

AP/HIST3844. Final Paper Guidelines
Due Date: April 4 2023

General: The paper should be 10-12 pages, 1-inch margins, 12 point font, double spaced. If we assume 250 words per page, that puts the word count at about 2,500-3,000 words.

The goal of this paper is to use historical newspaper articles from the time, as well as 2 or more historical monographs/articles (secondary sources), to write a research paper on a specific topic related to the 1944-1949 period.

Some questions you might ask are: How did the reporters, in their articles, reflect the values, views and beliefs of people at that time? How does coverage reflect existing geopolitics?

Choose your topic:

The goal of this paper is to understand how contemporary observers saw major historical events, and what that tells us about the world between 1944-49. Our chosen primary source base for this year's paper is **newspapers**. Your goal is to show how a specific newspaper or group of newspapers covered a big event between the years 1944-1949. Some possible topics include::

1. American coverage of decolonization in the British empire, and what it tells us about American attitudes towards colonies, empires, and/or its views of its British ally.
2. British coverage of India, and what it tells us about biases, views of Indians, views of Indian independence, and/or specific political figures.
3. American coverage of post-war Germany, and how that changed as the Cold War deepened.
4. American coverage of the war in Greece, or the French war in Vietnam, or the war in Korea.
5. British coverage of the war in China and what that might tell us of the persistence of colonial assumptions, views of communism, or views of political leaders.
6. American, British, Canadian coverage of the dropping of the nuclear bombs on Japan.
7. British or American coverage of an aspect of the Cold War, and what it tells us of the escalating hostility towards the Soviet Union.
8. Coverage of the Nuremberg Trials and what that tells us of people's understanding of the Holocaust in the immediate aftermath of the war.
9. Newspapers from a colonized country (e.g. Nigeria, Ghana, India), with commentary on how they viewed the colonizing power during/after the end of the war.
10. How Americans/Brits/ others viewed the relationship between Tito, in Yugoslavia, and Stalin/
11. American and British attitudes towards the Soviet Union in 1944 compared to 1949.

These are just examples – you are welcome to choose your own topic, provided it is about something we covered in the course and it occurred between 1944-1949.

You are also welcome to look at newspaper sources in other languages, but you will need to provide translations of the quotes and paraphrased material you pull from the source (you can put this in your footnotes or endnotes)

How to write this paper:

1. After you have chosen your topic, go looking first for newspapers. The York library has amazing newspaper digital collections. Standard ones include the New York Times, the Globe and Mail, and the Times of London. You can also search, especially for African newspapers and other global south newspapers, on the World Newspaper Archive. You can also start with the research guides for more sources. See <https://researchguides.library.yorku.ca/communicationsGL/news>
2. Do keyword searches and read through editions of your chosen newspaper. Once you have read through, use your newspaper articles to decide on your argument (thesis). I would anticipate you would need at least 5 articles to form your thesis.
3. Put together a rough outline, describing your argument, how each of your newspaper articles prove some aspect of it, how the secondary helps you situate your argument, and what your conclusions are.

I encourage you to share your outline with me via email for feedback, suggestions, and direction.

4. Write the paper. Be sure to have an **introduction** where you tell us your topic, thesis and agenda. Ideally you will have **3 main body paragraphs** that use your newspaper articles to prove different parts of your thesis. Be sure to weave in information and arguments from your secondary where appropriate, and footnote all of your work, either direct quotes or if you paraphrase. You should have a **conclusion** summing up your argument and giving final thoughts on the topic.
5. Please use Chicago-style footnotes for this paper (not MLA). You should also have a bibliography of sources, including listing each of your newspaper articles. I can put an example set on the e-class site for you to check yours against.

Tips:

Draw on your newspaper articles for examples, direct quotes, and big ideas. Be wary, and where relevant acknowledge the limits of your sources.

I **strongly encourage you** to run your topic/thesis/sources by me.

