



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.
Series C: Zionism/Founding of the State of Israel, 1942-1955.

Box
4

Folder
2

American Zionist Emergency Council. 1944-1948.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date December 12, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

CONFIDENTIAL

By this time you have learned through the press of the decision of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to defer action on the Palestine resolution, so far as this session of Congress is concerned. This decision was taken at the insistent request of the State Department.

We feel that you should have fuller information on the events which transpired in Washington. As you will recall, the first intimation that favorable action might be taken on the Palestine resolutions came early in October when Secretary of War Stimson, through a letter to Senator Taft, lifted the ban on behalf of the War Department. This was promptly followed by Congressman Bloom's public announcement that he would convene a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House on November 15th in order to take action on the resolution. His announcement stimulated our friends in the Senate to move in a similar direction. A number of public declarations in support of the Zionist program followed immediately, the most notable of which was the historic declaration of President Roosevelt on October 15th. This pronouncement constituted a complete and unequivocal endorsement of Zionist aims and a forthright pledge to help bring about their realization. In conveying the President's statement to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Senator Wagner stated that this clears the way for the passage of the Palestine resolution.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House took favorable action on November 30th and the resolution went to the Rules Committee, with Congressmen Bloom and Wright urging swift and favorable action. Even before this favorable action by the House Committee, the Senate Committee, at one of its meetings, proceeded to consider the Palestine resolution. To the best of our knowledge, Senator Connally, chairman, stated that there was some objection on the part of the State Department. This occasioned surprise in view of all that had taken place, and particularly in view of the President's declaration of October 15th. The reaction in the Senate Committee was that it would be necessary for the Secretary of State to appear in person and explain the Department's position. Accordingly, a few days later -- on December 6th -- Secretary Stettinius made a personal appearance before the Senate Committee to urge deferment of action. It would seem that his statement did not present convincing ground for deferment of action to the satisfaction of the Committee, but that on the contrary, the Committee decided to consider the resolution again at a third executive session which was set for Friday, December 8th. At this meeting the State Department repeated its objection in the form of a written statement, which again apparently failed to convince the majority of the Committee. A proposal was made to table the resolution, but this proposal was defeated and the Committee proceeded to consider the wording of the resolution. Variations on the original text were suggested, and one version by Senator Vandenberg was tentatively adopted. It was decided to hold off final action on this version, with the understanding that there would be conference between Senators Wagner and Vandenberg on the final wording which was to be voted on at a fourth meeting, set for Monday, December 11th.

By Monday afternoon the text of a resolution, agreeable to both Senators and satisfactory from our standpoint, was submitted to the Committee with every prospect of affirmative action being taken. While the Committee was deliberating, Secretary Stettinius appeared once more, accompanied by an aide, and for the third time urgently pressed the Committee to defer action at the request of the President.

Subjected to such repeated pressure, and without an opportunity for any representative of the Zionist movement to appear, it was inevitable that the Committee would weaken. But it is instructive to note that it yielded only on the understanding that the State Department assume full responsibility for deferment. The final vote, according to our information, was 11 to 8.

As part of the same situation, the resolution already approved by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House had been tied up in the House Rules Committee, likewise at the insistence of the State Department.

As you have undoubtedly read, Secretary Stettinius issued a brief public statement to explain the stand taken by the Department because of "the general international situation." In addition to the formal statement issued in the name of the Department, a press relations officer of the Department furnished newspapermen with so-called "background material" on the Palestine question which limited itself to the activities of Jewish terrorists and the difficulties facing British officials.

There are many additional facts and other phases of the situation that cannot be included in this memorandum, which gives only a bare outline. When we first learned that the Executive Branch of the Government was again averse, as it had been early this year, to the passage of any pro-Zionist resolutions in Congress, prompt steps were taken to clarify the situation and to induce the Administration to withdraw its objections. In view of all that had happened -- the inclusion of the Palestine planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms, the lifting of the military ban on the resolutions, and the October 15th declaration of the President himself -- it seemed incredible that the Administration should take a position so radically inconsistent with the President's pronouncement, and persist in opposing the Congressional resolution with all the power at its command. Accordingly, prompt steps were taken to remove such misunderstandings and objections that seemed to exist. Approaches were made both to the President and to the Secretary of State. These efforts were met by counter-efforts on the part of the Administration to induce the Zionist leadership to request deferment of action on the resolution. It was actually suggested to Zionist leaders that they approach Congressional leaders with this request. Fortunately, better counsel prevailed.

It was an impossible position in which to place the Zionist leadership, in view of the history of the resolution -- the repeated commitments, the tremendous campaign carried on throughout the country, and all that was at stake. Renewed pledges to pass the resolution had been secured from Congressmen and Senators only a few weeks ago, and they were being pressed by you and other constituents to act. They felt morally bound to honor their pledges. Clearly, the Zionist leaders could not assume the role of lobbyists against the resolution which was designed to further the achievement of Zionist aims. Moreover, action had already been initiated by our friends in Congress who were resolved to go forward, and once they initiated action, it was essential that they be guided and encouraged.

We should be heartened by the fact that again it has been demonstrated that Congress is with us. Both Committees in the House and Senate were anxious to act positively, and many of our friends are determined to introduce a Palestine resolution when Congress re-convenes after the first of the year. In the Senate Committee a stubborn and gallant fight was waged in our behalf, and resistance was offered to the mounting pressure of the State Department to the very last. This augurs well for any future situation in which the aid of Congress may be required and this has served notice on the Executive Branch of our Government that our movement has powerful friends in Congress who will zealously watch over the interests of the Jewish people when final decisions are made.

Our battle is far from over, and the fight we have waged to date has been a good one. We are confident that the Zionists of America, who during the past year have breathed new life and vitality into our movement, will not allow this setback to dissuade them from continuing to shoulder the sacred responsibility which is ours. The fight for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth goes on!

HLS:MBP



PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi • Poale-Zion
342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, declared last night that his resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and as chairman of the Council's Executive Committee is "irrevocable," but that "as a private in the ranks" he would continue to work for a policy in which "timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place."

The text of Dr. Silver's statement follows:

"At the time that I announced my resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and as the chairman of its Executive Committee on December 20, I stated that it was irrevocable. I regret that so much controversy has developed over it, but I must insist upon the position I have taken, despite the urging of many friends that I reconsider my decision. My policies do not appear to have the support of a sufficient majority of the membership of the Council as now constituted to warrant my continuing in office.

"My action has been prompted particularly by the position taken by the representatives of one of the groups, the Zionist Organization of America. Despite the fact that the National Convention of the Zionist Organization of America at Atlantic City on October 16 approved my policies by a unanimous vote, the present representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Council are committed to an attitude and a course of action which make it impossible for me to carry out those policies effectively.

"I am deeply grateful for the consistent and loyal support which I have had from the Poale Zion and Mizrahi parties, from the Jewish press, from the rank and file of American Zionism and the local Zionist Emergency Councils everywhere.

(more)

"I remain, of course, a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council and will eagerly give the Movement whatever help and counsel I can. My resignation will leave me free to devote myself more fully to Zionist education among our people and the exposition of the Zionist program among the general public. As a private in the ranks I shall continue to advocate the classic Zionist program which aims at the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place.

"It is a source of great satisfaction that the past sixteen months of my administration have been marked by substantial progress for the Zionist cause in our country. I trust that whatever differences of opinion exist in our Movement -- and no great movement is quite free of them -- will in no way interfere with the further progress of our historic cause in the days to come."

--30--

#131 - 12/28/44

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committee

Date December 29, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

This is my last memorandum to you in my capacity as Director of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

No one feels more keenly than I the full tragedy of the recent developments which have halted the essential work of the American Zionist Emergency Council - work that was carried forward with such vigor, enthusiasm, and success during the past year under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. But I cannot continue in office after the policies and procedures which all of us, working together, had embraced in the past historic months have been scuttled by the leaders and representatives of the Zionist Organization of America on the Council, and after the program of Dr. Silver, which has been responsible for our major achievements, has been undermined to a point where he had no recourse but to resign.

The issue cuts far beneath a clash of personalities, or the ambitions of self-seeking cliques. The Zionists of America - the Jewish people in fact - must decide whether we shall return to the inanities, inactivity and "backstairs diplomacy" which characterized the methods of the American Zionist Emergency Council from its inception until a year ago; or whether we resume the forthright open policy of enlisting the active support of the American public and the American government, both Congress and the Executive, in behalf of our Zionist program.

The immediate task before me and other sincere Zionists is clear. The organized Zionists of America must be informed of what has taken place. They are entitled to the truth and must be given the opportunity to judge this question, which is a matter of life and death for our movement, on the basis of facts and fundamental issues.

Convinced that this problem can be dealt with effectively only at its source, many of us have already resolved to bring this whole tragic story to the membership of the Zionist Organization of America so that they may decide whether or not the administration of the Z.O.A. has abided by the last Convention's unanimous declaration of approval for Dr. Silver's policies, or whether those representatives have deliberately cast those policies and their sponsor overboard.

If you feel as I do that speedy action must be taken to bring the facts clearly and fearlessly to the rank and file of the Z.O.A., I urge you to communicate with me at 250 West 57th Street (Room 1030), New York 19, N.Y.

Kindest regards.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER'S RESIGNATION

- - -

A MEMORANDUM

The appalling and long festering situation within the American Zionist Emergency Council which led to the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman of the Council and as chairman of its Executive Committee is known to very few. Those of us who had been in daily contact with the political work of our movement but who could not in conscience continue after Dr. Silver and his program were ruthlessly sacrificed, have resolved that you shall have the facts. You who have done such a magnificent job during the past year, are entitled to the truth.

In a memorandum dated December 12th, you were informed of much that had transpired in Washington in connection with the Palestine resolutions. That memorandum avoided any reference to the shocking conditions which obtained in official Zionist circles during this period. But after all that has taken place, and with wild rumors agitating our people throughout the country, we regard it as a solemn duty to pass on as many of the important facts as can be encompassed within the space of this memorandum.

At a meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council on October 30th and at a subsequent meeting, it was agreed that the "green light" should be obtained from the State Department and the President before we pressed for action on the resolution. This was done, not out of a desire to avoid offending the State Department or the President, but to protect ourselves against the kind of opposition which we encountered last Spring. No one anticipated any serious difficulty in view of Secretary Stimson's letter lifting the military ban, the President's own statement of October 15th, etc. Accordingly, Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise and Dr. Nahum Goldmann called on Mr. Stettinius on November 9th to get the "green light."

Mr. Stettinius had no opinion of his own, but said that he would consult with the President. It is altogether false to suggest, as has been suggested, that Dr. Silver or the other members of the delegation which called on Mr. Stettinius gave any promise, expressed or implied, that we would give up the resolution if the State Department or the President registered objections. If anyone gave such a promise, it was done before or after the interview with Mr. Stettinius - and not by Dr. Silver.

At a meeting of the Emergency Council on November 21st, Dr. Wise reported that on November 15th Mr. Stettinius had telephoned to him and had said that the President thought we should not proceed with action on the resolution and that the matter should be left with him for a little while longer. In the discussion that followed, it was clear that the Council was not satisfied that Mr. Stettinius' reply definitely closed the matter. On the contrary, it was felt by quite a few that a mistake had been made in going to Mr. Stettinius in the first place, that we should have assumed that the "green light" had, in fact, been given by President Roosevelt in his statement of October 15th. Dr. Silver urged that a strong effort should be made to induce the President to change his mind, but Dr. Wise argued against such action, declaring that the President was leaving the country almost immediately. Dr. Wise emphasized further that Congress would adjourn in a few days and that he had been assured that our resolution could not possibly be acted upon in the closing days of this Congress. Dr. Wise was badly misinformed in both of these matters.

