

## ISRAEL'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST\*

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### INTRODUCTION

Modern Zionism is the ideology, the practical politics and a system of organisations of the wealthy Jewish bourgeoisie, which has allied itself with the monopoly circles of imperialist countries. There is a high degree of cooperation between the ruling circles of the imperialist powers and the Israeli militarists. As a reactionary system serving particular interests, Zionism is a class phenomenon.

Much has been written about the ideology and organisation of Zionism since it has made its appearance at the close of the Nineteenth Century as well as the circumstances of the birth of Israel.<sup>1</sup> Although Israel has been in existence only for a little over two decades, much has been written on this country, especially by contemporary Western writers. But quite a few of their monographs are of little scientific value, because they mainly represent subjectivistic approaches, at times subsidised by wealthy Zionist organisations. Hence, they help to create, as observed by Ferdynand Zweig<sup>2</sup>, numerous myths, whose weight the native-born Israeli is expected to feel. The myths concerning the Holy Book, the Holy Land, Redemption, the Continuity of Israel, the Return, the Fulfilment, the Exile, the Special Creativity of Israel, Israel as the Embodiment of

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1 Apart from the publications of Uri Avnery, W.T. Mallison, J.W. Parker, Harry L. Shapiro, Barbara W. Tuchman, R. de Vaux, H.M. Orlinsky, T. Draper, I. Cohen, Marvin Lowenthal, J.J. Petuchowsky, Nahum Sokolow, A.M. Lilienthal, Galina Nikitina, Yuri Ivanov and Sir G.A. Smith, the penetrating works by the Research Center of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the academic monographs of the Arab universities, this writer has also published the following: Türkkaya Ataöv, "Filistin Sorununun Ardındaki Gerçek: İsrail'in Kuruluşuna Kadar," (The Truth Behind the Palestine Question: Up To The Creation of Israel) *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Ankara, Vol. XXV, No.3, s. 29-66.

2 *Israel: the Sword and the Harp*, London, 1969.

Jewery, the Founding Fathers, the Solution of the Jewish Question, the Centrality of Israel and the Fuller Jewish Life may all be summarized into the belief of the "uniqueness and miraculousness of Israel." These myths aim at mobilizing the Western world, shrouding the reality from the eyes of the African and Asian peoples and creating the impression of a "socialist state", a democratic society based on the kibbutz and the Histadrut.

However, the state system of Israel, its domestic and foreign policies reveal an alliance with the major imperialist powers, especially the United States of America. Hence, this paper will try to analyze the structure of the Israeli society, including its official system, social classes and political parties, the links between contemporary Israeli leadership and world monopoly circles and the expansionist foreign policy of Israel, with a view to evaluate the present role of that state in the service of imperialism.

## I. THE STATE SYSTEM OF ISRAEL

This section does not intend to relate the particularities of the unwritten Constitution or the laws that govern the Israeli society; it will merely attempt to show the links between the characteristics of that republic and its role in the service of imperialism.<sup>3</sup>

Israel is a state where power rests in the hands of the rich bourgeoisie and where the ideology of Zionism dominates all walks of life. The state apparatus and most of the political parties are definitely within its influence. The official view is that Israel is a homogeneous Jewish state, with no antagonism among the individuals. However, the interests of the government is closely linked with those of local and foreign capital, with the inevitable influence on the domestic and foreign policy. The Israeli society is swiftly developing towards polarisation. There is a small group of millionaires getting richer everyday and the majority of the working class succumbing to deteriorating conditions.

The system of political parties reflects this social polarisation. Mafpai, Mapam and the Achdut Ha'avoda constitute the so-called labour parties. The Liberal Party, the Independent Labour Party and the fascist Herut are all middle class organisations. All of them are Zionist. These Zionist parties influence political life and control economic organisations. Their programs are astonishingly similar. It is important from

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Badi, *Fundamental Laws of the State of Israel*, New York, 1961; O. Kraines, *Government and Politics in Israel*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1961.

our point of view that they all agree on the need to attract foreign (principally American) capital. In foreign policy, there is no difference of opinion in respect to the most crucial questions, such as relations with the United States or expansionism at the expense of the Arab neighbours. The Israeli Zionist political parties are component parts of the world Zionist movement. They have constant contacts with the Jewish communities abroad, from where they receive wide support, notably financial aid. Such Israeli parties serve as permanent channels of contact with the Zionist elements abroad, which act in unison with imperialism.