Possible themes to build from:

Displaced Persons	The Aftermath of the Holocaust
Foreign Policy after World War Two	The dropping of the atomic bomb
Everyday life after the war	Ongoing racial/ethnic violence
The partition of India	The creation of Israel
Civil War in China	Civil War in Greece
Cold War Politics	International institutions
Conceptions of Human Rights	The Nuremberg Trials
Sexual violence in War (e.g. mass rapes)	POW experiences

Here are some secondary source books on different topics that you might find useful.

End of the War in Germany:

Citino, Robert, *The Wehrmacht's Last Stand: The German Campaigns of 1944-1945*

Overy, Richard, *Interrogations: the Nazi Elite in Allied Hands, 1945*

Ullrich, Volker, *Eight Days in May: the Final Collapse of the Third Reich*

End of the war & postwar Japan:

Hastings, Max. *Nemesis: The Battle for Japan, 1944-45*. London: HarperCollins, 2007.

Watt, Lori, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*

Dower, John, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*

Hersey, John, *Hiroshima*

Walker, Samuel J., *Prompt and Utter Destruction: Truman and the use of Atomic Bombs against Japan*

Kover, Sarah *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan*

Dealing with the Aftermath:

Buruma, Ian *Year Zero: a History of 1945*

Shephard, Ben, *The Aftermath of the Second World War*

Judt, Tony, *Postwar*

McDonogh, *After the Reich: from the Liberation of Vienna to the Berlin Airlift*

Armstrong-Reid, Susan, *Armies of Peace: Canada and the UNRRA Years*

Lagrou, Pieter, *the Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945-1965*

Mazower, Mark, *No Enchanted Palace: the end of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations*

Germans in the Postwar Period:

Gebhardt, Miriam, *Crimes Unspoken: the Rape of German Women at the end of the Second World War (2016)*

Peterson, Edward. *The Many Faces of Defeat: the German People's Experience in 1945*

Taylor, Frederick, *Exorcising Hitler*

Naimark, Norman, *The Russians in Germany 1945-1949*

Greek Civil War:

Clogg, Richard, *Bearing Gifts to the Greeks: Humanitarian Aid to Greece in the 1940s*

Koliopoulos, John, *Plundered Loyalties: World War II and Civil War in Greek West Macedonia*

Mazower, Mark, ed. *After the War was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece 1943-1960*

McNeill, William H, *the Greek Dilemma: War and Aftermath*

McNeill, William H, *Greece: American Aid in Action, 1947-1956*

Retribution and the Nuremberg trials:

Hebert, Valerie *Hitler's Generals on Trial*

Wittmann, Rebecca *Beyond Justice*

Earl, Hilary, *The Nuremberg SS-Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1945-1958*
Jardim, Tomaz, *The Mauthausen Trial: American Military Justice in Germany*
Domenico, Roy P., *Italian Fascists on Trial, 1943-1948*
Deak, Istvan, Jan T. Gross and Tony Judt, eds *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and its Aftermath*
Kaplan, Alice, *The Collaborator: the Trial and Execution of Robert Basillach*
Fabrice, Virgil, *Shorn Women: Gender & Punishment in Liberation France*
Hirsch, Francine, *Soviet Judgement at Nuremberg: a new History of the International Military Tribunal after World War II*

End of the Holocaust:

Celinscak, Mark, *Distance from the Belsen Heap: Allied Forces and the Liberation of a Nazi Concentration Camp*
Goldberg, Adara, *Holocaust Survivors in Canada: Exclusion, Inclusion, Transformation, 1947-1955*
Jay Howard, Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany 1945-1953*
Yablonka, Hanna, *Survivors of the Holocaust: Israel after 1945*