The Council agreed that a strong effort should be made to reach President Roosevelt. It was clear from Dr. Wise's attitude that if the matter were left to

him, no earnest effort would be made to urge the President to change his mind. As far as he was concerned, the resolution might just as well die.

The President was not in Washington and could not be reached. It was not until December 2nd, 11 days after the meeting of the Council, that Senator Wagner, who was deeply committed to the resolution, wrote a personal letter to the President, in which he explained the situation as he saw it and appealed to the President to withdraw his objections. Meanwhile, important events had already taken place -- without any pressure on Dr. Silver's part. For many months your committee, along with the other local Emergency Councils, had been interviewing your Senators and Representatives, Congressmen-elect and other public officials, and obtaining pledges from them to vote for our resolution. All members of Congress received our book, "America and Palestine" which contained the printed opinions of nearly 400 members of the 78th Congress. Senator Wagner informed the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America that the President's statement clears the way for Congressional action on the Palestine resolutions. Secretary Stimson had lifted the military ban. The ZOA Convention called for speedy action on the Palestine resolution. Congressman Bloom had announced that he would summon a meeting of his Committee to consider the Palestine resolution on November 15th. In short, the Congress, which all of us had been cultivating for a full year, was set for action and the sponsors of the resolutions insisted upon discharging their obligations to the Jewish people.

Dr. Silver had wired Dr. Wise on November 22nd, the day after the Council's meeting, to this effect: "Because of strike here (in Cleveland) could not reach you by telephone. Strongly urge you to contact Bloom immediately and urge him to see the Chief and persuade him to give clearance to resolutions... Please inform me by telegram or telephone results of conversation with Bloom."

Dr. Wise never replied to this telegram.

On the very day that Dr. Silver arrived in Washington (Nov. 27) he went to see Congressman Bloom to urge him to get in touch with the President. Congressman Bloom, a staunch supporter of President Roosevelt, declared that he did not need any new "green light." He had already made his own soundings. He stated that he was going forward with the resolution. Congressman Bloom requested that Dr. Silver write him a letter indicating approval of the course he was following. Dr. Silver complied with Mr. Bloom's request in order that the resolution be kept alive pending negotiations with the Administration. As you know, favorable action was taken in the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Wednesday, November 29th.

When Dr. Silver met with Senator Wagner on Tuesday, November 28th, the Senator had no plans to see the President to persuade him to remove his objections, despite the fact that Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman had seen Senator Wagner in Atlantic City on November 26th. But Senator Wagner was, nevertheless, determined to go into the meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the next morning and have his resolution considered. On that same Tuesday, Mr. Shulman telephoned Senator Wagner's secretary in Washington and gave him many reasons as to why the Senator should use his efforts to postpone consideration of the resolution by the Senate Committee. This was not Mr. Shulman's mission. Three men -- Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman -- had been authorized and directed to try to persuade the Administration to change its mind, not to urge Senators and Congressmen to desist from working for the passage of the resolution.

As on earlier occasions, our leaders were working at cross purposes. Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman were pressing Senator Wagner to have his resolution shelved, and

Dr. Silver, following the clear line indicated by the Council, was urging the Senator to get in touch with the President. Senator Wagner found himself the victim of two opposing forces pulling in different directions. He was telephoned a score of times from New York by people, all of whom spoke in the name of the Emergency Council or of Zionists. Senator Wagner was baffled and confused -- and understandably so.

On Saturday evening, December 2nd, when Dr. Silver arrived in Pittsburgh to attend the American Jewish Conference, the situation was the following: the resolution in the Senate was hanging fire, pending word from Mr. Stettinius and a reply from President Roosevelt to Senator Wagner's letter. Senator Wagner and Dr. Silver were awaiting an appointment with Mr. Stettinius scheduled for noon on Monday. There was little doubt that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was determined to act -- without being prodded or pressed. The House Foreign Affairs Committee had already acted favorably and its action had been warmly hailed by the Jewish press, by the Jewish public and by most of the leaders of the Zionist parties.

When he arrived in Pittsburgh, Dr. Silver planned to call together the members of the Interim Committee, consisting of the co-chairmen of the Council and the representatives of the Jewish Agency, which, the Council had ruled, was to consult on urgent political affairs between meetings of the Emergency Council. To his amazement he discovered, upon his arrival, that Dr. Israel Goldstein had during the day called a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Z. O. A. to discuss the Palestine Resolutions, despite the fact that neither the Interim Committee nor the Council had as yet discussed the matter, and that Dr. Silver, who was closest to the whole situation, was not present to supply accurate information. The halls of the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh were buzzing with rumors, fragments of information and misinformation. What Zionist purpose Dr. Goldstein intended to serve by calling this meeting, at such a time and place, where hundreds of delegates including non-Zionists were gathered not for a Zionist convention but for the American Jewish Conference, is incomprehensible. Nothing but mischief could result from such hasty and ill-considered opinions expressed on insufficient and largely inadequate data. Here was the start of a campaign to "run down" the resolution passed by the House Committee and to discredit Dr. Silver, whose name had been so closely identified with the resolution.

Dr. Wise declined to attend the meeting of the Interim Committee which Dr. Silver had called in Pittsburgh. The other members of this Committee who did attend received all the essential facts from Dr. Silver.

Dr. Wise called an unauthorized meeting of the Emergency Council in Pittsburgh for Sunday evening, December 3 (the Council's Constitution clearly provides that no special meeting of the Council can be called without three days' notice.) This meeting resulted in nothing except a request that Dr. Silver meet with the heads of the four parties represented in the Council to consider what should be done in case the President persisted in his objection. Dr. Silver had to leave for Washington immediately after his report to the American Jewish Conference, and rushed from the platform to the train.

On Monday, December 4, Dr. Silver, together with Senator Wagner, had an interview with Mr. Stettinius. Both were shocked and amazed when they were shown a telegram sent by Dr. Wise from Pittsburgh to Mr. Stettinius, which in so many words stated that while Dr. Wise wished the resolution passed, he was prepared to acquiesce in its deferment if the Administration so desired. This, in effect, told the Administration that the Jews of America would quickly reconcile themselves to the deferment of the resolution, and that Dr. Wise, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, could be counted upon to defend the Administration's stand.

When considered in retrospect, it becomes quite clear that Dr. Wise's unauthorized telegram, sent without the prior knowledge of the Council or of Dr. Silver, sealed the fate of the Palestine resolution.

Mr. Stettinius told Senator Wagner and Dr. Silver that he would immediately transmit to the President the case as presented to him by them. (He characterized the case presented by Dr. Silver as "unanswerable.")

It must be borne in mind that every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee received telegrams from the President of the ZOA, urging favorable action on the Palestine resolution. Similar telegrams were sent by the heads of the other parties. The telegram sent by Dr. Israel Goldstein on December 5th opened with the statement: "We earnestly urge you to report favorably the Palestine resolution for adoption by the present Congress." As of Tuesday, December 5th then, the presidents of the Zionist parties in the United States -- including Dr. Goldstein -- were officially urging the Senate Committee to act, not to defer action! If there was a decision against taking such steps and if the decision was binding and unalterable, then clearly the sending of such telegrams by the Zionist leaders was either a violation of these decisions or a reversal of earlier decisions. It is as clear as a pikestaff that if the resolution had been approved, all the Zionist leaders would have eagerly shared the credit for that achievement. Now that it has been deferred, the situation is, of course, quite different ...

What happened in the meetings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, you have learned from our earlier memorandum. It was quite clear to the State Department that the Committee was intent upon reporting favorably on the resolution. The State Department then adopted another method to achieve its end, the deferment of action on the resolution. They tried to get the Zionists themselves to withdraw the resolution. The Zionists were to assume the role of lobbyists against their own measure. Someone got in touch with Dr. Wise, presumably on Wednesday, December 6th or early Thursday morning, December 7th, for by Thursday noon Senator Connally was informing Senator Taft that the resolution would not pass the Committee, because Dr. Wise and the Zionists of New York would soon be heard from. On the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Stettinius telephoned Senator Wagner and asked him whether he had already heard from Dr. Wise and the Zionists of New York about withdrawing the resolution.

Dr. Wise lost no time in complying with the request made of him. He called two meetings, again in violation of constitutional principles, and at these meetings it was decided to send a delegation representing the 4 parties in the Council to Washington to arrange for the deferment of the resolutions. The Mizrahi Organization voted against this proposal and refused to participate in the delegation. The delegation, headed by Dr. Israel Goldstein, arrived in Washington on Friday morning, December 8th. It had been instructed to see Dr. Silver before going to the Capitol and that nothing was to be done until they had spoken with Dr. Silver. But by 8:30 A. M., Dr. Wise had already telephoned Senator Wagner, again urging him to ask for deferment.

The delegation was advised by Dr. Silver that it should not make the Zionist movement ridiculous in Washington by requesting the shelving of a resolution which all of us had been urging upon Congress for almost a year. Dr. Silver pointed out that the Senate Committee was pressing for it, that it was not the duty of Zionist leaders to press for deferment, that it was enough to indicate to the State Department that the Zionist leaders were not pressing the resolution but that the matter was in the hands of the Senate Committee, which was bent on action.

The delegation saw Mr. Stettinius, Senator Wagner and Senator Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and discussed various compromise proposals which had been considered in the discussion with Dr. Silver. The delegation made it clear to Mr. Stettinius that the Zionist leaders were not pressing for action. While the Secretary of State thought well of a compromise whereby the resolution would be voted out by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with the understanding that it would not come to the floor of the Senate for final action at that session of Congress, this proposal was turned down by Senator Connally. The anti-Zionist elements in Washington who were anxious to see the resolution shelved, felt very confident -- the very presence of the delegation of Zionist leaders outside the doors of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee indicated that the plan to get the Zionists to disown their own measure was succeeding. Members of the Senate Committee saw what was happening. The Jews themselves were divided and did not know what they wanted after they had conducted an intensive campaign in behalf of the Palestine resolutions for almost a year -- and all this was happening only 48 hours after the very same Zionist leaders had sent telegrams to every member of the Senate Committee urging favorable action on the resolution!

The delegation of Zionists was actually invited by Senator Connally to come in and address the meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Fortunately, they refused this invitation.

What took place at the last two meetings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee you have learned from the earlier memorandum. You know that the State Department has assumed full responsibility for the deferment of action. You have seen the statement issued by the State Department. You know, too, the attitude of the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as indicated by the statement which twelve of its members -- seven Democrats and five Republicans, constituting two-thirds of the Committee members who considered the resolution -- made: "... we wish to record our own personal approval of the Resolution."

When Dr. Silver presented a complete report of what had transpired in connection with the resolutions to the Emergency Council on December 20th, he made a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the present situation and submitted a program of action which he urged the Council to consider. He also urged that a sub-committee be appointed to make a careful study of the Council's organizational structure with an eye to the greater efficiency and the smoother functioning of the Council and the avoidance of such tragic pulling at cross purposes in the future.

Dr. Silver's statement and an account of what transpired at the last two meetings of the Council cannot be covered adequately in this memorandum. Suffice it to say that the small group which had been quietly opposing Dr. Silver and frustrating some of his most important efforts almost from the very moment he was named to lead American Zionist political work, refused to deal with questions of policy. They were out to "get" Dr. Silver. This clique, composed chiefly of the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America on the Council, created an "issue" -- Dr. Silver had "contravened" the Council's decisions. They could not wait to settle their score with him immediately. A motion to censure Dr. Silver was squarely rejected. However, a motion calling for the resignation of "all officers" of the Council was made, following which another motion to table this last proposal was defeated. Dr. Silver then resigned.

