

G.B. Zhumatay* , **A.S. Yskak** 

Narxoz University, Kazakhstan, Almaty

*e-mail: gabit.zhumatay@narxoz.kz

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FRENCH AND ZIONIST SETTLER COLONIALISM IN ALGERIA AND PALESTINE

The paper explores and analyzes similarities and differences between French settler colonialism in Algeria and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine. This study focuses on the history and historical development of French settler colonialism and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism by deploying the analytical framework of settler colonialism, and the comparative history of settler colonialism. Settler colonial studies and comparative settler colonialism allow for gaining insight into the genesis, and development of settler colonies. The intention behind the application of comparative settler colonialism, specifically in juxtaposing French settler colonialism in Algeria and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine is to identify overlaps, similarities as well as differences between these settler polities. The results of this study have shown that French and Zionist settler colonialism share numerous similarities and features. The most important feature that these settler colonialisms adhere to is the logic of elimination, which is defined as policies and practices of settler colonial policies aimed at the dispossession, displacement, ethnic cleansing, genocide, as well as cultural assimilation of the indigenous populations. In this case, both French and Zionist settler colonialisms have subscribed and followed the logic of the elimination of the natives. Yet as opposed to French settler colonialism, Zionist settler colonialism has been less interested in cultural assimilation and integration of the indigenous people of Palestine into settler society. Another conspicuous difference between French and Zionist settler colonialism is that while French settler colonialism is already defunct, Zionist settler colonialism has managed to survive and persist. The current study contributes to settler colonial studies and the comparative history of settler colonialism. Moreover, our research can inform other studies in the field of settler colonialism, and we suggest that more research into comparative settler colonialism needs to be undertaken.

Key words: France, Zionism, Algeria, Palestine, colonialism, settler colonialism.

Ғ.Б. Жұматай*, А.С. Ысқақ

Нархоз Университеті, Қазақстан, Алматы қ.

*e-mail: gabit.zhumatay@narxoz.kz

Алжир мен Палестинадағы француз және сионистік қоныстанушы отаршылдығын салыстырмалы талдау

Мақалада Алжирдегі француз қоныстанушы отаршылдығы мен Палестинадағы еврей сионистік қоныстанушы отаршылдығы салыстырмалы түрде зерттелініп, талданады. Француз қоныстанушы отаршылдығы мен еврей сионистік отаршылдығының тарихы мен тарихи даму эволюциясын қарастыру барысында бұл зерттеуде қоныстанушы отаршылдықты талдау мен салыстырмалы қоныстанушы отаршылдық әдістері пайдаланылды. Қоныстанушы отаршылдық саласындағы бұл әдістер қоныстанушы отарларының тарихын, пайда болуы мен дамуын тереңнен қарастырып, баға беруге мүмкіндік береді. Бұл әдістерді пайдаланудағы басты мақсатымыз – Алжирдегі француз қоныстанушы отаршылдығы мен Палестинадағы еврей сионистік отаршылдығының арасындағы ұқсастықтар мен айырмашылықтарды анықтау. Бұл зерттеуден алынған нәтижелер француз және сионистік қоныстанушы отаршылдығының арасында айтарлықтай ұқсастықтар мен айырмашылықтар бар екенін айқын көрсетті. Француз және сионистік қоныстанушы отаршылдығына ортақ басты ерекшеліктің бірі – олардың элиминация логикасын басшылыққа алуы. Элиминация логикасы ең алдымен қоныстанушы отаршылдардың отарлардың байырғы халқын қырып-жою, этникалық тазалау, геноцидке ұшырату және мәдени ассимиляцияға ұшырату бағытындағы саясаты мен практикасының жиынтығы болып саналады. Осы тұрғыдан келгенде француз және сионистік қоныстанушы отаршылдығы жергілікті байырғы халықтарға қарсы қиянат көрсету саясатын жүйелі түрде жүргізді. Дегенмен француз қоныстанушы отаршылдығымен салыстырғанда сионистік қоныстанушы отаршылдығы Палестинаның байырғы халқын мәдени тұрғыдан ассимиляциялауға аса құлықты болмады. Екі қоныстанушы отаршылдықтың арасындағы тағы бір айырмашылық –

Алжирдегі француз қоныстанушы отаршылдығы өз өмір сүруін тоқтатқанымен, Палестинадағы сионистік қоныстанушы отаршылдығы осы күнге дейін жойылмай, салтанат құрып келеді. Осы тұрғыдан келгенде бұл зерттеу жалпы қоныстанушы отаршылдықты зерттеу мен салыстырмалы қоныстанушы отаршылдық салаларына үлес қосады. Бұған қоса біздің зерттеу осы салалардағы жүргізілетін өзге зерттеулер үшін бағыт-бағдар бола алады, және біз болашақта салыстырмалы қоныстанушы отаршылдығы саласында қомақты зерттеулер көптеп жүргізілуі керек деп есептейміз.

Түйін сөздер: Франция, сионизм, Алжир, Палестина, отаршылдық, қоныстанушы отаршылдық.

