



Our Palestine: Insights into Middle Eastern Affairs from the Archives of Szlomo Nachum Perla

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ABSTRACT

This research essay delves into the propaganda efforts and underground activities of the Revisionist Zionists, led by Włodzimierz Jabotinsky, in the initial years of the People's Republic of Poland. The Revisionist Zionists, the most right-wing segment of the Zionist movement, aimed to reestablish a Jewish state across the territories of modern Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority. This study focuses on the clandestine operations and ideological campaigns of prominent figures such as Szlomo Nachum Perla, Dawid Drażnin, and Perec Laskier from 1944 to 1949. Despite facing severe restrictions and accusations of fascism, these activists continued their efforts, publishing bulletins like "Jedijon" to spread their message. The essay critically examines the radical critique of British policies in the Middle East, the challenges of Jewish emigration, and the internal dynamics within the Zionist movement. Through an analysis of archival materials and personal accounts, this research provides a detailed insight into the activities and influence of the Revisionist Zionists on the Jewish nationalist discourse in post-war Poland.

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The research essay refers to the less known element of political activities performed by followers of Włodzimierz Żabotyński (1880-1940), so-called Revisionist Zionists, in the first years of existence of People's Poland¹. Their main goal was to restore the Jewish state that would cover the area of today's Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Autonomic Authority. They criticized left-wing parties and supported the concept of militarism with the sole purpose of restoration of own statehood². In years 1944/45-1949, Żabotyński's followers were prohibited to conduct legal operations in Poland. It was caused by the accusations made by the ruling authorities about the alleged fascism of Revisionist Zionists³. Persons who were responsible for the functioning of the structures of that organization at that time included: Szlomo Nachum Perła, Dawid Drażnin, and Perec Laskier⁴.

Szlomo Perła was born on 3 December 1911 in Brzeziny Łódzkie. In years 1932-36, he studied law at the University of Warsaw. In 1921, his parents moved to Warsaw and raised their children in the Zionist spirit connected with Jewish religious laws⁵. In 1928, Szlomo Perła joined Masada, a Revisionist Zionist organization for young Jews. Initially, he served the

¹ General information can be found in: Gontarek, A. (2013). Na usługach UB Dawid Drażnin [In the service of the UB Dawid Drażnin]. *Biuletyn Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Warszawie*, 2(71), 27-29. Lazar, C. (1997). *Betar be-szeerit haplite 1945-1948* [Betar in the remnants of the survivors 1945-1948]. Tel Aviv. Szaynok, B. (2001). *Walka z syjonizmem w Polsce (1948-1953)* [The fight against Zionism in Poland (1948-1953)]. In T. Szarota (Ed.), *Komunizm: ideologia, system, ludzie* [Communism: ideology, system, people] (pp. 252-271). Warszawa. Szemczyszyn, M. (2014). *Polski szlak Brichy. Nielegalna emigracja Żydów z Polski w latach 1944-1947* [The Polish path of Bricha. Illegal emigration of Jews from Poland in 1944-1947]. In M. Szemczyszyn & J. Syrnyk (Eds.), *Między ideologią a socjotechniką: kwestia mniejszości narodowych w działalności władz komunistycznych – doświadczenie polskie i środkowoeuropejskie* [Between ideology and social engineering: the issue of national minorities in the activities of communist authorities - Polish and Central European experience] (pp. 255-276). Warszawa, Szczecin, Wrocław. The work by Lazar refers to the activities of Jabotinsky's followers in post-war Europe and North Africa.

² See more: Żabotyński, W. (1937). *Państwo żydowskie* [The Jewish state]. Warszawa-Kraków-Poznań. Heller Kupfert, D. (2016). *Między obroną a atakiem: syjoniści-rewizjoniści wobec przemocy antyżydowskiej w Polsce w latach trzydziestych* [Between defense and attack: Revisionist Zionists against anti-Jewish violence in Poland in the 1930s]. *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2(258), 407-429.

³ Namysło, A. (2004). Instrukcja MBP dla rozpracowania partii i organizacji działających w społeczeństwie żydowskim z 1946 r. [MBP instructions for infiltrating parties and organizations operating in Jewish society from 1946]. *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, 2(6), 357.