Displaced Persons/POWs

Shephard, Ben, *the Long Road Home*
Douglas, R.M., *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War*
Panikos Panayi, Virdee Pippa, eds. *Refugees and the End of Empire: Imperial Collapse and Forced Migration in the Twentieth Century*
Sword, Keith, *Deportation and Exile of Poles in the Soviet Union, 1939-1948*
Nasaw, David. *The Last Million: Europe's Displaced Persons from World War to Cold War*
Betts, Paul. *Ruin and Renewal: Civilising Europe after World War II*
Biess, Frank, *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany*

Revolution in China:

Belden, Jack, *China Shakes the world*
Endicott, Stephen, *Rebel out of China*
Lary, Diana, *China's Civil War: a Social History, 1945-1949*
Maochun, Yu *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*

The start of new disasters

Logevall, Fredrik, *Embers of War*
Hecht, Gabrielle, *The Radiance of France: Nuclear Power & National Identity after WW2*

“A land without people for a people without land”:

Colonialist discourse in the framing of Israel’s formation among selected North American
Newspapers, 1945-1949

Brandon Jon Lamorena

HIST 3844

Dr. Deborah Neill

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The tumultuous events leading up to the establishment of Israel on 14 May 1948 was a highly contested period, not only between Jewish settlers and Palestinian Arabs but on a global scale. During this time, North American newspapers possessed an immense power in framing the conflict by constructing images of relevant parties (Jews and Arabs) in a context where the issue (at least for the average white, Christian Canadian or American) was once peripheral. However, it is crucial to consider that societal norms, values, and beliefs – or what Marx would label the “ideological superstructure” – will inevitably influence how writers portray and interpret these parties. In the North American context, such superstructure ultimately rested on the Western settler-colonial organization of societies. Thus, through a critical anti-colonial lens, this paper argues how such tendencies stood steadfast for three prestigious North American newspapers – the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Daily Star*, and the *New York Times* – in their *Eurocentric and colonialist* depictions of Arabs and Jews in Palestine. Primarily building upon the postcolonial theories of Edward Said and historian Rashid Khalidi, this paper will scrutinize three shared, interconnected themes in depictions of Jews and Palestinian Arabs between 1945 to 1949, namely the orientalist categorizations of Arabs and non-European Jews, the racialization of Arab and Jewish space, and paternalistic narratives of the relationship between Palestinian Jews and Arabs.

Orientalist Discourses on Arabs and Jewish Settlers

Coined by Palestinian-American scholar Edward Said, orientalism refers to various interconnected things, namely a mode of thinking distinguishing “the Orient” and “the Occident” based on “ontological and epistemological” distinctions, an “academic tradition,” or a Western

approach of “dominating, restructuring, and having authority” over the East.¹ What is common among these elements is a belief in the orient’s inferiority and Occident’s superiority, with the oriental perceived as “irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, ‘different’” and the European as “rational, virtuous, mature, [and] ‘normal.’”² Other topics, including the racialization of space and paternalism, are all connected to orientalism insofar as positing Easterners as unable to properly care for or develop land (“irrational”) or form “advanced” societies without outsider help (“childlike”). Media representations are one of the numerous ways to reinforce and propagate orientalist beliefs and perceptions, which stands true for the portrayal of all main parties of the conflict – Arabs and Jews – leading to Israel’s creation.

In the examined newspapers Arabs bore the brunt of these orientalist sentiments. Israeli Historian Haim Gerber argues that a common manifestation of orientalism against Palestinian Arabs rests on terms evoking their alleged “primitiveness,” inefficiencies, and social backwardness.³ For instance, a *Times* columnist believed that the “backwardness of the Arabs of the Middle East,” alongside extreme poverty and wealth disparities, contributed to the “dangerously revolutionary situation” in Palestine, reinforcing myths of oriental inferiority.⁴ In addition, some columnists employed racist language that outright dehumanized Arab Palestinians. For example, in the *Globe*, Patrick O’Donovan deemed Arab militias in training as possessing “irrational animal hatred” and a “desire for blood,” claiming (without evidence) that they are cruel to the point where they could “dismember [their] Jewish mates at the same

¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, 25th Anniversary Ed (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), 4–5.

