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THE IRON WALL

THE ARAB PROBLEM

The Iron Wall - (We and the Arabs)

Contrary to the good tone - to begin an article with the very question - I am compelled to start with an introductory paragraph, and a purely personal one at that. The author of these lines is supposed to be an enemy of the Arabs, an advocate for their driving away from Palestine etc. This is not true. My emotional attitude towards the Arabs is the same as to all the other peoples: polite indifference. The political attitude is ruled by two principles: First of all I believe that it is absolutely impossible to drive the Arabs out of Palestine; Palestine will always be a state, inhabited by several nations, and this is good enough for me, provided that the Jews have the majority. Secondly: I belong to that group which once set up the Helsingfors Programme. We did not prepare the programme in favour only of the Jews, but for the good of all peoples: its basis is the equality of rights for all nations. As everyone else, I am willing to take the oath on this principle for us and our descendants. This seems a peaceful enough outlook. But it is a different question altogether, whether peaceful intentions can be carried into effect in a peaceful way; the answer to this question has nothing to do with our relationship to the Arabs: it will solely be determined by the Arab's attitude towards Zionism.

After this prologue we may get on to the main issue.

There can be no question of a voluntary reconciliation between the Palestine Arabs and us, neither at present nor in the near future. I express this conviction in so outspoken a way not because I find pleasure in hurting well-meaning people. But I do not believe, that they will really be hurt, because all of them - except for the blind born - must have realised for a long time that it is absolutely impossible to get the Palestine Arabs to agree of their own free will to a transformation of their Palestine from an Arab country into a country with a Jewish majority.

Every reader has a certain, general knowledge of the history of the colonisation of other countries. I should like the reader to recall all well-known examples, and reviewing them, to find a single case where colonisation was carried out with the approval of the natives. There is no such case.

Natives, whether civilised or uncivilised. And the conduct of the colonisers did not have the slightest influence on the conduct of the natives. The comrades of a Cortez Pizarro, or (as someone might assert) our own ancestors at the time of Joshua Ben Nun behaved like pirates; but the first English and Scotch pilgrim-fathers, the first real pioneers in North America, were distinguished people of high ethical standard, people who would not only hate to impose on the Indians, but who would not have harmed a fly, and who sincerely believed that in the Prairies there was room enough for the Reds and the Whites. And yet, the natives fought with the same passion against the good and the bad colonisers. Whether there is enough ground in that particular country, is of no importance at all. In 1921 there were in the territory of the United States 340,000 Indians, but even in their best time their number was not more than $\frac{3}{4}$ millions in the whole vast area from Labrador to the Rio Grande. At that time there was not a person in the world with so vivid an imagination as to seriously believe in the danger of the strangers driving away the natives. The natives fought not because they were afraid of being driven away, but simply because a colonisation will never, nowhere and under no circumstances be approved of by the natives. Every native population, whether

civilised or savage, regards its country as its national home, where it is the only master and will always remain so; it will never voluntarily admit new managers, or even new co-workers or partners in economic affairs.

This applies also to the Arabs. The peace-seekers in our ranks try to persuade us that the Arabs are either fools who can be deceived by a "milder" formulation of our actual aims, or that they are a bribable gang who will surrender to us priority in Palestine in exchange for cultural and economic advantages. I definitely disagree with this opinion on Palestine Arabs. Culturally they are about 500 years behind our times, spiritually they have neither our strength of resistance nor our willpower, but this exhausts all the internal differences. They are as ingenious psychologists as we are and have been trained by cunning "pilpuls" for centuries like we were: We may tell them whatever we like, they penetrate, nevertheless, the depth of our souls just as much as we comprehend theirs. And for Palestine they foster at least as much instinctive love and organic jealousy as for instance the Aztecs towards old Mexico and the Sioux for their prairies. The imaginary idea of the Arabophiles that these people would voluntarily agree to the realisation of Zionism as an equivalent of the moral and material conveniences which Jewish colonisation will yield - this naive fancy is based on a kind of prejudiced contempt for the Arabs as corruptible vagabonds, who are willing to cede their fatherland for a good railway net. This idea lacks any reason. It is said that individual Arabs are often bribable. This does not mean, however, that the Palestine Arabs as a whole would be capable of selling their passionate patriotism, something which not even the Papuas sold. Every native people opposes to colonisation as long as there is the slightest hope for shaking off the danger of colonisation. This is what the Arabs do and will do as long as there is a spark of such a hope smouldering.

