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# Notes

## PROLOGUE

- 1 Imran Khan posted an article (Rao 2017) on X. (<https://x.com/imrankhanpti/status/1161613610336051200?s=46>) and wrote: ‘This is the RSS ideology that threatens not just Kashmiris or Pakistan or even just Indian Muslims, Christians and Dalits but India itself as envisaged by its Founding Fathers.’ (Posted on 14 August 2019 at 1750 hours IST).
- 2 Savarkar wrote on 19 December 1947 in a letter: ‘I am glad to note that the overwhelming majority of the leading nations in the world should have recognised the claim of the Jewish People to establish an Independent Jewish state, in Palestine and should have promised armed assistance to get it realised. After centuries of sufferings, sacrifices and struggle the Jews will soon recover their national Home in Palestine which has undoubtedly been their Fatherland and Holyland.’ (Savarkar 1967, 135).
- 3 Here ‘Hindutva’ is an ideology.
- 4 Hitler’s Table Talk: 1941–1944 gives a clear glimpse of the same for anyone who wishes to start understanding the matter (Roper 2000) and as this book proceeds, this hypothesis ends up becoming a theory. Also read Dawidowicz (1986) where the author argues that Hitler was inspired by the work of Martin Luther to become an anti-Jewish.
- 5 Reportedly, on the evening of 19 October 2024, French President Macron asked Israel for de-escalation, and Netanyahu called his comments ‘a disgrace’. ‘I think we are not being heard,’ Macron said. ‘I think it is a mistake, including for the security of Israel,’ he said, adding that the conflict was leading to ‘hatred’. Macron also said avoiding an escalation in Lebanon was a ‘priority’, asserting that ‘Lebanon cannot become a new Gaza’. ‘Israel is defending itself on seven fronts against the enemies of civilization,’ Netanyahu said

(while responding to the French President) in a video statement, pointing to Gaza, Lebanon, the West Bank, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. 'As Israel fights the forces of barbarism led by Iran, all civilized countries should be standing firmly by Israel's side.' (Berman 2024).

- 6 S. Rm. M. Annamalai Chettiar says, 'With Koran in one hand and the sword in the other these lawless bands marched through rich villages forcing conversion or death on the unwilling Hindu population of the locality. The houses of those Hindus and other non-Muslims have been broken into and properties, valued at several lakhs of rupees, have been looted and carried away. Inmates of houses were tortured. Men, women and children were murdered in cold blood. Age and sex mattered not to them. Hindu temples were destroyed; the images were broken; the temple jewels were carried away. The landed aristocracy of the place were subjected to a most cruel treatment. People in large numbers have been forced to leave off their belongings and flee for life to the town of Calicut where they have now taken refuge. The European community also have suffered much at the hands of the rioters, and it is miraculous that some of them have been able to make good their escape across the troubled area into Calicut. Such is the nature of the tragedy enacted in Malabar.' (Chettiar 1921, 96).
- 7 In Malappuram Municipality stands the Variyankunnath Kunjahammad Haji Memorial Town Hall, honouring the leader of the Moplah Rebellion. Yet, the name raises questions: how can a man whose rebellion saw the massacre of Hindus be commemorated? Nearby, the Tirur Wagon Tragedy Memorial Town Hall serves as a sombre reminder of captured rebels who perished in stifling rail cars. Together, these halls evoke complex memories—a rebellion's fire and the tragic shadows it cast upon the innocent.
- 8 Khalil al-Sakakini witnessed the eruption of April of 1920 Riots in the Old City and he mentioned:  
 'A riot broke out, the people began to run about and stones were thrown at the Jews. The shops were closed and there were screams. ...I saw a Zionist soldier covered in dust and blood. ... Afterwards, I saw one Hebronite approach a Jewish shoeshine boy, who hid behind a sack in one of the wall's comers next to Jaffa Gate, and take his box and beat him over the head. He screamed and began to run, his head bleeding and the Hebronite left him

and returned to the procession. ...The riot reached its zenith. All shouted, 'Muhammad's religion was born with the sword'. ...I immediately walked to the municipal garden. ...my soul is nauseated and depressed by the madness of humankind.' This is cited from *Righteous Victims* by Benny Morris, where he quotes Khalil al-Sakakini. (Morris 2001, 96). You may refer to this book to know more about anti-Jewish riots.

- 9 The Moplahs, Kerala's first native Muslim community, trace their origins to early Middle Eastern traders who settled on the Malabar Coast by the seventh century CE, drawn by the flourishing spice trade. Legends recount that Islam arrived with figures like Ubaidullah and Malik ibn Dinar, who established the region's first mosques (Kupferschmidt 1987, 458-59). The Moplah presence was noted by Arab travellers and embedded within Kerala's coastal society, alongside Hindu and Christian communities, where trade fostered religious tolerance (unlike North). Early inscriptions and charters, such as those by Chera kings, document these settlements, reflecting an era of cultural and economic fusion, for they (Hindus) did not know what they were preparing (Nayeem, De Souza, and Kulakarni 1996, 54).
- 10 This link is to be dealt with in detail in the sequel of this book.
- 11 Albert Speer, Hitler's architect and close ally, rose to power as Nazi Germany's Minister of Armaments, driving war production through forced labour. Convicted at Nuremberg, he served twenty years, then shaped a public image of regret in his autobiography, *Inside the Third Reich and Spandau: The Secret Diaries*.
- 12 The Nazi emblem (Hakenkreuz, or Hooked Cross), which looks similar to 45 degrees, rotated Swastika. Hitler had seen it daily as a boy when he attended the Benedictine monastery school in Lambach, Austria (late nineteenth century). We must ideally differentiate between the two symbols.
- 13 Baron Max von Oppenheim, born into a banking dynasty, chose a path of exploration and intrigue. Leaving diplomacy, he discovered Tell Halaf, unearthing ancient relics that he displayed in his Berlin Museum, later destroyed by World War II bombings but partially restored and exhibited in Berlin and Bonn. Beyond archaeology, he courted controversy during World War I, propagating anti-Allied sentiments to incite Muslim resistance in colonial territories. His

life interwove scholarship with covert influence, leaving a legacy as both a historian and a political agitator.

- 14 Becomes evident and clear once you read the Foreign Affairs documents, wherein they had begun to bend their policies towards the Arab World extensively.
- 15 The Trail of Adolf Eichmann 1961, Session 106-4)/// ‘Attorney General versus Adolf Eichmann, The.’ 40/61 (The District Court of Jerusalem, July 21). Accessed July 21, 2024. [https://web.archive.org/web/20121031125918if\\_/http://nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts/ftp.py?people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-106-04,1961](https://web.archive.org/web/20121031125918if_/http://nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts/ftp.py?people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-106-04,1961).
- 16 The Trail of Adolf Eichmann 1961, Session 106-4)/// ‘Attorney General versus Adolf Eichmann, The.’ 40/61 (The District Court of Jerusalem, July 21). Accessed July 21, 2024. [https://web.archive.org/web/20121031125918if\\_/http://nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts/ftp.py?people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-106-04,1961](https://web.archive.org/web/20121031125918if_/http://nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts/ftp.py?people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-106-04,1961).
- 17 Walter Gross’s open letter to Al-Kilani on 17 October 1942, which was printed in ‘Antisemitismus oder Antijudaismus?’, quoted in ‘*Weltkampf: Die Judenfrage in Geschichte und Gegenwart 3*’, 168
- 18 (SS Head Office 1943. ‘Internal Note, NO-3577.’ Geschichte und Entstehung der SS-Freiwilligen-b.h.- Geb. Division (13. SS-Division). Munich (IfZ): Archive of the Institute of Contemporary History (Archiv des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte), 10 11.
- 19 Berger had already declared that the Muslims of the Balkans were racially part of the Germanic world while being spiritually connected to the Orient, see Berger (Schulte), Decree (Weltanschaulich geistige Erziehung der muselmanischen SS-Division/Ideological Spiritual Education of the Muslim SS-Division), 19 May 1943, Berlin, BAB, NS 19/2601. The decree was written by the SS officer Gerd Schulte in accordance with an oral order from Berger.
- 20 Felix Kersten was the Physician for Himmler.
- 21 This chapter has been eliminated from the English translation of the work.
- 22 Propaganda Ministry. ‘Die USA als Feinde des Islam.’ Propaganda Ministry, Instructions. Berlin: Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, December 4, 1942.

- 23 Propaganda Ministry. 'USA auch in Vorderasien.' Propaganda Ministry, Instructions. Berlin: Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, February 26, 1943.
- 24 Propaganda Ministry. 'Die Verfolgung der Mohammedaner durch die Sowjets.' Propaganda Ministry Instructions. Berlin: Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, March 26, 1943. These instructions were further elaborated upon in Propaganda Ministry. 'Die Verfolgung der Mohammedaner durch die Sowjets.' Propaganda Ministry Instructions. Berlin: Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, March 26, 1943.
- 25 Simferopol Central Muslim Committee. 'Report (Die Frage der mohammedanischen).' Simferopol: Simferopol Central Muslim Committee, 1943.
- 26 Himmler, Heinrich, Reichsführer-SS (RFSS). Letter to Gottlob Berger, SS-Hauptamt (SSHA), and Hans Jüttner, SS-Führungshauptamt (SSFHA), May 2, 1944. Berlin: Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), NS 19/2839, 1944.
- 27 Himmler, Heinrich, Reichsführer-SS (RFSS). Letter to Gottlob Berger, SS-Hauptamt (SSHA), and Hans Jüttner, SS-Führungshauptamt (SSFHA), May 2, 1944. Berlin: Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), NS 19/2839, 1944.
- 28 Kasche, Siegfried. 'Kasche to Foreign Office.' Archival Reports, Zagreb: Department Personenbezogene Auskünfte (PA), 1944.
- 29 Anonymous. ' Hamas Massacre: Documentation of Crimes Against Humanity.' 7 October 2023. Accessed February 24, 2025. <https://saturday-october-seven.com/#/>.
- 30 Refer to Appendix 1 for the full statement.
- 31 Kasztner, Rudolf. 'Rudolf Kasztner Affidavit on Wisliceny.' Memorandum on the Responsibility as a War Criminal of Haj Amin al-Husayni, Former Mufti of Jerusalem. Cleveland: Abba Hillel Silver Archives, Western Reserve Historical Society, July 16, 1946.
- 32 In Defence of Marxism. 'On the Death of Yasser Arafat.' March 22, 2005. Accessed February 24, 2025. <https://marxist.com/death-yasser-arafat111104.htm>.
- 33 Bard, Mitchell G. 'Myth and Fact: Protecting Jewish Holy Sites.' Jewish Virtual Library, September 12, 2005. <https://web.archive.org/web/20131029073949/http://www.jewishfederations.org/page.aspx?id=99300>.

- 34 One willing to sacrifice themselves for Allah (Rea and Wright 1997, 43). In the understanding of the term for all practical purposes, suicide bombers are one of the examples of 'Fedayeens'. (Middle East Glossary - The Israel Project: FEDAYEE. The Israel Project, April 27, 2012.)
- 35 Refer to Appendix 2.
- 36 Ikhwan. 'The Principles of The Muslim Brotherhood.' May 29, 2020. <https://web.archive.org/web/20200529200836/https://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=813>.
- 37 The Six-Day War, a conflict etched into the annals of history as the June War, the 1967 Arab–Israeli War, or the Third Arab–Israeli War, unfolded like a tempest in the desert winds. From 5 to 10 June 1967, the embers of discord ignited into an inferno of battle. Israel stood as a lone sentinel, bracing against the storm of hostility unleashed by a coalition of Arab states—Egypt, Syria, and Jordan at its vanguard. The world watched as the fragile peace of the region unravelled into a war that would reshape its destiny in just six days. It was a clash of ideologies and territories, a struggle where ancient rivalries and modern geopolitics danced to the drumbeats of war. Each sunrise bore witness to strategies drawn like chess moves on a blood-stained board while the sun set upon the cries of men who sought to carve history with the sharp edge of determination. This was not just a war of weapons but a battle of wills, where the future of a nation and the pride of empires clashed in an arena as timeless as time itself.
- 38 It was founded in 1964 but rose to prominence after the Six-Day War.
- 39 The Bukovsky Archives '23 April 1974 (1071-A/ov) Haddad: Andropov to Brezhnev.' The Bukovsky Archives, 1978–1987. <https://bukovsky-archive.com/2016/07/01/23-april-1974-1071-aov/>.
- 40 Check The Business Standard (2023) and check Greenfield (2023) for rebuttal.
- 41 The same is established in the chapters of the book.
- 42 Under the resplendent skies of the Negev Desert, where the melody of life interwove with the soft caress of a festival breeze, tragedy descended like an unbidden storm. It was 7 October 2023, a day etched in blood and sorrow, when the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the militant arm of HAMAS, struck with calculated ferocity from the Gaza Strip. The Supernova Sukkot Gathering, a

celebration of rhythm and unity, unfolded in joyous communion, its pulse aligned with the Jewish festival of Shemini Atzeret. Near the serene kibbutz of Re'im, the harmony shattered into chaos. In an orchestrated assault, 364 lives were extinguished—most of them civilians. Their dreams, like delicate threads, were torn asunder, leaving a void filled with echoes of anguish. The violence reached beyond death, casting an unrelenting shadow over the survivors. Reports emerged of unspeakable acts—sexual and gender-based violence inflicted upon men and women alike, adding layers of torment to the horrors of that day. Amid the mayhem, 40 souls were wrested from their lives and taken hostage. Their fates dangled precariously, symbols of a conflict where humanity itself seemed to unravel, caught in the relentless grip of vengeance and despair (*Times of Israel* 2023).

- 43 Please note that the HAMAS Charter of 1988 quotes Hadith this way (refer to Appendix 5): ‘The Day of Judgement will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews, when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Muslims, O Abdullah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him. Only the Gharkad tree (the Boxthorn tree) would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews.’
- 44 Refer to Appendix 5 that states the HAMAS Charter of 1988.
- 45 Refer to Appendix 6 that contains official records of the discussion between Hitler and Hussein.
- 46 Refer to Appendix 6.

#### I. BRIEF HISTORY OF ISRAEL (2000 BCE TO 1900 CE)

- 1 Athena Review. ‘Timeline in the Understanding of Neanderthals.’ *Neanderthals Meet Modern Humans* 2, no. 4 (2001). <https://web.archive.org/web/20070927231557/http://www.athenapub.com/8timelin.htm>.
- 2 Athena Review. ‘Timeline in the Understanding of Neanderthals.’ *Neanderthals Meet Modern Humans* 2, no. 4 (2001): NA. <https://web.archive.org/web/20070927231557/http://www.athenapub.com/8timelin.htm>.
- 3 The Zinman Institute of Archaeology. ‘Excavations and Surveys.’ University of Haifa, 2007. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130313142646/http://arch.haifa.ac.il/excav.php>.

- 4 It was a prehistoric archaeological culture in the Levant region of Western Asia between 15,000 and 11,500 years ago.
- 5 The LORD had said to Abram, ‘Leave your country, your people and your father’s household and go to the land I will show you.’—Genesis 12:1.  
The LORD appeared to Abram and said, ‘To your offspring [or seed] I will give this land.’—Genesis 12:7.  
On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram and said, ‘To your descendants I give this land, from the Wadi of Egypt to the great river, the Euphrates – the land of the Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites, Hittites, Perizzites, Rephaites, Amorites, Canaanites, Gergashites and Jebusites.’—Genesis 15:18–21.  
‘I will establish your borders from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, and from the desert to the Euphrates River. I will give into your hands the people who live in the land, and you will drive them out before you. Do not make a covenant with them or with their gods. Do not let them live in your land or they will cause you to sin against me, because the worship of their gods will certainly be a snare to you.’—Exodus 23:31–33.
- 6 The Amarna letters, referred to by the abbreviation EA (for ‘El Amarna’), comprise an archive written on clay tablets. This collection primarily contains diplomatic correspondence between the Egyptian administration and its representatives in Canaan and Amurru, as well as with leaders of neighbouring kingdoms. The letters date back to the New Kingdom period, specifically spanning no more than thirty years in the middle of the fourteenth century BC.
- 7 Gesenius, Wilhelm. Hebrew Lexicon. 1833.
- 8 Read about the Ebla-Biblical controversy.
- 9 Naram-Sin, grandson of Sargon, carved his name into history as the Akkadian Empire’s apex ruler (2255–2218 BCE). Declaring himself the ‘God of Akkad’ and ‘King of the Four Quarters,’ he crushed rebellions, stretched his dominion into Turkey and Iran, and enshrined himself as Akkade’s divine patron—much as Enlil was to Nippur (Steinkeller 2017, 107-157). His legend echoed through time, inspiring future kings to bear his name (Lambert 1986, 793-795).
- 10 He was an Amorite and the first King of the First Dynasty of Babylon (the *Amorite Dynasty*).

- 11 He was the sixth Amorite king of the Old Babylonian Empire, reigning from c. 1792 to c. 1750 BCE.
- 12 The Hittites were an Anatolian Indo-European people who formed one of the first major civilizations of the Bronze Age in West Asia. Possibly originating from beyond the Black Sea, they settled in modern-day Turkey in the early second millennium BCE.
- 13 It is an inscription in honour of a man named Sebek-khu (Khusobek), who lived during the reign of Senusret III, discovered by John Garstang in 1901.
- 14 In a letter from *Mut-bisir* to *Shamshi-Adad I* (1809–1776 BCE) of the Old Assyrian Empire (2025–1750 BCE), *Rahisum* is mentioned as a place where brigands (*habbatum*) and the Canaanites (*Kinahnum*) are situated. Shamshi-Adad (1808–1776 BCE), an Amorite warlord and conqueror, expanded his dominion across Syria, Anatolia, and Upper Mesopotamia (Khalifa and Rice 1986). He first ruled from Ekallatum before establishing Šubat-Enlil as his capital (Ziegler and Otto 2023). Mut-Bisir (19th century BCE), meaning ‘Man of Bišri,’ was a high-ranking military official under the Amorite king Shamshi-Adad I (Ziegler 2016, 302).
- 15 The Hebrew Bible or Tanakh, also known in Hebrew as Miqra, is the canonical collection of Hebrew scriptures, comprising the Torah, the Nevi’im, and the Ketuvim.
- 16 The Amarna Letters (EA)—etched in clay and steeped in diplomacy—form a rare archive of fourteenth century BCE geopolitics. These tablets capture Egypt’s correspondence with Canaanite vassals and neighbouring kings, revealing a web of power, alliances, and intrigue. Discovered in Upper Egypt at El-Amarna, the ruins of Akhetaten, the ephemeral capital of Pharaoh Akhenaten (1351–1334 BCE), chronicle a fleeting but pivotal chapter of the New Kingdom.
- 17 Merneptah Victory Stele exhibited in the Egyptian Museum. It was raised in honour of Pharaoh Merneptah, son of Ramesses II, around 1209 BCE, the stele bears a chilling decree: ‘Israel is laid waste and his seed is not’. It can be considered as the earliest reference for the name, ‘Israel’ (Stager 2001, 91).
- 18 The Hattusha Letters, etched in clay and sealed with power, unveil the Hittite Empire’s web of diplomacy, war, and intrigue. Dating to the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries BCE, these cuneiform

tablets chronicle treaties, betrayals, and royal decrees exchanged with Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. Among them, the Treaty of Kadesh—history’s first known peace accord—cemented an uneasy truce between Pharaoh Ramesses II and Hittite King Hattusili III. The letters pulse with tales of vassal struggles, espionage, and looming threats from the Sea Peoples and Assyria. A vanished empire speaks through these tablets, its throne lost to time, but its words enduring.

- 19 Anne Killebrew is a seasoned archaeologist specializing in the Bronze and Iron Ages of the eastern Mediterranean, with over thirty-five years of fieldwork in Israel, Turkey, and Egypt. She has led excavations at major sites like Jericho, Megiddo, and Tel Akko, where she co-directs the ‘Total Archaeology’ project. A pioneer in ancient ceramics, 3D documentation, and heritage studies, she co-founded and co-edits the *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* (Penn State College of Liberal Arts. Ann E. Killebrew. Department of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies. <https://cams.la.psu.edu/people/ae11/>, 2025).
- 20 The Philistines, an Iron Age seafaring people, carved their dominion along Canaan’s southern coast, ruling through a web of city-states known as Philistia. Evidence whispers of their Aegean origins, a migrant tide that reached Canaan around 1175 BCE amid the chaos of the Late Bronze Age collapse. Though they absorbed Canaanite influences, they guarded their own identity, a fusion of foreign ambition and local adaptation.
- 21 It was a biblical temple in Jerusalem believed to have existed between the tenth and sixth centuries BCE.
- 22 ‘David, King of Judah (Not Israel).’ *The Bible and Interpretation*, July 2014. Accessed March 1, 2025. <https://web.archive.org/web/20210301164250/http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/2014/07/wri388001.shtml>.
- 23 The Kurkh Monoliths, two Assyrian stelae from c. 879 and 852 BCE, stand as stone-carved chronicles of power, warfare, and shifting empires. Discovered in 1861 by British archaeologist John George Taylor in present-day Üçtepe Höyük, Turkey, these relics preserve the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and his son Shalmaneser III. In 1863, Taylor gifted them to the British Museum, where they remain as

echoes of a war-torn past (The British Museum ‘The Kurkh Stela.’ The British Museum. July 19. Accessed March 1, 2025. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W\\_1863-0619-2](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1863-0619-2), 1862).

The Shalmaneser III monolith immortalizes the Battle of Qarqar, marking history’s first extrabiblical reference to Ahab, king of Israel, as ‘A-ha-ab-bu Sir-ila-a-a.’ (Smith 2008, 29; Golden 2004, 275) . Yet, Assyrian and Babylonian records typically label the Northern Kingdom as the ‘House of Omri’, sparking debate over the translation (Davies 2010, 56; Kelle 2002, 642). The inscription is also among the four earliest references to Israel, alongside the Merneptah Stele, Tel Dan Stele, and Mesha Stele, and contains the oldest known mention of the Arabs (Lemche 1998, 46, 62; Maier 2013, 3523-3527; Fleming 1998, 41-78).

The text reveals that Ahab committed 2,000 chariots and 10,000-foot soldiers to a coalition resisting Assyrian might—a forgotten battlefield where Israel and its Arab neighbours once fought side by side (Ackerman 2010, 126).

- 24 The Davidic line refers to the descendants of David, who established the House of David in the Kingdom of Israel and Judah. In Judaism, it is based on texts from the Hebrew Bible, as well as on later Jewish traditions (André 1994).
- 25 The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, a black limestone Neo-Assyrian monument from Nimrud (Kalhu), Iraq, commemorates the king’s conquests (858–824 BCE). Discovered in 1846 by Sir Austen Henry Layard and now stands in the British Museum. One of only two surviving Neo-Assyrian obelisks, it holds the earliest known depiction of a biblical figure, traditionally identified as Jehu, King of Israel. However, some scholars argue it refers to Jehoram. It also contains the first recorded mention of the Persians (Parsua) (McCarter 1974; Thiele 1976). Erected in 825 BCE amid civil war, it depicts tribute-bearing envoys from various lands, a testament to Assyrian dominance over its vassal states.
- 26 Nelson, Larry. ‘2 Kings 15:29.’ In A Hebrew-English Bible, According to the Masoretic Text and the JPS 1917 Edition. <https://mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt09b15.htm#29>, 1917; Nelson, Larry. ‘1 Chronicles 5:26.’ In A Hebrew-English Bible, According to the

- Masoretic Text and the JPS 1917 Edition. <https://mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt25a05.htm#26>, 1917.
- 27 The Ten Lost Tribes are ten of the original twelve tribes of Israel that were exiled from the Kingdom of Israel after it was conquered by the Neo-Assyrian Empire in 720 BCE.
  - 28 Mamre, Mechon. '2 Kings 20:20.' 2023. <https://mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt09b20.htm#20>.
  - 29 'Sennacherib Recounts His Triumphs. Victory Inscription on a Prism in Cuneiform Script.' Accession number: 71.72.249, 70.62.398. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum. Accessed December 13, 2024. <https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/372815-0>, 691 BCE.
  - 30 Sennacherib's Victory inscription on a prism in cuneiform script is kept in The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
  - 31 Hosea, an eighth-century BCE prophet of Israel, is the first of the Twelve Minor Prophets and the primary voice behind the Book of Hosea. While often called a 'prophet of doom' his message also carries a promise of restoration. Though traditionally linked to Jeroboam II's era, modern scholarship debates the extent of his original writings, with some arguing for later Persian-period redactions.
  - 32 Amos, one of the Twelve Minor Prophets, was active c. 760–755 BCE, preaching in Israel (Samaria) despite being from Judah. He condemned social inequality, emphasizing justice, divine judgment, and God's omnipotence. Though traditionally credited with the Book of Amos, modern scholars question its biographical accuracy.
  - 33 Micah, one of the Twelve Minor Prophets, prophesied during the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah of Judah, condemning Jerusalem's corruption and foretelling its destruction and eventual restoration. Traditionally credited with the Book of Micah, scholars debate its final composition, with many placing it in the Persian or Hellenistic period. Micah 5:2 is interpreted by Christians as predicting Bethlehem as the Messiah's birthplace.
  - 34 Isaiah, an eighth-century BCE Israelite prophet, is traditionally credited as the author of the Book of Isaiah. While some believe he wrote all 66 chapters between 740–686 BCE, scholars argue that later sections were added by prophets during and after the Babylonian exile. The book's complex composition blends historical prophecy with later interpretations, shaping its enduring influence.

- 35 Deuteronomy is the fifth book of the Torah, known as Devarim, and the fifth book of the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament.
- 36 ‘Nebuchadnezzar’s First Campaign Against Jerusalem.’ ‘Cuneiform Tablet with Part of the Babylonian Chronicle (605-594 BC).’ Museum number: 21946. The British Museum. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W\\_1896-0409-51](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1896-0409-51), 597 BCE.
- 37 Jehoiachin’s rations tablets (sixth-century BC) record oil provisions for the exiled Judean king and his sons, unearthed from Nebuchadnezzar II’s archives in Babylon. One tablet named ‘Ya’u-kīnu, king of Yahudu’, confirms his royal status in captivity.
- 38 The Exilarch (Rosh Galut in Hebrew) led Mesopotamian Jewry from the Parthian era to the Mongol sack of Baghdad (1258), navigating shifting empires. Regarded as a royal heir of David, he wielded both rabbinical and political authority within Persian and Arab courts. His role mirrored the Catholicos of the Church of the East—overseeing rabbinical courts, taxation, and Talmudic academies. Briefly, Mar-Zutra II carved out an independent Jewish state before Persian suppression. The Exilarch’s influence waned under Abbasid rule as rival scholars and sectarian divides challenged his authority.
- 39 Cyrus the Great (c. 600–530 BCE) founded the Achaemenid Empire, conquering Media, Lydia, and Babylon to create history’s largest polity of its time. Renowned for his tolerance, he ended the Babylonian captivity and is revered in Judaism as a messianic figure. His legacy shaped Iran’s identity, Zoroastrian influence, and even Greek admiration.
- 40 The Cyrus Cylinder, a sixth-century BCE clay artifact inscribed in Akkadian, hails Cyrus the Great as Babylon’s liberator and Marduk’s chosen ruler. Discovered in 1879, it details his restoration of temples, repatriation of displaced peoples, and governance based on tolerance. Though linked to Jewish return from exile, it names only Mesopotamian sanctuaries. Celebrated as a symbol of human rights, it was championed by Iran’s Pahlavi dynasty and displayed at the UN as a legacy of tolerance and statecraft.
- 41 Also known as the Ashuri alphabet.
- 42 Elephantine, an island on the Nile in Upper Egypt and part of Aswan, became a world heritage site in 1979. Excavations unearthed

Aramaic papyri and ostraca, offering insights into daily life, the Elephantine Triad, and the Jewish presence there. *The Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* remains the key reference for these discoveries.

- 43 The Elephantine Papyri and Ostraca, spanning the fifth to fourth centuries BCE, contain legal contracts, letters, and records in Egyptian, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and Coptic, offering insights into law, society, and religion. Many surfaced on the antiquities market in the nineteenth century, with key finds like the 419 BCE ‘Passover Letter’ documenting Jewish life under Achaemenid rule. *The Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* remains the definitive reference for these texts.
- 44 The Battle of Panium was fought in 200 BCE near Paneas between Seleucid and Ptolemaic forces as part of the Fifth Syrian War (Hengel 1974, 80–89; Tcherikover 1959, 74–79).
- 45 The Maccabean Revolt was a Jewish uprising against the Seleucid Empire that took place from 167–160 BCE.
- 46 A Judean king’s hand steered an uncharted course—history’s first recorded forced conversion by Jews. Yet, some scholars argue the Edomites did not yield to the sword but instead melted into Judean life (Levin 2020).
- 47 According to some scholars the Hasmonean dynasty also institutionalized the final Jewish biblical canon (Davies 2002, 50).
- 48 Davidson, William. ‘Talmudic Babylon, Bava Batra 21a.’ Sefaria. [https://www.sefaria.org/Bava\\_Batra.21a.2?lang=bi](https://www.sefaria.org/Bava_Batra.21a.2?lang=bi), 450–550 CE.
- 49 With the fall of the Second Temple and subsequent persecution, a Jewish diaspora arrived in Cochin, Kerala.
- 50 The Pharisees were a Jewish religious group and school of thought that flourished in Palestine during the Second Temple period (515 BCE–70 CE).
- 51 Yohanan ben Zakkai was an important Jewish sage during the late Second Temple period during the transformative post-destruction era.
- 52 Rabbinic Judaism is a normative form of Judaism that originated in Palestine in the first–second centuries CE. It is based on the Talmud, a legal and commentative work, and established a way of worship and life for Jews worldwide. Rabbinic Judaism has three main branches: Reformed, Conservative, and Orthodox.

- 53 Though it is not proven entirely that Constantine had converted to Christianity.
- 54 Refer to Nixey (2017) for more details.
- 55 Umar ibn al-Khattab, the second Rashidun caliph (634–644 CE), steered the early Islamic empire to unprecedented conquests, toppling the Sasanian Empire and seizing vast Byzantine territories. Once a staunch opponent of Muhammad, he later became his son-in-law and the first to pray openly at the Kaaba. His leadership was marked by ruthless expansion, judicial acumen, and lifting the Christian ban on Jews in Jerusalem. Revered as a just ruler in Sunni tradition, yet reviled in Twelver Shia thought, his reign ended in blood—assassinated by a Persian slave in 644.
- 56 Mu'awiya I, the architect of the Umayyad Caliphate (661–680 CE), seized power in the aftermath of the First Muslim Civil War, turning the caliphate into a monarchy. Once an enemy of Muhammad, he later became his scribe and rose through the ranks, ruling Syria with an iron grip. A master strategist, he expanded Islamic rule from North Africa to Persia while waging relentless raids against Byzantium. Yet, his crowning move—naming his son Yazid as heir—ignited opposition, setting the stage for the bloodstained Second Civil War. Revered by Sunnis, despised by Shias, his legacy is one of conquest, cunning, and controversy.
- 57 The Dome of the Rock stands at the heart of the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound, crowning the Temple Mount with its golden glow. The oldest surviving marvel of Islamic architecture, it marks the first confirmed monument raised by a Muslim ruler. Its walls whisper Islam's earliest proclamations, etched in stone as a testament to faith and dominion.
- 58 The Temple Mount, Judaism's holiest ground, once bore witness to the grandeur of two lost temples. Solomon's Temple, raised in 957 BCE, fell to Babylon's wrath in 587 BCE, leaving behind only echoes in scripture. The Second Temple, reborn under Zerubbabel and later magnified by Herod, met its ruin under Rome in 70 CE. Though archaeology treads lightly on this sacred earth, Jewish tradition holds firm—the Third Temple shall rise when the Messiah walks again.
- 59 Court School of Charlemagne. Four Gospels (the 'Golden Gospels', 'Harley Golden Gospels'; 'Codex Aureus'). London: British Library, 9th Century.