⁴ See more: Flisiak, D. (2022). *Próba biografii politycznej Szlomo Nachuma Perły. Działalność syjonistów-rewizjonistów w pierwszych latach powojennej Polski* [An attempt at a political biography of Szlomo Nachum Perła: The activities of Revisionist Zionists in the early post-war years of Poland]. *Polish-Jewish Studies*, 3, 212-226.

⁵ Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (AIPN) [Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance], sygn. *BU 01178/1778*, *Urodziłem się*, k. 75.

function of head of school committees. In 1930, he became member of the Betar headquarters in Warsaw; Betar was a youth movement for Żabotyński's followers⁶. As an active member, he helped in formation of Betar groups in, among others, the districts of Muranów, Praga, Mokotów, and in towns near Warsaw. In 1935, Perła supported the establishment of the New Zionist Organizations⁷ which gathered followers of Żabotyński who had a reluctant approach towards the World Zionist Organization. In the same year, Perła became one of the persons working on a two-monthly titled *Trybuna Akademicka*. It was a journal addressed to young Jewish students. He served the function of an editor from March 1936 to Autumn 1937. His articles were devoted, i.e. to the wave of anti-Semitic pogroms that occurred, e.g. in Brześć in May 1937⁸. They were caused, among others, by the rhetoric conducted by followers of Roman Dmowski⁹. Perła survived the Second World War thanks to help given by Poles, i.a. Karolina Modzelewska. He hid outside the ghetto in Warsaw and Józefów. In February 1945, during his stay in Lublin, he accidentally met Perec Laskier who during the Second World War, by 1942 lived in the Warsaw Ghetto and later on in the Częstochowa Ghetto. After the liberation, he remained in Częstochowa but intended to move to Łódź after his stay in Lublin¹⁰. In March 1945, Perła and his friend Hessa Karzeł traveled to Łódź and while there, thanks to Laskier, he renewed his acquaintance with pre-war followers of Żabotyński like, e.g. Tobiasz Berkal.

Due to the incoming Poles and Jews, including Revisionist Zionists, from German concentration camps and Soviet labor camps, the movement of Żabotyński's followers was recreated until the end of 1946. It operated in conspiracy and had over 2000 members; its headquarters were located in Łódź. The structures of the organization included the previously

⁶ Ibidem, k. 75.

⁷ Cited in: Ibidem, k. 76.

⁸ Perła, S. (1937). Iluzje, czy samoobrona narodowa [Illusions or national self-defense]. *Trybuna Akademicka. Niezależny organ młodej żydowskiej inteligencji*, 3(June), 3-6.

⁹ More about this event in: Śleszyński, W. (2004). *Zajścia antyżydowskie w Brześciu nad Bugiem 13 maja 1937 roku* [Anti-Jewish incidents in Brest on the Bug River on May 13, 1937]. Białystok. Rudnicki, S. (2009). Dokument kontrwywiadu o pogromie brzeskim 13 maja 1937 roku [Counterintelligence document on the Brest pogrom on May 13, 1937]. *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2, 221-234. Tomaszewski, J. (1964). Dwa dokumenty o pogromie w Brześciu w 1937 r [Two documents about the pogrom in Brest in 1937]. *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1(49), 58-67.

¹⁰ Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (AIPN) [Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance], sygn. BU 01178/1778, *Po wyzwoleniu*, k. 78.



mentioned cities, Upper and Lower Silesia, and Szczecin¹¹. Extreme right-wing Zionist activists could not operate on a legal basis. It was due to the fact that in the opinion of the widely-understood left-wing, Revisionist Zionists were a branch of the so-called "Jewish fascism" and political supporters of the Polish right-wing that tried to remove Jews from Poland¹². It should be added that Żabotyński's followers who operated in Paris and Tel Aviv used contacts to reach representatives of the movement in Poland¹³. They included, i.a.: Abram Chechler, Józef Szechtman, Jakub Runin.

As a part of their activities, Revisionist Zionists conducted propaganda activities, for which Drażnin and Perła were responsible. In the period from October 1946 to November 1947, they released 10 issues of the bulletin titled *Jedijon (News)*¹⁴. The news in the journal were in Polish and Yiddish. The news mainly referred to ideological matters and presented the latest situation in Palestine¹⁵. Each issue was released in 100 copies. They were printed with the use of a manual copier at Icchak Sikuler's apartment in Łódź at ul. Ogrodowa 8 and at Pinchas Wabnik's house in Bytom at ul. Rycerska 7¹⁶. The copier was stolen in mysterious circumstances. After the incident, further works were done with an additional copier at Drażnin's house. Materials on which the bulletin was based on came from a newspaper released by Żabotyński's followers in Hebrew; it was titled *Ha-Maszkif (The Beholder)*. In Autumn 1945, the materials started to come in the number of six consecutive issues by post to Tobiasz Berkal's address in Łódź. The same method, to Drażnin's address, was used for English bulletins released in Paris by central-wing followers of Żabotyński. It is worth mentioning that the group received several issues of

¹¹ Ibidem, k. 82.