11.

Many of us still naively believe that we are dealing with a misunderstanding only: the Arabs did not understand us, and that is why they are against us. If we would only explain to them how modest our intentions are, they would stretch their hands towards us. This is a mistake, which has been often proved. Let me recall only one example out of many. About 3 years ago, during his stay in Palestine, Mr. Sokolow delivered a long speech on this "misunderstanding". He made it clear that the Arabs are greatly mistaken, believing that we intend either to deprive them of their property, or to force them to emigrate or to oppress them. We do not even strive for a Jewish Government, we only want a government as mandatory of the League of Nations. This speech has then been replied to by the Arab paper "El Carmel" in a leader, the gist of which I quote here accurately, although from memory only: "The Zionists get unnecessarily excited; there is no misunderstanding. Mr. Sokolow tells the truth, but the Arabs understand it very well, even without him. Surely, at present the Zionists do not dream of either a dispossession of the Arabs, or of oppressing them or of a Jewish Government. At present they only want one thing, that the Arabs allow them to settle undisturbed. The Zionists assure, that they will immigrate only in quotas adequate to the economic capacity of Palestine. The Arabs never doubted this: it would be truism to immigrate otherwise. The Arab editor is even prepared to admit that Palestine's potential absorbant capacity is a very great one, that means that any amount of Jews might settle in Palestine without driving away a single Arab. "This only" is what the Zionists wish, and just this the Arabs do not wish. Because it would lead to a Jewish majority, which would automatically result in a Jewish government; and the fate of

the Arab minority would then be dependent on Jewish goodwill. That the situation of a minority is not a very profitable one has always been confirmed by the Jews themselves with great eloquence. Therefore; there are no misunderstandings. The Jews want only this: the liberty of immigration, but the Arabs do not want this very thing.

This reflection of the Arab editor is so clear and irrefutable that it should be learnt by heart and should be made the motive on which all further discussions on the Arab problem could be based. It is of little consequence what words, whether Theodor Herzl's or Herbert Samuel's, we are using to explain our colonisatory endeavours. The colonisation itself is the only, unalienable explanation for any Jew and any Arab with common sense. The colonisation can have but one aim: for Palestinian Arabs this aim is intolerable; this is all in the nature of things and alas, you cannot alter nature.

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The following scheme seems to be alluring to many: to obtain the approval of Zionism not from the Palestinian Arabs, as they will never give it, but from the other Arab States - Syria, Mesopotamia, Hedsogas and even Egypt.

Even if this should be imaginable, it would not actually alter things. In Palestine itself the attitude of the Arabs towards us would still remain the same. At the time Trento and Triest remained under Austrian government as reward for Italy's uniting. The Italian inhabitants of Trento and Triest did, however, not put up with this; on the contrary, they continued their campaign against Austria with trebled energy. Should we succeed (which I personally doubt) to persuade the Arabs of Bagdad and Mekka, that Palestine to them is nothing but a small, irrelevant borderland, it would still remain for the Palestinian Arabs not a borderland but their sole fatherland, the centre and support of their own national existence. We therefore would still be compelled to carry out colonisation against the will of the Palestinian Arabs, that means under exactly the same conditions as at present.

