in all, Britain since the very days of the Balfour Declaration that promised the Zionists of a national homeland as well as promising non-Jewish residents of their right of freedom. Similarly, Britain promised the Sharif Hussein that he would enjoy an Arab Kingdom. In addition, there was another deal with the French, known as Sykes-Picot agreement, dividing the region of the Middle East into sphere of influence. However, neither the promise given to Sharif Hussein was kept nor the Sykes-Picot Agreement was respected; but Britain kept her promise to the Zionists that it would try hard to facilitate the realization of their project. The men who gave birth to the Zionist hope were James Balfour, the Foreign Secretary at the time of the declaration, and George Lloyd, the Prime Minister then, were described as religious and presenting biblical inclinations that led to the adoption and preserving such a policy towards Zionism. Certainly, there were strategic reasons but anyways Britain made several war measures, represented in promises, but did not keep them. Winston Churchill fought in a tremendous way for the cause of Israel as he described himself as Moses. Britain kept the legacy of those men despite all obstacles it faced. Marginalizing the Palestinians’ rights and voices along fostering the Jewish immigration was the only British

policy that is rooted in the legacy of the Balfour Declaration. Despite conflict with the Zionists in the light of the 1939's White Paper, Britain kept its support for Zionism, which crystalized in the creation of state of Israel. Since 1948 onward, Britain has been loyal to the pledge given to the Zionists in 1917; however, it could not keep the pledge given to the non-Jewish communities as it contributed to their sufferance, exile, and to a long-term conflict that never ceased to end.

CHAPTER THREE

AMERICA'S ISRAEL

Chapter Three: America's Israel

The United States played a decisive role in the success of the Zionist movement as the latter found in the American the support that it so desperately sought. The mainstream ideology of the Americans in the twentieth and nineteenth century stemmed a lot from Christianity. Since the very early Puritans dwelled the U.S., the idea of the restoration of the Jews to their historical promised land spread among the Americans. The Biblical Traditions brought with them is still influencing the American society until nowadays (Finney 21). Those traditions hold the belief in the Second Coming that would be realized with the return of the Jews to their promised land. This is known as Christian Zionism, which, significantly impacted the American thought and hence the decision-making. Furthermore, the Christian Missionaries, which were sent to the Levant, had also their part in shaping the American perception on Palestine.

Therefore, Americans never knew Palestine but through the literature they received and the teachings of Christianity. They claim that Palestine belongs to Jews and it is their promised land. Thus, this developed a Judeo-Christian connection that is rooted in centuries from then. When Zionism emerged, it did not find welcoming arms in Russia, its birthplace, Germany, or the Ottoman Empire. However, Britain and America welcomed Zionism so heartily. For example, Zionists could easily get access to major American and British politicians and leaders who were sympathetic to their cause. Since those days until now, the U.S. is backing and supporting the movement that crystalized in a Jewish state, Israel. Once the state declared its independence, the U.S. rushed to recognize it. Now, Israel is the closest ally to the U.S. as it receives costly aids not to mention the political support it enjoys from the Americans, government and public.

A. An Orientalist, Christian Representation Affecting the American Mind and Politics

Puritans contributed to the creation of the United States of America basing on a religious belief that claims their freedom in a promised land. Since its creation onward, the U.S. was seen as an example of the divine providence that helped the “chosen people” establish a nation in a promised land. Christians who dwelled America had the believed in what is now known as Christian Zionism. Several theologians held the believed in the restoration, the second coming, as well as the right of Jews to restore their land. However, the ideas of Christian Zionism were not new to Americans after independence as since the 17th century there were believers in the reestablishment of “God’s kingdom”. Increase Mather, a powerful clergyman and involved in politics, was one of the forerunners of Christian Zionism (Goldman 15). Puritans saw American and New England specifically, as the new Israel promised by God. Later on, another group of Christian believers called Dispensationalists¹⁹ showed their upholding of Christian Zionism. Those religious sects and others stemmed their interpretation thanks to the Calvinist and Lutheran reformations as they gave the Holy Land a special representation claiming it to the Jews. Thus, American Christians developed a religious-based perception on Palestine as it was seen as the Promised Land for Jews. Nevertheless, Americans never had no accurate representation of the how it was that land and about the people who populated it.

