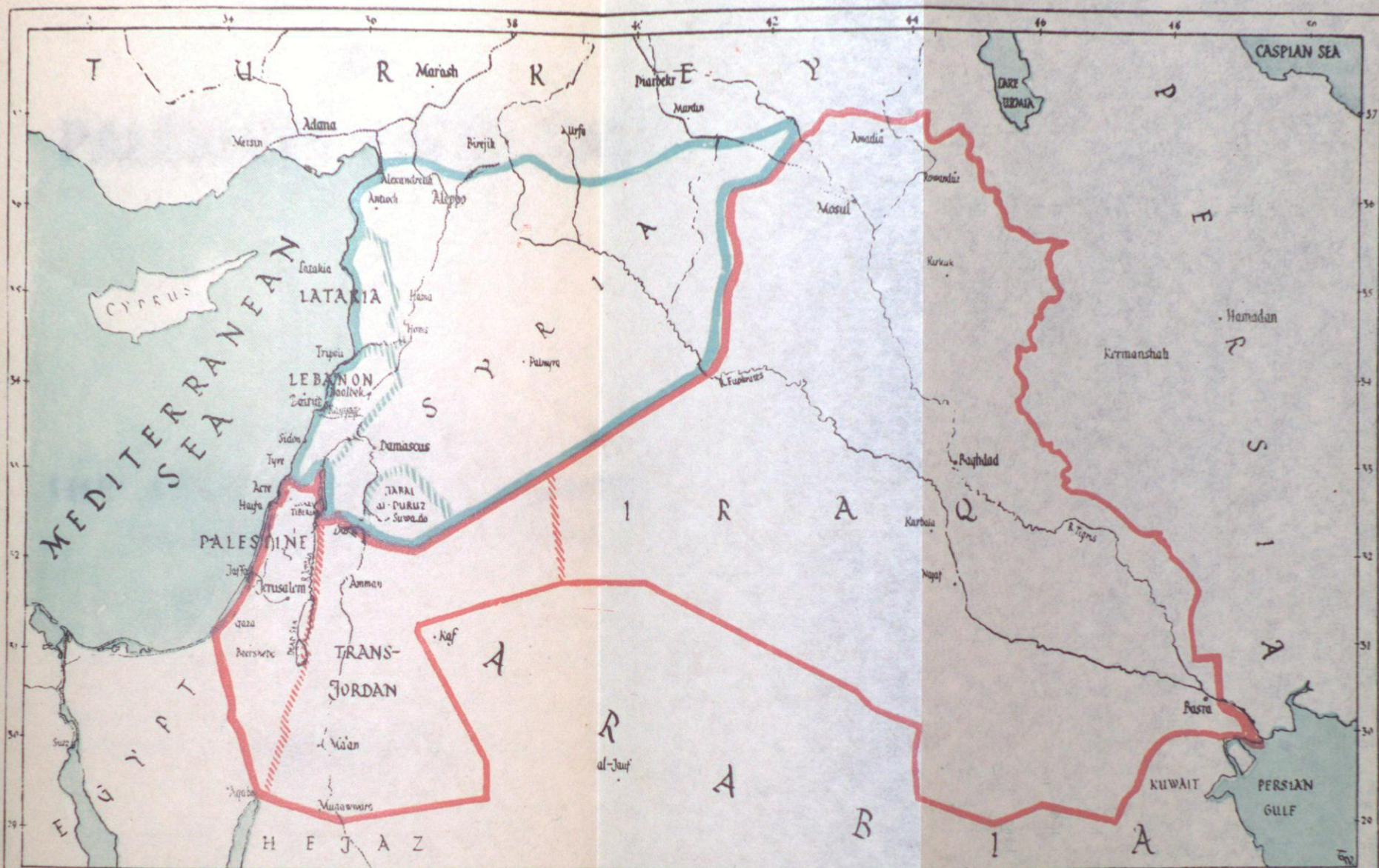


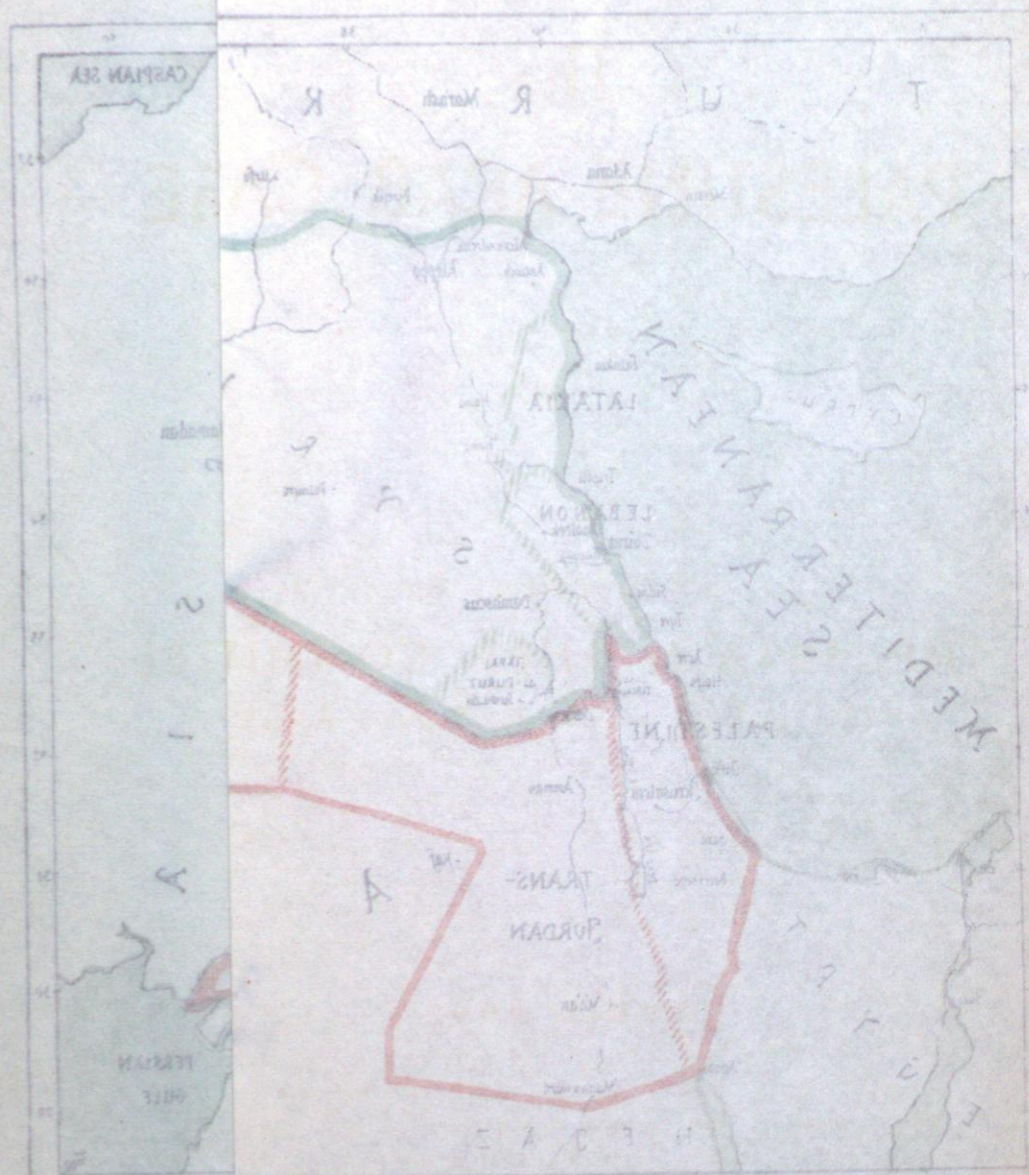
The PALESTINE ARAB CASE

**A STATEMENT BY
THE ARAB HIGHER COMMITTEE**
(The body representing the Palestine Arabs)

APRIL 1947



THE BRITISH ■ AND FRENCH ■ MANDATES
IN SYRIA-PALESTINE AND IRAQ



THE BRITISH MANDATE
IN SYRIA AND TRANSJORDAN

The PALESTINE ARAB CASE

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The Palestine case is a simple one, but has been rendered inextricably and artificially complicated to gratify imperialistic ambitions. Its glaring and self-evident justice has been maliciously distorted by deliberate misrepresentations, fantastic allegations and false propaganda.

1.—PALESTINE IS AN ARAB COUNTRY.

Palestine has been an Arab country for the last fourteen centuries. It has been occupied repeatedly before and after the Islamic Conquest by the Arabs, thus strengthening its Arab character, which is still evident in the Arab names of districts, tribes, clans and families to be found all over the country.

As can be seen from the map, Palestine is moreover practically surrounded by Arab countries. At the time of the Allied Occupation (1917-1918) the number of its Jewish inhabitants hardly exceeded 50,000, or about 7 per cent of the total population, while the remaining 93% of the population were one hundred per cent Arabs (Moslems and Christians alike).

2.—THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Palestine joined the Arab National Movement since its inception at the beginning of the 20th Century, and took an active part therein after the declaration of the Turkish Constitution. This national movement aimed at safeguarding Arab national integrity in the Ottoman Empire and at the realization

of Arab independence. This they did notwithstanding the fact that they, in common with the other Arabs in the Ottoman Empire, took actual part in the administration of the Empire and its development. They had occupied high military and civil positions, in the capital of the Empire, as well as in its various districts, and had Arab representatives in the Parliament and Cabinet at Constantinople. Nevertheless they desired to become independent and free.

3.—PALESTINE A PART OF SYRIA.

Neither at that juncture nor before was Palestine a unit in itself. Part of it belonged administratively to the Vilayet of Beirut (Beirut is now the capital of the Lebanon) and part was known as the Jerusalem District. In those days the name "Palestine" was never mentioned, nor was the country ever known by it. It was considered as a part of Syria from which, in fact, it was separated by no natural barriers whatever. The Syrians, the Lebanese and the Palestinians are all united by practically indissoluble commercial, agricultural and industrial relations, not to mention the equally close ties of language, interests, customs, traditions, religion and blood that bound them together.

4.—GREAT BRITAIN'S PLEDGE.

At the time of the correspondence exchanged between King Hussein of Hedjaz (then the Sherif of Mecca) and Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, in 1915, which contained the proposals and secret instructions issued to Arab underground societies and parties, Palestine Arabs played a conspicuous rôle in Arab activities. Palestine was included in the boundaries of the Arab countries defined by

Sherif Hussein and accepted by Great Britain, which pledged itself to recognize the unity and independence of those Arab countries.

In his letter dated July 14, 1915, to Sir Henry McMahon, then the British High Commissioner for Egypt, Sherif Hussein demanded that Great Britain should recognize the independence of the Arab countries which are bounded as follows :-

"On the north, by the line Mersina-Adana to parallel 37° N. and thence along the line Birejik-Urfa-Mardin-Midiat-Jazirat (ibn 'Umar)—Amadia to the Persian frontier; on the east, by the Persian frontier down to the Persian Gulf; on the south, by the Indian Ocean (with the exclusion of Aden whose status will remain as at present); on the west, by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea back to Mersina."

In his letter dated October 24, 1915, to Sherif Hussein, Sir Henry McMahon wrote :-

"The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta, and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo, cannot be said to be purely Arab, and must on that account be excepted from the proposed delimitation.

"Subject to that modification, and without prejudice to the treaties concluded between us and certain Arab Chiefs, we accept that delimitation.

"As for the regions lying within the proposed frontiers, in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her Ally France, I am authorized to give you the following pledges on behalf of the Government of Great Britain, and to reply as follows to your note :-

"That, subject to the modifications stated above, Great Britain, is prepared to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sherif of Mecca."

The British Government tried of late to confuse the issue by contending that Palestine was not included within the delimitations above mentioned. It alleged that the exclusion of the regions lying to the west of Damascus, Hama, Homs and Aleppo covered Palestine as well. But this is not true. The fact is that the Lebanon lies to the West of that line and has been excluded because of certain French claims as clearly indicated in the Sherif-McMahon correspondence. Great Britain also alleged that the Villayet of Damascus comprised Transjordan and that Palestine lay to the West thereof, whereas there was then no Villayet called the villayet of Damascus but it was called the villayet of Syria, and had that "Villayet of Syria" been meant, there would have been no mention made of Homs and Hama, which formed part of the Villayet of Syria.