¹² Scherer, E. (1942). *Polska i Żydzi* [Poland and the Jews]. Nowy Jork, 64.

¹³ Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (AIPN) [Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance], sygn. 01237/135/*Jacket*, *Charakterystyka*, k. 22.

¹⁴ Unfortunately, the author of the dissertation did not manage to find a copy/copies of that bulletin. It should be highlighted that, among others, in post-war Czechoslovakia and Argentina, Betar activists released a bulletin titled Yediot (Information). See: Archiwum Instytutu Żabotyńskiego w Izraelu (AIŻ) [Jabotinsky Institute Archive in Israel], B 15 – 2/3, Betar Argentina, "Yediot" (Information), *Bulletin*, Published by Netzivut Betar Argentina, Propaganda Department, Nos. 1–3, 1953, and AIŻ, B 37 – 2/3, Betar Czechoslovakia, "Yediot" (Information) – *Bulletin of Netzivut Betar Czechoslovakia* [Czech], 1947.

¹⁵ Libionka, D., & Weinbaum, L. (2011). *Bohaterowie, hochsztaplerzy, opisywacze wokół Żydowskiego Związku Wojskowego* [Heroes, swindlers, narrators around the Jewish Military Union]. Warszawa, 38-39.

¹⁶ Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (AIPN) [Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance], sygn. BU 01178/1778, *Wyciąg z protokołu przesłuchania podejrzanego Perła Szlomo z dnia 14 maja 1949 r.* [Excerpt from the interrogation protocol of the suspect Perła Szlomo dated May 14, 1949], k. 33a.



newspapers like *Jewish Standard* and *Jewish Herald*. The newspapers identified themselves with the concept of Zionism. *Jewish Herald* was released by Żabotyński's followers in the Union of South Africa (present Republic of South Africa)¹⁷. The editorial team of *Jewish Standard* had its headquarters in London¹⁸. Perła's tasks included translation of the articles in the above-mentioned into Polish and Yiddish. Translated materials were printed on a copier that belonged to Sikuler. It must be added that apart from the mentioned form of activity, representatives of the movement supporting Żabotyński issued two brochures.

In both articles that were translated from English into Polish, there was notably visible radical criticism of Great Britain. It was Great Britain that controlled that region of the Middle East after the First War under the mandate that had been officially granted by the League of Nations. Revisionist Zionist activists thought that the British government wanted to start a conflict between Orthodox Jews and Arabs through its anti-Semitic policy. Those efforts were to refer to the principle established in Ancient Rome: divide and rule. What is more, the dispute between the two nations inhabiting Palestine would be presented by the British authorities not as a conflict between Zionists and the British but as a conflict between Zionists and Arabs who, according to Żabotyński's followers, would be only passive enforcers of instructions flowing from London.

Extreme right-wing Zionists thought that the British wanted to prevent the restoration of the Jewish state. It was said to be conducted through, i.a. limiting emigration of Jews to Palestine and, at the same time, settling people from neighboring regions there¹⁹. Those issues

¹⁷ See in more detail in: Archiwum Instytutu Żabotyńskiego w Izraelu (AIŻ) [Jabotinsky Institute Archive in Israel], A 1 – 2/28, Zeev Jabotinsky to Jewish Herald, Johannesburg, 1938, and AIŻ, A 1 – 2/29/1, Zeev Jabotinsky to Jewish Herald, Johannesburg, 1939.

¹⁸ See in more detail in: AIŻ, G 10 a – 9/1, N.Z.O. Head Office, Eretz Israel, 'The Jewish Standard', London – Correspondence, 1940, and AIŻ, NP – 310, *THE JEWISH STANDARD: NATIONAL JEWISH WEEKLY*, 1940-1948.

