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The "far-reaching plan"

Readers of the Review *Zimunism* (T.S.C. May/June 1977) may recall the passage quoted by L. Fry from a letter written by Louis Marshall (President of the Jewish delegation at the Peace Conference). One may wonder what exact status such a delegation had, as there was at the time no State of Israel, nor were Jews belligerents except as nationals of other countries. Marshall had referred to Zionism as "but an incident of a *far-reaching plan*." (Original emphasis).

Two articles by a Special Correspondent in Palestine, published in *The Times* of March 1 and 2, 1946, throw some light on the manoeuvrings of the period. The Middle East is the world's cross-ways, and the 1946 articles are worth attention as bearing on the current situation there, 31 years later.

Having heard evidence in Washington, London, and Central Europe, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on European Jewry and Palestine are about to reassemble in Cairo before coming on to Palestine. Few questions have been so obscured by propaganda as that of Palestine and the crucial issue of continued Jewish immigration.

Two documents, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Mandate for Palestine of 1922, provide the bases for Zionist political claims. The Balfour Declaration, which is in fact a passage in a letter written by Mr. A.J. Balfour to Lord Rothschild, is so frequently referred to and so often misquoted that it is given in full:-

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

THE MANDATE

This declaration was approved by President Wilson before its publication, and in 1918 the French and Italian Governments publicly endorsed it. It was then embodied in the preamble to the Mandate for Palestine. The pertinent parts of the Mandate are a section of the preamble and articles 2, 6, and 15, which run thus:-

"Whereas recognition has . . . been given to the historical connexion of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country . . ." Article 2. "The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion." Article 6. "The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes." Article 15. ". . . No discrimination of any kind shall

be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion, or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief."

The White Paper of 1939 precluded the realization of Zionist political aspirations. It provided for the establishment within 10 years of an independent Palestine State in the government of which Arabs and Jews should share. Jewish immigration would be at a rate that would bring the Jewish population up to approximately one-third of the total population of the country, and thereafter there would be no further Jewish immigration unless the Arabs of Palestine were prepared to acquiesce in it. To avert the creation of a considerable landless Arab population the High Commissioner was empowered to regulate and prohibit transfers of land to the Jews.

REACTIONS TO WHITE PAPER

The Zionists declare that the White Paper is illegal, since it was not recognized by the permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations; immoral, since it prevents the realization of legitimate Zionist aims; indefensible, as a product of the British pre-war policy of appeasement; and unacceptable, as an instrument of race discrimination and a glaring violation of human rights. The Arabs accept the White Paper. Their first reaction to its publication was unfavourable, but when they realized how objectionable it was to the Zionists they began to be convinced that it must be favourable to themselves. Some extremist Arabs still oppose it, because it confirms the existence of a Jewish National Home, and admits that the Jews are in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. In general, however, the Arabs have accepted the Jewish contention that the White Paper is anti-Zionist and they are reasonably content with its terms.

The Zionists argue that the Balfour Declaration, by demonstrating sympathy with Zionist aspirations, involved the British Government in acceptance of political Zionism. Further, they declare, the Declaration clearly lays down that there shall be a Jewish National Home in Palestine, not in a part of Palestine; and the essentials of a national home, or commonwealth, are sufficient space, control of immigration, self-government, and the right of defence. In support of this interpretation they cite weighty authorities.

President Wilson said, "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." In 1920 Mr. Winston Churchill said: "If, as well may happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

These declarations and many others like them, the Zionists argue, show that the intention was that the whole of Palestine, and not merely a ghetto within Palestine, was meant for the Jews. The Zionists further maintain that the Arab claim that the correspon-

dence between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sherif of Mecca in 1915 forms a just basis for the contention that Palestine should be converted into an Arab State cannot be upheld. The whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from the McMahon pledge. In any case, the Balfour Declaration carries more weight than the McMahon correspondence, because it had behind it the authority of his Majesty's Government and the other principal allies, and not merely of one local representative.