Disagreement over this exclusion issue was in 1939 submitted to a formal judicial Committee in London under the presidency of the Lord Chancellor who, according to the report drawn up by the Committee itself, could not help making the following statement :-

"The Lord Chancellor was impressed by some of the proofs advanced in connection with the phrase relating to the exclusion of the regions lying to the West of the Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo districts in Syria, and considers that the Arab viewpoint in so far as concerns this matter carry stronger weight than what at first sight appeared."

In another part of the same report the following statement appears concerning the right of the British Government to issue the Balfour Declaration :

"It seems clear to the Committee from these statements that His Britannic Majesty's Government was not free to act in Palestine without due regard to the wishes and interests of the inhabitants of the country, and that these statements should be carefully considered in any attempt to assess the responsibility

devolving on His Britannic Majesty's Government towards those inhabitants as a result of any explanation of this correspondence."

5.—PALESTINE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIED VICTORY IN WORLD WAR I.

When the Arabs, under King Hussein of the Hedjaz joined the Allied Armies in World War I against the Ottoman Empire and its satellites, Palestine youth—officers and men—formed a considerable proportion of the Arab forces. This continued throughout the war in response to King Hussein's leaflets dropped over Palestine. These leaflets were addressed to the Arab officers and men in Palestine. One of these leaflets was submitted to the Shaw Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry which visited Palestine in 1929. It was an open call "to join the King's Army who were fighting for the re-establishment of the Arab kingdom as of old."

Evidence was given before the said Commission to the effect that many Arab officers and men in Palestine (and from the inhabitants of Palestine itself) responded to that and similar calls, a large number of whom deserted the Turkish Army and fought in the ranks of the Allies. Indeed most of the regular men in the Arab Army were Palestinians.

In 1917, a deputation sent by Emir Faisal, son of Sherif Hussein (later King Faisal I of Iraq) who was then the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Arab Army Corps, arrived in Palestine. It was headed by Sherif Hamza, a cousin of Emir Faisal. Its mission was to call for volunteers. Many young Palestinian Arab officers and men responded to this call, as clearly indicated in the report of the 1920 British Military Commission of Inquiry which was formed to investigate the causes of the 1920 disturbances in Jerusalem. Amongst other things,

the said report contained a vivid description of the impression made on the inhabitants of the country as a result of the agreement between Sherif Hussein and the British Government.

"The general result of this agreement," said the report, "was a complete change in the attitude of the inhabitants, whose feelings of sympathy for the Turks has all of a sudden been changed into one of enthusiastic welcome for the British occupation."

"This has no doubt been considerably helped by the British propaganda, with all the means then at the disposal of the War Ministry. In fact in June 1918 recruitment for the Allied Sherif Army was in full swing in Palestine. Those recruited were under the impression that they were fighting for the National Cause and the liberation of their father land, while the evidence now before us shows that the real impression left in the minds of the Arabs as a whole was that the British Government would undertake the formation of an independent Arab State comprising Palestine."

Again when King Faisal entered Syria, a large number of Palestinians, military and civil, helped in the consolidation of the Arab Government formed in the name of the Allies during the peace negotiations.

Palestine was also officially represented in the General Syrian Congress, which was converted in 1920 into a Constituent Assembly, as well as in the Syrian Cabinet formed immediately after the proclamation of Emir Faisal as King of Syria in the same year. All this goes to show that no doubts lingered in the minds of Palestinian Arabs and the other Arabs that all their efforts and struggle will be crowned with success and that all their natural aspirations for the unity and independence of their country will be realized in a short time.

6.—BRITAIN'S FIRST SECRET BETRAYAL.

Britain's first secret betrayal to the Arabs occurred in March 1917 when, with the connivance of France and Russia it agreed to the division of Arab countries, into spheres of influence. The Syrian coastal regions were allotted to France, while parts of Iraq and the Palestinian coastal zone were to be under British influence. If an Arab State were ever to come into existence, it would be only in the interior of the country, on condition that parts thereof would likewise come under British influence, while others would fall under that of France. As to Palestine, it was decided that it should come together with the Holy Places, under a special administration, subject to an agreement between all three powers—Russia, Britain and France—which should likewise define the British spheres of influence in such an administration. This was followed by another betrayal when Britain secretly agreed with France on the division of Syria and Iraq into spheres of influence and exploitation, under the Sykes-Picot Agreement concluded in 1916. As is now well known this agreement provides for the establishment of an international regime in Palestine, the form of which was to be defined after consultation with Russia and agreement with the other Allied Powers and the representatives of the Sherif of Mecca, to the exclusion of Haifa and Acre, which were assigned for British Imperialistic designs.

7.—BRITISH AMBITIONS AND THE BALFOUR

DECLARATION.

The realization by Britain that her occupation of Palestine was imminent aroused British imperialistic ambitions for the exclusive domination of the whole regime. To attain this aim Britain sought the assistance of a group of Zionists obsessed with fantastic ideas about Jewish Nationalism, the establishment

in Palestine of a Jewish National Home and the ultimate conversion of the country into a Jewish State.

Contact with this group of Zionists resulted in a third betrayal of the Arabs—the famous Balfour Declaration, which took the form of a letter addressed by Mr. Balfour then the Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rotschild, under date of November 2, 1917. The declaration read :-

"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."

Although the text of the declaration denotes that it is nothing but a wish and an encouragement, the ugliness of the betrayal it constitutes becomes evident when it is considered that Britain does not only deny therein that Palestine is an Arab country and that it is included in the pledge given to Sherif Hussein, but also considers the Jews as the original inhabitants of the country when it refers to the Arabs as a non-Jewish community. Not to mention the illegality of the declaration itself, because Palestine has never been a British possession for Britain to have a free hand therein or dispose of it, while the addressee—Lord Rotschild—had no international standing whatsoever.

In so far as concerns the inhabitants of Palestine, however, the declaration contains a reservation of a nature to render it meaningless, unless it had been arranged beforehand to discard it. For the intention itself to establish a Jewish national home in the country cannot but be prejudicial to its original inhabitants, particularly when it is followed by opening the

doors wide to Jewish immigration and facilitating the acquisition of land and the colonization of the country to help the Jews carry out the scheme, resorting to force and compulsory measures for its accomplishment.

8.—MOTIVES BEHIND THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

As already mentioned, Britain's aim in issuing the Balfour Declaration was to win over Jewish support for the realization of its imperialistic ambitions in international spheres. The realization of such ambitions was incompatible with the agreements concluded with her Allies and her pledges given to the Arabs. Therefore Britain resorted to the Jews and Zionism and found in them the means and the strongest supporters for the realization of its imperialist policy, with utter disregard to the ignominious treachery, violation of pledges and other shameful contradictions as such a course involved. Great Britain was also unmindful of the sense of guilt and injustice implied in the Balfour Declaration and its imperialist policy, which have been the cause of countless calamities and privations brought upon the heads of Palestinian Arabs in particular, and affecting the whole country in general. In fact this policy converted Palestine into a centre of base intrigues, plots and disturbances, the disastrous effects of which extended far and wide to other countries, without any plausible justification or any logical reasons to support it.

9.—JEWISH ALLEGATIONS.

The Zionists feed their imagination for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine on the national and political status which the Jews are said to have enjoyed in Palestine two thousand and five hundred years ago. They see in Palestine a Jewish home to which they are entitled to return and possess,

a home where they could regain their lost national and political prestige. Here they close their eyes and endeavour to deny many facts that completely destroy their theory.

Judaism no longer possesses the characteristics of a nation or a race. It is nothing but a mere creed. There is to-day English, American, French, German and Russian Jews, just as there is English, American, French and Russian Catholics, Orthodox, Protestants and Angelican Christians. The claim that they are the descendants of Israel is a false claim after the dispersion, 2,000 years ago, when they were scattered to all four corners of the earth, intermingling and inter-marrying with all kinds of nations and races.

No ties of language or common interest bind them as is the case with other nations. In fact Hebrew continues to be the language of their religious books only. It is actually a foreign language to the great majority of the Jews. All that is now being done is merely an attempt to revive that language industrially and politically, a revival which is in no way prompted by any national or racial motives.

Moreover, the case of the Jews in Palestine is in reality that of a conglomeration of peoples of different races, nationalities, culture, language and social tendencies, recruited haphazardly and completely lacking the harmony that usually exists among the people of one nation. Indeed, large numbers of them would be only too glad to return to where they came from given the means and a guarantee against the Jewish Agency's terroristic intimidatory methods. This fact is known to many of those who had closely examined the situation, as made clear before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission of 1946.

Furthermore, the early Jews are not the original inhabitants of Palestine. They were mere intruders who occupied only a part of the country and then only for a short time, which was

spent in intrigues, plots and wars with the original inhabitants, who continued to live in the country in large numbers retaining their language, customs and religion. Not only that, but they have to a large extent influenced the Jews politically, socially and religiously during the various phases of their stay in the country, as recorded by the Jews in their own history.

The Jews were driven from Palestine leaving behind them no traces worthy of mention either from the religious point of view or that of civilization. On the other hand the Arabs who had been pouring into Palestine throughout the centuries, lived in Palestine and intermingled with its original inhabitants.

The historic Arab Conquest at the beginning of the 7th Century followed, consolidated Arab rule over the country. This was in turn followed by successive Arab migrations, which resulted in the fusion and ultimate absorption of the original inhabitants, thus emphasizing the Arab impress on the whole of the country.

And it was not the Arabs who drove away the Jews from Palestine. The Arabs had wrested the country from the Byzantines, who recognized the Arab conquest by virtue of the treaties subsequently concluded and the close political and commercial relations established with the Arab Califs.

In fact, with the exception of insignificant numbers scattered in places outside Jerusalem (the surrender of which by the Christian Patriarch to the second Arab Calif Omar was made conditional on the non-admission of Jews into the holy city), the Jews practically had no status whatsoever at the time of the Arab Conquest.

This continued to be the case throughout the period of Arab Rule, lasting for about fourteen centuries, as evidenced by history, which records the existence of no more than a few thousand Jews, who had been absorbed by the Arabs and lived in the country under the good will and protection of the Arabs.

It is thus clearly established that the connection of the Jews as a nation with Palestine has been completely severed since these long centuries and even before the Arab Conquest. This at the same time definitely proves the flimsiness and absurdity of the Jewish claim to Palestine as a national home and their alleged rights to return and take possession of the country, not to mention the fact that such a claim could never be justified on any logical grounds generally, even if the connections that united them with a country they had long left had been closer and stronger, for that would mean the complete collapse of the international social regime in view of present and future developments and for various other equally important reasons.

At all events, the case for Palestine as an Arab country is by far stronger, more authentic and firmly established than that of any other country the world over. The case of the right of any people to return to a country which they pretend to have once inhabited is illogical and absurd. Even in this assumption the claim of the Jews has no foundation, not to mention the authenticity of what had already been stated that Judaism to-day is devoid of all the characteristics of a nation, people or race and that it is no more than a mere religious creed the followers of which are stamped by the same national, political, social and lingual characteristics of the country in which they live.

10.—THE JEWISH CLAIM THAT PALESTINE IS DESOLATE.

It is a well known fact that the hatred and rancour felt for the Jews and the persecutions they suffered wherever they happened to be in the various parts of the world, were the prime motives that prompted the Zionists to put forward their fantastic claim to Palestine as a national home for the Jews (despite the

incompatibility of such a claim with the real facts), and urged them to exert every effort in their endeavours to attain their aim—the revival of what they pretend to be the Jewish status in Palestine,—closing their eyes to realities. Chief amongst these realities is the fact that Palestine is not as they have been shamelessly trying to deceive many people in England, the United States and various other countries since the first years that followed, and even before the Allied occupation, that Palestine was sort of a desolate, barren and isolated country except for a few nomad tribes, and a number of miserable hamlets and villages inhabited by equally miserable uncivilized people.

In reality Palestine is neither a desolate nor a backward country. On the contrary, it is contributing in no small measure in conjunction with the other Arab countries to the strengthening of civilization and world order. In the first place, Palestine as a matter of fact is practically overcrowded with population, so much that in this respect it proportionately exceeds by far many other countries in Asia, Australia, Africa and the United States, even in Europe. The proportion of the density of population to the square mile was in 1921 seventy-five (75), as indicated in the report drawn up by the British Haycraft (1) Commission formed to investigate into the causes of the Jaffa disturbances that took place in May of that year (1921). This proportion has now increased to 179 (if the Beer-sheba Desert is included), and to 336 if it is excluded, as stated in the Anglo-American Commission of inquiry report based on official statistics.