Ғ.Б. Жұматай*, А.С. Ысқақ

Университет Нархоз, Қазақстан, г. Алматы

*e-mail: gabit.zhumatay@narhoz.kz

Сравнительный анализ французского и сионистского переселенческого колониализма в Алжире и Палестине

В статье исследуются и анализируются сходства и различия между французским переселенческим колониализмом в Алжире и еврейским сионистским переселенческим колониализмом в Палестине. Это исследование посвящено истории и историческому развитию французского переселенческого колониализма и еврейского сионистского переселенческого колониализма путем использования аналитической теории переселенческого колониализма и сравнительной истории переселенческого колониализма. Исследования переселенческого колониализма и сравнительный переселенческий колониализм позволяют получить представление о происхождении и развитии переселенческих колоний. Целью применения сравнительного переселенческого колониализма, особенно при сопоставлении французского переселенческого колониализма в Алжире и еврейского сионистского переселенческого колониализма в Палестине, является выявление совпадений, сходств, а также различий между этими переселенческими образованиями. Результаты этого исследования показали, что французский и сионистский переселенческий колониализм имеют множество сходств и особенностей. Наиболее важной особенностью, которой придерживаются этот переселенческий колониализм, является их приверженность логике элиминации, которая определяется как политика и практика переселенческой колониальной политики, направленная на трансфер, этническую чистку, геноцид, а также культурную ассимиляцию коренного населения. В этом случае как французский, так и сионистский переселенческий колониализм последовали логике уничтожения и элиминация туземцев. Однако, в отличие от французского переселенческого колониализма, сионистский переселенческий колониализм меньше интересовался культурной ассимиляцией и интеграцией коренных жителей Палестины в переселенческое общество. Еще одно заметное различие между французским и сионистским переселенческим колониализмом заключается в том, что, хотя французский переселенческий колониализм уже прекратил свое существование, сионистский переселенческий колониализм сумел выжить. Настоящее исследование вносит вклад в исследования в области переселенческого колониализма и сравнительную историю переселенческого колониализма. Более того, данное исследование служит основой для других исследований в области переселенческого колониализма, и мы полагаем, что необходимо провести дополнительные исследования в области переселенческого колониализма.

Ключевые слова: Франция, сионизм, Алжир, Палестина, колониализм, переселенческий колониализм.

Introduction

Settler colonial studies as a distinct field of research emerged in the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s to address and investigate the history, historical development, and current situation in settler societies. Yet some settler societies are already defunct and vanished, but some are still active and functioning. In this paper within the analytical framework of settler colonialism and

comparative history of settler colonialism, we critically consider and analyze two overlapping and distinct types of settler societies (Barclay et al., 2018). We have selected two distinct settler colonial contexts located in North Africa and the Middle East, both of which were initiated and created by White Europeans. Specifically, our focus is on French settler colonialism in Algeria, and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine. We have chosen these two specific settler colonial contexts

for several reasons: first, although settler colonial studies is a recent field of research, it is a subfield of both Oriental Studies and global history. Second, the literature on settler colonialism calls attention to the dearth of research into settler colonialism in North Africa and the Middle East (Veracini, 2022). Third, Kazakhstan likewise experienced Russian settler colonialism and thereby it is relevant to explore other settler colonial contexts within the framework of the comparative history of settler colonialism. Finally, the current research is one aspect of our study on the history of settler colonialism, and a continuation of our previous research paper published in the *Journal of Oriental Studies* recently (Zhumatay & Yskak, 2024).

One of the pioneers of the field of settler colonial studies Patrick Wolfe argues that settler colonialism is informed and guided by the logic of elimination of the indigenous peoples by invading settler colonial entities (Wolfe, 1999, 2006). Unlike exploitation colonialism, settler colonialism is not intended to exploit the native population and other resources. Quite the contrary, settler colonialism aims at the physical removal of the indigenous people from the land and replacing it with an invading settler population (Wolfe, 1999, p. 2). These patterns have been observed in all settler societies across the globe, including in Algeria and Palestine. Literature on settler colonialism stresses overlapping and diverging features and characteristics peculiar to settler societies as they tend to share several peculiarities such as an attempt to remove the indigenous populations, constructing artificial ‘pioneer myths’, racial prejudices and stereotypes, the claim to the distinct cultural and racial character of the settler society as well as the drive towards a settler distinctiveness and even settler autonomy or sovereignty (Barclay et al., 2018). In addition to the overlaps and commonalities between settler societies, there are of course certain underlying differences between them.

Scholarship draws attention to the lack of research into settler colonies in the Middle East and North Africa, in particular, French settler colonialism in Algeria between 1830-1962 has been rendered unexplored (Veracini, 2022). Unlike the Zionist settler project in Palestine, French settler colonialism in Algeria ceased to exist in 1962 with the French defeat by the Algerian national liberation movement. The defeat of France by Algerians in 1962 resulted in the expulsion of French settlers and settler society in this country failed to survive. Yet that does not necessarily mean that French settler colonialism as a distinct mode of domination has

never been relevant (Veracini, 2022). French settler colonialism is relevant in terms of comparative settler colonialism, especially in the sense of its comparison with Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine. Despite traditional Western and European colonial empires ceased to exist a long time ago, some settler societies have survived into the present and persisted. Anglophone nations such as the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, former Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America, certain indigenous territories in Russia, as well as the Zionist state of Israel in Palestine are all remaining settler societies. Therefore, the paramount goal of this paper is to compare the vanished French settler colonial society in Algeria with the functioning Jewish Zionist settler society in Palestine within the framework of comparative settler colonialism.