¹⁹ At the same time, it should be mentioned that Żabotyński's followers favored giving equal rights to Muslim and Christian people living there. However, they opposed the idea of reconciliation between Jews and Arabs. Żabotyński's allies indicated examples of peaceful existence in countries where the dominant nation respected the rights of minorities. These countries included Finland with its Swedish society, Canada with French-speaking Catholics, as well as Great Britain with Scottish and Welsh people. The political and social philosophy of Ze'ev Jabotinsky. *Selected writings of Ze'ev Jabotinsky*, edited by Mordechai Sarig, translated by Shimshon Feder, foreword by Daniel Carpi, preface by Ze'ev Binyamin Begin, London, Portland, 1999, p. 108, and Żabotyński, W. (1927). *Rewizjonizm (jego cele i drogi)* [Revisionism (its goals and ways)]. Warszawa, 18.



were regulated by the White Paper elaborated in years 1922, 1930, and 1939 by Winston Churchill, Lord Passfield, and Malcolm McDonald²⁰. The first two of them were created after Arabian anti-Semitic unrest and they limited the settlement possibilities for Orthodox Jews in Palestine. The third one, submitted on 17 May 1939, provided for lowering the emigration of Jews to 75 thousand in 10 years and for radical limitation of the possibility for Jews to legally purchase land. The British planned that within 10 years an Arabian state would be established to cover the regions to the west from the Jordan River²¹. The information in that White Paper²² was rejected by almost all Zionist organizations. British authorities also wanted to prevent the economic growth of Palestine by introducing martial law. The authorities were against any investments in that part of the Middle East that would be financed from tax revenues added to the British budget. Żabotyński's followers also highlighted that the stationing British army and police were to hinder Jewish attempts to reclaim their independence and, at the same time, they highlighted the vast budgetary costs it caused. It should be highlighted that in the period of 1945 to 1947, there was one member of law enforcement services per 18 inhabitants of Palestine. In the above-mentioned period, British taxpayers had to pay 100 million pounds for it²³.

Right-wing Zionists criticized the British for (in their opinion) incorrect judgments in cases related to the illegal weapon owner. The Arabs would be convicted for several months in prisons while the Jews would receive the highest punishment. In that criticism of mandate authorities, one can, among others, find echoes of Salomon ben Josef's case. He was born in 1913 in Łuck as Szlomo Tabacznik. He joined Betar at the end of the 1920s. In 1937, he moved to Palestine²⁴. At the end of April 1938, he was stopped by the British and on 25 June that year, he was

²⁰ See more in: Cweibaum, B., Gerber, N. M., Schipper, I., Schwarzbard, I., Stendig, S., Tartakower, A., & Wasserman, P. (1939). *Encyklopedia palestyńska* [Palestinian Encyclopedia]. Kraków-Warszawa, 1(6), 331-342.

²¹ Hartglas, A. (1996). *Na pograniczu dwóch światów* [On the border of two worlds], (Introduction and edited by J. Żyndul). Warszawa, 372.

²² White Papers, i.e., documents relating to the policy (especially in the context of migration) of the British authorities towards Palestine. Individual White Papers were published in 1922, 1930, and 1939 and were usually written after Arab riots against Jews. See more: Trevor, D. (1948). *Under the White Paper*. Jerusalem.

²³ Grabski, A. (2004). *Działalność komunistów wśród Żydów w Polsce (1944-1949)* [The activity of communists among Jews in Poland (1944-1949)]. Warszawa, 145.

²⁴ Gontarczyk, P. (2013). *Najnowsze kłopoty z historią. Publicystyka z lat 2008-2012* [The latest troubles with history. Journalism from the years 2008-2012].



sentenced to death for possession of weapons. He was executed on 30 June 1938 in the Akko fortress. They buried him in the town of Rosz Pina²⁵. Due to that event, a general strike started in Tel Aviv while Jewish student organizations in Poland requested that the youth should wear mourning armbands. Włodzimierz Żabotyński wrote a letter to Rachela Tabacznik, the executed person's mother living in Łuck: *Sister! I am unworthy to have your son Salomon Ben Josef die with my name on his lips. As long as I live, I will never forget him*²⁶. It should be added that Ben Josef's heroism was also highlighted by missionaries of the Anglican Church who were members of the Barbican Mission in Białystok and operated among worshippers of Judaism²⁷.

