

## ARABIC TRANSLATIONS OF WRITINGS ON ZIONISM PUBLISHED IN PALESTINE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR<sup>1</sup>

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In the short period between the Young Turk Revolution and the outbreak of the First World War two important translations into Arabic concerning Zionism were published in Palestine. The first of them appeared in 1911, when Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār translated an article entitled “Zionism” from the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and published it firstly in the newspaper *al-Karmal* and later on that year in the form of a book. The second was carried out by ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā in 1914, when he translated and published part of the book *Our Program* by Menachem Ussishkin in his newspaper *Filasṭīn*. The goal of this paper is to analyze these translated documents and the comments written by the translators, and to put them into the historical context.

**Key words:** anti-Zionism, *Filasṭīn*, ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *al-Karmal*, *al-Karmil*, Menachem Ussishkin, Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār, translation

The Young Turk Revolution that took place in July 1908 in the Ottoman Empire brought with it an unprecedented freedom of expression. One of the manifestations of this liberty was the founding of more than 30 newspapers and journals in Palestine in the short period between 1908 and 1914.<sup>2</sup> Jewish immigration, land purchases and the Zionist movement were often discussed in the press at that time and soon became one of the most important subjects. Hundreds of articles dealing with various aspects of this matter were written by Palestinians and other Arabs on the pages of contemporary papers. Arabic

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<sup>2</sup> AYALON, A. *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History*, p. 65.

translations concerning Zionism published during this era remain one of the issues which have not been discussed much to date.

Two important translations into Arabic from books concerning Zionism were made and published prior to the First World War in Palestine. In addition, the authors of both translations published their comments alongside the texts themselves. The first was issued in 1911 in Haifa by the prominent anti-Zionist journalist and activist Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār. The second translation was made by ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā three years later on the eve of the First World War in Jaffa. However, they were not the first to translate and print text concerning Zionism into Arabic. Apparently the first to do so was Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865 – 1935), the prominent Lebanese thinker and journalist, who in 1897 moved to Egypt. The first time he touched on the subject of Zionism was in 1898 on the pages of his journal *al-Manār*.<sup>3</sup> Four years later, in 1902, he returned to the subject in a long article entitled *Ḥayāt umma baʿda mawtiḥā* [The Life of a Nation after its Death].<sup>4</sup> This long article contained translated passages from a speech by Theodor Herzl (who Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā mistakenly identifies as Israel Zangwill) and a declaration from the World Zionist Organization's branch in Alexandria.<sup>5</sup>

### **Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār's comments in the book *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārīkhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*<sup>6</sup>**

Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār was born in present-day Lebanon in 1862. After completing his secondary studies he moved to northern Palestine. Soon after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 he started to publish the newspaper *al-Karmal*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> RIḌĀ, Muḥammad Rashīd. Khabar wa iʿtibār. [Affair and Reflections.] In *al-Manār*, 9 April 1898, al-mujallad [Volume] I, al-juzʾ [Issue] 6, pp. 105 – 108.

<sup>4</sup> RIḌĀ, Muḥammad Rashīd. *Ḥayāt umma baʿda mawtiḥā*. In *al-Manār*, 26 January 1902, al-mujallad IV, al-juzʾ 21, pp. 801 – 809.

<sup>5</sup> RIḌĀ, Muḥammad Rashīd. *Ḥayāt umma baʿda mawtiḥā*, pp. 803 – 807. For more information about Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's anti-Zionist writings, see BEŠKA, E. Responses of Prominent Arabs towards Zionist Aspirations and Colonization prior to 1908. In *Asian and African Studies*, pp. 35 – 40.

<sup>6</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārīkhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*. Mulakḥkhaṣan ʿan al-Insiklūbīdiyā al-yahūdīya [Zionism. Its History, Objective and Importance. Abridged from the Jewish Encyclopedia]. Maṭbaʿat al-Karmal bi-šāriʿ Dayr ar-Rūm, Haifa, 1911. It is worth mentioning that only six books were translated into Arabic in Palestine between the years 1908 – 1920. AYALON, A. Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900 – 1948, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> We are using the literary version *al-Karmal* instead of the usually used *al-Karmil*.

in Haifa and became one of the most ardent anti-Zionist journalists and activists.<sup>8</sup>

The bulk of the book *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya*<sup>9</sup> comprises an abbreviated translation of the article on Zionism authored by Richard Gottheil and published in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.<sup>10</sup> However a number of pages, particularly at the beginning and at the end of the publication, and some paragraphs in some other places, contain Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār's comments. These can be found on pages 2 – 5, 12, 16 – 17, 44, 50 – 51 and 58 – 64. In addition, on some other pages the translator adds a few explanatory words.<sup>11</sup>

Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār first published the translation from the *Jewish Encyclopedia* in a series of articles in his newspaper *al-Karmal*. It appeared in issues 133 – 149 in the first half of the year 1911, but these issues are no longer extant.<sup>12</sup>

In the introduction, Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār wrote about the reasons that prompted him to translate the article. There was an acute lack of awareness about Zionism, which was noticeable even among the highest ranking officials of the Ottoman Empire. He thought that the officials in charge had not correctly evaluated the gravity of the Zionist movement. The specific impulse and last straw was the speech of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Haqqī Pasha in the parliamentary debate concerning Zionism in March 1911, in which he revealed his ignorance in this subject when he said: "Jews here and in Europe have laughed at the self-delusion of this group [the Zionists]. The creation of

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<sup>8</sup> For more information on Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār, his career and writings see QĀSIMĪYA, Khayrīya. Najīb Naṣṣār fī jarīdatihī al-Karmal (1901 – 1914): Aḥad ruwḥād munāḥaḍat aṣ-ṣahyūnīya [Najīb Naṣṣār in his Paper al-Karmal (1901 – 1914): One of the Pioneers of Anti-Zionist Resistance]. In *Shu'ūn filasṭīnīya*, pp. 101 – 123; QĀSIMĪYA, Khayrīya. An-nashāt aṣ-ṣahyūnī fī ash-sharq al-ʿarabī wa ṣadāhu, 1908 – 1918 [Zionist Activities in the Arab East and Their Echo], pp. 67 – 68; BEŠKA, E. Anti-Zionist Journalistic Works of Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār in the Newspaper *al-Karmal* in 1914. In *Asian and African Studies*, pp. 167 – 193.