The ludicrousness of the trumped up charges against Dr. Silver becomes obvious after one surveys the account of what really took place in Washington. It should be added that there have been occasions when there was contravention of the Council's decisions, when Zionist leaders had acted independently and broken

discipline, and when such actions had damaging effects on our work -- but the gentlemen of the Z. O. A. in the Council not only refrained from censuring such acts, but condoned them, actually gave them moral support and encouragement. Dr. Silver was not one of the leaders whose actions were under fire. But that is a story requiring a chapter of its own.

Here, then, is an important part of this tragic story. We have dealt with first things first, and have given you an account of some important happenings in connection with the Palestine resolutions. Other important aspects of this critical situation, as well as a discussion of the basic and vital question of policy involved here (which is really the core of the problem) must be dealt with separately. This basic question of policy should be fairly clear to you from this memorandum and from Dr. Silver's statement of resignation: "I shall continue to advocate ... a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place."

Harry L. Shapiro

Formerly Executive Director,
American Zionist Emergency Council

Harold P. Manson

Formerly Director of Information,
American Zionist Emergency Council

STATEMENT BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

I have been requested to comment on the statements issued by Dr. Israel Goldstein which purport to give the facts connected with the controversy which developed in the American Zionist Emergency Council. Dr. Goldstein's facts suffer from deft distortions, twists and significant omissions, which give a false and misleading account of what actually transpired.

1) Dr. Goldstein states that at a meeting of the Emergency Council on October 30, it was unanimously decided not to press for the resolutions unless and until the preliminary approval of the Executive branch of the Government shall have been secured. No such decision was taken by the Emergency Council on October 30. In fact no decisions whatsoever were taken at that meeting. The minutes of the meeting quote me as saying: "We will not go ahead with the resolution without fully canvassing the situation. If the answer from the State Department is at all vague, I would not recommend proceeding with it." This precaution was suggested, not out of a desire not to offend the State Department or the President, but in order to protect ourselves against the kind of surprise which was jumped on us last Spring. The Council wanted to make doubly sure before it moved; but no one really expected any opposition in view of all that had transpired in the preceding months.

At that same meeting I reported (and I quote from the minutes of the meeting) "that in anticipation of the reconsideration of the resolution when Congress reconvenes, the Emergency Council has been engaged in stimulating afresh the interest of the members of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. The local emergency committees in communities in which these members resided had been asked to approach them again and to bring them up to date on recent developments and to suggest that early action on the resolution, when Congress reconvenes, would be desirable. The results so far are gratifying."

Thus the Council, on October 30, was fully informed that continued activities in behalf of our resolution were going on and would continue in Washington and all over the country. It is false to suggest even by implication that the Emergency Council at its meeting on October 30 ordered all of our activities in behalf of the resolution to be discontinued. It merely directed that we explore the mind of the State Department on our resolution, and there was a consensus of opinion that if the State Department attitude was found to be negative, we would then not proceed with the resolutions. Until such time, however, activities in behalf of the resolution were not to be discontinued, nor was word to go out that we were even considering a possible postponement.

Inquiries were accordingly made at the State Department, and at the meeting on November 21, Dr. Wise reported "that Mr. Stettinius had telephoned him and informed him that he had seen the President who urged that nothing be done about the bill at this time and that the matter be left in his hands a little while longer."

This, however, did not satisfy the members of the Emergency Council. Many felt that they had made a mistake in deciding to make inquiries at the State Department in the first place. We might have assumed that the withdrawal of the military objections, the party platforms which included Palestine planks and the statement of the President himself on October 15 were sufficient "green light" to go ahead.

At this meeting, and here again I quote from the minutes, "there followed a lengthy discussion, and it was finally decided that efforts be made once more to obtain clearance from the President through Senator Wagner, and perhaps others. It was

agreed to leave it to Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver and Mr. Shulman to take the necessary action with regard to an approach to the President." There was no other action taken at this meeting.

In other words, the Emergency Council, upon second thought, was not satisfied to have the resolution shelved just because the State Department and the President had indicated their objection to the resolution. They were not content to let it go at that. They wanted persuasive influence to be brought to bear upon the Administration to change its mind.

Dr. Wise strenuously objected to this line of procedure. He did not want the President "annoyed" by our insistence and our persuasion. He reluctantly yielded to the pressure of the Council and thereafter, far from using his energies vigorously to persuade the Secretary of State and the President, he seriously interfered with me in carrying out the clear mandate of the Council.

2) Dr. Goldstein forgets to mention the fact which I made known to the Council that the day following the November 21 meeting, I wired Dr. Wise urging him to get in touch with Congressman Bloom to see the President. Dr. Wise never replied to this telegram.

3) No one interested in the passage of the bill ever saw the President on the resolution at that time or since. He was out of Washington. All our information has come through Mr. Stettinius. The first and the only personal contact with Mr. Stettinius to carry out the wishes of the Council could not be made before December 4. It was made by Senator Wagner and myself. Senator Wagner was not in Washington before the preceding Tuesday and our appointment could not be made before the following Monday.

4) But by December 4 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had already met and had considered our resolution. In fact, at the request of Senator Taft, our Palestine Resolution was to have been considered by the Committee on November 22, but out of courtesy to Senator Wagner who was out of the city, the consideration of our resolution by the committee was postponed to November 29. I reported at the meeting of our Council on November 21 that such a meeting of the Senate Committee had been scheduled for the next day, but had been postponed to the 29th.

Senator Taft requested consideration of the resolution on his own initiative. He was neither requested nor urged by me. Already on November 11 (please note the date) Senator Taft wrote me: "I have had to delay my return to Washington until Thursday, but I hope we can proceed with the Palestine Resolution immediately." He was one of the co-sponsors of the resolution. He had resented the postponement of the resolution last Spring. It was he who had kept after the military until he obtained the letter from Secretary of War Stimson withdrawing their objections. As soon as Congress reconvened, he began pressing for his resolution, just as we all did, including the delegates at the Convention of the ZOA at Atlantic City.

5) Dr. Goldstein suggests that if I had not brought pressure on Congressman Bloom to take the matter up with his committee, no action whatsoever would have been taken in Congress. I did not arrive in Washington until November 27. By that time a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as I indicated above, had already been set for November 29, and the Senate Committee was prepared to act favorably on our resolution at that meeting.

It has been suggested that I should have asked the committee to defer action. Why? This was certainly not my mission nor mandate in Washington. I was there to see

whether I could persuade the State Department and the President to withdraw their objections to the passage of the resolution. Failing in that, the Council would then have to decide what to do, since the first report of the President's disapproval did not close the matter as far as the Council was concerned. I had not yet had the opportunity to contact either the State Department or the President. I was not to see Mr. Stettinius until December 4. Until I had had the chance to persuade them and failed, I could not go, nor did the Council obligate me to go, to the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and ask them, many of whom had been critical of the State Department's intervention and of the President's action last Spring, to postpone action on our Palestine Resolution for which the Jews of America had so persistently pressed up to the very last. We were not pressing for the resolution. The pressure came from the Senate Committee itself which was so much interested in the Palestine Resolution that it met on four successive occasions to consider it and it insisted time and again on approving our resolution in spite of two personal appearances before it made by the Secretary of State and in spite of other pressure brought by the Administration against it. Even when the resolution was finally postponed as a result of the persistent pressure from the State Department and the President, two-thirds of the members of the Senate Committee signed a round robin in which they stated that they would have voted for the resolution were it not for this insistence of the State Department and the President.

Congressman Bloom had publicly announced right after the President's statement of October 15 that he would summon a meeting of his committee the day after Congress reconvened. He was eager to move forward. I called on him for the purpose of getting him to contact the President and State Department. He did not feel that the State Department had to be consulted about it. It was none of its business, he stated. Prior to my arrival in Washington, and in anticipation of the meeting of his committee, he had had printed as a House document, the Palestine endorsements made by the four hundred congressmen and senators which appeared in the volume, "America and Palestine," recently published by the Emergency Council. It was Congressman Bloom's own idea and all credit is due him for it. Congressman Bloom was somewhat concerned with the fact that he might be blamed if he moved forward and the resolution failed of passage in his committee. He wanted us to share in the responsibility for moving ahead. I reassured him on that score, and at his request, I wrote him a letter following our interview in which I backed him up. Congressman Bloom convoked his committee on November 29, the very day on which the Senate Committee met to consider our resolution. Bloom was undoubtedly encouraged to move forward rapidly by the fact that the Senate Committee had scheduled a meeting on November 29 and was expected to act favorably on the resolution.

6) When we finally got to Mr. Stettinius on December 4--and here Dr. Goldstein's memory again conveniently fails him--we were shown, right at the outset, that fatal telegram of Dr. Wise which was dispatched without the knowledge of either Senator Wagner or myself and without any authorization from the Council on the very eve of our interview, a telegram which was calculated to nullify the effectiveness of our mission to the Secretary of State. This telegram which in so many words told the Secretary of State, and through him the President, that Dr. Wise and many of his associates would readily and without protest accept their decision with reference to the resolution, broke the back of the entire effort which the Council had resolved to make in order to change the mind of the State Department and of the President. Our only hope lay in persuading Mr. Stettinius, and through him, the President, that the entire Zionist Movement and the entire Jewish people of America were solidly united in demanding action on the resolution which had been hanging fire for over ten months, and that their hopes, which had been raised so high by all that had transpired during the year, would be dashed to the ground if it became known that the President insisted on a second deferment. Dr. Wise's telegram which was sent

from Pittsburgh at the time of the sessions of the American Jewish Conference, and presumably with the knowledge of Dr. Goldstein, deliberately wrecked this effort and torpedoed the resolution.

7) Dr. Goldstein has another serious lapse of memory. On December 5, he sent the following telegram to every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "We earnestly urge you report out favorably Palestine Resolution for adoption by present Congress ... Your Committee's favorable action would be deeply appreciated as fulfillment President's magnificent message to last Zionist Organization Convention and overwhelming American opinion as expressed recently in both party platforms."

Why did Dr. Goldstein violate the "unanimous decision" of the Emergency Council in urging Senators to act on the resolution when he knew full well that no "green light" had been given? If Dr. Silver is guilty of a breach of discipline, what about Dr. Goldstein? But the gentleman was playing safe! If the resolution passed he would share in the credit. If it failed - why he would see to it that the failure would all be blamed on Dr. Silver.

And having sent this telegram, why did he appear in Washington forty-eight hours later to urge the same Senators not to pass the resolution?

And having come to Washington to persuade the Senators not to pass the resolution, why did he permit himself to be persuaded by me not to carry out his mission? Instead, he and the other members of the committee went to Mr. Stettinius to tell him that the Zionists were not pressing for the resolution but that the pressure came from the Senate Committee itself (which, of course, was the truth). Is Dr. Goldstein unwilling ever to assume responsibility for what he does, or says, or writes? Is the fault always that of someone else?

8) Dr. Goldstein again has a convenient lapse of memory when he fails to mention that at the Executive of the Emergency Council which met in Washington on Monday morning, December 11 (and which by the way was the only authorized meeting of the Emergency Council since the meeting on November 21 -- the other meetings of December 7 and 9 being rump meetings called by Dr. Wise in contravention of the clear provisions of the constitution) it was agreed that nothing be done to interfere with the passage of the resolution on which the Foreign Affairs Committee was to act that very afternoon, but instead Mr. Stettinius should be asked to issue a statement that his appearance before the Senate Committee did not indicate a change of attitude on the part of the President. Nothing was to be said to Mr. Stettinius about deferring the Palestine Resolution. Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldstein concurred on this, and I joined in the delegation to Mr. Stettinius with that understanding and only on that basis.