Secondly, Palestine is in close connection with the other Arab countries and peoples, whose total population exceeds seventy millions as well as with all other Islamic nations who number more than 300,000,000.

(1) The area of Palestine is estimated at about 10,000 square miles. Its population at the beginning of the occupation in 1918 was estimated at 750,000.

Thirdly, Palestine in its civilization and its cultural, social, industrial and agricultural standing is on the same level with the other Near and Middle East countries, which now enjoy complete independence and occupy their place in the concert of independent and civilized nations. In this latter respect, it stands even at a higher level than some of these countries.

The foregoing clearly demonstrates that the removal of Jews from centres where they had earned the hatred and aroused the ire of the population to Palestine in no way solves their problem, particularly as the aim they are driving at is bound to stir up all sorts of disputes and troubles both in the Near and Middle East—troubles that are bound to create a feeling of anger and hatred among the population of even a graver and grimmer nature than that felt towards them in the countries in which they now live. In fact, this feeling has already begun to manifest itself and is on the increase as is evident to all those who are closely following the situation. This is in addition to the flagrant aggression on a country which was in no way responsible for what had befallen the Jews—a country which has its own people and which is bound by the closest ties of culture and blood relationship with both the Arab and Islamic Worlds. It is therefore unimaginable that this people would leave their fatherland a dainty morsel to the Jews, particularly as they had fought for it for two long centuries in the historic expeditions known by the name of the "Crusades" some ten centuries ago, and did not lay down arms until they had driven away the invaders and liberated the land, preserving for it its Arab character at the cost of great sacrifice which they suffered patiently and with confidence.

11.—BRITAIN HEEDLESS.

The British Government heeded none of these facts, nor cared for the disastrous consequences involved in the adoption

of such a policy. It had one and only aim—the realization of its unlimited imperialistic ambitions. Indeed it saw in this fantastic scheme, backed as it is by the Jews, so powerful in money and so influential in political circles, a sure guarantee for the achievement of her aims, and did not hesitate for a moment to stab the Arabs in the back once more.

12.—PUBLICATION OF SECRET DOCUMENTS.

The publication in 1918 of the documents relating to the secret treaties concluded between the Allies, referred to above, and the news of the Balfour Declaration, reached the Sherif Hussein at a time when the war had not yet been ended, and Syria and Palestine had not been completely occupied. The news gave rise to such a great anxiety among the Arabs that almost undermined their whole attitude towards the Allies. In fact, they almost embarked on negotiations with the Turks for the conclusion of a separate peace. The Sherif Hussein who had resented both the Balfour Declaration and the conclusion of secret agreements on the part of the Allies, strongly protested to the British Government and demanded explanation. The British Government hastened to reassure him in a telegram despatched through the British Foreign Office, under date of 8th Feb. 1918, that all he had heard was the result of Turkish intrigues aiming at sowing the seeds of discord between him and the Allies, and renewed the British pledge for the establishment of the Arab independent Kingdom already agreed upon. The British Government even sent a special emissary to confirm the purport of that telegram (Mr. Hogarth). These British efforts and confirmation of pledges helped remove Arab anxiety.

13.—WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS.

As is well known, President Wilson's fourteen points,

accepted and published by the Allies, and on the basis of which Germany and its satellites surrendered, decreed the nullity of all secret agreements entered into before the conclusion of peace, the rejection of all ideas of occupation and conquest, and provided for the right of self-determination to all weaker nations. These principles also had a good impression on the Arabs, and they believed that Great Britain and the Allies will uphold those principles.

14.—ANGLO-FRENCH DECLARATION ON THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

On November 8, 1918, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces issued the following Official Communique which was published throughout Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine immediately after the withdrawal of the Turks and the entry of the Allied Armies, including those of Emir Faisal, into these countries :-

"The goal envisaged by France and Great Britain in prosecuting in the East the war set in train by German ambition is the complete and final liberation of the peoples who have for so long been oppressed by the Turks, and the setting up of national governments and administrations that shall derive their authority from the free exercise of the initiative and choice of the indigenous populations.

"In pursuit of those intentions, France and Great Britain agree to further and assist in the setting up of indigenous governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, which have already been liberated by the Allies, as well as in those territories which they are endeavouring to liberate, and to recognize them as soon as they are actually set up.

"Far from wishing to impose this or that system upon the populations of those regions, their (i.e., France's and Great Britain's) only concern is to offer such support

and efficacious help as will ensure the smooth working of the governments and administrations which those populations will have elected of their own free will to have; to secure impartial and equal justice for all; to facilitate the economic development of the country by promoting and encouraging local initiative; to foster the spread of education; and to put an end to the dissensions which Turkish policy has for so long exploited.

"Such is the task which the two Allied Powers wish to undertake in the liberated territories."

All this had the effect of tranquilizing the Arabs and of setting at ease whatever doubts they might have entertained about Britain's good faith.

15.—THE LEAGUE COVENANT AND PALESTINE.

Article XXII of the League of Nations Covenant, referring to those colonies and territories which have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, says :-

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

"The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

Despite the divergence between these provisions and those of the agreement concluded between Britain and King Hussein over the establishment of an Independent Arab Kingdom, they in effect constitute the first international pledge after the war recognizing the maturity and independence of the Arab countries which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire—and

these included Palestine—and the obligation that the wishes of such countries must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory, whose main obligation would be the rendering of administrative advice and assistance to the mandated people until such time as these countries are able to govern themselves and manage their own affairs.

This pledge has also been a factor in reassuring the Arabs of Palestine and those of other countries regarding their respective future political status.

16.—THE KING-CRANE COMMITTEE.

The Supreme Allied Council decided in the same year to send an international commission of inquiry to investigate the situation on the spot and to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants. For certain reasons the commission was restricted to the American representatives, who were sent out under the name of the King-Crane Commission. This Commission first visited Palestine, then the various parts of Syria and the Lebanon during the months of June and July 1919.

All three countries, as stated in the Commission's report presented to President Wilson and published in 1924, rejected the idea of the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine and that of Jewish immigration into the country, and demanded complete political independence for Syria, including Palestine, invariably referred to in the evidence given before the Committee and the various documents issued at the time as an inseparable part of Syria.

Referring to Zionism, the King-Crane Committee report says:

"It is to be noted also that the feeling against the Zionist programme is not confined to Palestine, but

shared very generally by the people throughout Syria, as our conferences clearly showed.

"More than seventy-two per cent—1,350 in all—of all the petitions in the whole of Syria were directed against the Zionist programme. Only two requests—those for a United Syria and for Independence—had a larger support. This general feeling was duly voiced by the General Syrian Congress in its seventh, eighth and tenth resolutions.

"The Peace Conference should not shut its eyes to the fact that the anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine and Syria is intense and not lightly to be flouted. No British officer consulted by the Commissioners believed that the Zionist programme could be carried out except by force of arms.

"The officers generally thought that a force of not less than 50,000 soldiers would be required even to initiate the programme. That of itself is evidence of a strong sense of the injustice of the Zionist programme, on the part of the non-Jewish populations of Palestine and Syria.

"Decisions requiring armies to carry out are sometimes necessary, but they are surely not gratuitously to be taken in the interests of a serious injustice. For the initial claim, often submitted by the Zionist representatives, that they have a 'right' to Palestine, based on an occupation of 2,000 years ago, can hardly be seriously considered."

The arrival of the King-Crane Commission also contributed in no small measure to allaying the anxiety of the Arabs, and to the strengthening of their hopes for the ultimate realization of their national aspirations, as could be easily imagined.

17.—IMPOSITION OF THE MANDATE.

Unfortunately things took a turn for the worse and far from the path of fair play and justice. Imperialistic ambitions

got the better of those high principles of honesty and integrity so loudly trumpeted by the Allies during the war. Indeed these imperialistic ambitions triumphed over those solemn pledges given to the Arabs, who on the understanding that they will be faithfully and honourably fulfilled joined the war on the side of the Allies.

These pledges, together with the conclusions of the King-Crane Committee, the principle of the right to self-determination and the League of Nations Covenant were all thrown to the wind by Britain, which imposed the Mandate on Palestine, a mandate that was nothing short of the colonization of that Arab country by the force of iron and fire, as well as the policy of the establishment of a Jewish national home and the separation of Palestine from Syria.

18.—ANOMALIES OF THE PALESTINE MANDATE.

Despite the fact that the texts of the Mandates over Syria, Iraq and the Lebanon contained specific provisions limiting the task of the Mandatory to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance until such time as the mandated territories are able to govern themselves, making it obligatory on the Mandatory to help them attain that aim, the text of the Palestine Mandate contained many anomalies. These anomalies have virtually destroyed the fundamental object of the Mandate, both in spirit and in form despite the fact that it is expressly stipulated in the preamble of the Mandate that its main object is to help the inhabitants of the land, by rendering administrative advice and assistance, to govern themselves and manage their own affairs and that the Mandate was assigned in accordance with the provisions of Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations, as can be clearly seen from the following extract :

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed.

for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them....."

Unfortunately, the Allies transgressed the stipulations of Article XXII of the League Covenant referred to above, having virtually ignored the wishes of the populations of these countries in general and of the Arabs of Palestine in particular, in that they have separated that country from Syria and imposed upon it the Jewish national home and the mandate against the wishes of the original inhabitants of the country, who strongly opposed and completely rejected them.

19.—TERMS OF THE MANDATE.

The inclusion of the Balfour Declaration in the Preamble of the Mandate constitutes in itself a second transgression in the faithful application of Article XXII of the League Covenant, in that the great majority of the population of the country were against the Balfour Declaration and the disastrous consequences it was bound to entail. The recognition of the Declaration by the Allied Powers was explained by the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and by the grounds for re-constituting their national home in that country. This explanation involves flimsy and completely unjustifiable claims contradictory to all the principles of Right and Logic and of a nature, as already stated, to lead at any moment to the destruction of the international social structure.

The terms of the Mandate were so couched as to correspond with the purport of the Balfour Declaration and with the biased manner in which the Allies chose to interpret the stipula-

tions of Article XXII of the League Covenant, as can be clearly seen from the text of the following articles of the Mandate :

ARTICLE I.

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

ARTICLE II.

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 the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ARTICLE III.

The Mandatory shall, as far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

ARTICLE IV.

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ARTICLE VI.

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 in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article IV, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ARTICLE VII.

The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take their permanent residence in Palestine.

ARTICLE XI.

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the national resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having agreed, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish Agency mentioned in Article IV to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable

rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

ARTICLE XXII.

English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

20.—MANDATE TERMS EXTREMELY PRO-JEWISH.

The ugly description of the Arabs of Palestine in the Balfour Declaration as a "non-Jewish community" implies that the Jews are the original inhabitants of the country and not the Arabs, which is an equally ugly distortion of facts. The Mandatory Power undertook serious positive obligations in favour of the Jews in respect of the establishment of a Jewish national home, and in giving the Jewish Agency such prominence as to have made of it a government within a government. The terms of the mandate constitute a grave injustice to the Arabs, the legitimate inhabitants and owners of the land. They are a flagrant betrayal of promises and pledges, and disastrously jeopardizing their rights, being fundamentally in contradiction with their wishes. They are a permanent obstacle in the way to independence, and constitute the imposition by force of arms of conditions detrimental to their vital interests, conditions which they categorically reject and will continue strongly to oppose.

Attention should here be drawn to the fact that the term "Palestine Government" mentioned in the articles of the Mandate refers to a so-called government that has since its formation up to the present day been nothing but a British Department of the British Ministry of the Colonies, bearing no resemblance whatsoever to the Governments formed in Syria, the Lebanon

and Iraq following the publication of the terms of the Mandates over these countries.

In fact, the Palestine Arabs have never yet been represented either in the Legislative, Administrative or Executive Councils of the country, a state of affairs which virtually does away with the principle of a Mandatory Power and a Mandated Territory in respect of Palestine, as already stated.

21.—MORE VIOLATIONS.