Both texts present visible criticism of other Zionists involved in the World Zionist Organization. They claimed that it was possible to conclude an agreement between them and Great Britain the policy of which was reluctant towards them. Authors of the texts highlighted that, as representatives of right-wing Zionist organization, they were deliberately convinced about the unreal nature of those assumptions.

Żabotyński's followers claimed that United Nations, similarly to League of Nations, had no possibility of ending the conflict in Palestine due to lack of efficient methods of imposing diplomatic and military pressure²⁸. They would give the example of Japanese attack on China (1937-1945) and conquest of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) by fascist Italy (1935-1936)²⁹. Revisionist Zionist activists claimed that the only country that could help Jewish people in the restoration of their state were the United States of America. They believed that the society living in the US was able to express their objection against British politics in Palestine. Revisionist Zionists were certain that it would happen only when citizens of the United States realize that the actions of

²⁵ Jak stracono Ben-Josefa? [How Ben-Josef was lost?]. *Ilustrowana Republika*, (1938, July 1), 178, 3.

²⁶ Cited in: *Ibidem*, s. 3.

²⁷ *Ten, który strzeże Izraela* [The one who guards Israel]. (1939). *Dwa Światy* [Two Worlds], 1-2(8), 6 (March-April).

²⁸ It is worthwhile mentioning that the extreme left-wing Revisionist Zionist organization Haszomer Hacair highlighted that the activities by the United Nations without the formation of international armed forces would be bound to fail, similarly to the case of the League of Nations. *Mosty. Biuletyn Haszomer Hacair w Polsce (MBHHP)* [Bridges. Haszomer Hacair Bulletin in Poland], *Naszym zdaniem... Czy powtórzy się historia Ligi Narodów?* [In our opinion... Will the history of the League of Nations repeat itself?], (1948), 137 (February 2), 2.

²⁹ Read more about the conflicts in: MacKinnon, R. S., Lary, D., & Vogel, E. F. (2007). *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–1945*. Stanford. Nicolle, D. (1997). *The Italian Invasion of Abyssinia 1935-1936*. Westminster.



the British against Jews were very similar to the oppression towards inhabitants of the thirteen colonies who refused obedience to the British government in 1775.

It should be mentioned that the materials supplied to Revisionist Zionist activists in Poland included propaganda bulletins of the organization called the American League for a Free Palestine. The organization was founded by Hilel Kook (Peter Bergson) who lived in years 1915-2001 and was one of Żabotyński's followers³⁰. The American League for a free Palestine supported the idea of restoration of the Jewish state³¹. In 1946, writer Ben Hecht, who supported that organization, wrote a play titled *A Flag is Born*. It told the story of Jews of Polish origins who after trauma of the war decided to emigrate to Palestine³². They were compared to Americans who fought the British Empire in the period from 1775 to 1783. The main roles in this play were performed by Marlon Brando (1924-2004) and a citizen of prewar Lviv – Paul Muni (Mejer Wajzenfrajd)³³.

The end of the Zionist right-wing activists came in March 1949 when officers of the Ministry of Public Safety arrested three people responsible for the functioning of that political group. Among them were: Raczko, Drażnin, and Perła³⁴. It can be assumed that the reason for destroying the structures of right-wing Zionist was the fact that since the second half of 1947, Drażnin had been trying to legalize the activities of Żabotyński's followers in Poland and in order to do that he had contacted a worker at the Safety Authority, major Liberman³⁵. The

³⁰ See more in: Wyman, D. S., & Medoff, R. (2002). *A Race Against Death: Peter Bergson, America, and the Holocaust*. Hardcover. Rapaport, L. (1999). *Shake Heaven & Earth: Peter Bergson and the Struggle to Rescue the Jews of Europe*. Gefen Publishing House Ltd.

³¹ It is worth mentioning that due to its identification with Revisionist Zionist activists, it was criticized by central-wing Jews seeking to restore the Jewish state in Palestine. In mid-July 1947, representatives of the Youth Zionist Organization in America published an appeal to people to stop the support for Irgun Cwai Leumi and Hillel Kook's collaborators. Their argument was that Revisionist Zionist activists, thanks to financial support, gained in strength and used it to attack their political opponents. They were also said to have performed extortions aimed at merchants and have destroyed wells in Palestine. The appeal concluded with a claim that the major part of those operations would have never happened, had it not been for the financial support from the United States. Whoever supported Irgun members also supported the bloodshed in Palestine. Mosty. Biuletyn Haszomer Hacair w Polsce (MBHHP) [Bridges. Haszomer Hacair Bulletin in Poland], *Potępienie Grupy Bergsona* [Condemnation of the Bergson Group], (1947), 75 (July 18), 3.