<sup>9</sup> Two copies of this book can be found in the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-kutub wa al-wathāʾiq al-qawmīya). The paper of the books has turned yellow and at some places (especially on the margins) the text was illegible.

<sup>10</sup> GOTTHEIL, R. Zionism. In *Jewish Encyclopedia. A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times*. Vol. XII. TALMUD-ZWEIFEL, pp. 666 – 686.

<sup>11</sup> Comments are usually printed in smaller script than the translation itself. There are some exceptions to this rule, notably pages 2 – 3 and the lower part of 63 – 64 which are printed in the same script size as the translation. (The translated text is composed of 16 – 17 lines per page vs. 22 lines per page in the case of the comments.)

<sup>12</sup> The issues of *al-Karmal* in question were published from March to June 1911; 133 (31 March 1911) – 149 (2 June 1911). KHALIDI, R. The Role of the Press in the Early Arab Reaction to Zionism. In *Peoples Mediterraneens/Mediterranean Peoples* 20 (July – September 1982), pp. 108, 120.

a kingdom in Jerusalem by a small band of these swindlers, who meet every year, will not materialize.”<sup>13</sup> Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār described his reaction to the speech in the following commentary: “Even though we expect the parliament to appoint a special commission and charge it with the study of the history of the Zionists, the investigation of their goals and an exploration of the depth of the significance of their movement and its relationship with the political, economic and social life of the [Ottoman] state and nation, all of a sudden the Grand Vizier Ḥaqqī Pasha says on the *minbar* of the nation that Zionism is nothing but a tale and those who carry it out are nothing but fantasists. This belief alarmed us [...]”<sup>14</sup>

Hence, this translation was the result of Naṣṣār’s endeavour to make detailed information on Zionism obtained from an authoritative source accessible to the literate public in Palestine and beyond. The translator intentionally decided to draw on the *Jewish Encyclopedia* because he perceived that his articles and warnings regarding Zionism were taken lightly by many. The logic behind the decision was simple. Since the merit and reliability of the authors of this reference book, and therefore also of its content, could not be doubted, no one would henceforth be able to question the gravity of the Zionist menace.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, the editor of *al-Karmal* – referring to the text of the encyclopedia – rejected the assertion of the apolitical character of Jewish immigration, which was supposed to be only the result of a search for a safe refuge from oppression in some European countries and which he labelled a “kind of falsification and deception”.<sup>16</sup>

“It is astonishing how the nation of Mūsā requests from us equality while they are working to establish themselves at our expense by swallowing up our wealth and attempting to drive us out of our homeland in order to take exclusive possession of it. Do the executors of the Zionist movement want again to play the role from ancient history which their predecessors played on the day when they left Egypt to take possession of the country and destroy [it] lock, stock and barrel[?] The declarations of the advocates of Zionism are totally contrary to their deeds. It is astonishing how some writers among them from Syria and Egypt are not ashamed to deny these goals and efforts confirmed in their most reliable books.”<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Aṣ-ṣahyūnīyūn fī majlis al-mabʿūthān [The Zionists in the Parliament]. In *al-Ahrām*, 10030, 11 March 1911, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>16</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 12.

In the comment inserted at the end of the chapter on anti-Semitism, Naṣṣār described what he understood from reading “between the lines” of the previous text. Jewish nationalism in Europe had been increasing and European nations had responded negatively to it. Therefore, the Jews were orienting themselves towards Palestine because they sensed that the implementation of their national aspirations would be much easier there. He warned those who profited from the arrival of the Jews and rejoiced that the country would flourish thanks to them, and he emphasized the short-sightedness of their attitude. Such expectations were misplaced and the local population would not take advantage of the Jewish immigration due to the Jewish boycott of local production.<sup>18</sup>

Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār called attention to the significant strength of the Zionists’ movement, which was led by an extraordinarily competent leadership. He described the diverse methods the Zionists were using in order to achieve their goals. They were successful in convincing Jews to join their ranks. Moreover, they were building Jewish national consciousness and developing education, the economy and so on.<sup>19</sup>

According to the translator, the authors of the article were trying to not raise Ottoman suspicion towards Zionism. Therefore, he advised readers to study this text in the context of what was taking place in Palestine in order to be able to see the big picture.<sup>20</sup> He repeatedly returned to the understatement and downplaying of Zionism on the part of Ottoman politicians and emphasized that in reality Zionism was a strong and determined movement. Contacts developed with several European governments and the American administration were clear proof of that.<sup>21</sup>

The situation had changed in comparison with the past. In former times the Zionists had lacked financial means, but this was not true anymore. It was necessary to act immediately and not wait until it would be too late. The Balkan nations that had seceded from the Ottoman Empire were a model for the Zionists to emulate, and it was imperative to prevent the Zionists becoming a model for others and continuing the chain reaction of separatism.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, pp. 16 – 17. Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār noticed an important connection which often remained unmentioned or ignored. Jewish immigration and the activities of the immigrants were indeed contributing to the increasing performance of the Palestinian economy. However, the majority of the local population was clearly on the losing side. This was especially valid at that time, because the second Aliyah immigrants were much more ideologically clear-cut than the previous incomers.