9) Dr. Goldstein stated that the resolution which was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee was regarded by many Zionists here and especially in Palestine as a "watered-down" resolution because the word "Jewish" was omitted before "Commonwealth" and the word "ultimately" was retained. How, then, is one to account for the fact that the presidents of Hadassah, Mizrahi and the Poale Zion, as well as Mr. Lipsky of the Jewish Agency Executive, hailed the resolution in public statements? Dr. Wise told Congressman Bloom and me on the very day that it was voted that it was "a very good resolution." The Jewish press likewise welcomed it heartily, and the American Jewish Conference, meeting in Pittsburgh, acclaimed it.

It might be in point here to recall that at the Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs - on February 8 - Dr. Goldstein was asked by Congressman Schiffler: "You do not propose immediately to have a Commonwealth?" To which Dr. Goldstein

replied: "No; we could not propose it as an immediate step, because we realize there would have to be a Jewish majority in the land before we could act for the implementation of a commonwealth, and the achievement of a Jewish majority will undoubtedly take some time." (See p. 119 of the Hearings.)

10) Dr. Goldstein is guilty of a distortion when he states that at the final meeting of the Emergency Council, where I announced my resignation, I asked to be made the sole leader in the Zionist movement in America with absolute unconditional power. "When this condition was not agreed on," states Dr. Goldstein, I "handed in my resignation." There is not a scintilla of truth in all this. I stated at the meeting that the present set-up of dual or multiple leadership in the Council has led to serious conflicts in the past and had culminated in the present crisis. I advised a re-organization of the Emergency Council with an eye towards the elimination of conflicting leadership and the centralization of authority. In connection with that, I read at great length a letter which I wrote to Dr. Wise in 1943 at the time when he and Dr. Weizmann asked me to take over the leadership of the political work of our movement. In that letter I stated that if Dr. Wise wished to continue as the active political leader of the movement, no one was thinking of supplanting him. I assumed that he wished to be relieved of it. "If now you feel that you wish to retain that office, not in an honorary but in an active capacity, I wish you would let me know definitely and in making my reply I will say that Dr. Wise is head of the political work of the Emergency Council and there is no need for drafting me or anyone else."

Dr. Wise knew exactly under what conditions I assumed the office at his and Dr. Weizmann's urging. The purpose was to eliminate the very unfortunate overlapping and cross-purposes in our political work which brought the Emergency Council to bankruptcy two years ago.

My resignation, as everyone knows, was not prompted, as Dr. Goldstein asserts, by the refusal of the Emergency Council to accept my suggestions for re-organization. These suggestions were not even considered at the meeting and have not yet been acted upon. It was a motion to request all the officers of the Emergency Council to resign, a motion which the Council refused to table, which called forth my resignation.

THE FOLLOWING SECTION (#11) IS CONFIDENTIAL AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

11) Dr. Goldstein refers to a memorandum which Dr. Nahum Goldmann sent me purporting to be a report of what the Secretary of State had told him and Dr. Wise in reply to the request of the Council to issue the statement which is referred to above. I was a member of the committee which called upon Mr. Stettinius to request that statement. The reply of Mr. Stettinius was not given in writing to the Council, but orally to Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Wise who happened to be calling on the Secretary of State on another mission. Dr. Goldmann sent me the following memorandum a few days later:

"Mr. Stettinius called Dr. Wise and me into his room before meeting with the delegation. He told us that he had been in touch with the President about the statement which we had suggested he should issue. He said that the President was in a very bad mood because we had gone ahead with the Resolution and instead of acquiescing in his request to hold the matter up for the time being, had sought to bring pressure to bear through the Senate. He felt that the Zionists had lost confidence in him, and Mr. Stettinius said that in the circumstances it was difficult to discuss such questions with him at this time. It would not be possible for him (Mr. S.) to issue the letter suggested."

I was surprised and disturbed by this report, for in my two previous contacts with Mr. Stettinius there was no indication whatsoever given that the President was in a very bad mood or that he felt that the Zionists had lost confidence in him.

Dr. Goldmann did not treat that "information" as confidential. He conveyed this "information" to newspapermen in New York. A panic mood was being fostered among Zionists with the design -- as later events showed -- to bring about my resignation.

In preparation for my official report to the Emergency Council, which was to be given on December 20, and in order not to do any injustice either to the Secretary of State or to the President, I made inquiries as to whether this memorandum of Dr. Goldmann correctly represented what Mr. Stettinius had said, and whether perhaps he had been misquoted, or misunderstood.

I received a reply to the effect that Dr. Goldmann's memorandum "was not quite in accordance with the Secretary's record. The Secretary told Dr. Wise that he had been in touch with the President as he had offered to do regarding the statement which Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver had requested him to make. The reaction that Mr. Stettinius obtained was that the President felt that this group should have confidence in his handling of the matter and that it would not be appropriate for Mr. Stettinius to issue the statement. Mr. Stettinius asked Dr. Wise if he would be good enough to give this information to Dr. Silver."

This, of course, is a radically different version from that of Dr. Goldmann's. There is nothing here about the President being in a very bad mood, or feeling that the Zionists had lost confidence in him. But Rabbi Goldstein, far from being shocked at Dr. Goldmann's amazing misquotation of a most critical report and far from regarding it as something "scandalous," denounces rather my fact-finding inquiry as something "scandalous"...

12) There are many other things which this Rabbi chooses to forget. Already at the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City he and his little cabal were preparing the way for my elimination. The Resolutions Committee of the Convention had prepared a resolution which wholeheartedly endorsed my administration and called for a continuation of the dynamic and successful program of the Emergency Council "under the present leadership." At a subsequent meeting, Dr. Goldstein demanded the elimination of the words "under the present leadership." He made that request, he said, in the name of Dr. Wise with whom he had spoken by telephone in New York. I stated, of course, that as far as I was concerned, I intended to hold my office not a single day longer than the Emergency Council wished me to, and that, of course, I would agree to the elimination of the words "under the present leadership."

The ZOA Administration had a difficult time at the plenary session of the Convention to put through the resolution without the words "under the present leadership." I personally had to step forward and beg the delegates to agree to the omission of those words. But my friends and I knew all along what was in the mind of Dr. Goldstein and his clique.

13) Many will recall the fight which raged at the ZOA Convention in Atlantic City about my annual report which the administration was determined to schedule at the very end of the Convention when most of the delegates would have gone home, in order to make small change of it. Dr. Goldstein had to yield to the pressure from the delegates but the whole miserable affair was another result of the embittered and envenomed policy of undermining, belittling and discrediting which Dr. Goldstein and his friends had been carrying on throughout the year.

14) The Rabbi has since carried out a successful purge of Silver adherents on the Executive of the ZOA and among the representatives of the ZOA on the Emergency Council. His efficiency in perfecting his political machine should be the envy of Tammany Hall.

For further information write to:

Harry L. Shapiro
250 West 57 St.

Room 1030
New York 19, N. Y.

January 16, 1945.

The American Zionist Emergency Council was reorganized on December 28, 1944 in order to make possible the full and harmonious cooperation of all Zionist parties in the United States. The reorganization was effected through a majority vote which the minority, as disciplined Zionists, accepted. In the interest of continuing this principle of unity and discipline the new administration of the Emergency Council will avoid taking part in factional controversy. The Zionist cause requires our complete and unswerving devotion at this time and we would consider ourselves remiss in duty if we dissipated our energy in internal divisions.

However, in the light of the fact that erroneous impressions have possibly been created by incorrect facts, in which connection we must mention the improper and unauthorized statement on stationery of the Emergency Council of its former director, Mr. Harry L. Shapiro, we feel that the local committees should know how the majority of the Council views the situation which has led to the present internal reorganization. We shall limit ourselves to a brief statement on the main issue. Whatever supplementary comment may be thought necessary by the individual parties will be made directly by them.

After Secretary Stimson had announced that the War Department had withdrawn its opposition to the passage of the Palestine Resolution, it became urgent to determine whether we should press for its presentation before the termination of the 78th Congress. At a meeting of the Council held on October 30th, two points of view were voiced. Some members were of the opinion that the propitious atmosphere created by the party planks and the President's message should be utilized for pressing presentation of the resolution immediately after the elections. Others felt that the crowded agenda, the short working period remaining, and the need, if possible, of improving the wording of the resolution to bring it in line with the President's statement on Zionist policy, all pointed to the wisdom of postponement and reconsideration of the resolution during the next Congress. Moreover, it was the majority opinion of the Council that we had reached a stage in our political affairs when it was more imperative to seek implementation of the President's announced policy and most important to meet with the President prior to his attendance at the meeting of the "Big Three." This was the position taken by Dr. Wise.

There was unanimous agreement, however, that the repetition of the experience of last March must be avoided at all costs and that the passage of the resolution should not be urged unless we were certain that we would not be faced with the opposition of the Executive branch of the government. The very wording of Mr. Stimson's letter pointed to the need of clearing with the State Department in advance of any decision. It was the consensus of opinion that a second failure of Congress to take favorable action on the Palestine Resolution would not only be a serious political defeat, but would reduce the value of the achievements already attained through the inclusion of pro-Zionist planks in the Democratic and Republican platforms and the President's historic endorsement of a Jewish Commonwealth in his message of October 15th. Steps were therefore taken at once to ascertain the position of the State Department and of the Executive branch of the government.

Early in November we were informed that President Roosevelt and the State Department asked that the matter be left pending a little while longer. At a meeting of the Emergency Council on November 21st it was decided that efforts be made once more to obtain clearance from the Executive, it being understood that if renewed efforts to obtain the approval of the Executive failed, the resolution should, for the time being, be left pending.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

C O P Y

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date January 17, 1945

From Arthur Lourie

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council to send on to you the enclosed communication with regard to the recent reorganization in the leadership of the Council. Please note that this is for your own information and is not for publication since in the interests of unity we wish to put an end, if possible, to a continuation of this controversy in the public press.

We wish to emphasize that all forces previously represented in the Council continue to be represented on that body. It is the determination of all its members that the Council shall go ahead united in the fulfillment of our constructive program so vital to the future of our people and directed to the reestablishment of Palestine in the nearest future as a Jewish Commonwealth.

AL:CF

Dr. Silver proceeded to Washington to explore the situation. However, before the clearance of the State Department was obtained he proceeded with activities designed to secure the passage of the resolution. In the meantime information received by Dr. Wise indicated that the attitude of the Executive and State Departments remained unchanged and that the resolution, if pressed, would in all likelihood again be deferred. It is pertinent to point out in this connection that within the last few days the President has indicated to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he wants no resolutions on foreign policy before his projected meeting with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin. It is obvious that his request that the Palestine Resolution be left pending a little while longer was in line with his general policy affecting other international questions.

In view of the urgency of the situation, Dr. Wise called a special meeting of the Council. Dr. Silver, who was in Washington, was notified and kept in touch with the proceedings by telephone. A special committee was appointed to go to Washington to dissuade Dr. Silver from pressing the resolution for reasons given earlier in this memorandum. Dr. Silver, supported by the Mizrahi, continued his line of action until the Palestine Resolution was tabled by the Senate Committee due to the intervention of the Secretary of State.

As a result, Dr. Wise resigned in protest against what he considered "the arbitrary action" of the Chairman of the Executive Committee and what appeared to him the contravention of democratic procedure. At a meeting of the Emergency Council on December 20th, Dr. Silver defended his action at great length, as being in harmony with the basic position of the Emergency Council. A proposed motion that Dr. Silver had contravened decisions was tabled. A motion was then made calling on all officers to resign in order to permit reorganization of the Council. When a vote to table failed of passage, Dr. Silver stated that this represented a repudiation of his position. He thereupon resigned, saying that his resignation was irrevocable. Reorganization of the Council then followed.