² Said, 40.

³ Haim Gerber, “Zionism, Orientalism, and the Palestinians,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33, no. 1 (2003): 24, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2003.33.1.23>.

⁴ C. L. Sulzberger, “Israel’s Birth May Cause U.S. To Shift Middle East Policy: ‘Third Force’ in Palestine Is Asked to Counter Rising Support for Communist Doctrines,” *New York Times*, 1948.

workbench.”⁵ This claim lines up with orientalist tendencies to portray the “Arab mind” as “bent [toward] blood vengeance” and “psychologically incapable of peace.”⁶

Another theme throughout coverage of Arabs during Israel’s formative years rests on a consistent use of the reductionist term “Arab feudalism” or “semi-feudalism” to describe their societies, buttressing the orientalist belief that the “speed of the Palestinian collapse in 1948” resulted from “inherent [societal] flaws” (i.e., their backwardness).⁷ In the *New York Times*, Dana Schmidt deemed Palestinian Arab societies “rudimentary in political and economic organization,” living amid “feudal lords.”⁸ Moreover, the *Star* platformed a prominent Torontonion rabbi that explicated the term, claiming that backing the “medieval feudalism” of the Arabs would involve subsidizing “barbarism and banditry, illiteracy and slavery, disease and oppression.”⁹ In that same article, there was no dissent against the rabbi, let alone an opposing opinion from an Arab Palestinian. By no means these characterizations of “Arab feudalism” are limited to Arab Palestinians. Instead, these beliefs about Palestinians are borne out of Western orientalist beliefs on the broader Middle East. For example, one *Globe* columnist implies that most of the geopolitical region “is feudal, illiterate, backward, [and] unsanitary.”¹⁰

Several problems exist with characterizing Arab societies during Israel’s formation period as feudal or semi-feudal. Firstly, it anachronistically imposed the term “feudalism” (a European mode of economic organization during the Middle Ages) onto the many diverse Arab communities inhabiting the Southern Levant. Israeli Historian Ilan Pappé rebuffs the myth of a

⁵ Patrick O’Donovan, “Prospect for Palestine,” *The Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1948.

⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, 308.

⁷ Gerber, “Zionism, Orientalism, and the Palestinians,” 25.

⁸ Dana Adams Schmidt, “The Two Worlds of Palestine: Arabs and Jews, Deserts and Fertile Farms, Ancient Ways and Progressive Ideas -- These Make up the Holy Land Today.,” *New York Times*, May 16, 1948, sec. magazine.

⁹ “Urges Provisional Cabinet of Arabs, Christians, Jews,” *Toronto Daily Star*, April 10, 1948.

¹⁰ C. L. Sulzberger, “Sabres Rattle Loudly But Nobody Wants War Or Could Maintain It,” *The Globe and Mail*, August 21, 1946.

feudal Palestinian society by 1945. For example, he notes that the once semi-feudal sheikhs under the Ottomans became “large owners of rural real estate” from 1914 onwards, and the ostensible semi-feudal system of the former rural chieftains with bonded owners and tenants did not exist by the 1930s.¹¹

More nefariously, the association of “feudalism” with Arab peoples – which evokes images of backwardness, peasantry, and oppression – essentialized them as static and unchanging. Edward Said opined that orientalist depict Arabs ““in the imagery of static, almost ideal types, and neither as creatures with a potential in the process of being realized nor as history being made.”¹² Thus, notions of Arabs as *static and unchanging* give birth to paternalistic justifications for colonialism (to be further explored later) insofar as arguing that the subjects to be colonized cannot develop on their own; to make their own history. Unsurprisingly, the same notions of static and unchanging peoples have been common throughout Western colonialist discourses on Indigenous peoples insofar as viewing “original peoples [as] locked into an unchanging world until newcomers [...] happened on their lands.”¹³ Thus, newspapers likely reflected Western colonialist perceptions of Indigenous peoples in depicting and essentializing the Indigenous Arabs of Palestine as static and unchanging (in this case, rooted in feudalism).