Some of these parties pose as left or social-democratic organisations.<sup>4</sup> For instance, Mapai (or the *Mifleget Poalei Erets Israel*, Labour Party of Israel), which has been described by some Western writers as a socialist party, pursues anti-working class policies in the interests of capital and imperialism. The Mapai leaders have acted in alliance with the Right-wing middle class parties and have endorsed aggressive foreign policy. Mapai is directly responsible for the aggressions against the Arab countries in 1956 and in 1967.

Similarly, Mapam and Achdut Ha'avoda have participated in the Mapai-led coalition governments. They have served as Left-wing covers for a pro-imperialistic, expansionist policy. As a partner of the coalition government, Mapai took part in the June 1967 aggression. Achdut Ha'avoda's motto "active self-defense" brought it to the same camp with Israeli leadership in the common program of expansion and collaboration with imperialism.

The largest bourgeois party was perhaps the Liberal Party, formed in 1961 after the merger of the General Zionist and Progressive Parties. The General Zionist Party, founded by Chaim Weizmann in 1907, represents big business and hence opposes government control over private enterprise. It favoured foreign capital and allied itself with the fascist Herut during the 1956 and 1967 aggressions. It has always had close connections with the society of big businessmen, industrialists and real estate owners. The Liberal Party, which has envisaged unlimited rights for the local bourgeoisie, and Israel's further militarisation, later called for the creation of "Greater Israel", in conformity with the Herut. The Herut Party is an extremist, pro-fascist organisation, which incorporated the Irgun and the Stern terrorist groups. Herut is financially backed by the big industrial and financial circles. That party has been in favor of a "preventive war" against the Arabs. The clerical parties have also

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<sup>4</sup> Alfred Sherman, "Israeli Socialism and the Multi-Party System," *The World Today*, London, Vol. XVII, No.5 (May 1961), pp. 218 f.

supported the government's attack in 1967. The Communist Party of Israel, on the other hand, pursues a Marxist line.

The Histadrut, or the General Federation of Labour in Israel, with a membership of over a million, is the largest public organisation and the most important economic body in the state. Open to all workers, the Histadrut engages in trade union organisation, economic development, social insurance and educational-cultural activities. Its members also include those working in the collectives, cooperatives and private villages. In addition, minors below 18 belong to the youth affiliate of the Histadrut. This organisation, founded in 1920 as a "national instrument of Zionism", is under the influence of the Mapai, which formulates its policies. The Histadrut, too, has cooperated in the 1956 and 1967 aggressions.

From the amount of propaganda disseminating from some Western sources one may be led to imagine that a different type of society might exist in rural Israel. One may think that the rural areas are covered with kibbutzim<sup>5</sup> from one end to the other. However, the truth is that the number of the people in the kibbutzim have always been a very low percentage (some 6 %) of the Jewish population and that this percentage has been steadily going down, having now reached a meager 3 %. Secondly, the kibbutzim share of the cultivated area is continually falling. The kibbutz movement has lost its moral impulse, and the kibbutz worker is no longer the Israeli ideal. The elements of collectivism in these communal farms are utilized by the Zionist ideologues to propagate "Israeli socialism." Israel has been maintaining that the kibbutz is suitable for some developing countries, especially in Africa. The first kibbutzim were established in Palestine as early as 1909. It was then the most effective form of farming. But it acquired the characteristics of a military settlement, thereby linking itself to the illegal alienation of land from the original Arab owners. Moreover, the kibbutzim are adapting themselves to the development of capitalism in Israel as a whole. There is a growing social stratification, inequality being observed among the executive aristocracy and the rank-and-file, in the housing facilities, in training and in education.<sup>6</sup> More importantly, the kibbutz is in no way an "island of socialism", mainly because the means of production in the kibbutz settlements do not in fact belong to the col-