It should be pointed out that a large majority of the Council considered reorganization essential, even without reference to the matter of the Palestine Resolution. Two of the groups within the Council had for months been pressing for the establishment of a small implementation committee. This committee, they proposed, should concern itself -- in cooperation with the co-chairman -- with the day by day affairs of the Council and with mapping out concrete steps to be taken for carrying out the general line of action enunciated by the Council. It is clear that in political work the method oftentimes requires as much attention as the formulation of policy and that the procedure followed is likely to affect fundamentally the success or failure of the endeavor. Unfortunately, Dr. Silver had not been willing to set up the type of permanent committee proposed by the two groups.

It is of the essence to make clear that at no time were there any differences as to fundamental Zionist policy. At no time were there questions of "maximal" or "minimal" goals. The only problem debated was the most effective manner of implementing objectives in regard to which there was complete agreement. The American Zionist Emergency Council, as now reconstituted, represents as before all Zionist parties. Those who were in the minority in their evaluation of the recent controversy have participated loyally in the reorganization so as to ensure the continuance of a united and energetic working body. In this spirit we now call on all local committees to follow the central organization in a policy of unity and complete concentration on the important tasks before us in promoting the program of the Jewish Commonwealth.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* May 21, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

We are sending you the draft of a resolution which you may use as the basis for action by various organizations in your community. Please feel free to change the wording to suit your local requirements. However, the call for action contained in this draft should be retained in every instance.

Regards.

HLS:RB
Enc.

R E S O L U T I O N

WHEREAS, after nineteen centuries of national homelessness, the Jewish people has proclaimed and established the independent State of Israel; and

WHEREAS, the Republic of Israel was created on the basis of a decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which on November 29, 1947 called for the partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab States; and

WHEREAS, the Jewish displaced persons, still languishing in the camps of Europe, will at long last be enabled to emigrate to the new Jewish State and there rebuild their lives in a progressive and democratic community; and

WHEREAS, the United States, the Soviet Union and other nations have already given official recognition to the Republic of Israel; and

WHEREAS, the new-born Republic of Israel is now engaged in a critical struggle for survival, since it has been ruthlessly invaded by the armies of neighboring Arab States, who are bent upon the destruction of the Jewish State; and

WHEREAS, the Jews of Palestine are imbued with the highest ideals of democracy and are animated by the same high principles which guide Americans in their devotion to freedom and human rights;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we _____,
extend our congratulations and heartfelt gratitude to the President of the United States for his immediate recognition of Israel, and we look forward to the early exchange of diplomatic representatives between the two countries.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we respectfully call upon the President to translate our country's recognition of Israel into the practical and logical steps which the present situation demands, and that the United States immediately revise its arms embargo, so that the embattled Jews of Israel may be given the opportunity to defend their lives -- and their newly-gained independence -- against Arab aggression.

(more)

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the United States withhold further financial assistance from Great Britain as long as that government persists in providing monetary subsidies and military equipment to the Arab Legion and the other Arab forces now invading Israel.

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the United States delegation to the United Nations.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date July 16, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Attached is a memorandum entitled "Desecration of Holy Places in Palestine." This factual presentation was prepared because there has appeared in the press a number of articles and dispatches from pro-Arab and Arab sources with reference to the holy places in Jerusalem.

Please make the details of this memorandum available to the press in your community in order that it may be used as a basis for editorials and for articles written locally.

Regards.

HLS:RW
Etc.

July 1948

MEMORANDUM

DESECRATION OF HOLY PLACES IN PALESTINE

In the light of the propaganda from Arab and pro-Arab sources on the question of the holy places in Jerusalem, which tends to present a distorted picture of the situation, the following dispatches and reports from Palestine may help to establish the facts with regard to the holy places and their ruination and desecration.

Who Is Responsible for the Destruction of the Holy Places?

What has actually happened during the Arab-Jewish War in Jerusalem and who is directly responsible for the subjection of the Holy City with its religious shrines to destruction and desecration is admirably stated by a British missionary in Jerusalem, Mr. W.L. Hull, in a letter to the Editor of the Manchester Guardian of June 1st. We quote the letter verbatim:

"Sir: A few months ago, when no danger existed, there was a great outcry by the Archbishop of York and some other Church leaders concerning the protection of the holy places in Jerusalem. Now that that danger actually exists they are strangely silent.

"Day after day shells are being poured into Jerusalem by Arab Legion troops. The arms, uniforms and wages of this force are paid for by British taxpayers, and no one acquainted with the situation in Palestine doubts that these troops are there by the tacit consent of the British Government. The shells from these British 25-pounder guns and mortars are devastating that city and bringing ruin to places both holy and unholy.

"Yet the Church is silent; no outcry is made either by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York. No meetings of protest have been called by Church leaders; the Church is silent. Are we to judge from this that political expediency means more than veneration? Is the British public aware that the British guns, firing British shells, paid for by British taxpayers, are dug in on the Mount of Olives by the very spot from which our Lord ascended to Heaven? Is the British public aware that those shells fired from the Mount of Olives are passing directly over the spot where Jesus knelt in agony of prayer that fateful night before Calvary?"

Haganah Opens King David's Tomb to Christians

For 500 years the King David tomb on Mount Zion in Jerusalem was tightly closed by the Moslems to any Christian visitors. Not before the Israeli Army took over the place could any Christian enter the tomb. The first visit of a Christian dignitary to the tomb after 500 years is described by Julian Louis Meltzer in the New York Times of July 5:

"Jerusalem, July 4 -- Msgr. Gustavo Testa, Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate, entered the Tomb of David on Mount Zion last week. He was the first Christian dignitary to go inside this Moslem-guarded chamber in 500 years.

"The Tomb of David was closed to non-Moslems by a decree of Caliph Ed-Daher but pilgrimages to the Room of the Last Supper on an upper floor were permitted. King David is regarded by Moslems as a saint.

"Msgr. Testa is papal administrator of the Latin Patriarchate pending the appointment of a new patriarch. He came to inspect the damage to religious edifices. If he had entered the tomb early in the Twentieth Century under the Ottoman regime in Palestine Moslem zealots might have attacked the Christian community, charging desecration of the tomb.

"... Haganah troops retained possession of this area after being ejected from the Old City by the Transjordan Arab Legion May 20. Churches, monasteries and convents were respected by the Haganah, which posted guards to keep intruders away.

"The first Christians to enter the tomb in 500 years were Benedictine and Franciscan priests, who went in last month. They found damage from shelling. Part of the tomb's covering was broken off.

"Msgr. Testa was accompanied by the Jewish Agency's Liaison Officer to Churches, Dr. A.J. Braver, an authority on ancient churches. Differing religious rituals were observed. The Christians went bareheaded into the building, while their Jewish companions donned headgear in deference to the holy spot."

What the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem Has to Say

The Right Reverend Western Henry Stewart, the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, arriving in London early in July for the World Anglican Conference, made the following statement (as quoted from a dispatch by Bernard Minns for the New York Star, datelined London, July 6):

"... So far as I have seen, the holy places in the Old City have suffered little damage, with the exception of the two ancient synagogues, which were destroyed by the Arabs. One of them had been occupied by Haganah forces, and was shelled after the Arabs had sent them a 24-hour ultimatum to quit. The other was filled with unarmed people taking shelter from the fighting."

The Bishop said that while the Arabs had intentionally shelled and later destroyed synagogues, the Arab mosques were respected by the Jewish forces. The largest mosque, Dome on the Rock, remains untouched. "After Haganah had captured the northwest sector of the New City, I saw a mosque marked in Hebrew letters, 'This is a holy place.'"

The Bishop confirmed reports that British officers and men were still serving with Arab forces. He said deserters from the Palestine Police and the British Army have joined the Arab Legion.

He concluded: "Though I have for many years been opposed to partition in Palestine, it is now a fact and will have to be accepted."

Loot and Desecration by Arab Armies

During the first week of April 1948, armed Arabs broke into the Franciscan Abbey convent in Bethlehem and stole 2,087 pounds (\$8,348) in cash and a check for 4,000 pounds (\$16,000), all of which was earmarked for charity, the Arabic daily, Falastin, of Jaffa reported.

On April 26 monks were maltreated and valuable religious articles carried off as war spoils by the Iraqi "Liberation Army" in a surprise swoop on the Greek-Orthodox monastery Marsabah, near Jerusalem. In Safad on the same day a Protestant church was blown up by Arabs.

In a much-publicized anti-partition statement made in March by a newly organized Committee of the Christian Church Union of Palestine, Palestine's Christian community was said to be "in complete agreement both in principle and in deed with the Moslems." The statement was protested by the Anglican

Bishop of Jerusalem, who stated that the Anglican Church did not associate itself with it. He also said that the Arab Christian body affiliated to the Anglican Church signed the statement without consulting the head of the Church. The dissociation of the Anglican Church is not surprising in view of the fact that its own congregation, which had worshipped at Christ's Church inside the Walled City, was obliged to leave there at the outbreak of the disturbances because its worshippers were in danger. Its services are now being held in the Street of the Prophets, in the heart of the Jewish Quarter.

Heavy Destruction of Jerusalem's Synagogues

In a dispatch from Jerusalem dated June 7, the following report is given in the New York Times of the indiscriminate destruction of Jewish synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem:

"Twenty-two of the 27 synagogues in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City were destroyed before the community surrendered to Arab forces May 28, Isaac H. Herzog, Chief Rabbi of Palestine, said today. The five others probably were demolished after the Jews' departure, he added.

"More than 500 Torahs (holy scrolls), many sacred vessels and books and manuscripts of historic value were burned and looted, the rabbi declared, and other Jewish property was burned after the Jews had left."

Arabs Fighting from Christian Churches

Christian churches and religious foundations in Palestine have been widely used by the Arab armies as military headquarters and as fortified positions from which fire was directed at the Jewish sections of Jerusalem.

Here are some facts:

On May 14 the Convent of Ste. Claire, belonging to the Sisters of the Clarine Order, was occupied by Arab troops and from it fire directed on the Jewish Talpith Quarter and the German colony occupied by Jews.

On May 16 the Armenian Orthodox Cathedral of St. James in Jerusalem was occupied by Iraqi troops, who plundered the church and the Armenian

Quarter around it. A strong protest on the part of His Beatitude, the Armenian Patriarch, was of no avail.

On May 17 an Arab mortar position was established in the Syrian Orthodox Church, Deir Surian, in the Armenian Quarter. Mortars shelled the Jewish Yemin Moshe (Montefiore) Quarter.

On May 17 a similar mortar position was established in the Greek Orthodox Church of St. George in the Armenian Quarter.

On the night of May 17-18 an Arab machine-gun position was set up in the French Convent of Ste. Claire, from which fire was directed against Talpioth.

On May 19 the Arab command in the Old City set up its headquarters in the above-mentioned Armenian Cathedral of St. James. It was here that the surrender terms were subsequently accepted by the defenders of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City.

On May 18 Arab troops broke into the Convent of Notre Dame de France and committed acts of plunder and desecration against which the abbe of Notre Dame, Pere Lordre de Sion, protested most strongly. He himself was killed on May 21 when, in view of the advance of Jewish forces, the Arabs blew up parts of the building.

On May 19 the Greek Orthodox Monastery of Mar Elias was occupied by the Arab Legion, which turned it into a base for attacking the settlement of Ramat Rahel.

In the latter part of May the Trappist Monastery of Latrun was occupied by Arabs and turned into a main stronghold and an artillery base, an operation against Jewish forces that were massed there in order to lift the siege of Jerusalem.

In addition to acts of destruction and vandalism incidental to the

occupation of churches and monasteries, the following instances have been recorded of damage caused to Christian establishments by Arab shelling:

On May 16 the Abyssinian Cathedral in Jerusalem was hit several times by mortar bombs. Serious damage was caused to the building, and the clergy had a narrow escape.