RIVAL CONTENTIONS

The Arabs contend that the McMahon promise that the Arabs should have self-government included Palestine and that the British Government had no right to issue such a denial of Arab rights as the Balfour Declaration. In any case the Declaration says that a National Home for the Jews shall be established *in* Palestine. "In" means "inside"; it does not mean that all Palestine shall be the National Home. As the British Command Paper of 1922 said:-

Unauthorised statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that "Palestine is to become as Jewish as England is English." His Majesty's Government regard any such expectation as impracticable and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated . . . the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the (Balfour) Declaration . . . do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded *in Palestine*.

The Declaration, therefore, has in fact been fulfilled, according to Arab contentions, and the Jews now have their promised home. The Zionists claim that Zionism is no new thing but deeply rooted in the remote past. Although they have been dispersed all over the world they have never forgotten Palestine. Judaism and its ritual are inextricably linked with memories of the past. Jews throughout the world have always looked to Palestine as a spiritual home, and the same sense of longing for the land of Israel has always permeated their secular thought. Nor is the link entirely spiritual. Since the fall of Jerusalem they have continued to live in the land and they regard its restoration to the Jewish people as involving a fundamental principle of justice.

The Arabs reply that they have lived in Palestine for at least 1,300 years, and that Zionist claims based on earlier possession, even if such possession could be proved, are untenable. Actually Palestine has never belonged to one nation and was not for any length of time in Jewish possession. The mountain lands of the Central Range and Gilead were Israel's proper and largest domains. The Jews never won a secure footing in the valleys nor in Moab, and for long periods they were kept out of the Maritime Plain, the Upper Jordan Valley, and Esdraelon. In short, Palestine was wholly Jewish only for two short periods, and they were over 20 centuries ago. The religious connexion of the Jews with Palestine is not denied, but the territory has equally strong religious attachments for Christianity and Islam.

The Zionists argue that without a predominantly Jewish population Palestine cannot be a Jewish Home. The Mandate says that the Administration shall facilitate Jewish immigration and encourage close settlement of the land by Jews; nor shall any person be excluded on the sole ground of his religious belief. Any limitation on Jewish immigration, they say, is therefore illegal. In particular, such arbitrary limitations as those in the White Paper, which appear to aim at fixing the Jewish population at one-third of the total, are neither acceptable nor justifiable to them. The control of immigration must, then, be in Jewish hands. They know that Palestine can maintain a much larger population than at present. Earlier estimates of its capacity (they argue) have proved widely wrong. Proper development of certain areas now barren and unproductive

would permit a great increase in the number of agriculturists. This could be effected by using the waters of the Jordan now running to waste. With the development of irrigation and electric power, Palestine could support several million more without displacing a single Arab, and the Arabs, who already profit from Jewish enterprise, example, and institutions, would share the new benefits. Jewish immigration has undoubtedly been facilitated. In 1919 there were perhaps 50,000 Jews in Palestine; to-day there are at least 600,000 and they are still increasing steadily. They are closely settled on the land. They are not excluded solely on account of their religious belief, but for political and economic reasons. In any case, the Arabs are a majority in the country and are therefore entitled to a voice in the immigration laws. They see no reason why they should be coerced in this respect any more than, say, the Americans, into whose country immigration is severely restricted. If European Jews are allowed unrestricted entry into Palestine, then the present Arab majority will become a minority in its own country and the Arabs will eventually be crowded out which, they say, is the Jews' ultimate desire.

ARAB SCEPTICISM

Claims that the desert areas of Palestine could be reclaimed and developed are discredited by Arab spokesmen, who declare that even if the schemes were feasible they would be so expensive as to be uneconomical. These claims are made to deceive the world into thinking that Palestine is still undeveloped. There are Arabs who profess that development has well nigh reached its limit. Further, Palestinian industry was artificially stimulated by the war, and local products will never be able to compete with those of the great industrial countries unless prohibitive tariffs are imposed, to the detriment not only of the Arabs but also of the Jewish agriculturists.

The Zionists deplore the selfishness of the Arabs in claiming Palestine as an exclusively Arab property when it is the "only refuge" for the Jewish remnant left after the slaughter of millions during the last few years. What is this little corner of huge Arabia to the Arabs? To the Jews it means life. In Palestine there is room for them among their fellows, a warm welcome, and organizations to integrate them into the life of the country and give them fresh hope. Every day that Palestine remains closed to the homeless Jews of Europe thousands more must die.