Materials and Methods

This study focuses on the history and historical development of French settler colonialism in Algeria and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine by deploying the analytical framework of settler colonialism, and comparative history of settler colonialism (Barclay et al., 2018; Veracini, 2006, 2022). Over the past five centuries, the world has witnessed the emergence and establishment of multiple and diverse European settler colonial societies across the world. Settler colonial studies and comparative settler colonialism allow for gaining insight into the genesis, and development of settler colonies. The intention behind the application of comparative settler colonialism, specifically in juxtaposing French settler colonialism in Algeria and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine is to uncover overlaps, similarities as well as differences between these settler polities. The usefulness of comparative settler colonialism is stressed in Sanders’s (2015) work where the author by juxtaposing the US settler colonialism and French settler colonialism uncovers strikingly identical motives and means of initiating and instituting settler colonies in North America and Algeria. Instead of focusing exclusively on macro-level actors such as colonial officials and metropolitan legislation, a comparative approach calls attention to indigenous and settler agencies in shaping the structural foundations of a settler society (Sanders, 2015). Although Wolfe (1999, 2006, 2008) increasingly focuses on the land as the key object of contest and rivalry between the native population and settlers, Sanders goes beyond this variable by looking into

the motives and causes of the establishment of settler colonies (Sanders, 2015).

In a comparative analysis, there are certain caveats to keep in mind. First and foremost, contextual, and context-dependent variables and factors ought to be considered in conducting a comparative analysis. In each specific context, each colonizing entity tends to develop methods and strategies peculiar and applicable to that colonial context to deal with the indigenous populations as well as settlers. Moreover, the experiences and strategies in one settler colony may inform and guide other settler colonialism, like how American westward expansion and colonization influenced French settler colonialism (Sanders, 2015). Yet scholarship draws attention to certain shortcomings of the comparative approach, in particular, this method may easily lead scholars to fail to notice crucial details and aspects that do not fit neatly into the comparative methodology. As studies into comparative settler colonialism have demonstrated, the achievements and strategies of one settler colony may not always be transferable and applicable in other settler contexts. For instance, the practice of reliance on indigenous labor in French Algeria was rejected by Jewish Zionist settlers in Palestine who became convinced that such practice would ultimately undermine settler colonization (Veracini, 2022). Sanders warns that “Without careful attention to the contingent events and voices of the actors, as well as contemporary witnesses, a researcher can easily fall into the trap of painting both case studies as more similar than they were” (2015, p. 33). That being the case, one ought to pay closer attention to both the commonalities as well as distinctions in juxtaposing two or more settler colonies, increasingly focusing on contextual factors and actors.

Our study draws upon the existing literature as well as historical documents about settler colonialism studies, and French and Zionist settler colonialism. They provide insight into settler colonial studies, the history, evolution, and outcomes of French settler colonialism and Jewish Zionist colonialism. We have critically examined relevant research studies undertaken by scholars of settler colonialism and genocide studies such as Wolfe (1999, 2006, 2008), and Veracini (2006, 2011, 2022). According to Wolfe, settler colonialism unlike other types of colonialism is predominantly driven by the contest for land, which leads to the elimination of the indigenous society and its inhabitants by an invading colonial entity (Wolfe, 1999, 2006). Besides, settler colonialism is guided by the logic of elimination that seeks to

displace the indigenous people and replace them with settlers (Wolfe, 1999). The logic of elimination does not necessarily involve the physical removal or genocide of the native population, it may also entail the disappearance of the indigenous people that may be caused by cultural genocide or assimilation through the absorption of the natives into a dominant settler culture (Wolfe, 1999). Settler colonialism as a distinct mode of domination is characterized by exogenous domination, which has two essential dimensions: displacement of the original inhabitants of the land and unequal relationships between the colonized and settlers (Veracini, 2011, 2022). In terms of theoretical and conceptual aspects of settler colonialism both Algeria under French colonial domination and Palestine under the rule of the Zionist settler polity, especially in exploring the similarities and differences between them represent an interesting case (Barelay et al., 2018).

Literature review

Settler colonial studies is a relatively new research field with an interdisciplinary character. Elkins & Pedersen claim that “the age of settler colonialism may be behind, but its legacies are everywhere to be seen (2005, p. 1). Yet even today the simmering conflicts between the dominant settlers and oppressed indigenous populations over land, statehood, loyalty, legal status, citizenship, and economic standing are still observed (Elkins & Pedersen, 2005). Colonial entities, in particular settler societies, have shared legal traditions and histories of Indigenous dispossession, elimination, and forced assimilation (Veracini, 2022). In addition to these dimensions, Wolfe (2006) adds a genocide dimension, indicating that the question of genocide is closely intertwined with settler colonialism and the connection he defines as the logic of genocide. Although settler colonialism does not necessarily lead to a genocidal outcome and it is not invariably genocidal, settler colonialism is inherently eliminatory (Wolfe, 2006, p. 387). Nonetheless, the settler colonialism logic of elimination is genocidal as a settler colonial venture involves either physical genocide or cultural genocide of the indigenous population, which leads to the erasure and invisibility of the natives.

At the core of settler colonialism lies the domination, dispossession, elimination, and forced assimilation of an indigenous population by a settler colonial body. The logic of elimination not only through intentional massacres, ethnic cleansing, and removal of indigenous populations, but also

through cultural assimilation and erasure of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic identities of the colonized, by incorporating them into a colonial society and colonial nation (Veracini, 2022). Anglophone settler societies across the globe have been successful in decimating and replacing indigenous peoples in North America, Australia, and New Zealand through wholesale genocidal warfare, deadly pathogens, and cultural assimilation (Choi, 2017, p. 202). To erect a settler colonial society, an invading settler colonial body tends to eliminate the owners of that territory as the logic of elimination requires it (Wolfe, 2006). That is why settler colonial entities resort to extermination and assimilation as these strategies seem to be the only eliminatory options (Wolfe, 2006). From this perspective, Anglophone settler societies did succeed in massacring, ethnic cleansing, and assimilating the indigenous populations, which led to the complete decimation and replacement of the indigenous societies by an invading settler body. Dominating settler societies precluded any idea of indigenous territorial or cultural autonomy or building a multicultural society where settlers and natives would coexist. Thus, settler societies due to their military, economic, and political superiority tend to deprive the native populations of their agency and capacity to reproduce their indigenous distinct communities (Choi, 2017). These features make settler colonialism specific and stand it apart from traditional exploitation colonialism.