³² MBHHP, *Sztuka o Żydach polskich* [Art about Polish Jews], (1946), 2 (October 30), 2.

³³ It should be highlighted that the actor is known, for example, from the movie *Godfather* released in 1972.

³⁴ Libionka, D., & Weinbaum, L. (2011). *Bohaterowie, hochsztaplerzy, opisywacze wokół Żydowskiego Związku Wojskowego* [Heroes, swindlers, narrators around the Jewish Military Union]. Warszawa, 38.

³⁵ Gonterek, A. (2013). Na usługach UB Dawid Drażnin [In the service of the UB Dawid Drażnin]. *Biuletyn Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Warszawie*, 2(71), 27-28.



outcome was that communist services found leads on that illegal organization. Arrested persons, depending on their conviction, spent 3 to 4 years in prison.

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The sphere of interest: Polish-Jewish relations, Zionist-Revisionism, interwar Poland, early Polish People's Republic, Jewish political movements, cultural heritage preservation, archival research, Jewish history in Poland.

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Dominik Flisiak contributed to the design and implementation of the research essay, the analysis of the results, and the writing of the manuscript.

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ANNEX Annex A

Dr. J. Bader.

The Arabian astray in British policy.

It is an important issue that Great Britain is not eager to admit to be the actual main opponent of Zionism and that no other party but Great Britain and its specialists in the Middle East keep putting obstacles in our way. British statesmen and politicians who participate in this activity feature strong willingness to convince the British society and the rest of the world that there is a dispute going between two nationalist factors in Palestine: an Arabian factor the actions and claims of which are justified, and a "Zionist" factor the extreme opinions of which are close to madness since Jews basically share one faith but do not constitute a nation and that is why they do not deserve any national rights or right to nationality in any form. The same politicians prove that Palestine has been a great burden for Great Britain, which seems to not be much interested in it and that Great Britain has no side intentions connected with ruling in that country. Great Britain serves the role of a judge and mediator in the dispute between Jews and Arabs. And those politicians are content with such a privileged role of a judge and mediator. Thanks to such a task, one can perform in Palestine something that is referred to by *The Times* as "pendular balance method". Naturally, *The Times* does not bother to add that such a "pendular balance method" is nothing more than just a cover story for the large reaction that old Metternich, an extreme reactionary, defined already 100 years ago in the following words: "Rule and do not change anything!". *The Times* will also not admit that the "pendular balance method" is almost identical as the ancient Roman rule "divide et impera", ruling through starting disputes between the rulers.

The goal, however, was to bring whole groups of Arabs ("seasonal workers") to Palestine and to open the gates of the State for Bedouins and other tramps and cutthroats, and to thwart Jewish aliyah, and to inflict damage to Jewish economy by using martial law, and to sentence Jews to death for weapon possession, while Arabs are convicted to spend several months in prison for the same thing – short, and in order to implement the practice of "pendular balance", the British must make the impression that they are a third party without any side intentions, completely uninterested in the matter, that they are the judges and the mediators.

The outrage of Arabian governments caused by a strict and reoccurring inspection of American investigation authorities at the Arabian Office in Washington would indicate that the results of the revision are more than surprising. We will probably not be able to learn the complete results of the revision soon. But one fact has been already confirmed and it is obvious that the Arabian Office in Washington has been and is mainly financed with British money. It is of no surprise to us, people who know that the Arab League is the result of British efforts and that it constitutes an instrument of British politics in the Middle East had probably expectations concerning the findings in Washington similar to the actual ones. People who know that the British informative services in Cairo (that constituted the center of anti-Zionist propaganda for the whole Near and Middle East) were established and financed by governmental British factors would not be astonished too much if it appeared that the Arabian Office, in order to conduct anti-Semitic propaganda, working in all capital cities in the world, is something different from the findings of the investigation in Washington.