Despite the fact that the text of the Balfour Declaration, quoted in the preamble of the Mandate, contained a reservation safeguarding the rights and political status of the non-Jewish communities, meaning the Arabs, and despite the fact that some of the articles of the Mandate contained the same reservation, the spirit of these articles was never respected by the British. The mandate was carried out in a most extremely biased manner in which both the British Government and the Zionists co-operated. Chief amongst such machinations was the designation of a Jew—Sir Herbert Samuel—as the Head of the Palestine Administration, and another Jew—Mr Norman Bentwich—as the first Judicial Advisor to the Palestine Government, the overflooding of Government Departments with Jewish officials and the granting of all important concessions, such as the electrification of Palestine and the exploitation of the Dead Sea to Jewish companies. This application of the mandate has fully convinced the Arabs of the violation of the reservations in their favour, and the reluctance of the British Government to carry out any obligations other than those undertaken in the interest of the Jews, notwithstanding the fact that the adoption of such a policy is against the will of the Arabs and to the detriment of their vital interests. In the policy they have so adopted the British have seriously jeopardized Arab legitimate rights and upset the whole of their existence, placing them under grave disadvantages

as evidenced by the fact that their proportion, which was 93 per cent of the population in 1918, has been reduced to 65 per cent in 1947 as a result of the unrestricted immigration of Jews into the country, while the number of the latter has increased by 1200 per cent as compared with their number at the beginning of the Occupation (which was 7% and now is 35%). So also was the case with the lands now in their possession—lands that had been the property of the Arabs, who cultivated and lived on them. The Jews now possess 22 per cent of the total area of the country's arable land, and about 60% of its richest soil, as compared with not more than their 5 per cent of the cultivable area in 1918.

This highly unsatisfactory state of affairs has reduced the original Arab landowners, who have now become landless, to such extremes that their very existence is now in danger. In fact, many Arab villages, mosques and shrines, even cemeteries, have been completely wiped out and exist no more! (1)

Not only that, but the laws enacted by the Government have so protected Jewish industry at the expense of the Arabs, who have been subjected to many privations, that it grew to enormous proportions which have almost killed Arab industry, not only in Palestine, but also in other Arab countries.

The Jews have also succeeded by Government support in controlling trade to such an extent that they have thus become virtual dictators in the land. They have even gone to the extent of competing with the Arab working classes in the various spheres of their activities, depriving them of many of their living resources, while the Government handed over to them, and continues to do so, large areas of State lands that were a source

(1) Such as Affuleh, Shatta, Tal-Adas, Jaloud, Safsafah, Jinjar, Jeldah, Tel-Ashammam, Harthiyeh, Sheikh-Breik, Al-Hreij, Kiskis, Jadra, Kirdaneh, Kafarta, Majdal, Jisr-el-Majameh, Jabbana, Dafria, Khan-Ed-Drair, Madakhel, etc.

of income to the Arabs, who cultivated and used large parts of them as pastures—lands that were meant to be left as a safeguard for their descendants, thus reducing to an irreducible minimum the area of Arab lands and equally restricting their means of livelihood at present and in the future.

Government expenses have at the same time considerably increased as a result of the large numbers of police forces required for the maintenance of law and order, forces many times in excess of those required in proportion to the country's inhabitants and area, as compared with those in neighboring countries or in any other part of the world, as well as by the many posts created to cope with such a situation, expenses which have overburdened the Arab taxpayer for no other reason than the British desire to fulfill the Jewish national home policy, so much so indeed that in many cases the Arab in Palestine actually pays three, and more often than not, four times what the Arab taxpayer pays in other Arab countries, such as Egypt, Iraq, the Lebanon and Syria.

Furthermore, the various government departments were filled with Jewish officials to such an extent that their proportion in government offices exceeded that of the Arabs. In many cases they have actually taken control of the departments and proceeded to put obstacles in the way of Arab interests, to the advantage of the interests of the Jewish community.

The policy adopted by the British Government has further brought about a good deal of harm to the Arabs, for it denied them the right to administer their country and run their own affairs, as well as it denied them the right to independence. Without being independent, it is inconceivable how the Arabs could guarantee real progress and development for their country and people in the economic, cultural, social and political aspects of life.

From the outset the Jews had shown designs against the

Moslem Holy Shrines. Feeling that the authorities were supporting them in all their efforts and endeavours, and knowing that they were lenient in dealing with them, the Jews were encouraged to embark on a program aiming at the control of those holy places. They went to the extent of declaring their intention of transforming the Holy "Mosque el Aqsa" into a Jewish synagogue, thus reconstituting the Temple of Solomon. This attitude on the part of the Jews—which even aroused the surprise of some of the outstanding Britishers, was the direct cause of the 1929 disturbances. Arabs, seeing the injustices that had befallen them and the dark future awaiting them, started to ask, "What shall be our fate and how shall we be saved from these difficulties? What have we done to our allies—the British—for them to treat us in this manner? They are oppressing us. They are increasing the difficulties of our problem; they are throwing our country into a state of turmoil and disturbances and are adopting a policy which threatens our entity and that of our future generations. They have resorted to the use of the force of iron and fire to apply this policy, which will only result in troubles for Arabs, Jews and British alike."

22.—THE MANDATE MADE BY JEWS.

The report of the Royal Commission in 1937 showed that the Mandate for Palestine was nothing but a program that had been prepared by the Jews. The following quotation from the said report bears evidence to this:

"On the 3rd of February, 1919, the Zionist Organization submitted a draft resolution containing a plan for the execution of the Balfour Declaration. The leaders of this Organization appeared before the High Council at its meeting of the 27th of February and explained the project. Thereafter, Mr Felix Frankfurter, one of the

outstanding American Zionists, prepared a more detailed plan, which was dated March 28th. It appears from these documents and incidents that the Zionist program had by that time taken the shape of the present mandate, which we now know. It was united effort between the British and the Jews in their conspiracy against the entity of the Arabs and against their rights, thus showing to which extent the British resorted in order to achieve their imperialistic aid. Thus the report of the Royal Commission has shown beyond all doubt the treason against the Arabs and the influence of the Jews in inducing the governments of the League of Nations to accept the said mandate. The report, furthermore, shows the reasons for which the present mandate is tainted with Jewish ideas and principles."

A letter sent by Sir L. Bols, then the Military Governor of Palestine, to the Administration of Enemy Occupied Territories (the letter was dated the 3rd of June, 1920), read as follows:

"As regards the demand made by Mr Ussishkin, Vice-Chairman of the Zionist Organization, and others, with the support of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Cook and of the Assembly of the Jewish Rabbinate in the Holy land, that demand covers a design "on the Wailing Wall," as they say it is a Jewish property. They also demand the holy site of the Temple. This site of the Temple is the place known by the name of "Al Haram Ash Shareef," which includes the Mosque Al Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock. This place is held with respect and reverence by all the Moslems, for they regard this place to be the third Holy Mosque in the world. In this respect we may also refer to what Lord Meltchet said—"The day in which we shall rebuild in it the Temple of Solomon is very near and I shall sacrifice the rest of my life for the rebuilding of a great temple on the site of the Mosque Al Aqsa'."

Furthermore, enticing landholders with high prices is not sufficient justification for land transfer. The land which the

Palestinian peasant had tilled for generations was his source of income. Once it went to Jewish hands, it was lost for Arab peasants forever. It has been a principal cause of disquiet and homelessness among Arab peasants.

Similarly, Jewish industry would not have flourished had it not been for the policy of high tariff in practice in Palestine, and which was brought about at the expense of the Arabs, leading to high cost of necessities.

In Palestine, as in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq there have always been Jews. Neither in standard of living, nor culturally, or industrially were these Jews more progressive than their Arab compatriots. The supremacy of those among them who came to Palestine must be laid to differences in opportunities and not to a difference in nature, and must not be taken seriously as an argument for Jewish immigration to Palestine.

Outside Palestine, however, the Arabs have made great strides of progress in culture, industry, art and life generally because of their modern awakening, in keeping with the march of time. This, too, relatively applies to the Arabs of Palestine, who were not behind their other Arab brethren, if not in the vanguard. Consequently, incoming Jews cannot claim the credit for such progress.

The outwardly impressive industrial progress of the Jews is illusory and rests on weak foundations. War was a great factor in it, and with the end of war signs of collapse are beginning to show. A boycott of Zionist goods, declared by the Arabs of Palestine and other Arab countries, is on the increase and has accelerated this collapse. We see the tangible results in the closing of many Zionist factories, the bankruptcy of many companies and the growing number of unemployed among the Jews of Palestine.

23.—UNIVERSAL ARAB RESENTMENT AND THE ARAB NATIONAL PACT.

From the start the Arabs of Palestine, Syria and Iraq sensed this treacherous conspiracy. They were unanimous in their resentment of the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate, Jewish immigration and the transfer of land to the Jews. Vigorously they denounced all this, demanding the independence of Palestine within the scope of Arab unity. Almost immediately, that became their holy national covenant, their poet, to which they immovably held and have not ceased to struggle for its fulfillment. For that, they had fought in the ranks of the Allies, fortified by the principles and public declarations of the Allied heads, and finally written down in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

24.—ZIONIST CLAIMS.

It is claimed by Zionists and their supporters that the Jews are more progressive culturally, technically and industrially. The claim has found its way into some of the committee reports. On this basis, it is said, the Jews were instrumental in the industrial, commercial and civic development of Palestine. The Arabs, it is pointed out, benefitted from such development, and the lands bought by the Jews were sold at high prices with the full consent of the owners, etc. etc. An unbiased examination of the facts belie these claims.

It must be noted the Jews came to Palestine as invaders. Their aim is to outgrow the Arabs in population and to crowd them out, and finally to dominate them in their own country. They became an obstacle to the independence and liberty of the Arabs, besides subjecting the Arabs to a wave of vice, disorderly conduct, constant fear, terrorism, and a sundry of economic and social evils. These results have made the Zionist claims of benefits to the Arabs of little worth.

25.—SCENES OF PALESTINE TRAGEDY SINCE THE OCCUPATION.

The history of Palestine since the British occupation has been a veritable tragedy in which the British played the rôle of the treacherous villain, while the Jews played the various rôles of the greedy aggressor, the spoiled child, the rabble-rouser, the tempter. Meanwhile, Arab rights were trampled underfoot and their very existence was being shaken to its foundation. In vain, the Arab voice was raised in protest and their blood and tears flowed freely as an outcome of this tragedy. Conditions grew from bad to worse until they reached the stage which we described in Section 14, in which we find Jewish industries growing, their land possessions expanding and their grip on commerce, public utilities and government offices was getting stronger day by day. They now were emboldened to ask for a Jewish state, in Palestine, and were arming themselves that they may thereby most viciously attack their benefactors, the English.

26.—TENSION, TROUBLES AND INVESTIGATIONS.

The Arabs realized from the beginning the evil and malicious intent of this conspiracy. They organized societies, held conferences, sent protests continuously and staged demonstrations. Tension grew on one side between them and the English; on the other between them and the Jews. Friction increased from the very first years. In 1920 the bloody uprisings of Jerusalem took place, then in 1920 the serious uprising of Jaffa, followed in 1929 by the serious uprisings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safad and other towns. These were again followed by uprisings in 1933 in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa and Nablus, leading finally to the great strike of 1936 from which grew the consuming revolution of 1937 lasting to the summer of 1939. This is not to count minor uprisings and troubles here and there which never

ceased throughout those years. After each uprising, the British Government instituted an investigation to study the situation and offer a remedy, ignoring the fact that the Government itself was the cause of the troubles. Every investigating committee came out with the report that the whole problem centers on the Jewish national home, resulting in the great injustice, politically, economically and socially accruing to the Arabs therefrom. We have already quoted from the report of the military committee which was constituted to study the Jerusalem uprisings of 1920. More significant was the report of the committee organized for investigating the Jaffa troubles of 1921, known as the Haycraft Committee. This report, which was submitted to Parliament by the King's command, traced all causes of the trouble to Arab fears of the Jewish national home; to Arab resentment of Government bias in favor of the Jews; to the rapid growth in number and power of the Jews until they would overpower and dominate the Arabs, and to Arab rage at being denied their independence and self-determination because of this policy. The report was amply illustrated by cases, quotations and acts which justify these fears and which came alike from the Jews and the government. One Zionist leader was quoted as saying: "The only solution to the Palestine question is to give the Jews as Jews all the rights and privileges in Palestine which would enable them to make it as Jewish as England is English or as Canada is Canadian." Another described Palestine in a Zionist newspaper as "desolate and wild." Still another proposed that Jews alone be allowed to enlist for military service. Dr Eder, vice-president of the Zionist World Organization, said that there can be only one national home in Palestine, i.e. the Jewish national home, which permits of no equality of partnership between Jews and Arabs, but only of Jewish supremacy when Jews grow sufficiently strong in number. The report said that Dr Eder was not content with the word dominance but chose the word supremacy and that he expressed the right of the Jews alone, not the Arabs, to carry weapons,

Some of the conclusions drawn by this committee in its report were :

(1) So long as the Jews were negligible minority in the days of the Turkish Government they were unmolested or hated by anybody. But when the Arabs began to believe that the Jews became too powerful and that they exercised great influence over the Government, a feeling of resentment grew and spread throughout the country, a feeling which hardly needed any incitement.