Another target of orientalist discourse, albeit to a lesser degree than their Arab counterparts, are non-European Jewish settlers. The *Times*, *Daily Star*, and *Globe* used the term “oriental Jews” to reference settlers of Arab or African origin, erroneously lumping these diverse groups into one “oriental” (viz., non-white, non-European) category. For instance, the *Times*

¹¹ Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 45, 103.

¹² Said, *Orientalism*, 321.

¹³ Kenneth Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 64.

article generalizes the “oriental Jews” (without defining this term) as more predisposed to childbirth, warning that they might become the majority in the nascent Jewish state.¹⁴ Similarly, the *Daily Star* generalizes the “oriental Jews” as polygamous and fruitful, giving examples of large “oriental” families, including ones with twelve and fourteen children.¹⁵

However, *The Globe and Mail* possessed the most toxic, orientalist rhetoric against the non-European Jews. In a *Globe* article titled “Israel’s Hardest Problem,” columnist Francis Ofner (himself a Jewish Zionist) confidently asserts Yemeni Jews as the “lowest level of civilization of all the immigrants to Israel,” even among “other Oriental Jews.”¹⁶ Furthermore, he ponders whether the “primitive Jews” coming from Yemen would undermine the “high intellectual and economic standards of the Jewish state.”¹⁷ In a comparatively tamer article, another *Globe* columnist acted amazed that “even Oriental types” worked at an advanced Israeli farmerette.¹⁸ Moreover, he would distinguish between “Slavic,” “Latin,” and “Nordic” Jews yet create a distinct category for the undefined “Orientals.”¹⁹ The categorizations by these papers of non-European Jews as “Orientals,” alongside their Palestinian Arab counterparts, ultimately act to “other” foreign cultures from their Occidental counterparts, making “rigid the sense of difference” between the West and the East.²⁰ Similarly, the racialized, vague descriptor of “oriental Jews” created and reinforced socially-constructed hierarchies within Jewish settlers.

The Racialization of Space in “a land without people”

¹⁴ Gertrude Samuels, “Israel of the Future - A Dream and a Plan: The Leaders of the New Nation Chart the Way the People Must Go in the Tough Years Ahead. Israel of the Future,” *New York Times*, November 20, 1949, sec. magazine.

¹⁵ “Woman Guard Commander Tells of Jerusalem Siege,” *Toronto Daily Star*, January 8, 1949.

¹⁶ Francis Ofner, “Israel’s Hardest Problem,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 17, 1949.

¹⁷ Ofner.

¹⁸ Ken W. MacTaggart, “Israel Farmerettes: School Begun by Canadians,” *The Globe and Mail*, January 27, 1949.

¹⁹ MacTaggart.

²⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 204.

Connected to orientalism but entirely distinct from it is the racialization of space (space racialization). Not to be confused with the related concept of the “spatialization of race,” which explores how spaces are organized based on race (i.e., segregation), the racialization of space involves assigning racialized attributes to spaces associated with specific groups (i.e., Arabs and Jews). The connection of space racialization to colonialism is summed up by the feminist critical race theorist Sherene Razack. In *When Place Becomes Race*, Razack contends that colonialist societies possess “settler mythologies”: deeply spatialized stories that portray European colonizers as “entitled to the land.”²¹ These settler mythologies encompass a distorted view of history, where settlers view “the land as shared and [...] developed by enterprising settlers” in places that are effectively empty and uninhabited (*terra nullius*).²² Lands do not need to be physically devoid of bodies (i.e., Indigenous peoples) as the doctrine of *terra nullius* deems lands effectively uninhabited if the people are not “sufficiently evolved” (i.e., sufficiently agricultural, commercial, or European).²³ Beyond *terra nullius*, a second part of settler mythologies argues that “hardy” European settlers (i.e., “white men of grit”) have developed the “empty land,” making it productive – unlike the Indigenous people before them – thus justifying settlement (aka. dispossession of Indigenous peoples).²⁴

While Razack focuses on North American settler mythologies, its relevance extends to the Palestinian context and portrayal of Jewish settlers. The early Zionist movement’s settler mythology relied on the widespread belief in Palestine as “a land without a people for a people

²¹ Sherene Razack, “When Place Becomes Race,” in *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene Razack (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002), 3.

