

Then, this time speaking in the aftermath of the 1967 War, he added:

"From that point of view, the 'transfer' solution was discussed at the time, and it was supported by B. Katzenelson, J. Vulkani, and M. Ussishkin,* and some preliminary preparations were made to translate this theory into practice. Years later, when the U.N. passed the resolution to partition Palestine into two States, the War of Independence broke out, to our great fortune. In this war, a two-fold miracle occurred: territorial victory and the flight of the Arabs...." 61

In support of the "transfer" proposal, Berel Katzenelson wrote in 1945:

"Situations are possible in which the transfer of population will become advisable....We do not assume the right to force anybody out. This is a basic Zionist assumption....But was not kibbutz Merhavia built on a transfer? Without many such transfers, Hashomer Hatzair** would not today be setting in kibbutz Merhavia, nor in kibbutz Mishmav Ha'emeck, nor in any other places...." 62

It is obvious from these three statements that the transfer of the Palestinian population outside their social formation was indirectly suggested, explicitly proposed, and in fact debated among the leaders of the Zionist movement as a solution to the problems facing the implementation of Zionism in Palestine.

The advocacy of the transfer solution is often attributed (specifically by the proponents of left-wing Zionism and its bi-national program) to right-wing Zionism. We recall, however, from the previous chapter that it was Borochof who had much earlier suggested that the territory's "population is nomad and can always migrate east."

Through the "conquest of land" the indigenous population was made indeed "nomadic", free money capitalists capable of fleeing, and "free" labor-

* B. Katzenelson was the founder and leading ideologue of Mapai, the hard-core political nucleus of the ruling Labor Party; Y. Vulkani and M. Ussishkin were two key leaders of the Zionist movement; and the Jewish National Fund Board of Directors, whose chairmanship rested formally in Ussishkin's hands from 1923-1941.

** The youth movement of Mapam, the extreme left-wing of Zionism.