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5 Raul Teitelbaum, *The Kibbutz in Contemporary Israeli Reality*, Telaviv, 1954; E. Kanovsky, *The Economy of the Israeli Kibbutz*, Harvard, 1966. For a Soviet study, see: *Narody Azii i Afriki*, No.3 (1965), pp. 190-198.

6 Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a 'Classless' Society (Kibbutzim in Israel)", *American Sociological Review*, (December 1951), pp. 769 ff.

lective agriculturists, but to the banks and other creditors. Within the context of the Israeli state and economy, even the kibbutz is subject to collective exploitation. The four national organisations<sup>7</sup> of the kibbutz movement are all linked with the World Zionist Organisation and the various Zionist political parties.

## II. ISRAEL'S ALLIANCE WITH THE WEST AND AND HER AGGRESSIVE FOREIGN POLICY

In the preceding section I have tried to show where power rests in the state of Israel and which world centers are in alliance with it. It is obvious that the stage is set for Western influence of Israel's domestic policies. This is even more true of Israel's foreign policy. No doubt, the imperialistic forces of the West have certain ambitions in the Middle East and North Africa. But the Israeli ruling circles also have their own expansionist aims which coincide with the interests of international imperialism.

A U.S. House of Representatives document<sup>8</sup> well defines the strategic importance of Israel for the West. It is acknowledged there that Israel is a bridge between three continents, with a relatively long coast line, a major sea port (Haifa) and an air port (Lydda). She is close to the Suez Canal and the air bases in Egypt. She is also adjacent to the oil-rich areas. Given the circumstances of Israel's creation, her state structure and her connections with the imperialist circles, Israel was assigned a role against the national liberation movements and the progressive forces.

The U.S. Government recognised Israel eleven minutes after its official proclamation. The first U.S. Ambassador James G. McDonald was appointed by President Truman and given official status before the Israeli Government had sent the necessary *agrément*. The American advisers who poured into the country gained control of many spheres of life in Israel. The American Jewish League for Israel, established in the U.S. in 1957, included, as honorary members, leading American financiers and industrialists. Over fifty American Jewish institutions became active. The amount of money, which had started to pour in, was to beco-

7 Ihud Hakibbutzim Vehakvutzot, Hakibbutz Haartzi Hashomer Hatzair, Hakibbutz Hameuchad and Hakibbutz Hadati.

8 *The Mutual Security Programme: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Eighty-Second Congress, First Session* (June 26-July 31, 1951), Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. 644-647.

me so great, in the words of Harlan Cleveland,<sup>9</sup> as to bring into question the capacity of the recipient to absorb efficiently.

The United States Government signed a number of initial agreements with Israel. The Informational Media Guaranty Programme, an economic cooperation agreement signed in 1952, enabled the acceptance into Israel books, periodicals, paper, printshop and laboratory equipment. The educational exchange programs gave the U.S. the opportunity to influence the educational system in Israel. In 1952, the U.S. signed with Israel a military agreement, published in the official newspaper *Reshumot* as late as 1961. The Air Transport Agreement of 1950 had already given the U.S. the right to use Israeli territory as a strategic springboard. Part of the initial loans were used on the construction of ports, bases and railways. The Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement of 1952 urged Israel to place her war and economic potential in the service of the U.S. Since then, the military "aid" has been going a qualitative change. It began as military equipment, then turned to defensive military weapons such as the Hawk missiles and led to offensive weapons in the form of Skyhawk bombers. The Skyhawks carry not only regular weapons, chemical weapons and torpidos for naval attack, but also nuclear bombs and missiles. The United States has come to use Israel as a weapon to intimidate the Arab peoples. The Israeli rulers have turned their country into an accomplice of imperialism and naturally evoked the expected reaction to such a policy.