- 60 Court School of Charlemagne. Four Gospels (the ‘Golden Gospels’, ‘Harley Golden Gospels’; ‘Codex Aureus’). London: British Library, 9th Century.
- 61 Sahih-Al-Bukhari 2:23:474.
- 62 Joshua 6:2-6:5, 6:20-6:21.
- 63 The present-day exterior mosaics were a later adornment, commissioned by Suleiman I, the Ottoman ruler from 1520 to 1566. Their completion spanned seven years—a testament to both grandeur and meticulous craftsmanship.
- 64 A striking anomaly emerges when one compares the Qur’anic verses inscribed on the structure with those in the actual text of the Qur’an. The discrepancies are startling—additional words, even the Shahada, appear within the inscriptions. How can a supposedly sacred citation bear interpolations? Does this not raise the question of whether these inscriptions predate the final compilation of the Quran itself?
- Beyond this enigma lies another paradox. This site is revered as Islam’s third holiest, the very ground from which Deen—the five daily prayers—was bestowed after the Prophet’s ascension, where he met Moses to determine the number of prayers. If so, should the inscriptions not commemorate the Miraj—the Prophet’s ascent to heaven? Instead, they engage in theological polemics about Jesus Christ, a figure venerated as the Son of God by Christians. Why does the narrative of ascension yield to a doctrinal dispute?
- 65 Abū Ja’far Abdullāh al-Mā’mūn ibn Harūn reigned as Abbasid caliph from 813 to 833 CE.
- 66 Refer the study by Ashbee (1924).
- 67 Dome of Rock.
- 68 ‘The Earthquake of 1033 CE.’ The Jerusalem Archaeological Park, July 6, 2004. <https://archpark.org.il>.
- 69 Palestine Square. ‘And the Land Lurched Forth: Remembering the 1927 Jericho Earthquake.’ Institute for Palestine Studies, July 11, 2016. Accessed March 6, 2025. <https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/232270>.
- 70 Lots of work was inspired by the works done by Hindu Scholars of Bharat. And many Islamic scholars faced persecution, too, as their works outcasted Quranic dogmas.
- 71 Jaziyah (refer to Appendix 4)

- 72 Isma'īlism is a branch of Shia Islam that is characterized by its belief in a living Imam, a hereditary successor to the Prophet Muhammad.
- 73 The Crusades were a series of religious wars initiated, supported, and sometimes directed by the Christian Latin Church during the medieval period. The most well-known of these military expeditions were those aimed at the Holy Land between 1095 and 1291. Their primary objective was to reconquer Jerusalem and its surrounding areas from Muslim rule, which had been established after the region was conquered by the Rashidun Caliphate centuries earlier.
- 74 The Hijrah was more than a journey—it was an exodus that redefined time itself. In 622 CE, as Quraysh hostility swelled, Muhammad and his companion Abu Bakr slipped into the night, leaving Mecca for Medina, where destiny awaited. The sands of Arabia shifted, marking the dawn of an era.
- 75 The so-called Constitution of Medina—a term coined by modern historians—was less a charter of statehood and more a pact of tribal affairs under Muhammad's leadership in Medina. This *ṣaḥīfah* (document) outlined alliances, blood money, and clientele among various tribes, including Banu Najjar and Quraysh, echoing themes from Surah Al-Ma'idah. Recorded by Ibn Ishaq and Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Sallam, its exact transmission remains uncertain, yet its authenticity is widely acknowledged, likely preserved for its unique model of governance.
- 76 The Battle of Badr was a major military victory for the Muslims against the Quraysh tribe in 624 CE.
- 77 The Battle of the Trench, also known as the Battle of Khandaq and the Battle of the Confederates, was a significant conflict between the Muslims and the Quraysh. In this instance, the Quraysh took the offensive and advanced on the Muslims, who were defending themselves in Medina. They implemented a strategy of digging a trench around their settlement, a plan suggested by Salman the Persian. The battle took place in 627 and lasted for approximately two weeks. It was relatively lightly fought, with reports indicating that the Muslims suffered five to six casualties while the Quraysh experienced three.
- 78 al-Anṣārī, Anas ibn Mālīk ibn Naḍr al-Khazrajī. 'Madina.' In *Muwatta Imam Malik*, by Anas ibn Mālīk ibn Naḍr al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, 45.18, 780. <https://sunnah.com/urn/416781>.

- 79 For Pact, refer to Appendix 3.
- 80 On 30 December 1066 (9 Tevet 4827; 10 Safar 459 AH), Granada was engulfed in bloodshed as a Muslim mob stormed the royal palace, crucified the Jewish vizier Joseph ibn Naghrela, and slaughtered much of the city's Jewish population. This brutal massacre marked a dark chapter in the Taifa of Granada's history.
- 81 The dhimmī (Arabic: ذممي) or mu'ahid (معاهد) status historically applied to non-Muslims under Islamic rule, granting them protection in exchange for jizya while exempting them from military service. Governed by agreements like the Pact of 'Umar, they faced restrictions on building or repairing places of worship, teaching the Qur'an, and preventing conversions from Islam, alongside mandates for distinctive clothing and social subjugation. Originally for People of the Book—Jews, Christians, and Sabians—this status later extended to Zoroastrians, Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists, with varying conditions based on Islamic jurisprudence. While dhimmis retained legal autonomy through their own courts, rulers like Al-Mutawakkil reinforced their second-class status by imposing ghettos and stricter controls. Though some modern scholars argue the system is obsolete in nation-states, Islamic schools historically differed on whether non-Abrahamic faiths could be dhimmis or had to convert or face war.
- 82 Refer to Appendix 3.
- 83 The caliph is the chief civil and religious leader in Islam, considered to be the successor of Muhammad. The caliphate was based in Baghdad until 1258 and then moved to Egypt until the Ottoman conquest in 1517. After this, the title was held by the Ottoman sultans until it was abolished by Atatürk in 1924.
- 84 Refer to Appendix 3 to learn about 'Pact of Umar'.
- 85 Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Translated by Muhsin Khan. Hadith no. 1391. Accessed April 7, 2025. <https://sunnah.com/bukhari:1391>. Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Translated by 'Abdul Ḥamīd Ṣiddīqī. Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam, n.d. <https://sunnah.com/muslim:2922>.
- 86 Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. Hadith no. 3804. Translated by Muhammad Muhsin Khan. Accessed April 7, 2025. <https://sunnah.com/bukhari:3804>. Muslim ibn Al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. Translated by 'Abdul Ḥamīd Ṣiddīqī. Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam, n.d. <https://sunnah.com/muslim:2922>.

- 87 The Crusades, a series of holy wars backed by the Latin Church, sought to reclaim Jerusalem from Muslim rule between 1095 and 1291. Sparked by Pope Urban II after a Byzantine plea, they drew warriors chasing salvation, glory, or gain. Initial victories birthed Crusader states, but Muslim resistance led to their eventual collapse by 1291. Crusades later expanded beyond the Holy Land—against heretics, pagans, and even fellow Christians—while the Reconquista in Spain culminated in 1492. As history's tides shifted, these fiery campaigns dimmed, leaving behind both legend and legacy.
- 88 She was one of the richest women in Europe and an escapee from the Inquisition.
- 89 The Inquisition, born in the twelfth century France, was a judicial hammer wielded by ecclesiastical courts to crush heresy, apostasy, and perceived deviance, often through coercion, torture, and execution by secular hands. Initially led by local clergy, its reach expanded under the Dominican Order, spreading across Europe and beyond, giving rise to infamous tribunals like the Spanish, Portuguese, and Roman Inquisitions, which targeted Jews, Muslims, and suspected Protestant sympathizers. By the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church institutionalized its power through the Supreme Sacred Congregation, but the fires of inquisition dimmed by the early nineteenth century, surviving only as a rebranded Vatican office.
- 90 The First Aliyah, also referred to as the agricultural Aliyah, was a significant wave of Jewish immigration to Ottoman Palestine from 1881 to 1903.
- 91 The Pale of Settlement (1791–1917) was the Russian Empire's vast yet confining cage, where Jews were permitted to reside but largely barred from cities and the broader empire. Exceptions existed for the privileged few—scholars, nobles, wealthy merchants, and certain artisans—while the rest struggled in economic scarcity, fuelling mass emigration. Spanning modern Belarus, Moldova, much of Ukraine, and parts of Poland, it mirrored the lands of fallen empires, from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth to the Crimean Khanate. Though oppression was relentless, Jewish culture flourished in shtetls and yeshivas, preserving Yiddish and intellectual traditions. The Pale crumbled with World War I as

- Jews fled the German advance, and in 1917, the Russian Revolution shattered its walls for good.
- 92 Popular destinations were Germany, France, England, Holland, Argentina, and Palestine.
- 93 Bilu, a late-nineteenth-century Jewish movement driven by Russian immigrants, ignited a call for agricultural settlement in the Land of Israel, rejecting Emancipation and assimilation as false harbours of survival. Though its pioneers, the Bilu'im, braved Ottoman Palestine's unforgiving soil, the movement ultimately withered under harsh farming conditions and dwindling financial support.
- 94 The Lovers of Zion, or Hovevei Zion, emerged in 1881 as a constellation of proto-Zionist groups in response to Russian pogroms, formally united under Leon Pinsker's leadership in 1884 to champion Jewish immigration and agricultural settlement in Palestine. As the bedrock of modern Zionism, these Eastern European pioneers steered clear of politics, focusing instead on reclaiming the land through toil and tenacity.
- 95 Petah Tikva, the 'Mother of the Moshavot', was founded in 1878 by Haredi Jews of the Old Yishuv and secured permanence in 1883 with Baron Edmond de Rothschild's patronage, laying the groundwork for Jewish agricultural revival. Now the fifth-largest city in Israel with 255,387 residents as of 2022, it thrives within the Gush Dan metropolis, spanning 35.9 square kilometre with a density of 6,277 inhabitants per square kilometre.
- 96 Rishon LeZion, meaning 'First to Zion', stands as a pioneering beacon of Jewish resurgence, founded in 1882 by Russian Empire immigrants of the First Aliyah, marking the New Yishuv's first settlement and the second Jewish agricultural outpost in Ottoman Syria after Petah Tikva. Now the fourth-largest city in Israel with 260,453 residents as of 2017, it thrives within the Gush Dan metropolis, fiscally self-reliant as a proud member of Forum 15.
- 97 Messianism, born from Zoroastrianism and woven into Abrahamic and other faiths, envisions a divinely anointed saviour—be it Judaism's Mashiach, Christianity's Christ, Islam's Mahdi and Isa Masih, or Buddhism's Maitreya. While Judaism awaits a Davidic king to redeem its people, Christianity proclaims Jesus as the Messiah and God, whereas Islam regards him as a prophet destined to return in the end times.

- 98 Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. ‘Herzl and Zionism’. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 20, 2004. Accessed March 8, 2025. <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/herzl-and-zionism>.
- 99 *Hatikvah* (*The Hope*), Israel’s national anthem, echoes a 2,000-year Jewish longing to reclaim their ancestral land as a sovereign nation. Rooted in nineteenth-century Romantic poetry, its lyrics stem from Naftali Herz Imber’s 1877 composition, penned while he was hosted by a Jewish scholar in Iași.
- 100 The Second Aliyah (1904–1914) brought 35,000 Jewish immigrants, primarily from Russia and Yemen, to Ottoman Palestine, forming a small but determined wave within the broader Jewish exodus from Eastern Europe, where over two million sought refuge, mainly in the United States. Driven by relentless pogroms and economic despair, many settlers struggled against Palestine’s barren landscape, with nearly 90% abandoning their Zionist dream, as David Ben-Gurion later lamented.

## 2. ARAB JIHAD AND OPPOSITION TO JEWISH PRESENCE IN PALESTINE BEFORE THE THIRD REICH

- 1 Ibn Ishaq (c. 704–767), an 8th-century Muslim historian and hagiographer, is renowned as *ṣāhib al-sīra* for compiling oral traditions into the earliest biography of Muhammad. His *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* survives primarily through the recension of Ibn Hisham, shaping the foundation of Islamic prophetic biography.
- 2 Al-Waqidi (c. 747–823 AD), an early Arab historian and biographer of Muhammad, specialized in chronicling the prophet’s military campaigns, earning renown in the *al-maghazi* tradition. Though he served as a judge under Abbasid Caliph Al-Ma’mun and his works were preserved by his student Ibn Sa’d, many Islamic scholars criticized him as unreliable, with some branding him a fabricator (*kadhhab*).
- 3 William Montgomery Watt (1909–2006), a Scottish historian, Anglican priest, and professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Edinburgh (1964–1979), was a leading Western interpreter of Islam. His seminal works, *Muhammad at Mecca* (1953) and *Muhammad at Medina* (1956), remain foundational texts in Quranic and Islamic studies.
- 4 Norman Arthur Stillman (Noam) is an American historian and Orientalist, serving as emeritus Schusterman-Josey Professor

and Chair of Judaic History at the University of Oklahoma, with expertise in Jewish-Islamic relations and Sephardi Jewry, particularly in North Africa. Renowned for *The Jews of Arab Lands* and *Sephardi Religious Responses to Modernity*, he also spearheaded the *Encyclopaedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, a five-volume work with over 2,000 entries.

- 5 Muhammad ibn Maslamah (c. 588–666), known as *The Knight of Allah's Prophet*, embraced Islam before the Hijrah and fought in all battles except Tabuk, where he served as Medina's deputy governor. Under the Rashidun Caliphate, he joined the conquest of Egypt and later became Caliph Umar's trusted overseer of governors.
- 6 The Banū Aws, a Qahtanite Arab tribe of Medina, along with the Khazraj, became the Ansar (Helpers of Muhammad) after the Hijrah. Descended from Al-Azd, they were collectively known as Banū Qayla in the pre-Islamic era.
- 7 Sa'd's judgment was no doubt directed mainly against their treachery, but in fact, it coincided exactly with Jewish law as regards the treatment of a besieged city, even if it were innocent of treachery: When the Lord thy God hath delivered it unto thy hands, thou shalt smite every male therein with the edge of the sword: but the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself (Deuteronomy 20: 12).
- 8 Perhaps with some apologetic intent, the late English scholar Martin Lings notes, correctly, that Sa'd judgment accords with that of the law of Moses as recorded in Deut. 20:10:14 (Peterson 2007, 127).
- 9 Discussed in the earlier chapter.
- 10 The name given to the Muslim-ruled areas of the Iberian Peninsula from 711 to 1492.
- 11 In the Ottoman Empire, a *millet* was a religious community granted autonomy under its own legal system, governed by an ethnarch answerable to the Sultan. Initially unsystematic, the millet structure became formalized only by the eighteenth century and later mythologized as dating back to Mehmed the Conqueror. The 19<sup>th</sup>-century *Tanzimat* reforms codified millet rights, shifting power from clergy to laity and equating millets with legally recognized ethno-linguistic groups. The term derives from the Arabic millah, meaning 'nation', reflecting the empire's model of religious

pluralism. Historians view the millet system as a form of non-territorial autonomy, contrasting with the homogenizing impulse of modern nation-states.

- 12 He was a Portuguese Sephardi diplomat and administrator, member of the House of Mendes/Benveniste, nephew of Dona Gracia Mendes Nasi, and an influential figure in the Ottoman Empire during the rules of both Sultan Suleiman I and his son Selim II.
- 13 Jizya was a tax levied on non-Muslims under Islamic rule, ironically framed as a fee for ‘protection’, though it often mirrored mafia-style extortion—pay or face harm. The Quran mentions it without a fixed rate, leading to varied implementations across history. Exemptions applied to women, children, the elderly, and certain groups, while some rulers forgave payment for the poor. Alongside kharāj, jizya was a major revenue source for empires like the Ottomans and Indian Muslim Sultanates. The tax declined in the eighteenth century and disappeared in modern nation-states, though groups like ISIS have attempted to reimpose it.
- 14 Hebrew term for settlement.
- 15 Aliyah is the immigration of Jews from the diaspora to, historically, the geographical Land of Israel or the Palestine region, which is today chiefly represented by the State of Israel.
- 16 The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 9 May 1916, was a clandestine cartographer’s blade, slicing through the Middle East as Britain and France carved out their future dominions. With the war still raging, they mapped their spheres of influence, sketching borders that would linger like scars long after the battlefields fell silent.
- 17 British Foreign Minister in 1917.
- 18 In Arabic it is a rhyme: فلسطين بلادنا واليهود كلابنا, (Falastin bladna, w-el-Yahud klabna), check Gifford, et al. (1933, 118); Perlmann (1944, 123-154); Kimmerling (2009, 83); Morris (2001, 165); Wasserstein (1996, 678). Refer to Segev (2000, 128) for the instance of 4 April 1920.
- 19 He was sentenced in absentia to 10 years’ imprisonment and was considered a moderate leader by Samuel.
- 20 The Husayni clan, claiming descent from Husayn ibn Ali, rose to power in Jerusalem by the eighteenth century, aligning with the Ottomans after resisting Muhammad Ali Pasha’s oppressive rule. Their influence grew as they secured key positions, including Grand Mufti and Mayor of Jerusalem, often clashing with the Nashashibi clan.

Unlike their rivals, they led fierce opposition against the British Mandate and Zionist immigration, spearheading riots and revolts. Amin al-Husayni, the most infamous member, allied with Nazi Germany, meeting Hitler and rallying Muslim SS recruits. After the 1948 war, the clan scattered, many fleeing to Jordan and the Gulf, while their political legacy remained entrenched in Palestinian nationalist movements.

- 21 The Nashashibi family, of Kurdish-Circassian origin, rose to prominence in Jerusalem with Prince Nasser al-Din al-Nashashibi, who arrived from Egypt in 1469 CE and became the custodian of Al-Haram ash-Sharif. He is credited with introducing piped water to Jerusalem. During the British mandate, Raghیب al-Nashashibi served as Mayor (1920–1934). A branch moved to Syria, another to Turkey after the Ottoman fall, while their Egyptian roots remain obscure. Despite their status under the Ottomans, some opposed the regime—Ali Omar Nashashibi, an Ottoman officer and early pan-Arab nationalist, was executed by Djemal Pasha in 1917 for conspiracy.
- 22 Hussein bin Ali al-Hashimi, a leader from the Banu Hashim clan, ruled as Sharif and Emir of Mecca (1908–1924) and led the Great Arab Revolt against the Ottomans in 1916, later declaring himself Caliph in 1924. Opposed by the British, French, Zionists, and Wahhabis, yet supported by much of the Muslim world and Mehmed VI, his reign ended when Ibn Saud’s forces overran Hejaz in 1925. Exiled to Cyprus by the British, he later moved to Amman, where he died in 1931. Buried in Al-Aqsa, he remains a pivotal figure in the birth of modern pan-Arabism.
- 23 We discussed about the place and its holy importance to Muslims, Jews, and Christians in the second chapter of the book.
- 24 The Protocols of the Elders of Zion—a fabricated blueprint of Jewish world domination—first surfaced in Imperial Russia (1903), stitched together from earlier texts. Exposed as a hoax by *The Times* (1921) and *Frankfurter Zeitung* (1924), it still fuelled Nazi propaganda, seeping into German classrooms by 1933. Despite being debunked, it endures, haunting discourse as ‘probably the most influential work of antisemitism ever written’.
- 25 Franz Schattenfroh (17 September 1898, Linz – 31 October 1974, Gehrden) was an Austrian-German politician and a leader in the Sturmabteilung (SA), the paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party.

- 26 Dr Hussein al-Khalidi was the mayor of Jerusalem from 1935 to 1937 and the thirteenth Prime Minister of Jordan in 1957.
- 27 Born in 1882 in Jableh, Ottoman Syria, Izz ad-Din al-Qassam studied at Al-Azhar University before returning as an Islamic revivalist preacher, rallying support for the Libyan resistance against Italian occupation. Later, he led a rebellion alongside Ibrahim Hananu against French rule in Syria, but after their defeat, he fled to Palestine, where he took up a waqf position and championed jihad against British rule and Zionism. In the 1930s, he formed militant bands, including the Black Hand, launching attacks on British and Jewish targets until his death in a British manhunt in 1935, an event that helped spark the 1936–1939 Arab revolt in Palestine. Israeli historian Tom Segev compared him to Joseph Trumpeldor. Hamas later named its military wing, the Al-Qassam Brigades, after him, making it the largest and best-equipped militia in the Gaza Strip, led by Mohammed Deif until his death on 13 July 2024.
- 28 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), February 12, 1936. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 78338, 1936.
- 29 The Haganah was a Jewish paramilitary organization that operated in Palestine before the establishment of Israel.
- 30 Hamburg-Bremen Information Agency (HBIA). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), November 28, 1935. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 78338, 1935.
- 31 Deutsches Generalkonsulat (DGK) Jerusalem to German Consulate General in Baghdad (DG Baghdad). Communication to the German Consulate General in Baghdad, December 17. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, R 102806, 1936.
- 32 He was a Lebanese-born Arab nationalist military figure in the interwar period. He served briefly in Palestine in 1936 fighting the British Mandatory suppression of the Palestinian Revolt.
- 33 Auswärtiges Amt (AA). Report by Foreign Service, January 19, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 104786, 1937.
- 34 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), February 17, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 104791, 1937.

- 35 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), February 17, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104791, 1937.
- 36 The Yishuv was the Jewish population of Palestine before the establishment of Israel in 1948.
- 37 In July 1937, the Peel Commission recommended for the first time a partition of the land into a Jewish state and an Arab state alongside an international zone, stretching from Jerusalem to Jaffa, that would remain under British mandatory authority.
- 38 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Zurich (DGK Zurich). Letter to Deutsches Generalkonsulat Bern (DG Bern), August 19, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104788, 1937.
- 39 Arab Higher Committee (AHC). Memorandum, July 23, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104789, 1937.
- 40 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), October 5, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104788, 1937.
- 41 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Deutsches Generalkonsulat Beirut (DGK Beirut), October 16, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104789, 1937.
- 42 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), October 22, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104789, 1937.
- 43 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), December 29, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104789, 1937.
- 44 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), December 29, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104789, 1937.
- 45 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), September 14, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938.
- 46 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), September 14, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938.

- 47 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), September 14, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938; Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), October 11, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938.
- 48 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), September 14, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938; Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), October 11, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938; Deutsches Generalkonsulat Jerusalem (DGK Jerusalem). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), October 22, 1937. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104789, 1937.
- 49 Deutsches Konsulat Haifa (DK Haifa). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), November 23, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938.
- 50 Deutsches Konsulat Haifa (DK Haifa). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), November 23, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938.
- 51 Deutsches Konsulat Haifa (DK Haifa). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), November 23, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938.
- 52 Deutsches Konsulat Haifa (DK Haifa). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), November 23, 1938. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 104790, 1938.
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- 66 Captain Wilhelm Kohlhaas (19 April 1899–19 February 1995) was a German military officer, judge, and historian whose life spanned the convulsions of two world wars and the remaking of Europe. Born in Waiblingen and passing in Stuttgart, he wielded both the sword of duty and the pen of scholarship, leaving behind a legacy etched in the annals of military and legal history. His writings, shaped by the weight of experience, sought to illuminate the past with the precision of a judge and the insight of a soldier.
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- 68 Hermann Erich Seifert was a German military officer and historian who navigated the tides of war and scholarship with equal rigor. His work delved into military strategy and historical analysis, offering insights shaped by firsthand experience. Through his writings, he sought to chronicle the past with the precision of a tactician and the depth of a scholar.
- 69 Erwin Rommel, the fabled Desert Fox, carved his legend across two world wars, from the trenches of the Italian Front to the blistering sands of North Africa. A tactician of rare brilliance, he earned accolades for his daring armoured manoeuvres, yet his legacy straddles both myth and controversy. Once a loyal servant of the Reich, he later found himself entangled in the plot against Hitler, forced to choose between silent suicide or public disgrace. In death, he was enshrined as a reluctant hero—his name echoing in history, propaganda, and postwar reconciliation, long after the guns had fallen silent.

- 70 The Afrika Korps, Germany's spearhead in the North African sands, arrived in 1941 to salvage Italy's faltering hold, only to fight a desperate war until its 1943 surrender. Under Erwin Rommel's command, it became a legend of swift armoured warfare, etching his name as the Desert Fox.

#### 4. STRUGGLES FOR SUPREMACY IN CYRENAICA AND IRAQ

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- 9 Lieutenant Colonel Bernhard von Lossberg was a German military strategist and staff officer during World War II, known for his expertise in operational planning. He played a key role in drafting contingency strategies for the Wehrmacht, particularly concerning the deployment of forces on multiple fronts.
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7. THE DESERT FOX'S CRUSADE: ROMMEL'S NORTH AFRICAN  
ADVANCE AND THE SHADOWS OF PROPAGANDA AND PREJUDICE

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8. SHADOWS OVER THE SANDS: THE UNSEEN FORCES OF OCCUPATION IN EGYPT, SUMMER OF 1942 AND THE ARAB OPINION
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- 16 Granow. Auswärtiges Amt to Auswärtiges Amt, 1 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27332, 1942; Woermann. Note on the Reaction of the Mufti, 18 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27332, 1942; Arab Nationalist Leaders. Translation of Declaration, 2 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27332, 1942.
- 17 Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Wehrmachtführungsstab (WFSt)/Abteilung L. Staff Instructions for Sonderstab F, 21 June. Freiburg im Breisgau: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, RW 4/v.538, 1941; Kommandeur Sonderstab F. 1942. R 27325. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), Berlin.
- 18 Grobba, Fritz. 1942. RW 4/v.691. Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), Berlin.
- 19 Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Abwehr/Abteilung Ausland. Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), 6 March 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61123, 1942.
- 20 Kommandeur Sonderstab F. Comments, Mid-August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61124, 1942.
- 21 Kommandeur Sonderstab F. Comments, Mid-August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61124, 1942.
- 22 Kommandeur Sonderstab F. Comments, Mid-August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61124, 1942.
- 23 Grobba, Fritz. 7 February 1942. Note. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27332, 1942; Grobba, Fritz. 30 May 1942. Note. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61124, 1942.

- 24 Wisliceny, Dieter. 26 July 1946. Interrogation. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Archives (YVA), TR 3/129, 1946 (refer to Appendix 1).
- 25 Reichert, Margaretha. Interrogation, 17 October 1967. Ludwigsburg: Bundesarchiv Ludwigsburg (BAL), B 162/4172, 296, 1967; Reich Ministry of the Interior (RMI). Recommendation for Appointment, 8 April 1944. Koblenz: Bundesarchiv-Zentralnachweisstelle (BAZA), ZR 37, 1944; Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) France. SSO Friedrich Suhr. 1944. Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), Berlin.
- 26 Grobba, Fritz. Note to the Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt), 17 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 100702, 1942.
- 27 Grobba, Fritz. Note to the Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt), 17 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 100702, 1942.
- 28 Grobba, Fritz. Note to the Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt), 17 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 100702, 1942.
- 29 It is important to note that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's collaboration with the Axis powers, including the Nazis, was solely driven by his mission to liberate India from British colonial rule. Unlike other Nazi allies, such as the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, whose primary motive for alignment stemmed from anti-Semitic hatred, Netaji's intentions were entirely free from such prejudices. His alliance was a strategic and pragmatic decision, not rooted in animosity towards any community or sect. Bose's vision for India was one of inclusivity, far removed from the ideologies of hate that characterized other collaborators of the Axis powers.
- 30 Von Trott zu Solz, Adam. Letter to the Reichsführer-SS (RFSS) Personal Staff, 21 August 1942. Berlin: Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), NS 19/103, 1942; Keppler, Friedrich. Letter to the Reichsführer-SS (RFSS), 16 February 1943. Berlin: Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), NS 19/3769, 1943.
- 31 Reichsführer-SS (RFSS). Letter to Friedrich Keppler, 24 February 1943. Berlin: Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), NS 19/3769, 1943.
- 32 Al-Husseini, Amin. Draft Letter to Il Duce, September 13, 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27324, 1942.

- 33 Ettel, Fritz. Note, 22 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27324, 1942; Al-Husseini, Amin. Memorandum to the Chief of Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW), 30 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27828, 1942.
- 34 Ettel, Erwin. Note by Ettel, 27 June 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27326, 1942.
- 35 Reich Government and Italian Government. Declaration, 3 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61124, 1942.
- 36 Mufti. Press Statement, 6 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27332, 1942.
- 37 Ettel, Erwin. Note by Ettel, 27 June 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27326, 1942.
- 38 Ettel, Erwin. Note by Ettel, 29 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27325, 1942; Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Ausland/Abwehr II (OKW/Ausl/Abw II). War Diary, 13 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RW 5/498, 1942.
- 39 Steffen, Fritz. Note by Steffen, 6 November 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61124, 1942.
- 40 Alexander. Account of Report by Informer 'Alexander', 19 June 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1789, 1942.
- 41 Deutsche Verbindungsstelle beim Kommando Syria (DVK Syria). Report by DVK Syria, 24 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 42 Vichy Branch Office. Report, 27 April 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 29533, 1942.
- 43 Antonius. Report by Informer 'Antonius', 13 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 44 Deutsches Generalkonsulat Istanbul (DG Istanbul). News and Intelligence Service Report, 28 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 45 Chef des Sicherheitsdienstes (Cds)/VI C 13 to Auswärtiges Amt (AA). Report to the Foreign Office, 21 December 1942. Berlin: Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), NS 19/186, 1942.
- 46 Cuno I. Account of Report by Informer, 6 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1764, 1942.

- 47 Ettel, Fritz. Memorandum by Ettel/AA, undated (end of 1942). Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27325, 1942.
- 48 Ettel, Fritz. Ettel/AA to AA, 12 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27323, 1942
- 49 In 1942, Egyptian operative Ahmad Sayudi Hussemi flew a British-made Gladiator to El Alamein, carrying a secret treaty and reconnaissance photos for Erwin Rommel. Mistaken for an enemy, he was shot down by German forces, his mission to secure Egypt's independence failing, while Hassan Ibrahim faced trial for the lost aircraft.
- 50 Sonnleithner, Ernst. Sonnleithner/AA to VAA/PzAA, 28 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 29537, 1942; Richter, [First Name Unknown]. Note by Richter/AA, 22 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 60748, 1942.
- 51 Pollux. Summary of a Report by 'Pollux', 30 June 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 52 Pollux. Summary of a Report by 'Pollux', 30 June 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 53 Pollux. Summary of a Report by 'Pollux', 30 June 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 54 Pollux. Summary of a Report by 'Pollux', 1 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942; Pollux. Summary of the Report by 'Pollux', 2 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1789, 1942.
- 55 Kastor. Report by 'Kastor', 23 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 56 Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Ausland/Abwehr Abteilung I (OKW/Ausl/Abw Abt. I). Summary of a Report by OKW/Ausl/Abw Abt. I, 6 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 57 Pollux. Report by 'Pollux', 8 September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942; Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Ausland/Abwehr (OKW/Ausl/Abw). Summary of a Report by OKW/Ausl/Abw, 21 September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942; Abwehr station Romania. Report by Abwehr

- station Romania, 25 September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 58 Pollux. Summary of Report by 'Pollux', 18 May 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1789, 1942.
- 59 Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Ausland/Abwehr (Supreme Command of the Armed Forces/Foreign Intelligence). Summary of a Report by OKW/Ausland/Abwehr, 21 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942; Pollux. Report by 'Pollux', 6 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1790, 1942.
- 60 *Donauzeitung*, 25 August 1942, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.
- 61 Abdel Raouf al-Qudwa al-Husseini was the uncle of Yasser Arafat, the longtime leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). As a member of the influential Husseini clan, he was involved in Palestinian nationalist movements and broader Arab political struggles. His family's legacy and connections helped shape Arafat's early political trajectory and ties to key factions in the fight for Palestinian self-determination.
- 62 According to Kiernan (1976, 108–112), the young Arafat spent his formative years concealed in the shadows, living underground with Halaby, a trusted ally and protector. Their bond endured through the tumult of the times until 1944, when tragedy struck—Halaby fell victim to the violence of the Mufti's supporters in Jerusalem, his life extinguished amidst the storm of political intrigue and factional strife.
- 63 Informer 'Cuno'. Summary of a Report, 31 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1785, 1942; By the autumn of the following year, the situation remained strikingly static. A report from the military attaché at the German embassy in Ankara painted a vivid picture: the British authorities in Palestine were compelled to divert military units to policing duties. The reason was starkly clear—'the Arabs now want to resolve the Jewish question,' noted the attaché in a dispatch dated 30 November 1943 (Deutsche Gesandtschaft Ankara (DG Ankara). Report to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1791, 1942). This grim observation underscored the mounting tensions and the fragile balance teetering on the edge of collapse.

- 64 Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (Cds), Amt VI, Gruppe C to Auswärtiges Amt. 26 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 101022, 1942.

9. FACING ANNIHILATION: JEWISH RESILIENCE DURING THE  
SUMMER OF 1942

- 1 A letter from Arnold Paucker quoted in Mallmann and Cuppers (2010, 140).
- 2 Milton. Report by 'Milton', 22 September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1784, 1942.
- 3 Pollux. Report by 'Pollux', 7 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RL 2 II/486, 1942.
- 4 The three captured refugee ships mentioned in connection with the Patria disaster were Atlantic (or Atlantik), Pacific (or Pacifique), and Milos. These ships carried Jewish refugees attempting to reach British-controlled Palestine but were intercepted by British authorities and intended for deportation to Mauritius before the Patria bombing altered their fate.
- 5 Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Ausland/Abwehr I (OKW/Ausl/Abw I). OKW/Ausl/Abw I to LFSt/Ic, 7 December 1940. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RL 2 II/486, 1940; Luftflottenstab/Ic (LFSt/Ic). Report by LFSt/Ic on Attack on Haifa, 12 June 1941. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RL 2 II/486, 1941.
- 6 Luftflottenstab/Ic (LFSt/Ic). Report by LFSt/Ic, 11 June 1941. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RL 2 II/486, 1941.
- 7 Pollux. Report by 'Pollux', 7 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RL 2 II/486, 1942
- 8 Milton. Report by 'Milton', Undated/September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1784, 1942.
- 9 Theobald. Report by 'Theobald', 4 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RL 2 II/486, 1942.
- 10 Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro (DNB). DNB Report, 11 February 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 99342, 1942.
- 11 Levinthal's letter to Churchill, dated 2 July 1942, mentioned in Nicosia (1990, 378).