Meanwhile, another source of orientalist perception on Palestine was pushed by the missionaries sent to the Levant. The foundation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), under the protection of John Quincy Adams, was for the sake of spreading the Protestant civilization in the world. Thereby, those missionaries were the only

¹⁹ According to Britannica, Dispensationalists are Christians believing in Dispensationalism, which is a theological perspective that considers history as dispensations in which God treats his chosen people in different ways.

source of information about the Holy Land. Because the Eastern Muslim culture was different from the Western Protestant culture, the missionaries portrayed the people living in Palestine at the time negatively. The missionaries did focus on the Armenians and the Arab Christians. Therefore, in the light of the Armenian attacks, Turks and Arab Muslims in general were portrayed as savages and barbarians as they attacked the missionaries and the “biblical peoples” (Davidson 7). Thus, American knew the Holy Land as a spoiled dusty land instead of a land of milk and honey according to their religious beliefs. Consequently, Palestine and its majority Muslim residents were disliked by the Americans and seen as inferior, infidel and backward. These feelings were deep-rooted in the crusades time. As a result, the American public opinion at the time developed a perception that attaches the Holy Land with a Judeo-Christian claim over the land. Furthermore, Jews were well treated in the U.S. as they found welcoming arms for their movement, Zionism. For instance, in 1891 an American evangelist William Eugene Blackstone wrote a petition signed by more than 400 influential American figures addressed to the President Benjamin Harrison. The subject and the demand of the petition was the restoration of Jews to the Holy Land. Blackstone was an American individual among the American restorationists who believed in the second coming through the ingathering of Jews in the Holy Land. This led to the upholding of the Zionist cause by major American politicians and with whom the Zionists could influence the decision-making politicians. Hence, the Zionists penetrated the American political arena and entered in negotiations with the Americans, as was the case in Britain.

Stephan Wise and Louis Brandeis, prominent leaders of the American Zionist movement in the early twentieth century, found in the American President Woodrow Wilson the support the Zionists aspired for realizing their project. Woodrow Wilson as a Presbyterian of a Christian fundamentalist parent was prepared to embrace the goals of Zionism presented by the two men close to him. As the WWI broke out, the Zionists rushed to convince both the

British and the Americans to reserve Palestine for Jews as their homeland. Despite promising the Arabs of an independent kingdom under Sharif Hussein, the British had given other promises and agreements to other parts. One of these promises was the Balfour Declaration, which guaranteed the British support for establishing the Jewish state. However, the British were not to deliver the Balfour Declaration without the American blessings. President Woodrow Wilson, though late to give his blessing, presented his blessings to the declaration, a promise to be kept until nowadays. He insisted "To think that I the son of the manse should be able to help restore the Holy Land to its people" (qtd. in Lebow 521). Therefore, the Balfour Declaration came to existence and paved the way for a Zionist project sponsored and backed by the British hand in hand with Americans. Wilson, despite his belief in the right for people of self-determination, did not object the mandatory system imposed by the French and the British. Moreover, Wilson was keen to secure Palestine for Jews as their homeland. In the meeting for establishing peace, Wilson presented fought for the right of Zionists of Palestine as their homeland. Likewise, the Congress was supportive for the Zionist cause as a resolution, named, the Lodge–Fish Resolution, was passed in 1922, adopting the text of the Balfour Declaration, marking an official policy undertaken by the Americans towards Zionism that to be followed by the upcoming governments.

In sum, the U.S as a public before governments was influenced by religious, historical and to a smaller degree by political factors that shaped it the way the Zionists found ready and hence easy to penetrate. Therefore, the U.S. governments acted in accordance with the beliefs held by the American public thought. However, it is to be noted that it was not only politics, influenced by religious beliefs and historical facts, that played a major role in shaping the American mind to be too supportive for Zionism and the creation of a Jewish state but media did also play a crucial role in that.