The Arabs agree that the homeless Jews of Europe must be succoured without delay, but, they say, the Zionists think disingenuously of political advantage when they claim that all their refugees must come to Palestine and nowhere else. The essential need is to save Jews, which makes Zionist hostility to schemes to send refugees to other countries inexplicable except on political grounds. If the Zionists and their sympathizers were sincere they would exert equal pressure for the opening of the gates of the British Empire, the Americas, Russia, and the French Empire, all of which have vast empty spaces. It is certain that many refugees would prefer to go to one of these great wealthy countries rather than to crowded Palestine, with its poor resources and limited opportunities. In short, are not the Zionists using the humanitarian appeal as a political weapon? The fact that millions have been murdered is good reason for rescuing the survivors, but not for sending them to Palestine exclusively.

The Zionists say that Arabs and Jews always got on well together until artificial hostility was created by Axis and Arab League propaganda. People of both races live and work together in many parts of the country, and the Arabs know how greatly the presence of the Jews has improved Arab social conditions, wages, education, and standards generally. The large increase of Arab immigration into Palestine since 1918 proves this. Moderate Jews wish nothing better than to work in full cooperation and amity with their Arab friends and neighbours, whose rights would be fully respected in a Zionist State.

These Zionists speak fair now, the Arabs reply, but it would be different if they were in control and the Arabs bereft of protection. Opposition to Zionism is not the result of propaganda;

it is inspired by fear that the Arabs will lose their country, and Arabs will not exchange their independence for any alleged material benefits, present or future. Do the Jews in fact do any more for the Arabs than is necessitated for propagandist or selfish purposes? Many, if not most, Jewish institutions and businesses forbid the employment of non-Jewish labour. Those who insist on employing Arabs do so in the teeth of strong Jewish reprobation.

LOYALTY TO BRITAIN

The Zionists believe that the British are making a mistake in trusting Arab friendship. The Palestinian Arab leader, the Mufti of Jerusalem, is a war criminal, a friend and supporter of the Axis, with the blood of many Palestinian Arabs on his hands. Egypt is fundamentally anti-foreign and is clamouring for British withdrawal. Rashid Ali and Iraqis revolted in 1941, when the war situation was very black for the British. That same year the Syrians let the Germans into Syria. Arabia contributed little to the war effort compared with the Jews, and the Arab League is showing acute nationalism that must end in xenophobia. Jewry claims to be loyal to Britain, and it is in the British and the general interest to have a strong loyal Jewish Palestine as a base in the Middle East. Without that secure haven the British garrisons and fleet bases in the Eastern Mediterranean will remain on sufferance only, meeting continual friction and pressure for their withdrawal.

The Arabs answer that if they had been hostile to Britain during the war they could have caused serious trouble, especially when France fell and Italians were at the gates of Egypt and the Sudan. The most important fact about the Mufti is that he had to flee. The Iraqi revolt was the engineered coup of a small Nazi-supported group and was quickly and easily suppressed. The Syrians were forced to help the Germans by Vichy French officials. Egypt has been acknowledged to have done all that the United Nations asked of her.

MIXTURE OF RACES

The Palestinian Arabs themselves voluntarily ceased their revolt the moment war broke out and have never resumed it. In short, the Arab world has cooperated valuably with the allies. And is there any proof that a Jewish Palestine would remain "loyal" to Britain? The Palestinian Jews are a mixture of races from all parts of the world, ignorant of the English language and British ideals, having nothing in common with the British and with no reason to be loyal to the Crown. Far from being a sure base, a Jewish Palestine would be an embarrassment, they claim, because of the permanent hostility it would have aroused in the neighbouring Arab countries.

Those are the bare bones of the case. Here in Palestine they are clothed with the passionate longing of the Zionists to provide their kinsmen with a refuge from their sufferings; with their glowing pride in what they have achieved in the land. Here in Palestine are Jewish children who have never known fear, young men and women who have never worn the yellow badge, strong in resolve to work and fight for the realization of their hopes. Equally the issues are animated by the awakening consciousness of the young Arabs, shackled to the past, but looking to the future, believing in their right to contribute a full share to the progress of Palestine, but fearing that the land for which they wish to work may cease to be their own.