But what are the opinions of our "leaders" who, against the prohibition and the strict resolution made by the Zionist Congress, participated in the London Conference³⁶, the sole purpose of which was to serve as a great manifestation for the British role of a judge and mediator between two feuding parties. How big is the paradox that dollars lend by the United States to Great Britain in order to help it overcome the economic crisis simply return to the States to finance the anti-Zionist agitation created in Washington. What was the idea behind the travel to London to convince people to our claims while who spend so much money to have Arabs convince others about the unjustified nature of our claims?

If they had had any sense of humor, Jewish "leaders" who participated in the negotiations in London and the journalists of Jewish journals who had spread harmful optimism during those negotiations would have perceived themselves as funny.

We, the ones who, for years, have been following those secret strings which connect the activities of Arabian states and measurable instances of Arabian nationalists with the British government, remain unsurprised that the Arabian Office in Washington is finances with British pounds. But sceptics and pessimists were this time provided with clear and hard evidence. Of course, there is no salvation for those blind people who would reject even the most evident truth.

Recently, the press has reminded of the accurate statement by Bernard Shaw who said that it is possible that one day, the heart of the British Empire will be moved to Baghdad. If we use that statement symbolically to define the contemporary British policy used in the region to the north from the Suez Canal, we might say that the day has come.

A subtle observer, however, would easily notice that the British heart is severely sick, suffering from angina pectoris.

/Hamazkif/

Iwan Grinberg (former editor of The Jewish Chronicle)

British policy in Palestine suicidal for the Empire.

Recently, the British Government published the White Paper titled "Report on the matters in Europe". The goal of that publication has been to present the governmental policy concerning the defense of the empire to the English society. As it is normally the case with such matters, the tendency of the White Paper was to find a consensus between the military (who make the demands) and politicians (who assess the burden such as the British Commonwealth of Nations). Instead of articulate and clear expressions, the gentlemen who handle the interests of Great Britain and whose profession is to empty the purses of British taxpayers used many "softened" phrases in the report. The report proves that the military claim that the financial and people costs approved by the government constitute the minimum level. However, it is also

³⁶ It can be assumed that the information refers to the meeting held at the turn of January/February 1947. The negotiations were devoted to the solution of the escalating conflict in Palestine, which had been the mandate territory of British authorities at that time. The participants of the meeting included: the British Minister of Foreign Affairs Ernest Bevin (1881-1951), representatives of the Jewish Agency, the League of Arabian States, and the Arabian Committee in Palestine. The meeting was a fiasco because representatives of the League of Arabian States rejected the project for establishment of two states in Palestine – a Jewish state and an Arabian state. MBHHP, *Fiasko Konferencji Palestyńskiej*, 1947, nr 31 (z 11 lutego), s. 1.



clear that performance of those obligations will bring serious economic and financial difficulties for Great Britain in the financial year of 1947/48.

"Ongoing military obligations" - that is how the White Paper referred to military operations which Great Britain finds necessary at the moment. Among such operations, the protection of Palestine and its coast against Jewish immigration, against haapala, serves an important role. For us, Jews, it is important and crucial that we understand the great importance the British military attach to their supremacy over Palestine. We must understand and become aware of the extent of the freedom given by the British government to generals and their activities, no matter how brutal, fierce, and cost-intensive, in order to maintain the British control in that country.

The comedy of the UN

Naturally, no one treats the whole blabber about removing the "burden" called Palestine and handing it over to the UN seriously. High-ranked officials of the British government who decide on the British policy have (very cunningly) come up with a set of tactical plans, the purpose of which, supposedly, is to hand the Palestinian problem over to the UN, while the goal of those plans would be to improve and enforce the British supremacy in Palestine with better effect than when it was based on the old mandate of the League of Nations. Let us not be deceived, United Nations stand now basically for nothing more than an empty word. The possibilities of the UN to prevent aggression, counteract injustice, and paralyze the international sources of evil like the one created by Great Britain in Palestine are not smaller than the possibilities of the League of Nations when trying to stop Mussolini's aggression in Abyssinia or interfere with Japanese plans in China.

Those high-ranked members of the British government mentioned above probably advised Benin to shout as loud as he could about entrusting the Palestinian issue to the UN in order to scare off members of the Zionist management as much as possible and catch them in the trap set by the Ministry of Colonies. They got dragged into negotiations and started discussions, evoking, at the same time, an impression that all aspects of the British fairytale "on Jewish and Arabian issue", members of the British Ministry of Colonies and Foreign Affairs speak so eagerly of, is true. Such a fairytale is promoted in the press, on the radio, and in publications, in any possible form, only to hide from the public opinion the obvious fact that the problem in Palestine is only a dispute between the British and the Jews, a dispute in which the Arabs only participate in the role of dogs barking on request of the British.