<sup>19</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 58.

<sup>22</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 59.

Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār shared the popular conviction of the enormous might of the Jews in the world economy and politics, which was frequently spread by the Zionists themselves in order to increase their influence. Since Jews were able to acquire a great deal of the world's resources, it was beyond doubt that they would be able to take control of Palestine.<sup>23</sup>

According to the translator, the Jewish nationalism<sup>24</sup> which had appeared in Europe caused anti-Semitism. This nationalism would certainly also appear among the Jews in the Ottoman Empire, where Jews had a much stronger position. This could already be seen in the behaviour of the Jewish settlers. Furthermore, he claimed that European governments encouraged Zionism in order to get rid of Jews living in their own countries.<sup>25</sup>

The translator was aware that there were many non-Zionist Jewish organizations active in Palestine. Even though these did not talk about political aims, their activity fell under the intentions of "practical Zionism" – i.e. creating facts on the ground. He was convinced that the apolitical character of these organizations was purely tactical and that when the appropriate time came they would openly declare their political goals.<sup>26</sup>

The author saw an analogy between the functioning of the Zionist movement and democratic states and likened the respective bodies of the organization to various state institutions, including the government and bicameral parliament. In addition, he pointed out that the Zionist movement had the additional attributes of a state, including a flag and postal service.<sup>27</sup>

The Zionist organization worked on several levels, and its branches in respective states had different functions depending on what was advantageous for the Zionist movement. The English branch focused on financial issues, and because of the close relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire the German branch dealt with political issues.<sup>28</sup>

He pointed out the hypocrisy of the Zionists, who for the sake of appearances made their faithfulness to the Ottoman Empire manifest. There was a vast difference between their words and their deeds, and their actions spoke volumes. They were not looking for peace in Palestine as they claimed. Instead "they want to benefit from our ignorance and exploit our apathy, our disunity and weak patriotism in order to take possession of our land, the resources of our livelihood [...]"<sup>29</sup> Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār also mentioned Ottoman Jews who

<sup>23</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 59.

<sup>24</sup> Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār uses the expressions *al-yahūdīja* (Judaism) or *as-sīmitizm* (Semitism) for Jewish nationalism.

<sup>25</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 60.

<sup>28</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 60.

<sup>29</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 61.

helped the Zionists to purchase estates in Palestine. This did not surprise him and he listed the reasons why they were supporting the Zionists.<sup>30</sup>

He dissociated himself implicitly from anti-Semitism and emphasized that he was not against Jewish immigration *per se* but against the political project connected with it. “We would never oppose Israeli colonization if it was devoid of the political aim which they are not able to deny; if they would content themselves with other [regions than] Palestine and Syria as the destination of emigration; if they would live distributed among the Ottomans; if they would really become Ottoman citizens and not [only] pretend; if they would act towards the Ottomans as they act towards one another in taking and giving, selling and buying.”<sup>31</sup>

He underlined Herzl’s determination and activity. In spite of the fact that his task was immensely difficult and the Jewish nation scattered, he rose to the occasion. “When Herzl started with his project by laying the foundations of Zionism, he was alone, even one of his colleagues accused him of foolishness and rabbis opposed him, but the right way in which he incorporated some modifications in order to satisfy all Jews, regardless of their inclinations and ideology, soon spread and won the hearts of millions of Jews all over the world.”<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, the Arabs were in a much better situation than the Jews because they were part of the Ottoman nation<sup>33</sup> and most of them also belonged to the populous Muslim community. Once more he emphasized the necessity of reliance on one’s own abilities. The Arabs had their own state, they were comparatively united and many ties linked them together. The author used harsh words to address his nation. The nation in a democratic system was obliged to induce its government to promote its interests. “If the nation is not capable of using the government to its social advantage and public benefit, then this nation [...] is doomed to extinction.”<sup>34</sup>

In the following lines he stressed the significance of and the need for patriotism. There were a sufficient number of capable leaders among the Ottomans, but they lacked the self-confidence to “take the first step”. He called for cooperation and fellowship, an improvement in handling money and the creation of projects in which all could take part. Then he warned of the danger

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<sup>30</sup> NAŞŞĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aş-şahyūnīya, tārīkhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> NAŞŞĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aş-şahyūnīya, tārīkhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, pp. 61 – 62.

<sup>32</sup> NAŞŞĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aş-şahyūnīya, tārīkhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 62.

<sup>33</sup> The Ottoman loyalty of Najīb al-Khūrī Naşşār is evident here as well as in other places.