British policy towards Israel was determined by the British desire to crush the national liberation movements in the Middle East. The claims and counter-claims arising out of the ending of the British Mandate in Palestine were replaced by the British capital investments in Israel and the supply of weapons. She has been giving military equipment to Israel, especially since 1956, which marks the joint aggression of Britain, France and Israel to Egypt.<sup>10</sup>

French relations with Israel improved after 1956. However, France departed from her unequivocal support of Israel, later condemning the 1967 aggression.<sup>11</sup>

9 Harlan Cleveland, "Commentary," *Tensions in the Middle East*, ed. Philip Thayer, Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1958, pp.233-234.

10 In Britain, there are more than thirty associations backing Israel. These include the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Union of Jewish Women, the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland and the Federation of Zionist Youth.

11 There are some twenty Jewish organisations in France. The leading ones are the *Union des Associations Culturelles Israélites de France et d'Algerie*, *Association Culturelle Séphardite de Paris*, *Association Consistoriale Israélite de Paris*, *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine*, *Conseil Rabbiniqne Orthodoxe en France*, *Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France* and *Conseil Représentatif du Judaïsme Traditionaliste*.

Israel's relations with the Federal Republic of Germany improved with the signing of the reparations agreement in 1952. This deal opened for German imperialism the door for penetration into the Middle East. Israel was here again acting as a cooperating springboard. German reparations payments poured into Israel at the convenient time of the 1956 hostilities. German friendship was important as Bonn carried weight in NATO and the European Common Market.<sup>12</sup> In Germany as well there are about ten Jewish organisations that work to develop ties between Israel and the FRG.<sup>13</sup>

What has been said above indicates that the role given to Israel by the imperialist powers and the expansionist plans of Israel's ruling circles are the two sides of the same coin. This coincidence of purpose may be seen throughout the history of Israel. Israeli expansionism became more evident as the imperialist powers turned more and more active in the area.

It is no wonder that such aggressive policy has made the Israeli society a highly militarized one. The nucleus of the Israeli Army had been the Haganah and the Jewish Brigade (which was previously a part of the British Army). After independence, the Israeli officers started to receive training in the American, British and French military colleges. The new immigrants were given heavy military training, the young were admitted to the army, an effective mobilisation system of the reservists was created and priority was attached to strategic industries. So, when Israel was about to launch her 1956 aggression, the army was prepared in terms of material, skill and morale. Centurion and Patton tanks, Skyhawk jets and other sophisticated weapons came after 1956.

Israel's militarisation went hand in hand with the efforts to set up military pacts in the Middle East. Israel showed signs of supporting the Middle East Command project, submitted to all concerned as early as 1951, while the Arabs seemed determined to reject it. Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett's visit to Washington culminated in the U.S.-Israeli Agreement of July 23, 1952. The growing frontier clashes finally led to large-scale military confrontations. Hence, Israel was ready for an attack on Egypt long before the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company. The U.S. was not involved in the 1956 aggression, but knew that Egypt would be attacked.<sup>14</sup> The U.S. was counting on the weake-

<sup>12</sup> A.J.Fisher, "Israel and the German Federal Republic," *Contemporary Review*, London, No.1099 (July 1957), p. 100f; *Narody Azii i Afriki*, No.4 (1963), pp. 48-53.

<sup>13</sup> Most prominent of them are the Central Jewish Council in Germany, the Council of Bavarian Jewish Communities and the Jewish Communities of Lower Saxony.

<sup>14</sup> Anthony Eden, *The Memoirs of Anthony Eden: Full Circle*, Boston, 1960.

ning of the progressive Arab regimes as well as winning new positions in the area. The Eisenhower Doctrine proclaimed in 1957 indicated that the United States had decided to outstrip the other Western colonial powers. This doctrine aimed at intervening in the domestic affairs of the Middle Eastern countries and suppressing the liberation movements in the Arab world. Israel formally approved it on May 21, 1957.