But even an agreement with the Arabs outside Palestine is an unfeasable phantasy for us. We should have to offer to the Nationalists of Bagdad, Mekka and Damaskus a very ponderous equivalent for a concession of such an importance as the renouncement of the Arab character of Palestine (a country situated in the centre of the Federation). It is obvious that there are only two kinds of equivalent: either money, or political support or both of it. Unfortunately we can offer neither. As far as money is concerned, it is ridiculous to believe, that we should be capable to finance Mesopotamia and Hejaz, since we have not even enough for Palestine. It is evident to every child that those countries with their cheap labour will easily find the necessary funds at the market; indeed, much easier than we shall find them for Palestine. All the stories of any financial support are either naive self-delusion or unscrupulous heedlessness. And the more frivolous it would be on our part to speak seriously of a political support of Arab nationalism. The Arab nationalism aims at the same thing as the Italian did till 1870: at unity and political independence. This means in simple language to turn out England from Mesopotamia and Egypt, to drive out France from Syria and later on perhaps from Tunis, Algeria, Morocco as well. To help towards this would be suicide and treason on our part. We refer to the English Mandate; the Declaration of San Remo has also been signed by France. We must not participate in a political intrigue intending to drive England from the Suez Channel and from the Persian

Gulf and to destroy France completely as a colonial power in the Orient. Such a double-faced game is not only unfair, - one should not even think of it. We shall be squashed - and, indeed, with well-deserved disgrace - before we are able to make the slightest movement in this direction.

The summary: We can offer no adequate compensation for Palestine either to the Palestinian or the other Arabs. A voluntary agreement is therefore unthinkable. Consequently, those who look upon such an agreement as the sine qua non of Zionism, may well say "non" now and bid farewell to Zionism. Zionist colonisation must either be abandoned or continued against the will of the native population. Therefore, it can only be furthered and developed under the protectorate of a power independent of the Natives - an iron wall which cannot be broken by them.

That is the contents of our Arab policy, not only "should be": it actually is, however much we may veil it with nice phrases. Why the Balfour Declaration? Why the Mandate? Their meaning and importance for us lies in the fact that a foreign power has undertaken to establish in the country such conditions of administration and security as to make it impossible to the natives, regardless of their inclinations, to hinder Jewish colonisation in administrative or political ways. And day after day, all of us, without exception, urge this foreign power to carry out this work strictly and without forbearance. In this respect there is no real difference between our "militarists" and our "vegetarians". The one prefer an iron Wall from Jewish the others from Irish bayonets, the third category that advocate an agreement with Bagdad, are prepared to be satisfied with bayonets from Bagdad (a curious and dangerous taste); but all of us are striving day and night for the iron Wall. But what with our declaration of the agreement, we harm our own cause, disclosing to the Mandatory that we do not really mean an iron wall, but only again and again new phrases. It is these declarations which ruin our cause. To discredit them to show that they are as fantastic as unsincere is not only a pleasure but a duty.

IV.

Two more short remarks.

Firstly: To the hackneyed reproach that the above mentioned outlook is not ethical, I answer: This is not true. There is only one alternative; Zionism is either moral or immoral. It was our sacred duty to decide this question for ourselves before we took the first shekel. And did we not decide in the affirmative? If Zionism is moral, that means justified, this justice must be brought to life whether A, B, and C like it or not. And if A, B or C try to prevent by acts of violence the realisation of justice because they think themselves damaged, one must remove this possibility also by acts of violence. That is ethic, there is no other ethic.