<sup>34</sup> NAŞŞĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aş-şahyūnīya, tārīkhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, pp. 62 – 63.

of losing Palestine, which the ancestors had acquired through great sacrifice in the past.<sup>35</sup>

### Mandel's criticism of the translation

In his pioneering work *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, Neville Mandel criticized the author of *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya* for several reasons. One of the major rebukes was that “[a]ll the passages in which Gottheil mentioned opposition to Zionism or dissension with Zionist ranks were either heavily edited by Naṣṣār or omitted altogether”.<sup>36</sup> This was true to a large extent; however, Mandel ignored the wider context. Naṣṣār was not a scholar, but an activist. Therefore, it was natural that he emphasized the passages that supported his arguments and downplayed those that did not. The goal of the translation (and the attached comments) was to mobilize readers and convince them that Zionism presented a mortal threat to the Palestinians. Furthermore, the subtitle of the book made it clear that it was not a verbatim translation of the chapter but an abridged one.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, Naṣṣār did not conceal that there was significant Jewish opposition to Zionism and that the encyclopedia had dealt with it a couple of times: “The encyclopedia asserted that it is rightly said that the Jewish people in the beginning did not respond to the appeal of Dr Herzl to the extent [the Zionists] had hoped and provided an elaborate account about the supporters and opponents [...]”<sup>38</sup> “As for the opponents [of Zionism], there were many in the beginning and in many places [...]”<sup>39</sup> “Then it went on to say the opposition that was mentioned, except for the group of Lucien Wolf, has not diminished very much in spite of the growing number of the shekel-payers year after year [...]”<sup>40</sup> Moreover, he also referred to the opposition in his concluding comments as mentioned above.

Mandel also criticized the translator because he “did not mention that the article in question had been written before the Young Turk Revolution, and that since then the Zionists, having moved away from ‘political Zionism,’ had dropped their demands for a ‘Charter’ and Great Power protection. This omission was not, however, too recondite to escape the notice of the important

<sup>35</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, pp. 63 – 64.

<sup>36</sup> MANDEL, N. *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, p. 108.

<sup>37</sup> “Mulakkhaṣan can al-insīklūbīdiyā [...]”

<sup>38</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 21.

<sup>40</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 22. Opposition to Zionism is also discussed on pages 23 – 24.

literary journal in Cairo, *al-Hilāl*, which noted that while *al-Şihyuniyya* dealt with the current situation in Palestine, it only covered the historical background to 1905 [...]"<sup>41</sup> Mandel's statement is not correct. The book *Aş-şahyūnīya* has two title-pages and two titles, and the second reads: "Zionism: Its Abridged History – Its Objective and Its Scope to the Year 1905 [...] [Aş-şahyūnīya: Mulakkhkhaş tārīkhīhā – ghāyatīhā wa imtidādīhā ḥattā sanat 1905 [...]]"<sup>42</sup> *Al-Hilāl* dealt with the translation very scantily in only three lines. It only copied this information from the title of the book, which was almost identical with the information provided by *al-Hilāl* [Huwa mulakkhkhaş tārīkh hādhihi aţ-ţā'ifa wa ghāyatīhā wa imtidādīhā ilā sanat 1905 [...]]. Furthermore, *al-Hilāl* mentioned the name of the author of the translation. However, it did not provide any further details as claimed by Mandel.<sup>43</sup> Besides, Naṣṣār, like other authors who were opposing the Zionists, did not believe what they were saying in public. In his opinion, their goals were clear and their deeds were much more important than their statements, which were only meant to mislead their opponents. Indeed, this particular criticism by Mandel was misplaced for another reason. Even though after the death of Theodor Herzl the Zionists had moved away from the almost exclusive orientation towards political Zionism to a broader multifaceted approach, this did not mean that they had stopped seeking a patron among the major powers. Menachem Ussishkin and the Zionei Zion (Zionists of Zion) faction<sup>44</sup> that he led became the leading force in the Zionist movement after the death of Herzl. Ussishkin laid much more stress on the issue of land acquisition. However, he considered political or diplomatic Zionism as one of the essential parts of the complex Zionist policy.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, only six years after Naṣṣār's translation was published, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, which was the embodiment of both aforementioned "dropped" requests.

In addition, Mandel called attention to the fact that Naṣṣār completely disregarded or at least marginalized plans for the colonization of territories other than Palestine.<sup>46</sup> When we look at the context of the period, these omissions made sense from the translator's perspective by 1911. The Zionist movement had by then rejected all other territorial options and decided to focus only on Palestine. For this reason it is quite understandable that the translator did not consider the passages dealing with other areas to be very important. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* dealt extensively with various projects spanning three and

<sup>41</sup> MANDEL, N. *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, p. 108.

<sup>42</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aş-şahyūnīya, tārīkhuhā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 1

<sup>43</sup> *Al-Hilāl*, XX, From October 1911 – July 1912, p. 63.

<sup>44</sup> KLAUSNER, J. *Menahem Ussishkin: His Life and Work*, p. 40.

<sup>45</sup> KLAUSNER, J. *Menahem Ussishkin*, pp. 43 – 46.

<sup>46</sup> MANDEL, N. *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, pp. 108 – 109.

half centuries and Naṣṣār omitted these passages almost *en masse*, including the endeavours of Joseph Nasi in the 16th century and Mordecai Noah in the 19th century, which were both for the Jewish return to Palestine.

Furthermore, with respect to the East Africa project, Mandel himself overstated the number of omissions and understated the number of sentences that deal with this scheme. If a reader goes through reference 65 on page 109 of *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, he will get the impression that Naṣṣār dealt with it only in one sentence. This, however, is not true: the East Africa project was covered at various places on pages 35 – 42. Even though large parts of the original text are omitted, the gist is preserved.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, Mandel points out that Naṣṣār, when writing about Moses Gaster, twice inserted the phrase that he “banned the proclamation of Zionism in England”, which cannot be found in the original text.<sup>48</sup> This remark is surprising in two respects. On the one hand, Naṣṣār put this comment in parentheses and between quotation marks respectively, so it is clear that this is his addition.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, however, this comment was not correct (which Mandel does not mention), since Gaster was a persistent supporter of Zionism and a member and official of the Zionist movement. In fact, Gaster was forbidden to officially propagate Zionism by his superiors. Actually, Naṣṣār drew on the very same article (*Zionism*, only two pages earlier), but his translation is incorrect.<sup>50</sup>