B. The Role of Media in Shaping the American Politics

The U.S., during the WWI, had a late intervention in the war due to its isolationist policy. However, its media was involved in the war as it paved the way for its intervention. As the Americans were less interested in foreign affairs, Palestine did interest them. The press had directly influenced the American thought and hence expressed their opinions. The newspapers of the time had covered the matter of Palestine in a considerable degree. One of the main newspapers of the time was the *New York Times*, which consistently covered the issue. Some other newspapers were the *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Los Angeles Times*. They were the source of information for the Americans.

In 1917 only, 150 articles were published by those newspapers concerning the issue of Palestine and the Zionist movement, as most of it came by the end of the year after the Balfour Declaration in November and Jerusalem capture in December (Davidson 22). Those newspapers utilized a tone more compatible with the prejudices and stereotypes that were common to Americans. Those prejudices were shaped by the missionaries especially after the Armenian attacks. Therefore, the media found the American mind ready for reinforcing those prejudices. They were the Turks who received most of the negative representations; however, it was generalized to all Muslims to include the Arabs. Palestine, at the time, was of an Arab majority over a “biblical people” minority. This justified the European imperialism and affirmed the necessity of Arabs to be under a mandatory system by the Europeans that was exclusive to them by not for Greece and Armenia and many other countries that were under the Ottoman rule. Additionally, there were the religious beliefs that made the editors of those newspapers select what is compatible with the common beliefs of the Americans. Therefore, religious patriotism in Palestine dating back to the times of the crusades was the main theme in the content of those newspapers. Palestine was described as the biblical Holy Land that had

a Judeo-Christian claim. General Allenby²⁰ was portrayed as Richard the Lionheart²¹ as the war was pictured like a “Modern Crusade.

As an example of the media’s coverage, where religious and historical structures were embedded, was the front-page picture of cartoon of the *Chicago Tribune* where the British was pictured as the savior of the *Holy City*, which was the title, from the hands of the Turks and Arabs (Davidson 23). Another front-page cartoon was published by the *Los Angeles Times* showing the British Christian crusader as a liberator of Jerusalem of the Muslim Turkish presence. The picture gave the impression as if it was a victory of Christianity over Islam. The *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Los Angeles Times* celebrated the British capture of Jerusalem as important for Christians as the Holy Land was freed from Islamic presence. However, it had a Muslim majority that needed to be eliminated. The timing of the Balfour Declaration was not of a coincidence or to a greater extent a war measure. That is to say, the British takeover of Palestine was enchanted in America as a religious achievement and as historical revenge as well.

The press in America focused only on what is to be told to the American public rather than to inform them about the long period of the Muslim civilization in Palestine. Therefore, Americans never considered the existence of a majority Arabs but instead, they rejoiced the religious, historic, and historical restoration of the Holy Land. Furthermore, after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration the American press treated Palestine as a Jewish and Zionist subject adopting the content of the Balfour Declaration and marginalizing the majority, which dwelled the land. The aforementioned newspapers focused on the Jewish resettling of Palestine according to biblical interpretation, and modeling the American experience in establishing their nation, the United States. In many occasions, the press emphasized giving

²⁰General Edmund Allenby, a British commander was appointed in charge of the Palestine campaign during the WWI.

²¹ Richard I was a king of England, later known as the 'Lion Heart', and famous for his exploits in the Third Crusade in the 12th century.

Jerusalem to the Jews as a sign of sympathy and compensation. Moreover, to cover the war, 95% of the *New York Times* coverage concentrated on the British Crusade, the Zionist aspirations, and the situation of the non-Muslim population, Jews and Christians (Davidson 28). Likewise, most of the newspapers, if not all of them, expressed their empathy with Jews inside Palestine and with whom were being persecuted in Russia. The U.S. Consul to Jerusalem expressed his worries about the Jews who suffered harsh conditions during the war. The Arabs were seen as aliens and represented the enemy.

Therefore, establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine for the Zionists seemed legitimate under British protection. In addition, shaping the American public opinion helped the decisions made in Europe be ratified and blessed by the American political leaders. For instance, Wilson's blessing to the Balfour Declaration was as a ratification of a decision made by Britain. Another confession given by a one of the major leaders and contributors to the success of Zionism, Nahum Sokolow, as he states "the negotiations in political circles in England and France were known in America, every success was welcomed there with enthusiasm, and often, also, received further support" (Sokolow 82). Thus, the U.S. was a prepared soil for planting the Zionist goals, which were shaped and structured long time before the emergence of Zionism and then, have been reinforced publicly and politically by the outbreak of WWI onward.