(2) This resentment and hostility on the side of the Arabs against the Jews was the fundamental cause of the Jaffa troubles. In turn, this resentment grew from political and economic causes which were related to Jewish immigration and the Zionist policy as interpreted by the Jews.

(3) Voluntarily several persons, who apparently represent the various factions of non-Jewish population, appeared before the committee. They explained to the committee why public opinion rose against the Jews. Those witnesses represented Moslems, Orthodox, Latins, Maronites, Greek Orthodox and Anglicans, priests as well as laity of the various Christian sects. The committee came to the conclusion that almost all the non-Jewish population were united in hostility to the Jews. Arab depositions before the committee and the committee's own conclusions on the causes of the troubles are as follows :

1.—When the British Government took over the administration of Palestine the Zionists forced them to take a policy which, on the whole, was directed towards the establishment of a national home for the Jews and not for the benefit of all the Palestinians alike.

2.—The Palestine Government, in accordance with this policy, recognized as an official body a Zionist group whose loyalty was to aspirations and to an understanding of its duty

to Jewish interests came before anything else, and constituted, because of its unique prerogatives, a government within a government.

3.—In government service there was a large number of Jews out of proportion to their number as a religious community.

4.—It is part of the Zionist policy to flood Palestine with a people of greater ability in matters administrative and commercial than the Arabs, resulting in supremacy over the rest of the population.

5.—The immigrants are an economic danger to the people of Palestine due to competition, and because in such competition they have the advantage.

6.—The Jewish immigrants mistreat the Arabs by their haughtiness, and by their disrespect of the Arab social system.

7.—For lack of proper precautions, subversive Jewish immigrants were allowed to enter the country. These persons sought to cause social discord and economic strife in Palestine.

The committee recommended that something must be done to quiet the Arab fears by defining the Government's policy so that it may guarantee Arab rights and position and mitigate Jewish extremism manifest in their conduct, their sayings and their actions. It is to be regretted, however, that the British Government did not take sufficient interest in the matter to prevent the widening circle of evil and strife.

27.—THE ARAB DELEGATION OF 1922.

Shortly after those troubles an Arab delegation went to London to plead the Arab cause and to demand Arab rights, and to put an end to discrimination against them. The delegation remained almost a year in London (1921-1922), during which

it made contacts with the Government and with parliamentary and party circles. It was able to win many supporters, even convincing a large number in the House of Lords of the rightness of their complaints and demands, so that by a majority of that house it was decided to reconsider the Government policy for Palestine.

28.—THE WHITE PAPER OF 1922.

The Government refused to listen. All that was done was that the minister of colonies, Mr Winston Churchill, issued in its name a White Paper in 1922, in which he included certain correspondence between him and the Arab delegation which had demanded the establishment of a national government in accordance with pledges to King Hussein and with the Covenant of the League of Nations. Mr Churchill insisted that the pledges did not include Palestine, as he also plainly declared that the establishment of a national government would interfere with the promise which the British Government gave to the Jews. In so doing, Mr Churchill placed himself on record that the Jewish national home will ever be a stumbling block in the way of Arab independence and the legal right of the Arabs to their own country, forcing the Arab delegation to return home without result. This led to an intensification of Arab resentment. Mr Churchill sought to define the national home and its extent, and to soften Arab fears from it. The White Paper said :

"They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the (Balfour) Declaration referred to 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*."

Mr Churchill, however, accomplished nothing. He did not dispel any ambiguity on the extent of the promise, nor did he

take away any of the fears of the Arabs who still saw in the existing policy of the Government in Palestine justification for Arab fears, even confirming them. On the contrary, he only succeeded in registering against his government the inconsistency of its sayings with its deeds. According to the Royal Commission, in its report in 1937, it appears that Mr Churchill was not serious in what he said in 1922, for he testified before it that his interpretation of the national home in 1922 did not signify prevention of the establishment of a Jewish state, and thus deceit and complicity were still the mark of the words and deeds of the British Government.

29.—BRITISH ATTEMPTS TO FORCE THE ARABS TO RECOGNIZE THE ACCOMPLISHED FACT.

The British Government attempted to deceive the Arabs and make them give up their right, to force them to recognize the Jewish national home and to take in as partners in their homeland alien Jews. Thus it offered them proposals which have no serious guarantee to their rights, such as a legislative council whose majority consisted of English and Jews, and which had no authority to speak of over any of the important affairs of Palestine, or such as an Arab agency which would place the Arabs on a plane of equality with the intruding Jews. The Arabs turned down those offers, finding nothing in their covenant to justify them in cooperating with the British Government on such trivial offers.

30.

When the British Government was changed, and Labour took charge under Mr Ramsy MacDonald, the Arabs thought that they would find in this Government a propensity for justice which they could not find in the previous British ministries.

They sent another delegation to London, but this, too, returned in failure, because of the pressure which the Jews exercised over that Government as over the previous one, and because the high administration of Palestine was in the hands of the Jews, who made the Government follow their opinions and directives.

31.—THE UPRISINGS OF 1929.

Resentment and tension grew high, and protests continued up to the bloody uprisings of 1929. The immediate cause of those wide uprisings was the greed and boldness with which the Jews trespassed on the Islamic sanctuary of Al-Haram and the traditional Buraq of the Prophet. The British Parliament then appointed a parliamentary commission under Sir Walter Shaw to investigate the causes of the trouble and to propose remedial means.

32.—THE SHAW COMMISSION AND ITS IMPORTANT REPORT.

On October 24, 1929, the Shaw Commission arrived in Palestine and spent two months in investigating and hearing testimonies, later submitting its report to Parliament in March, 1930. This is another important document which proved that the Jewish greed and unfounded claims in the case of the Buraq, their violent demonstrations, their shoutings and blowing of horns in that precinct sacred to all Moslems because of its association with the life of their Prophet, were a direct cause of the uprisings of 1929. The report also said that Arab political and economic complaints which were revealed in the evidence must also be considered another direct cause, and that Arab feeling of enmity to the Jews grew out of the frustration of their own political and national aspirations, and out of fear for their economic future. The report did not stop there. It added that

Arab wrath dangerously joined to fear may be a cause for future troubles.

The Shaw report also stated :-

(1) The Jewish demands concerning the future of immigration to Palestine were such as to arouse fears of the Arabs that one day they may be denied their source of livelihood, and that the Jews will dominate them politically; that the immigrants were more than the country could absorb; that Jewish authorities deviated dangerously from the principle formerly accepted by the Zionist organization; that Arab fears springing from Jewish immigration were, along with other causes, a contributing factor in the uprisings, and that in the matter of immigration the Jews take seriously into account the political factor. This called for severe criticism.

(2) Between 1921 and 1929 many land purchases were made by the Jews causing the expulsion of many Arabs from their lands without making provisions for substitute lands which they may work. Government attempts to protect the Arab farmers did not succeed, nor did the laws made for this purpose prove satisfactory. It was found out that the clauses of the law of 1921, which required that Arab farmers must not be denied land which they could work, were not applied till 1929, not even once. Consequently there grew in the country a class of resentful landless peasants, a source of great danger to the country. The land problem will remain a constant source of resentment and a potential cause of troubles. Palestine cannot support a greater number of peasants than it has already, unless the agricultural methods now in use are radically changed. If this proves possible there may be room for a number of new immigrants in certain parts of the country.

(3) The Arab people are united in their demand for a representative government. The state of resentment felt by the

Arabs because they have repeatedly failed to attain any degree of self-government, contributed seriously to the administration's problems.

The commission recommended that Arab anxiety and fears for their future be quieted by dealing especially with the problems of land purchase and immigration, in such a manner that it will remove the causes of these fears and make a stop to excess immigration and landlessness, and would be of help to the Arab farmers and workers. The Commission also recommended that these problems be studied by technical experts.

33.—A THIRD ARAB DELEGATION.

Following this visit by the Shaw Commission an Arab delegation went to London to resume Arab complaints, to demand the restoration of their trodden rights and to remove the cause of evil and danger to the Arabs. Mr MacDonald, who was then at the head of the British Government, told the delegation of his determination to send a technical expert to Palestine, and that he will act on his recommendation. He also assured them that he will follow a new policy which would aim to allay Arab fears and settle their problems.

34.—REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC EXPERT.

The Government actually sent its expert, Sir John Hope Simpson, who made a full and deep study of the situation in Palestine and submitted a report in 1930. Here are some of the important conclusions of that report :

- (1) One third of the agricultural population of Palestine is now completely landless.
- (2) If all arable land in Palestine were to be divided among the Arab agricultural population the share of each family

will not be sufficient to secure a living, as the minimum viable plot for the Arab farming family is 130 dunams, whereas the actual share is much less than that.

(3) There is no land in Palestine available for settling Jews.

(4) Arab farmers are induced to sell their land while they lack sufficient protection.

(5) Jewish authorities make it incumbent on Jews who receive lands on lease not to employ Arabs thereon, contrary to previous practice, binding the lessees strongly to this provision.

(6) Jewish authorities resort to fraud in their desire to bring more immigrants to Palestine. Often Jewish labor, whose living is guaranteed by these authorities, soon find themselves without any means of support, swelling the ranks of the unemployed Jews and Arabs.

(7) Arab workers have been excluded from many projects due to this competition with Jewish labor, which has added to the misery and hardships of Arab labor.

35.—THE WHITE PAPER OF 1930.

In accordance with the reports of the Shaw commission and of Sir John Hope Simpson, the British Government laid down a policy for Palestine which it made public in the White Paper of 1930. In it the Government admitted all past mistakes and negligence which caused such injustice. It declared its intention to follow the recommendations of the technical expert and of the Shaw Commission on questions of land and immigration, and to take legal steps to give the people share in the legislation and administration. This aroused Zionist organizations which in sundry manners brought great pressure to bear on the Government, finally forcing Mr MacDonald to send a

letter to Dr Weizmann, then president of the World Zionist Organization, in which he gave an interpretation of the White Book which amounted to a renunciation and recanting of its intent. So much was this the case that the Arabs have since called MacDonald's letter "the Black Book." They became fully convinced of a truth which they had always suspected, namely the tremendous power the Jews had over the British Government and their ability to seduce the great range of their ambitions which fitted in admirably with these of the British Government.

36.—OPENING WIDE THE DOOR OF IMMIGRATION AND THE GROWTH OF THE JEWISH DANGER.

It was not long after that, when the British Government opened wide the door of immigration, disregarding every consideration or recommendation in the reports of its committees and experts, as it also ignored them in the transfer of lands to the Jews, and in disregarding the proper protection of the Arab peasantry. Immigration became an alarming flood, reaching the figure of 20,000 a year, then 30,000, then 40,000, then 60,000. Between 1932 and 1935 more than 200,000 entered the country, whereas the average for the previous 14 years, from 1919-1931 it did not go beyond 7,000 a year or a total of a little over 100,000. The Jews kept up their purchase of lands, forcing out the Arab farmers and turning them loose in the cities, in spite of the dwindling land holdings left in the hands of those farmers. The Government did nothing to successfully stop this stampede for land. The class of the landless grew in number, as competition of the Jews to the Arabs also grew keener in the various economic fields. This is not to mention the increasing number of Jewish office-holders in the government which seemed to be completely in their control, the devious manners in which they managed to attain what they went after, and the government yielding to

them in all matters that concerned them. They strongly blocked the British Government in the execution of its constitutional measures which often led to an impasse. The Arabs were then truly frightened, because they saw taking shape before them the spectre of the danger which they had feared, danger to their very existence. It was a clear refutation of the English claim that Arab fears were exaggerated, paying little attention to the evil and oppression which the Arabs had to bear. Finally, in the fall of 1933 the Arabs held protest demonstrations which were met with brutal violence in which tens of innocent victims were killed.

37.—THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE REVOLT.