- 12 Weizmann's letter to Halifax dated 20 June 1942, is mentioned in Nicosia (1990, 378).
- 13 Sonderdienst Seehaus Report. 23 June 1942. R 99342. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), Berlin in a similar vein, the informer known as 'Pollux' reported just days later that an urgent radio broadcast had resounded with a fervent plea, urging as many Palestinian Jews as possible to rally to the ranks of the British volunteer units (Pollux. Report by 'Pollux', 8 July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1788, 1942).
- 14 Press Department of Auswärtiges Amt (AA). Report by the Press Department of AA, SPN, 25 June 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 99342, 1942.
- 15 Press Department of I-Dienst. Report by the Press Department of I-Dienst, 9 July 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 99342, 1942.
- 16 Deutsche Gesandtschaft Ankara (DG Ankara). Summary of a Report by DG Ankara, Undated/July 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1785, 1942.
- 17 Pollux. Report by 'Pollux', 18 June 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1785, 1942
- 18 Milton. Report by 'Milton', 22 September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1784, 1942.
- 19 Pollux. Report by 'Pollux', 4 September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1784, 1942; Menachem Begin, who would later rise to become Israel's prime minister, also made his way to Palestine, accompanying the Polish army units referenced in the report cited in Eckman and Hirschler (1979, 68).
- 20 Letter from Yehuda Bauer used as a source in Mallmann and Cuppers (2010, 153).
- 21 Born in 1913 in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, Austria-Hungary, Hashomer Hatzair (The Young Guard) emerged as a Labor Zionist, secular Jewish youth movement, later shaping the political landscape of the Yishuv through its Workers Party in Mandatory Palestine. A torchbearer of socialist ideals, it now stands alongside HaNoar HaOved VeHaLomed as part of the International Falcon Movement – Socialist Educational International, continuing its legacy of education and activism.

- 22 Letter from Yehuda Bauer used as a source in Mallmann and Cuppers (2010, 153). A letter from Arnold Paucker quoted in Mallmann and Cuppers (2010, 140, 153).

10. THE FATEFUL TIDE: THE STRUGGLE FOR EL ALAMEIN AND THE  
AXIS RETREAT

- 1 Panzerarmee Afrika/Ia (PzAA/Ia). Situation Analysis by PzAA/Ia, 15 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1588, 1942.
- 2 Panzerarmee Afrika/Ia (PzAA/Ia). Situation Analysis by PzAA/Ia, 15 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/1588, 1942; Deutscher General beim Hauptquartier der italienischen Wehrmacht (Dt.Gen.b.HQu.It.Wehrm.). Telex from Dt.Gen.b.HQu.It.Wehrm., 16 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/463, 1942.
- 3 Generalfeldmarschall in German.
- 4 Kampfstaffel Oberbefehlshaber Panzerarmee Afrika (Kampfstaffel OB PzAA). War Diary, 30 and 31 August 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 19 VIII/3, 1942; Vorstand der Abteilung Ausland/Panzerarmee Afrika (VAA/PzAA). Telegram, 1 September 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 29537, 1942.
- 5 Deutscher General beim Hauptquartier der italienischen Wehrmacht (Dt.Gen.b.HQu.It.Wehrm.). Telex, 5 and 7 September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 2/463, 1942; Kampfstaffel Oberbefehlshaber Panzerarmee Afrika (Kampfstaffel OB PzAA). War Diary, 2 and 3 September 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 19 VIII/3, 1942.
- 6 Verbindungsabteilung Panzerarmee Afrika (VAA/PzAA). Telegram, 3 September 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 29537, 1942.
- 7 Deutscher General beim Hauptquartier der italienischen Wehrmacht (Dt.Gen.b.HQu.It.Wehrm.). Report to Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/WFSt/Qu.I, 14 September 1942. Berlin: Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), NS 19/3695, 1942; Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/WFSt/Qu.I/III (OKW/WFSt/Qu.I/III). Report to Heeresstab Übersetzung, 19 September 1942. Berlin: Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), NS 19/2500, 1942.

- 8 Comando Supremo. Translation of Note. 10 September 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1942.
- 9 Kampfstaffel Oberbefehlshaber Panzerarmee Afrika (OB PzAA). War Diary, 24 October 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 19 VIII/3, 1942.
- 10 Kampfstaffel Oberbefehlshaber Panzerarmee Afrika (OB PzAA). 1942. RH 19 VIII/3. Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BAMA), Freiburg.
- 11 Kampfstaffel Oberbefehlshaber Panzerarmee Afrika (OB PzAA). War Diary, 4 November 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 19 VIII/3, 1942.
- 12 Kampfstaffel Oberbefehlshaber Panzerarmee Afrika (OB PzAA). War Diary, 4 November 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 19 VIII/3, 1942; Kirk. Report. 5 October 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 29857, 1942; Vorgesetzte Armee-Abteilung Panzerarmee Afrika (VAA/PzAA) to Staatssekretär Auswärtiges Amt (StS./AA). Telegram, 5 October 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 29857, 1942.
- 13 Kampfstaffel Oberbefehlshaber Panzerarmee Afrika (OB PzAA). War Diary, 5 November 5–31 December 1942. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RH 19 VIII/3, 1942.
- 14 Prüfer, Curt Max. Note, 17 June 1943. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61179, 1943.
- 15 Grobba, Fritz. Note by Grobba, Auswärtiges Amt (AA), 30 May 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27332, 1942; Ettl, Erwin. Memorandum by Ettl, Auswärtiges Amt (AA), to Reichsaußenminister (RAM), 31 May 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27332, 1942.
- 16 Grobba, Fritz. Note by Grobba, 3 September 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61124, 1942.
- 17 Grobba, Fritz. Note by Grobba, 8 September 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27828, 1942. The Mufti urged Keitel, asserting that deploying the volunteers in Egypt offered a strategic edge—Palestinian and Syrian Arabs would find themselves ‘in their own country almost immediately,’ (Mufti, Hajj

- Amin al-. Memorandum by Mufti, 29 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27828, 1942).
- 18 Draft of German-Iraqi Military Agreement (undated/September 1942). Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1942; Grobba, Franz. Note by Grobba, 19 December 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1942; in September, Hitler assured that German troops would not remain on Arab soil indefinitely (Hewel, Walter. Memorandum by Hewel, 12 September 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27324, 1942).
  - 19 Ritter, Erich. Note by Ritter, 27 March 1943. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1943; OKW/Ausl/Abw, Abteilung für Ausland/Abwehr. Memorandum by Head of OKW/Ausl/Abw, 15 September 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1942; Grobba, Franz. Note by Grobba, 19 December 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1942.
  - 20 Schnurre, Hans. Note by Schnurre, 20 November 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1942.
  - 21 Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany. Report by the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, 23 October 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27330, 1942
  - 22 Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany. Report by the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, 23 October 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27330, 1942.
  - 23 Institute for the Investigation of the Jewish Question. Institute for the Investigation of the Jewish Question to AA, 27 October 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27330, 1942.
  - 24 Deutsche Gesandtschaft Tokio (DG Tokyo). DG Tokyo to AA, 21 May 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27329, 1942.
  - 25 Ettl, Erwin. Note by Ettl/AA, 11 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27329, 1942.
  - 26 Geneva, Deutsches Konsulat (DK). Letter to Auswärtiges Amt (AA), 13 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 27329, 1942.

- 27 Auswärtiges Amt, Politische Abteilung VII (AA/Pol VII). Guidelines for Propaganda in Iran, 11 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 27329, 1942.
- 28 Ettl, Erwin (Ettl), Auswärtiges Amt (AA). Guidelines for Propaganda in Iran, 24 August 1942. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 27329, 1942.
- 29 Reichsführer-SS. Deployment of SS Leaders in Iran (Undated/May 1943). Berlin: Bundesarchiv, NS 19/2235, 1943; Kaiser, Irmtraud. Interrogation of Irmtraud Kaiser, 30 August 1945. London: National Archives of the United Kingdom (NAK), FO 371/46781, 1945.
- 30 Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (CdS), Department VI C 12 to the Auswärtiges Amt (AA). 24 July 1943. Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB), Berlin in Schnabel (1967, 411).
- 31 Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Ausland/Abwehr II (OKW/Ausl/Abw II). Letter to Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Wehrmachtführungsstab (OKW/WFSt), 7 May 1943. Freiburg: Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA), RW 4/v. 691, 1943.
- 32 Nasr Khan was a prominent leader in the Ghashghai territory of southern Persia, known for orchestrating a rebellion against the British. He sought German assistance to fuel the uprising, acting as a key figure in the region's resistance efforts during the early twentieth century.
- 33 Schulze-Holthus was a German operative involved in espionage and strategic manoeuvring in the Middle East during the early twentieth century. He played a pivotal role in supporting local uprisings, including providing aid to Nasr Khan, and was rewarded for his efforts with substantial financial backing from Germany.
- 34 Ettl, Erwin, Auswärtiges Amt (AA). Note, 21 October 1943. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAAA), R 101101, 1943.
- 35 Operation Barbarossa, launched on 22 June 1941, was Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, involving over 3.8 million Axis troops across a 2,900-kilometer front. Its goal was to capture key Soviet territories and implement Nazi racial policies, leading to the deaths of millions, including Soviet Jews in the Holocaust. Despite early successes and territorial gains, German forces faced logistical issues, harsh winter, and fierce Soviet

resistance, stalling at Moscow by December. The operation's failure marked a turning point in WWII, with Germany unable to sustain further offensives.

- 36 Unternehmen Zeppelin-Hauptkommando Süd ('Zeppelin'-Hauptkdo. Süd). Letter to Reichssicherheitshauptamt Amt VI C/Z (RSHA VI C/Z), 30 October 1942. London: National Archives of the United Kingdom (NAK), HW 19/235, 1942; Reichssicherheitshauptamt, Amt VI C/Z (RSHA VI C/Z). Telex, 3 December 1942. Koblenz: Bundesarchiv-Zwischenarchiv (BA-ZA), ZR 920/44, 1942.
- 37 Propaganda, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Amtliches Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949.
- 38 Ettel, Erwin, Auswärtiges Amt (AA). Note, 16 October 1943. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), R 101101, 1943.
- 39 Prüfer, Curt, Auswärtiges Amt (AA). Note, 10 February 1943. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1943; Al-Husseini, Amin (Mufti). Letter to Reichsaußenminister (RAM), 28 January 1943. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA), BA 61125, 1943.

#### II. CONQUEST AND PERSECUTION: THE ALLIES' NORTH AFRICAN OFFENSIVE AND THE ORDEAL OF TUNISIAN JEWS

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- 15 Though spanning 160 pages, this study grants only six to the Mufti's exile in Germany between 1941 and 1945—a fleeting mention for a chapter steeped in intrigue.
- 16 'How did a 40-year-old religious scholar cope with such a life in 1937? He did what Wallenstein did in the Thirty Years' War. He sought allies and found them where others were fighting against his enemies. Thus, Al-Husseini helped the National Socialists with the fervour of desperation that became hatred.' noted in Steppat (1985, 271).
- 17 The following claim in Höpp (1999, 14) comes across as similarly meaningless: 'The Mufti and his environment must be placed in their many historical, political, social, and cultural contexts.'

#### APPENDIX II. SCORPIONS PASS MASSACRE

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APPENDIX III. OSAMA BIN LADEN'S DECLARATION OF JIHAD  
AGAINST THE AMERICANS OCCUPYING THE LAND OF THE  
TWO HOLIEST SITES

- 1 The text has been taken from <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Declaration-of-Jihad-against-the-Americans-Occupying-the-Land-of-the-Two-Holiest-Sites-Translation.pdf>.

APPENDIX IV. THE PACT OF UMAR

- 1 People may grow sceptical that the Pact of Umar applied to Jews, given that its most cited version—such as that recorded by Ibn Kathir for the Christians of Ash-Sham—explicitly names only Christians as its signatories (Ibn Kathir 2023, 9:28). However, this scepticism overlooks the broader Islamic legal and historical context, where the Pact's principles extended to all 'People of the Book' (Ahl al-Kitab), including Jews, under the dhimmi system established by Umar ibn al-Khattab. Norman A. Stillman dispels this doubt by noting that Jews in Jerusalem and beyond, post-637 CE conquest, adhered to parallel conditions—paying jizya, wearing distinctive clothing, and limiting public religious expression—mirroring Christian obligations (Stillman 1979). Mark R. Cohen further clarifies that the Pact's restrictions, such

as bans on new synagogues and public rituals, were enforced on Jewish communities across Syria and Iraq, with Cairo Geniza documents evidencing compliance by the 10th century (Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross*, 65–67). A.S. Tritton argues that while the Jerusalem text targets Christians due to their local dominance, its framework evolved under subsequent caliphs (e.g., Umar II) into a standardized dhimmi policy affecting Jews equally (Tritton 1930, 12–14). Bernard Lewis bolsters this by citing early examples, such as Jews in Khaybar and Yemen under Umar’s reign, who paid tribute and faced land restrictions akin to the Pact’s terms (Lewis 1984, 33–34). Thus, despite its Christian framing in some records, the Pact’s legacy undeniably shaped Jewish life under Islamic governance, reflecting a shared dhimmi experience.

#### APPENDIX V. HAMAS COVENANT 1988

- 1 Hamas 1988.
- 2 Al-Imran, verses 109–111.
- 3 The Martyr, Imam Hassan al-Banna, of blessed memory.
- 4 (Sheikh Amjad al-Zahawi, of blessed memory.
- 5 The Dispute, verse 21.
- 6 Joseph, verse 107.
- 7 Author’s Note: The notation ‘C1’ in the context of ‘Hamas (means) strength and bravery (according to) Al-Mua’jam al-Wasit: c1’ likely refers to ‘Column 1’ of a specific page in the dictionary Al-Mu’jam al-Wasit. Al-Mu’jam al-Wasit is a well-known Arabic dictionary compiled by the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo, designed to provide concise definitions for students and learners of Arabic. In bilingual or annotated contexts (e.g., translations, academic papers, or online resources like the Hamas Covenant page here referenced), such abbreviations often indicate where in the dictionary entry the cited meaning appears; here, the first column of a two-column page layout.
- 8 Prophets, verse 18.
- 9 Abraham, verses 24–25.
- 10 The Table, verse 48.
- 11 related by al-Bukhari and Moslem
- 12 The Cow, verse 251.
- 13 The Inevitable, verse 95.

- 14 The Cow, verse 256.
- 15 The Cow, verse 120.
- 16 The Night-Journey, verse 1.
- 17 The Emigration, verse 13.
- 18 As related by al-Bukhari, Moslem, al-Tarmdhi and Ibn Maja
- 19 Lokman, verses 16–18.
- 20 The Confederates, verse 25.
- 21 The Table, verse 64.
- 22 The Family of Imran, verse 118.
- 23 The Family of Imran, verse 102.
- 24 Women, verses 147–148.
- 25 The Inner Apartments, verse 6.
- 26 The Cow, verse 130.
- 27 The Dispute, verse 21.
- 28 Related by Al-Bukhari, Moslem, Abu-Dawood, and Al-Tarmadhi.
- 29 The Emigration, verse 14.
- 30 The Tried, verse 8.
- 31 The Spoils, verse 16.
- 32 The Table, verse 64.
- 33 The Pilgrimage, verse 40.
- 34 The Family of Imran, verse 12.
- 35 Those Who Rank Themselves, verses 171–172.
- 36 Al Araf, verse 89.

#### APPENDIX VI. GRAND MUFTI MEETING WITH HITLER

- 1 Schmidt, Paul Otto. 'Aufzeichnung über die Unterredung zwischen dem Führer und dem Großmufti von Jerusalem am 28. November 1941.' Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, File R 100702, 1941.
- 2 Schmidt, Paul Otto. 'Aufzeichnung über die Unterredung zwischen dem Führer und dem Großmufti von Jerusalem am 28. November 1941.' Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, File R 100702, 1941.
- 3 Al-Husseini, Amin. Mufti Amin al-Husseini to Adolf Hitler, January 20. Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, R 27326, 1941, 45; Arab Higher Committee. The Arab Higher Committee: Its Origins, Personnel and Purpose. The Documentary Record. New York, 1947, 10.

- 4 Von Ribbentrop, Joachim. 'Vermerk über die Unterredung des Reichsaußenministers mit dem Großmufti von Jerusalem, November 27, 1941.' Berlin: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, File R 100701, 1941, 2; Von Loesch, [Legationssekretär]. 'Aufzeichnung über die Unterredung des Grossmuftis mit dem Herrn Reichsaussenminister in Berlin am 28. November 1941.' In Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, Serie D, Bd XIII/2, Dok. Nr. 515, 714–718. Berlin: Auswärtiges Amt, 1941, 714.
- 5 Grobba, Fritz. 'Account of Hitler's Meeting with the Mufti, December 1, 1941.' Berlin: Bundesarchiv, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, RZ 211, R 261123, 1941; Michman, Dan. Adolf Hitler, the Decision-Making Process Leading to the 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question,' and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Hajj Amin al-Hussayni: The Current State of Research. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2017, 82–88.
- 6 Michman, Dan. Adolf Hitler, the Decision-Making Process Leading to the 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question,' and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Hajj Amin al-Hussayni: The Current State of Research. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2017, 93–98.

#### I. TIMELINE OF THE WORD 'PALESTINE'

- 1 Classroom of the Future. 'Israel: Physical Geography.' Wheeling, WV: Classroom of the Future, 2002. <http://www.cotf.edu/earthinfo/meast/israel/IPtopic2.html>.
- 2 [https://web.archive.org/web/20130107073920/http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/01/06/state-of-palestine-name-change\\_n\\_2420838.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20130107073920/http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/01/06/state-of-palestine-name-change_n_2420838.html).
- 3 The Great Harris Papyrus (Papyrus Harris I), officially Papyrus British Museum 9999, stretches 41 meters, making it the longest Egyptian papyrus ever discovered. Containing 1,500 lines of hieratic text, it details temple endowments and offers a concise record of Ramesses III's reign, the second Pharaoh of the 20th dynasty. Unearthed near Medinet Habu, across the Nile from Luxor, it was acquired in 1855 by collector Anthony Charles Harris. In 1872, it became part of the British Museum's collection.
- 4 According to Feldman (1996, 553), before the province was renamed, the term referred to the Philistine coastal region, with first-century writers distinguishing Judea from Palestine.

- 5 Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, XVI, no. 87. Details available at [arachne.dainst.org/entity/2447778](http://arachne.dainst.org/entity/2447778).
- 6 Lucian of Samosata. *Lucian's Dialogues: Namely the Dialogues of the Gods, of the Sea-gods, and of the Dead; Zeus the Tragedian, the Ferry-boat, Etc.* Translated by Howard Williams. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1888, XVIII; Details available at <https://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/lucian/peregrinus.htm>.
- 7 Lucian of Samosata. *Lucian's Dialogues: Namely the Dialogues of the Gods, of the Sea-gods, and of the Dead; Zeus the Tragedian, the Ferry-boat, Etc.* Translated by Howard Williams. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1888, XVIII; Details available at <https://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/lucian/peregrinus.htm>.
- 8 Details available at [https://web.archive.org/web/20160331183733/http://www.livius.org/tt-tz/tyre/tyre\\_t16.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20160331183733/http://www.livius.org/tt-tz/tyre/tyre_t16.html).
- 9 Exodus 6.6.
- 10 Judges 2.16.
- 11 Codex Theodosianus (438 CE), Dan 1982, 134–137; Syncedemus of Hierocles (530 CE), Porphyrogenitus (1840, 393); *Descriptio Orbis Romani* of George of Cyprus (600 CE), (Cyprus 1890, XLVI).
- 12 St. Jerome on Ezekiel Pt. 1- Latin (Details available at <https://sites.google.com/site/aquinasstudybible/home/ezekiel/st-jerome-on-ezekiel--latin>).
- 13 Details available at <https://www.myoldmaps.com/maps-from-antiquity-6200-bc/121-masada-map-of-palestine/121madaba-mosaic2.pdf>.
- 14 Details available at [http://www.stoa.org/sol-bin/search.pl?login=guest&enlogin=guest&db=REAL&field=adlerhw\\_gr&searchstr=pi,66](http://www.stoa.org/sol-bin/search.pl?login=guest&enlogin=guest&db=REAL&field=adlerhw_gr&searchstr=pi,66).
- 15 Refer to Daud (1967).
- 16 Exodus 15.14.
- 17 *The Life and Death of King John*: Scene II.1 'Richard, that robb'd the lion of his heart, and fought the holy wars in Palestine' (Shakespeare 1600a); Othello Scene IV.3: 'I know a lady in Venice would have walked barefoot to Palestine for a touch of his (Lodovico's) nether lip' (Shakespeare 1600b).
- 18 *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography 1873*, 516, 533.

- 19 Details available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20071107121151/http://www.jafi.org.il/education/congress/K01.html>.
- 20 Details available at [https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/written-answers/1918/jun/25/arab-political-representatives-visit-to#S5CV0107P0\\_19180625\\_CWA\\_29](https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/written-answers/1918/jun/25/arab-political-representatives-visit-to#S5CV0107P0_19180625_CWA_29).
- 21 Details available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20151220182150/http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/search/palestinians?sort=date>.
- 22 Details available at <https://www.palestineremembered.com/Acre/United-Nations,-The-Palestine-Problem/Story712.html#ANNEX%20VI>.
- 23 Details available <https://israeled.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/1926-LON.pdf>.
- 24 Details available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20120110051406/http://www.oldtestamentstudies.net/patriarchs/philistines.asp?item=5&variant=0>.
- 25 Genesis 10:14.
- 26 Genesis 21:32–34.
- 27 Exodus 13:17.
- 28 Exodus 23:31.
- 29 Joshua 13:1-3.
- 30 Kings 4:21.
- 31 Psalm 87:4.
- 32 Zephaniah 2:5.
- 33 Amos 9:7.

## II. ZIONISM- GOOD OR UGLY

- 1 Though Zionism occurred a lot earlier.
- 2 Anita Shapira (1992, 41) wrote: ‘The basic assumption regarding the right of Jews to Palestine—a right that required no proof—was a fundamental component of all Zionist programs. In contrast with other prospective areas for Jewish settlement, such as Argentina or East Africa, it was generally believed that no one could deny the right of the Jews to their ancestral land. Even Ahad Ha-Am, the eternal sceptic, commented that this was ‘a land to which our historical right is beyond doubt and has no need for farfetched proofs.’ Others, such as Lilienblum, did not even think it necessary to dwell on this matter.’

- 3 The interview titled ‘who can blame Israel’ was published in *The Sunday Times* on 15 June 1969 (Meir 1969, 12).
- 4 Chapter 2 and I (of Some Important Definitions and Facts).
- 5 Refer to Haddad (1974)
- 6 ‘Sound the great shofar for our freedom, raise the banner to gather our exiles and gather us together from the four corners of the earth (Isaiah 11:12) Blessed are you, O Lord, who gathers in the dispersed of His people Israel.’
- 7 Refer to Penslar (2023, 25) for a clear understanding.
- 8 Read about *Alhambra Decree*.
- 9 Bible Hub. ‘Zion, the City of David.’ Bible Hub, 2004. Accessed 17 February 2025. [https://biblehub.com/topical/z/zion\\_the\\_city\\_of\\_david.htm#:~:text=Zion%2C%20often%20synonymous%20with%20Jerusalem%2C%20holds%20a%20significant,worship%2C%20and%20the%20seat%20of%20the%20Davidic%20kingdom.](https://biblehub.com/topical/z/zion_the_city_of_david.htm#:~:text=Zion%2C%20often%20synonymous%20with%20Jerusalem%2C%20holds%20a%20significant,worship%2C%20and%20the%20seat%20of%20the%20Davidic%20kingdom.)
- 10 Refer to Shlaim (2001, 5).
- 11 The *Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee* (JAC) was born in the furnace of World War II, a Soviet creation meant to rally Western support for the *Red Army*’s battle against *Nazi* Germany (Pappe 2006, 119). Conceived in autumn 1941 by Jewish Bund leaders Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, it was their brief reprieve from Soviet prison—until the regime’s grip tightened once more, and both were thrown back into the abyss (Blatman 2007, 278).  
By April 1942, at Stalin’s command, the JAC was resurrected in Kuibyshev, draped in official approval but always under watchful eyes. What began as a wartime tool of propaganda would, within a decade, be crushed under the weight of Stalin’s paranoia. In 1952, as Stalin’s anti-Jewish purges reached their peak—the era of the ‘Doctors’ Plot’—JAC’s leaders were branded as spies, tortured into silence, and dragged into the shadows of Lubyanka Prison, where bullets sealed their fate. Their crime? Influence. Their sin? Connections to the West (Montefiore 2003, 560). Only in 1988, long after Stalin’s spectre had faded, did history exonerate them—but only in words, never in justice.
- 12 Official Gazette, No. 1 of the 5th, Iyar, 5708. ‘The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel.’ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14 May. Accessed 15 February 2025. [https://www.gov.il/en/pages/declaration-of-establishment-state-of-israel,1948.](https://www.gov.il/en/pages/declaration-of-establishment-state-of-israel,1948)

- 13 Moshe Dayan was the battle-scarred architect of Israel's wars, a warrior-statesman whose eyepatch became as iconic as the flag he fought for. Leading the Jerusalem front in 1948, he carved Israel's presence into contested soil. As Chief of the General Staff (1953–1958), he orchestrated the Sinai storm of 1956, and as Defence Minister in 1967, he became the iron fist behind Israel's lightning victory in the Six-Day War. In war and politics, Dayan was more than a soldier—he was the face of Israel's defiance, a living emblem of a nation forged in fire.
- 14 Refer to Goldberg (2009) for understanding the concept.

### III. ISLAMOFASCISM

- 1 Associated Press. "Jihadist' Booted from US Government Lexicon." *Ynetnews*, 2008. <https://www.ynetnews.com/category/3083>.
- 2 The complete work (Wistrich 2009) is entirely based on this thesis.
- 3 Associated Press. "Jihadist' Booted from US Government Lexicon." *Ynetnews*, 2008. <https://www.ynetnews.com/category/3083>.
- 4 Ayman Al-Zawahiri, a disciple of Qutb's incendiary ideology, carried his mentor's torch into the heart of jihad, igniting flames that scorched the world. From the ranks of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, he rose as Osama bin Laden's shadowed guide, crafting al-Qaeda's blueprint for global chaos. His doctrine, a manifesto of blood and fire, turned cities into battlegrounds and made terror a language without borders.
- 5 Ma 'ālim fī aṭ Ṭarīq and Ma'alim fi 'l-tareeq
- 6 Refer to Samad (2016, 15) for understanding the Fascist core behind Muslim Brotherhood even though Banna tried to distance himself later;
- 7 Islamists largely rejected racial unity, upholding the Ummah as a bond beyond race and ethnicity.
- 8 Special focus on Islamic Jihad has been laid.
- 9 Evola's Thoughts on Islam 2018.
- 10 Fouad Ali Saleh, a Tunisian Islamist and architect of terror, is regarded as Hezbollah's hand in France. In 1985–86, his orchestrated carnage turned Paris into a battlefield, claiming 13 lives and wounding over 300.
- 11 Their views have been expressed in the earlier section of this chapter.

- 12 Refer to Appendix 3 for Osama's letter declaring Jihad against the United States.
- 13 Secretary to the Govt. of India, G. Narayana Raju. 'The Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019.' The Gazette of India. New Delhi: Ministry of Law and Justice, 12 December 2019.
- 14 Refer to Sharma and Kalpojyoti (2020) for the entire insight of the Delhi Riots.
- 15 Must read Meir (1975, 352), Pew Research Center (2016); World Jewish Congress (2021), Berkowitz (2023) to understand the situation better.



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# **SOME IMPORTANT DEFINITIONS AND FACTS**

# I. Timeline of the Word ‘Palestine’

This chapter unfurls a journey through time, tracing the etymology of the name ‘Palestine’ as it emerged in the annals of diverse civilizations, each applying its own tonal brushstroke to the ancient landscape. Rooted in inscriptions, manuscripts, and the whispers of empires, the word reflects centuries of shifting cultures, geographies, and aspirations, each leaving its mark on the map of a contested land.

Nearly 3,200 years ago, the word ‘Peleset’ appeared in Egypt, carved in solemn hieroglyphs that echoed across millennia. Beginning around 1150 BCE, during Egypt’s 12th dynasty, the term emerged in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, naming people who waged fierce battles against Egypt’s proud warriors (Masalha 2018, 56). Later, the name *Peleset* again appeared, chiselling itself into history on Padiiset’s Statue some 300 years afterwards. The Assyrians, known for their inexorable expansion, adopted similar terms—‘Palashtu’, ‘Palastu’, and ‘Pilistu’—etching them onto relics like the Nimrud Slab from around 800 BCE under Adad-nirari III’s reign and resurfacing in the Esarhaddon treaties a century later (Ehrlich 1996, 172). Yet, despite their frequency, these inscriptions give little indication of fixed borders; they capture not a territory but a people defined by their tumultuous presence and interaction with empires (Schrader 1878, 123; Anspacher 1912, 48).

Biblical references add another layer, casting a name that means many things in different scriptures (Killebrew 2005, 205; Jobling and Rose 2002, 404; Braude 1959, 513; Jacobson 1999, 65).

In the Torah, boundaries remain nebulous; the word dances around regions but never settles on a singular space. Later texts, invoking coastal city-states at odds with Israelites, added nuance, as the Septuagint translated the term to 'allophuloi' (Ἀλλόφυλοι), meaning 'other nations'—implying non-Israelites sharing this 'Promised Land' (Drews 1998, 49, 51).

Then, like dawn breaking over shadowed hills, Herodotus, in the 5th century BCE, penned the name 'Palaistinê', marking a region 'between Phoenicia and Egypt' (Rainey 2001, 57–63; Jacobson 2001, 43–46; Jacobson 1999, 65). Here began a more concrete chapter in which *Palestine* was no longer a name confined to coastal lands but embraced the rugged interior—the Judean Mountains, the fertile Jordan Rift Valley (Sicker 1999, 9; Masalha 1988; Jacobson 1999, 65; Rennell 1800, 245; Ahlström, Rollefson and Edelman 1993, 56; Feldman 1990, 1; Tuell 1991, 4). The Greek lexicon further spread as philosophers and chroniclers like Aristotle, Polemon, and Pausanias used the name, which was soon echoed by Roman voices like Ovid, Pliny the Elder, and the Judean Josephus (Robinson 1865, 15). Strangely, the name left no trace on Hellenistic coins or monuments—a silent witness that flourished only in the minds and manuscripts of scholars (Cohen 2006, 23).

When the Roman Empire reorganized in the early 2nd century CE, the province of Judaea became 'Syria Palaestina' (Bryce 2009, 522; Vaux 1978, 2) after the Bar Kokhba revolt (Isaac 2015; Vaux 1978, 2; Lehmann 1998; Sharon 1988, 4). This marked an imperial renaming that spoke of power and consolidation, folding new lands under its dominion.

Byzantium further shaped the region, dividing it into Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Salutaris by the year 390, as imperial borders shifted like windblown sands (Kaegi 1995, 41). With the Muslim conquest, place names lingered from the Byzantine administration, evolving seamlessly into the Arabic Jund Filastin within the Umayyad and Abbasid provinces of

Bilad al-Sham, preserving continuity amid conquest (Sharon 1988, 4; Avni 2014, 11–12).

As centuries turned, 'Palestine' entered early modern English (Krämer 2011, 16), adapting itself once more and finding a voice in the English and Arabic tongues of the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem (Beška and Foster 2021, 1–7; Ayalon 2004, 1–6). The 20th century saw a resurgence, with the British wielding the name 'Mandatory Palestine', delineated in the Sykes-Picot Agreement and cemented under the League of Nations Mandate.<sup>1</sup> Then, in a renewed assertion of self-identity, Palestinians embraced the term, a rallying call and a testament to legacy. By 2013, the term 'State of Palestine' was born—a declaration that gathered centuries of names and boundaries into a fresh vision, from ancient *Peleset* to a state bearing the name, its landscape etched in the chronicles of history.<sup>2</sup>

## Etymological Root

The tale of Palestine, its origins and evolution through languages and eras, is as layered as the shifting sands of the land it names. The English term 'Palestine' is borrowed from the Latin *Palaestīna*, (Feldman 1990, 19) itself an echo of the ancient Greek *Palaistīnē*, a name first inscribed by Herodotus in the 5th century BCE (Rainey 2001, 57–63; Jacobson 2001, 43–46; Jacobson 1999, 65; Herodotus 1821, 269). According to Martin Noth, the Greek term likely emerged from an Aramaic word, though in Greek, it revealed a connection to *palaistês*—the wrestler, the rival, the adversary (North 1939, 133–137). David Jacobson noted the wrestler's status in Greek culture, further speculating that *Palaistīnē* was both a transliteration of the Greek word for 'Philistia' and an artful translation of the Hebrew 'Israel', the name traditionally rooted in the notion of struggle, entwined with the Greek love of linguistic play and poetic transliterations (Jacobson 1999, 65–67).