C. The American Support from Political to Military

After the blessings of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 by President Wilson (1913-1921), the Americans wanted to grant the Jews an official statement of support. The senator Henry Cabot Lodge was asked to introduce a resolution that would support the Balfour Declaration officially. Despite his opposition to the American interference in European affairs, for the Zionist cause he wanted interference. Another person, who shares with the

former the name of the resolution, was a congressional representative, Hamilton Fish. Both men were asked by Zionists to work for a resolution that would guarantee an American support by the government. Therefore, they introduced the matter to the Secretary of State Charles Hughes, who was in favor of such a move. Most of the hearings had a supportive tone of Zionism and its goals, which aimed at building a Jewish homeland. As a result, both the House and Senate passed the resolution on September 11, 1922 and it was signed by President Harding (1921-1923). Harding believed that the return of the “Hebrew people” would contribute to the “advance of humanity”, which implies the beliefs held by American as Arabs were “depicted [to them] as backward, poor and ignorant” whom needed a Zionist colonization (Davidson 51). As such, Americans and its allied European powers justified excluding Arabs from the right of self-determination. The U.S., like Britain, in the 1920s, did not give or listen to the voice of Palestinian Arabs. This was due to finding no supportive minds among the Americans whom were shaped negatively against the Arabs.

In 1932, as a consequence of the British Passfield White Paper that shook the Zionists, the American Palestine Committee (APC) was founded. A decade later in 1942, the APC had 143 congressmen, 67 senators, 22 governors, alongside several writers, publishers, clergymen, editors...etc. (Finney 23). In the same year, the Christian Council on Palestine (CCP) was created for the sake of gaining US clergymen’s support for the Zionist cause. Both groups worked for the adoption of the Baltimore Program, which insisted in the establishment of the Jewish state. This resulted in both Democrats and Republicans to support the Zionist goals. Harry Truman’s (1945-1953) rise to power was a triumph for Zionists as he was supportive to their cause. The U.S. government pressured its fellow the British for opening the doors of immigration for Jews who were escaping the Holocaust. The APC and the CCP came together under the American Christian Palestine Committee to pressure the U.S. government and the UN for the establishment of a Jewish state. Truman was the first to recognize the State once it

declared its independence. Truman justified his support with a statement "I'm sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism: I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents." (qtd. in Tharoor). Therefore, Truman acted in accordance with the ambitions and expectations of the Americans that he had to represent. His attitude towards Zionism helped him win another term of presidency. Short before he left office, Truman described himself as "Cyrus" who centuries ago allowed Jews to enter their land.

However, despite the U.S. support was merely political, it changed by the second half of the 1960s. Because the U.S was seen in a state of moral decay in the 1960s, some religious revivalists emerged among the public and politicians. The Israeli victory in the 1967 War proved to be enormously affective to the Americans beliefs. It was perceived as miraculous and evoked the biblical prophecy that has been waited by the Christians of America. This influenced even literature as a huge number of books were sold as they endorsed the End Times²² as a theme. The rise of the Christian Right has also contributed to fostering the beliefs held by the American public. Those beliefs pushed the government to act in accordance with them. Since the end of 1967 War onward, Israel received and still receiving costly American economic and military support. Ronald Regan (1981-1989) believed in Armageddon, in the light of the Israeli attacks on Iraq's nuclear reactor as he stated "I swear I believe Armageddon is near" (24). Israel's victory in the 1973 War reinforced the American attitudes of support for Israel. The military aid given to Israel since then increased tremendously to achieve high numbers that formalizes Israel as the closest ally to the U.S. ever.

²² According to some religious beliefs, the End Times refer the period leading to the Day of Judgment.