Following Ben Gurion's visits to the Western capitals, the agreement of 1962 was achieved regarding the shipment of American Skyhawk aircraft. This was an important step in U.S. policy in deepening the conflict between Israel and the Arabs. The official announcement of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1965 was followed by an agreement on economic aid in 1966. The Israeli Assistant Defense Minister Tzvi Dinstein flew to Washington the same year to sign a new agreement to procure additional American Skyhawk aircraft. These developments showed that the Israeli leaders were heading towards a military confrontation with the Arabs.

The analysis of facts induces one to believe that the 1967 war was one launched by imperialism against forces which opposed it. Israeli expansion was merely utilized as a tool towards that end. Neither before, nor during Israel's aggression, and for that matter not even after it, has the United States uttered a word of condemnation addressed to the Israeli military.

On May 14, a military parade took place in Jerusalem to mark the anniversary of Israel. The parade in that city was boycotted by many diplomatic representatives as a sign of disapproval of Israel's unilateral decision to move the capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Likewise, General Odd Bull, the Chief of the United Nations peace keeping forces, did not attend the event. The holding of a military parade in a demilitarized zone was a provocation as well as a violation of the ruling principles. The French daily *Le Monde*<sup>15</sup> was perhaps the only paper to write about an Israeli plan for an "all-out assault against Syria." Provoking further rises in tension, Israel fired at a plane carrying General Rikhye, commanding officer of UNEF. It was U Thant and Egypt, that were criticized for the withdrawal of the UNEF, while Israel did not even admit the United Nations force on her own territory. Similarly, when President Nasser had announced that the Israeli ships would not be permitted through the Tiran Straits, nor the ships flying other flags with strategic cargoes to Israel, the term "blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba" became

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<sup>15</sup> May 14-15, 1967.



current. However, all merchant ships, except those of Israel, could call on the port of Eilat. Moreover, all states have rights to exercise their sovereignty within their own territorial waters. That was exactly the case in the Tiran Straits. The closing of the Gulf of Aqaba was not "strangling Israel", which had a long Mediterranean coast. The blockade of Aqaba did not jeopardize the existence of the state of Israel; the preservation of peace ought to have been of vital importance to that country. Western propaganda, trying to picture Israel as a poor little thing at the mercy of the Arab ocean, distorts the truth. Behind Israel are hidden great imperialist powers. In 1956, they were England and France and later the United States which could not accept the anti-imperialistic Arab neighbours of Israel. In 1967, it appeared that the imperialistic countries counted on the "total solution"—the overthrow of Nasser.

On June the 1st, Levi Eshkol appointed General Moshe Dayan, Israel's Minister of Defence, and Menahem Begin, the former leader of Irgun, became Minister without portfolio. It was believed that Israel was entrusted to the hands of the victor of Sinai in 1956. Israel spread the myth that Moshe Dayan accomplished a super-human task in rallying the army and the people, organizing them, drawing up the military plans and leading them to battle and to victory in exactly three days. The truth was that the decision to make war had been taken long ago. Randolph and Winston Churchill quote General Ezer Weizmann in their *The Six Day War*: "We have got a plan for everything - even for capturing the North Pole." And General Mordechai Hod said the following on the years of campaign planning: "We lived with the plan, we slept on the plan, we ate the plan. Constantly, we perfected it".<sup>16</sup>

During the war, Israeli acts went far beyond "defence". Napalm was used against the civilians, and even Indian troops of the UNEF were killed in the Gaza Strip on the pretense that they were fighting on the Egyptian side. The maltreatment of the Arab prisoners of war defied all humanitarian principles. Arab towns and villages were razed to the ground. There were humiliations, violence, plunder and mass executions. The Israeli leaders announced the *Anschluss* of Jerusalem, other Jordanian territory, the Golan Heights and the Sinai. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs were forced, once more, to take refuge from violence and displacement. Israel created the refugee problem over and over again to use it as an instrument of pressure on the neighbouring Arabs as well as to prepare for new territory for planned immigration. All the aforemen-

<sup>16</sup> pp.65 and 91, respectively.

tioned are evidences of conquest on the part of Israel, not of desire to live in peaceful co-existence.