²² Razack, 2–3.

²³ Razack, 3.

²⁴ Razack, 3.

without a land” – an empty land (in the sense of *terra nullius*) waiting for Jewish settlement.²⁵ As

Margaret Moore noted:

[T]he efficient use of the land argument was used to justify [Zionist] rights to land. Although some early Zionists claimed that there were few people or no people in Palestine, the evidence is that this wasn't meant literally— for the demographic reality was unavoidable and indeed of great concern to early Zionist leaders—but, rather, that there were *no people using the land*. [...] [T]he people who lived on the land, the unnamed Palestinians, were not attached to it: they had 'laid waste' the land, *neglected it, and so it seems, they had no rights to it* [emphasis added].²⁶

Aside from problems with the legitimacy of efficiency-based territorial claims, all three examined newspapers buttressed claims of Jews colonizing an “empty land” by denigrating Arab spaces as either inferior, uncultivated “desert” and juxtaposing it against “developed,” “fertile,” and productive Jewish spaces. Such colonialist claims unintentionally or intentionally reinforced these Zionist settler mythologies of Palestine.

An example of bifurcating Arab and Jewish space can be seen in Dana Schmidt's *Times* article titled: “The Two Worlds of Palestine: *Arabs and Jews, deserts and fertile farms*, ancient ways and progressive ideas -- these make up the Holy Land today [emphasis added].”²⁷ The association of Arabs with “deserts” and “ancient ways” and Jews with “fertile farms” and “progressive ideas” serves to racialize Arab and Jewish space while simultaneously orienting Arabs as underdeveloped and backward. In another article by the *Globe* titled “Turning Back the Desert,” Jewish settlers are depicted as heroic pioneers turning a barren desert into fertile land while simultaneously creating rational water management and agriculture systems.²⁸ In contrast,

²⁵ Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 101.

²⁶ Margaret Moore, “The Territorial Dimension of Self-Determination,” in *National Self-Determination and Secession*, ed. Margaret Moore (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 148.

²⁷ Schmidt, “The Two Worlds of Palestine.”

²⁸ “Turning Back the Desert,” *The Globe and Mail*, September 20, 1949.

the “irrational” Arabs have laid waste to Palestine, turning the former “land of milk and honey” under the Jews into an “unproductive desert” through their “ignorance.”²⁹ Similarly, the *Daily Star* noted that while Jewish settlers made the “desert” bloom, the Arabs had no interest in “promoting modern agricultural enterprises.”³⁰

However, these notions of Arabs as unproductive and Jewish settlers as the cultivators of barren deserts are flawed or, at best, peripheral and irrelevant. Historian Rashid Khalidi noted that Jewish settlers encountered a reality far removed from an uncultivated, unproductive Palestine, with prominent Zionists like Ahad Ha-Am lamenting that the Arabs are effectively cultivating all arable land in his visit to Palestine.³¹ Moreover, in referencing Zionist claims to Palestine, Edward Said argued that “no matter how backward, uncivilized, and silent they were, the Palestinian Arabs *were* on the land [author’s emphasis],” despite the West (including its media outlets) perpetuating the belief in Palestine as something to be “possessed *anew* and reconstructed [author’s emphasis].”³² By overlooking Palestinian claims to land in discussions about Jewish development, these newspapers buttressed Zionist and colonialist narratives by creating racial divides between Jewish and Arab spaces, with the latter denigrated as unproductive and the former essentially glorified as hardy settlers taming a barren land. Ultimately, Khalidi noted that such depictions of Palestine as *terra nullius* served to inculcate three things conducive to Zionist colonial objectives: “Palestinians did not exist, or were of no account, or did not deserve to inhabit the country they so sadly neglected.”³³

²⁹ “Turning Back the Desert.”