D. The Ways of American Support for Israel

Once the U.S. proved itself as a strong component of the Middle East after two victories in two wars in 1967 and 1973, the U.S. started backing Israel. The aid given to Israel rose to reach 800% of military aid (Zunes). This was just a beginning for upcoming ways and means of support. In addition, economic aids in form of grants were given to Israel by 1985. The sum of the military and economic grants was about \$3 billion annually by the 1980s. By 1992, the U.S. added \$2 billion for annual aid given to Israel. Those grants, including those that were considered as loans, have been forgiven. Those aids obliged the U.S. government to borrow from future revenues. More than that, there was and still existing the donations given to Israel such as the Jewish charities. All of this made Israel receive one-third of the U.S. foreign-aid budget. Thus, Israel has become stronger year after year unchallenged by its neighbors and worldwide nations. Ironically, the U.S., to establish peace in the region, had to guarantee an Israeli military superiority.

One of the reasons behind such support, which would seem realistic, is limiting the Communist threat. Israel helped keeping the Soviet ally, Syria, under the American eyes by the Israeli hands. Therefore, the Cold War served Israel to be more powerful as long as the conflict continued. The Gulf War proved that the U.S. is willing to secure Israel whenever needed. This meant that Israel became a burden upon America. Back in time, by the end of the Cold War, the enemy of the U.S. in the Middle East was the radical nationalist movements that emerged in the light of the Israeli occupation, violence and violation of the international law. It is noteworthy that the U.S. vetoed in favor of Israel 43 times whenever a resolution is raised against her ally, Israel. In some resolutions, the U.S. was the only country to support Israel via its veto. However, the U.S. could not rely on Israel in the American intervention in issues concerning the Middle Eastern region. For example, the Iranian Revolution in 1979 required the U.S. of a deployment of forces to the area that represented a threat to the

American interests. Ironically, in 2003 with the invasion of Iraq, as the history repeated itself, the U.S. again could not rely on Israel for doing the job, which meant that those costly means of support are not justified by neither strategic nor by interests.

The U.S. governments, across the succession of presidents, affirmed their support for Israel to be constant and as costly as it was or even it would increase. The American presidents from Jimmy Carter (1977-1981), Ronald Regan (1981-1989), Bill Clinton (1993-2001), George. W. Bush (2001-2009), Barack Obama (2009-2017) to the current President Donald Trump (2017-Present) have all shown their supportive attitudes in accordance with the Christian beliefs shared by the majority. It is also important to say that the majority of the officials of the U.S. governments have shown Christian denominations. Supporting Israel is one of the constants of the religious beliefs shared by the majority. For instance, in a study conducted by LifeWay Research (2017), it was found out that 80% of the Americans believe that the birth of the state of Israel was a fulfillment of a biblical prophecy as 45% approved that the Bible is the source of their beliefs on the state of Israel. The same study shows that 73% of Americans believe that Christians should support Israel's defense, as only 19% agreed that Palestinians have the right to live in the land rather than the Israelis (Rosenberg 3). Most of these perceptions were religiously and historically driven and structured. These perceptions are inherited and deeply rooted in centuries of religious dominance in the affairs of the country. The governments had to cope with those perceptions that would affect the results of the elections.

The total of U.S. aid to Israel was estimated in 2003 to be over \$140 billion (Mearsheimer and Walt 2). This would tell a lot about the unique relationship between the U.S. and Israel that never existed, and does not exist between any two other allies. From the 9/11 attacks onward, the U.S. has justified its support to Israel with their cooperation in fighting Islamic terrorism in the area. However, Islamic terrorism that Israel is fighting proved

to be only inside Palestine or even nearer to its border. For the U.S., terrorism existed in several areas but never asked for Israel assistance in fighting it. Hamas and Hezbollah never represented as a threat for the U.S. as it is for Israel only but they are considered as the enemies of the U.S. as well. In spite of the absence of American interests in protecting Israel, the Americans, due to the 9/11 attacks, believed that Arabs and Muslims to be the enemy of the U.S.; however, Israel to be a friend of the Americans in their noble mission of fighting inhumane threats.

