

settlement. He is a consistent, long-term advocate of «Greater Israel,» meaning at a minimum that the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights be included in the Zionist state. In his words: «For a large immigration we need the land of Israel, a large and strong Israel. We will need a lot of place to absorb everybody»(Associated Press, January 16th). His statement represents the very essence of Zionism and its expansionist strategy.

Israeli leaders have consistently considered Israel a country without borders, and in fact its borders have been defined by aggression, war and occupation, rather than by internationally acceptable geographical boundaries. In 1937, in the name of «historical rights over the whole of the territory,» the majority of delegates to the World Congress of the Workers of Zion, in Zurich, rejected the partition of Palestine as had been proposed by the Peel Commission, as it didn't allot sufficient land for Zionist ambitions. At this congress, Golda Meyerson(later Meir), who became Israeli prime minister in 1969, said: «War alone can change borders. Perhaps there will be a war in the near future»(quoted by Halevi, p.188).

Ten years later, Zionist leaders initially rejected the UN General Assembly resolution 181 of November 1947, which called for partitioning Palestine into two separate states - one Jewish and one Arab state. The drive for more land was one of the main reasons for their rejection. The records of the UNO *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Palestinian Question(October 1947) give some idea of the Zionist movement's conditions for accepting the partition plan. Rabbi Abba Hillel, Jewish Agency representative at the fourth meeting of the committee, emphasized the following requirements: «an immediate influx of immigrants, which would be possible only in a Jewish State... a Jewish State must have in its own hands those instruments of financing and economic control necessary to carry out large-scale Jewish immigration and the related economic development...»(Fraser, p.53).

Though the Zionists tactically accepted the UN partition resolution, no. 181, they immediately set out to torpedo it in the field. While the Palestinians protested the division of their country, the Zionists embarked on their military plan to enlarge the territory allotted for their state, expanding into the areas designated for an Arab state. Accordingly, in May 1948, the lines had already changed and the State of Israel was established. Israeli objectives vis-a-vis the 1967 occupied territories stem from this same strategy practiced with the original occupation of Palestine in 1948.

Aiming to make the new occupation a *fait accompli*, Israeli leaders have continually tried to get more Jews to immigrate to Palestine, for this would play a decisive role in shaping the Israeli annexation policy by tightening their grip on the occupied territories. Five weeks after the June 1967 war, Moshe Dayan, then defense minister, declared: «The settlements established in the (occupied) territories are there forever and the future frontiers will include these settlements as part of Israel»(The Arab League, *Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Arab Territories*, 1985, p.346). «It is not enough to occupy land,» said Abba Eban, foreign minister at that time, «but it should be settled»(*Davar*, September 11th, 1967). Immigration, coupled with settlement,

is also part of the Zionist strategy of establishing Israel as a regional power which could control the area as a whole, and expand according to its ambitions.

On September 24th, 1967, Yitzhak Rabin represented Israel at the European Zionist Council's conference in Basel, where he stated: «The main task of the Zionist movement is to find new methods aimed to get more immigrants. When the population of Israel reaches four or five million Jews, nothing will be able to frighten it or to question its existence»(*Jerusalem Post*, September 25th, 1967). In this view, securing Israel's power via more immigration means enabling it not only to retain the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights but to expand further. This unending process of expansion was clearly spelled out by Moshe Dayan to a group of US Jewish students visiting the Golan Heights in 1968, when he said that the creation of the Zionist state was «a process of building up, of expansion, of getting more Jews and settlements and of colonization, in order to expand the borders here... Let there be no Jew who says that we are near the end of the road»(*Maariv*, July 7th, 1968). Another leading Zionist was quoted in *The New York Times*, August 31st, 1975, as saying: «Israel is a country without borders... The people feel that by coming here they have made this border.»

The vital issue, then, is the overall growth of Israel as a regional power able to change the situation at will, including its own borders. «In five years we won't be able to recognize this country,» said Shamir. «Everything will change, everything will be bigger, stronger»(*Time*, February 12th, 1990). Such recent statements by the Israeli prime minister have been encouraged by the new influx of the Soviet Jews. The massive immigration of Soviet Jews to Palestine is aimed at changing the political, military, economic, geographic and demographic constellation in the region. Strengthening Israel militarily and economically will increase the threat it poses to the Palestinian people and to the Arab states' sovereignty. One of the main results will be a new drive to annex the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, with future expansion to be expected at the expense of neighboring countries, aimed at realizing the dream of «Greater Israel.» The massive new immigration also inevitably involves the displacement of more Palestinians, as well as increased repression and other means of pressuring them to emigrate.

The «transfer» idea

To encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine, the Zionist leaders emphasized Israel Zangwill's famous slogan: «A land without a people for a people without a land.» In addition to denying the existence of the Palestinian people, they claimed Palestine as the «historic land of Israel,» justifying the alleged right of Jews to settle there and establish their state. The aftermath of this great lie was extensive immigration and the establishment of Israel. However, many of the immigrants were to realize that they had been misled by the Zionist movement in terms of the land being uninhabited. The Zionist leaders, for their part, were from the start aware of the deception.

In an article written in 1893, «Truth about the Land of Israel,» Asher Ginsberg, leader of the Lovers of Zion, who ►