Adnan Pachachi, the Iraqi delegate to the United Nations, had well-expressed Israel's situation just after the aggression:

"The Zionist invasion draws its inspiration and driving force from the dreams and aspirations of those tormented souls, the products of the European ghettos. The countless years of humiliation and oppression inflicted upon the Jewish people in Europe, culminating in the Hitlerite holocaust, have left, it seems, a deep scar in the spiritual make-up of the European Jews who today guide the destinies of Israel. All the frustrations and hatreds of centuries are now finding an outlet in the unparalleled savagery with which the Arabs of Palestine are treated. But what a cruel irony of fate that the Arabs in whose lands the Jews found a haven and refuge from the unspeakable horrors of Medieval Europe are today the victims of a persecution of such relentless intensity...

"The attitude of the United States Government has unfortunately confirmed our worst suspicions. It now seems the established policy of this Government that Israel shall be their trusted instrument to further American interests and ambitions in the Arab world".<sup>17</sup>

The real cause of Israel's actions may be understood when one grasps the extent to which that country's ruling circles remain under the influence of monopolist capital. The large conference of international financial and industrial magnates and attended by seventy Jewish businessmen proved whose interests were served by Israel and who was the real ruler of that country.<sup>18</sup> Israel cannot maintain her armed forces relying exclusively on her own resources. The imperialist powers have regarded Israel as their instrument in the oil-rich region of the Middle East, as an outpost to block the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples and as a base to look after Western strategic interests.

Arguments full of chauvinism and threats were heard during the 70th anniversary session of the World Zionist Organization, convened in Basel on September 24, 1967. From what General Itzhok Rabin, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, and others have stated, one may deduce the conclusion that Israel is looking forward for an absolute political liquidation of states like Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.

<sup>17</sup> Provisional Verbatim Record, A/PV. 1537, June 27, 1967, 5th Extraordinary Session of the U.N. General Assembly quoted in Jan Dziejcie and Tadeusz Walichnowski, *Background of the Six-Day War*, Warsaw, Interpress Publishers, 1961, pp. 72-73.

<sup>18</sup> For the conference, see: *Observer*, August 6, 1967.

It is important to note that, besides the United States, the German Federal Republic also lends support to Israel's aggressive policies. The arms which contributed to Israel's military victories had been supplied by the GFR in accordance with the reparations agreement. Apart from the political philosophy of the German militarists, the 1967 war also served to demonstrate the effectiveness of West German weapons, including the anti-tank Cobra missiles. That war had proved as well that a small but mobile army could gain supremacy over a numerically stronger enemy and seize considerable part of the latter's territory. It is possible that some Western militarists have pondered on the possibilities of transferring this experience to Europe. It should be added here that the West German nuclear scientists have been very active in Israel, which has often strived to use the atom bomb as an instrument of force in her dialogue with the Arabs. The Negev desert was envisaged as an underground nuclear explosions and missile-launching site. The Israeli desert has become for the West German scientists a springboard for the implementation of their desire to acquire nuclear weapons.

Apparently, imperialism has made a correct choice in selecting Israel as its tool of waging war. What the Western imperialists would not dare to undertake a well-armed Israel volunteered to do. Israel certainly has her own nationalistic gains. But, taken the situation in the world and particularly in the Middle East, Israel has become a tool of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Israel's previous penetration into Africa should also be evaluated in this context. She spared no effort to make for herself a place in Africa with the purpose of undoing the results of the Arab boycott no less than to find outlet for her own ambitions. Africa, first of all, is a huge source of raw materials. Israel has tried to bind the African industries to the wheel of her own economy. She greatly benefitted from the low cost of production, based on cheap labour and abundant raw materials. The Israeli companies have helped the manufacture of those items easily marketable in Israel. For instance, the establishment of plants in Kenya or Ivory Coast aimed at producing wooden boxes for Israel's citrus crop. Some African countries were economically tied to Israel through industries or plantations using Israeli machinery. It was the Histadrut of Israel that carried labour and cooperative activities in Africa.