In comparison with Anglophone settler societies, while Jewish Zionist settler colonialism did succeed in producing similar outcomes by eradicating the native society and its population from Palestine and replacing them with an exogenous European Jewish settler society; French settler colonialism even followed the same logic of elimination of the natives of Algeria, eventually failed to take root in Algeria, ended up being dismantled in 1962. Although French settler colonialism in Algeria and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine have shared many traits and characteristics, Zionist colonization has always been inherently eliminationist and genocidal (Zhumatay & Yskak, 2024). The survival and sustainability of the Jewish Zionist settler entity were ensured through constant ethnic cleansing and dispossession of the indigenous Palestinians (Masalha, 1992; Pappé, 2006). To gain the status of demographic majority, the Zionists were engaged in full-scale violence and forced displacement of Palestinians. Without rampant violence and deliberate ethnic cleansing Jews neither would have become a majority in Palestine nor their settler colonial project of Israel would have come

into existence. Therefore, only the full expulsion of Palestinians or reducing their number to a small minority could ensure the emergence, survival, and existence of the Zionist colonial project (Zhumatay & Yskak, 2024).

Overall, settler colonies in their worldviews, strategies, methods, attitudes, and perceptions of the indigenous populations are identical with certain specific features that may distinguish one settler society from another. In this sense, French settler colonialism in Algeria, and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine share several commonalities as well as there are certain distinctions between these settler societies. Yet concerning the land and indigenous populations, French and Zionist settler colonialisms were unambiguous, specifically the removal of the natives from the land and establishing a settler society and subsequently a settler state was the paramount strategy and goal. Although in the Algerian case, French and European settlers had taken roots on Algerian soil and developed a strong sense of belonging to Algeria, settler-colonial structure and domination were eventually disrupted and dismantled by the violent resistance of Algerian natives (Barclay et al., 2018). In contrast, despite strong pressure from indigenous resistance, the Zionist Israeli settler polity has survived and persisted. The survival of the Zionist settler colony was ensured through the large-scale deployment of violence against indigenous Palestinians (Zhumatay & Yskak, 2024).

Results and Discussion

Roots and Causes of French and Zionist settler colonialism

Chronologically French colonization of Algeria and Jewish Zionist colonization of Palestine were initiated in different times, yet these undertakings coincided with the rise of European imperialism, colonial expansion as well as nationalism. Accordingly, these colonial ventures were substantially influenced and guided by the tectonic shifts and events in Europe and beyond. French colonial conquest of Algeria started in 1830 with France's invasion of this country across the Mediterranean and this colonization was a top-down initiative that was activated and carried out by a European power (Ageron, 1991). In contrast, the Zionist colonization of Palestine predominantly was a bottom-up venture initiated and translated into action by European Jewry (Shapira, 1999). Interestingly, both Algeria before the French colonial conquest and Palestine before and during the Zionist

colonization were Ottoman possessions. Yet while the Ottoman Empire lost Algeria to France in 1830, Palestine was being colonized by European Jews even under the Ottoman watch but without official sanctions from the Ottoman authorities. During WWI, specifically in 1917, Britain succeeded in establishing its control over Palestine, which laid the foundation for instituting a Jewish homeland in Palestine, which was opened for the immigration of European Jews with direct British support. Before the British takeover of Palestine in 1917, Jewish colonization was mostly a spontaneous venture driven by Jewish attempts to find a safe refuge from systemic religious persecution in Europe. So while European Jews were in search of a haven due to virulent European antisemitism, France as a European great power was making efforts to expand its imperial influence and colonial empire, which led to the French colonial conquest of Algeria.

Colonization and subjugation of Eastern lands populated by Arabic-speaking Muslim, Christian, as well as Jewish communities, were thus carried out by two distinct colonial entities. Whereas Algeria was conquered and colonized by one of the most developed and industrialized powers in the world at that time, the colonization of Palestine was undertaken by a people who lacked a homeland and faced constant oppression and persecution in Europe. Yet both colonization ventures were informed and guided by religious fervor, the ideas of the Enlightenment, racial and ethnic superiority complex, and aggressive and parochial ethnic nationalism. Since the 15th century the invasion, conquest, colonization, violent displacement, and genocide of indigenous peoples, and replacing them with settler-dominated societies had become a taken-for-granted conventional generally accepted belief and conviction in Europe. Shapira indicates that early Zionist leaders, such as Theodor Herzl, were not even disturbed by the fact that the idea of dispossession of the indigenous population of Palestine may invite a negative international outcry as in the Western nations acts of acquisition of land by violent dispossession of the indigenous population was not considered unusual (Shapira, 1999, p. 17).

The roots and causes of French settler colonialism in Algeria lie in France's efforts to restore its great power status and grandeur after a series of humiliations and defeats France endured. In particular, in the second half of the 18th century, France lost the geopolitical contest for European and global supremacy to Britain, and the demise of the First French Empire under Napoleon delivered

another huge blow to France. As a result of these bitter defeats, France was forced to give up India, Canada, and its other overseas colonies and territories. Therefore, after these debacles, France was in search of compensation for its losses and restoring its great power status. Algeria became the first target for French colonial expansion. As soon as France completed the full conquest of Algeria in 1847 when French troops put down the revolt led by Emir Abdelkader, French settler colonialism followed with the support of the French state. In conquering Algeria France unleashed unspeakable terror, and violence against the indigenous Algerians, which even forced a Frenchman to say that "We have surpassed in barbarism the barbarians we came to civilize" (Effros, 2018; Stora, 2001, p. 5).