The stream of immigration continued. The tragedy of Palestine had no parallel in brutality and abnormality, subjecting the Arabs to being overwhelmed in their own homeland by hordes of all nationalities who were displacing them against their will and by all and sundry means of treachery. And whenever the Arabs lifted their voice in complaint and denunciation the Government silenced it by resort to steel and fire, prisons and the gallows, exile and expulsion. There was no other resort left to the Arabs but to declare a general strike, thus hoping to make their voice heard by the conscience of humanity, to move petrified hearts which had been callous to their bitter plight. It was a strike unparalleled in history, lasting six full months, from April to October, 1936, in which some one million Arabs completely stopped work and closed down their schools. There was tension everywhere in the land. Meetings were held and demonstrations were organized. It was not long before friction began to appear between the Arabs and the British authorities who were appalled at the turn of events and utterly failed to control it through its usual channels of deceit and pacification. The friction turned to a devastating revolt in which the Arab

people took part in various ways throughout the cities, villages and in the hills. Arab volunteers from different countries also participated—Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, Transjordanians, Egyptians and others. And once more the British Government decided to send a Royal investigation commission, thinking that thereby it saw a means of pacifying matters. It sought the help of Arab governments in carrying out its plan. The strike was ended by request of Arab kings and princes, and because of pledges which were made that justice will be dealt this time and the evil removed.

38.—THE ROYAL INVESTIGATION COMMISSION.

In November, 1936, the Royal Commission visited Palestine, remaining there to January, 1937. It listened to testimonies and statements from representatives of the administration, Arabs and Jews, and in the summer of 1937 it submitted its report to the British Parliament. It was also an important document.

In spite of its serious deviation from the line of unbiased investigation and study of the problem and the treatment, the report did establish the truth of the Arab claim that they are the people of Palestine from generations untold, that it was always known as the southern part of Syria, that after their dispersion the Jews had little or no binding relation to Palestine except for the religious sentiment and the memory of ancient historic tradition.

Among other things the Report of the Royal Commission mentioned :

(1) The fundamental causes of the troubles were the desire of the Arabs for national independence and their repugnance to and fear of the establishment of the Jewish national home. Indeed hardly anyone was now ignorant of the bitter hatred among the Arabs to the national home, a hatred

which was widespread. It has increased from what it was five or ten years ago, and is not restricted to Palestine, but has gone beyond it to the other Arab countries. As a result hostile demonstrations broke out in Cairo, Baghdad and other Arab cities.

(2) These same two causes were the ones at the bottom of the disturbances which took place in 1920, 1921, 1929 and 1933.

(3) There were other contributory causes, such as the pressure exercised by world Jewry on Palestine, resulting in an increase of Jewish immigration, which in turn resulted in greater fear by the Arabs of Jewish domination of Palestine. Among the contributory causes mentioned was the inequality of opportunities to Arabs and Jews to lay their case before the world, the Arab conviction that the Jews can always get what they want through means denied the Arabs and which they do not possess; also the increasing suspicion that the British Government is unable to carry out its promises, and the dread of the continued passing of their lands to Jewish hands.

(4) The policy of the British Government had strong and immediate repercussions in the neighboring countries, and a considerable number of Syrians, Iraqis, and Transjordanians took part in it, and in this way an opportunity was open for the Arab governments and Arab kings to take a hand!

(5) The rift grew wider between world Jewry and the Arab world, and the hostility between the two now turned to dangerous aggression.

(6) The British Government commitments to the Jews and to the Arabs are irreconcilable.

(7) In spite of this the British Government helped considerably in the growth of the national home, doubling the number of Jews many times over as well as their land pos-

sessions. Jewish industries thrived, and the Jews began to have a national status, so that it may be said that the Government has admirably accomplished her duty in establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine, which has become something like a government within a government. Yet the Jews are not content, for they still demand the opening of the door wide for further immigration until the Jews become a majority and establish a Jewish state.

(8) The existence of the national home, regardless of its size, will stand in the way of granting the Arabs of Palestine the same national status which all the rest of the Arabs of Asia have attained. This difficulty will always be there as long as the mandatory regime continues.

39.—THE COMMISSION'S BIAS IN PRESENTING AND SETTLING THE CASE.

The logic of these conclusions should have led to a recommendation to desist from the policy of the Jewish national home, which was a factor in all the privations and inequalities which fell on the Arabs, the rightful owners of the country whose right for independence and security in their own homeland is clear. The national homeland was also a factor in the rise and recurrence of disturbances, which spread to other Arab countries. It was logical that the recommendations should have led to the abolishment of the mandate, the declaration of the independence of Palestine and the stoppage of land sales and Jewish immigration. But the Commission, which was influenced by various considerations, turned sharply from the straight path of right and integrity. It treated the case on the basis of parity between the status and demands of the Arabs and those of the Jews, in spite of the apparent incompatibility implied in such a stand. The report, therefore, was permeated with a spirit of bias in favor of the Jews and full of innuendoes against the Arabs. It

paid no attention to the chaos and denial of rights to the Arabs resulting from the continued growth of the Jewish national home and of government partiality of the Jews. Rather, it found such parity right in the light of the mandate, in spite of the report's admittance of incompatibility of the mandate and that it was not possible to help the Jews without doing injustice to the Arabs.

40.—PROPOSAL FOR THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE.

It was proposed by the Royal Commission that Palestine be partitioned into two independent states—a Jewish and an Arab one. It saw nothing amiss in the fact that three-quarters of the area of the proposed Jewish state consisted of Arab lands or that half of the population were Arabs. It proposed an exchange of populations between the two states, when Jewish land and population in the proposed Arab state were negligible, less than one to five. The Commission's proposals also included the creation of a British mandate zone.

The project in detail revealed unmistakably a spirit of bias and selfish interest, prejudice in favor of the Jews now and for the future, stripping the Arabs of a large area of their most fertile and developed land, which were to be turned into a Jewish state, while the Arabs would be left in possession of the arid hills and barren deserts, to be annexed to Transjordan.

The British Government hastened to accept this proposal, as did the Jews, who were jubilant because it would grant them something beyond their dreams, and which they had not dared to demand except in hushed voices, with the exception of a small extremist party which was branded by the majority of Zionists with being wild and foolish.

41.—ARAB RESENTMENT TO PARTITION

It was natural for the Arabs of Palestine to resent to a man the method and the project of the Royal Commission, which implied a crying injustice against the Arab existence in Palestine, and the existence of the Arab nation in the various Arab countries. In this they were shared by the governments, organizations and masses of the other Arab countries. They called the partition treacherous, biased and prejudiced and declared their cooperation with the Palestinian people in defeating this spiteful and evil plan which was plotted against Palestine and the rest of the Arab countries.

The Arabs then held a national conference in 1937 in the little town of Bludan, Syria, which was attended by a large number of their leaders from Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Transjordan and Hijaz, as well as from Palestine itself. In that conference they registered their resentment, protestation and rejection of the plan, insisting on the carrying out of their national covenant which they had set down from the beginning.

42.—GOVERNMENT RUTHLESSNESS IN BREAKING ARAB OPPOSITION

The Arabs soon began to feel that a conspiracy was being plotted against them. This took the form of a violent campaign in the English and Jewish papers against the leaders of the Arab national movement, describing them as stubborn extremists and demanding that the Government deal sternly with them. This was followed by a wide move for the arrest of nationalists in all parts of Palestine, leading to great tension. At once the Government dissolved the Arab Higher Committee which had directed the national movement and arrested all the members of the Committee it could reach, exiling them to the Seychelles Islands. The Government also besieged the sacred Haram

(Mosque Area) in which was stationed the Grand Mufti, deposed His Eminence from his religious post as President of the Moslem Supreme Council, and took under its control this institution which manages the religious endowments of the Moslems and their religious courts, and which looks after their mosques and religious and cultural foundations. This was in defiance of the mandate which forbade it from doing so.

Tension grew worse and friction between the Arabs and the British authorities was resumed, soon to take the form of a severe revolution lasting to 1939, and which did not stop except because of the second world war.

43.—ADMINISTRATION'S CRUELTY IN DEALING WITH THE ARABS

The Arab movement was met with the utmost cruelty and ruthlessness from the authorities. Almost six thousand of the Arabs fell dead, and about twice that number were wounded. Concentration camps were set up in which more than fifty thousand were penned up, among them the aged, theologians, and judges of the religious courts. None were spared. The Government even illegally took upon itself to blow up houses, buildings and stores in the villages and in the cities for the most trivial cause. The number of buildings thus blown up was over 2,000. The Government also illegally assumed the right to execute everyone who was caught in possession of any weapon, even if it were a few hidden cartridges. One hundred and twenty-eight Arabs were hanged! This does not include many others who were shot down without trial, and the hundreds who were condemned to long years in prison. All this the Arabs bore with great endurance and patience, because they felt they were in a battle for death or life, in defense of a homeland and of a sacred heritage. This time, too, they were joined by their brethren from the various Arab countries, who

came to their assistance with men, ammunition and money. For these Arabs, too, saw in this a duty toward their own countries as well as for the sake of their respective countries lest they be open to the evil consequences of the Zionist conspiracy, should the Jewish state be established in part of their land. Such a state would then become a den of political plotters, subversive propaganda and economic domination. The whole Arab world would then catch fire.

44.—PARTITION COMMITTEE AND ITS REPORT AGAINST PARTITION.

The Royal Commission recommended that a technical committee study the projects of partition. Consequently the Woodhead committee was named, which visited Palestine in 1938, submitting its report the following year. In it the Committee made public its various studies of the question, concluding with the declaration that it is impossible to create two states in Palestine, a Jewish and an Arab one, because the different parts of the country are so dovetailed that it would be impossible for either state to stand by itself economically. This new and important document confirmed once more the Arab viewpoint and contributed to the condemnation of the conspiracy. This time the British Government pretended to retrace its steps somewhat, having found the Arabs immovable from the position they had taken in accordance with their national pact, and in whose behalf they had made momentous sacrifices. The British Government further realized the solidarity of all Arabs in the support of their brethren in Palestine to such an extent that the Palestine case became the case of the whole Arab East.

45.—RETRACTION OF THE PARTITION PLAN: THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF 1939.

As a result of the technical report of the Partition Com-

mittee the British Government made public in 1938 a report in which it announced its retraction of the project of partition and its determination to hold a conference of Arabs and Jews in which representatives of Arab governments as well as Arabs of Palestine, would be called to deal with the subject thoroughly. The Arabs refused to sit with the Jews, because at no time did they ever consider them as a party to the dispute, nor did they ever recognize their right to Palestine. Consequently the conference was held between the Arab representatives and representatives of the British Government in the opening of 1939. The Arabs insisted on going back to the simple issues involved in the Palestine case and to put a stop to the abnormal policy followed by the Government in Palestine, and which brought upon the Arabs and upon Palestine so much grief and evil. They demanded that the British Government declare Palestine an independent state and abolish the mandate. They called for a settlement of relations between Palestine and Britain on the basis of a treaty, as was done in the case of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. They also demanded stoppage of Jewish immigration and transfer of land to the Jews. They pointed out that Palestine is a sister Arab country on equal footing with the other Arab states.

46.—THE WHITE PAPER OF 1939 AND THE NEW ORIENTATION.

The British Government did not immediately accept the Arab point of view, and the conference was disbanded without agreement. At the same time it did not turn down the Arab proposals altogether. It formulated a policy in line with the Arab point of view, and made it public in the spring of 1939. This was embodied in a White Paper which turned out to be more important than all the previous documents because of the following considerations:

(1) The Government officially and clearly admitted the incompatibilities of its commitments to the Jews and the Arabs, as it admitted the ambiguity of the meaning and extent of the national home.

(2) It admitted its part in helping substantially the development of the national home, declaring it was only proper that the people of Palestine should, as soon as possible, now enjoy the rights of self-determination that are enjoyed by the neighboring Arab countries.

(3) It declared its intent to organize in Palestine an independent government within ten years, united to Britain by a treaty, thus putting an end to the mandate, after consultation with the Council of the League. It was proposed that the Arabs of Palestine be gradually given a growing share in the administration of their country, and that after five years a proper body of Palestine and British government representatives study the course which the constitutional order should take and to draft a constitution for the independent state of Palestine.

(4) Finally it decided to permit, for the last time, the entrance into Palestine of 75,000 Jewish immigrants during the following five years, after which it will permit no further immigration without Arab consent.

(5) It also decided to settle the land problem by formulating regulations which would prohibit or limit the transfer of lands, according to the different sections of Palestine.

The White Paper also declared that the British Government will go ahead with its policy whether one or both sides take advantage of it and cooperate with the British Government or not.

47.—ARAB CAUTION, ITS CAUSE.