Here and there Naṣṣār inserted his own (explanatory or summarizing) comments into the translation. This was usually marked by quotation marks or parentheses, and therefore it was clear that this was his comment, but sometimes there is no indication of that. For example, on page 6 the author added three lines of his own observations without any kind of indication that it was not part of the original text (lines 9 – 12).<sup>51</sup>

Naṣṣār omitted large parts of the text published in the encyclopedia. Altogether at least fifty percent of the article was not translated into Arabic. The approach of the translator varies throughout the text. In some cases complete paragraphs were translated, whereas in other cases some sentences were left out

<sup>47</sup> MANDEL, N. *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, p. 109, ref. 65; NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūniya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuḥā – ahammīyatuhā*, pp. 35 – 42.

<sup>48</sup> MANDEL, N. *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, p. 109, ref. 68.

<sup>49</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūniya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuḥā – ahammīyatuhā*, pp. 23, 27.

<sup>50</sup> “[...] in England, several rabbis were inhibited by the chief rabbi from preaching on Zionism, and the haham M. Gaster was prevented by the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation from touching on the subject in his official capacity (1899).” GOTTHEIL, R. *Zionism*, p. 673.

<sup>51</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. *Aṣ-ṣahyūniya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuḥā – ahammīyatuhā*, p. 6.

and sometimes whole paragraphs were excluded. At other times he only briefly summarized the content of a section of the text. It seems that Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār employed two criteria, according to which he either kept or excluded a passage. On the one hand, he needed to shorten the text, and therefore he omitted passages he considered unimportant, irrelevant, repetitious or obsolete, or which would distract the reader from the main objective. On the other hand, his goal was to make the translation striking and emphasize the might, unity and determination of the Zionist movement. If we were to judge the translation from a scholarly point of view, we would have to be critical of its author and the changes he made (as Neville Mandel had done, as pointed out above). However, this is not a work of a scholar and it had no scholarly ambitions. One has to analyze this book in the context in which it was written.

The translator made several changes to the original structure of the text. Only a few subtitles from the original article are preserved in the translation. Sometimes they are omitted and at other times a different subtitle is used. Moreover, the translator mostly did not respect the original paragraphs and omitted the quotation marks from the original.

There are some mistakes in the translation and we would like to bring some of them to the readers' attention. Most of the errors are minor and seem to result from a lack of attention to detail. One of the first blunders is the number of authors of the encyclopedia, which was not 600, as was claimed in the translation, but only 400.<sup>52</sup> A few more such mistakes occur throughout the text. Instead of "70 delegates" who took part at the First Jewish Congress in Palestine, the translation gives the number as 50.<sup>53</sup> The meeting between Herzl and the Italian king and the pope is dated incorrectly as being in June instead of January 1904.<sup>54</sup>

The passages that are translated are generally rendered accurately and the translation is generally of good quality. However, there are some cases of incorrect translation. We would like to give some examples: the translation of the sentence "The author, impressed on the one hand by the national movements of his time [...]"<sup>55</sup> as "The author of this book wrote his book influenced by the Jewish national movement of his era on the one hand [...]" is not correct.<sup>56</sup> Another incorrect translation concerns the following phrase: "He confidently

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<sup>52</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā, p. 3; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. XII., p. 5.

<sup>53</sup> GOTTHEIL, R. Zionism, p. 679; NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā, p. 37.

<sup>54</sup> GOTTHEIL, R. Zionism, p. 679; NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā, p. 39.

<sup>55</sup> GOTTHEIL, R. Zionism, p. 669.

<sup>56</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuhā – ahammīyatuhā, p. 8.

hoped for the assistance of France [...]”,<sup>57</sup> which is rendered as “He requested the help of France [...]”<sup>58</sup> There are also some factual mistakes. Naṣṣār considers Daniel Deronda to be an author along with George Eliot: “Many authors were writing about the Jewish movement in this period, George Eliot, Daniel Deronda [...]”<sup>59</sup>

In the chapter describing Herzl’s visit to Russia and his meeting with Vyacheslav von Plehve, the Russian Minister of the Interior, in Saint Petersburg in August 1903, the encyclopedia writes: “He [...] was joyfully acclaimed by the Jewish proletariat of the cities through which he passed.”<sup>60</sup> This remark was omitted in the translation, even though it would have strengthened the impression of Herzl’s popularity and Zionism’s appeal to Jewish masses.

### Menachem Ussishkin

One of the most important and influential early Zionist leaders, Menachem Ussishkin (1863 – 1941), was born in the village of Dubrovna in Belarus, where he spent his early childhood. In 1871 his family moved to Moscow, where he remained for the next two decades of his life. He became active in the *Hovevei Zion* society in the first half of the 1880s. After his first visit to Palestine (on a honeymoon) in 1891 he moved to Ekaterinoslav, the hometown of his wife’s family. With the birth of political Zionism, he very soon became one of the leaders of its Russian bloc. When Leon Pinsker, the chairman of the Hovevei Zion Committee, died in 1906, Menachem Ussishkin became his successor and moved to Odessa, where he stayed until he ultimately left for Palestine at the end of 1919. In the same year he became the chairman of the Zionist delegation in Palestine. Furthermore, in 1924 he became the chairman of the Jewish National Fund and he held this function until his passing away.<sup>61</sup>

Ussishkin was one of the most active and outspoken opponents of the Uganda project (revolving around the offer by the British government to create an autonomous Jewish settlement in what is presently Kenya). It was during this controversy that he published the booklet *Our Program* in 1904.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> GOTTHEIL, R. Zionism, p. 669.