Jewish colonization of Palestine was similar to the French colonization of Algeria in its content, yet in terms of motives and causes the former stood apart from the latter. As Noura Erakat (2019) mentions, at the end of the 19th century European Jewry did not constitute a political and territorial community as a single polity rather Jews inhabited several European countries either as stateless individuals or groups, being citizens of their respective host nations. The quest of European Jewry for statehood or a national home that was reflected in the Zionist movement was born out of deep disappointment (Shapira, 1999). Anita Shapira and other scholars emphasize how deeply rooted and widespread anti-Jewish prejudices and hatred in European countries laid the groundwork for the Jewish quest for a separate homeland (Shapira, 1999). Yet Jewish suffering and persecution, virulent antisemitism, and anti-Jewish hatred were occurring not on the soil of Palestine, but far away from it, in Europe where Jews were an oppressed racial and religious minority.

Jewish aspirations to integrate and even fully assimilate themselves into their respective host cultures and societies did not produce the desired outcome for Jews because Christian Europeans could not embrace them as their equal compatriots and continued to exhibit virulent antisemitism. The failure of Jewish assimilation and rampant antisemitism pushed Jewish intellectuals in Europe to contemplate a Jewish national homeland. But the question was where exactly was European Jewry supposed to find a national homeland? The answer to this question was found in 1896 when Theodor Herzl published his pamphlet *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*) in which he wrote that the Zionists ought to establish in Palestine an outpost of civilization (Herzl, 1989, p. 13). Theodor Herzl's choice was Palestine under Ottoman rule and inhabited by

the indigenous population. To establish a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, the Zionists needed first to transform diverse Jewish communities into a homogenized national category, and then it was pivotal to gain from a colonial power a land to settle and erect a Jewish state (Erakat, 2019, p. 28).

Ideological and mythological underpinnings of French and Zionist settler colonialism

To legitimize its colonial conquest as well as to justify the deliberate destruction and erasure of the indigenous populations, any colonizing body tends to construct, reproduce, and perpetuate colonial narratives, ideologies, and myths. The construction of such artificial narratives and myths is intended to create the image of cultural and intellectual superiority of the colonizer and by the same token, the inferiority of the colonized. Such artificial constructions tend to be pervasive and ubiquitous, manifesting themselves in intentional distortion, appropriation, manipulation, misuse, and abuse of history and historical past, references to religion and religious texts, engineering racial, cultural, and ethnic stereotypes, and ‘othering’. Colonial ideologies and myths are a powerful hegemonic intellectual industry that still shapes and guides the dominant colonial narratives. Furthermore, there is a powerful dominant state-sanctioned narrative premised upon the negation and denial of the history, and even the very existence of indigenous peoples, which is conceptualized by Masalha (2003) as the ‘politics of denial’. Besides the outright denial of the historicity of indigenous peoples, in the official Zionist Israeli narrative all crimes committed against the indigenous people of Palestine by the Zionists and the state of Israel are denied, especially the Nakba of 1948 when around 750.000 Palestinians were violently expelled from their homeland by the Zionists paramilitary groups (Pappe, 2006). Furthermore, the 1948 Nakba has been concealed and portrayed as the Israeli War of Independence (Pappe, 2006).

From this standpoint, both France and the Zionist movement, later the state of Israel, have skillfully exploited and manipulated historical, political, and ideological discourses, shaping, and controlling narratives. The most striking myth that both the French, and European Jewry engineered was that both invented a myth that they came to Algeria and Palestine not as newcomers or as conquerors, but rather they were returning to their ancestral land once they had had to leave or lost to other peoples (Lorcin, 2002, 2006; Masalha, 1992, 2003; Pappe, 2006; Said, 1980; Sanders, 2015). On the one hand,

the French skillfully appropriated the Roman past to legitimize its presence in Algeria (Lorcin, 2002), and on the other, European Jewry made a repeated reference to the Bible, the concepts of “Promised Land” and the ancient history of Palestine to justify their colonization (Pappe, 2006; Shapira, 1999; Shlaim, 2014).

In colonizing Algeria, France systematically exploited the Algerian past, specifically the Roman and Christian periods, manufacturing myths that there was a direct link between the ancient Romans and France’s presence in Algeria (Sanders, 2015). By appropriating the Roman past, France produced a myth that the French were the rightful successors of ancient Rome, and thereby French colonial domination in Algeria was historically just and right (Davis, 2007; Sanders, 2015). The French military, officials, intellectuals, and settlers regarded themselves as the most suitable inheritors of Rome’s imperial legacy and holdings not only in Algeria but in the whole of North Africa (Sanders, 2015). Moreover, French colonizers were convinced that Algeria had always been the soil to which the French belonged as its rightful owners, portraying their presence in Algeria not as an accidental event but rather as the rightful return of the progeny of Latins to Algeria and North Africa (Sanders, 2015).