Long before the Bible's tales were told, 'Palestine' found resonance in Egyptian and Assyrian records, where the term bore ties to the Hebrew *Pālīšīm*, or 'Philistines'. Scholars agree that while *Pālīšīm* is cognate with 'Philistia', its deeper etymology remains hidden, like a relic buried in time (Sicker 1999, 9).

Was it an endonym, a name born within the Philistine language, or an exonym granted by outsiders? No inscription in the sparse remnants of the Philistine tongue offers clues, leaving historians to ponder whether the Hebrew, Egyptian, and Assyrian terms drew from a single, lost origin or evolved separately to mirror each culture's phonetic habits. In English translations of the Hebrew Bible, *Pālīšīm* appears as 'Philistines', though its meaning seems to shift through different biblical contexts. Used over 250 times in Masoretic versions (Killebrew 2005, 202, 205), it first appeared in Genesis 10's genealogy of Noah, vague in boundary and undefined in detail. Yet in later scriptures—most famously in Judges and Samuel—*Pālīšīm* evoked the coastal people at odds with Israel, woven into a narrative of conflict and encounter (Sharon 1988, 4; Robinson 1865, 15; Lewis 2011, 1–12).

By the era of the Septuagint, the Greek term *Palaistínē*, popularized by Herodotus, had entered the vocabulary. However, in the Greek Bible, 'Philistia' was rendered not as *Palaistínē* but as 'Land of the Phylistieim', spanning from Genesis to Joshua (Jacobson 1999, 65; עמנואל טוב and Tov 1978, 120–138). The term shifts in Judges (Jobling and Rose 2002, 404; Braude 1959, 513; Drews 1998, 49) onward to *allophiloī*—'other nations'—in the Septuagint, casting the Philistines as 'non-Israelites of the Promised Land' in the context of Samson, Saul, and David (Drews 1998, 51). Rabbinic scholars add a final twist to this tale, noting that these Philistines diverge from those in Genesis. This illustrates how names and nations become kaleidoscopes of history, coloured anew by every culture that names them (Jobling and Rose 2002, 404; Braude 1959, 513).

## Collation of Historical References

In the storied sands of ancient Egypt, around 1150 BCE, the annals at *Medinet Habu* record a fierce people called the *P-r-s-t*, whom we recognize today as the *Peleset*. They stood among the formidable adversaries of Egypt during the reign of Ramesses III (Masalha 2018, 56; Killebrew 2005, 202). With its declarative authority, the papyrus Harris I (Figure 1) said, 'I extended all the boundaries of Egypt; I overthrew those who invaded them from their lands. I slew the Denyen in their isles, the Thekel and the Peleset (Pw-r-s-ty) were made ashes' (Killebrew 2005, 204). Ramesses III's might and the weight of his words echo through time, inscribed with triumph on the Rhetorical Stela at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1929, 32–37).

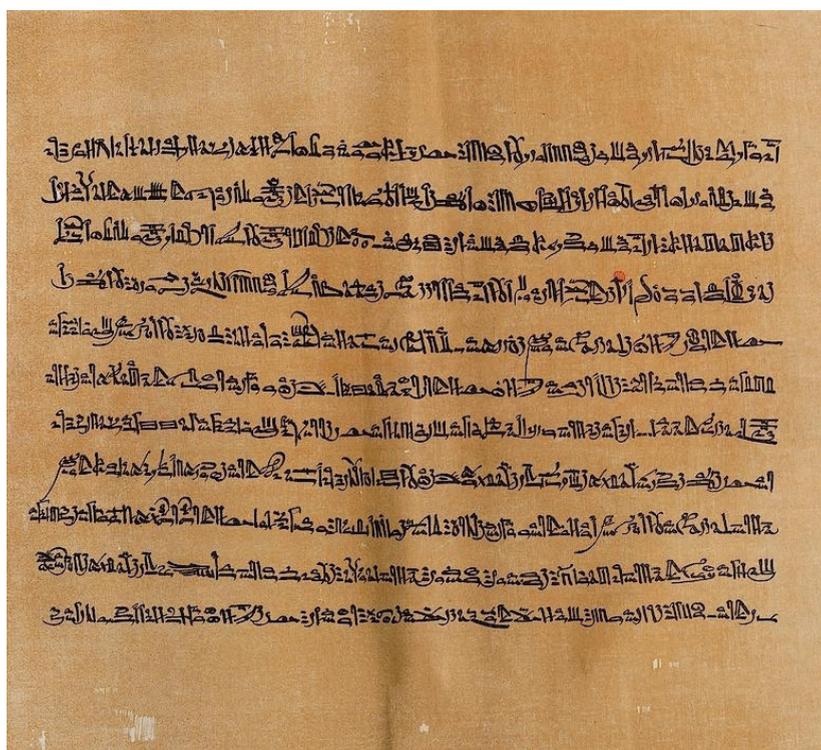


Figure 1: Papyrus Harris I Pl. LXXVI. British Museum<sup>3</sup>

In Egypt's onomasticon, the names 'Sherden, Tjekker, Peleset, Khurma' lingered as relics of their existence (Gardiner 1947, 200–205; Killebrew 2005, 204). By 900 BCE, the word 'envoy' preceded *Canaan* and *Peleset* in the statue of *Padiiset*, a simple yet evocative record, as if these figures once tread in reverence or fear (Ehrlich 1996, 65).

The Assyrian period unfolded like a dark chapter in stone and stela. Around 800 BCE, the Nimrud Slab captured the imperial gaze of Adad-nirari III over the region (Ehrlich 1996, 168), a ruler who ordered armies to march upon *Philistia* (*Pa-la-áš-tu*). His Saba'a Stele boasts, 'In the fifth year (of my official rule), I sat down solemnly on my royal throne and called up the country (for war). I ordered the numerous armies of Assyria to march against Philistia... I received all the tributes [...] which they brought to Assyria' (Ehrlich 1996, 191). Not content, he launched against Damascus, binding Philistia's might beneath Assyria's rising shadow.

With whispers of warning in 735 BCE, Qurdi-Ashur-lamur cautioned Tiglath-Pileser III in a terse missive: 'Bring down lumber, do your work on it, (but) do not deliver it to the Egyptians (mu-sur-a-a) or Philistines (pa-la-as-ta-a-a), or I shall not let you go up to the mountains' (Saggs 1955, 128). Thus, the hand of Assyria stretched beyond borders and resources, casting threats upon all who dared cross them. The region became known as *Pilistu* by Sargon II in 717 BCE (Hallo and Younger 1997, 118; Pritchard 1950, 287), a name also etched into the Azekah inscription in 700 BCE (Na'aman 1974, 25–39).

Sennacherib's 'Palace Without a Rival' exuded the pride of conquest as he meticulously chronicled his dominion over 'Kue and Hilakku, Pilisti and Surri', in 694 BCE (Luckenbill 1924, 104). Esarhaddon's treaty with Ba'al of Tyre around 675 BCE solemnly sealed the fate of *Pilistu* under Assyrian control, affirming its status as a subdued district, etched into history (Hallo and Younger 1997, 120; Pritchard 1950, 533).

In classical antiquity, the region's name expanded under the Persian Empire's reach. Herodotus, in his *Histories*, written around 450 BCE, spoke with the voice of exploration and conquest as he described 'the district of Syria, called *Palaistinê*' (Jacobson 1999, 65; Tuell 1991, 51–57; Rainey 2021, 57–63). He marked this land as a fifth satrapy stretching from *Posideium* to Egypt, enriched with 350 talents as its tribute (Herodotus 1806, Vol 2, 268–269). Here, traditions of circumcision drifted into his accounts, tethering this land to the ancient practices of the Hebrews. He noted solemnly, 'the Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine themselves confess that they learnt the custom of the Egyptians,' weaving an ancient bond of tradition among these lands (Herodotus 1806, Vol 2, 6).

The Hellenistic period brought echoes of a different order. Polemon of Athens, quoted by Eusebius, spoke of an Egyptian army exiled to the fringes near Arabia, where they found a home 'in the part of Syria called Palestine' (Milikowsky 2007, 113; Feldman 1996, 553–576; Grotius 1809, 64). By 130 BCE, Agatharchides chronicled this frontier land, dotted with the names of islands, rocks, and desert's edge, bridging to the 'Rock of the Nabataeans and Palestine' (Retso 2013, 296; North 1939, 139; Wenning 2013, 14; Siculus 1967, 211; Strabo 1889, 204).

Through Roman rule, Palestine emerged as a land both contested and fabled. Around 30 BCE, the poet Tibullus said, 'white dove sacred to the Syrians flies unharmed through the crowded cities of Palestine' (Sulpicia and Tibullus 2001, 27; Feldman 1996, 566).

By the dawn of the Common Era, Ovid, in *Ars Amatoria* and *Metamorphoses*, sketched this land as mysterious and ancient, describing places where Syrian rituals endured and where legendary creatures transformed into pools, shimmering with scales and mystery (Feldman 1996, 565; Naso n.d.; Naso 1921, 180–181, 248–249). In his *Fasti*, he envisioned Jupiter resting by 'the brink of the waters of Palestine' (Naso 1931, 90–91).

Thus, the tale unfolded—historians, poets, warriors and emperors each carved their truth into this ancient land, crafting a tapestry of defiance, faith, and legacy. The region's many names, like shifting sands, captured its essence and carried forward stories of time's relentless passage, each era casting its vision upon the landscape of Palestine.

Amid the Roman era of transformation, the province of Syria Palaestina emerged around 129–135 CE, its boundaries newly redrawn by merging Roman Syria with Judaea (Feldman 1990, 19). This was a land rife with legacies and often haunted by ambitions. Some linked the change in name to Emperor Hadrian. However, solid proof lay hidden in the shadows, sparking debates on whether his motives were to erase Jewish roots or simply his affinity for ancient Greek influences (Jacobson 2001, 44–45).

Scholar Zachary Foster reflects on this ambiguity, noting, 'Most scholars believe the Roman Emperor Hadrian changed the provincial administrative name of Judaea to Palestine to erase the Jewish presence in the land,' yet muses that 'it is equally likely the name change had little to do with Jew-hatred and more to do with Hadrian's romance with ancient Greece' (Foster 2017, 95–110).<sup>4</sup>

The motivations remain clouded in mystery, and little concrete evidence exists to explain why or when this name shift occurred.

Records begin to bear testimony to this era, and in 139 CE, a military diploma named Syria Palaestina as if with finality.<sup>5</sup> Voices from distant lands echoed through the descriptions of Pausanias, who spoke of a sanctuary for Aphrodite, a goddess whose cult wandered from Assyria to Cyprus, Ascalon, and Palestine (Pausanias 1918, 75). The palm trees, once foreign, now flourished by her temple, their fruits symbolizing vitality amid the arid lands, 'not throughout good to eat as in Palestine,' he remarked (Pausanias 1886, 170).

As the Roman empire stretched its control, figures such as Aelius Aristides in the mid-2nd century wrote disdainfully

of the land's inhabitants, calling them 'impious men of Palestine' (Aristides 1986, 275). Lucian of Samosata added to the mystique, mentioning a self-styled prophet who wielded sway among early Christians in the land, crafting books and doctrines, even claiming divine status akin to that other figure 'crucified in Palestine.'<sup>6</sup>

Palestine's narrative grew tangled with other regions. Appian, the historian, cast it as a threshold between Syria and Arabia, with Phoenicia on its maritime edge, an area both cultural and mystical (Alexandria 1912–1913, 5). Similarly, Lucian unveiled hints of a land where spiritual learning mingled with prophetic fervour.<sup>7</sup>

In Justin Martyr's time, coins minted in Flavia Neapolis bore the name of 'Palestine', and by 200 CE (Martyr and Kaye 1889, 2), Ulpian spoke of colonies within, including Caesarea and Aelia Capitolina, yet devoid of Italian privileges.<sup>8</sup> The century carried forward the whispers of cities lost and found, as Tertullian noted how Palestine had not yet absorbed the 'Jewish swarm' nor gave rise to the nascent Christian sect when Sodom and Gomorrah burned (Tertullianus 2008, 433).

By the 3rd century, the tales of Palestinian military valour stirred anew in the words of Cassius Dio. He recounted how the standard Roman legions marched upon the land, aligning it with historical names yet cementing its Roman designation. He specifically mentioned, 'This was the course of events at that time in Palestine; for this is the name that has been given from of old to the whole country extending from Phoenicia to Egypt along the inner sea. They have also another name that they have acquired: the country has been named Judaea, and the people themselves Jews' (Cocceianus 1969, 127).

Generations of rulers, from the likes of Aurelian to the philosophical musings of Eusebius (Caesarea 2003, 92) and Tertullian (Tertullianus 2008, 433), cast Palestine as an epic land on the borders of culture and power, mingling beliefs and

bloodlines, yet being home to people called 'Jews' (Caesarea 2003, 92; Tertullianus 2008, 433).

The centuries unfolded like parchment worn by time, each stroke of history painting a saga of conquest, servitude, and shifting allegiances. From the throne of Rome to the halls of Byzantium, from the scrolls of sages to the fervent whispers of the faithful, the land wove a tale of empires and exiles, of kings and the vanquished.

The voice of Julian, the last flicker of Rome's pagan soul, thundered against the Galileans, lamenting the betrayal of the old gods in 362 CE (Julianus 1923, 379):

'Why were you so ungrateful to our gods as to desert them for the Jews?' Was it because the gods granted the sovereign power to Rome, permitting the Jews to be free for a short time only, and then forever to be enslaved and aliens? Look at Abraham: was he not an alien in a strange land? And Jacob: was he not a slave, first in Syria, then after that in Palestine, and in his old age in Egypt? Does not Moses say that he led them forth from the house of bondage out of Egypt 'with a stretched-out arm'?<sup>9</sup>

And after their sojourn in Palestine did, they not change their fortunes more frequently than observers say the chameleon changes its colour, now subject to the judges,<sup>10</sup> now enslaved to foreign races?

When the standard of Rome rose high under Vespasian, the tides of war washed over the East. Aurelius Victor chronicled the emperor's victories (365–370 CE) (Victor 2018, 9): 'Vespasian ruled ten years. [...] Volgeses, King of Parthia, was compelled to peace.'

He explained that the empire swallowed territories like a beast never satiated—Syria, Cilicia, Trachia, Commagene—all claimed as Augustophratensis (Victor 2018, 9).

And then, the fateful addition (Victor 2018, 9): 'Judaea, too, was added.'

Eutropius, with the detachment of a historian, recorded the cold weight of conquest (370 CE) (Justin and Eutropius 1853, 504): 'Vespasian, who had been chosen emperor in Palestine, a prince indeed of obscure birth, but worthy to be compared with the best emperors.'

He talked about how Jerusalem, once the jewel of Palestine, fell into the iron grip of Rome (Justin and Eutropius 1853, 505).

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the grandeur of his prose, did not merely record land but painted it as a realm of abundance (380 CE) (Reland 1714, 37; Marcellinus 1894, 29):

The last province of the Syrias is Palestine, a district of great extent, abounding in well-cultivated and beautiful land, and having several magnificent cities, all of equal importance, and rivalling one another as it were, in parallel lines. For instance, Caesarea, which Herod built in honour of the Prince Octavianus, and Eleutheropolis, and Neapolis, and also Ascalon, and Gaza, cities built in bygone ages.

Jerome, ever the scholar and theologian, left behind accounts of ecclesiastical dissension as follows (384 CE): 'He (Origen) stands condemned by his bishop, Demetrius, only the bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phenicia, and Achaia dissenting.'

The year was around 385 CE. Egeria, a devout pilgrim, stood upon a crest, her eyes drinking in the vastness of the land that had been promised since time immemorial. The golden sun draped itself over the rolling expanse as she penned her wonder in words that would echo through the corridors of history (Egeria 1919, 23): 'The greatest part of Palestine, the land of promise, was in sight, together with the whole land of Jordan, as far as it could be seen with our eyes.'

By 390 CE, the wind carried voices from different corners, weaving a tale of geography, theology, and power. Auxentius of Durostorum—or perhaps Maximinus the Arian—described with meticulous observation the swiftness of donkeys, likening

them to horses in the lands of Arabia and Palestine (Origen 1844, 24): 'In regione Arabiae et Palaestinarum asini, qui veloces sunt similiter ut equi.'

Far from the quiet contemplation of nature, John Chrysostom thundered from the pulpit, conjuring the trials of Abraham with the fervour of prophecy (Chrysostom 1984, 74):

What about Abraham?' someone says. Who has suffered as many misfortunes as he? Was he not exiled from his country? Was he not separated from all his household? Did he not endure hunger in a foreign land? Did he not, like a wanderer, move continually, from Babylon to Mesopotamia, from there to Palestine, and from there to Egypt?

His voice did not falter as he drew a sharp contrast between the Jewish Passover and the Christian Pasch, separating the shadows of the past from the blazing light of truth (Chrysostom 2011, 88; Migne 1859, 870):

Do you not see that their Passover is the type, while our Pasch is the truth? Look at the tremendous difference between them. The Passover prevented bodily death: whereas the Pasch quelled God's anger against the whole world; the Passover of old freed the Jews from Egypt, while the Pasch has set us free from idolatry; the Passover drowned the Pharaoh, but the Pasch drowned the devil; after the Passover came Palestine, but after the Pasch will come heaven.

Beyond the realm of rhetoric, the land itself was reshaped by imperial decree. The once-unified province of Palaestina fractured into three: Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia (Strange 1890, 26). Judea, Samaria, and the coastal Paralia fell under the rule of a governor in Caesarea. Galilee and the lands east of it, reaching into the remnants of Decapolis, bowed to Scythopolis. Meanwhile, the desolate stretches of the Negev, the

rugged lands of southern Jordan, and the arid majesty of Sinai were governed from Petra. Thus, Palaestina Salutaris—the 'Blessed Palestine'—emerged from the emperor's decree.<sup>11</sup>

In 392 CE, Epiphanius of Salamis (1935, 30) chronicled Hadrian's journey, marking the passage of history: 'So [Hadrian] passed through the city of Antioch and passed through [Coele-Syria] and Phoenicia and came to Palestine — which is also called Judea — forty-seven years after the destruction of Jerusalem.'

Even the sages of the Jewish midrash spoke of the land, delineating its presence in holy scripture. Genesis Rabba (400 CE) spoke of three lands—Phoenicia, Arabia, and Palestine—hidden within the words of Genesis 41:54 (Feldman 1996, 554). Lamentations Rabbah (400 CE) painted a scene of conquest as the dukes of Arabia, Africa, Alexandria, and Palestine joined forces with Emperor Vespasian in a siege that stretched for three and a half years. Leviticus Rabbah whispered of Philistine strongholds, their echoes still lingering in the names of the land (Feldman 1996, 554).

Maps and chronicles, the silent sentinels of civilization, bore witness as well. The Tabula Peutingeriana laid out the Roman road network, tracing the arteries of the empire. In 411 CE, Jerome, the scholar of scholars, in his commentary on Ezekiel (Smith 1880, 465), described the riches that flowed from Judea—now called Palestine—into the bustling markets of Tyre. His words captured the bounty of the land: 'The land of Judea, which is now called Palestine, abounded in grain, balsam, honey, oil, and resin, which the Jews and Israelites brought to the fairs of Tyre.'<sup>12</sup>

By 414 CE, he delineated the contours of the Promised Land, sketching its borders from Sinai to the Great Sea, from the Taurus Mountains to the Jordan, a landscape shaped as much by divine promise as by imperial decree (Marcellio 1837, xli; Jerome 1910, 121–154).

Theodoret of Cyrrhus (2000, 312), reflecting on Psalm 133, likened harmony to the dew of Hermon falling upon Zion,

a metaphor as poetic as the land itself: 'Hermon is a mountain – in Palestine, in fact – and some distance from the land of Israel.'

As the 5th century waned, the annals of history bore yet more testimony. In a flourish of ecclesiastical authority, Proclus of Constantinople named Joshua as the one who commanded the sun and moon to halt over Palestine (Mai 1841, 92). Zosimus, chronicler of wars, described the ranks of warriors gathered in the battle before Emesa, where Palestinians, wielding clubs and staves, stood among the empire's armies (Zosimus 1684, 51).

The Madaba Map, with its sacred inscriptions, marked the borderlands of Egypt and Palestine.<sup>13</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis chronicled the life of Saint Saba (Scythopolis 1895, 18–19), while Procopius, in his *Buildings of Justinian*, described the sacred mountain of the Samaritans, Garizim, rising above Neapolis in Palestine (Caesariensis 1896, 143). In his *Wars of Justinian*, he noted the fertility and wealth of Palestine, a land so coveted that even the Persian king Chosroes sought dominion over it (Procopius 1914, XIX; Röhrich 1890, 10).

The wheel of time turned, and in 629 CE, Emperor Heraclius, having wrested Jerusalem from Persian hands, restored the True Cross to the Holy City in a ceremony that shimmered with imperial majesty (Studiorum 1991, 55,57). Yet the solemnity of the moment was marred by vengeance, as Heraclius, despite his promises, yielded to Christian demands and ordered the Jews of Palestine to be put to the sword for their collaboration with the Persians (Salih 1895, 39).

By 670 CE, Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* (1885, 33) recorded the ruin of Hebron, once grander than the cities of Egypt but now a shadow of its former self: 'This Hebron, it is said, was founded before all the cities, not only of Palestine, but also preceded in its foundation all the cities of Egypt, although it has now been so miserably destroyed.'

Centuries passed, and the voices of scholars, geographers, and theologians continued to shape the land's identity. Theophanes

the Confessor (810 CE) recorded how Muhammad, before proclaiming his prophethood, journeyed through Palestine, learning from Jews and Christians (Theophanes 1982, 35). Ibn Khordadbeh (870 CE) calculated the province's taxes (Strange 1890, 46), while Al-Baladhuri recounted the Rashidun conquest of its cities (Al-Balādhurī 1916, 213). The first Islamic history of Palestine emerged from the hands of Musa ibn Sahl al-Ramli, inscribing the presence of the Prophet's Companions who had settled there (Donner 1998, 226).

The centuries rolled forward, and by 930 CE, the Christian patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria lamented the rising violence against Christians in the East, particularly in Syria and Palestine (Eutychius of Alexandria 1895, 35; Mosheim 1847, 418).

Yet, despite conquest, bloodshed, and shifting empires, the land endured—etched in scripture, carved into maps and immortalized in the words of those who walked its soil.

The province of Filastin lay cradled across the sands of the Fatimid Caliphate, where tales of ancient lands stirred like whispers on the wind.

A region of lush bounty, its earth needed no coaxing waters to flourish. 'The province of Filastin,' wrote Istakhri and Ibn Hawqal, 'is the westernmost of the Syrian lands,' stretching from the boundary of Rafah to Lajjun, its breadth from Jaffa to Jericho. Ramla, the capital, stood proud, yet the Holy City of Jerusalem neared it in grandeur, like a watchful sentinel of faith. Twenty mosques graced Filastin's lands, their minarets rising over fertile fields, where figs, carobs, and olives grew like blessings scattered across the soil (Strange 1890, 28–29; Röhricht 1890, 12).

In 985 CE, the scholar Al-Maqdisi captured the essence of this land's abundance, its 36 unique products, which were a marvel that even the most fertile soils of the East could not rival. 'From Palestine,' he wrote, 'come olives, figs, raisins, and the silken wares of craftsmen' (Strange 1890, 16). Meanwhile, the *Suda lexicon*, a

distant echo from a Greek mind around 1000 CE, called simply, 'Palestine: name of a territory, a place of people called Palestinians.'<sup>14</sup>

As time wove its intricate patterns, pilgrims, travellers, and scholars journeyed to these storied lands. In 1029 CE, Rabbi Solomon ben Judah's letters bore witness from Jerusalem, marking Filastin upon his scrolls (Gill 1996, 28–30). Then, the Persian poet Nasir Khusraw (Strange 1890, 28, 29), in his journey through Syria and Filastin, noted the fame of Ramla, where the name *Filastin* echoed across West and East alike (Röhrlich 1890, 19; Khusraw 1897, 22).

Through crusader sieges and empires' rise, the name and soul of Palestine endured. By 1101 CE, Rabbi Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome described the linguistic traces in sacred texts, noting Palestine in the Genesis Rabbah (Reland 1714, 39). A decade later, Fulcher of Chartres chronicled a transformation in his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 'For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals' (Smith 1997, 149). The Franks and Romans of Europe had found themselves in strange lands but had become Galileans and Palestinians—strangers no more (Smith 1997, 149).

During the Crusader period, cities were adorned on maps like the work of Beatus of Liébana, who envisioned a world connected by saints and prophets. The great Muhammad al-Idrisi mapped out *The Book of Pleasant Journeys into Faraway Lands*, tracing cities like Jerusalem, Gaza, and Nablus, which lay beneath the Mediterranean's warm embrace (Strange 1890, 29–40; Röhrlich 1890, 36). And by the mid-12th century, Abraham ibn Daud brought further accounts from those distant lands.<sup>15</sup>

The 13th-century traveller Yaqut al-Hamawi observed, 'Filastin is the last of Syria's provinces toward Egypt.' He recorded Jerusalem as its capital and towns—Ashkelon, Gaza, Jaffa—each holding a piece of history within stone walls and shaded alleys (Strange 1890, 29).

As history shifted from the Ayyubid to the Mamluk period, the chronicles grew richer with stories and travellers' voices.

In 1320 CE, Sanuto's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* divided Palestine into regions, mapping cities like Caesarea, Jerusalem, and Bethsan (Sanuto the Elder 2016, Book 3). Meanwhile, the scholar Ibn Khaldun documented the rich tapestry of tax levies and economic structures that tied the province of Filastin to the lands of Syria (Strange 1890, 45).

The voice of Palestine continued to echo through the centuries.

By 1351 CE, Jamal ad-Din Ahmad's *The Exciter of Desire* described it as a sanctuary of faith and sustenance (Strange 1890, 42). Here, as Ibn Battuta wrote in 1355 CE, 'Ramla was also known as Filastin' (Strange 1890, 122). By the 15th century, the historian Mujir al-Din referred to Palestine as a name spoken in reverence, noting its expanse from the Anaj near Al-Arish to the borders of Lajjun, resonant with the historical spirit of Jund Filastin (Strange 1890, 25; Gerber 2008, 49).

In the age of exploration and empires, travellers, scholars, and cartographers crossed boundaries in thought and land, each leaving their mark upon a shifting historical tapestry. In 1536 CE, Jacob Ziegler, through his *Terrae Sanctae*, offered a learned map, blending the terrains of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt as part of a holy canvas (Ziegler 1536). Like compass points, his words guided a generation intrigued by the mystical lands.

Four years later, Guillaume Postel's *Syriae Descriptio* painted Syria in words that invoked both reverence and fascination (Postel 1540, 2–10). The allure of the East grew deeper, like a timeless calling, resonating through Europe.

By 1553 CE, Pierre Belon's *Observations* drew readers closer to the soul of this land, describing its birds, trees, and rare wonders—each a petal in a floral kaleidoscope he named 'the land of Palestine' (Belon 1533). Belon's fascination with the natural world melded seamlessly with the sacred terrain he chronicled, an oasis of discovery and devotion.

Around 1560 CE, a new translation emerged as the *Geneva Bible* was printed for the masses. It named Pleshet—the

ancient root of Palestine—in verses of prophecy and praise, embedding 'Palestina' into the English language and the hearts of worshippers.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, the Ottoman jurist Ebussuud Efendi, in a fatwa, pondered the 'Holy Land'. He reasoned that Syria, Jerusalem, and Palestine all wore the mantle of holiness in the Ottoman mind, a shared devotion tied to distant lands and sacred histories (Gerber 1998, 563–564).

In 1561 CE, Anthony Jenkinson, sent forth by Queen Elizabeth's representative, etched a record in his *Principall Navigations of the Levant*, anointed in the Queen's name. He declared Jerusalem, Damascus, and the ancient ports of Syria and 'Palestina' under England's watchful eye, honouring the Levantine path as a pulse in the grand English mission (Hakluyt 1561).

Then came 1563 CE, when physician Josse Van Lom attended to the bodies of Europe and beyond. His treatise on fevers cast light on the humoral seasons that affected Scots, Egyptians, and 'Palestinians' alike (Lommius 1732, 30). Health and land were intertwined, united by a Mediterranean pulse and connected across oceans and cultures.

Amid these records, an image emerged of Palestine not only as a holy place but as a space alive with natural beauty, travel, and reverence, carrying the Jewish identity as best it could.

In maps of Abraham Ortelius' 1570 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Ortelius and Hogenberg 1570, 3) or Tilemann Stella's 1565 map (Tilemann 1565), 'Palestina' and 'Holy Land' appeared as venerable jewels—mystical as their forebears claimed, yet mapped for the Renaissance world to explore.

Even Shakespeare, circa 1600, immortalized Palestine in his verses, calling upon the Crusades and 'the holy wars in Palestine'. His words gave texture to a land that, for his Elizabethan audience, held a depth beyond simple geography.<sup>17</sup>

In 1649, Ottoman geographer Kâtip Çelebi illustrated Syria's regions, noting 'the noblest of the administrative divisions of

Syria is Palestine.' His pen travelled borders traced by rivers and mountains, honouring Jerusalem and Gaza as the soul of the Levant (Çelebi 2021, 436–437; Tamari 2011). Evliya Çelebi, the famed traveller, recorded soon after, 'all chronicles call this country the Land of Palestine,' a title borne of respect and deep familiarity (Tshelebi 1980, 63).

The year 1805 CE marked the birth of the Palestine Association, a beacon of collective ambition. Its founding was a testament to the yearning for understanding and connection within this storied land (Kark and Goren 2011, 264–274). In 1806 CE, the echoes of geography were heard through Lant Carpenter, who, in his *An Introduction to the Geography of the New Testament*, crafted a map of the Levant that served not merely as a guide but as an invitation to delve into the divine narratives that shaped the region (Carpenter 1811, 4).

Three years earlier, Reginald Heber encapsulated the spirit of the land in verse with his poignant *Palestine: A Poem*. His lines breathed life into the arid landscapes and sacred sites, transforming stone and soil into a living testament of faith and history (Reginald 1803).

In 1811 CE, François-René de Chateaubriand embarked on an odyssey through the pages of *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (Chateaubriand, 1884), retracing the steps of those who came before him. He reflected on the silence of contemporary travellers, noting the rich accounts of Deshayes from 1621 CE as a fitting guide to the holy places amidst a chorus of modern voices that seem muted in their reverence (Chateaubriand 1812, 14–15).

In 1812 CE, William Crotch also composed an oratorio titled *Palestine*. This musical tribute wove together the fabric of spirituality and artistry, echoing through the halls of history like the sounds of ancient rituals (Crotch 1878).

In 1819 CE, George Paxton presented *Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures*, a triptych of insights from the geography, natural

history, and customs of both ancient and modern nations, portraying the landscapes that cradled the stories of the Bible, underscoring the enduring bond between culture and land. He talked about beautiful women in the land of Palestine (Horne 1839, 390–391; Paxton 1841; Paxton 1822, 158).

As the narrative unfolded, Abraham Rees revealed in his *Cyclopædia* that Palestine existed as an independent entity, a land divided among governors, known as *Pachas*, who, though sometimes benevolent, often wielded their power with a heavy hand (Rees 1819a, 84). The soil was tilled with humble means, and the peasant's life was a cycle of toil and struggle. Harvests were gathered under the vigilant eye of uncertainty, and labour and resilience nurtured the spirit of the land (Rees 1819b, 708).

The year 1822 CE bore witness to the meticulous observations of Conrad Malte-Brun, who mapped the vastness of the Turkish Empire in Asia. He categorized the provinces, carefully charting the regions of Syria and Palestine (Brun 1822, 98), highlighting the complexities of a land rich with history yet fraught with uncertainty. He acknowledged the elusive nature of demographic truths, where population estimates were as varied as the landscapes (Brun 1822, 166–167).

That same year, James Silk Buckingham travelled through the territories east of the Jordan, visiting ancient cities. His explorations breathed life into the ruins and recalled the legacies of saints and scholars. He painted a vivid picture of Ramla, tracing its lineage to biblical times, affirming its significance as a historical crossroads where the past and present intertwine (Buckingham 1822, 261).

Among the waves of travellers, Robert Richardson observes the customs of the people, noting the distinctive veils of Syrian women juxtaposed against the unveiled *Jewesses of Jerusalem*. His reflections offer a glimpse into the cultural thread woven by diverse communities inhabiting the same sacred spaces (Richardson 1822, 201).