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Secondly: All this does not mean, that an understanding with the Palestinian Arabs is unthinkable. But a voluntary agreement is impossible. As long as the Arabs have even the slightest hope of getting rid of us, they will not sell these hopes either for sweet words of a good living, because they are not rabble but a lively even if a backward people. An active people only give way to forceful circumstances pressed on them by fate if there is no single loophole to be found in the iron wall. Only then do the radical groups whose slogan is "Never" lose their prestige: only then do the moderate groups begin to exercise an influence. Only then will these moderate groups approach us with proposals for mutual concessions, only then will they begin to bargain honestly with us regarding practical questions such as the guarantee against oppression or for equal rights or national independence. The only way to unity is an iron wall, that is to say strengthening of a power in Palestine, unapproachable to Arab influences; and that is

just what the Arabs are fighting against. In other words:
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The Iron Wall

Colonisation of Palestine

Agreement with Arabs Impossible at Present

Zionism Must Go Forward

by Vladimir Jabotinsky

It is an excellent rule to begin an article with the most important point. But this time, I find it necessary to begin with an introduction, and, moreover, with a personal introduction!

I am reputed to be an enemy of the Arabs, who wants to have them ejected from Palestine, and so forth. It is not true.

Emotionally, my attitude to the Arabs is the same as to all other nations - polite indifference. Politically, my attitude is determined by two principles. First of all, I consider it utterly impossible to eject the Arabs from Palestine. There will always be two nations in Palestine - which is good enough for me, provided the Jews become the majority. And secondly, I belong to the group that once drew up the Helsingfors Programme, the programme of national rights for all nationalities living in the same State. In drawing up that programme, we had in mind not only the Jews, but all nations everywhere, and its basis is equality of rights.

I am prepared to take an oath binding ourselves and descendants that we shall never do anything contrary to the principle of equal rights, and that we shall never try to eject anyone. This seems to me a fairly peaceful credo.

But it is quite another question whether it is always possible to realise a peaceful aim by peaceful means. For the answer to this question does not depend on our attitude to the Arabs; but entirely on the attitude of the Arabs to us and to Zionism.

Now, after this introduction, we may proceed to the subject.

Voluntary Agreement Not Possible.

There can be no voluntary agreement between ourselves and the Palestine Arabs. Not now, nor in the prospective future. I say this with such conviction, not because I want to hurt the moderate Zionists. I do not believe that they will be hurt. Except for those who were born blind, they realised long ago that it is utterly impossible to obtain the voluntary consent of the Palestine Arabs for converting "Palestine" from an Arab country into a country with a Jewish majority.

My readers have a general idea of the history of colonisation in other countries. I suggest that they consider all the precedents with which they are acquainted, and see whether there is one solitary instance of any colonisation being carried on with the consent of the native population. There is no such precedent.

The native population, civilized or uncivilized, have always stubbornly resisted the colonists, irrespective of whether they were civilized or savage.

And it made no difference whatever whether the colonists behaved decently or not. The companions of Cortez and Pizarro or (as some people will remind us) our own ancestors under Joshua Ben Nun,

behaved like brigands; but the Pilgrim Fathers, the first real pioneers of North America, were people of the highest morality, who did not want to do harm to anyone, least of all to the Red Indians; and they honestly believed that there was room enough in the prairies both for the Paleface and the Redskin. Yet the native population fought with the same ferocity against the good colonists as against the bad.

Every native population, civilised or not, regards its land as its national home, of which it is the sole master, and it wants to retain that mastery always; it will refuse to admit not only new masters, but even new partners or collaborators.

Arabs Not Fools

This is equally true of the Arabs. Our peace-mongers are trying to persuade us that the Arabs are either fools, whom we can deceive by masking our real aims, or that they are corrupt and can be bribed to abandon to us their claim to priority in Palestine, in return for cultural and economic advantages. I repudiate this conception of the Palestinian Arabs. Culturally they are five hundred years behind us; they have neither our endurance nor our determination; but they are just as good psychologists as we are, and their minds have been sharpened like ours by centuries of fine-spun logomachy. We may tell them whatever we like about the innocence of our aims, watering them down and sweetening them with honeyed words to make them palatable, but they know what we want, as well as we know what they do not want. They feel at least the same instinctive jealous love of Palestine, as the old Aztecs felt for ancient Mexico, and the Sioux for their rolling Prairies.