In Algeria, the French exploited the historical knowledge and past by reclaiming pre-Islamic Latin cultural heritage and identity, laying a claim to so-called “Latin Africa” (Sanders, 2015). French colonial domination in Algeria led to heated discussions about imperial Rome and the Christian past, and French officials and officers saw the Roman past as an inspiration and guidance in fulfilling their tasks and missions (Davis, 2007; Effros, 2018). Furthermore, French military, officials, intellectuals, and settlers weaponized the historical past of Algeria against its indigenous inhabitants to undermine and dismantle the Berber (Kabyle) and Arab indigeneity and ownership of the land and to justify colonial terror, draconian order, and ethnic cleansing. Comparing Eastern and Western imperialism, the French depicted the former as savage, and barbaric, while positioning themselves as the inheritors of Rome and thereby “liberators” of Algeria from the Ottoman and Arab despotism (Sanders, 2015). In addition to the Roman past, the French exploited the Christian past of Algeria, seeing their mission in Algeria as an attempt to revive and restore Christian North Africa (Effros, 2018). Thus, the French used scientific knowledge and evidence in their favor, especially to marginalize and erase the long-standing Arab-Berber presence (Lorcin, 2002).

Besides weaponizing the Roman past, the French applied a 'divide and rule' policy in Algeria, specifically the French colonial authorities and scientists increasingly invested in sowing the seeds of discord between the Arabs and Berbers. French cultural imperialism placed a greater emphasis on the separation of the Berbers (Kabyle) from the Arabs, pitting them against one another (Ageron, 1991; Lorcin 2002). In this direction, the French promoted so-called the 'Kabyle myth' or the Arab-Berber dichotomy, which was central to the colonial discourse. Unlike Arabs, the Berbers of Algeria were considered less Islamized and more assimilable as they were believed to be the descendants of the Romans, the Gauls, the Vandals, and other pre-Islamic Christians (Ageron, 1991, p. 72; Lorcin 2002). The French thought that since the Berbers were superficially Muslims, they were enemies of the Arabs and thereby it would be easier to revert them to Christianity (Ageron, 1991). As the latecomers to North Africa, the Arabs were believed not to contribute anything to the development of Algeria, being regarded as unassimilable; by contrast, being considered indigenous to Algeria the Berbers, with their ties to the Germanic tribes, were perceived as part of French and Western civilization (Lorcin 2002). Regarding the Arab and Berber dichotomy, the French physician and anthropologist Dr. Bodichon stated that the Berbers were easier to assimilate into French culture, yet if the Arabas did not want to be civilized, clinging to their Arabic and Islamic identity, we would be forced to deal with them exactly what the Anglo-Saxons did to the Native Americans (Tilmatine, 2016, p. 100).

Like the French in Algeria, the Zionists constructed overlapping myths and narratives about the indigenous people of Palestine and their link to the land. First and foremost, despite being alien to Palestine and residing there as European settler communities, Jewish settlers did not consider themselves to be newcomers or colonizers, rather by referring to the Bible, they regarded themselves as the returning people to their ancestral land and thereby as the rightful owners of Palestine (Pappe, 2006). To legitimize their claim to Palestine, Zionists referred to the theocratic principles of Judaism and the Hebrew Bible where the historic Palestine is regarded as a land promised to Jews by God (Roshwald, 2003). The idea of the promised land and the chosenness of Jews have been used by the Zionists to lay their exclusive claim to Palestine, to unleash terror and violence against the indigenous Palestinians to expel them from their homeland.

Another hegemonic colonial myth engineered by the Zionists was the myth of an empty land. The idea of the emptiness of Palestine was nurtured and propagated by early Zionist leaders such as Israel Zangwill who is credited with inventing the notorious adage "Palestine is a country without a people, and the Jews are a people without a country" (Udelson, 1990, p. 165). Similar views were echoed by other prominent Zionists such as Theodor Herzl, Chaim Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion, and others. At the core of the Zionist and Israeli historical narrative lies the outright denial of history and the very existence of Palestinians as distinct people with their own ethnic and cultural identities (Said, 1980; Shlaim, 2014). When Jews from Eastern Europe embarked on the path of colonization of Palestine in the 1880s-1890s, the indigenous Muslim and Christian population of Palestine constituted an absolute majority (McCarthy, 1990). Despite Palestine being entirely populated by other people, European Jews refused to consider them as a people rather than as part of the wilderness that needs to be removed (Masalha, 1992; Pappe, 2006). Therefore, the Zionists believed that since there is no such thing as Palestine and Palestinian people, there is neither colonization nor oppression. All these myths and narratives have been employed to justify colonization, land theft, massacre, displacement, ethnic cleansing, and genocide of Palestinians (Hixson, 2013). Thus, the outright denial of Palestinian identity and self-determination is a deeply rooted and pervasive narrative in the Zionist ideology that persists today. The denial of Palestinians has become a state-sanctioned national ideology of Israeli society. In addition to that, the Zionists do not limit their claim to historic Palestine as they believe that the territory of the Zionist polity should be expanded (Masalha, 2000; Shlaim, 2014). Revisionist Zionists under the leadership of Vladimir Jabotinsky, and their today's offshoot and heir Likud have always coveted both banks of the Jordan River (Shelef, 2004).

Commonalities and divergences between French and Zionist settler colonialism

Settler colonial studies and comparative settler colonialism focus on settler colonial contexts around the world by ascertaining their similarities, overlaps, as well as differences between them. Scholars of settler colonialism emphasize numerous commonalities diverse settler colonial societies share, as well as distinctions each settler context possesses (Sanders, 2015; Veracini, 2006, 2011, 2022; Wolfe, 1999, 2006, 2008). The first feature that all settler

colonies share is their subscription to the logic of elimination, or in other words, the genocide of the indigenous populations by the colonizer to build a settler society (Veracini, 2006; 2011; Wolfe, 1999, 2006, 2008). Wolfe considers the land to be the most valuable commodity in settler colonialism and as it is an important precondition for social organization and building a settler society, the elimination of an indigenous population is inevitable (Wolfe, 2006, 1999, p. 2). While the Zionists have been consistent and more successful in their aspirations to eliminate Palestinians from their homeland, the French despite their efforts to marginalize and racially segregate the indigenous people of Algeria, were never able to remove Algerians from the land.