More importantly, Israel stood against all liberation movements on that continent. She has given support to the minority racialist government in South Africa. For years, she has played a relatively invisible but strategically important role in counter-revolutionary activities with the help of the United States and the Federal German Republic to sub-

vert the independence of several African states. The U.S. Government has helped in shaping the style and substance of Israeli assistance to Africa. Such assistance had been concentrated in the strategically important areas, with emphasis on military training with direct counter-insurgency applications. There had been reports about the capture of "Uzi" automatic Israeli guns from the Portuguese in Angola.<sup>19</sup> Israel's Unholy Alliance with South Africa "is not an arbitrary proposition nor a sheer coincidence".<sup>20</sup> Paul Giniewski bases his book entitled *The Two Faces of Apartheid*<sup>21</sup> on the ideological affinity and practical collaboration between Israeli Zionism and South African apartheid. Israel supplies the racist regimes with arms and military advisers.<sup>22</sup> Such relations may only be described as "suicidal" for Israel.<sup>23</sup> It has indeed proved to be so; many African countries cut off diplomatic relations with her.

Israel has also tried to become a part of Asia. She failed and has probably abandoned the attempt. She was bound to fail, because Israel and Zionism were not only non-Asian, but also anti-Asian. It had fallen to the lot of Jawaharlal Nehru to warn the Arabs at the Bandung Conference in 1955 that the danger does not come so much from Israel herself as from the much powerful forces behind that state.<sup>24</sup> After Bandung it was accepted that Israel would not be invited to any Afro-Asian or non-aligned conferences. It is also important that each successive conference condemns Israel in stronger terms. Conversely, the Israeli commentators assume that what is good for Afro-Asia is bad for Israel. The following official and unofficial gatherings were strongly critical of Israel. The verdict of the Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, held in Cairo in 1958, that the State of Israel was an imperialist base that threatened the progress and security of the Middle East was repeated by Afro-Asian jurists, journalists, youth and women at conferences held in Guinea, Indonesia, Algeria, Tanzania, Ghana or elsewhere.

A study of the voting pattern in the United Nations shows a shift of sympathy away from Israel. Countries like Malawi, Lesotho, Swazi-

19 S.R. Salman, *Israel and Counter-Insurgency in Africa*, [Beirut,] Center for Palestine Studies, 1974, p.7.

20 George J. Tomeh, *Israel and South Africa*, New York, New World Press, 1973, p.48.

21 Paul Giniewski, *The Two Faces of Apartheid*, Chicago, Henry Regnery Co., 1965, p.xvi.

22 The Libyan Arab Republic, Ministry of Information and Culture, *Israeli Penetration in Africa*, Tripoli, the General Administration for Information, 1974, p. 15.

23 Türkkiye Ataöv, "İsrail'in İntihar İlişkileri," *Yeni Halkçı*, Ankara, 4 Kasım 1973; ———, "İsrail'in Afrika'daki Durumu," *ibid.*, 28 Ekim 1973; ———, "İsrail-İrkçi Güney Afrika İttifakı mı?" *Barış*, Ankara, 21 Şubat 1974.

24 G.H. Jansen, *Zionism, Israel and Asian Nationalism*, Beirut, the Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971, p. xiv.

land and Botswana, which have, in the past, supported Israel, are utterly dependent on the racist South African regime (apart from the fact that they are minuscule states). Israel's friends almost habitually have foreign military bases on their territory. Israel found friends among the small, weak and conservative countries closely linked economically and even militarily with one or the other European power.

### III. THE IMPACT OF AGGRESSIVE FOREIGN POLICY ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE

The inflow of huge sums of money from abroad is the answer to how Israel is able to surmount her economic difficulties especially during the initial years, and indulge in aggressions although she possesses no production potential towards that end. It should be emphasized here that such unprecedented financing pursues aims other than the country's economic development.