The subject of constitutional development and develop-

ment of the Palestinian state, as stated in the White Paper of 1939, was vague, making it, in part, dependent on the wishes of the Jewish population. This made the Arab Higher Committee object to it, and the whole Arab world to take a precautionary stand.

The Arabs also sensed the reservations and procrastination embodied in the White Paper. They concluded that the British Government was still resorting to a policy of lulling promises, procrastination and complications, especially when it is realized that the Jews whose growth in Palestine was due to the Government's bias and encouragement will not turn now to a policy of reconciliation, approval and harmony as long as one of the conditions of the Palestinian state was that the Jews would remain a perpetual minority therein. The Jews had turned down every decision which sought to meet them half-way or appease them. It was not surprising, therefore, that they turned down this latest policy, declaring their protest and resentment thereto. It was an indication of what their stand would be towards it.

48.—PALESTINE ARABS IN THE SECOND

WORLD WAR.

A few months after the appearance of the White Paper, the second world war broke out. The Arabs of Palestine decided to declare a truce with the British, hoping that Britain would appreciate their stand and would carry out its promise to them, starting on a new deal with them after the war. In fact, a large number of them enlisted in the volunteer corps, and many were taken to the war fronts of Africa and Europe, actually taking part in the fighting. Many were killed. No hostile stand was shown by those Arabs of Palestine not even when the Germans reached the borders of Alexandria and threatened the Suez Canal.

49.—ARMING THE JEWS DURING THE WAR.

During the war the British Government armed a Jewish defense division in Palestine, training it and giving it all the arms and war machines it desired. It allowed Jews to form a division of their own in the British army, which gave them a great opportunity for arming and drilling. The Zionist organizations saw in that an opportunity to bring pressure on the British Government in order to abolish the White Paper of 1939, and to open the door of immigration which had almost been closed. Some of their armed groups began to organize terroristic moves against the British authorities. The Jewish Agency had a hand in those moves, as it came out in the White Paper which the British Government issued in 1946. At the same time, exploiting the shocking cruelties inflicted on the Jews of Europe by the Nazis, Jewish propaganda blared out in an organized drive demanding that Palestine be opened for the immigration of those whom they called displaced or homeless persons. Many Americans and others joined the Zionists in their plea for further immigration to Palestine; although there was no more justification for such a demand now that Nazism was crushed and the democracies were victorious. It was now possible for those democracies to offer sufficient guarantees for the security of the lives and rights of the Jews in their countries of origin. The method adopted by the Zionists, on the other hand, would impose the will of the minority on the majority, preventing the latter by force from the exercise of its natural rights.

50.—SMUGGLING OF JEWS.

As a result, many Americans and non-Americans joined the Zionist organizations which were hastening to exploit the bitter feeling toward the enemy still fresh after the war. Cleverly they laid down their plan to marshall out Jews from all parts of

Eastern Europe and get them together in what they called homeless and displaced persons camps, and in various parts of Southern Europe, from whence they smuggled them to Palestine by various and devious ways. The many Jews employed in the UNNRA abused their offices and authority in helping this project, as it was clearly revealed by General Sir Frederick Morgan, Director of UNNRA in Germany. He openly declared that the infiltrates were not wretched and homeless persons, but that they were regimented by secret and well-planned ways and for a political purpose which has no relation to humanitarianism or rehabilitation. In this manner was woven a vast Jewish conspiracy backed by terrorism, pressure, propaganda and agitation, cleverly exploiting generous contributions which poured in from all sides. In this way the Zionists were able to greatly influence various quarters of the world, making many think there was a just Jewish cause relating to Palestine. The just solution of the Palestine question which seemed plausible before the war, thus became more complicated.

51.—THE INFLUENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN.

In the United States the effect of the Jewish organizations was powerful and tangible. The Zionists exploited the political, financial and journalistic influence of those organizations, as well as their votes. They made government officials and parties side with them, and in so doing complicated still further this problem of Palestine. The world still recalls the amazing rôle which the Jews were able to play in the last American presidential elections, and how the two main parties of this great democratic power united in their support of Zionism in a most pathetic manner, for the Zionists made them forget their democratic principles in so far as they applied to Palestine. They made them contradict themselves and their own principles since

they openly approved the Jewish demand to seek American help against the Arabs in the latter's legal homeland, to crowd them out, to establish a religious race in their country by force of steel and fire, to make the Arab majority submit to a Jewish minority. Arab meagre efforts were powerless to correct the false impressions created by the Zionists and to point out the truth, showing how the Zionists' views are in utter contradiction to the right and in support of falsehood and injustice.

The influence of the Zionist Jews over the British Labor party was also powerful. This contributed to the complication of the problem. It made the Labor Government at first to disavow the commitments of the White Paper which the previous government had pledged its honor to carry out, and which trusting Arabs had thought would be carried out after the war, in spite of the shocking ingratitude shown by the Jews to the British, and in spite of the fact that the Jews were being fully armed, and that they were using their weapons in their campaign of terrorism. In fact, Zionist influence in Britain is still felt, in spite of the fact that Jewish terrorism cost the British the lives of a large number of their officers and men and destroyed many official buildings and offices and cost the Palestine administration large sums of money which had to be made up in taxes, and which robbed the government of much revenue. The effects of terrorism were also felt by the Arabs of Palestine, who had to pay the major share of the taxes to the government, and caused a dangerous deterioration in the economic and social state of the country.

52.—BRITISH INDIFFERENCE IN COMBATting ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION AND TERRORISM —ITS SIGNIFICANCE—

It is regrettable that the British authorities have not been

in earnest in the matter of combatting what is called "illegal immigration"—this in spite of the fact that such immigration violates British laws and lowers British prestige. As a matter of fact the British attitude has been encouraging Zionist terrorism. It may be well to contrast the British handling of present Jewish terror with the harsh measures meted out to the Arabs between 1936-1939. Four Jews have been executed, no Jewish buildings have been demolished, no communal fines have been levied and the Jewish Agency, which has been proved responsible for the terror, has not been dissolved. Moreover, British forces have been most considerate and gentle when carrying out searches for arms in Jewish premises. It is significant to note that although there are about 150,000 British troops and police in Palestine, the Government either willingly or unwillingly is resigned to Jewish violation of its law, the kidnapping and lashing of its army officers and the abduction from the bench of its judges. The armed forces are forbidden to retaliate or even to defend themselves. Such a state of affairs has led to public complaint on the part of the troops which complaints have been echoed in the houses of parliament. At last British officials and their families, along with their offices, have had to be protected in fortifications.

It may not be an exaggeration to state that had the Arabs committed a fraction of what the Jews have done, no stone of Arab buildings would have been left on another, no male but would have been in prison or in the grave, and no penny but would have been confiscated. There is no doubt that this government leniency has been a great factor in the continuance and spread of Jewish terror. Such British tolerance justifies the Arab feeling that there may be a British-Jewish conspiracy which aims at the justification of Jewish conciliation and the repudiation of British pledges to the Arabs as regards independence, the stoppage of immigration and the sale of lands.

53.—UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION VIOLATES THE WHITE PAPER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE.

In 1946 there appeared indications of an Anglo-American-Zionist plot, when President Truman was goaded by the American Zionists to call for the opening of Palestine for 100,000 Jewish refugees—this when the provision of the 1939 White Paper for 75,000 immigrants was fulfilled and when immigration should have ceased.

The British Government proposed an Anglo-American Commission to study the problem of Palestine and recommend a solution, in spite of the well-known fact that the problem of Palestine has been over investigated by too many Commissions. So the Commission was created and it is worthy of note that the Zionists have had no small part in the selection of its members. The Arabs wished to boycott this Committee, but the British succeeded in convincing them to cooperate. The Committee then utilized Jewish terror as an instrument to open wide the gates for immigration at the rate of 1500 per month. It also strove to gain Arab consent for this measure, but the Arabs refused. Arab refusal, however, was disregarded and 1500 per month were permitted. Apropos of this, it is important to point to British double-crossing as they reassured the people of Palestine and the Arab states that this immigration was to last only four months, i.e., during the period of Anglo-American investigation—while they intended to allow it to continue, and it is now continuing.

In 1936 when the Arabs were on a great strike and when Arab revolt was ablaze, they demanded the stoppage of immigration. The British turned deaf ears to this demand, insisted on the status quo and refused to be affected by violence. But in 1946 vis-à-vis Jewish terror, the British saw no harm in altering their policy under Zionist pressure. It is thus clear that the

British are inconsistent, according to their custom, when dealing with Arabs and Jews.

54.—ANGLO-AMERICAN INVESTIGATION AND VISITS TO ARAB COUNTRIES.

The Committee visited Egypt, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and listened to the testimony of the heads of Arab states, the Arab League, Palestine representatives and a considerable number of organizations and Arab notables.

The Committee received memoranda which explained the Arab Palestine case and its history. These documents portrayed Jewish presumptions, their fantastic claims and also noted the iniquitous British policy. Moreover, these documents reiterated Arab determination in the entire Arab world to realize their aim in gaining independence for Palestine, thus ending the mandate, stopping immigration and land transfer and opposing Jewish demands by all available means. It was clearly pointed out to the Committee the harm which will come from persistence in the present course, in the way of disorder in the Arab and Moslem worlds generally. It was also pointed out that Arab-British-American relations will be put under a strain. Last but not least, the present policy was not only contrary to the principles of justice and right, but was in harmony with dictatorship and Nazism. The Arabs insisted on divorcing what is called the world Jewish problem from that of Palestine on account of the impossibility of solving the former through the latter. The Jewish problem, in the opinion of the Arabs, should be solved by admitting Jewish refugees into a larger and more suitable land such as America and Australia. Failing that, America and Britain should be able to afford the Jews protection and security wherever they are.

The Committee also heard the Zionists who reiterated their demands which stand on neither reason nor justice.

55.—INCONSISTENCIES OF THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Committee shortly submitted its report which proved to be anything but consistent, logical, just and realistic.

1.—It complied with President Truman's wishes as well as those of the Jews which were the admission of 100,000 immigrants. The report recommended that Jewish immigration should not depend on Arab consent, although they are the owners of the land. The reasons for such a conclusion were that no other country was willing to accept these Jewish refugees and that the Jews were unwilling to go anywhere except to Palestine. The Committee impertinently requested the Arabs not to object to this immigration for humanitarian reasons, forgetting what harm has been inflicted on the Arabs through immigration in the way of over-population and lack of land, a situation that led the British Government, though belatedly in 1939, to issue its White Paper stopping immigration completely.

2.—Although the Report admitted that the Jewish connection with Palestine was historical and that the Arabs were the real owners and the present overwhelming majority, it placed the Arabs on an equal basis with the Jews, and said that Palestine should be neither an Arab nor a Jewish State, but a Government wherein national aspirations of both parties could be reconciled. The Report stipulated that the last word should not go to the present numerical majority, thus sacrificing the inhabitants of the country and the majority to an invading minority made up of various nationalities.

3.—It treated the situation from the religious angle of Arabs, Jews and Christians with all the contradictory nature of

such a treatment. As to the Arabs, their connection with Palestine is not merely religious and, therefore, it is unjust to place the Arabs and others on the same basis. It is also an injustice to pretend that a religious connection with a country justifies the usurpation of the independence, liberty and security of its inhabitants.

4.—The Report recommended the nullification of the laws which limited the transfer of land to the Jews, thus acceding to Jewish desires and ignored what befell the Arabs from losing their land in the way of overcrowding, insecurity and displacement. The present direct effects of immigration, however, are nothing to be compared with what the future will bring. Even Britain sensed the situation and took inadequate and belated steps to remedy it.

56.—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REPORT'S INCONSISTENCIES.

With the Report such as it is, it is no exaggeration to state that it is a clear contradiction of the principles of democracy, a complete compliance with Jewish wishes and a far-reaching denial of Arab rights. The creation of the Anglo-American Committee is nothing but a theatrical performance designed to deceive and to serve Zionist interests in America and Britain. The Report was received with great dissatisfaction in Palestine and the Arab countries including its governments, notables, organizations and masses protested against it. The protests renewed Arab determination and their pacts and vows to see Palestine independent, to terminate the mandate and to stop Jewish immigration and the transfer of Arab land to Jewish hands.

57. — ARAB LEAGUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH BRITAIN.