In 1823 CE, Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles marvelled at the Necropolis of Petra, recognizing it as a unique monument that bridged the past and present. Their accounts, steeped in awe, served as reminders of the architectural marvels that stood as a testament to the ingenuity of ancient civilizations (Irby, Baker and Mangles 1823, 406).

The chronicles continued with Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller, who meticulously compiled the *Geography of Palestine* in 1823 CE (Rosenmüller 1826, 7), while Robert Watt, in 1824 CE catalogued the rich history and geography of Syria and Palestine, affirming their intertwined destinies (Watt 1824, 794).

By 1830 CE, Josiah Conder contributed to the growing compendium of knowledge about Palestine (Conder 1830), while Heinrich Friedrich Pfannkuche highlighted the limited understanding of Palestinian Jewish history in ancient writings, calling attention to the shared linguistic roots of neighbouring cultures (Brown 1833, 52).

A pivotal moment arose around 1834 CE, when Neophytos, a monk from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, recounted the celebrations in Jerusalem following the conquest of Ptolemais. This event was marked by joy and underlying dread among the Muslims, who sensed the shifting tides of power (Spyridon 1938, 85).

In 1835 CE, Karl Georg von Raumer and Heinrich Berghaus continued the exploration of Palestine, examining the socio-political landscape amid the encroachments of external forces (Raumer 1867, 52).

Five years later, Ferdinand de Géramb painted a stark picture of the despotic governance that cast a pall over the land, describing the rampant exploitation that drove entire villages to abandon their homes in fear of oppressive taxes, leaving behind desolation where life once thrived (Géramb 1840, 148–152).

As the narrative unfolded, George Long provided a lens through which modern Palestine is understood within the broader

context of Syria (Long 1842, 163, 475), and John Kitto meticulously chronicled the biblical history of the Holy Land, enriching the collective understanding of its past (Kitto 1844, Vol 1, Vol 2).

By 1841 CE, Edward Robinson revealed the linguistic unity among the Christian communities. Charles Henry Churchill urged the European powers to focus on revitalizing Syria and Palestine, a vision underscored by hope and divine blessing (Robinson and Smith 1841).

In the evolving landscape of the mid-19th century, Adriano Balbi documented the ancient monasteries, emphasizing the perilous existence of monastic life amid threats from wild Arabs, rendering these sanctuaries fortresses of faith (Brun and Balbi 1842, 651).

The year 1843 CE marked a period of resurgence. Alexander Keith highlighted the agricultural richness of Palestine, painting a vivid picture of its fertile lands brimming with potential (Keith 1843, 186, 467). On the other hand, Origen Bachelier noted the influx of Jewish communities drawn to the promise of the Holy Land (Bachelier 1843, 116).

In the chronicles of history, the year 5592, or 1832 in our reckoning, marked a momentous turning point as Mahmud Ali, the *pacha* of Alexandria, boldly declared his independence from the Sultan of Constantinople. His son, Abraim Pacha, surged forth with a formidable army into the heart of Palestine. With a swiftness akin to the rushing tide, he swept through Jaffa, Jerusalem, Nablus, and Chaifa, encountering naught but a feeble resistance from the Sultan's adherents. In their wake, Egyptian soldiers established their garrisons like a new dawn rising over the ancient lands. Soon, Abraim besieged Akko, held by Abd Alla Pacha, laying siege with relentless determination until he seized the city by storm, dragging its ruler as a captive back to Egypt. Thus, the dominion of Egypt unfurled over all of Palestine, Syria, Arabia, and Nubia as the sun cast its golden glow over a newly claimed realm (Shwartz 1850, 378–379).

Fast forward to 1856 CE, when James Redhouse published his esteemed work, the original and authoritative *Ottoman-English dictionary*. It heralded the sacred lands as *dari-filastin*, the *House of Palestine*—a name that reverberated with the echoes of faith and history (Redhouse 1856, 155).

By 1858 CE, Josias Leslie Porter described the modern inhabitants of Southern Palestine, dividing them into two distinct classes: the Bedawin, nomadic tribes dwelling in tents, and the *Fellahin*, rooted villagers nurturing the soil (Porter 1868, 177). The plain of Akka, renowned for its fertility, revealed a landscape where both luxuriant crops and unruly weeds thrived in abundance, a testament to nature's duality. It was a land moister than any other, transforming into a marshy tapestry each winter, a mosaic of life and stillness (Porter 1858, 374).

The year 1859 CE bore witness to David Kay's insights in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, chronicling the enduring rule of Selim I, the Sultan of the Turks, who subdued Palestine in 1517 CE. This dominion persisted until the audacious invasion of Egypt by the French army in 1798 CE, under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte. Forewarned of impending assaults from Acre, he chose to pre-emptively strike, crossing the desert sands with a vanguard of 10,000 troops. As he captured town after town, his hands stained with the blood of 4,000 prisoners in Jaffa, his legacy morphed into one of infamy (Traill 1859, 36, 198).

In the same breath of 1859 CE, Henry Stafford Osborn reflected on Palestine's glory, noting the coins embossed with the image of grapes and the palm trees, symbols of a land rich in bounty. Gibbon's words lingered as he contrasted Phoenicia's narrow, rocky coast with Palestine's offerings, which, while modest in size, were brimming with potential. He echoed Strabo's observations of Jericho, where forests of palm trees danced beside springs that breathed life into the earth (Osborn 1859, 505–507).

In 1860 CE, Josias Leslie Porter offered a portrait of Syria and Palestine's modern inhabitants—a mixed race woven from the ancient Syrian threads of early Christianity and the

Arabian strands brought by the armies of the Khalifs. Despite the mingling, the essence of the land's people endured, visible in the shared features of Christians and Muslims, separated only by the fabric of their garments (Traill 1860, 38, 907).

As the tide of time flowed into 1865 CE, William 'Corky' Norton recounted his experiences on the HMS *Powerful* during the bombardment of Beirut, the Queen City of Palestine. He witnessed the chaos of the Egyptian retreat, a spectacle not worthy of admiration, as he mused on the futility of numbers in the face of a well-organized British force (Norton 1865, 225).

The echoes of beauty and promise resounded in William McClure Thomson's words from 1865 CE as he traversed from Samaria to Nablus, his heart alight with the richness of the land. No other expanse in Palestine surpassed it in both fertility and natural splendour, nourished by a mill stream that wove its way through villages and hills clothed in orchards of olive, fig, and pomegranate—a veritable tapestry of life (Thomson 1865, 46).

By 1867 CE, Titus Tobler (Tobler 1867) and John Tillotson in 1871 CE (Tillotson 1871, 94) were exploring the depths of Palestine's sacred story. The years from 1872 to 1917 CE saw the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem, commonly referred to simply as 'Palestine', a name that danced upon the tongues of its people, embodying the heart of the land (Büssow 2011, 5; Khalidi 2009, 151).

In 1873 CE, William Smith captured the essence of the ancient land in his *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, affirming Palestine as the classic name for this cherished territory, intertwined with the fabric of history as seen by the eyes of prophets and historians alike.<sup>18</sup>

As the clock struck 1875 CE, Karl Baedeker illuminated the landscape, revealing how Arabs encompassed both Syria and Palestine under the name 'esch-Schäm', a designation steeped in geographical lore (Baedeker 1875, 60).

In the vibrant tapestry of the late 19th century, Isabel Burton chronicled her journey (in 1875 CE), meeting Franco Pasha, a figure of compassion whose thoughts were ever aligned with

Allah and the Sultan, embodying the spirit of benevolence that resonated through the hearts of the people (Burton 1875, 349).

The year 1876 CE brought Sir Moses Montefiore's mission to uplift the Jewish community, a labour of love intended to foster prosperity rather than mere charity. However, the winds of doubt and whispers of idleness cast a shadow over his noble intentions (Cook 1876, 118).

Then came 1897 CE, the dawn of the First Zionist Congress in Basel (refer to Figure 2), where the vision was set forth: 'Zionism aims at establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine', a dream etched in the collective consciousness.

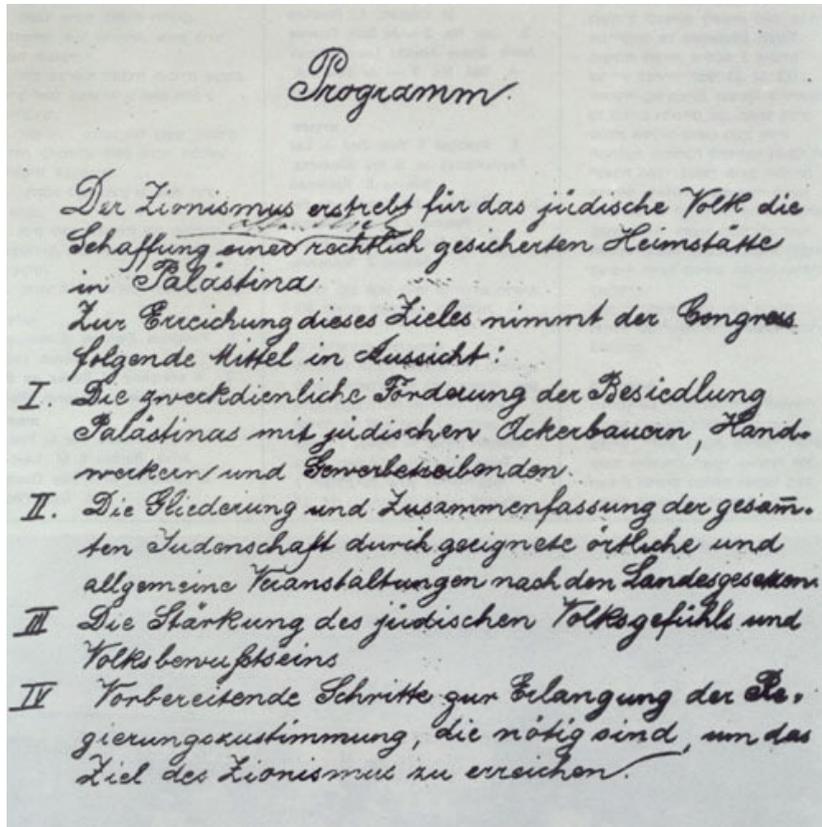


Figure 2: The 'Basel Programme' at the First Zionist Congress in 1897<sup>19</sup>

In 1898 CE, Khalil Beidas voiced the yearning of the Palestinian peasant for knowledge of his homeland, emphasizing the vital relationship between the land and its people as they awaited the nourishing rains of winter—a poignant reminder of the connection between the soil and the soul (Beška and Foster 2021, 1–7).

Haim Gerber's insight reveals that the remnants of correspondence between Ottoman governors and their superiors often danced around the Zionist question, a spectre looming over the local inhabitants. The land itself, steeped in ancient narratives, was always referred to as Palestine, a name resonant with history and struggle (Gerber 2008, 51).

As the sun rose at the dawn of 1900 CE, J. M. Robertson reflected on the deep roots of culture in his work *Christianity and Mythology*. Long before the arrival of Biblical Judaism, the people of Palestine were entwined in the universal rituals of *sun* and *moon*, embodying the very essence of nature and symbol. Successive waves of conquest—both physical and mystical—had washed over the land, reshaping the primordial hallucination of its inhabitants into new forms yet leaving an indelible mark upon their souls (Robertson 1900, 421).

In 1902 CE, the voices of Salim Qub'ayn and Najib Nassar emerged, painting vivid pictures of Palestinian towns and capturing their essence and spirit. This year also saw the establishment of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, a subsidiary of the Bank Leumi, emerging as a financial instrument for the Zionist Organization—a harbinger of change that stirred the waters of local tradition (Beška and Foster 2021, 1–7).

The year 1911 was pivotal, heralded by the founding of *Falastin*, a newspaper birthed in Jaffa by Palestinian Christians. Its ink flowed with the aspirations and grievances of a community grappling with its identity amidst shifting tides (Gerber 2008, 48–53).

In the annals of 1911 CE, David George Hogarth, writing for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, chronicled the demographic landscape of Syria, noting its population of over 3 million across a vast expanse. He painted a portrait of poverty in the average density, a figure skewed by the barren northern steppes. Yet, within the fertile embrace of Phoenicia and Lebanon, the pulse of life quickened, revealing a denser population of over seventy souls to the square mile. Meanwhile, Palestine, the northern reaches of the western plateau, along with the oases of Damascus and Aleppo, thrived with life (Hogarth 1911, 307).

In 1913 CE, the *Al-Karmil* newspaper voiced a collective hope among Palestinians for the Ottoman Party for Administrative Decentralization to alleviate the perceived threats of Zionism. This group of individuals, once hopeful of their leaders' resolve, held immense power, recognizing that Palestine was not just a name but a vibrant heart of the Ottoman Empire (Ayyad 1999, 33).

By 1913 CE, Ruhi Khalidi, reflecting the sentiments captured by Haim Gerber, noted that whenever the name of the country emerged, it was always Palestine—never southern Syria, nor anything else—firmly anchoring the land's identity (Gerber 2008, 51).

As the world shifted on the brink of war in 1914, a meeting of the British Cabinet on 9 November saw Chancellor of the Exchequer David Lloyd George refer to 'the ultimate destiny of Palestine', foreshadowing a future steeped in uncertainty and potential upheaval (Monroe 1963, 26).

The following year, 1915, marked the creation of *Filastin Risalesi* (Palestine Document), an Ottoman army survey that meticulously defined Palestine's contours, including the sanjaqs of Akka, Nablus, and Jerusalem (Kudus Sherif), illuminating the geographical and cultural significance of this ancient land (Tamari 2011, 1).

In the annals of history, the intricate arrival of the British mandate unfurled with threads woven from both ambition and contention, each event a vivid stroke upon the canvas of a land long coveted.

The year was 1918. The House of Commons of the United Kingdom echoed with an inquiry.

Major Earl Winterton asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what facilities have been given to the Palestinian and Syrian political leaders now in Egypt to visit Palestine?<sup>20</sup>

This moment marked one of the earliest forays into British politics, where the term 'Palestinian' would begin to carve its place within the corridors of power, soon to resonate through the years like a distant drumbeat.<sup>21</sup>

In the spring of 1919, amidst the swirling hopes of the Paris Peace Conference, the Zionist Organization presented its vision for Palestine, declaring as below (Rothschild, Sokolow and Weizmann, et al. 1919):

The boundaries of Palestine shall follow the general lines set out below: Starting on the North at a point on the Mediterranean Sea in the vicinity south of Sidon and following the watersheds of the foothills of the Lebanon as far as Jisr El-Karaon thence to El-Bire, following the dividing line between the two basins of the Wadi El-Korn and the Wadi Et-Teim, thence in a southerly direction following the dividing line between the Eastern and Western slopes of the Hermon, to the vicinity west of Beit Jenn, then eastward following the northern watersheds of the Nahr Mughaniye close to and west of the Hedjaz Railway. In the east a line close to and west of the Hedjaz Railway terminating in the Gulf of Akaba. In the south a frontier to be agreed upon with the Egyptian Government. In the west the Mediterranean Sea.

Here, the cartographers of ambition sketched a new map (refer to Figure 3), lines drawn not just on parchment but through the hearts and dreams of nations.

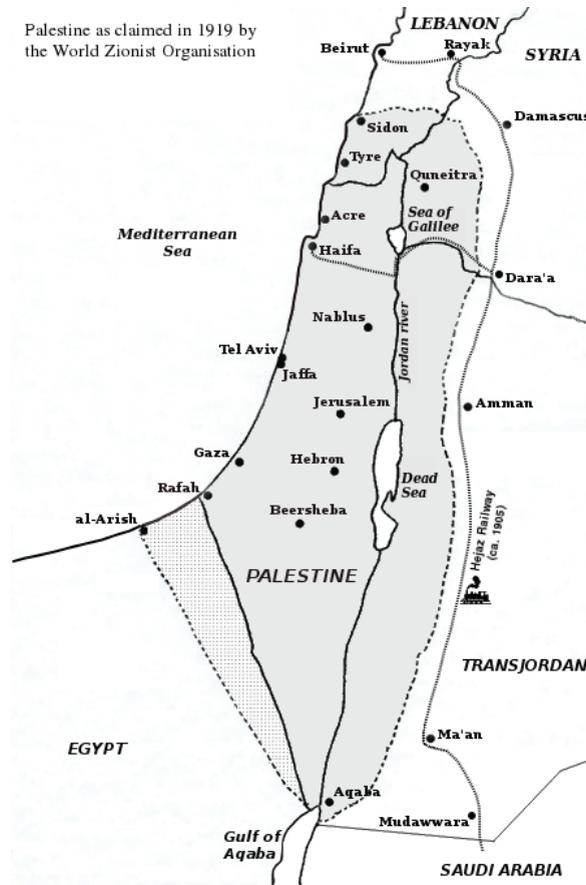


Figure 3: Palestine as claimed by the World Zionist Organization in 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference<sup>22</sup>

That same year, the Syrian National Congress voiced its sentiment, asserting as below (Pipes 1990, 26): ‘We ask that there be no separation of the southern part of Syria, known as Palestine, nor of the littoral western zone, which includes Lebanon, from the Syrian country.’

This plea echoed like a siren, warning of the fractures to come, as identities and territories collided in a storm of historical significance.

By 1920 CE, the air thickened with political manoeuvring as the Franco-British boundary agreement laid the groundwork for

the borders of the Mandate of Palestine, its contours ultimately approved on 7 March 1923. The ink of compromise mingled with ambition, carving a new destiny for a land burdened with ancient legacies (Bernard 1980, 12).

In the shadow of governance, Herbert Samuel, during an Advisory Council meeting in 1920, contemplated the nomenclature of this land. 'When I had to decide the wording for the stamps,' he mused, 'I was aware that there was no other name in the Hebrew language for this land except 'Eretz-Israel'.' His words floated in the air, a delicate balance between heritage and recognition, suggesting, 'It was decided to print 'Palestine' in Hebrew letters and to add after it the letters 'Aleph' 'Yod', which constitute a recognised abbreviation of the Hebrew name' (Palestine Royal Commission 1937; Grief 2008, 473).

Here was a dance of identities, each step fraught with significance, as voices from different corners of the room debated whether to retain both names, a compromise nestled in the heart of discord.

The Syrian-Palestinian Congress convened in 1921, a gathering of minds seeking unity in a divided landscape, while in 1923, the British Mandate for Palestine was ratified, a formal birth certificate for a turbulent future.

By 1926, the Permanent Mandates Commission turned its gaze upon the landscape of grievances. Read the excerpt from the Minutes of the Ninth Session held at Geneva from 8 to 25 June 1926:

M. Palacios, returning to the concrete questions of a general character of which the Arabs complained, recalled those concerning the national title, the national hymn and the flag. These were really thorny questions, like all sentimental and patriotic questions, regarding which it was necessary to observe complete prudence and tact.

As regards the first point, the Arabs claimed that it was not in conformity with Article 22 of the Mandate to print the initials and even the words 'Eretz Israel' after the name 'Palestine' while refusing the Arabs the title 'Surial Janonbiah' (Southern Syria).

The British Government had not accepted the use of this Arab title, but gave the place of honour to the Hebrew word used for 2,000 years and decided that the official name in Hebrew was 'Palestina' followed by the initials signifying 'Aleph Jod', the regular Hebrew name. Was the question still under discussion and could the accredited representative give the Commission any further information?

Colonel Symes explained that the country was described as 'Palestine' by Europeans and as 'Falestin' by the Arabs. The Hebrew name for the country was the designation 'Land of Israel', and the Government, to meet Jewish wishes, had agreed that the word 'Palestine' in Hebrew characters should be followed in all official documents by the initials which stood for that designation. As a set-off to this, certain of the Arab politicians suggested that the country should be called 'Southern Syria' in order to emphasise its close relation with another Arab State.<sup>23</sup>

And in 1936, the Peel Commission Report stirred the waters once more. '(Jewish nationalism) claims, for example, that, though Palestine is not an Arab word and might therefore fairly serve Jews as well as Arabs, *Eretz Israel* (Land of Israel) should also be accepted as the official translation of 'Palestine', a proclamation resonating with the fervour of national pride. The printing of the Hebrew initials 'E. I.' after 'Palestine' was not merely a stamp but a proclamation of identity, each coin a battleground in the war of narratives' (Grief 2008, 470–482; Gore 1937).

Thus, the formation of the British Mandate unfolded like a grand play, each act rich with the ambitions, sorrows, and hopes of its actors, a history inscribed in both the land and the hearts of those who walked upon it.

### Biblical References

In the grand theatre of the sacred texts, the Pentateuch, known as the Torah, wove a narrative rich with threads referencing a

people shaped by triumph and strife. Among these, ten poignant mentions of the *Philistines* echoed through the ages, beckoning us to explore their tales woven into the fabric of divine interaction (BibleGateway 2011).<sup>24</sup>

In the beginning, we journey to Genesis 10:14, where we discover: 'And Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim,) and Caphtorim.'<sup>25</sup>

Here, the origins of the Philistines are subtly unveiled, linking them to a lineage that stretched across the sands of time, hinting at the depth of their history.

As we wander through Genesis 21:32–34, we witness a moment of solemnity:

Thus they made a covenant at Beersheba: then Abimelech rose up, and Phichol the chief captain of his host, and they returned into the land of the Philistines. And Abraham planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the everlasting God. And Abraham sojourned in the Philistines' land many days.<sup>26</sup>

Here, the sacred soil of Beersheba became a site of promise and peace, where the figures of Abimelech and Abraham danced around the covenant, their destinies intertwined amid the whispering trees, a testament to the complexity of their coexistence.

Then, in Exodus 13:17, the narrative took a turn: 'And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt.'<sup>27</sup>

Here, the divine hand guided the Israelites away from the Philistines, fearing the shadow of conflict might turn them back, illustrating a poignant moment of divine protection interwoven with human frailty.

In Exodus 23:31, the bounds of land are declared: 'And I will set thy bounds from the Red Sea even unto the sea of the

Philistines, and from the desert unto the river: for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out before thee.<sup>28</sup>

This passage, a proclamation of power, hinted at the struggles yet to unfold, where the Philistines stood as formidable obstacles in the path of the chosen people.

As we turn the pages to the *Historical* books, the tales multiply, with over 250 references that paint the Philistines as both adversaries and neighbours.

In Joshua 13:1–3, we read:

Now Joshua was old and stricken in years; and the LORD said unto him, thou art old and stricken in years, and there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed. This is the land that yet remaineth: all the borders of the Philistines, and all Geshuri, from Sihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward, which is counted to the Canaanite: five lords of the Philistines; the Gazathites, and the Ashdothites, the Eshkalonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; also, the Avites.<sup>29</sup>

In these verses, the landscape is not merely geographical; it is a vivid battleground of cultures, a mosaic of lords whose legacies haunt the pages of history.

The majestic reign of Solomon is recounted in 1 Kings 4:21:

And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life.<sup>30</sup>

Solomon's dominion stretched over this land, where diplomacy mingled with power, and the Philistines became subjects and spectators in the grand theatre of ancient politics.

In the realm of Wisdom literature, the references dwindled to six, all captured in the eloquence of the Psalms.

In Psalm 87:4, we hear the celebration:

I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me: behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this man was born there.<sup>31</sup>

This moment revealed the Philistines as part of a broader narrative, their identity forever etched alongside those of other great civilizations, their spirit a vital thread in the weave of the human story.

As we journey through the Major and Minor prophets, around twenty references resonate with prophetic urgency.

Zephaniah 2:5 laments:

Woe unto the inhabitants of the sea coast, the nation of the Cherethites! the word of the LORD is against you; O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will even destroy thee, that there shall be no inhabitant.<sup>32</sup>

The cry of judgment reverberated a stark reminder of the fragile balance between power and prophecy, echoing through the ages.

Finally, in Amos 9:7, a question hung in the air:

Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the LORD. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?<sup>33</sup>

Here, the divine perspective reshaped our understanding, inviting us to see the interconnectedness of nations and destinies, where the Philistines are not mere antagonists but part of a shared history.

But what stands as an interesting aspect is that 'Palestine' always meant something quite synonymous to Israel (which becomes evident from the reading of this chapter), and it had all to do with Jews.

## II. Zionism: Good or Ugly?

In the grand theatre of human discourse, myriad voices rise and fall with opinions about ‘Zionism’, yet few truly comprehend the symphony it orchestrates. Like a mysterious garden shrouded in mist, its true essence remains hidden from a casual glance. To label something virtuous or malevolent, one must first traverse the winding paths and uncover all the truths that lie beneath its surface. This chapter serves as a guiding star in the night sky, dedicated to unravelling the very questions that dance in the minds of many, seeking clarity amidst the shadows.

In the late 19th-century winds of European intellectual upheaval, Zionism stirred to life a movement fuelled by the age-old longing for a homeland. Rising amidst the ashes of persistent antisemitism, it envisioned a Jewish state not within European borders but in a land where their ancestors’ footsteps still echoed: Palestine (Collins 2011, 169–185; Robinson 2013, 18; Bloom 2011, 2, 13, 49, 132; Alroey 2011, 5; Balfour 2019, 59), the historical land of Israel (Safrai 2018, 76; Biger 2004, 58–63; Motyl 2001, 604; Herzl 1988, 40). This quest was not merely geographic—it was a mission to re-establish Jewish identity and sovereignty, culminating, in the words of the Zionist vision: a Jewish state emerging in the cradle of their faith and culture.

This movement, born in the heart of Central and Eastern Europe, had a secular vein. Zionism opposed antisemitism and assimilation’s erasure of Jewish identity, rejecting the self-denial that accompanied fitting into European society, even as the *Haskalah*—or Jewish Enlightenment—urged integration

(Conforti 2024, 485; Cohen 1995, 504; Shillony 2012, 88; LeVine and Mossberg 2014, 211; Gelvin 2007, 51).

The arrival of Zionist settlers in Palestine was not the march of an empire but the weary return of a people long persecuted, carrying with them the scars of exile and oppression. For centuries, the Jews had wandered as strangers in foreign lands, denied a place to call their own. In medieval Europe, they were expelled from England, France, and Spain, branded as outsiders, forced into ghettos, and made scapegoats for every misfortune. Under Islamic rule, they lived as *dhimmis*, tolerated but always second-class, bound by humiliating restrictions, their fate at the mercy of a ruler's whim. In the *Pale of Settlement* under Tsarist Russia, they were hounded by pogroms—massacres that saw entire communities slaughtered while the world turned away. In the 20th century, history delivered one its cruellest blow yet: the Holocaust,<sup>1</sup> where six million were reduced to ashes, proving beyond doubt that no land but their own could ever be safe.

It was from this abyss of suffering that Zionism was born—not from conquest, but from necessity.

In 1917, the Balfour Declaration (refer to Figure 4) marked the first glimmer of hope as Britain pledged support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It was a promise fragile as parchment, yet it carried the weight of centuries of longing. By 1922, the British Mandate gave structure to this vision, favouring Jewish settlers while leaving the native Arab population uneasy, the seeds of the conflict already sown. The Jews who arrived were not imperialists; they were survivors, bearing the weight of a history that had long denied them peace (United Nations General Assembly 1951).

Then came 1948—the moment of both salvation and struggle. With the horrors of the Holocaust still fresh, the Jews, battered but unbowed, declared the birth of Israel. But nations are not born in stillness, and as Arab armies sought to crush this newfound state, Israel fought for its very survival. In the

fires of war, its borders expanded beyond the UN partition plan, securing over 78% of mandatory Palestine. For the Palestinians, it was the Nakba—the catastrophe—as thousands fled or were expelled, their villages left in silence. Of the 870,000 Palestinians displaced, only 160,000 remained, a fragment of what once was (United Nations General Assembly 1951).

Foreign Office,

November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

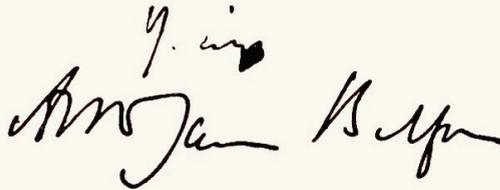
A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'A. Balfour', with a small flourish above the first name.

Figure 4: Balfour Declaration, British Library. Originally published 9 November 1917

Zionism, however, was not a monolith. Some, like Brit Shalom and Ihud, sought coexistence (Gorni 1987, 165, 323). Others, hardened by centuries of betrayal, saw no choice but to ensure the survival of their people by any means necessary (Sternhell 1998, 340; Gorni 1987, 165; Penslar 2023, 60; Ami 2007, 3; Chomsky 1999, 110; Khoury 2023). Religious Zionism wove faith into nationalism, seeing the land itself as a covenant fulfilled. And though differences existed, all Zionists shared a single truth—Jewish survival could never again depend on the goodwill of others (Troen 2007, 872–884; Aaronsohn 1996, 214–229; Cohen 2011, 115–139).

To its advocates, Zionism was redemption—a people returning home after generations in exile. To its critics, it was displacement and colonial ambition. But history is not a tale of villains and saints. The Jews did not steal a homeland; they sought to reclaim one, driven by a memory too painful to forget. And so, two wounded peoples became trapped in the same tragedy—one seeking to return, the other refusing to be erased. A conflict of justice against justice, where history refused to take sides.

Now, let us look at the term with utmost depth.

The word ‘Zionism’ springs from the ancient name Zion (Hebrew: צִיּוֹן, Romanised: Tzi-yon), conjuring visions of Mount Zion, a hill in Jerusalem that for centuries has symbolized the spiritual heart of Israel. In the Hebrew Bible, Zion is more than land—it is a promise, a vision, a cherished place of return for an exiled people.

In the latter part of the 19th century, a quiet, resilient movement began stirring in Eastern Europe. Across humble towns and cities, small gatherings of impassioned Jews sowed the seeds of a dream long-held but seldom spoken. These groups, known collectively as the Lovers of Zion, rallied for a national resettlement in the ancient homeland. Their cause was not only to return but to rekindle an identity—revitalizing the Hebrew language, a wellspring of their shared culture, and pushing back against the rising tides of assimilation that threatened to erase it.

In 1890, Austrian thinker Nathan Birnbaum, inspired by this gathering momentum, coined the term Zionism in his journal, *Selbst-Emancipation* (Self-Emancipation), a name that mirrored Leon Pinsker's pioneering 1882 work, *Auto-Emancipation* (Shindler 2015, 55; Fishman 1985, 17–27; Gentz 1990, 39).

Perched like a sentinel over the ancient city of Jerusalem, Zion—also known as Mount Zion—stands as more than just a hill of stone and earth. It is a name that has echoed through the corridors of time, inscribed in the Hebrew Bible and woven into the collective soul of a people. Since the days of the Babylonian Exile, when Judea lay in ruin, and the rivers of Babylon bore witness to the laments of the displaced, the name Zion became more than a place—it became a promise.

Like a whisper carried on the winds of prophecy, Zion transformed into a poetic vessel, a synecdoche for the Land of Israel itself. It was the unbroken thread binding the exiled to their homeland, the ember of hope that smouldered even in the coldest darkness. In the vast tapestry of Jewish messianic belief, Zion rose beyond mere geography, becoming the heart of a divine vision—the sacred ground upon which redemption would one day unfold.

The Zionist dream of a Jewish homeland in Palestine rose from the tumultuous crucible of European history. To early Zionists, the notion of a Jewish nation was not simply a thread spun from ethnicity but from an intricate fabric woven with a shared history and an unyielding need for self-determination.<sup>2</sup> Born out of centuries of persecution, they perceived the need to gather in a land not only for survival but as a manifestation of a historic right. In contrast to Zionism's modern nationalistic framework, the Judaic sense of nationhood was entwined with religious conviction. For centuries, Jewish prayers had murmured of a connection to Eretz Israel, nurturing a hope rooted in messianic prophecy rather than in worldly conquest (Rabkin 2006, 61; Shimoni 1995, 53).

The Zionist claim to Palestine, however, became a potent assertion: that the Jewish historical connection to the land outweighed the rights of any other (Gorni 1987, 210; Sternhell 1998, 71; 1992, 41–42; Slater 2020, 29; Alam 2009, 8). Israeli historian Simha Flapan (1979, 12) illustrated this sentiment, noting, ‘There was no such thing as Palestinians.’

In the early summer of 1969, as the embers of the Six-Day War still smouldered in the collective memory of the Middle East, a resolute voice rose from the corridors of power in Jerusalem. It was Golda Meir, the newly minted iron-fisted Prime Minister of Israel, only two months into her tenure, yet already carrying the weight of a nation forged in fire. On 15 June of that year, she sat down for an interview with Frank Giles, the deputy editor of *The Sunday Times*, the ink of history poised to capture her words. The occasion was the war’s second anniversary—a conflict that had redrawn maps and destinies alike. And in that moment, she spoke a statement that would echo through time, stirring debates and convictions across generations.