<sup>58</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuḥā – aḥammīyatuhā, p. 11.

<sup>59</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya, tārikhuḥā – ġaraḍuḥā – aḥammīyatuhā, p. 13.

<sup>60</sup> GOTTHEIL, R. Zionism, p. 678.

<sup>61</sup> KLAUSNER, J. Menahem Ussishkin, pp. 9 – 71.

<sup>62</sup> KLAUSNER, J. Menahem Ussishkin, pp. 38 – 42.

### The translation of Menachem Ussishkin's book *Our Program*<sup>63</sup>

Three years after Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār issued the book *Aṣ-ṣahyūnīya* in the summer of 1914, the managing director of the newspaper *Filasṭīn* ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā<sup>64</sup> decided to take a similar step and publish a translation of a booklet on Zionist aims. Unlike Naṣṣār's translation, he did not choose a scholarly article on Zionism but a book written by Menachem Ussishkin, one of the longstanding leaders of the Zionist movement. Unlike Naṣṣār's translation, scholars have so far not dealt much with this text.<sup>65</sup> The ambition of ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā was clearly stated in the last sentence of the introductory article to the series: "In the subsequent numbers we are going to publish a small portion of this book until the translation is completed and then we will print it separately, God willing."<sup>66</sup> Thus he chose a similar approach as his forerunner Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār with the difference that he did not plan to publish the whole translation in his paper (as Naṣṣār had done). The introduction to the series was published on 11 July 1914 in the newspaper *Filasṭīn* and in the subsequent issues (except number 340 – 343) parts of the translation were printed. The last number of *Filasṭīn* that contained a portion of the translation was published on 1 August 1914 (issue 341 – 44). Nevertheless, the second goal of publishing the translation of the entire book was not realized because of the outbreak of the First World War, much of which ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā together with his cousin Yūsuf al-ʿĪsā spent outside of Palestine in Anatolian exile.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> The Russian original of *Our Program* was soon translated into German, English and Hebrew. We are using the English version for comparison with the Arabic translation by ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā.

<sup>64</sup> ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā, a Greek Orthodox Christian from Jaffa, was one of the most prominent Palestinian journalists of the first half of the 20th century. In January 1911 he along with his cousin Yūsuf al-ʿĪsā founded a bi-weekly newspaper called *Filasṭīn* in Jaffa and continued to publish it until the outbreak of the First World War (it was re-established after a prolonged period of almost seven years in March 1921). ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā became the managing director [al-mudīr al-masʿūl] of the paper and his cousin was the editor-in-chief [raʾīs at-tahrīr]. Al-jalsa al-ūlā [The First Trial], *Filasṭīn*, 325 – 28, 6 June 1914, pp. 7 – 8; Al-jalsa ath-thāniya [The Second Trial], *Filasṭīn*, 325 – 28, 6 June 1914, p. 9; Khalidi, Rashid. *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*, pp. 91 – 95; Khalidi, Rashid. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, p. 126; KHALAF, Noha Tadros. *Falastin versus the British Mandate and Zionism (1921 – 1931): Between a Rock and a Hard Place*. In *Jerusalem Quarterly*, p. 10.

<sup>65</sup> Mandel mentions it very briefly in his monograph. MANDEL, N. *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I*, p. 214.

<sup>66</sup> Al-brūgrām aṣ-ṣahyūnī as-siyāsī (Kitāb jadīd. Haqāʾiq majhūla) [The Zionist Political Programme (New Book. Unknown Facts)]. In *Filasṭīn*, 335 – 38, 11 July 1914, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Khalidi, Rashid. *The Iron Cage*, p. 95; KHALAF, Noha Tadros. *Falastin versus the British Mandate and Zionism (1921 – 1931)*, p. 9.

It is possible that the first time ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā came across the *Our Program* pamphlet was in Naṣṣār's translation of the article entitled *Zionism* from the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Here it was mentioned in the chapter dealing with "Ziyyone Zionists" led by Menachem Ussishkin: "In the booklet 'Brūgrāmunā' *Unser Programm*, which was published in Vienna in 1905, Ussishkin laid down the principles of the new group [...]"<sup>68</sup> *Our Program* was also mentioned by Saʿīd Bey al-Ḥusaynī in the speech he delivered in the Ottoman parliament in May 1911.<sup>69</sup>

One of the indications of the significance that the editors of *Filasṭīn* attributed to the publishing of these texts was the fact that they placed the first part of the series on the first page of the newspaper. The following parts were placed on the third page and were almost always located in the same place. Articles had a standardized heading ornamented with geometric and floral patterns, which was absolutely atypical for articles published in the newspaper. The main purpose of this heading was undoubtedly to grab the attention of the readers and direct them to these translations. Similarly unusual was the width of the article's column. Usually, the newspaper page was divided into five narrow columns, but the column of the translation was twice as wide as other pieces. This was another differentiating attribute that could not have escaped the readers' attention.