To imagine, as our Arabophiles do, that they will voluntarily consent to the realisation of Zionism, in return for the moral and material conveniences which the Jewish colonist brings with him, is a childish notion, which has at bottom a kind of contempt for the Arab people; it means that they despise the Arab race, which they regard as a corrupt mob that can be bought and sold, and are willing to give their fatherland for a good railway system.

All Natives Resist Colonists.

There is no justification for such a belief. It may be that some individual Arabs take bribes. But that does not mean that the Arab people of Palestine as a whole will sell that fervent patriotism that they guard so jealously, and which even the Japanese will never sell. Every native population in the world resists colonists as long as it has the slightest hope of being able to rid itself of the danger of being colonised.

That is what the Arabs in Palestine are doing, and what they will persist in doing as long as there remains a solitary spark of hope that they will be able to prevent the transformation of "Palestine" into the "Land of Israel".

Arab Comprehension

Some of us have induced ourselves to believe that all the trouble is due to misunderstanding - the Arabs have not understood us, and that is the only reason why they resist us; if we can only make it clear to them how moderate our intentions really are, they will immediately extend to us their hand in friendship.

This belief is utterly unfounded and it has been exploded again and again. I shall recall only one instance of many. A few years ago, when the late Mr. Sokolow was on one of his periodic visits to Palestine, he addressed a meeting on this very question of the "misunderstanding". He demonstrated lucidly and convincingly

that the Arabs are terribly mistaken if they think that we have any desire to deprive them of their possessions or to drive them out of the country, or that we want to oppress them. We do not even ask for a Jewish Government, to hold the Mandate of the League of Nations.

One of the Arabs papers, "El Carmel," replied at the time, in an editorial article, the purport of which was this:

The Zionists are making a fuss about nothing. There is no misunderstanding. All that Mr. Sokolow says about the Zionist intentions is true, but the Arabs know that without him. Of course, the Zionists cannot now be thinking of driving the Arabs out of the country, or oppressing them, nor do they contemplate a Jewish Government. Quite obviously they are now concerned with one thing only - that the Arabs should not hinder their immigration. The Zionists assure us that even immigration will be regulated according to the economic needs of Palestine. The Arabs have never doubted that! it is a truism, for otherwise there can be no immigration.

No "Misunderstanding"

This Arab editor was actually willing to agree that Palestine has a very large potential absorptive capacity, meaning that there is room for a great many Jews in the country without displacing a single Arab. There is only one thing the Zionists want, and it is that one thing that the Arabs do not want, for that is the way by which the Jews would gradually become the majority, and then a Jewish Government would follow automatically; and the future of the Arab minority would depend on the goodwill of the Jews; and a minority status is not a good thing, as the Jews themselves are never tired of pointing out. So there is no "misunderstanding". The Zionists want only one thing, Jewish immigration; and this Jewish immigration is what the Arabs do not want.

This statement of the position by an Arab editor is so logical, so obvious, so indisputable, that everyone ought to know it by heart, and it should be made the basis of all our future discussions on the Arab question. It does not matter at all which phraseology we employ in explaining our colonising aims, Heral's or Sir Herbert Samuel's.

Colonisation carries its own explanation, the only possible explanation, unalterable and as clear as daylight to every ordinary Jew and every ordinary Arab.

Colonisation can have only one aim, and Palestine Arabs cannot accept this aim. It lies in the very nature of things, and in this particular regard nature cannot be changed.

The Iron Wall.

We cannot offer any adequate compensation to the Palestinian Arabs in return for Palestine. And, therefore, there is no likelihood of any voluntary agreement being reached. So that all those who regard such an agreement as a condition sine qua for Zionism may as well say "non" and withdraw from Zionism.

Zionist colonisation must either stop or else proceed regardless of the native population.

which means that it can proceed and develop only under the protection of a power that is independent of the native population - behind an iron wall, which the native population cannot breach.