As the afternoon light streamed through the windows, casting long shadows over the room, Golda Meir sat across from Frank Giles, her gaze steady, her voice unwavering. The air was thick with the weight of history, the past and future of a nation compressed into this singular exchange. The conversation unfolded as follows:<sup>3</sup>

**Frank Giles:** Do you think the emergence of the Palestinian fighting forces, the Fedayeen, is an important new factor in the Middle East?

**Golda Meir:** Important, no. A new factor, yes. There was no such thing as Palestinians. When was there an independent Palestinian people with a Palestinian state? It was either southern Syria before the First World War and then it was a Palestine including Jordan. It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian

people and we came and threw them out and took their country from them. They did not exist.

I must add, how the follow-up happened in a year later in an interview with *Thames TV* (Meir 1970):

**Golda Meir:** When were Palestinians born? What was all of this area before the First World War when Britain got the Mandate over Palestine? What was Palestine, then? Palestine was then the area between the Mediterranean and the Iraqi border. East and West Bank was Palestine. I am a Palestinian, from 1921 and 1948, I carried a Palestinian passport. There was no such thing in this area as Jews, and Arabs, and Palestinians. There were Jews and Arabs.

**Interviewer:** You deny that there was a Palestine Arab people before, but there is now a Palestine liberation movement, and the history of liberation movements are that they grow, won't this one grow and become in the end in fact your biggest enemy?

**Golda Meir:** I don't say there are no Palestinians, but I say there is no such thing as a distinct Palestinian people.

Two years later in an interview with *The New York Times*, Meir was asked if she stood by the comments; she replied (*The New York Times* 1972): 'I said there never was a Palestinian nation.'

Even though unsaid in past, this was a foundational creed—a policy first embraced by Ben-Gurion and Weizmann, then adopted by their successors. This perspective, which viewed Arab rights as lacking 'moral or historical significance', permeated even the progressive corners of the Zionist spectrum. Figures like Martin Buber and others in *Brit Shalom*, while hoping for peaceful coexistence, nonetheless shared a commitment to Jewish presence and sovereignty (Ram 2017, 274; Ami 2007, 22). British officials, aligned with the Zionist enterprise, also saw Jewish claims as paramount to any Arab entitlements in Palestine (Khalidi 2006, 145–150, 254; White 2012, 5).

Unlike other nationalisms tied to inherited homelands, Zionism was aspirational, demanding action (Penslar 2023, 1–2; Morris 2001, 682). It became a call to concentrate Jewish communities in Palestine, a strategic endeavour towards a Jewish State. By the 1936 Arab Revolt, the lines between different Zionist factions had blurred, as nearly all championed a Jewish state (Gorni 1987, 6; Ami 2007, 22–23). Though some refrained from openly proclaiming the goal, each mainstream faction united under the commitment to secure demographic dominance in Palestine (Finkelstein 2003, 9, 99).

This ambition faced an immediate challenge: the Arab population, whose presence complicated establishing a Jewish state (Gorni 1987, 2; Finkelstein 2003, 9, 99).

We must not forget, as explained in the early chapter,<sup>4</sup> that the land always belonged to the Jews, and they merely had to move out, facing persecution, which became a lot more vitriolic with the rise of Islam.

At its core, Zionism also grappled with antisemitism. To the early visionaries, Jewish life amidst non-Jewish societies was a strained state, burdened with impairments, and the ‘abnormal’ condition of Jewish existence in Europe seemed, to them, to call for a radical shift (Engel 2021, 142, 156).

Zionism’s response to antisemitism, rather than a confrontation, was an acknowledgement, almost a resigned acceptance. Antisemitism, they reasoned, was not an irrational hatred but a reaction, a collision between ‘two kinds of selfhood’. Rather than assimilate and risk cultural erosion, early Zionists sought a new Jewish society where the nation’s essence could flourish freely.

For the Zionist movement, this led to a singular, resolute path: to gather in Palestine, to build a demographic bastion for Jewish identity, resilience, and continuity. In this narrative, the promise of a Jewish majority became an existential goal, transforming into the foundation upon which Zionism sought to erect its lasting legacy in the land of ancient promise.

In the late 19th century, a radical transformation took shape among early Zionist thinkers—a reframing of Jewish identity that would alter not only the course of Jewish history but the very essence of Jewishness. Zionists and pre-Zionists began to envision Jews as a distinct biological nation-race, a ‘volk’, whose roots lay deep in shared blood and ancestry. This was not the old Jewish identity centred around shared faith and culture. No, this was a new narrative that looked to science and myth alike, blending them into a vision where bloodline became a cornerstone of Jewish belonging (Shimoni 1995, 53).

Some Zionist intellectuals, like Yitzhak Elazari Volcani, went so far as to lend an ear to antisemitism, nodding in ‘understanding’ as if deciphering a dark melody within its discord. He said (Yadgar 2017, 245):

Anti-Semitism is not a psychosis... nor is it a lie. Anti-Semitism is a necessary outcome of a collision between two kinds of selfhood [or ‘essence’]. Hate is dependent upon the amount of ‘agents of fermentation’ that are pushed into the general organism (i.e., the non-Jewish group), whether they are active in it and irritate it, or are neutralized in it.

Zionism did not rise in defiance of antisemitism but rather emerged as a movement that acknowledged its unyielding presence, like a sailor who, instead of cursing the storm, chooses to navigate its tides. The architects of Zionism saw the scattered existence of Jews across foreign lands as an affliction—one that could not be cured by appealing to the goodwill of host nations but only by reshaping their own destiny.

The solution they envisioned was not to combat antisemitism at its roots but to sidestep it, to carve out a sanctuary where Jewish life could flourish without the ever-looming spectre of persecution. Palestine was the chosen soil, the promised refuge where the Jewish people would not merely seek shelter but

forge a nation strong enough to stand unbowed. This was not an overnight dream but a long campaign, a slow yet deliberate march towards demographic dominion—a future in which Jewish presence in Palestine would not be a scattered flicker but an unquenchable flame (Shimoni 1995, 53).

Historians like Heinrich Graetz and Simon Dubnow were instrumental in this project, drawing from both ancient Jewish texts and secular European scholarship to forge a national identity from what was once a religious community (Avraham 2017, 357).

This fresh historiography painted Jews as a coherent nation, independent from mere religious affiliation—a concept that, while controversial, quickly became a foundation for the Zionist dream. For a people spread across continents, the idea of the Jewish ‘race’ promised a unifying, biological bond, even as it sometimes clashed with collective Jewish memory, which had long been rooted in religious and cultural connections (Hirsch 2009, 592; Avraham 2017, 357).

As this new narrative gained traction, it took on heightened importance in early Israeli nation-building. In a land where Jews of diverse backgrounds were gathering, especially Ashkenazi Jews whose exact ancestral ties were debated (Burton 2022, 411–422), racial unity became essential. Max Nordau, co-founder of the Zionist Organization with Theodor Herzl, along with Ze’ev Jabotinsky, a pivotal architect of early Zionist ideology and the forefather of Israel’s Likud Party, promoted this racial conception fervently. To them, Jewish national identity lay within blood and lineage, with Jabotinsky asserting that Jewish self-identity was (Jabotinsky 1961, 41): ‘The feeling of national uniqueness is ingrained in the ‘blood’ of Man, in the physical racial species, and in it on.’

To solidify their claim, Zionist ideology borrowed from Biblical narratives, especially the notion of Jews as ‘chosen’ and the Land of Israel as ‘promised’. Hassan S. Haddad argued that

for Zionism to take hold, even among secular Jews, there had to be an unbroken connection between modern Jews and their biblical ancestors.<sup>5</sup> This belief formed the foundation of Israel's 'Ingathering of Exiles' narrative, making the State of Israel not just a homeland but a prophetic fulfilment (Jewish Virtual Library 2007; Hart 2011, xxxiv–xxxv).

If you ignore these historical facts that appear out of the oldest papyrus, Zionism could be dismissed as mere settler colonialism, rooted in ambition rather than bloodline, subjecting the movement to accusations from critics and justifying grievances among Palestinian Arabs displaced in its wake (Jewish Virtual Library 2007; Hart 2011, xxxiv–xxxv; Avraham 2017, 357).

Plainly speaking, Zionism is merely the movement where Jews align to get back to their homeland, which was once taken away from them indirectly through persecution.

As the Zionist movement took root in Palestine, a practical philosophy arose around the concept of 'conquest of labour' (Gorni 1987, 2), aiming to build an economy sustained by '100 per cent Jewish labour' (Flapan 1979, 199; Shafir 1996, 223). Early comers wanted to transform the Jewish economy, liberating it from a diaspora life that had long been limited to middlemen roles and instead rooting it in the fundamental sectors of industry, agriculture, and mining (Flapan 1979, 199). Zionist leaders saw the employment of exclusively Jewish labour as essential to shaping a self-sufficient society and asserting Jewish identity in every aspect of life. To avoid 'Arab values' influencing Jewish society, they strived to minimize any mixing with Arab labour and culture, believing that a pure Jewish workforce would preserve the Zionist vision (Morris 2001, 51).

This exclusive labour policy also served as a strategic measure against national conflict. Having seen the deadly past, the Zionists feared that relying on Arab labour would not only compromise their self-sufficiency but potentially spark a dual-layered conflict—one based on class and nation (Almog 1983, 5).

Leaders of the second aliyah, ideologically driven settlers who followed the initial wave of pioneers, were especially committed to this goal, advocating for ‘avoda ivrit’ (Hebrew labour) (Flapan 1979, 201; Itamar 1996, 727–729).

Zionism’s transformation of Jewish identity did not stop at economic or labour policies; it struck at the heart of what it meant to be Jewish. Traditional religious identities, which had been central to Jewish life for centuries, were reinterpreted or altogether sidelined in favour of a secular-nationalist framework (Yadgar 2017, 72). The Zionist vision was built on the conviction that Judaism as a faith, a quiet spirituality, was insufficient in the face of modern nationalism. They transformed religious concepts such as the Land of Israel and the messianic return to Zion into nationalist symbols (Penslar 2023, 18–23). Where Jewish prayers once called upon God for a return to Zion, the Zionist movement called upon Jews to act on their own, embracing a faith where the state and not the scripture held primacy (Avineri 1981, 13).

In this new worldview, the ‘Diaspora Jew’ was a figure to be overcome.

Zionist thinkers characterized Jews in exile as materially obsessed, frail in mind and body, and overly dependent on the goodwill of their non-Jewish neighbours. This portrayal, though rooted in anti-Semitic stereotypes, was a major reason for Zionists to aspire presence of their ideal ‘New Jew’, an individual of resilience and virtue, dedicated to ideals beyond personal gain. This New Jew was envisioned as a rugged, self-sustaining worker of the land, embodying strength in both body and spirit, the antithesis of the vulnerable Jew of the Diaspora (Shapira 2014, 133).

The emphasis on ‘race’ in Jewish identity—a notion that paradoxically mirrored anti-Semitic ideology—created a paradox within Zionism, a movement that sought both to resist and to affirm racial definitions (Shapira 2014, 44). The language of Jewish ‘blood’ and ‘ancestry’ echoed pan-Germanic ideologies,

with Zionist thinkers embracing concepts of *das völk*, the belief that shared ancestry was a natural path to sovereignty. They sought to replace the term ‘Jewish’, which had come to signify passivity and victimhood, with ‘Hebrew’, which symbolized vitality and modernity. In doing so, they cast Jewishness in terms that recalled the anti-Semitic stereotypes they sought to dismantle, reframing them within a narrative of national pride and self-sufficiency (Masalha 2012).

This rejection of diaspora identity was not limited to secular Zionists; religious Zionists like Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook also viewed the Diaspora as a fundamentally flawed existence. Kook described Jewish life in exile as marked by decline and weakness, devoid of the vitality the ‘Return to Zion’ promised. For him, the Zionist renaissance was not only a return to a physical land but also a holistic renewal of Jewish strength, heroism, and creativity. He saw this revival as essential to the Jewish spirit, a return to nature and cultural power, marking a reawakening of Jewish potential long buried under centuries of alienation and survival.

In this fusion of nationalist fervour and reinterpreted spirituality, Zionism sought to reshape Jewish identity, turning away from a past defined by tradition and faith and towards a future defined by statehood and strength. The movement’s ambition was to resurrect a vision of Jews not as wandering exiles but as a people reborn on their land, grounded in ancestral myth and modern resolve, reaching forward with the vigour of a nation newly awakened.

In Eastern Europe’s cold, shadowed streets, the silent tremors of a cultural upheaval began to ripple among the Jewish communities. For centuries, Hebrew had held a singular place—a language of prayer and ritual woven into the intricate mosaic of Judaic tradition. Yet now, in the hands of visionaries and ideologues, it sought a new life beyond the synagogues and sacred scrolls. Hebrew dared to break its chains, slipping into the

realms of novels, poetry, and journalism—a metamorphosis that stirred both fascination and fear.

The rabbis watched this transformation with wary eyes, sensing a rupture in the fabric of their heritage. To them, this movement risked the desecration of the sacred tongue and the unravelling of ancient bonds. A few, however, saw a different path, envisioning Hebrew's rebirth not as a betrayal but as a means to rekindle a collective Jewish identity—if for reasons that were more nationalistic than traditional.

At the heart of this linguistic renaissance stood Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, whose vision stretched beyond mere words. He dreamed of Hebrew as a 'national spirit', a flame that would ignite a cultural awakening in the Land of Israel. In his view, the revival of Hebrew was more than an exercise in language; it was a tether that bound the Jews of old to the pioneers of Zionism, offering legitimacy to their dreams of a homeland, of ancient roots intertwined with modern ideals (Fellman 1973, 65).

Historians of the Zionist movement now reflect on this era as a revolt against the chains of tradition, a surge of ambition that sought to create a Jewish cultural renaissance through the language of their ancestors. With Hebrew's revival, they sought to forge a new identity, a foundation to build a nation that could stand on its terms (Dieckhoff 2003, 104).

In the ancient Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, Hebrew had once flourished as a spoken language, echoing through daily life between 1200 and 586 BCE. It had survived the rise and fall of these realms, enduring in the shadows of history until the Second Temple period and lingering in Judean speech until roughly 200 CE. This was the language of the Hebrew Bible and the Mishnah, the beating heart of Jewish spirituality (Rabin 1973, 9).

But now, Zionist pioneers wanted more than ancient echoes—they wanted Hebrew reborn for the bustling streets, the marketplace, and the classroom. They looked to modernize it, shaping it for daily life and future generations. For them,

Hebrew was not merely a language; it was a statement, a cultural shield against the suffering that had followed them through Europe. For many, Yiddish, the language of their diaspora and persecution, had no place in the new land. To speak Hebrew was to claim a future, to leave behind the weight of exile and adopt new identities, new names, as they turned their gaze toward the promise of Israel (Rabin 1973, 9).

Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, along with the Committee of the Hebrew Language (later to become the Academy of the Hebrew Language), was relentless in this mission. Together, they wielded language as both a weapon and a banner, redefining what it meant to be Jewish in the modern age. Hebrew, once bound within ritual, rose anew—now a bridge connecting the ancient to the present, poised to carry a people toward their rebirth (Fellman 1973, 65).

### Historical Background for Zionism

The dawn of Jewish nationalism in Palestine unfolded not as a seamless evolution but as a rupture from a faith-bound passivity to an assertive, secular identity. This transformation brewed within the ideological cauldrons of 19th-century Europe, where nationalism surged as an idea with a fierce, secular pulse. For generations, the notion of ‘return’ clung to Jewish hearts as a cherished dream, a vision touched by divine hands rather than human ambition fuelled by ever going persecution. Historian Shlomo Avineri captures this nuanced connection, observing: ‘Jews did not relate to the vision of the Return in a more active way than most Christians viewed the Second Coming’ (Avineri 1981, 13).

In this theological stance, Jewish nationality diverged sharply from the nationalist fervour loaded with a series of persecutions that coursed through European veins (Shimoni 1995, 6, 53).

The ultra-Orthodox held firm to the ancient oaths—prohibitions against forcing their way back to the homeland,

hastening the end times, or rebelling against the nations (Rabkin 2006, 72). To them, human attempts to invoke redemption without the guiding hand of the Divine and the arrival of the Messiah were perilous, an affront to celestial authority and a dangerous heresy (Shapira 2014, 5). Yet, this mystical bond with the Land of Israel endured, woven into their very prayers and longings (Taylor 1971, 11). The cultural memory, preserved in Passover rites and the poignant Yom Kippur invocations,<sup>6</sup> breathed life into the hope, 'Next year in Jerusalem'. This was not merely a ritual but a powerful foretelling of Kibbutz Galuyot — the prophecy of the ingathering of exiles, a motif that Zionism would later embrace wholeheartedly (Halamish 2008, 119–134; Shohat 2003, 49–74).

The early murmurs of Zionism came from figures whose thoughts brushed the edges of Jewish nationalism long before it took on the form we now recognize (Shimoni 1995, 69; Penslar 2023, 25). Judah Alkalai, Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, and Moses Hess were among these voices (Dieckhoff 2003, 154). Though rabbinical in stature, Alkalai and Kalischer offered an unconventional reading of Messianism, which saw selective human action as a preparatory step, a reverent opening for Divine redemption.<sup>7</sup> Hess, on the other hand, took a different path, arguing that mere emancipation could not shield European Jewry from hostility (Shimoni 1995, 69). He observed a sinister shift: anti-Jewish sentiment was hardening from religious prejudice into racial hatred, a stain too deep for conversion to erase (Sela 2002, 927). Unlike Hess, Alkalai and Kalischer envisioned a return to the land reserved for only the most devout, a spiritual exile's embrace rather than the secular Zionism that would emerge later (Penslar 2023, 27–29).

Christian restorationist ideas added another layer to the ideological foundation of Zionism. These beliefs among Christians, advocating for the Jewish return to Palestine, granted legitimacy to early Zionist aspirations. While Zionism's

roots were Jewish, its flourishing was, to a degree, watered by Christian support, continual persecution and the influence of the Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment. However, this was often seen as a conflicting force. Figures like Peretz Smolenskin in 1872 gave Zionism its intellectual scaffolding, a contribution celebrated even as it carried the ambivalent weight of both support and resistance (Penslar 2023, 27–29).

Historical instances of Jewish return were sporadic yet significant. After the Jewish expulsion from Spain,<sup>8</sup> some sought refuge in Ottoman Palestine (Gerber 1994, 1–144). In 1564, Joseph Nasi, under the sultan's auspices, attempted to establish a Jewish province in the Galilee (Gordon 1919, 209). Though his plans withered after he died in 1579, a modest community thrived in Safed, nurturing a small-scale aliyah that quietly persisted into the 17th century (Gordon 1919, 210). Then came Sabbatai Zevi in the 17th century, a self-proclaimed Messiah whose charisma drew many to him. Though his dreams of a Jewish kingdom dissipated, they reflected an enduring messianic yearning that danced through Jewish history (Kohler and Malter 1906).

These early figures paved a path of proto-Zionist thought, their names like whispers in a gathering storm: Yehuda Bibas, Zvi Kalischer, and Judah Alkalai.

Despite this rising momentum, official rabbinical conferences resisted the call to Zion. Reform Jews, too, rejected the physical return, seeking instead a spiritual redemption defined by unity under God. The Frankfurt rabbinical conference of 1845 saw prayers for a return to Zion stricken from ritual, and the 1885 Pittsburgh Conference declared that Jews were no longer a nation but a community of faith. Thus, even as the foundational stones of Zionism were laid, the Jewish people themselves were divided, caught between ancient vows and modern visions, awaiting the birth of a movement that would redefine their place in the world (Philipson 1905, 656–689).

In the early 19th century, ideas for Jewish nation-building began to take root, with dreams sketched onto the landscapes of unfamiliar lands. In the 1830s, gaze lay over the upper Mississippi, envisioning Jewish settlements rising along its banks (Greenberg 1998, 56–57). Abraham Benisch and Moritz Steinschneider sought to forge an exodus from Prague in 1835, carrying with them the hope of a Jewish refuge. Across the Atlantic, Mordecai Noah attempted in 1825 to establish a Jewish enclave on Grand Isle, a land mirroring both aspiration and isolation just opposite Buffalo. Yet, these first glimmers of Cresson, Benisch, Steinschneider, and Noah's ambitions were thwarted, fading into unrealized visions.

By mid-century, Sir Moses Montefiore, champion of Jewish resilience, set his eyes upon Palestine, determined to nurture Jewish settlement on its ancient soil. In 1854, philanthropist Judah Touro's generous bequest brought to life Mishkenot Sha'ananim—the first Jewish neighbourhood outside the walled city of Jerusalem—a vision of sanctuary and community echoing beyond its time (Dudman 1982, 21–22). The actions were loudly echoed later by Laurence Oliphant, who endeavoured, albeit in vain, to bring the Jewish proletariat from Eastern Europe to the promised land (Amit 2007, 210).

In the wake of these faltering early efforts, whispers of Jewish nationalism began to gather strength in the 1860s, seeking cultural unity beyond the boundaries of nation-states (Pappe 2006, 157; Kagarlitsky 2014, 294). As Jews in Europe took cautious steps towards civic inclusion (Avineri 1981, 13), Zionism arose not solely as a response to persecution but as an affirmation of Jewish identity in the modern world. Some Jewish intellectuals framed assimilation as a slow erasure of Jewish heritage, a surrender of their spiritual sovereignty (Shimoni 1995, 8, 15). Zionism, emerging from these tensions (Shimoni 1995, 69), was a balance between an escape from antisemitism and more a reclamation of cultural pride against the pull of modernity (Avineri 1981, 13).

Eastern Europe, however, moved at a slower beat. By the late 19th century, tsarist Russia's pogroms ignited a wave of exodus, with only a slender trickle finding refuge in Palestine (Avineri 1981, 15). For those who ventured there, it was a testament to self-determination, a quiet rebellion against estrangement. Here, nationalism presented both a dilemma and a promise—Zionism proposed a new sense of place for those marooned at the edge of Russian society (Shlaim 2001, 2).

The storm of the 1881 Russian pogroms shattered many illusions, and among the disillusioned stood Leo Pinsker, a man who had once placed his faith in assimilation (Shimoni 1995, 33). But the fires of persecution burned away such hopes, leaving behind a stark realization: the Jewish people were not merely outcasts by circumstance but by an immutable condition. In his eyes, they were an element too distinct to dissolve into the great river of European societies. Their presence, he believed, was like a foreign body that the host nations could never fully absorb (Sela 2002, 927).

Pinsker saw emancipation not as salvation but as a mirage, incapable of quenching the deeper thirst for dignity and security. In his pamphlet *Autoemancipation*, he laid bare the malady of Judeophobia (Pinsker 1906, 1–16), arguing that antisemitism was not simply a prejudice but a chronic affliction of societies—a spectre that thrived upon the Jews' statelessness. Without a homeland to call their own, he reasoned, the Jewish people would remain forever at the mercy of those who saw them as unwanted guests. The remedy, then, was nationhood—sovereignty over a land where they could stand unshackled as a 'normal' nation among nations (Sela 2002, 927–928).

Yet Pinsker's vision was not of an immediate exodus but of a strategic response to what he termed the 'surplus of Jews, the inassimilable residue' of Eastern Europe—those who had fled to Germany after the pogroms, only to find themselves still adrift in hostile waters. It was for them that he sought a refuge, a land

that could be cultivated into a permanent sanctuary (Shafir 1996, 243–244; Aschheim 1982, 88; Pinsker 1906, 1–16).

The pogroms did more than ignite ideas—they set the wheels in motion. In the *Pale of Settlement* and Poland, a handful of Jewish pioneers began to form societies dedicated to an age-old dream: the return to Zion. When *Autoemancipation* was published, it gave these scattered embers a unifying flame, bringing them together under the banner of *Hibbat Zion*—the ‘Lovers of Zion’. By 1887, this movement had taken shape, with Pinsker at its helm (Pinsker 1906, 1–16; Morris 2001, 18).

Yet, dreams alone could not till the land. The settlements established under *Hibbat Zion* suffered from crippling financial constraints, and many floundered. Nevertheless, they were the first ripples of what would become great waves—*aliyahs*—the migrations that, step by step, paved the road to the eventual birth of Israel (Gorni 1987, 11, 29, 30, 38, 39, 58, 121).

From the frigid streets of Eastern Europe to the sun-scorched plains of Palestine, a longing turned into movement. The conditions of Tsarist oppression and the inner tremors of Jewish communities would, in time, forge Zionism into an undeniable force (Dieckhoff 2003, 50). Among the early pioneers was the *Bilu* group, whose journey began in 1882. Historian Anita Shapira would later describe them as the prototype—the template from which future settlement efforts would be cast (Shapira 2014, 32–33).

But at the twilight of the 19th century, despite these early efforts, the Jewish presence in Palestine remained a mere whisper—a small minority, planting the seeds of a nation yet to come (Morris 2001, 47).

Theodor Herzl, a linchpin of modern Zionism, became the movement’s architect in the 1890s, binding scattered dreams into a united front (Masalha 2018, 250). His 1896 manifesto, *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) (Herzl 1920), envisioned a land of their own, a homeland where Jews would flourish not as transmitters of foreign cultures but as custodians of their

own (Herzl 1920). He came up with a novel in 1902, *Altneuland*, which painted an image of a utopian Jewish state where Jews and Arabs lived in harmonious prosperity. To Herzl, this *Judenstaat* would be an outpost of civilization, a protective bastion at the threshold of Europe and Asia (Herzl 1920).

Before World War I, Russian Zionism had burgeoned into a formidable faction within the movement, though it faced fierce resistance from the Russian intelligentsia. Critics denounced Zionism as an unrealistic fantasy, a step back from the progressive ideals of assimilation. Religious leaders saw it as heretical, a defiance of divine will; secularists scorned it as a regression from their march towards emancipation. Figures like Rabbi Israel Meir Kahan and historian Simon Dubnow regarded Zionism as a detour, and Russian intelligentsia, united in their scepticism, viewed it as an ideology that challenged the prevailing tide toward assimilation.

Yet, Zionism endured. Each wave of aspiration, dashed or realized, added to the story of a people's search for belonging, grounding itself not merely as an ideology but as an enduring narrative, a steadfast answer to both the allure and alienation of modernity.

In the nascent years of the Zionist movement, a tumultuous decade unfolded, marked by dreams and dilemmas that stretched beyond the sacred soil of Palestine. Among the prominent figures, Theodor Herzl, the architect of political Zionism, contemplated far-flung lands like 'Uganda'—a term that would evoke the lush vistas of British East Africa today known as Kenya—alongside Argentina, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Mozambique, and the Sinai Peninsula (Rovner 2014, 45). Herzl's vision initially embraced any territory that might serve as a sanctuary for the Jewish people, as if the very concept of a state was fluid, malleable to the whims of necessity and urgency (Aviv and Shneer 2005, 10).

The echoes of violence from the Russian pogroms, particularly the horrific Kishinev massacre, reverberated

deeply in the hearts of Jewish leaders, igniting a desperate quest for refuge. This urgency urged them to seek a haven, a new Eden away from the spectres of persecution (Hazony 2000, 134–135). Yet, as the yearning for safety burgeoned, so did the deep-rooted connections Jews felt toward the Land of Israel—an emotional needlepoint woven from centuries of memory and tradition. Zion—named for the ancient stronghold where King David forged his kingdom—became synonymous with hope, a metaphorical beacon guiding their aspirations.<sup>9</sup>

The Eretz Israel Assembly of 1903, under the stewardship of Ussishkin, marked a significant turning point. It formalized colonization efforts by establishing political organizations (Pappe 2004, 49–56). Ussishkin outlined a tripartite strategy for land acquisition: through force, governmental expropriation, or purchase. Yet, the purchase was the only viable path at that moment, waiting for the day when they would assume power (Morris 2001, 35–50).

With the dawn of the Second Aliyah in 1904, a new chapter unfolded. The settlers, driven by ideology and passion, forged the foundations of a Jewish society in Palestine. They birthed the first political parties—socialist and otherwise—while establishing kibbutzim, communal settlements that would become the bedrock of Israeli identity (Shafir 1996, 137, 194). They formed the underground military group Ha-Shomer, the precursor to the Haganah, the embryonic heart of the Israeli defence forces (Gorni 1987, 13).

As figures like David Ben-Gurion, Berl Katznelson, and Moshe Sharett emerged from this movement (Gorni 1987, 3), the aspirations of the Second Aliyah were clear: the ‘conquest of labour’, an exclusionary ethos that sought to clear the labour market of Arabs, paving the way for a new society that would strive to rise amidst the complexities of a land rich in history, yet fraught with division (Shafir 1996, 87).

In this tale of dreams and aspirations, the journey towards a homeland unfurled, marked by both hope and the echoes of a troubled past, laying the groundwork for a future yet to be written.

At the dawn of the war, the Zionist leadership embarked on a strategic journey, seeking to sway the British government towards endorsing the establishment of a Jewish colony in the ancient land of Palestine. This endeavour bore fruit in the form of a lobbying consortium anchored around the illustrious Rothschild family, led by the fervent Chaim Weizmann.<sup>10</sup> By 1916, official negotiations commenced, paving the way for the Balfour Declaration, unveiled in the crisp November air of 1917. This declaration echoed Britain's solemn commitment to nurturing a Jewish homeland in Palestine, an act fuelled by the exigencies of wartime politics and deep-seated antisemitic notions regarding the Jews' purported sway over the Tsarist regime and their shaping of American policy (Pappe 2004, 65–67; Shapira 2014, 9).

Yet, the man behind this declaration, Arthur Balfour, paradoxically had a hand in enacting the Aliens Act of 1905, aimed at curbing the influx of Eastern European Jews into Britain (Masalha 2018, 304). His decision, however, was not solely a product of prejudice; it also served Britain's imperial ambitions, primarily to secure control over the vital Suez Canal by fostering a pro-British entity within the region (Shapira 2014, 70–71; Roy 2016, 33–35). Weizmann's pivotal role in securing this declaration propelled him to the forefront of the Zionist movement, a mantle he held until 1948, when he ascended to become Israel's first President, following the nation's hard-won independence (Friedman 1973, 247).

The war's conclusion saw the disintegration of dreams for a greater Arab kingdom under the Hashemite lineage, particularly after King Feisal's expulsion from Damascus in 1920. Simultaneously, the Zionist call for unequivocal British

recognition of the entirety of Palestine as the Jewish national home was met with resistance. Britain, while pledging to foster a Jewish national home 'in Palestine', tempered its promise with caveats, asserting that it would do so without infringing upon the rights of existing 'non-Jewish communities'. This nuanced language sparked unease among Zionist leaders, who foresaw the shadows of future discord (Gorni 1987, 81).

In 1922, the British Mandate over Palestine was formalized, rooted firmly in the Balfour Declaration, explicitly favouring the Jewish minority over the Arab majority (Khalidi 2020, 48). This mandate not only declared British support for the establishment of a 'Jewish national home' but also set in motion provisions to facilitate Jewish immigration, endowing the Zionist movement with a status that represented Jewish national interests (Gorni 1987, 311). The Jewish agency emerged as the embodiment of Zionist aspirations in Palestine, partnering with the mandatory government, acquiring international diplomatic recognition, and acting as a voice for Zionist interests at the League of Nations and beyond (Khalidi 2020, 49).

Thus, the British Mandate sculpted a quasi-state for the Jewish community in Palestine, devoid of full sovereignty, which remained in the hands of the British High Commissioner. This limitation proved crucial, as the nascent Jewish population lacked the means to defend itself against the Palestinian Arabs. The British presence, therefore, became a bastion for Jewish nationalism, with political independence contingent upon British support, particularly in matters of land acquisition and immigration (Dieckhoff 2003, 7–8, 42).

Following the Balfour Declaration, Jewish immigration surged from 9,149 in 1921 to 33,801 by 1925, and by the conclusion of the Mandate, the Jewish population would have nearly tripled, ultimately comprising a third of Palestine's inhabitants (Roy 2016, 33).

At the heart of this burgeoning quasi-state lay the Histadrut, established in 1920 as an independent social, political, and

economic institution (Shimoni 1995, 201). This body birthed a military arm, the Haganah, which morphed into a permanent underground army, seamlessly integrating into the political fabric of the Jewish community. While the British authorities frowned upon the Haganah, particularly its methods of acquiring arms from British stockpiles, they refrained from disbanding it (Cleveland and Bunt 2009, 472). The Histadrut operated as a sovereign entity, largely unencumbered by the British Mandate's oversight. David Ben-Gurion perceived this detachment from socialist ideology as one of its greatest strengths, seeing the Histadrut not as a vehicle for a socialist utopia but as a means to national unity and political dominion (Sternhell 1998, 77).

As the secretary-general of the Histadrut and the leader of the Zionist labour movement, Ben-Gurion's strategies echoed those of Weizmann, with disagreements primarily surfacing over tactical manoeuvres (Flapan 1979, 131). The arrival of the fourth aliyah in 1924 spurred significant growth of the middle class, prompting a political shift within the labour movement (Dieckhoff 2003, 91). It was during this epoch that the political strategy of the labour movement crystallized (Sternhell 1998, 219). The birth of the Mapai party unified the labour movement, establishing it as the preeminent force. The labour party prioritized economic control as essential for facilitating Zionist settlement and securing political power, proclaiming, 'the economic question is not one of class; it is a national question.' Thus, Mapai placed nationalism above socialism, mandating that the sole criterion for membership was possession of a Histadrut card (Sternhell 1998, 6).