At the beginning of the opening article, ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā wrote about two very different reactions to the anti-Zionist line of his paper: "We spoke about economic and political losses [caused] by Zionism in Palestine. Many authors, editors and newspaper owners concurred with us in this and others, who cannot see further than the end of their noses or consider everything pursuant to their personal interest before anything else, contradicted us."<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā described why he considered it vital to make the text available to the public. "We have now decided to translate this book into Arabic and we do not doubt that it will be the definitive conclusion of this matter that concerns the sons of Palestine in particular and every Arab and Ottoman in general. Then everyone will become acquainted with the Zionist programme and its policy and [this translation] will discourage everyone who would start to portray it [Zionism] in a different light and defend it."<sup>71</sup>

In his booklet, Ussishkin openly identified the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine as the aim of the Basel Programme of the First Zionist Congress a couple of times. The following extracts are crucial in terms of ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā's

<sup>68</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. Aṣ-ṣaḥyūnīya, tārikḥuhā – ġaraḍuhā – aḥammīyatuhā, p. 54.

<sup>69</sup> MANDEL, N. The Arabs and Zionism before World War I, p. 113.

<sup>70</sup> Al-brūgrām aṣ-ṣaḥyūnī as-siyāsī, *Filasṭīn*, 335 – 38, p. 1.

<sup>71</sup> Al-brūgrām aṣ-ṣaḥyūnī as-siyāsī, *Filasṭīn*, 335 – 38, p. 1.

endeavour to inform the readers of *Filasṭīn* about real Zionist intentions: “All true Zionists [...] regarded the programme of the first Basel congress [...] [as] the summary of the desires of the nation, in particular in its first explicit declaration, so that the whole world would hear that we strive for the creation of a Jewish government in Palestine.”<sup>72</sup> “In reality the moral courage that the congress demonstrated by proclaiming the rights of the Israeli nation to Palestine and the clear and manifest programme that it worked out to achieve this objective [...] had a miraculous effect on the Jewish nation and it has awakened it from its deep slumber.”<sup>73</sup> However, it is the following passage that most openly defines Zionist aspirations:

“The main point of the programme of the Basel congress is the establishment of a free independent political homeland [waṭan siyāsī ḥurr mustaqill] for the Israeli nation in Palestine. It is clearly understood from this that the only objective of the Zionist movement is the creation of a free independent political state for Jews in Palestine and not the creation of a refuge or a spiritual centre for them. Palestine was mentioned and no other country was brought up because all efforts directed at a country other than Palestine are in no way Zionist.”<sup>74</sup>

ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā only managed to publish the translation of one quarter of Ussishkin’s book (9 pages out of 37). It is worth mentioning that the suspension was very abrupt as it occurred in the middle of chapter 7 of the English version. Not only did ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā discontinue this chapter, he did not even conclude the discussion of Herzl’s legacy in the field of diplomacy and how the Zionists should proceed in the future. Furthermore, another indication of the suddenness of the cessation is the fact that at the end of the article the expression “to be continued” can be found (as was the case with previous parts of the series).<sup>75</sup> There are two possible explanations for this: on the one hand, coverage of the First World War in Europe became the foremost priority after its outbreak. Most of the space in the newspaper was devoted to it and there was no place left for publishing the translation. On the other hand, it might also have been a conscious decision by the editors of *Filasṭīn* to keep a low profile and not provide the authorities with any pretext to suspend their newspaper. We found

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<sup>72</sup> Al-brūḡrām aṣ-ṣahyūnī as-siyāsī, *Filasṭīn*, 338 – 41, 22 July 1914, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup> Al-brūḡrām aṣ-ṣahyūnī as-siyāsī, *Filasṭīn*, 338 – 41, p. 3.

<sup>74</sup> Al-brūḡrām aṣ-ṣahyūnī as-siyāsī, *Filasṭīn*, 339 – 42, 25 July 1914, p. 3.

<sup>75</sup> USSISHKIN, Menachem. Our Program: An Essay, pp. 9 – 11; Al-brūḡrām aṣ-ṣahyūnī as-siyāsī, *Filasṭīn*, 341 – 44, 1 August 1914, p. 3.

only three pieces in the following issues of *Filasṭīn* (342 – 45 and 345 – 48)<sup>76</sup> dealing with Zionism, and all of them were inconspicuous and neutral. The first was an official statement from the bureau of the *mutaṣarrif*<sup>77</sup> and the other two were articles republished from other newspapers. One of them was a short telegraph sent by two Gaza notables, Saʿīd Efendi ash-Shawā and Ahmad ʿĀrif Efendi, to *al-Karmal* in which they reacted to the article *Yā shabībat Filasṭīn uthbuṭi wujūdaki[!]* [Oh, Youth of Palestine, Assert Your Existence[!]]<sup>78</sup> and denied acting as middlemen for the Zionists.<sup>79</sup> The other was an article republished from *al-Ahrām* in which only the words “Jews” and “Israelis” [al-yahūd and al-isrāʾīlīyūn] (and not “Zionists”) was used.<sup>80</sup> The last two issues, 344 – 47 and 345 – 48, do not contain any articles on Zionism.

The original book was published in Russian in 1904 and it was very quickly translated into several languages.<sup>81</sup> ʿIsā al-ʿIsā obtained the Yiddish translation of the original and asked someone to translate it for him into French. Then he used this French translation for his own translation. This might be the reason why the Arabic translation is very liberal when compared with the English version. As an example we can use the first two sentences from it: “It has been 25 years since the endeavour of the Jewish people to put an end to the exile of a thousand years and again to lead a free political life in its ancient fatherland exchanged its medieval, passive form for an active one. The first pogrom in South Russia was the herald of this new, active form.”<sup>82</sup> The Arabic version goes like this:

“The efforts that the Jewish people have made to liberate [themselves] from their exile after they have spent around two millennia in it have transformed over 25 years from a state of thinking and silence into a state of action and activity to restore their free political life in the land of their ancestors.