The structure of Israel's foreign currency debt proves American participation, during the Sinai campaign, in terms of financing Israel. While the United States Government temporarily suspended official aid to Israel, donations flew from American sources after the 1956 aggression. The Israeli rulers tried to undo the effects of the campaign on the country's economy by leaning more heavily on the imperialist powers and also by instituting new taxes on the working masses.

For years, Palestine has been an integral part of a larger supplementary complex. It is natural that Palestine should have economic relations with the neighbouring Arab countries. Israel, which has no relations with the surrounding Arab world, is totally lacking in raw materials. The country grows citrus fruits, but agriculture generally does not meet the needs of the people in many foodstuffs. Industries are poorly developed, and the foreign trade deficit is enormous.

When the economy received a boost in 1968 it was due to the expansion of industries linked with war production. Similarly, some Israeli publications state an abundance of agricultural produce, but fail to indicate whether it is on account of a decline in the purchasing power of the masses. State capital serves the interests of local private and foreign monopoly capital. The state sector is bound hand and foot to the latter. For instance, Israel's largest paper mill at Hadera is controlled by U.S. capital. The American Kaizer-Frazer Company runs a large car-assembly plant. Oil prospecting is in the hands of private capital. The import pattern demonstrates Israel's dependence on the key industrial raw materials and manufactured goods coming from abroad. However,

the main cause of her growing foreign trade deficit has been importing increasing numbers of aircraft. Hence, the adoption of additional budgets is a standing phenomenon in Israel. Military expenditures amount to a high percentage of the budgets. For instance, in 1969, that is, after the 1967 aggression, the military expenditures totalled 54.1 % of the budget. This means that considerable less money is allocated for social welfare, health, insurance and the like compared to military purposes. The government cannot stop inflation and the devaluation of the Israeli pound. The development budgets are, hence, almost entirely covered by revenues coming from abroad. About one-third of the funds are spent on the redemption of debts. Israel is heavily dependent on the financial circles of the imperialist powers.

### CONCLUSIONS

Israel is a new style of imperialist infiltration. Close contacts are maintained between Israel's rulers and the influential reactionaries in the U.S. and the other imperialist countries, through Zionist agencies. Israeli leaders promote the interests of capitalism in domestic policy and in foreign policy pursue an expansionist program. The World Zionist Organisation is the channel through which provocative deals between the Israeli leaders and international reaction are made. This organisation functions in Israel as foreign extra-state agency with broad powers. Its leadership consists of the Israeli extremists and the American Zionists, who direct the agency from New York. One may say that Israel's ruling circles constitute only a part of the U.S.-controlled Zionist concern. The Israeli Government informs the Executive of the agency of every draft law affecting the functions and powers of that agency before the draft is submitted to the Knesset.

The present-day Zionism is also based on the classical beliefs of Zionism: the existence of a united, suffering Jewish nation in the Diaspora; the solution of the Jewish problem through the acquisition of territory; and the everlasting character of anti-Semitism. The assertions concerning a world-wide united Jewish nation lead to the beliefs that the Jews were distinct, isolated and, more importantly, "chosen" and "superior". Secondly, the demand for the compulsory immigration of world Jewry into Israel connoted the "accommodation" of about 15 million people. Hence, the Arabs have every reason to regard Zionism a threat, confirmed by the 1967 aggression. And as an agent of imperialism in the Middle East, she is also a threat to international peace and security. Lastly, criticism of Zionism, which is a reactionary and an expan-

sionist ideology, has nothing to do with anti-Semitism. Present-day Zionism is the ideology of the big Jewish bourgeoisie in Israel and in the United States. It serves imperialism and assists the neo-colonialist plans aimed at the liberation forces. It cannot solve the Jewish problem; it is only the Jewish branch of imperialism. Those who are against it are merely against imperialism.