On May 18 the Anglican Cathedral of St. George was shelled by Arabs from their positions in Sheikh Jarrah. The British Consul is reported to have filed a strong protest.

On May 19 the Ratisbon Monastery was shelled by Arab forces. The father superior sent a letter of protest to the delegate of the Red Cross. Three mortar shells hit the French Monastery of the Order of the Assumption.

Arab shell fire wounded three nuns in the Convent and the School of St. Joseph de l'Apparition.

On May 22 the Terra Sancta College building suffered a direct hit during Arab Legion shelling. The college had formerly been placed under the protection of the International Red Cross as a refugee center.

On May 24 the Convent of the Soeurs Reparatrices was shelled and set on fire. Members of the Haganah saved five nuns from under the debris. An official letter of thanks was afterward received by the Jewish commander. The Convent of the Soeurs du Rosaire in the Old City was hit by Arab shell fire.

On May 26 an Orthodox church in the Russian compound was hit by shell fire.

Between May 16 and the end of the month eight shells hit the Abyssinian Cathedral and another twenty exploded in its courtyard.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date July 12, 1948

From Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

Herewith is the text of a statement issued today by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. I send it to you for your information and for local action. I sincerely hope that you will disseminate this information to your community. The statement is as follows:

"The American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine has previously declared that upon the establishment of the State of Israel and the creation of a single unified defense army, no organization is authorized by the Government of Israel to solicit contributions in the United States for independent military organizations such as the Irgun. Support of such separatist military units in Palestine is a distinct disservice to the State of Israel as it undermines the authority of the government and interferes with efficient military operations at a time when the new state is beset with gravest danger as a result of the renewed military operations against it by the neighboring Arab states.

"The Jewish Agency wishes to renew this request to Americans not to contribute to any campaigns under whatever name for the support of military organizations in Palestine. The Defense Army of Israel is not soliciting any funds in the United States.

"There has been in existence for some time an organization known as the Americans for Haganah, which has mobilized public opinion in the United States in support of the objectives of the Haganah, while not soliciting funds in its behalf. This organization has rendered excellent service in disseminating information about the work of the Haganah and in counteracting hostile criticism and misinformation spread by dissident groups. Now that Haganah, too, as it existed in the past, has been dissolved by the action of the State of Israel when it established one national defense army, the purposes of the Americans for Haganah have been fully served, and the organization accordingly will promptly suspend its activities.

"The task of disseminating information about the activities of Israel's Army of Defense will, in the future, be carried on by the Office of Information of the Israeli Government and by the various Zionist groups in the United States through their official publications and other channels of information."

HLS:SR

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date July 12, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Included in an Associated Press dispatch of July 9 was the following:

"Mr. Marshall... ruled out, for the moment at least, any idea that the United States might lift its embargo on shipment of arms to the Middle East as a means of helping Israel.

"The ban, ordered last December 5, forbids shipment of American munitions to Palestine or neighboring Arab countries. Mr. Marshall told a news conference today that the United States is dealing with this issue and the whole Palestine problem through the UN Security Council."

The above statement plus other information which has appeared in the press would seem to give the impression that the United States embargo was a step taken by the United States in conjunction with its activities in the United Nations. The attached memorandum has been prepared in order to clarify the facts in the matter.

The United States took its original action on December 5, unilaterally, without consulting or without agreement with the United Nations Security Council. It can modify the embargo in the same manner.

It will be helpful from a public relations standpoint if the information in the attached memorandum is transmitted to your local newspaper editors.

Regards.

HLS:HH
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

July 12, 1948

Can the Government of the United States Unilaterally Lift its Embargo on the Export of Arms to Israel?

1. On December 5, 1947, the Department of State announced that the United States is "discontinuing for the present the licensing of shipment of arms to the Middle East." This was a sovereign, unilateral act of the United States, taken under no international compulsion.

2. The licensing of arms shipments to any of the territories in the Middle East can therefore be continued by a sovereign act of the United States, unless such continuance is ruled out by any valid international instrument.

3. The only reason in international law for the existence of the embargo at this moment is paragraph 4 of the Resolution on the Palestine Question adopted at the 310th meeting of the Security Council on 29 May 1948, which reads as follows:

"Calls upon all governments and authorities concerned to refrain from importing or exporting war materials into or to Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan and Yemen during the cease-fire."

It is obvious then that as soon as the cease-fire no longer has effect, neither the United States nor any other government has any international obligation to refrain from exporting war material to any state which it deems worthy to receive such material for purposes of defense.

4. In the present circumstances, arising from the Arab refusal to prolong the truce and the consequent resumption of hostilities in and around Palestine, it is clear that the United States is not limited in the exercise of its sovereign right by any existing, valid decision of the Security Council.

5. The opinion has been expressed that the United States may be under the obligation to maintain the embargo by virtue of the Security Council's Resolution of April 17. That Resolution, however, has no existence at all. It was designed merely to affect the period between its adoption and the termination of the British Mandate for Palestine. This is made abundantly clear by the numerous references in the resolution itself to the responsibility of the United Kingdom for the maintenance of law and order. There is another reference which makes it clear that the validity of the Resolution was to be limited by the period which was to elapse "pending the further consideration" of the future government of Palestine by the General Assembly. It was anticipated that this period would coincide with the remaining duration of the Mandate. A study of the verbatim records of the meetings which led up to the adoption of this resolution reinforces this assumption. Several representatives expressed the unchallenged belief that the resolution before the Council was designed purely for the period remaining until the Mandate expired and was succeeded by a new regime.

6. The Security Council itself acknowledged that the April 17 Resolution had expired by beginning a discussion, on May 17, of the terms of a new cease-fire resolution. Such new resolutions were adopted, firstly, on May 22 (and rejected by the Arabs), and later, on May 29. The Resolution of May 29 superseded all its predecessors. The fact that the April 17 Resolution can have no effect in this matter is proved by the fact that the May 29 Resolution contains provisions on the export of arms and war material entirely different from those of April 17.

(more)

7. The conclusion is that the United States is entirely free from any international obligation in exercising its discretion on the lifting of the embargo and that failure to lift that embargo cannot be said to rest on any grounds of international law.



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date July 13, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

We are sending you herewith a program of the Fourth Annual Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee held at French Lick, Indiana June 20, 21, 22 together with covering letter. We also enclose copies of the resolutions adopted by the 125 Christian leaders who attended from various parts of the country.

From all indications the Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee was highly successful as to content and effect. The Christian leaders who attended made a careful study of the Palestine question under the leadership of authorities in various fields. If your community was among those which sent a representative we hope that you have, by this date, received a report of what transpired at the Seminar. You should receive great satisfaction from the results achieved and we hope that you will continue to keep in close contact with your delegate.

HLS:SSR
Encs.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

• MURRAY HILL 2-4917 •

FOUNDERS AND HONORARY CHAIRMEN

Hon. Robert F. Wagner
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson

C O P Y

July 2, 1948

CO-CHAIRMEN

Hon. Owen Brewster
Hon. James M. Mead
Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling

VICE-CHAIRMEN

William Green
Eric A. Johnston
Hon. Warren G. Magnuson
Dr. Daniel L. Marsh
Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr.
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Hon. John W. McCormack
Philip Murray
Hon. Arthur H. Vandenberg
Hon. Sumner Wells

SECRETARY

Hon. Helen Gahagan Douglas

TREASURER

Dean Alfange

CHILDREN'S MEMORIAL FOREST

Dean Howard M. LeSourd
Chairman

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Dr. Carl Hermann Voss
Chairman

Rev. Emory S. Bucke
Rev. Karl M. Chworowsky
Bartley C. Cram
Father George B. Ford
Prof. Carl J. Friedrich
Prof. S. Ralph Harlow
Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. Samuel Guy Inman
Prof. Eduard C. Lindeman
Mrs. Walter Clay Lowdermilk
Edgar Ansel Mowrer
Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr
Robert E. Smith
Rev. Dr. Ralph W. Sockman

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

Prof. James Luther Adams
J. M. Blalock
Dr. John W. Bradbury
Hon. Oscar Chapman
Hon. John M. Coffee
Dr. Clark Walker Cummings
Hon. Everett M. Dirksen
Mrs. Walter Ferguson
Msgr. E. J. Flanagan
Hon. Daniel J. Flood
Bishop Charles K. Gilbert
Judge John Gutknecht
Rev. David R. Hunter
Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk
Prof. Halford E. Luccock
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
Rev. Dr. Leslie T. Pennington
Hon. Claude Pepper
Rev. Wendell Phillips
Hon. Frank A. Picard
Miss Daphne Robert
Rev. Dr. Harold Paul Sloan
Dean Claude W. Sprouse
Hon. Elbert D. Thomas
Prof. Paul Tillich
Rev. Dr. Howard B. Warren
Prof. Henry N. Wieman

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Rev. Karl Baehr

We wish to express to you our appreciation for your presence at the French Lick Seminar, June 20-22. In both attendance and counsel you contributed greatly. We are sorry that time did not permit us to develop personal associations with each of you.

The French Lick Seminar has sharply outlined the following:

1. The State of Israel is a fact and has been recognized as such by our Government and 15 other nations. However, many difficulties are still besetting this infant democracy, and it is imperative that we give it every support.

2. All of us must organize or strengthen our local chapters of the American Christian Palestine Committee, forming well-balanced groups with active programs.

3. We urge you to carry on a program of education, not only in your local community, but also in the entire region surrounding your home city. Mrs. Blanche J. Shepard, director of our lecture bureau, Club Program Service, is ready to help you with speakers in presenting the subject of Palestine before local organizations - service clubs, forums, college groups, etc. Mrs. Shepard would also be interested in hearing from you concerning lectures which you yourself may deliver on our subject.

4. Keep in touch with the New York office. When you need advice or assistance in your program, write to Rev. Karl Baehr, our executive secretary, who stands ready to help you at any time.

Those of you who have not yet signed a membership card will want to do so and return it to our office.

It was a grand experience to be with you in French Lick. May we meet often in the future. We send you our warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

Karl Baehr

Howard M. LeSourd

Carl Hermann Voss

P.S. Under separate cover you will receive material promised to you at the Seminar.