Mearsheimer and Walt (2006) attribute the main reason of the American support for Israel to the existence of an “Israel Lobby” that is represented in the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations (CPMJO) which have the ability to influence the politics of the U.S. (13). The AIPAC was founded in 1951 under the name of American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs and achieved major success in influencing the U.S. foreign policy as it was considered as one of the strongest organizations in America. Not only had those organizations represented “the lobby” but several officials, Christian evangelicals, businessmen...etc. According to Mearsheimer and Walt, “the lobby” functions in putting pressure on the Congress as well as the executive branch of the government and attempts to prepare the public discourse to seem supportive for Israel (15). Therefore, thanks to America, Israel is able to violate any UN resolution or international law without considering any sanctions. For instance, Israel’s expansion and occupation of the Palestinian lands is still being supported by the United States. As a result, no peace would be established out of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: first, because Israel had never shown its intention to stop violating the international law; second, because the U.S. is not neutral as it taught the world that it is pro-Israel whatever the latter does; third, because the Palestinian resistance never vanished.

In December 2017, one century after the capture of Jerusalem, Donald Trump declared that the U.S. embassy to be moved to Jerusalem. This move was in itself a violation of the UN resolutions alongside obstructive to settling peace in the region. Trump, during his campaign in the 2017 elections witnessed an important evangelical support. Therefore, he appeared as the modern-day Cyrus as he would help the fulfilment of a biblical prophecy that would bring the second coming of Jesus. In an interview, Trump confessed that his action was taken for the evangelical Christian who love Israel more than the Jews do.

To conclude, the Americans, well before the rise of political Zionism, developed a perception on the Holy Land and believed in the return of Jews to their homeland. However, there were no efforts by Jews to return to the Holy Land. Furthermore, the Americans knew the Ottoman Palestine only through the Christian missionaries, the Bible, and literature. Most of the representations of the land as well as its residents were negative. With the rise of Zionism, the Zionists found in the U.S. the embracing arms of support. Moreover, the press did contribute to the reinforcement of those representations. Hence, the perceptions of the Americans were to a greater extent in favor of the Zionists. This affected politics starting from the Balfour Declaration reaching the nowadays' unique relationship of the U.S. and Israel. It began officially with the 1922 resolution, which adopted a policy that "Since then, this policy has been reaffirmed by every succeeding Administration, including the present. It has thus become the declared and traditional policy of the United States to favor the restoration of the Jewish National Home."(United State, Dept. State). Therefore, after the establishment of the state of Israel and even before, the U.S. proved to be a constant supporter for Israel. Israel's victories in its wars against its Arab neighbors made the Americans believe in the fulfilment of the biblical prophecy of the End Times. Thus, the Americans held a positive perception on Israel. From the 1970s onward, the U.S. contributed successfully to make of Israel the strongest country in the Middle Eastern region. However, the continued, costly support is

obstructing the peace process. In 2017, to satisfy the Christian evangelicals, Trump announced that Jerusalem is to be the capital city of Israel. Again, such a move would obstruct the peace process in the future.

Overall, the American foreign policy, at the beginning, towards Zionism and later towards Israel was shaped and influenced by several reasons including interests, strategic aims and the like. However, those factors did find the American mind ready and prepared for giving them the functionality they required. In brief, without having a Judeo-Christian connection alongside historical calculations with the Arab Muslims and an American orientalist-oriented perceptions on Palestine and Palestinians, Zionism and Israel would not find in the Americans the support they enjoyed and still enjoying to this day.

General Conclusion

Britain and the United States are considered the two countries that gave birth to the state of Israel via backing Zionism until the latter transformed into an independent state. Both countries hosted Zionism and upheld policies that were in favor of Zionism even long time before the emergence of the latter. When Zionism came to existence, it did seek support in Germany and the Ottomans but its calls were rejected by either power. However, when the Zionists turned to Britain and the U.S., they found a fertile ground for seeking support in theory and in practice as well. To track the reasons that led the British and Americans to embrace Zionism and support the state of Israel later, a revisiting of the events that took place decades earlier is required.

Well before the emergence of Zionism, there were a number of British and American Christian Zionists, who believed in the return of the Jews to their homeland. Their beliefs were driven by the religious beliefs came with the Protestant Reformation. Though different were the religious sects, the majority of them had the belief that by the return of the Jews to the Holy Land, the second coming would take place. Therefore, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Americans and British knew the Holy Land through the eyes of the Bible. Another contributor to the structuring of their perceptions was the missionaries sent to the Middle Eastern region. The Ottoman Palestine was depicted negatively as well as its Muslim Arab residents.