Moreover, both French and Jewish Zionist colonizers did not consider their colonial endeavors as such. While the former considered their colonial venture restoring the glorious Roman or Latin past, the latter presented its settler colonial project as the rightful return of Jews to their ‘promised land’ and depicted it as an anticolonial decolonizing force (Veracini, 2022). Yet both settler colonial systems were sustained and underpinned by coercive measures, racial oppression, displacement, and the demographic transformation of the territory. Both France and the Zionists portrayed their colonial conquest and subjugation of Algeria and Palestine as “*la mission civilisatrice*” that is a civilizing mission that was intertwined with European liberalism and progressive ideas. Yet liberal association between French colonizers and Indigenous colonized came to an end in 1870 with the advent of the Third Republic in France whose leaders pressed for the legal assimilation of Algeria, and at the same time, legalizing racial inequalities between French settlers and indigenous people, racial oppression, and discrimination (Barclay et al., 2018).

In French Algeria, settlers conceptualized their colonial practices as an attempt of a highly developed European body to make a barren land bloom (Barclay et al., 2018, p. 117); whereas the Zionists produced a myth of barrenness of Palestine and its lack of population (land without people for the people without land), even if the indigenous population constituted the absolute majority (Pappe, 2006). Yet large-scale violence ensured the survival, sustainability, existence, and domination of a settler entity, which was based on political and social inequalities between settlers and colonized; political and racial inequality was the cornerstone of the settler body (Barclay et al., 2018).

French and Zionist settler colonialisms have openly displayed racism, ethnocentrism, racial

prejudices, stigmatizing, and ‘Othering’ the indigenous populations due to power dynamics being in favor of settlers. At the same time, any sign of the indigenous social and political advancement and movement instilled fear and anxiety in settlers because it could lead to granting greater political and civil rights to the indigenous. Indigenous political mobilization and political demands may result in citizenship for the indigenous, which would bring about the demise of settler domination (Veracini, 2022). For instance, even the enfranchisement of the Algerian Jews by France in 1870 encountered fierce resistance from European settlers in Algeria who feared that Jewish enfranchisement would induce Arab-Berber enfranchisement and citizenship (Barclay et al., 2018). Therefore, settler communities resisted any change in favor of the indigenous population and strongly advocated racial segregation and discrimination against the indigenous. French and European settlers rejected any idea of racial and political equality between them and the indigenous population and demanded privileges for themselves and separate laws and rules for settlers and the indigenous. According to the 1889 legislation of the Third Republic, the Frenchmen, and most Europeans in Algeria regardless of their origin were granted the rights of French citizens, while the indigenous majority was ruled by a separate legal code. Racial hatred and hostility towards the indigenous among European settlers in Algeria were deeply rooted and embedded in their mentality and culture. The racial exclusion of the indigenous was legally and morally justified both by the French state and settlers in Algeria (Barclay et al., 2018). Settlers in French Algeria implicitly and explicitly exhibited a profound ambivalence which was manifested in their need for French protection and at the same time their claim to colonial autonomy (Barclay et al., 2018, p. 118). Like the French settlers in Algeria, Jewish Zionist settlers in Palestine purposefully invented deeply prejudiced cultural attitudes towards Palestinians that mirrored deficient Western colonial views about the Arabs and Islam (Said, 1980, p. xiv), considering Palestinians a primitive, backward, and barbaric people (Pappe, 2006).

In addition to numerous commonalities and features between French and Zionist settler colonialisms, there are certain conspicuous dimensions where they diverge. Although the Zionist movement was backed by European Jewry and Western powers, Jewish colonization of Palestine was carried out without the coercive economic and political power of a metropole. In this sense, Jewish settlers did not invade Palestine in a

classical colonial-imperial sense with backing from a mother country. Initially, Jewish colonization of Palestine acquired primarily a bottom-up character in which Jews in Eastern Europe undertook settler colonization in the 1880s with the assistance of wealthy Jews and organizations like the Jewish Colonization Association. Yet the Zionist endeavor has always received strong backing and sponsorship from Western powers such as Britain, the US, and other European nations. That means a great power does not necessarily need to engage itself in settler colonialism to establish its domination over a land, but to establish its geopolitical rule over the region such a power needs to invest in the colonial venture of another settler colonial entity (Veracini, 2022).

French settlers in Algeria relied on an indigenous workforce. In a similar vein, the early Zionist leaders were likewise attracted to French settler colonialism in Algeria by adopting the Algerian model of creating a settler peasant society with its reliance upon low-wage indigenous workers. Yet soon the idea of exploiting of indigenous workforce was rejected because the French model in Algeria could not be transferred to Palestine to sustain a minority Jewish settler body (Veracini, 2022). The main rationale for the rejection of indigenous labor was that Jewish zealous settlers in Palestine warned that the reliance on indigenous labor would lead to the end of Jewish settler colonialism in Palestine (Masalha, 1992). Therefore, early Jewish settlers increasingly focused and invested in the creation of a secluded and self-sustaining Jewish economy and settler community (the Yishuv) in Palestine.