C
O
P
Y

TELEGRAM

JUNE 22, 1948

PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE CIVIC AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS, REPRESENTING THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES OF 71 CITIES IN 26 STATES, A GROUP COMPOSED OF 43 CLERGYMEN, 16 EDUCATORS, JURISTS, EDITORS AND CIVIC LEADERS, ASSEMBLED AT THE NATIONAL SEMINAR OF THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE AT FRENCH LICK, INDIANA, UNANIMOUSLY COMMEND YOU FOR YOUR PROMPT RECOGNITION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. TO SAFEGUARD THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL WE URGE YOU TO SEEK AN ACCORD WITH GREAT BRITAIN ON PALESTINE POLICY THAT WILL BE IN CONSONANCE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS DECISION OF NOVEMBER 29, 1947. WE HAINESTLY SUGGEST THAT YOU USE THE INFLUENCE OF YOUR HIGH OFFICE AND OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO CONVEY TO GREAT BRITAIN THE NEED FOR ITS OBSERVANCE OF THE UN DECISION ON PALESTINE. IT SEEMS TO US THAT NOTHING HOLDS GREATER DANGER TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL THAN BRITAIN'S PRESENT MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH THE ARAB NATIONS, OF WHICH THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS FULLY AWARE, AND THE OPEN AGGRESSION OF THE ARAB STATES, WHICH, IN DEFIANCE OF THEIR PLEDGE AS SIGNATORIES TO THE UN CHARTER, HAVE INVADDED PALESTINE AND ARE THUS FLOUTING A DECISION OF THESE UNITED NATIONS. FURTHER WE RECOMMEND THAT YOU MODIFY THE ARMS EMBARGO IN ORDER THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL MAY PURCHASE FROM THE UNITED STATES ARMS NECESSARY FOR DEFENSE. WE HOPE YOU WILL INSTRUCT THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE AT THE UNITED NATIONS TO PRESS FOR ADMISSION OF ISRAEL TO THE UNITED NATIONS. WE RESPECTFULLY REMIND YOU THAT THE OFFICIALS OF OUR GOVERNMENT WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST PARTITION BEFORE THE NOVEMBER 29TH DECISION AND FOR THE AMERICAN REVERSAL OF PARTITION LAST MARCH, ARE STILL IN POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY. WE BELIEVE THAT RETENTION OF THESE MEN IN OFFICE CONSTITUTES A THREAT NOT ONLY TO YOUR ANNOUNCED POLICIES BUT TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL AND TO THE INTEGRITY OF AMERICA'S TIME-HONORED PLEDGES FOR THE SUPPORT OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE
41 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.
BY KARL BAEHR, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ALSO SENT TO FOLLOWING,
QUOTING ABOVE TELEGRAM:--

AMBASSADOR WARREN AUSTIN
UNITED STATES DELEGATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE C. MARSHALL
STATE DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

C
O
P
Y

TELEGRAM

JUNE 22, 1948

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE CHRISTIAN DELEGATES, REPRESENTING SEVENTY-ONE CITIES IN TWENTY-SIX STATES, A GROUP COMPOSED OF FORTY-THREE CLERGYMEN, SIXTEEN EDUCATORS, JOURNALISTS, JURISTS, AND CIVIC LEADERS, HAVE MET UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE AND WISH TO CONVEY TO YOUR GOVERNMENT OUR SENSE OF OUTRAGE OVER ITS OPEN MILITARY AND MORAL SUPPORT OF ARAB AGGRESSION. IT IS OUR RESOLVE IN OUR COMMUNITIES TO PUBLICIZE BRITAIN'S ALLIANCE WITH THE ARABS AND ITS FLOUTING OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO PRESS FOR SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THE USE OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION FUNDS FOR WAR AGAINST THE STATE OF ISRAEL

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.
BY KARL BAEHR, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

SENT TO THE FOLLOWING:

SIR ALEXANDER CADOGAN
UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK

SIR OLIVER FRANKS
BRITISH EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

C
O
P
Y

TELEGRAM

JUNE 22, 1948

CHRISTIAN CENTURY
c/o DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BY A UNANIMOUS VOTE OF THE 125 CHRISTIAN CLERGYMEN AND OTHER CIVIC LEADERS OF 71 COMMUNITIES IN 26 STATES, GATHERED AT FRENCH LICK, INDIANA IN THE NATIONAL SEMINAR OF THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE, WE HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO PROTEST THE UNJUST AND INACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN YOUR RECENT EDITORIAL ENTITLED "ISRAEL HAS NO GOD." WE BELIEVE THAT THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF ISRAEL IS ROOTED IN THE DEEP RELIGIOUS PASSION FOR JUSTICE AND SPIRITUAL VALUES TAUGHT BY THE HEBREW PROPHETS AND NURTURED IN THE JUDAIC-CHRISTIAN TRADITION. WE RESPECTFULLY BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION THE FACT THAT THE LAST PARAGRAPH IN ISRAEL'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE READS AS FOLLOWS: "WITH TRUST IN ALMIGHTY GOD, WE SET OUR HANDS TO THIS DECLARATION AT THIS SESSION OF THE PROVISIONAL STATE COUNCIL IN THE CITY OF TEL AVIV THIS SABRATH EVE, THE FIFTH DAY OF IYAR, 5708, THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF MAY, 1948

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

EDGAR DE WITT JONES
JOHN PAUL JONES
JOHN EDERSON ZEITER
BEDROS BAHARIAN
S. RALPH HARLOW
CHARLES TURCK
RICHARD DAWSON

KARL BAHR
HOWARD M. LESOURD
HENRY A. ATKINSON
CARL HERMANN VOSS
RICHARD J. PURCELL
HARRY H. PETERSON
J. SERVIS LAHUE

C
O
P
Y

TELEGRAM

JUNE 22, 1948

SENATOR H. STYLES BRIDGES
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-FIVE DELEGATES FROM 26 STATES, REPRESENTING THE CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP OF 71 COMMUNITIES, HEARTILY COMMEND YOUR ACTION IN DRAWING ATTENTION OF THE AMERICAN TAX PAYER TO THE FACT THAT ERP WAS BEING USED TO HELP THE ARAB LEAGUE IN ITS BRITISH INSPIRED WAR AGAINST THE NEWLY ESTABLISHED STATE OF ISRAEL. IN RECOMMENDING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE USE OF AMERICAN FUNDS FOR BRITISH IMPERIAL PURPOSES IN THE MIDDLE EAST YOU HAVE RENDERED AN OUTSTANDING SERVICE NOT ONLY TO THE UNITED STATES, BUT TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE
41 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.
BY KARL BAEHR, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

National Seminar
AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE
French Lick Springs Hotel, French Lick, Indiana
June 20, 21, 22, 1948

P R O G R A M

Sunday, June 20

4:00 - 5:30 P.M. - INFORMAL WELCOME AND REGISTRATION

6:00 P.M. - OPENING DINNER

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson.....Chairman
Dr. Sumner L. Martin.....Invocation
Dr. Carl Hermann Voss.....Address of Welcome
Mr. John Stanley Grauel....."My Journey to Palestine"

Film: "The House in the Desert"

Later - meeting of Policy and Resolutions Committee

Monday, June 21

9:30 A.M. - MORNING SESSION

Committee Meetings: Policy and Resolutions, and Program

Theme: Israel and the Arab World

Dr. Carl Hermann Voss - Chairman of Session on Background Information

Addresses by:

Major Wellesley Aron, O.B.E., of Jerusalem - "The Struggle in Palestine"

Mr. Charles J. Rolo of Alexandria, Egypt, book critic of the Atlantic Monthly, author of "Wingate's Raiders" - "An Analysis of the Arab Worlds"

Victoria I'Asprea of Alexandria, Egypt, lecturer and writer - "Cultural Ferment of the Middle East"

1:00 P.M. - LUNCHEON

Dean Howard M. LeSourd.....Chairman

Dr. Clyde Wildman.....Invocation

"Meet the People" - Self Introductions

3:00 P.M. - AFTERNOON SESSION

Justice Harry H. Peterson.....Chairman

Theme: Educational Problems of the American
Christian Palestine Committee

Addressees by: Mr. Spencer Irwin, editor, Cleveland Plain Dealer
Professor S. Ralph Harlow, of Smith College
Mr. James A. Maxwell, author of "I Never Saw An Arab Like Him"
The Rev. Karl Baehr, Moderator of Panel
Seminar Members, 3-minute reports on home activities,
"What the Problem Means to Me" - Dr. Phillip J. Hickey,
Dr. Theodore Jackman, Dr. Sumner L. Martin, Rev.
Bedros Baharian, Rev. Richard A. Dawson, Mrs. Patricia
Duckworth, Dr. Richard J. Purcell, Dr. Paul Schroeder

7:00 P.M. - DINNER

Radio Transcription for Cortland, New York
Announcer, Rev. John C. Wilson; Moderator, Karl Baehr;
Panel: Leonard Gray; Major Wellesley Aron, and Victoria D'Asprea
Mrs. L. J. McCaffery, President, Florida State
Federation of Women's Clubs.....Chairman
Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, formerly Civilian Adviser on Jewish Affairs
to General Lucius D. Clay - "From Lands of Despair to Land of Hope"
Major Wellesley Aron - "Palestine Is My Home"

Film: "Birthday of a Prophecy"

Committee Meetings: Policy and Resolutions, and Program

Tuesday, June 22

9:30 A.M. - MORNING SESSION

Dr. Charles L. Turck, President, Macalester College,
St. Paul, Minn.....Chairman
Addressees by:
Dean Howard M. LeSourd, Chairman, Children's Memorial Forest
in Palestine
"The Trees of Galilee" - Eternal Light Program
transcription on the Children's Memorial Forest
Miss Olivia Terrell, Field Secretary of "Children to Palestine"

Committee Reports:
Resolutions and Policy Committee, by Dr. Charles L. Turck
Program Committee, by Karl Baehr

Benediction: Dr. Edward Brewster

1:00 P.M. - CLOSING LUNCHEON

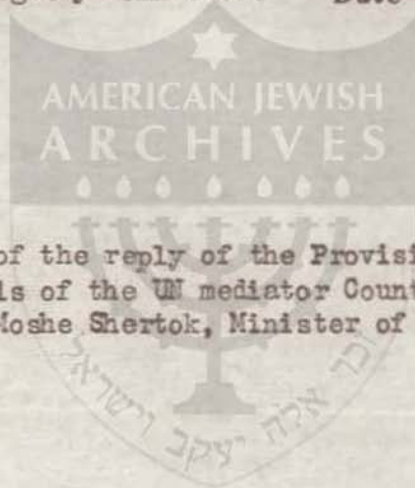
* * * * *

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date July 7, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro



Attached is the text of the reply of the Provisional Government of Israel to the proposals of the UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte. It was signed by Mr. Moshe Shertok, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

HLS:RB
Enc.

July 6, 1948

TEXT OF THE REPLY OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

TODAY CONVEYED TO COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE, UN MEDIATOR

On behalf of the Provisional Government of Israel, I have the honor to offer the following observations on the suggestions presented by you under cover of your letter of June 27 as a possible basis for discussion in discharge of your task to "promote a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine."

1. The Provisional Government of Israel noted with surprise that your suggestions appear to ignore the Resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, which remains the only internationally valid adjudication on the question of the future government of Palestine.

The Provisional Government also regrets to find that in formulating your suggestions, you do not appear to have taken into account fully the outstanding facts of the situation in Palestine, namely, the effective establishment of the sovereignty of the State of Israel within the area assigned to it in the Assembly's resolution, and other territorial changes which resulted from the repulse of the attack launched against Israel by Palestinian Arabs and by the neighboring Arab States.

2. The Provisional Government of Israel begs to recall that the Jewish people accepted the settlement laid down in the General Assembly's resolution as a compromise entailing heavy sacrifices on its part, and the territory assigned to the Jewish State as an irreducible minimum. It is indeed the conviction of the Provisional Government of Israel that the territorial provisions affecting the Jewish State now stand in need of improvement, in view both of the perils revealed by Arab aggression to the safety and integrity of Israel and of the results achieved by Israel in repelling this aggression. In this connection, the Provisional Government of Israel desires to point out that the territorial settlement laid down in the Resolution was based on partition of Western Palestine between the Jewish people and the Arab population of Palestine. Inclusion of the Arab portion of Palestine in the territory of one of the neighboring Arab states would fundamentally change the context of the boundary problem.

3. The Provisional Government of Israel cannot agree to any encroachment upon or limitation of the free sovereignty of the people of Israel in its independent State. While it is the basic aim and policy of Israel to establish relations of peace and amity with her neighbors on the basis of closest possible collaboration in all fields, international arrangements which may be necessary to give effect to this policy cannot be imposed upon Israel, but can only be entered into as a result of an agreement negotiated between the interested parties as free and sovereign States.

4. The Provisional Government of Israel would be ready to accept the provisions concerning Economic Union as formulated in the Assembly's Resolution if all their basic premises were to materialize. This is not, however, the eventuality envisaged in your suggestions. The partner State whom the Israelis are invited to join in a Union is both in its political identity and in its

geographical dimensions wholly different from the Arab State provided for in the Resolution. Jewish consent to Economic Union in the context of the Resolution cannot therefore be binding in the new situation. It must now be left to the free and unfettered discretion of the Government of Israel in the exercise of its sovereign rights to determine what arrangements should govern Israel's relations with her neighbor or neighbors in the field of economic cooperation.