Great Britain being the source of the dispute.

But let us go back to the White Paper regarding the defense. Their content and conclusions shed more light on the contemporary position of Great Britain and, consequently, on the issue we also have to face. As it has been already mentioned, for us, the Palestinian issue only brings antagonism between us and the British. If the Zionist management had some intellect, they would probably know how to explain such an obvious fact to the world. Zionist management would most probably organize an international conference devoted to Palestine and during that conference, they would prove that Great Britain is the sole reason for the dispute with Erec. However, the majority of Zionist management members is still loyal to the aggressive and bankrupt policy of the Agency. That is why they are unable to definitively reject the invitation of the British government.



The White Papers say: "Efficient protection of the Empire must be based on healthy economic and financial foundations". In other words, the only effective type of defense is one the costs of which the country is able to bear. Do we then need to remind others about the economic difficulties of Great Britain? How is it possible that a nation which finds itself in such a critical economic situation is able to pay the costs for maintaining an army of one and a half million of soldiers in 1947 compared to half a million people in 1939 in the period of successful prosperity. Is it advantageous for the interest of the Empire to destroy Palestinian Yishuv and Jewish economy, which although being one of the smaller recipients of British goods, has many financial assets Great Britain seeks for? The British government will most surely not improve its economic situation, if due to their atrocities brought upon Jews they become hated by the only nation that is able to financially support Great Britain – the nation of the United States. British atrocities against Jews remind the Americans too much about the British oppression methods used in their time, at the end of the 18th century against the North American colonies; they are bound to evoke a wave of indignation.

Anti-Semitic policy.

The spirit that permeated into the White Paper also has decided on the direction of British policy in Palestine. The time of physical brutality in that policy comes from the military, while the time of cunning – from the clerks of the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The result of the combination of those two factors in Palestine should be no surprise. A military specialist, of well-known surname, has recently given a lecture on the situation in Palestine during the meeting of British parliamentarians. As a part of the lecture, he mentioned the necessity to maintain a large and active British army in Palestine due to the concerns regarding Russia. That serviceman mocked the worries connected with the military threat of the Arabs. According to him, they represent no military force. Jews, on the other hand – he said – are able to gain independence, if they do not encounter any obstacles, and they might become a threat due to their positive relations with Russia. That is why it is required to bring Jews to the role of a small, weak, and defenseless community that could be weakened in the future through Arabian pogroms, in case it becomes too strong. In other words, it means that the British military should try to remove the very last Jew from Palestine to properly secure the British military base.

Thus, it explains the whole situation. It is now clear what the reasons are for the British propaganda to work so thoroughly in order to enforce anti-Semitism in Great Britain. It is because such anti-Semitism stands for complete support of the British public opinion and British society for ruthless methods of oppression used against the Palestinian *jiszew*. It is perfectly clear why Bewin tried so hard to achieve further delay for the final solution of the problem.

It is probable that the British opinion will understand that the policy of honesty is the best solution while diligence is better than the perfidious style of the British Office of Foreign Affairs. However, most people will learn about it only when they experience such things on their own skin and body, while members of the government are no exception here. In any case, the free and independent State on both sides of the Jordan river will become reality no. So far, the question has been whether the State would be established in agreement with Great Britain or against its will. One thing is obvious. The Jewish state is a matter of life and death for each Jew, wherever in the world. Of course, the whole problem is less important for the British. The evil



spirit of Lord North (that British statesman responsible for the war with the United States) once again becomes palpable in premises of the foreign office. This time, however, if the evil spirit is not banished, Great Britain will lose one or even more of its colonies.

/Jewish Standard/³⁷

List of abbreviations

AIPN – *Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* [Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance]

AIŻ – *Archiwum Instytutu Żabotyńskiego w Tel – Awiwie* [Żabotyński Archive Institute in Tel Aviv]

MBHHP – *Mosty. Biuletyn Haszomer Hacair w Polsce* [Bridges. Haszomer Hacair Bulletin in Poland]

³⁷ AIPN sygn., IPN BU 1560/164, *The Arabian astray in British policy*, k. 31- 34.
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