³⁰ “The Negev in Palestine,” *Toronto Daily Star*, December 2, 1948.

³¹ Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, 101.

³² Edward W. Said, *The Question of Palestine*, 1st Vintage Books ed (Vintage, 1980), 9.

³³ Rashid Khalidi, *The Hundred Years’ War on Palestine*, eBook edition (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2020), sec. “Introduction.”

Paternalism

While the Orientalist posits the Arab as “irrational” and “childlike,” and Arab space is deemed unproductive and uncultivated, the vulnerable, “backward” Arab is ultimately depicted as in need of tutelage and guidance from outsiders; in this case, the Jewish settlers – the ostensible saviour of the Arabs. For instance, early Zionists like Ahad Ha-Am, alongside more modern Israelis, viewed Arab Palestinians through a paternalistic lens, arguing that a Jewish presence would see them benefit “from [Jewish] culture and wealth” after being “absorbed by the Jewish state.”³⁴ However, some columnists were (rightfully) skeptical of this attitude, with one *Times* columnist lamenting that the Jewish settlers had a “superiority complex,” scoffing at some Zionists that erroneously believed “the Arabs are grateful for the improvements introduced by Jews.”³⁵

Nevertheless, the examined newspapers generally buttressed this paternalistic narrative, either directly arguing or suggesting that the presence of Jewish people and/or establishing the Jewish state of Israel would civilize the Arabs and benefit both parties. In the *Daily Star*, columnist Charles Huestis lamented the lack of recognition among the “semi-feudal” Arabs to the Jews for “giving them a standard of living and an example for progress they have not known for centuries.”³⁶ In the *Times*, Schmidt’s aforementioned feature article noted how the presence of Jewish peoples and “Zionist assistance” has increased the living standards of Palestinian people.³⁷ However, Schmidt erroneously argued that the easing of Arab “misery” by the Jewish

³⁴ Robert Eisen, *The Peace and Violence of Judaism: From the Bible to Modern Zionism*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 202.

³⁵ Clifton Daniel, “Palestine Jews Minimize Arabs: Sure of Superiority, Settlers Feel They Can Win Natives by Reason or Force,” *New York Times*, March 20, 1947.

³⁶ Charles Herbert Huestis, “Terror in the Holy Land,” *Toronto Daily Star*, September 11, 1946.

³⁷ Schmidt, “The Two Worlds of Palestine.”

settlers had given them “more leisure to indulge in political sentiments” that were increasingly anti-Zionist (as if competing land claims were not a more relevant factor).³⁸ Meanwhile, some articles platformed paternalistic sentiments without giving an opposing perceptive. For instance, without any dissenting voice, the *Globe* uncritically quoted a statement from a Hadassah meeting in London, England: “Feudal Arabian princes do not like what has happened in Palestine since the Jews went there. They have introduced unions and shown the slave labor how to live well.”³⁹

The connections of these paternalistic narratives to colonialist discourses rest in how developmentalist claims obfuscate the negatives of colonialism (i.e., usurpation of land) and portray it as a beneficial endeavour for the so-called “natives.” As Khalidi noted, all European colonizers have justified the enormities perpetrated against Indigenous peoples by depicting their colonial projects as “civilizing” and “progressive” for the local inhabitants, creating an “outpost of civilization” against barbarism whether in the “North American frontier” or the lands of the Middle East.⁴⁰ In fact, the *Times* uncritically platformed a speaker claiming that a Jewish Palestine would be a “listening post” in a “desert of backward and primitive Arab countries” without any countering opinion.⁴¹

Such sentiment supporting Jewish settlement brings another revelation: the existence of paternalistic discourses not only regarding the relationship between Jewish and Arab peoples but also the relationship of North Americans in ameliorating the ethnoreligious political situation. In fact, alongside the aforementioned example from the *Times*, the *Daily Star* and *Globe* either platformed or directly implored readers to support Jewish settlement or do more to support the

³⁸ Schmidt.