That is our Arab policy; not what it should be, but what it actually is, whether we admit it or not. What need, otherwise, of

the Balfour Declaration? Or of the Mandate? Their value to us is that an outside Power has undertaken to create in the country such conditions of administration and security that if the native population should desire to hinder our work, they will find it impossible.

And we are all of us, without any exception, demanding day after day that this outside Power should carry out this task vigorously and with determination.

In this matter there is no difference between our "militarists" and our "vegetarians." Except that the first prefer that the iron wall should consist of Jewish soldiers, and the others are content that they should be British.

We all demand that there should be an Iron wall. Yet we keep spoiling our own case, by talking about "agreement," which means telling the Mandatory Government that the important thing is not the iron wall, but discussions. Empty rhetoric of this kind is dangerous! And that is why it is not only a pleasure but a duty to discredit it and to demonstrate that it is both fantastic and dishonest.

Zionism Moral and Just.

Two brief remarks:

In the first place, if anyone objects that this point of view is immoral, I answer; it is not true; either Zionism is moral and just, or it is immoral and unjust. But that is a question that we should have settled before we became Zionists. Actually we have settled that question, and in the affirmative.

We hold that Zionism is moral and just. And since it is moral and just, justice must be done, no matter whether Joseph or Simon or Ivan or Achmet agree with it or not.

There is no other morality.

Eventual Agreement

In the second place, this does not mean that there cannot be any agreement with the Palestine Arabs. What is impossible is a voluntary agreement. As long as the Arabs feel that there is the least hope of getting rid of us, they will refuse to give up this hope in return for either kind words for bread and butter, because they are not a rabble, but a living people. And when a living people yields in matters of such a vital character it is only when there is no longer any hope of getting rid of us, because they can make no breach in the iron wall. Not till then will they drop their extremist leaders whose watchword is "Never!" And the leadership will pass to the moderate groups, who will approach us with a ~~xxx~~ proposal that we should both agree to mutual concessions. Then we may expect them to discuss honestly practical questions, such as a guarantee against Arab displacement, or equal rights for Arab citizens, or Arab national integrity.

And when that happens, I am convinced that we Jews will be found ready to give them satisfactory guarantees, so that both peoples can live together in peace, like good neighbours.

But the only way to obtain such an agreement, is the iron wall, which is to say a strong power in Palestine that is not amenable to any Arab pressure. In other words, the only way to reach an agreement in the future is to abandon all idea of seeking an agreement at present.

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This belief is utterly unfounded and it has been exploded again and again. I shall recall only one instance of many. A few years ago, when the late Mr. Sokolow was on one of his periodic visits to Palestine, he addressed a meeting on this very question of the "misunderstanding." He demonstrated lucidly and convincingly that the Arabs are terribly mistaken if they think that we have any desire to

deprive them of their possessions or to drive them out of the country, or that we want to oppress them. We do not even ask for a Jewish Government, to hold the Mandate of the League of Nations.

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Which means that it can proceed and develop only under the protection of a power that is independent of the native population—behind an iron wall, which the native population cannot breach.

That is our Arab policy; not what it should be, but what it actually is, whether we admit it or not. What need, otherwise, of the Balfour Declaration? Or of the Mandate? Their value to us is that an outside Power has undertaken to create in the country such conditions of administration and security that if the native population should desire to hinder our work, they will find it impossible.