Thereafter, by the rise of political Zionism and the failure of the latter to find support elsewhere, the Zionists turned to Britain to seek support and legitimize their aspirations. In the British, they found a fertile ground shaped and structured by religion and early perceptions of the Holy Land. The British offered several proposals of places wherein the Zionists would establish their homeland as they suffered from persecution in Russia by the turn of the

nineteenth century. However, the Zionists rejected those proposals and waited for the perfect timing to get an official statement of policy from the British. By the outbreak of the WWI, the Zionists rushed to get a declaration from the British government. Similarly, the Arabs were allying themselves with the British aspiring to establish an Arab kingdom. Likewise, the French were discussing with the British the division plan of the Ottoman legacy after seizing it of the Ottomans. The Zionist dream was transformed by the British into a reality via the Balfour Declaration on 2 November 1917. The Balfour Declaration before its issuance required blessings from Washington, which heartily gave its blessing to the declaration. The main figures, who introduced the most important document in the Zionist history, were James Balfour, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson. The three men were religious of a Christian education, which held the belief that the Holy Land had to be for the Jews. Another British figure that supported Zionism enormously was Winston Churchill who described himself as Moses of his time and acted accordingly. It is to be said, that the Balfour Declaration came in a perfect timing while the Zionists negotiated with the appropriate part, who shared with them a historical and religious connection. Another factor that played a major role in supporting the Balfour Declaration was the historical revenge by the “British Crusader” against the Muslim Arabs. Thus, the right of self-determination was not given to the Arabs who were seen as backward, ignorant and incapable of self-governing. The voice of Arab Palestinians never found welcoming neither in Britain nor in the U.S.

When it came to practice, Britain was granted the mandate over Palestine by the League of Nations for the sake of facilitating the establishment of a Jewish national home. Meanwhile, in the U.S there was a joint resolution passed in favor of the same goals as the British. Britain allowed the Zionists to build their homeland through the creation of numerous and various institutions with an open door for Jewish immigration. Whenever the British attempted to infringe the Zionists with a new policy, it found an American pressure to repeal

it. By the outbreak of WWII, Britain adopted a new policy of limiting the Jewish immigration in the 1939 White Paper. Consequently, the Americans through the American Palestine Committee pressured for its annulment and for an immediate admission of Jews who were escaping the Holocaust. Truman, who was a prominent supporter of Zionism, rose to power in 1945. He confessed that his support for Zionism was because he had to cope up with the American public opinion. Once Israel declared its independence, the U.S. was the first to recognize it. Such an early recognition was a statement undertaken by the government in accordance with a public sentiment amongst the Americans that was too supportive for Zionists. After Israel's independence, Britain recognized it in 1949 paving the way for upcoming military support in Israel's wars in the region. Britain was one of the main suppliers of Israel of armament during the Suez Crisis and in 1967 and 1973 wars. For the U.S., as Israel proved to be strong, the American public had recalled the belief in the biblical prophecy of the End Times. Thus, the U.S. governments since 1967 onward launched huge economic and military aids to be granted to Israel. Though the U.S. was granting Israel costly aid, it never relied on it in its wars in the region. Those wars were to some extent for the reason of maintaining the security of Israel. Another factor that would explain why the U.S. supports Israel constantly is the existence of a "lobby" that affects the politics and the public as well. This "lobby" is represented in the evangelical Christians, the AIPAC and some other government officials.

Overall, the British and American support for Zionism (the state of Israel later) was fueled by numerous and various factors. This support could be justified by several reasons; some of interests, others of strategic functions, others of war measures ...etc. However, the main reasons, that made the British and American mind, public, and governments prepared for any sort of endorsement of the Zionist cause, were represented in the religious beliefs held by the majority of Christian American and British people alongside the orientalist perceptions

held on the Arabs and the Ottoman Palestine. In addition, the spirit of revenge of the Crusades, which finally came for both American and British Christians who eagerly longed for emptying the Holy Land of the Muslims, played also a decisive role. All of these were reinforced by the media to influence the public and governments to act in accordance with those factors. That is to say, the Zionists, thanks to Christian Zionism, found the American and British mind prepared and ready to empty the Holy Land of Arab Muslims and restore the European superior Jews to the Holy Land. Thus, the governments of both countries adopted policies in favor of Zionism (the state of Israel later) and committed themselves to continue supporting it until today.