³⁹ “Hadassah Advised to ‘Stand Fast’ on Palestine Issue,” *The Globe and Mail*, February 4, 1947.

⁴⁰ Khalidi, *The Hundred Years’ War on Palestine*, sec. “Introduction.”

⁴¹ “Brewster Asks U.S. Support Palestine: He Tells Hadassah Convention Country Needs ‘Listening Post’ in Middle East,” *New York Times*, October 25, 1945.

burgeoning Israeli state. In 1948, a *Daily Star* article written by Arthur Roebuck implored the West to stand behind the nascent state of Israel by evoking Judaism as “the cradle” of “our religion” (Christianity) and to protect the “Jews” who faced centuries of oppression and toiled under the “inaptitude of the Arabs.”⁴² In the *Globe*, an article excoriated the Canadian government for “snubbing” Israel by not recognizing it and embarking upon a “do-nothing, know-nothing, evasive policy of ‘no commitments.’”⁴³ Thus, paternalism also touched upon the Western desire to “protect” and “save” Jews from the machinations of their Arab counterparts.

Ultimately, the three shared themes discussed in this study (orientalism, racialization of space, and paternalism) reveal that the selected newspapers viewed and framed the gradual formation of Israel, namely the Palestinian and Jewish parties involved, through a colonialist lens. Firstly, employing Edward Said’s theory of orientalism, characterizations of Arab society as feudal, violent, or backward, alongside lumping together African and Asian Jews into one homogenous category, served to create a bifurcation between the “superior” West (including European Jews) and the “inferior” East (the Arabs and “oriental Jews”). Secondly, the racialization of space saw newspapers distinguishing unproductive Arab space against “fertile” Jewish space, buttressing colonialist notions of Palestine as *terra nullius* and open to “productive” settlement. Finally, newspapers imbued paternalistic narratives into discussions about the relationship between Jews and Arabs, alongside the West and the Jews. In discussing the former, papers framed Jewish settlement as beneficial to the Arabs, reflecting broader Western beliefs in colonization as a civilizing and progressive force that were buttressed by

⁴² Arthur Roebuck, “Canada Should Recognize The New State of Israel,” *Toronto Daily Star*, August 30, 1948.

⁴³ “Canada and Palestine,” *The Globe and Mail*, June 4, 1948.

orientalist views on Arabs and racialized perceptions of Arab space. Regarding the latter, newspapers buttressed saviorist notions of the West as a protector of the Jewish settlers.

However, it should be noted that the *Times*, *Globe*, and *Daily Star* – despite being prominent newspapers in North America – cannot reflect the entire cavalcade of media organizations in the continent. Similarly, the framing of Arabs and Jews in Palestine should not be taken to indicate predetermined anti-Arab or pro-Zionist sentiment in every instance. With the notable exception of the overtly prejudiced *Globe* columnists Francis Ofner and Patrick O'Donovan, colonialist perceptions of the events leading to Israel's formation may not have necessarily been intentional but instead a product of North American society.

In addressing these limitations, it is critical to recognize that the colonialist discourses contained within these papers were prevalent at the time. For instance, this study mentioned instances where the shared themes in the coverage of Palestine and Palestinians are connected to Western colonialist perceptions of Indigenous peoples, space, and the role of outsiders in inculcating development toward non-Europeans. Moreover, whether intentional or not, these colonialist discourses served to buttress and thus justify a settler-colonial endeavour that dispossessed many Palestinians from their land. Thus, newspapers simultaneously reflected and reinforced the world of their time – a world shaped by Eurocentrism, settler-colonialism, and orientalism.

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