Ben-Gurion's vision of transforming the 'working class into a nation' was intertwined with his rejection of diaspora life, articulating a vision where the 'weak, unproductive, parasitical Jewish masses' must be transformed into 'productive labour' in service of the nation (Dieckhoff 2003, 89–95).

For the Zionist movement, economic development served as a conduit to achieve political aspirations (Sternhell 1998, 6). A new

economic sector, curated for Jews and under the stewardship of the Labor Zionist movement, emerged with the backing of the Jewish National Fund and the agricultural Histadrut. Given the persecutions right from the early 20th century, together, they sought to extricate land and labour from the market, effectively excluding Palestinian Arabs. Despite the universalist rhetoric of Zionist pioneering, this new economic framework was inherently exclusionary (Shafir 1996, 184).

Throughout the British Mandate, the labour movement's driving ambition was the pursuit of '100 per cent of Hebrew labour', a relentless endeavour erupting out of the already faced persecution that deepened the territorial, economic, and social rift between Jews and Arabs (Flapan 1979, 199–205).

As the Nazis ascended to power in 1933, the Jewish community in Europe faced intensifying persecution. Discriminatory immigration laws in the US, UK, and other refuge-seeking nations compelled over 60,000 Jews to flock to Palestine in 1935 alone, surpassing the total number of Jews in Palestine at the time of the Balfour Declaration. Ben-Gurion hailed this influx as a potential pathway to realizing a maximalist vision of a Jewish state across all of Palestine (Pappe 2004, 136).

As tensions mounted, the Arab community openly pressed the British Mandate government to restrict Jewish immigration and land acquisitions (Roy 2016, 33). A series of sporadic attacks in rural areas, characterized by Zionists and British authorities as 'banditry', reflected the deep-seated anger over land purchases displacing local peasants. In urban centres, protests against British governance and the encroaching influence of Zionism grew increasingly militant (Khalidi 2020, 54).

In response to the rising tide of dissent, the British appointed a commission of inquiry in 1937, which recommended partitioning the land: annexing most of Palestine to Transjordan while reserving a sliver for a nascent Jewish state. By this juncture, Jews possessed a mere 5.6% of the land in Palestine, yet the

proposed territory for the Jewish state encompassed 40% of the region's fertile land. The commission's proposal included the contentious notion of transferring the Palestinian population from the designated lands (Morris 2001, 141).

For Ben-Gurion, the transfer plan resonated deeply; he penned in his diary (on 12 July 1937) (Morris 2001, 142):

The compulsory transfer of the Arabs from the valleys of the proposed Jewish state could give us something which we never had, even when we stood on our own during the days of the First and Second Temples... We are being given an opportunity which we never dared to dream of in our wildest imaginings. This is more than a state, government, and sovereignty—this is national consolidation in a free homeland.

Many Zionist leaders echoed Ben-Gurion's enthusiasm for the transfer proposal, with figures like Ussishkin, Ruppin, and Katznelson voicing strong support, contending that no moral impropriety lay in the plan (Morris 2009, 351). Within the Zionist movement, two distinct perspectives emerged regarding the partition proposal (Cleveland and Bunt 2009, 488–489):

- a. One faction outrightly rejected it
- b. Another accepted the partition with an eye toward future territorial expansion in alignment with Zionist aspirations

The revolt intensified in response to the partition proposal, persisting until 1939 when it was forcefully suppressed by British forces.

By the time of the 1936 Arab revolt, virtually all factions within the Zionist movement had aligned with the Haganah, whose goal was to safeguard Jewish settlements while grappling with the Arab uprising. This evolving dynamic laid the groundwork for the deepening divide between the burgeoning Jewish community and the Arab populace, irrevocably altering the landscape of the region (Gorni 1987, 243–245).

In the fateful year of 1939, as the tempest of war brewed ominously over Europe, a British White Paper emerged—a blueprint seeking to stifle the influx of Jewish souls yearning for refuge. It proposed a meagre quota of no more than 75,000 Jewish immigrants over five years, a desperate attempt to maintain the fragile status quo while dark clouds of conflict loomed large. This limitation only deepened the chasm of despair, prompting the Zionist movement to intensify its efforts in militarization, land appropriation, and clandestine immigration schemes (Morris 2001, 162).

As the world spiralled into the chaos of the Second World War, the Zionists found themselves embroiled in a dual struggle—against the oppressive constraints of the White Paper and for the survival of their people. Caught in a web of loyalties, they supported the British war effort, all the while plotting to dismantle the very policies that bound them (Cleveland and Bunt 2009, 498). From the war's inception, they pressured the British to forge a Jewish fighting force, culminating in forming a Jewish Brigade, its banner unfurling the proud blue and white colours of hope (Khalidi 2020; Morris 2001, 167; Pappé 2004, 116–122). This new military entity not only bolstered the existing Zionist military capabilities but also established a crucial alliance with the British, as the Haganah openly sought weapons and trained for an inevitable Axis invasion (Cleveland and Bunt 2009, 472).

Yet, despite the restrictive policies of the White Paper, the tide of Zionist immigration surged during the war. Initially selective, the doors swung wide open in 1942 when the chilling news of the Holocaust pierced through to Palestine. The urgency of the situation transformed the focus of the Zionist war effort toward the survival and flourishing of the Yishuv, the Jewish community in Palestine, while scant resources were allocated to aid European Jews (Pappé 2004, 116–122). David Ben-Gurion, the steadfast leader, remained fixated on the implications of the Holocaust for

the Yishuv, viewing the calamity through a lens that prioritized his own people's future over the plight of their European brethren.

As countless souls fled the clutches of Nazi terror, many sought refuges in the United States, only to be thwarted by stringent immigration policies. In stark contrast, Zionist initiatives ensured that a brave 10% of the 3 million Jews escaping Europe found a new home in Palestine (Pappe 2006, 119). With the thunderous march of the German invasion across the vast expanse of the USSR in 1941, a seismic shift rippled through the corridors of power in Moscow. The iron-willed Stalin, known for his long-standing disdain for Zionism, found himself in a paradoxical embrace, seeking to rally the world's Jewish community to the Soviet war effort. Thus, the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee<sup>11</sup> was born amid the ruins of shattered lives, a beacon of hope amidst despair (Zax 2017). Thousands of Jewish refugees, fleeing the jaws of the Nazi beast, crossed into the Soviet Union, reinvigorating religious fervour and kindling the flickering flames of new synagogues where shadows of the past had threatened to extinguish the light.

In 1942, at the Biltmore Conference, the Zionist movement boldly proclaimed its aspirations for a Jewish state in Palestine (Morris 2001, 169; Shlaim 2001, 23). The United States, with its burgeoning economic power and unprecedented military might, became the epicentre of Zionist political manoeuvring. President Truman's unwavering support for the Biltmore Programme, driven by humanitarian impulses and the burgeoning influence of the Zionist lobby, lent momentum to their cause (Cleveland and Bunt 2009, 491–492).

As the gruesome realities of the Holocaust seeped into global consciousness, the Zionist leadership crafted the One Million Plan—a strategic reduction from Ben-Gurion's earlier vision of 2 million immigrants. In the war's aftermath, a flood of stateless refugees, many of them Holocaust survivors, embarked on perilous journeys to Palestine aboard small vessels, defiantly

flouting British restrictions. The Holocaust catalysed a profound solidarity among the global Jewish community, rallying behind the Zionist endeavour (Johnson 1998). Yet, the British, grappling with Arab revolts, faced yet another wave of opposition from the burgeoning Zionist factions demanding an end to restrictions on Jewish immigration (Hutcheson 1946).

As the shadows of the war drew long, the urgency among Zionist leaders to carve out a Jewish state intensified. With British support waning, many Zionists turned to the idea of establishing their state through force, drawing inspiration from the tactics of the Irish Republican Army during their struggle against British rule. The Irgun, the militant wing of the revisionist Zionists, under the fiery leadership of Menachem Begin, alongside the Stern Gang—whose notorious flirtation with Nazi ideologies left an indelible mark—launched a series of audacious attacks against British targets beginning in 1944. The King David Hotel bombing and assaults on British immigration offices and police stations became harbingers of the impending conflict (Crenshaw and Pimlott 1997, 287).

In January 1946, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, a joint British and American initiative, was tasked with unravelling the political, economic, and social tapestry of Mandatory Palestine and assessing the well-being of its diverse inhabitants (Levenberg 1991, 615–630). Following the fruitless 1946–47 London Conference, where American reluctance thwarted the British proposals, the question of Palestine was handed to the United Nations on 14 February 1947 (Ravndal 2010, 416–433).

In May 1947, the winds of change blew strong as Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko addressed the United Nations, declaring support for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state (UN Special Committee on Palestine 1947). This bold proclamation echoed through the hallowed halls of the UN, culminating in a formal vote that marked a significant turning point. On 29 November 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted the partition plan with Resolution 181—33 votes in

favour, 13 against, and 10 abstentions (United Nations- General Assembly 1947). The Jewish communities erupted in jubilation, while the Arab populace erupted in protests, anti-jew riots got the ignition, the land now split between hope and resistance (Parfitt 1996, 166).

At the stroke of history on 14 May 1948 (5 Iyar 5708), David Ben-Gurion stood as the midwife of a nation, proclaiming the birth of Israel from the embers of conflict (Currivan 1948).<sup>12</sup> As the British Mandate gasped its final breath at midnight, the Jewish state emerged—no longer a dream whispered in exile, but a reality etched into the land of its forebears. The Israeli Declaration of Independence was not merely a document; it was a trumpet blast, announcing sovereignty to a world that watched, and to enemies who sharpened their swords. Marking both the end of a civil war and the dawn of a greater struggle, it sealed Israel's place on the map, a state carved from history and defiance (Currivan 1948).

Each year, on 5 Iyar, Israel does not merely remember this day—it celebrates its very right to exist.

The land, once a mosaic of histories and whispered names carried by desert winds, found itself caught in the grasp of the old, lost architect again—one who sought to redraw its story with a singular pen. As the dust of war settled in 1948, the Israeli state moved swiftly to cement its old lost claim, not merely in governance but in the very essence of the land itself. The past, laden with echoes of its Arab colonisers, was to be washed away like footprints on a shifting dune. The ambition was clear: erase all traces of the Arab Colonisers and reinstate the core of the land (Shapira 2014, 248).

Thus began the grand project of Hebraization, a cartographic metamorphosis under the aegis of the Jewish National Fund's Naming Committee (Masalha 2012, 88–134). The Arab towns that emerged at the cost of erasing Jews and villages—once cradled between olive groves and limestone hills—were either erased from existence or reborn under true monikers, reshaped

to suit a vision that sought to stretch Jewish presence across time immemorial. Some names were softened into a Hebrew lilt, retaining a ghost of their Arab origins; others were rechristened with biblical echoes, linking modern settlements to ancient claims (Shapira 2014, 248).

In renaming, the past was reinforced again with overwriting where needed.

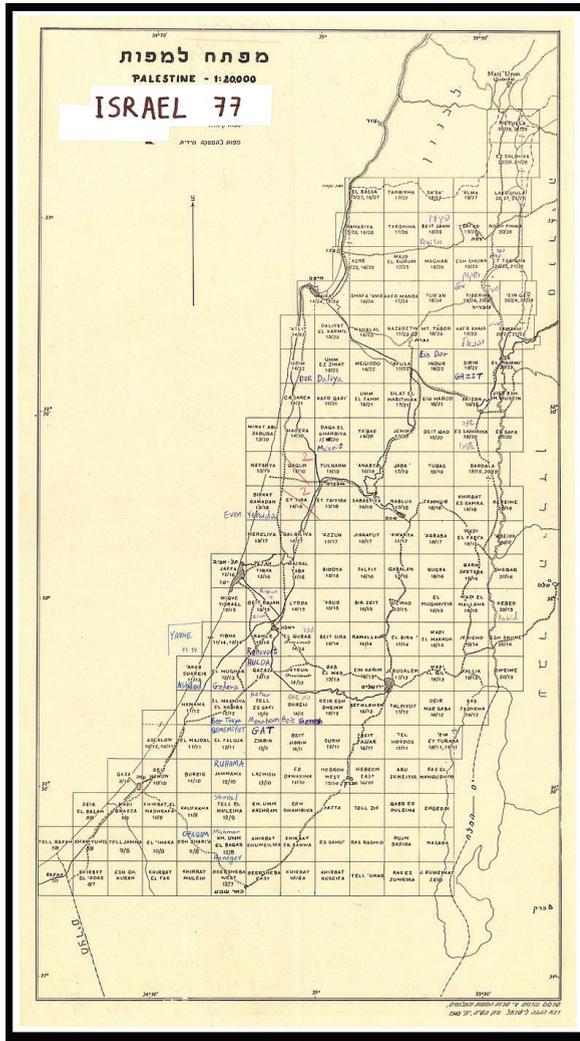


Figure 5: 1948 index of the 1:20,000 Survey of Palestine maps, with contemporary overwriting for a number of place-names

Moshe Dayan,<sup>13</sup> a man who had walked the very earth where this transformation unfolded, later spoke with stark candour about the appropriation of Arab place names (Masalha 2012, 101):

Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these villages, and I do not blame you because geography books no longer exist. Not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahlal arose in the place of Mahlul; Kibbutz Gvat in the place of Jibta; Kibbutz Sarid in the place of Hunefis; and Kefar Yehoshua in the place of Tal al-Shuman. There is not a single place built in this country that didn't have a former Arab population.

Before 1948, the Zionist movement had only a marginal influence over how the land was named. But with victory came authority, and with authority came a sweeping erasure. Even the word 'Palestine' was meticulously purged from the very institutions that had once wielded it. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, a keystone in the foundation of the Israeli state, wore its true skin and emerged as the Jewish Agency for Israel—a declaration in nomenclature that mirrored the transformation of the land itself (Masalha 2012, 104).

Thus, the past was remade, traces of colonization undone, syllable by syllable, stone by stone.

In the wake of Israel's establishment, the World Zionist Organization emerged as a sentinel of Jewish migration, dedicated to aiding and encouraging Jews to return to their ancestral homeland. Though it provided political support for Israel beyond its borders, its role in the internal politics of the new state remained minimal. Since 1948, its principal triumph lay in facilitating the exodus of Jewish migrants and refugees, particularly assisting Soviet Jews in their struggle for freedom and the right to practice their faith. The exodus of 850,000 Jews from the Arab world flowed largely into Israel, weaving

a complex tapestry of identity and belonging. In the shadowy twilight of 1944–45, Ben-Gurion unveiled the One Million Plan to foreign officials, branding it the ‘primary goal and top priority of the Zionist movement’ (Hacohen 1991, 262). The draconian British White Paper of 1939 stymied this ambition, leaving its realization in limbo until the Israeli Declaration of Independence in May 1948. Within the new government, debates flared; some voiced concerns over organizing mass emigration for Jews whose lives were not in imminent peril, while others cautioned against the burdens of absorption (Hacohen 2003, 46, 246–247). Yet, the force of Ben-Gurion’s vision surged, ensuring that his immigration policies would carve a path through the resistance (Hacohen 2003, 47, 247).

As the dust settled from the tumultuous June War of 1967, a new chapter in the narrative of Zionism emerged—one steeped in the fervour of ‘religious Zionism’ (Ravitzky 1996, 32–34). The Israeli conquest of the West Bank, revered by some as Judea and Samaria, awakened a messianic fervour among its proponents, who saw in the war the very hand of the Divine at work, heralding the dawn of redemption (Ravitzky 1996, 102–109, 122–131; Shlaim 2001, 570). The land became a sacred text, inscribed with the aspirations and aspirations of a people (Ami 2007, 12). For those who dared to contemplate ceding even a fragment of this revered territory, the label of traitor swiftly followed, intertwining faith with politics in a volatile tapestry of allegiance and sacrifice (Shlaim 2001, 32, 546–551).

In the presence of Israel’s leadership—president, ministers, members of the Knesset, judges, chief rabbis, and senior civil servants—Rabbi Kook, a venerated figure among religious Zionists, proclaimed resolutely in 1967 (Masalha 2014, 202):

I tell you explicitly... that there is a prohibition in the Torah against giving up even an inch of our liberated land. There are no conquests here and we are not occupying foreign land; we

are returning to our home, to the inheritance of our forefathers. There is no Arab land here, only the inheritance of our God—the more the world gets used to this thought the better it will be for it and for all of us.

In the eyes of religious Zionists, secular Zionism and state policies bore an unholy sanctity. They contended that ‘the spirit of Israel...is so closely linked to the spirit of God that a Jewish nationalist, no matter how secularist his intention may be, is, despite himself, imbued with the divine spirit even against his own will.’<sup>14</sup> For them, the settlement of the West Bank became a divine commandment, a necessary step towards the ultimate redemption of the Jewish people. Thus, the narrative unfolded—a saga of faith, conflict, and the indelible pursuit of a promised land, echoing through the annals of history with all its complexities and contradictions (Ravitzky 1996, 32–34).

In the grand drama of history, the term ‘Zionism’ emerges as a sensitive garland woven with profound significance and intricate patterns. To grasp its essence requires a journey through time, a voyage rich with layers of meaning and context. As it dances back into the limelight of contemporary discourse, it beckons us to reflect deeply and consider the myriad interpretations it embodies.

In this swirling storm of opinions and narratives, we find ourselves confronted with a concept that has inspired fervent debates and passionate beliefs. Understanding ‘Zionism’ invites us to delve into the past to uncover the roots of a movement that has shaped identities and influenced destinies. As we explore its historical contours, we can savour the wisdom it offers, should we choose to engage thoughtfully with this complex subject.

### III. Islamofascism

‘They (Islamofascists) gave us no peace and we shouldn’t give them any. We can’t live on the same planet as them and I’m glad because I don’t want to. I don’t want to breathe the same air as these psychopaths and murderers and rapists and torturers and child abusers. It’s them or me. I’m very happy about this because I know it will be them. It’s a duty and a responsibility to defeat them. But it’s also a pleasure. I don’t regard it as a grim task at all.’

Christopher Hitchens

Hitchens’ (2005) words cut like a battle cry, stripped of pretence, brimming with the certainty of a man who has peered into the abyss and found no room for coexistence. There is no prevarication here, no illusion of dialogue—only the stark admission that some ideologies, by their very nature, demand total war. The phrase ‘we cannot live on the same planet as them’ is not mere hyperbole; it is the distilled essence of a civilization confronting a force that seeks not compromise but annihilation.

The moral calculus he presents is chillingly clear: this is not a war of choice but of necessity, not a reluctant obligation but a pleasure, an assertion that the battle against Islamofascism is not just justifiable but desirable, a purging of something fundamentally irreconcilable with human dignity. The language is unflinching—‘psychopaths’, ‘murderers’, ‘rapists’, ‘torturers’, ‘child abusers’—each word hammering home the point that this is not an enemy with whom treaties can be signed.

It is a worldview stripped of the platitudes of appeasement, a rejection of the self-flagellating Western guilt that often masquerades as moral high ground. Hitchens is not calling for survival—he is demanding victory and revelling in the certainty that it will come. And perhaps, in the face of an enemy that thrives on submission, such clarity is the only weapon that matters.

It began as a word whispered through halls of conflict, a spark kindling in the charged air between East and West—Islamofascism. A term forged from two worlds of ideological fire, it bore with it the weight of dark-spirited, iron-willed fascism and the unyielding fervour of Islamic extremism, each part pressing against the other as if to bind together faith and fury (Zuckermann 2012, 353; Falk 2008, 122). This linguistic alloy was not just a word; it was an accusation, a call to arms, a flash of meaning that lit up dark corners of history.

Coined as *Islamic Fascism* in 1933, the term wove through epochs and causes like a ghost in search of a form—drifting from the embers of the Pakistan Movement (Görlach 2018, 151) to the rallying cries of Arab nationalists under Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt, and later whispering its way into the rhetoric of Arab dictators who wielded religion like a shield for power (Hitchens 2007). Even the Young Egypt Party, captivated by Mussolini's Italy, adopted its trappings, an emblem of order amid chaos, nationalism entwined with faith (Kourgiotis 2015).

With time, Islamofascism grew into its role, finding greater relevance amid the rising storms of the 1990s. The looming shadows of Ruhollah Khomeini and Osama bin Laden, draped in the cloaks of faith and militancy, breathed life into the term as if it had been waiting all along for them. And then, as the dust settled on 11 September, it rose to prominence, painting a single brushstroke across entire landscapes of belief and culture. It was a word that felt like an invocation, a shape-shifting creature that became synonymous with the West's darkest fears about the East (Bar-On 2018, 241–274).

Yet by 2018, Islamofascism began its retreat from political language, deemed too blunt, too corrosive for diplomacy's measured tones (Bar-On 2018, 241–274). Critics called it a slur, a word that smeared a religion with the sins of extremism; others, however, defended it as an essential divider between faith and fury (Safire 2006). By April 2008, the Extremist Messaging Branch of the U.S. National Counterterrorism Centre had advised government branches to avoid using it altogether, recognizing its potential to alienate the very communities they hoped to reach.<sup>1</sup>

The word fades and resurfaces, a symbol and a warning, lingering like an uneasy memory in the depths of policy and rhetoric. This term, neither friend nor enemy, carries the echoes of history, a reminder of how language can kindle both understanding and division, sparking fires we may struggle to control.

So maybe it would be seen as an opportunity to learn a little about what exactly the title of this chapter means and what significance (positively or negatively) it holds in our daily lives.

## The Terminology

Imagine, if you will, the concept of 'Islamofascism' emerging in the linguistic crucible of the 20th century, a term draped in layers of ideology and controversy. According to the *New Oxford American Dictionary*, 'Islamofascism' evokes a parallel between certain modern Islamic movements and the European fascist currents that swept across the continent in the early 20th century (Falk 2008, 122). For author and journalist Stephen Schwartz, it means the 'use of the faith of Islam as a cover for a totalitarian ideology', a cloak disguising the autocratic ambitions beneath (Schwartz 2006). Quite a few scholars, like historian Robert Paxton, find the term misplaced, calling its application to Islamic extremists a poor alignment with the meaning of fascism (Paxton 2006).

But we have an Indic saying: *Pratyaksha ko praman ki awashyakta nahi hoti hai*. Hence, let us dive deeper.

In 1933, the term ‘Islamic Fascism’ surfaced, a linguistic precursor that echoed across the pages of Akhtar Husain’s critique of Muhammad Iqbal. He characterized efforts to birth an independent Pakistan as a form of Islamic fascism—a sharp portrayal that underscored his opposition to Iqbal’s vision (Görlach 2018, 151). Thirty years later, as the world’s ideological struggles mounted, political analyst Manfred Halpern brought forth a concept he termed ‘neo-Islamic totalitarianism’ (Halpern 1963, 134–135). In *The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa*, he dissected Islamism as a force that bore a kinship to fascism (Halpern 1963, 134–135). Tasked by the United States Air Force via the RAND Corporation, Halpern’s study positioned groups like the Muslim Brotherhood as obstacles to the secular, military-led modernization he deemed vital to the region (Halpern 1963, 134–135; Volpi 2009, 24).

Meanwhile, in the heart of Egypt, a fervent, nationalist youth movement—known as the Young Egypt Party—formed in 1933. This group combined pro-Islamic and nationalist sentiments with inspiration drawn directly from Mussolini’s Italian fascism. They sought to craft a uniquely Egyptian form of strength, one that linked their aspirations with the same iron-willed, authoritarian unity seen in European fascist regimes. For two decades, from 1933 to 1953, the Young Egypt Party carved its path within a dynamic, sometimes volatile, political landscape, imprinting its ideals onto Egypt’s quest for identity and independence (Kourgiotis 2015; Toth 2013, 31).

In the aftermath of World War II, as empires receded and nationalism bloomed, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser would take centre stage, nationalizing the Suez Canal in 1956—a watershed moment that embittered Britain’s Prime Minister Anthony Eden. In a private fury, Eden reportedly confided to

the US President Dwight D. Eisenhower that he saw in Nasser a ‘Hitler’ or ‘Muslim Mussolini’, conflating his pan-Arab ambitions with the dark legacy of European fascists (Bar-On 2018, 241–274). This metaphor, laden with historical fear and disdain, reverberated through diplomatic channels, further entwining the narratives of nationalism, religion, and power in the Arab world.

In these encounters, words became weapons, sharp-edged and laden with the weight of histories and ideologies. The language of ‘Islamofascism’, controversial and complex, thus evolved as both a descriptor and a debate—its contours shaped by the hands of ideologues, scholars, and leaders, each seeking to impose their vision upon a fraught and turbulent era.

### **The Rise of Islamism: A Story of Power and Ideology**

In 1978, the winds of revolution began sweeping across Iran as Ruhollah Khomeini’s Islamic revolution gained fervour. From France and other Western circles, intellectuals looked on, captivated, as if the uprising promised liberation. Yet, a lone voice of caution arose: Maxime Rodinson, a Marxist scholar of Islam, urged a more critical view. For Rodinson, the Islamic political movement surging in Iran and beyond bore ominous signs of ‘a type of archaic fascism’. It was, he argued, a force that blended religion with imported concepts of nationalism and socialism but emptied them of their progressive ideals. Under this form of rule, state power would turn harshly inwards, enforcing rigid moral codes and punishing divergence (Afary and Anderson 2010, 99–103).

History echoed in his warning—a tale of foreign assaults on Islamic lands by Crusaders, Mongols, Turks, and later, Western imperialists. He believed such invasions spurred the impoverished to challenge their Westernized elites, faulting them for their abandonment of traditional piety (Afary and Anderson 2010, 99–103).

The phrase ‘Islamofascism’ found its earliest mention in a 1990 article by Malise Ruthven, noted by William Safire (Safire 2006). Ruthven described how authoritarian Arab regimes leveraged religious appeals to bolster their rule, blurring lines between faith and authoritarianism. Reflecting on the political landscape from Morocco to Pakistan, Ruthven wrote, ‘authoritarian government, not to say Islamo-Fascism, is the rule rather than the exception’ (Hitchens 2007). Below are the words from his piece talking about the term (Ruthven 1990):

Nevertheless, there is what might be called a political problem affecting the Muslim world. In contrast to the heirs of some other non-Western traditions, including Hinduism, Shintoism and Buddhism, Islamic societies seem to have found it particularly hard to institutionalise divergences politically: authoritarian government, not to say Islamo-fascism, is the rule rather than the exception from Morocco to Pakistan.

Yet, he doubted his own credit for the term’s creation, attributing its origin perhaps to historical murkiness rather than his words alone (Ruthven 2012, X).

In the shattering aftermath of 11 September, the term ‘Islamofascism’ took on a new life. Khalid Duran is often credited with coining ‘Islamofascism’, a term that strips Islamism of its disguises and lays bare its essence—a doctrine that seeks to bend both state and soul to its will. More than mere theocracy, it is a system where faith is not a choice but a command, where the machinery of power and the creed of the masses are forged into a single, unyielding blade (Falk 2008, 122; Scardino 2005; *The Washington Times* 2006).

Neo-conservative journalist Lulu Schwartz, perhaps the first Westerner to adopt the term, wielded it in *The Spectator* to characterize the ideology behind Osama Bin Laden’s terror campaign (Görlach 2018, 151; Schwartz 2001; Stolberg 2006).

In Schwartz's eyes, it described Islamism as a cloak for Totalitarianism, masking its brutality with religious fervour and aligning itself with the darker forces of fascism (Schwartz 2006). The term soon entered political corridors; President George W. Bush invoked 'Islamic Fascists' as he addressed the threat of terrorism, though he took pains to separate it from the Islamic faith itself (Wolffe 2006; Bush 2005; Wildangel 2012, 527).

Who truly popularized 'Islamofascism' remains a point of contention. Safire credited Christopher Hitchens, who often wielded the term as a rhetorical weapon. Valerie Scatamburlo d'Annibale attributed it to Eliot Cohen, a powerful voice in the neoconservative ranks during the War on Terror (d'Annibale 2011, 118; Podhoretz 2011, 43). And thus, it circulated—between speeches and editorials, classrooms, and coffeehouses—as the world grappled with the ideological complexity of the age. In 2006, George Bush's mention of 'Islamic Fascists' spurred a flood of reactions. Despite an initial embrace, the term quickly vanished from his speeches, retreating under waves of criticism from Muslims and scholars alike (Raum 2006).

Not all were convinced by the term's rhetorical force. Fred Halliday warned that 'Islamofascism' painted too broad a brush, implying that all who articulated social or political goals through Islam were fascists (Halliday 2010). Cultural historian Richard Webster argued that Western interference, rather than inherent qualities within Islam, fuelled virulent anti-Semitism and reactionary militancy (Webster 2002). 'If you control the language, you control the debate,' remarked Katha Pollitt, who believed the term 'Islamofascism' aimed less at clarity than at inflaming fear (Pollitt 2006). David Gergen, a former Richard Nixon speechwriter, criticized the phrase as obscuring more than it revealed (Stolberg 2006).

Others, like Robert Wistrich, retorted, likening Islam to a steel scaffold of fascism, rigid and unyielding.<sup>2</sup> In 2007, Christopher Hitchens supported applying 'fascism' to Islamist Extremism,

seeing it as a form of what analysts once termed clerical fascism (Hitchens 2007).

Briefly, in the run-up to the U.S. 2006 midterms, 'Islamofascism' took the spotlight once more (Raum 2006). But it soon faded, a contentious term that carried as much ideological weight as it did interpretive complexity—its echoes a reminder of the shifting language of power, fear, and resistance.

In October 2007, David Horowitz initiated an 'Islamo-Fascist Awareness Week', a fervent series of 26 workshops across American universities. The event spread through campuses like a fierce storm, with Horowitz casting it as an exposé on ideological threats (Yglesias 2007), yet many saw it as a polarizing term—critics called it a conservative buzzword, a provocative brand for complex fears (Wolffe 2006). The counter-jihad movement echoed its tone, propelling it as a rallying cry against what they deemed a rising menace (Aked, Jones and Miller 2019, 14). Figures like Rick Santorum wielded it as shorthand, simplifying terrorists into a monolithic force (Wolffe 2006). Former Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, in defence of the Iraq invasion, framed its dissenters as appeasers of 'a new type of fascism', insisting they misunderstood the darkness he believed lay beyond their borders (Raum 2006). Norman Podhoretz, author and neoconservative commentator, fuelled the call, pronouncing that the United States was already in the throes of World War III, with Iran poised as the heart of this perceived Islamofascist threat, and urged its bombing 'as soon as logistically possible' (Podhoretz 2011, 43–44).

Yet by April 2008, the term's journey through government lexicons abruptly stopped. A memo from the Extremist Messaging Branch of the National Counterterrorism Centre warned agencies like the State Department and Homeland Security against such language. 'We are communicating with, not confronting, our audiences,' it advised, stressing that terms like 'Islamo-Fascism' alienated rather than informed, sowing

seeds of insult where understanding was most crucial. The memo urged restraint, cautioning that these words were arrows that missed their mark, offending many Muslims rather than clarifying the stakes.<sup>3</sup>

The landscape shifted yet again from 2014 to 2017, as journalists, bloggers, and a few academics returned to the term to connect radical Islamism with fascism, especially in the rise of ISIS. Yet, by 2018, the phrase had faded from the policy corridors of Washington and other Western capitals, its flame quietly extinguished as policymakers turned away, leaving the term ‘Islamofascism’ to the echoes of political rhetoric gone past (Bar-On 2018, 241–274).

So now let us hear from the Horse’s mouths.

Islamist thinkers have long asserted that Islam should remain untainted by any kinship to Western ideologies like fascism (Cole 1983, 276–291; Gershoni 2012; Nordbruch 2009, 81). Central to Islamism is the ambition of religious unity (*Ummah*), envisioning a pan-Islamic state—seen in the aspirations of groups like ISIS—not a unity grounded in ethnicity or nationality (Roy 2003, 45–46; Pazzanese 2014). Figures like Hassan al-Banna critiqued nationalism deeply, marking it as alien to the soul of Islam.

The influential Islamist theorist Sayyid Qutb,<sup>4</sup> who is also considered a fervent speaker in his manifesto, *Milestones*,<sup>5</sup> against attempts to align Islamic principles with Western political structures. He warned that Islam should never ‘propose similarities’ between Islamic and non-Islamic ‘system or manners’, condemning those who twist Islam to mirror secular governance (Qutb 1988, 134):

to please them [non-Muslims] as some do today when they present Islam to the people under the names of ‘Islamic Democracy’ or ‘Islamic Socialism,’ or sometimes by saying that the current economic or political or legal systems in the world need not be changed except a little to be acceptable Islamically.