What the Jews have suffered from massacres and what they have endured from persecutions in Western Russia were [among] the major causes for bringing out these endeavours from the realm of contemplation to the realm of action.”<sup>83</sup>

<sup>76</sup> 345 – 48 is the last issue of *Filasṭīn* that could be located in the Egyptian National Library Dār al-kutub.

<sup>77</sup> Takdhīb ishāʿa [Denial of a Rumour]. In *Filasṭīn*, 342 – 45, 5 August 1914, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> NAṢṢĀR, Najīb al-Khūrī. Yā shabībat Filasṭīn uthbuṭi wujūdaki[!]. In *al-Karmal*, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> Arāḍī as-Sirr, *Filasṭīn* 343 – 46, 8 August 1914, p. 5.

<sup>80</sup> BARAKĀT, Dāwūd. Min kull nabʿ qatira [A Drop from Every Spring]. In *Filasṭīn*, p. 4.

<sup>81</sup> KLAUSNER, Joseph. Menahem Ussishkin, p. 42.

<sup>82</sup> USSISHKIN, Menachem. Our Program, p. 1.

<sup>83</sup> Al-brūgrām aṣ-ṣahyūnī as-siyāsī. In *Filasṭīn*, p. 3.

This is not an abridged translation as is the case with Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār's booklet. We compared the Arabic and English version, and with a few exceptions almost no text is missing. The quality of the translation is not very high; the meaning of some passages is different than in the English version and the sense of some sentences is not clear. This might have been caused by the fact that this is the third translation in a row.

### Comparison of the two translations

If we compare the importance of the two translations by Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār and ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā, the translation by the editor of *al-Karmal* had a much greater impact. It was published more than three years earlier and Naṣṣār managed to publish an abbreviated translation of the whole article twice (first in his paper and then in a book). There is also some direct evidence that this translation influenced several Arab figures like Rūḥī al-Khālīdī or al-Ḥājj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī.<sup>84</sup> One of the most well-informed Palestinian anti-Zionists of this period, Rūḥī al-Khālīdī (1864 – 1913), was the author of the first original book in Arabic on Zionism with the title *As-sīyūnizm aw al-mas'ala aṣ-ṣaḥyūnīya* (*Zionism or the Zionist Question*). This work was not published because of the premature death of Rūḥī al-Khālīdī and still exists only in the form of a manuscript in the private al-Khālīdīya Library in Jerusalem.<sup>85</sup> The book consists of six chapters and the penultimate section comprises extensive extracts from Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār's translation of the article on Zionism and Rūḥī al-Khālīdī's comments.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā's plans were foiled by the First World War, which prevented his translation from playing an analogous role. His translation can be seen as complementary to Naṣṣār's text, which made a scholarly article on Zionism available to Ottoman readers in general and Palestinians in particular. The main reason why ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā might have considered Ussishkin's booklet deserving of translation could be the fact that it was the work of one of the most important Zionists of the time, whose ideas had a profound influence on the Zionist movement.

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<sup>84</sup> AL-KAYYĀLĪ, ʿAbdalwahhāb. *Tārīkh Filasṭīn al-ḥadīth* [The Modern History of Palestine], p. 48.

<sup>85</sup> AL-KHĀLIDĪ, Walīd. *Kitāb As-siyūnizm aw al-mas'ala aṣ-ṣaḥyūnīya li Muḥammad Rūḥī al-Khālīdī al-mutawaffī sanat 1913* [The book "Zionism and the Zionist Question" by Muhammad Ruhi al-Khalidi, d. 1913]. In Hishām, Nashshāb. *Studia Palaestina: Studies in Honour of Constantine K. Zurayk/Dirāsāt Filasṭīnīya: Majmūʿat abḥāth wuḍiʿat takrīmān li ad-duktūr Quṣṭanṭīn Zurayq*, pp. 37 – 81. The same paper can also be found in *Shu'ūn filasṭīnīya*, al-ʿadad 178, 1988, pp. 50 – 80.

<sup>86</sup> Walīd al-Khālīdī. *Kitāb As-siyūnizm ...*, pp. 66, 69.

Translations of articles on Zionism from the foreign press also had a similar function as the two translations described and analyzed in this paper. The article *The Zionists in Palestine* included a few excerpts from articles discussing Zionism published in foreign papers. One dealt with the demographic expansion of the Jews and the advancement of Hebrew. Another addressed the large number of Jews living in Palestine and stated with considerable exaggeration that “the number of Zionists in Jerusalem and its vicinity is more than 150,000, and that thousands are coming without interruption to Jaffa, Haifa, Safad and elsewhere.”<sup>87</sup>

The translation of works on Zionism was a very important component of the anti-Zionist campaign in the period preceding the First World War. The motivation behind publishing these translations was to provide evidence that would strengthen the plausibility of arguments advocated by anti-Zionist authors. However, it also testified to the feeling of vanity that tormented anti-Zionist journalists like Najīb al-Khūrī Naṣṣār or ʿĪsā al-ʿĪsā. These journalists were seized by such feelings when they saw people taking their arguments lightly, underestimating the strength of the Zionist movement, downplaying its danger or even defending the Zionists and collaborating with them. These translations were supposed to provide the definitive confirmation of what they had been presenting and discussing on the pages of their newspapers.

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<sup>87</sup> Aṣ-ṣahyūnīyūna fī Filasṭīn (Aqwāl ṣuḥuf Ūrubba wa Amīrkā) [The Zionists in Palestine: (Reports of European and American Newspapers)]. In *Filasṭīn*, p. 2.

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