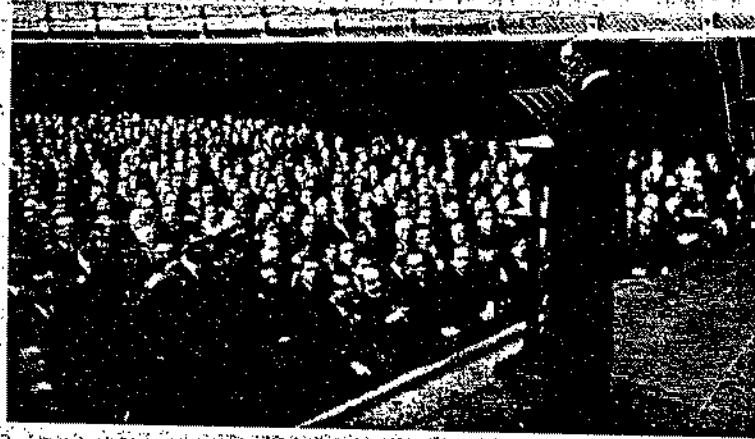
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And when that happens, I am convinced that we Jews will be found ready to give them satisfactory guarantees, so that both peoples can live together in peace, like good neighbours.

But the only way to obtain such an agreement, is the iron wall, which is to say a strong power in Palestine that is not amenable to any Arab pressure. In other words, the only way to reach an agreement in the future is to abandon all idea of seeking an agreement at present.



Part of the huge audience being addressed by Vladimir Jabotinsky in Warsaw recently.

concerned with one thing only—that the Arabs should not hinder their immigration. The Zionists assure us that even immigration will be regulated strictly according to the economic needs of Palestine. The Arabs have never doubted that it is a truism, for otherwise there can be no immigration.

No "Misunderstanding"

This Arab editor was actually willing to agree that Palestine has a very large potential absorptive capacity, meaning that there is room for a great many Jews in the country without displacing a single Arab. There is only one thing the Zionists want, and it is that one thing that the Arabs do not want, for that is the way by which the Jews would gradually become the majority, and then a Jewish Government would follow automatically; and the future of the Arab minority would depend on the goodwill of the Jews; and a minority status is not a good thing, as the Jews themselves are never tired of pointing out. So there is no "misunderstanding." The Zionists want only one thing, Jewish immigration; and this Jewish immigration is what the Arabs do not want.

This statement of the position by an Arab editor is so logical, so obvious, so indisputable, that everyone ought to know it by heart, and it should be made the basis of all our future discussions on the Arab question. It does not matter at all which phraseology we employ in explaining our colonising aims, Herzl's or Sir Herbert Samuel's.

Colonisation carries its own explanation, the only possible explanation, unalterable and as clear as daylight to every ordinary Jew and every ordinary Arab.

Colonisation can have only one aim, and Palestine Arabs cannot accept this aim. It lies in the very nature of things, and in this particular regard nature cannot be changed.

The Iron Wall

We cannot offer any adequate compensation to the Palestinian Arabs in return for Palestine. And, therefore, there is no likelihood of any voluntary agreement being reached. So that all those who regard such an agreement as a condition sine qua for Zionism may as well say "non" and withdraw from Zionism.

first prefer that the iron wall should consist of Jewish soldiers, and the others are content that they should be British.

We all demand that there should be an iron wall. Yet we keep spoiling our own case, by talking about "agreement," which means telling the Mandatory Government that the important thing is not the iron wall, but discussions. Empty rhetoric of this kind is dangerous. And that is why it is not only a pleasure but a duty to discredit it and to demonstrate that it is both fantastic and dishonest.

Zionism Moral and Just

Two brief remarks:

In the first place, if anyone objects that this point of view is immoral, I answer: It is not true; either Zionism is moral and just, or it is immoral and unjust. But that is a question that we should have settled before we became Zionists. Actually we have settled that question, and in the affirmative.

We hold that Zionism is moral and just. And since it is moral and just, justice must be done, no matter whether Joseph or Simon or Ivan or Achmet agree with it or not.

There is no other morality.

Eventual Agreement

In the second place, this does not mean that there cannot be any agreement with the Palestine Arabs. What is impossible is a voluntary agreement. As long as the Arabs feel that there is the least hope of getting rid of us, they will refuse to give up this hope in return for either kind words or for bread and butter, because they are not a rabble, but a living people. And when a living people yields in matters of such a vital character it is only when there is no longer any hope of get-