The Arab League which is made up of the governments

of Egypt, Yaman, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Trans-Jordan, along with the Arabs of Palestine has come to the conclusion that the solution of the Palestine issue is long overdue. The longer it remains unsolved the more it becomes surrounded with complexity and intrigue. It is high time the question was solved and the wrong righted. Accordingly, the Arab League has sought negotiations with Britain in order to settle this problem on the basis of right and justice on which the Arabs stand. The Arabs refused to settle on any form of partition and on the recognition of a special Jewish status. In case of failure the case must be submitted to the United Nations in accordance with its Charter which declares that no problems were to be submitted to it which could be amicably and directly settled. The British Government agreed on a Conference between it and the delegates of the Arab States. The Conference was accordingly held twice, the first time in the autumn of 1946 and the second in the winter of 1947. The British Government suggested a Federal partition plan retaining the present mandate and keeping the door of immigration wide open. The Arabs in their turn, rejected these British proposals and submitted a scheme of their own demanding the independence of Palestine and the end of the mandate. The Jews with Palestinian nationality obtained legally were to participate according to their numbers. The proposed constitution would guarantee civil and religious rights to minorities and to the holy places.

But in spite of this scheme being in accord with the White Paper of 1939, Britain would not accept it. Moreover, it renounced the pledges of the Government which preceded it.

Again it proposed to the Arabs another plan consisting of the admission of 100,000 Jews in two years, while immigration continued thereafter according to the absorptive capacity. Palestine was to be independent in five years provided Arabs and Jews agreed on a constitution.

The Arabs rejected this proposal because its positive aspect

was the continued flow of immigration. As to independence, it was dependent on Jewish consent, and if experience with Britain has any meaning, it was sure to be repudiated. Therefore, the British Government announced that it would lay the entire case before the United Nations. It may be relevant to add that among other things, the British Foreign Minister declared before Parliament that Britain has failed in implementing the mandate on account of its contradictory nature.

58. — CONCLUSION.

Here ends this brief exposition of the case, which is already before the United Nations Organisation, a case in fact unmatched, unequalled in practically all its aspects, as is evidenced from the following salient points :-

1. — Palestine has been an Arab country for close on fourteen centuries.
2. — The Arabs, including those of Palestine, revolted against the Turks under Sherif Hussein, and fought with the Allied Armies in World War I, for the independence and integrity of their countries.
3. — Britain, on her own behalf and in the name of the Allies, pledged herself to support the Arabs in their efforts for the achievement of their independence and the integrity of their countries.
4. — Independence is the Arabs' natural right, based on the principles proclaimed by the Allies themselves and confirmed by the late President Wilson in his Fourteen Points and in the League of Nations Covenant.
5. — The Allies betrayed the Arabs. They failed to stand by their pledges, and instead imposed on the Arabs and their countries the Mandate System, based on the recognition of their rights to independence as the ultimate goal.

6. — This principle was applied in Syria, the Lebanon and Iraq, the Mandates over which have already been terminated, and they now all enjoy the prerogatives and advantages of Independence.
7. — Despite the fact that Palestine comes within the scope of Article XXII of the League of Nations Covenant, it has been deprived of the enjoyment of these prerogatives and advantages, in line with other independent Arab States.
8. — The Balfour Declaration, issued by Britain to the Jews in favour of the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, and inspired solely by British imperialistic ambitions in the country, is one of the main causes of depriving the Palestine Arabs of the benefits of independence.
9. — Despite the fact that Britain is in no way qualified to give such a promise to the Jews in violation of her pledge to the Arabs, Britain has succeeded through Jewish intrigues and influence in the inclusion of the Balfour Declaration in the preamble of the Palestine Mandate.
10. — The Palestine Mandate entrusted Britain with the task of facilitating for the Zionists the establishment of a Jewish national home in the country.
11. — Both the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration specifically stipulate that the establishment of such a home should in no way be prejudicial to the interests and political status of the Arabs—the original inhabitants of the country.
12. — The Mandate and the Balfour Declaration contained two contradictory undertakings. Britain, however, embarked without scruples on carrying out her obligations to the Jews, with utter disregard to her solemn pledge to the Arabs, thus gravely jeopardising Arab rights and interests.
13. — The Jews supported and continue to support the Zionist

- Movement by a large-scale powerful and clever, but extremely misleading propaganda campaign waged unremittingly in practically all the countries of the world.
14. — The Zionists base their Movement on the historical connection of the Jews with Palestine, thus deceiving all nations, although it is an established historical fact that the Jewish connection with Palestine has terminated as far back as 2000 years.
 15. — The Jews falsely pretend that Palestine is a desolate and isolated country, while in fact it is overcrowded with Arabs, who are the owners of the land and who have a civilisation and have attained such a high cultural and social standard as to make them rank with, if it does not place them at a higher level, the most advanced countries in both the Near and Middle East.
 16. — The main decisive factor that led to the Zionist Movement is the persecution of the Jews, particularly in the Eastern European countries. It is an established fact that the Arabs had no hand and were in no way responsible for the plight of the Jews, and it would therefore be a grave injustice to the Arabs to allow them to suffer for a state of affairs, no matter how grave and regrettable, in the bringing about of which they were in no way instrumental.
 17. — Palestine could not possibly provide a solution for the so-called Jewish problem.
 18. — The victory of the Democracies has destroyed all motives for the persecution of the Jews and placed the Great Powers in a position to guarantee their safety and security in their own countries.
 19. — There is ample room in the United States of America, Australia, Africa and the vast uninhabited regions of the Pacific Islands for the Jews if they wish to establish themselves as a nation.
 20. — The Jews to-day are neither a people nor a nation.

Judaism is merely a religious creed, and all Jewish efforts to reconstitute themselves into a people or a nation are simply fantastic, because they aim at gathering together into a round mass people of different races and character on the basis of religion.

21. — The Jews in their present attitude in Palestine are nothing but the embodiment of Nazi-ism. In fact, they are nothing but the enemies of Democracy, for they want to impose themselves as a minority on the Arabs, which are the crushing majority, thus forcing the original inhabitants of the country to forego their homes and acquiesce in the immigration of the Jewish intruders into their country.

22. — The Jews, through the great influence they wield, their delusive activities and their great electoral powers, have succeeded in winning over the support of influential circles both in the United States and in Britain for their false claims, crooked methods and fantastic attitudes, despite the fact that such conduct is in flagrant contradiction with the principles of Democracy.

23. — For highly important political, economic, social and geographical considerations, Jewish designs on Palestine, both from the political and economic viewpoints, cannot be doomed to failure.

24. — Arabs and Moslems in all Near and Middle Eastern countries are firmly determined to leave no stone unturned and to shrink from no sacrifice in pursuing the fight for the frustration of all Zionist designs on Palestine and the defeat of the sponsors of such designs no matter how arduous the struggle and how long it will last, a struggle fraught indeed with grave consequences and capable of equally grave developments.

25. — The Zionist Movement is nothing but a source of constant evil, base intrigues and serious trouble throughout the Near and Middle East.

26. — The Zionist Movement is sure to introduce anti-Semitism

into the Near and Middle East—regions so far free from this dangerous feeling.

27. — The Arabs in general, and those of Palestine in particular, have from the very beginning strongly resented and equally strongly disapproved of and opposed this policy. The British Government, however, continued to favour the Jews, to the detriment of Arab interests, an attitude which has been the cause of Arab disturbances.

28. — The British Government has sent out several commissions of inquiry to Palestine and published a number of White Papers, in which it promised to rectify its policy. Unfortunately, however, Britain again failed to honour her pledges and act on the recommendations in favour of the Arabs.

29. — In 1939, Britain recognised her faults, her contradictory obligations and the fact that she was really favouring the Jews, and declared that she would grant Palestine her independence, abolish the Mandate and stop all Jewish immigration into the country. Again Britain failed to take a single step towards the fulfillment of these pledges.

30. — In 1946, the Arabs submitted to a formal conference convened by the British Government in London, proposals based on the 1939 British Statement of Policy. But even these proposals were rejected by the British Delegation.

31. — The continuance of the Zionist terror in Palestine is the result of the policy leniency adopted by the British Government towards the Zionist Terrorists.

32. — The Arabs, with the Right on their side, refuse to consider any compromise whatsoever on the Palestine Problem, or to have the case treated as if it were a mere dispute between them and the Jewish intruders.

33. — The Case for Arab Palestine is simple, just and democratic. The Arabs demand a solution compatible with Justice and Democracy, and which would insure :-

1. — Complete stoppage of Jewish immigration.
2. — Complete stoppage of land transfer to the Jews.
3. — Abolition of the Mandate and Balfour Declaration.
4. — Recognition of the Arabs' legitimate right to their legitimate country and the recognition of the independence of Palestine as a sovereign State, in line with other Arab independent States, and the safeguarding of minority rights in accordance with the recognised principles of Democracy.

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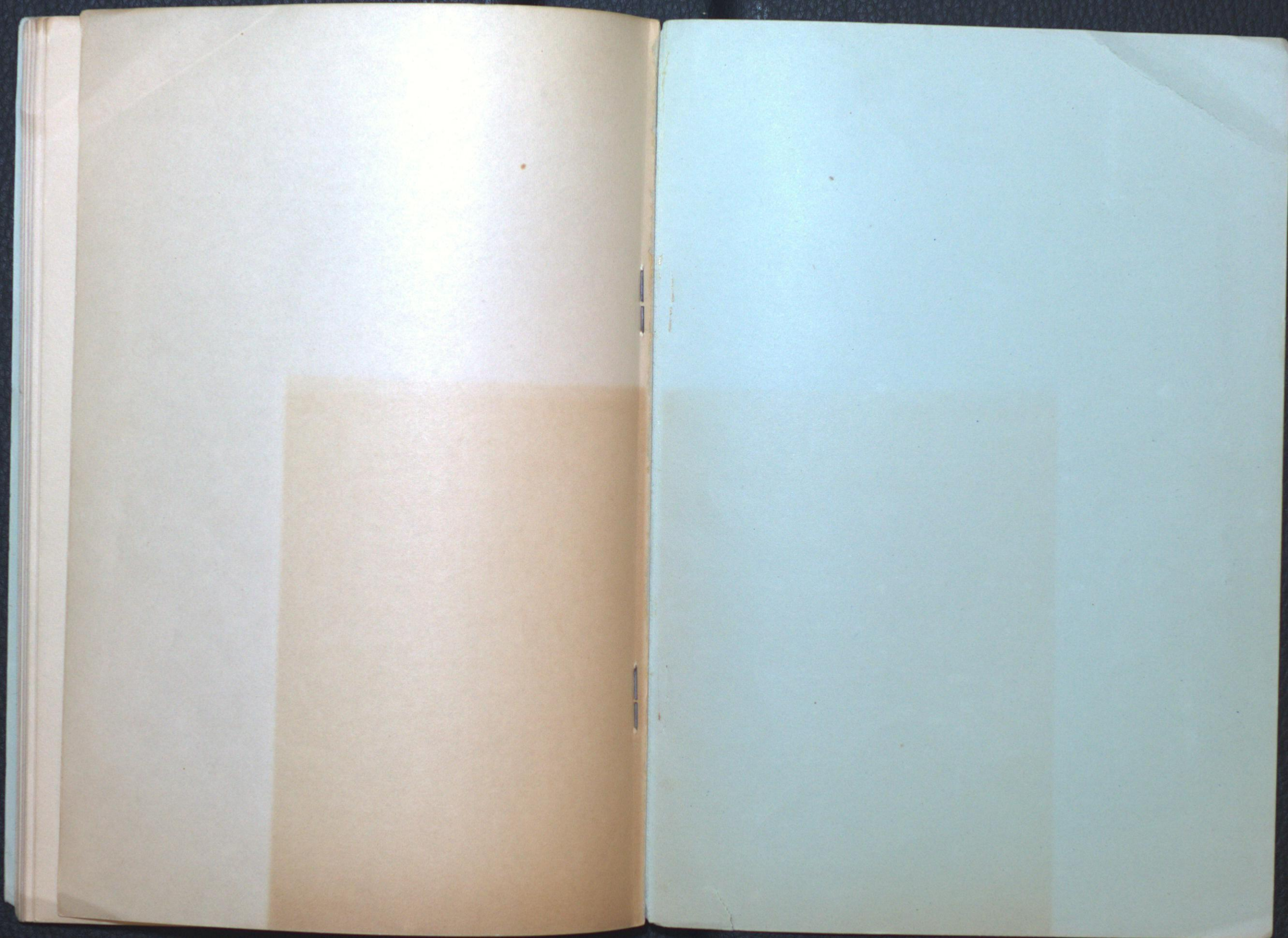
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