For Qutb, ideologies such as democracy, nationalism, and socialism were among the corrosive forces infiltrating his society. Fascism, a relic defeated by World War II, had become for him a distant spectre—one that embodied the dangers of secular ideals, alien and flawed, set against the ‘only Divine way of life’. He left no room for equivocation (Qutb 1988, 51):

Islam ... is the only Divine way of life ... those who deviate from this system and want some other system, whether it be based on nationalism ... class struggle, or similar corrupt theories are truly enemies of mankind!

Let us look at Hassan al-Banna’s Reflections on Nationalism.

In Islamic Fascism, Hamed Abdel-Samad recounts that Al-Banna and the Muslim Brotherhood had, at times, extolled the militaristic virtues of leaders like Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Al-Banna saw in Mussolini’s fervour an echo of what he believed was a principle of Islam itself—though he asserted Islamic militarism as one anchored not in material conquest but in spirituality (Gershoni and Jankowski 2009, 213–218; Bar-On 2018, 241–274; Frampton 2018, 52; Cole 1983, 276–291; Nordbruch 2009, 81; Gershoni 2012).<sup>6</sup>

After World War II, the Muslim Brotherhood’s collection of Al-Banna’s sayings takes a harsher stance on fascism, declaring it as a force that once inspired hope in countries like Germany and Italy, uniting them ‘under one leader’. However, in his reflection, Al-Banna notes that this ‘seemingly powerful system’ had been a ‘real disaster’, leading its adherents to ‘a deadly war’ and ultimate collapse. While he lauded the ‘Nationalism of Glory’, ‘Political Community’, and ‘Discipline’, he denounced the ‘Nationalism of Paganism’ and ‘Aggression’—the forces that elevate one race to oppress another, warning that such paths lead to ‘the human race liquidating itself for the sake of a delusion’ (Samad 2016, 15).

Al-Banna even saw in pan-Germanism a vision parallel to pan-Islamism but one limited, he insisted, by the supremacy of belief over race (Gershoni and Jankowski 2009, 218). Nazi Germany, briefly an ally, paid (£5,000) the Brotherhood in 1939 to spread anti-British sentiments in Egypt, though this partnership ceased as soon as war broke out (Gershoni and Jankowski 2009, 213; Frampton 2018, 52).

Let us now move on to Ayatollah Khomeini and the denouncement of fascism.

During World War II, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini vehemently denounced the Nazi invasion of Poland, condemning Hitler's aggression as 'against the property and rights of others ... unjust and evil.' He called this 'Hitlerite mentality ... one of the most poisonous and heinous products of the human mind' (Khomeini 1981, 169–170).

Later, when interviewed by Oriana Fallaci after the Iranian Revolution, Khomeini firmly dismissed any parallels between his movement and fascism. In his words, it was 'unjust and unhuman to call me a dictator', declaring that 'Fascism and Islamism are absolutely incompatible.' This boundary, drawn with vigour, reflected Khomeini's vision of a theocratic rule opposed to secular tyranny, steadfast in its rejection of fascism's racial nationalism (Fallaci 1979).<sup>7</sup>

In these divergent voices—each seeking an Islamic order yet distancing itself from fascist ideologies (for racial connotation)—Islamist thinkers have narrated a stance wary of, and opposed to, any creed but their own. Theirs is a system that aspires to be distinct, divine, and above secular Western ideologies that, to them, embody both temporal power and spiritual emptiness.

Here lies a tangled tale, where, despite their outward disavowals of Nazism and Fascism, Qutb, Banna, and Khomeini nonetheless sketched ideologies that, when stripped of divine decoration, mirror the haunting vision of Nazism itself.

If one peels back the layers of sanctity, silencing the invocation of ‘Allah or His Prophet’ momentarily, the landscape reveals a disturbing similarity to the ethos of Hitler’s doctrine. For those facing persecution, the invocation—whether in the name of ‘Allah’ or ‘Jesus’—blurs into insignificance, as the brutalities remain the same.

In a chilling irony, these three figures may scarcely realize that Hitler held a view of Jesus akin to that of much of the Islamic world: as a mortal, not divine (Shirer 1960, 234–235), and as a figure militant against the Jews (Schramm 1971, 90; Gall 2003, 13–50, 252). Fuelled by this interpretation, Hitler tore through the established Catholic framework of Christianity, denouncing it as a twisted fabrication tainted by Jewish origins, with St. Paul—himself born a Jew—as the root of this ‘contamination’ (Hitler 2000, 72, 721–722). Hitler spoke plainly of these convictions as he orchestrated the Holocaust (Sánchez 2001, 70), rebranding his movement under the twisted banner of ‘Christianity’, a construct he labelled ‘Positive Christianity’, portraying Jesus as Aryan and casting him as a symbol of his racial crusade (Gall 2003, 26).

Thus, when some Islamist figures try to distance themselves from Hitler, claiming they walk a different path, history itself seems to smirk at the paradox. These very men, who saw Hitler as ‘secular’, fail to see that he too fashioned a mould of Christianity to serve his designs, preaching it in education, much as these Islamists, in their way, propagated their vision of Islam, weaving it tightly into the cultural and ideological fabric they sought to create.

I thought of another way to make a comparison between these Islamists, whom I chose to call Islamofascists, and Adolf Hitler.

Both stress an almost sacrificial zeal—purging perceived threats, whether based on race, culture, or ideology, with relentless force. Hitler emphasizes the cleansing of a ‘corrupt’ Jewish presence in German society, while Khomeini calls for purging of ‘corrupt Western culture’, positioning it as a threat

to his vision of a pure, Islamic society. Both visions justify a fierce kind of loyalty and the removal of any contaminating influence.

Let us now look at their take on education as a tool of ideological control.

Both Hitler and Khomeini sought to control youth education, each aiming to cultivate future generations indoctrinated into their ideologies. For Hitler, youth loyalty to ‘the German race’ was paramount; for Khomeini, Islamic loyalty was supreme, with the very notion of education needing ‘purification’ from foreign influence.

Both Hitler and Khomeini emphasize subsuming individual identity within the collective, where obedience becomes the highest virtue. Hitler couches this in nationalism, linking the individual’s worth to the state’s control. Khomeini does so through religious duty, calling for each person to set aside individuality for the unity of the Islamic cause.

Both Hitler and Khomeini manipulated religious rhetoric to justify their aggressive agendas. Hitler invoked a ‘divine will’ to sanctify his campaigns, while Khomeini argued that Islam is inherently a faith that incites believers towards militant action, framing the war as an act of divine inspiration and duty. This reframing of faith into a justification for conflict revealed their shared use of religious language to inspire loyalty and justify violence.

A detailed study revealed a haunting similarity in Hitler’s and Khomeini’s visions, where fervent loyalty, ideological purity, and a commitment to a divinely sanctioned vision of dominance intersect, each leader seeking to establish a totalitarian worldview that would resonate across generations.

Both Hitler and Khomeini were known for their pronounced hostility toward Jews, though their rhetoric varied in cultural and religious language. Here are some quotes from each that illustrate their shared animosity. Let us begin with Hitler.

Hitler's animosity towards Jews is well-documented, framing them as the enemy of Germany and the root of various societal 'ills'.

Khomeini's anti-Jewish rhetoric often combined religious justification with revolutionary zeal, portraying Jews as enemies of Islam and attributing various conspiratorial motives to them.

Both Hitler and Khomeini positioned Jews not only as a societal threat but also as symbolic antagonists to their respective worldviews—whether Nazi or Islamist. Each leader invoked historical conspiracies and cultural fears to frame Jews as existential enemies, justifying their ideologies' destructive actions against Jewish communities.

So now let us move on to talk more about Islamofascism.

Julius Evola, an Italian philosopher of the early 20th century, was no stranger to controversy. His life and writings spanned the domains of tradition, esotericism, and radical reaction. Evola's thoughts, steeped in the ideals of aristocratic ascendance and fascist ideologies, cast a sharp gaze upon the world's civilizations. Among these, he saw Islam as a potent reservoir of tradition, a living entity capable of defying modernity's march. His works, such as *Metaphysics of War*, offer reflections on the spiritual core of war within *Hindu*, *Islamic*,<sup>8</sup> and Western traditions (Evola 2011, 43–46; Mirshahvalad 2024, 39–54). Evola's vision of Islam was not one of mere faith but an armature of ancient values and martial virtues through jihad, admiring its structure as one grounded in clarity, duty, and a defined moral hierarchy (Evola 2011, 43–46).<sup>9</sup>

In *Revolt Against the Modern World*, Evola portrayed Islam as an enduring bastion of Law and Tradition. He wrote (Evola 1995, 244): 'As in the case of priestly Judaism, the centre in Islam also consisted of the Law and Tradition, regarded as a formative force, to which the Arab stocks of the origins provided a purer and nobler human material that was shaped by a warrior spirit.'

For Evola, Islam stood as a tradition surpassing both Judaism and the diluted beliefs of a Western world he viewed as spiritually hollow (Evola 1995, 244). This admiration led some, like Frank

Gelli, to suggest that Evola harboured a secret inclination towards Sufism, identifying him as a ‘crypto-Sufi’ (Gelli 2019, 4). His ideas would echo in various quarters, including the writings of Russian Islamic activist Geydar Dzhemal, who took inspiration from Evola’s call for a resurgence of pure, unyielding tradition (Sibgatullina and Kemper 2017, 221).

The Six-Day War of 1967 would provide fertile ground for Evola’s prophecies. Observing the Middle East’s fractured state, he foresaw Islam’s phoenix-like resurgence from its ashes. Evola opined (Gelli 2019, 23):

The Arabs are a great people, too, of course. Now they are in the dumps. Arab socialism does not suit them. It has sapped their energies. You can’t mix atheism, Marxism and the Qur’an. The Arabs already have their own prophet in Muhammad. They’ll never exchange Muhammad for Marx... Besides, Nasser has shown himself to be a dud. He deserved defeat. Arab socialism will die with him. There will soon be a resurgence of Islam. That is certain. Islam’s worldwide advance has not stopped yet... When the time comes – I am sure it will be soon - they can restore the Caliphate. When the Islamic awakening comes, the Arabs will bounce back but not before.

These words would find eerie resonance, igniting imaginations and serving as a rallying cry for those who perceived a spiritual emptiness in secular ideologies. In an unsettling twist of fate, Evola’s *Revolt Against the Modern World* would later surface during the trial of Fouad Ali Saleh,<sup>10</sup> a terrorist who cited Evola’s passages as he defended his actions, revealing how deeply the Italian thinker’s ideas had percolated into unexpected realms (Boroumand and Boroumand 2002).

In the West, Evola’s allure and the rise of Islamism gave birth to new terminologies as pundits sought labels to capture this ideological conflux.

William Safire, an American journalist and former Nixon speechwriter, coined the term ‘Islamofascism’ to articulate the dark synthesis he perceived between religious extremism and authoritarianism. He wrote (Safire 2006): ‘Islamofascism may have legs: the compound defines those terrorists who profess a religious mission while embracing totalitarian methods and helps separate them from devout Muslims who want no part of terrorist means.’

Yet others saw this term as a flawed caricature. Journalist Eric Margolis contended that Islamic societies, with their traditions of local allegiances and consensus, bore little resemblance to the corporative machines of fascist states in the West. According to him, the Muslim world contained its share of despots and military regimes, yet none truly fit the classic mould of fascism, noting that ‘most, in fact, are America’s allies’ (Margolis 2006).

Malise Ruthven, a voice of caution, argued against the broad brush of ‘Islamofascism’ (Ruthven 2012, X) warning that Islam’s ideological diversity defied such simplification (Ruthven 2002, 207–208). He suggested that Islamic movements were far more intricate than mere analogies to fascism allowed, highlighting that no specific governance model could be universally derived from Islamic texts—a challenge mirrored in Christianity’s long history of shifting political theology. While Spain’s fascists had at times drawn strength from Catholic traditions, Ruthven reminded readers that those same doctrines had equally served democracy’s cause (Ruthven 2012, X).

In Evola’s writings and their reception, one glimpses the contours of a debate that straddles centuries: a civilization grappling with modernity’s erosion of rooted identity, searching both backward and forward for a vessel to carry its soul across tumultuous waters.

In the lexicon of political rhetoric, the term ‘Islamofascism’ emerged as a bold, divisive descriptor, its presence reverberating through media channels and public discourse. Yet, its reception

has been mixed, with critics casting doubt on its validity and purpose, noting that such terminology muddles more than it clarifies. George Orwell, back in 1946, had offered an insight that now feels prophetic: ‘The word Fascism has no meaning except in so far as it signifies ‘something not desirable’ (Orwell 2013, 10; Halliday 2010, 181).

Among the vocal detractors, Chibli Mallat acknowledged the term’s controversy, though he deemed its use justifiable in certain contexts. Yet, he found it troubling that Islam was repeatedly spotlighted while the world remained largely silent on analogous behaviours within Jewish, Buddhist, or Hindu communities. Indeed, Mallat argued, one seldom heard of ‘Hindu-fascism’ tied to Modi’s Hindu nationalism, ‘Buddhist-fascism’ regarding Myanmar, or ‘Judeo-fascism’ in reference to Jewish radicals in Israel. Why, he asked, this selective spotlight on Islam? (Mallat 2015, 155).

For Michel Onfray, Michael Howard, Jeffrey Herf, and the eminent Robert Wistrich, the term found credence (Onfray 2007, 5). They asserted a connection between Islamic radicalism and fascist tenets, envisioning a continuum of totalitarian ethos and theocratic tyranny.<sup>11</sup> However, others, scholars who have studied Islam and Arabic history, remain unconvinced. Reza Aslan contends that the roots of jihadism lie not in the Qur’an but in the ideological writings of anti-colonialist thinkers and the doctrines of Ahmad Ibn Taymiyyah, the scholar from the medieval Islamic period who articulated an uncompromising vision of faith under siege (Aslan 2010, 25–26). Niall Ferguson, the historian, dismisses ‘Islamofascism’ outright, describing it as an ‘extraordinary neologism’, pointing out the stark differences between fascist regimes and the ideology of Al-Qaeda (Ferguson 2008).

This story of scepticism is enriched further by those drawing comparisons between white supremacists and radical Islamic terrorists. Here, critics argue, lies a flawed conflation: the former

marked by racial supremacy, the latter often by religious or anti-colonial fervour. The resemblance is not in ideology, they say, but in structural tactics and methods of recruitment—both, perhaps, fruits of a similar tree, albeit grown in distinct soil (Meleagrou, Crawford and Wutke 2021; Kocha, Nahona and Moghadam 2023, 919–943; German 2017; Laryš 2023; Argentino, Amarasingam and Conley 2022).

I, however, stand opposed to the denial and obfuscation that follow these assertions. To Reza Aslan, who seeks to trace jihadism to anti-colonial impulses or to Ibn Taymiyyah's writings, I ask: is it not too convenient to remove ideological culpability by relegating it to historical grievances or interpretations of singular scholars? Radicalism, as we see it today, is neither merely the legacy of colonizers' sins nor the echo of Taymiyyah's voice. It is a reality inextricably interwoven with modern Islamist doctrines that echo fascist tenets in both aspiration and application.

And to Mallat, who calls out the absence of Hindu-, Judeo-, or Buddhist-fascism, I counter that the Hakenkreuz-based ideology in the hands of Islamists of Palestine is wielded with as much fervour as it ever was in Europe. Islamism—unlike other radical strains—strives towards global supremacy in explicit ideological terms, unified under an unbending interpretation that brooks no dissent, no pluralism.

Finally, I look to Walter Laqueur, who wades through the mire of these imprecise terms, conceding that 'Islamic fascism, Islamophobia, and antisemitism, each in its way, are imprecise terms we could well do without' (Laqueur 2006). While precision may be the casualty of such terms, the underlying truth remains: words, imperfect though they are, lay bare the ideologies they seek to define. If 'Islamofascism' persists, it is because it captures, albeit imperfectly, a truth unpalatable but undeniably present.

Mallat's attempt to label both Hindus and Jews as fascists does not merely stretch reason—it warps history itself. By claiming that Hindu nationalism under Modi and Jewish self-defence reflect

‘fascist’ tendencies, he trivializes the realities of persecution and survival that both communities have faced. Instead of drawing legitimate comparisons, he paints an unsubstantiated parallel between two of history’s most oppressed groups and the extremist ideologies that targeted them.

At the heart of Mallat’s reasoning is a peculiar dissonance. He argues that Al-Qaeda’s actions are entirely divorced from Islamic doctrine, claiming that figures like bin Laden acted purely on personal ideology, detached from religious imperatives. Yet this assertion collapses upon examination, for when Osama bin Laden declared jihad against the United States,<sup>12</sup> he did so, citing verses he considered sacred. He did not cloak his violence in personal conviction alone but anchored it in what he interpreted as a divine command. There is no ambiguity here: bin Laden’s rhetoric echoed through quotes from religious texts, underscoring his belief that his actions were not only justified but mandated. By severing these actions from the faith-based justifications provided by bin Laden himself, Mallat glosses over the ideological foundation of extremist violence. Where, in any reasonable lens, do Modi’s actions or Hindu principles align with this sort of extremism? While figures like Khomeini or bin Laden wielded faith as a call to violence, Modi has charted a different course, focusing on governance and national unity rather than invoking aggression in the name of religion.

Mallat’s attempt to balance ‘Hindu-Fascism’ against ‘Islamofascism’ is equally weak. While Islamofascism is observable in multiple states, with minorities reduced, rights suppressed, and religious conformity enforced, India’s population statistics tell a different story. In recent years, the Muslim population in India has grown steadily while the Hindu population has declined (Rajora 2024). This hardly aligns with Mallat’s dystopian picture of a ‘Hindu-Fascist’ India. And consider Uttar Pradesh—a state once rife with communal riots that has, under current governance, enjoyed a prolonged

peace (Statesman News Service 2024). It is ironic that while Mallat champions a narrative of persecution by Hindus, reality undermines him at every turn.

The Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) exemplifies this irony. The CAA was crafted to offer citizenship to non-Muslim religious minorities from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh—nations where Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Buddhists, and Jains endure persecution precisely because of their faith. For these minorities, the CAA provided a lifeline, acknowledging their desperate plight in Islamic-majority countries.<sup>13</sup>

Yet many self-proclaimed liberals decried the CAA as ‘fascist’, painting it as a policy of discrimination rather than one of sanctuary (Jacob 2019; Ameer 2019; Press Trust of India 2019).

In truth, the Act did not affect a single Indian citizen, Muslim or otherwise (India News Desk 2024; Press Trust of India 2024). Yet Delhi’s streets erupted in protest (Hasan 2020), with roads blockaded and communal tensions stoked. This unrest escalated to horrific violence, culminating in the death of Ankit Sharma, an Intelligence Bureau officer stabbed a shocking 156 times.<sup>14</sup>

The question that remains unaddressed is, why do those falling in line with Mallat label the CAA fascist? Do they view the persecution of Hindus, Sikhs, and Christians in neighbouring states as unworthy of response? Is offering sanctuary to refugees now an act of tyranny?

The reality of persecution faced by Hindus in countries like Bangladesh is undeniable, and it continues with brutal regularity (Johnson 2024). In Kashmir, Hindu communities endured a systematic campaign of terror that forced them from their homes three decades ago. Threats of ‘convert, die, or flee’ echoed from mosques, propelling the exodus of an entire community (Kaur 2021, f814–831). For the Kashmiri Pandits, the trauma persists even today as they await the return to a homeland that extremism wrested from them (Ameen 2020). Yet Mallat’s narrative is silent

on these issues. He overlooks Modi's efforts to extend support to Muslim citizens across India, favouring a narrative of oppression that the facts cannot support.

Despite its flaws, Mallat's argument continues to rely heavily on the 2002 Gujarat riots, presenting them as the linchpin for his 'fascist' narrative. However, this narrative selectively remembers Modi's role, ignoring that he endured a comprehensive judicial investigation under the Congress-led UPA government and was exonerated (Sharma 2022; Huggler 2010). Furthermore, the events leading up to the riots are often sidelined: the deliberate burning of 59 Hindu pilgrims on the Sabarmati Express by a mob of over 2,000 Muslims, a tragic event confirmed in court (Nanavati and Mehta 2008, 159). Mallat's critics conveniently omit this horror, presenting only a selective view that fits their narrative. To hold Modi accountable while erasing the atrocities that sparked the violence reveals a deeply biased account of history.

Their condemnation may also extend to Modi's restorative efforts for India's temples, such as the reconstruction of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya, which was demolished centuries ago and replaced with a mosque (Srivastava 2019). The call to reclaim Kashi and Mathura, sites of similarly desecrated temples, is met with cries of 'fascism' (Chatterji 2020) from those who ignore historical evidence. Recently, the Shiv Lingam discovered beneath the floor of a mosque in Kashi sparked controversy, with opponents dismissing it as a mere 'fountain' (Daniyal 2023). Yet this fountain stands as a sacred symbol, desecrated over centuries as the site was used for *wazu*, the Islamic ritual of purification that includes spitting water—a desecration many Hindus view as a profound insult. The presence of this Lingam is not a conspiracy; it is a record of history that has remained defiled for centuries under the guise of secularism (Daniyal 2023).

Modi's administration has also sought to amend the Waqf Act, another move that one may use as a prop to call Modi fascist.

This Act grants the Waqf board unchecked power over any land it designates as ‘Waqf’, shielding it from legal challenges (Ansari 2024). Coupled with the Places of Worship Act, which prohibits Hindus from reclaiming any pre-independence sites, these laws set an arbitrary cutoff, allowing no redress of historical wrongs. This legal framework essentially forbids justice for Hindus. According to the laws, the Waqf board can declare nearly any land as Waqf—example includes significant properties like the Ambani residence—without recourse. This, according to liberals may end up being looked at as equity; any attempt to correct it, fascism (Ansari 2024).

Most of the self-proclaimed Liberals’ opposition to the Modi government’s policies on public order and security reveals yet another inconsistency. They rail against measures to manage large gatherings at terrorist funerals or prevent road-blocking congregations for namaz (Qadri and Qadri 2016). Is it truly fascist to prioritize civic order or enforce rules that prevent public obstruction? Framing these efforts as fascism is less a critique of governance than an endorsement of Islamist exceptionalism, where religious practices are shielded from laws binding to all others.

The most absurd aspect of Mallat’s critique, however, lies in his claims of ‘Jewish Fascism’. To cast the Jewish people—the survivors of history’s most monstrous fascist regime—as fascists for defending themselves borders on grotesque. From the ghettos of Europe to the flames of the Holocaust, the Jewish community endured unimaginable persecution. Israel’s resilience is not an expression of oppression but a testament to survival. To paint Jews as ‘fascists’ for seeking a homeland and defending it against those who would see them erased is to contort history, exonerating oppressors while condemning the oppressed. Such a logic that brands self-preservation as tyranny suggests a disturbing moral inversion. Mallat’s argument turns justice on its head, indicting the victim while sanctifying the

aggressor. If this is the path to ‘fascism’, then Mallat and his supporters may indeed need divine intervention to re-examine their moral compass.<sup>15</sup>

The reality is that in the charged aftermath of 11 September, a gathering of public intellectuals—Adam Michnik, Oriana Fallaci, Václav Havel, André Glucksmann, Michael Ignatieff, Leon Wieseltier, David Remnick, Thomas Friedman, and Michael Walzer—found themselves under Tony Judt’s discerning gaze (Judt 2006), accused of lending credence to a concept that shadowed the era: that of ‘Islamofascism’. Their writings and reflections painted a shifting landscape, mirroring the ideological turmoil that unfolded in those shadowed years.

Manfred Halpern, a pioneering voice in political theory, had long anticipated this shift. In his 1963 work, *The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa*, he branded politicized Islam as ‘Neo-Islamic Totalitarianism’, recognizing it as a construct with aspirations beyond creed—an edifice akin to fascism, one that laced the zeal of faith with the apparatus of total control (Halpern 1963, 134).

French Marxist Maxime Rodinson looked to the past to make sense of the present. Islamic movements like the Muslim Brotherhood, he suggested, were not mere religious awakenings but a ‘type of archaic fascism’. These were crusades for a totalitarian order where political police would zealously safeguard moral and social orthodoxy. He even accused his contemporaries on the French Left of idolizing Islamism, blind to its authoritarian core, and misreading a religious fervour as a force for liberation rather than oppression (Rodinson 1981, 78).

In *History Upside Down*, Professor David Meir-Levi argued that Islamofascism had become the lynchpin in a campaign bent on Israel’s ruin, woven tightly into a larger jihadist assault on Western ideals. The Palestinian cause, to him, was no longer solely nationalist but had transformed into an ‘Islamofascist’ front in a broader war against the West (Meir-Levi 2007, 45).

Sociologist Saïd Amir Arjomand drew a compelling parallel in *The Turban for the Crown*, tracing the roots of fascism within the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Since at least 1984, he claimed, Islamism and fascism in Iran bore striking resemblances—a fusion of charismatic authority and brutal enforcement cloaked in the guise of religious revival (Arjomand 1988, 112).

Michael Howard, an American scholar, approached the terminology of ‘Islamic fascists’ cautiously yet assertively. Initially resistant to President Bush’s call for a ‘war on terror’, he argued that the term war overstated the conflict’s nature (Howard 2006, 8). Recognizing, however, that the ideology mirrored the essence of European fascism, he ultimately conceded to Bush’s descriptor with a qualification: these extremists were no truer to Islam than past Christian zealots had been to Christianity. For Howard, fascism was ‘the rejection of the entire legacy of the Enlightenment’, dismantling reason, tolerance, inquiry, and the rule of law (Howard 2009, 134).

Christopher Hitchens, famed for his fervent polemic, saw Islamic fundamentalism as an incarnation of ‘clerical fascism’ (Hitchens 2007). While Frederick W. Kagan contested the analogy, Hitchens persisted. Though different from European fascism, he argued, Islamism’s call for a revived Caliphate echoed Hitler’s Greater Germany and Mussolini’s imperial dreams. Hitchens found other unsettling parallels, too, that are stated as follows (Hitchens 2007):

1. A glorification of death and destruction, like the Spanish fascist cry: ‘Death to the intellect! Long live death!’
2. A thirst for bygone empires, tinged with a vengeance for perceived humiliations.
3. An intense paranoia towards Jews (and, to a lesser extent, Freemasons).
4. The near-messianic adulation for a leader, coupled with devotion to a single, immutable text.
5. Sexual repression, particularly disdain for anything feminine, enforcing strict gender roles.

6. An aversion to modernity, with contempt for art and literature as signs of decay.
7. Destruction of books and art, favouring the 'pure' believer over the *kuffār* in a disturbing brand of ideological purification.

Tamir Bar-On (2007, 152) distilled these parallels with chilling precision as he said:

While Islamism and fascism are different political ideologies with differing visions of human nature, the ideal state, and historical processes, both ideologies share the quest for totalitarianism. Both Islamism and fascism mobilize the masses, ignoring class distinctions, in order to combat internal or external threats. As Michael Whine explains, both replace the practice of religion with their own monopolistic ideology, relying on mass communication and suppression of dissent in order to construct a single party regime, a new state with the vision of a 'new man', and the aim of conquering existing society, which it believes has deviated from its ideal.

This chapter merely grazes the surface, offering only a glimpse into the vast expanse of what Islamofascism entails. Imagine it as an overture before the full symphony, an introductory note to an unfolding tale, one that will later bring into view the shadows and motivations behind jihad, the shaping influence of Deoband, the fervour of Tipu Sultan, and the dark scars of the Moplah genocide. While you await the intricate accounts of each, consider this a prelude—a taste to whet your understanding, a whisper of the deeper tides that shaped these historical forces.

The ties between the Deccan and Malabar regions and ISIS, commonly perceived as a modern occurrence, weave back through history to the idea of an Islamic state as conceived by Tipu Sultan (Tipu Sultan 1811, 236). This story is woven through

an intricate legacy of ideological confluences and the ambitions of historical figures whose visions of global Sharia rule echoed down the ages.

Tipu Sultan's 'dream' was not merely a personal ambition but a profound ideological conviction, rooted in a desire to see the world under the banner of a Sharia-compliant Islamic state (Tipu Sultan 1811, 236). His doctrines drew deeply from Salafist influences and scholars whose thoughts laid the foundation for what would, much later, form the backbone of modern jihadist ideologies (Ibn Taymiyya 1985, 142). The aspirations of ISIS, for instance, are hauntingly similar to Tipu's decrees, echoing his fiery calls for armed expansion in the name of faith (Al-Hayat Media Center 2014, 5). These voices from the past still reverberate in some regions, where ideological currents link back to these early doctrines (Taneja and Siyech 2019, 7).

The Salafi hybrid ideology behind ISIS, which pursues a purist return to the age of Prophet Muhammad through the rule of Sharia, draws significant parallels to the fervour of Tipu's campaigns (Al-Hayat Media Center 2014, 5). Some argue that ISIS's ideological foundations differ slightly from pure Salafism, stemming from minor variances, such as initial fatwas. However, like Tipu, their vision of an Islamic state looks past the boundaries of the nation-state, aspiring to revive an era of faith-led governance (Al-Hayat Media Center 2014, 5).

To understand this historical confluence, one must look to Tipu Sultan's influences—such as Syed Ahmad Barelvi, the Deobandi school's forefather, who declared India a 'Dar-Al-Harab' (Land of War). His message made jihad obligatory against non-believers and sought an Islamic state across the Indian subcontinent. His follower, Shah Ismail Dehlavi (1822, 34), chronicled similar thoughts in *Sirat-e-Mustaqeem*: 'A large part of present-day India has become 'Dar-ul-Harab'. Compare the situation with the heavenly blessings of India two and three hundred years ago.'

This rallying call found expression in Saeed's war anthem for his mujahideen, *Raisala Jihad*, as they waged a relentless campaign against the so-called infidels, emboldened by promises of celestial rewards. You may read the *Raisala Jihad* as follows (Dehlavi 1831):

War against the Infidel is incumbent on all Musalmans;  
 make provisions for all things.  
 He who from his heart gives one farthing to the cause,  
 shall hereafter receive seven hundredfold from God.  
 He who shall equip a warrior in this cause of God,  
 shall hereafter obtain a martyr's reward;  
 His children dread not the trouble of the grave,  
 nor the last trump, not the Day of Judgement.  
 Cease to be crowded; join the divine leader,  
 and smite the Infidel.  
 I give thanks to God that a great leader has been born,  
 in the thirteenth of the Hijra.

Tipu Sultan's own family revered the teachings of Ahmad Barelvi's lineage, finding their spiritual guides in Shah Abu Sayeed and Shah Abullais. These men, both patrons and mentors to Tipu, imbued him with their mission to establish a Sharia-based state, solidified by their journeys to Madras in the 1770s, where they spread the doctrines of Shah Abdul Aziz Muhaddith Dehlavi (Lakhnawi 1970, 245).

In 1822, when Syed Ahmad Barelvi visited Calcutta, Tipu's widow and descendants travelled from Tollygunge to reconnect, underscoring a shared purpose that transcended generations. Waliullah's dreams, as he claimed, saw him anointed as *Qaem al-Zaman* (master of the age), divinely tasked to crush the enemies of Islam—a vision that inspired fervent campaigns against perceived infidels (Lakhnawi 1970, 245; Islam Reigns 2019).

The path to modern jihadist aspirations did not end with Tipu's generation. The ideological inspirations of ISIS are indebted to jihadist writings from the 1980s, particularly those of Sayyid Qutb, whose belief that society had lapsed into *Jahiliyya* (a state of ignorance) spurred a radical call for reform through armed jihad (Qutb 1981, 112). Qutb's doctrine, rooted in the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya, denounced nation-states, calling for the establishment of a unified Islamic state that would restore the Prophet's community (Ibn Taymiyya 1985, 142). This drive for purity would later mould the Salafi-Jihadist movement, birthing organizations like Al-Qaeda, the Egyptian Islamic jihad, and ultimately ISIS (Al-Hayat Media Center 2014, 5).

ISIS branded itself the true inheritor of these doctrines, accusing Al-Qaeda of straying from the cause (Al-Hayat Media Center 2015b, 54). Their interpretation of Taymiyya's legal texts even led to horrific acts, such as the burning of Jordanian pilot Muath al-Kasasbeh (Al-Hayat Media Center 2015a, 6). Citing sources like Ibn Taymiyya's *Fiqh al-Dima* (Jurisprudence of Blood), ISIS justified extreme measures, including suicide attacks, mutilations, and the killing of innocents. This legacy of brutality has roots in 19th-century Wahhabi treatises, echoing through the centuries in the literature of figures like Qutb and Juhayman Al-'Utaybi and Salafi thought disseminated by ISIS across vast territories (Al al-Shaykh 1818, 12).

It was no mere twist of fate that Hitler glimpsed a fierce flame within Islamism, yearning for a Europe cloaked in the mantle of the Mohammedan creed. The sooner we reckon with the shadowed truth—that Islamofascism courses through the world, a creeping peril to humanity's soul—the swifter we may shield ourselves from its encroaching storm.