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rather Jews the world over, for the «real Jew» recognizes only one country - Israel, and Israel is not a reality unless it considers all Jews in the world as its citizens.

This fabricated view which mixes politics with religion, and the Torah with the gun, was referred to by Ben Gurion as a message of «national salvation;» it emphasizes the relationship between Israel and Jews all over the world. Israel is considered the salvation, and its historical role is to fulfill the Law of Return and to create an ongoing positive relationship between itself and Jews around the world, for the purpose of ultimately bringing them to Palestine. That this is Israel's intended role needs no further proof for one simple reason: Israel cannot continue to exist without the presence of Jews in it; nor can it maintain its prestige without fulfilling its role as the moral, political and religious trustee of the Jews of the world. Since the state of Israel is a reflection of the «Promised Land» according to the Zionist conception, then submitting to Israel is in essence submitting to the will of God.

Israel's status is determined by the nature of the relationship existing between it and Jews around the world. As Israel manages to convince more Jews to immigrate, its policy changes in relationship to the human resources it gains. This is why Israel rejects geographical restraints, and considers the demographic element a determining factor in charting its policy. The Law of Return cannot be fulfilled in principle or in practice without a complementary law - «the law of transfer» which determines the relationship of Palestinians to the Arab world. As more Jews immigrate to the «Promised Land,» more Palestinians will have to be expelled to Arab countries. Israeli politicians are especially interested in Palestinians emigrating in relation to the «Arab demographic time bomb» because the demographic reality of the Palestinians is a nightmare for Israel. Moreover, the very existence of non-Jews, in this case Palestinian Arabs, in the «Promised Land» is an impediment to the creation of an exclusive Jewish state.

Having a «transfer law» for Palestinian Arabs is in total harmony with the Zionists' logic, for the presence of Palestinian Arabs threatens the stability of the Jewish society, and stands in the way of «Greater Israel» and a «pure Jewish state.» Therefore, expelling Palestinians is viewed as a necessity, and called for by politicians, political scientists and rabbis in Israel. It was natural for the Jabotinsky camp (Likud's predecessor) to propose «population exchange» after 1948, after Ben Gurion had hinted at this option in November 1942. Such a project is based on the premise that the Jews have their country and so do the Arabs. Accordingly, the future of the Palestinians is an internal Arab matter and the responsibility of the Arab states. Concurrently, Jewish immigration is an internal Israeli matter. Israel considers as legitimate all means designed to force Palestinian Arabs out of Palestine - to their «Arab homeland.» In this way, Israeli terrorism and repression are also considered an internal Israeli issue. Zionism is inconceivable without an expulsion policy, for its absence would undermine the basis of this ideology.

The dialectical relationship between Zionist ideology and immigration makes this law a constant in the Zionist project, as has been expressed in the writings of Hertzl, Jabotinsky, Ben

Gurion and Begin, and more recently by Sharon, Peres and Shamir. The emphasis on this law fluctuates in relation to the particular situation, i.e., the ebb or flow of immigration.

The issue of immigration gained prominence after 1948 and after the 1967 Arab defeat, and again after the fundamental changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Whenever the conditions are ripe, a new Zionist immigration proposal is put forth. Meanwhile, Sharon and other Likud politicians see Jordan as the home of the Palestinians. During the early forties, there were several proposals to transfer the Palestinians to another place in the Middle East. After 1967, Levi Eshkol claimed that since Israel had embraced over 600,000 Jews from Arab countries, the latter should absorb the Palestinians. He considered the Arab states' rejection of this logic as an obstacle to peace, for pursuing peace requires recognizing the «right to return» of the «Jews in exile» to the «Promised Land,» in addition to the recognition of Israel as a state.

According to its own ideology, Israel is a state and a nation - a state which can realize itself only after the ingathering of all Jews of the world. Israel cannot exist as a state without its claimed existence as a nation, due to its peculiarity which necessitates the Law of Return, and asserts that Israel is the only place in the world with no relatives in terms of language, origin and religion. Israel claims to be unique in that it is the only Jewish state in the world.

In the Zionist rationale, this quality of being an orphan compels Israel to embrace the Jews of the world materially and morally. This in turn creates an organic relationship between expulsion (of Palestinians) and Judaization, because it is assumed that Jews will not immigrate to Israel unless they find their culture and national identity there. According to this definition, a «true Jew» should distinguish between a place and a homeland. Places are many, but there is only one homeland. A place is for making a living, but a homeland is for belonging.

In reality, there is no confusion in Zionist ideology, because it negates and rejects peace. Israel cannot accept peace without repudiating itself - disclaiming the notion of a state and nation, and the related Law of Return. The decisive question is: How can Israel be recognized without recognizing the practical and theoretical principles on which it was founded, including the Law of Return? How can real peace be achieved while Zionist ideology defends this law and the «Greater Israel» project?

Perhaps some will want to recognize Israel and not the Law of Return. In so doing, they are not so much rejecting Israel, as they are expressing their own dilemma and internal contradictions. Rejecting the Law of Return and criticizing Jewish immigration is futile in the absence of a comprehensive rejection of Zionism theoretically and practically. ●