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Thème : Le Soutien Anglo-Américain au Sionisme : Israël de l'émergence à l'autonomisation

Présenté par : LAOUR Mohammed

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Ce mémoire se concentre sur les politiques étrangères britanniques et américaines à l'égard du sionisme depuis les tout premiers temps avant et après la naissance du mouvement sioniste passant par l'État israélien aux relations anglo-américaines-israéliennes actuelles. Il essaie d'explorer pourquoi seuls les États-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne ont aidé les sionistes et les ont soutenus jusqu'aujourd'hui. En outre, il examine les caractéristiques d'un tel soutien qui était sans précédent dans l'Histoire. Alors que les Juifs étaient persécutés et haïs dans le monde entier, ils trouvèrent une fenêtre d'espoir dans l'arène politique britannique et américaine. Donc, en utilisant une méthode qualitative à orientation historique centrée sur la Politique, la Culture et la Religion, cette recherche examine les raisons qui ont façonné les politiques étrangères britannique et américaine, qui ont commencé avec sympathie et se sont terminées par un soutien aveugle et coûteux. Peu à peu, ce travail retrace l'histoire des Juifs, puis suit la montée en puissance des sionistes en commençant par la Grande-Bretagne qui a accueilli le projet sioniste pour, enfin, le transmettre aux États-Unis. Cette recherche permet de mieux comprendre comment la Religion, la Culture et l'Histoire ont façonné les politiques étrangères britannique et américaine envers le sionisme et Israël.

Mots clés : sionisme, politique étrangère, juifs, Israël, le soutien Anglo-Américain



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الشعبة: لغة إنجليزية

التخصص: ادب وحضارة انجليزية

عنوان المذكرة: الدعم الأنجلو أمريكي للصهيونية: إسرائيل من الظهور إلى التقوية

تقديم الطالب: العور محمد

الأستاذ المؤطر: عربي براهيم

ملخص المذكرة:

تركز هذه الأطروحة على السياسات الخارجية البريطانية والأمريكية تجاه الصهيونية منذ القدم، قبل وبعد ولادة الحركة الصهيونية، والتي توجت بقيام دولة إسرائيل وصولاً إلى العلاقات الأنجلو-أمريكية-إسرائيلية في الوقت الحاضر، إذ تحاول الأطروحة استكشاف الأسباب التي أدت إلى دعم كل من الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا فقط للصهاينة واستمرارهما في دعمهم حتى اليوم. إلى جانب ذلك، يهتم البحث بكشف مظاهر هذا الدعم الذي لم يسبق له مثيل في التاريخ فقد تعرض اليهود للاضطهاد والكرهية في جميع أنحاء العالم عبر قرون من الزمن، ليجدوا أخيراً نافذة أمل في الساحة السياسية البريطانية والأمريكية. لذلك باستعمال طريقة كيفية موجهة تاريخياً تركز على السياسة، الثقافة والدين، يبت هذا البحث في الأسباب التي شكلت السياسة الخارجية البريطانية والأمريكية، والتي بدأت بتعاطف وانتهت بدعم أعمى ومكلف. يتتبع هذا العمل تدريجياً، تاريخ اليهود ثم يتبع صعود نفوذ الصهاينة بدءاً من بريطانيا التي استضافت المشروع الصهيوني لتسلمه أخيراً إلى الولايات المتحدة. بالمختصر، يوفر هذا البحث فهماً أوضح لكيفية تأثير الدين والثقافة والتاريخ على تشكيل السياسة الخارجية البريطانية والأمريكية تجاه الصهيونية وإسرائيل.

● الكلمات المفتاحية: الصهيونية، السياسة الخارجية، اليهود، إسرائيل، الدعم الأنجلو أمريكي