While from its inception the colonization of Algeria was initiated and undertaken by the French state, in Palestine Jewish Zionist colonization started as a private and non-state venture without much support from a state but rather by individual Jewish entrepreneurs and groups. While the Jewish Zionist settler colony in Palestine was strongly backed by British imperialism, France ruled Algeria with its settler population. To keep Algeria within its sphere of influence, France was willing to grant greater equality and civil rights to Algerian Muslims, at the expense of the privileged settlers who had long resisted and rejected equality, citizenship, and civil rights for the indigenous population. Yet by April 1961, Charles de Gaulle had concluded that keeping Algeria under French control was no longer in the national interests of France (Barclay et al., 2018, p. 123).

Among the French there was an ambivalence regarding the natives of Algeria, yet among Zionists, no ambiguity was observed as Zionist

leaders, regardless of their political stance, were always in favor of the expulsion of Palestinians to make room for Jewish settlers (Pappe, 2006; Masalha, 1992, 2000). While France increasingly focused on the cultural assimilation of Algerian Muslims and integrating them into the French nation (for that Muslims were required to renounce their Islamic identity), Zionists did not contemplate much cultural assimilation of Muslims and Christians of Palestine. While in both settler colonial contexts, settlers constituted an insignificant minority, after WWII within a short time Zionists managed to change a demographic balance in their favor by unleashing unspeakable terror and violence against Palestinians, which led to the mass expulsion of the indigenous population, and foundation of a settler state (Pappe, 2006; Masalha, 1992). In Algeria French and European settlers always constituted a small minority and they could not gain a majority, while with time progressed, indigenous Algerians became an absolute majority (Ageron, 1991; Stora, 2001), which promoted the demise of French settler society in this country.

Conclusion

Thus, through the review of relevant literature and an analysis of historical data, we have identified and analyzed the overlaps and differences between French settler colonialism in Algeria and Jewish Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine. To identify the similarities and differences between these settler colonialisms, we have deployed a thematic approach to ascertain the key recurrent patterns, ideas, and topics in the data. Accordingly, we have identified three key themes for our study, namely our discussion is centered around the issues of how French and Zionist settler colonialisms were initiated and implemented, what founding myths underpinned them and what common features they shared, as well as where and how they diverged and stood apart from one another. We have analyzed the emerging themes drawing upon relevant literature and premised on the analytical framework of comparative settler colonialism. There are numerous conspicuous overlaps and commonalities between French and Jewish Zionist settler colonialisms, and at the same time, there are some diverging points between them. A common feature that these settler societies have shared is their constant and consistent quest for the elimination of native populations. The logic of elimination has informed and guided settler societies in their efforts to displace, massacre, or assimilate the indigenous peoples. In this case, Jewish

Zionist settler colonialism has indeed subscribed to the logic of elimination to expel Palestinians. Yet as opposed to French and other settler colonies, the Zionist settler entity has demonstrated little interest in assimilating and absorbing the indigenous population. Quite the contrary, unlike French and other Western settler colonialisms, Zionist settler colonialism has always aspired to racial self-segregation as well as to outright rejection of any form of coexistence, integration, or assimilation of the indigenous people of Palestine (Sayegh, 1965). In addition to this divergence from French settler colonialism, the Zionist settler society is resisted by the Palestinians whose challenge to the ambitions of the state of Israel is one of the most striking phenomena of the current age (Khalidi, 2020).

French settler colonialism and settler society in Algeria vanished, succumbing to the pressure of the indigenous resistance. After WWII French colonial domination in Algeria was coming to an end, especially with the outbreak of the Algerian revolution in 1954 it took Algerian patriots eight years to decimate and dismantle French colonial rule and settler society in Algeria. Over a million European settlers living at that time in Algeria were forced to leave the country and settle in France. The French settler colony in Algeria could not withstand the indigenous demographic and political pressure. In contrast, the Zionist settler colony in

Palestine not only survived, but also Jewish settlers succeeded in establishing their settler state of Israel. Jewish colonization of Palestine has always been sympathized with and backed by colonial powers and contemporary Western democracies. Despite the pressure from Palestinian resistance and diplomatic pressure from the international community, the Zionist settler entity has shown its resilience and persistence. Despite its colonial, oppressive, and self-destructive character, the Zionist settler entity proclaims itself a democracy and the only democracy in the Middle East. Furthermore, the Zionist settler polity represents itself as an outpost of the Western civilization in the Middle East and associates itself with the West despite its physical location at the heart of the Arab-Muslim world. Besides, the Zionist settler entity is seeking to transform the geopolitical environment in its favor by incorporating the Gaza Strip into Israel and expanding its territory at the expense of the neighboring Arab nations such as Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. Yet this settler entity has not yet done dealing with the Palestinian issue. Therefore, ethnic cleansing and genocide of the Palestinian people are currently underway as the Zionist settler polity is aware that without the complete elimination of the indigenous people both physically and psychologically, it would be impossible to prevail in its attempt to establish itself in Palestine as well the rest of the Middle East.

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Information about authors:

Zhumatay Gabit (corresponding author) – candidate of historical sciences, Narxoz University, Kazakhstan, Almaty, e-mail: gabit.zhumatay@narxoz.kz

Yskak Akmaral – associate professor, doctor of historical sciences, Narxoz University, Kazakhstan, Almaty, e-mail: akmaral.yskak@narxoz.kz

Авторлар туралы мәлімет:

Жұматай Габит Бекенұлы (автор-корреспондент) – Нархоз Университеті, тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, Қазақстан, Алматы қ., e-mail: gabit.zhumatay@narxoz.kz

Ысқақ Ақмарал – Нархоз университеті, доценті, тарих ғылымдарының докторы, Қазақстан, Алматы қ., e-mail: akmaral.yskak@narxoz.kz

Received May 12, 2024
Accepted August 27, 2024