The International Conspiracy

In the Review *Zimunism* (T.S.C. May/June 1977) we referred to the 1946 Report of the Canadian Royal Commission. In view of the barrage of 'revelations' concerning the CIA, ASIO, FBI and even the KGB (all designed, no doubt, to equating the USSR with the U.S.A. as a major step towards One World Government), the Summary of Findings of the Commission may be of interest to our readers.

SECTION XII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

I. We report that the following public officials and other persons in positions of trust or otherwise have communicated, directly or indirectly, secret and confidential information, the disclosure of which might be inimical to the safety and interests of Canada, to the agents of a foreign power:—

1. Eric Adams
2. J. Scotland Benning
3. Raymond Boyer
4. H.S. Gerson
5. Israel Halperin
6. David Gordon Lunan
7. Allan Nunn May
8. Edward W. Mazerall
9. Matt. S. Nightingale
10. F.W. Poland
11. David Shugar
12. Durnford P. Smith
13. Kathleen Mary Willsher
14. Emma Woikin

II. We report that we have been unable to identify the following persons named under "cover-names" in the documents and there definitely stated, to have been members of Zabotin's ring:—

- "Galya"
- "Gini"
- "Golia"
- "Green"
- "Surensen"

III. We also report the following facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding such communication:—

1. There exists in Canada a Fifth Column organized and directed by Russian agents in Canada and in Russia.
2. Within the Fifth Column there are several spy rings.
3. We have been able to identify many of the members of one of these rings, namely, that of which Colonel Zabotin was the head in Canada.
4. Membership in Communist organizations or a sympathy towards Communist ideologies was the primary force which caused these agents to agree to do the acts referred to in their individual cases.
5. The persons named in paragraph I were members of Colonel Zabotin's organization.
6. Without documents such as Gouzenko placed before us we cannot identify any non-Russian members of the other rings.
7. There was an organization whose duty it was to procure false Canadian passports and other citizenship documents for the use of agents engaged in Fifth Column activities, in Canada or elsewhere.

8. Zabotin and his assistants were helping to supervise and finance the work of an organization of agents operating in certain European countries. At least one person temporarily in Canada as an employee of the International Labour Office was a member of this organization, namely, Germina (Hermina) Rabinovitch.

9. Members of the staff of the Russian Embassy at Ottawa who were actively engaged in inadmissible espionage activities are named in Section II. 7.

IV. The following persons who may not come within the category of "public officials and other persons in positions of trust or otherwise" were members of Zabotin's organization and took an active part in recruiting agents, acting as contacts and securing and transmitting such secret and confidential information:-

Sam Carr
Fred Rose

V. Many of the persons named in paragraph I hereof were also actively engaged in the organization of "cells" from which agents were recruited, and in addition the following persons were organizers of such cells, or media of communication between espionage agents, or both:-

Agatha Chapman
Freda Linton
S.S. Burman
Henry Harris

VI. The following were active in procuring a false Canadian passport for a Russian agent who was operating in the United States:-

Sam Carr
Henry Harris
John Soboleff, M.D.
W.M. Pappin

VII. The following persons named in the documents did not so far as the evidence discloses take any active part in the subversive activities but would have done so if required:-

Norman Veall
Fred Chubb
Jack Isidor Gottheil

VIII. The names of certain other persons are mentioned in the documents merely because Moscow desired the names of all members of certain government staffs. Outside of those specifically named elsewhere in this Report, there is no necessity for these names to be mentioned.

IX. The names of certain other persons were mentioned in such a context that it was considered advisable to examine them and to investigate their activities. In each case we were satisfied that their conduct has been entirely proper and that while the Russians designed to draw some of them *into the net* in future, having in anticipation of doing so actually given them cover-names, such hopes were in our opinion completely without foundation and the objects of those hopes were unaware that they were being considered. Among these we refer to Col. Jenkins by name, because he has been mentioned by name in the public press.

X. The names of a number of persons, in Government service and otherwise, who were members of secret Communist cells have been disclosed by this Inquiry. These names appear in the volume of evidence. As there is no evidence that these persons were implicated in, or aware of, the espionage networks, we do not consider it necessary to mention these names in this Report.

OBITUARY

We remember with gratitude active friends among those who have died during the past months:

Cecil Keene, T. N. Morris, H. Winckles. R.I.P.

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