5. The Provisional Government of Israel must be particularly emphatic in its opposition to any infringement of Israel's independence and sovereignty as regards her immigration policy. Complete and unqualified freedom to determine the size and composition of Jewish immigration was the very essence of the Jewish claim to statehood. Recognition of the moral validity and the practical urgency of that claim in connection with the issue of immigration lay at the roots of its acceptance by the international world. There can be no question of any Israeli Government accepting the slightest derogation in favor of any joint or international body from Israel's sovereignty as regards control of her immigration policy.

6. The Provisional Government of Israel was deeply wounded by your suggestion concerning the future of the City of Jerusalem, which it regards as disastrous. The idea that the relegation of Jerusalem to Arab rule might form part of a peaceful settlement could be conceived only in utter disregard of history and of the fundamental facts of the problem, which are:

- a) the association of Judaism with the Holy City;
- b) the unique place occupied by Jerusalem in Jewish history and present-day Jewish life;
- c) Jewish inhabitants constituted a two-thirds majority in the City before the commencement of Arab aggression and this proportion has greatly increased since then as a result of Arab evacuation;
- d) the whole of Jerusalem with only a few minor exceptions is now in Jewish hands;
- e) and not least the fact that after an exhaustive study of the problem and as a result of the overwhelming consensus of Christian opinion in its midst, the General Assembly resolved that Jerusalem be placed under an international regime.

The Provisional Government of Israel must make it clear that the Jewish people in the State of Israel and the Jews of Jerusalem will never acquiesce in the imposition of Arab domination over Jerusalem, no matter what formal municipal autonomy and what right of access to Holy Places the Jews of Jerusalem might be allowed to enjoy. They will resist any such imposition with all the force at their command. The Provisional Government of Israel regrets having to say that your startling suggestion regarding Jerusalem, by encouraging false Arab hopes and wounding Jewish feelings, is likely to achieve the reverse of the pacifying effect which you undoubtedly had in mind.

7. The Provisional Government of Israel does not find it necessary at this stage to comment upon the other points raised in your suggestions as it hopes that examination of its present observations on the major aspects of the scheme for a settlement tentatively outlined by you may cause you to reconsider your whole approach to the problem.

American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue,
New York City

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT TO THE CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

JULY 9, 1948

IN VIEW ISRAEL ACCEPTANCE AND ARAB REJECTION TRUCE EXTENSION PROPOSAL WARFARE
HAS RESUMED, DUE AGAIN TO ARAB AGGRESSION. IMPORTANT THAT YOUR COMMUNITY, JEWS
AND NON JEWS, SEND LARGEST NUMBER OF TELEGRAMS POSSIBLE TO WHITE HOUSE AND STATE
DEPARTMENT URGING PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND SECRETARY MARSHALL TO PRESS ACTION IN UN
SECURITY COUNCIL TO BRAND ARAB STATES AS AGGRESSORS AND APPLY SANCTIONS ACCORDANCE
WITH CHAPTER SEVEN OF UN CHARTER. URGE THE PRESIDENT TO MODIFY ARMS EMBARGO SO
THAT ISRAEL CAN DEFEND ITSELF. PLEASE LAUNCH YOUR TELEGRAM CAMPAIGN IMMEDIATELY.
NEXT TWO DAYS VERY CRITICAL IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED. IT IS IMPERATIVE TO BEGIN WORK
AT ONCE. CANNOT OVERSTRESS URGENCY ABOVE REQUEST. ISRAEL DEPENDS ON YOU, IN
THIS, ITS HOUR OF NEED. WE MUST NOT LET THEM DOWN. REGARDS.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO

MEMORANDUM

Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date June 18, 1948

To

Harry L. Shapiro

From

The following, gathered from the press and other authoritative advices, outlines the attitude of the Israel Government with regard to the impending negotiations instituted by Count Bernadotte.

1. The State of Israel must be treated as a sovereign nation. No Israel official will meet with Arab officials unless recognized as representing a state and not a minority group in Palestine.
2. There must be no restriction on immigration as to either volume or source. The State of Israel alone will decide how many immigrants it will receive and where they will come from.
3. Israel will not negotiate with the Arabs on any reduction of the territory allotted to it by the United Nations partition decision of November 29 last year. Since it at present holds territory outside the partition boundaries, it is willing to discuss minor territorial adjustments with Arab representatives.
4. Jerusalem must retain its UN status as an international city. If Arab attacks there are resumed after the present four-week truce expires, and if the world continues to view them with indifference, the Jews may demand inclusion within Israel of Jewish Jerusalem. Israel insists on maintaining its present hold on the unbroken territorial connection between Israel and Jerusalem as this is the only effective safeguard for the future of Jerusalem Jewry.
5. The Arabs must abide by the UN decision for creation of an independent Arab state in Palestine; otherwise, Israel will not be inclined to relinquish territory, such as western Galilee, which it has acquired by conquest.

The above should aid you as a guide in your local public relations activities.

Regards.

HLS:RW

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date June 9, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

The British Information Services recently distributed to all leading American newspaper editors, radio commentators and columnists a memorandum purporting to give "the answers to questions concerning Britain's position in the present fighting in the Holy Land." Needless to say, this release presented a distorted picture of Britain's role in the war to destroy Israel.

We have prepared the attached refutation of the British memorandum, and have given it the widest possible distribution among editors, commentators, etc. However, we have no way of knowing whether all of those who received the British release are covered by our mailing lists. We urge you, therefore, to bring the attached memorandum to the attention of your local press. Additional copies for editors, etc. are available upon request.

Regards,

HLS:RB
Enc.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
542 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

BRITAIN'S AID TO ARAB STATES: THE FACTS

Under the title "Britain's Aid to Arab States: The Facts," the British Information Services, an official agency of the British Government located at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, has issued a release purporting to give "the answers to questions concerning Britain's position in the present fighting in the Holy Land."

It is only fair that some of the more glaring misstatements, evasions, and significant omissions contained in that release be brought to your attention.

1. On page 2, the release admits that "some 37 British officers are at present serving with the Transjordan Legion." The truth of the matter is that British military personnel serving with the Legion numbered, as of May 14th last, about 225. Of this number 37 are officers while the rest consists of NCO's. Most of these officers and NCO's are members of the regular British forces seconded to the Legion.
2. On the same page, the release, while asserting that 13 British officers serving with the Legion are "private individuals," adds that they "have been engaged directly by the Transjordan Government, but not with the approval of the British Government, just as a number of Britons have been engaged by the Haganah forces of the Jews." This is a grossly misleading statement. The "Haganah forces" are neither financed by the British Treasury nor equipped by the British army, but the Transjordan Legion is so financed and equipped. In the circumstances, the analogy between the Haganah and the Legion will hardly hold. As for individual Britons joining the Transjordan Legion allegedly without the approval of the British Government, we attach herewith a copy of a British army circular, issued on February 26, 1948 by the Headquarters of the First British Division in Sarafend, Palestine. This circular shows that the British army is

serving as a recruiting agency for British military personnel who wish to volunteer for the Transjordan Arab Legion -- a procedure which goes far beyond mere "approval."

It is said that General Glubb and other British military personnel serving with the Legion go through the formality of resignation from the British Army or from British Government service. Whether this is so or not, is irrelevant. The transparent device of a formal resignation by collusion of the parties concerned, so as to enable military personnel to take part in aggressive campaigns, is a well-known procedure and will no longer deceive anybody.

3. On the same page, the British release makes the following three assertions:

- "(a) There are no British officers in Jerusalem;
- "(b) British officers have not been involved in fighting at all except for two persons who were involved in the new part of the City of Jerusalem but have since been withdrawn.
- "(c) No British officers have been or are employed in directing the artillery which is bombarding Jerusalem."

How statements (a) and (c) can be reconciled with (b), must be left to the ingenuity of the authors of the release. How these statements can be reconciled with well-authenticated reports of American correspondents regarding the participation of Brigadier General Glubb and other British officers in the Jerusalem operations of the Arab Legion is also difficult to see.

4. On page 3 of the British release, its authors state that since the British subsidy to Transjordan is paid in pounds, not in dollars, and since the ERF is supervised by an American Administrator, America's economic aid to Britain is not helping the British to arm the Arabs. The British Information Services should really credit American newspaper editors, to whom their releases are sent, with sufficient knowledge of elementary economics to see through so flimsy an argument. American editors know that while pounds are not always convertible into dollars, dollars are easily convertible into pounds. Nor has the fact escaped their notice that if new funds are placed at the disposal of a government for whatever purpose, this frees other funds of the same government for different purposes.

In this connection it is worth noting that the British spent one hundred million pounds (\$400,000,000) or about 12 per cent of the last American loan to fight Jewish immigration into Palestine during 1946-1947 by military and other means. These figures were released on May 28 by David Horowitz, Undersecretary of the Treasury of Israel. Together with arms supplies to the Arab States the figure may be brought up to about 20 per cent of the American loan.

5. In discussing the subsidy to Transjordan, the release artfully avoids any mention of the fact that the Government of Transjordan receives from the British Government not one but two subsidies: one is paid in respect of the general government of Transjordan; the other -- a much larger sum -- is paid to provide for practically all the expenditures of the Transjordan Legion. It will be readily seen that, wholly apart from the participation of British personnel in the Legion, the British Government cannot be acquitted of ultimate responsibility for the operations of a military unit which is maintained almost entirely out of that Government's treasury.

6. Another significant omission in the release concerns the fact that the entire military equipment of the Transjordan Legion is provided by the British Army and Air Force. As late as the middle of May 1948, when the King of Transjordan publicly proclaimed his intention to use the Legion for an attack on Israel, new stocks of weapons and ammunition were rushed from British army stocks to Transjordan. A copy of the Message of British military headquarters in the Middle East to the Transjordan Arab Legion relating to this shipment is attached herewith.

7. Since the release seeks to convey the impression that the military operations of the Arab Legion outside of Transjordan are the sole concern of the Government of Transjordan, and can in no way be imputed to the British Government, Article 1 of the Treaty between Great Britain and Transjordan, of March 15, 1948, is quoted herewith:

" . . . Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes not to adopt in regard to foreign countries an attitude, which is inconsistent with the Alliance or might create difficulties for the other party thereto."

8. On page 4, the release tries to create a better impression of Britain's role in Palestine by its portrayal of Britain's record in the Middle East. According to the release "Britain has during the last thirty years contributed much to the stability of the Middle East" and has assisted Arab States "not only with the means of self-defense, but also with loans for roads, public health, irrigation and so on." Even if true, this observation would have been irrelevant. Good deeds in the past do not justify despicable conduct in the present. However, this self-laudatory summary of Britain's record in the Middle East bears very slight resemblance to the truth. The notorious part played by British agents in repeatedly inciting revolts in Syria, Jebel Druze and Palestine can hardly be characterized as a contribution to stability. As for British loans to Arab States "for roads, public health, irrigation and so on," the "so on" part of it may be correct. We are not aware of any British Government loans to Arab States for roads, public health and irrigation.

9. Comment is superfluous on the passage on page 5 of the release, in which the British Information Services seek to create an utterly false impression of the attitude of the Arab States during World War II. The pro-German revolt of the Iraqi Government, the anti-Ally activities of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and the conspiracy of the Egyptian Government with the German and Italian forces are still fresh in our minds. It is almost inconceivable that, in the face of general knowledge of the facts, the authors of the release have thought it possible to give out a version so blatantly at variance with the truth.

10. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the paragraphs on pages 5 and 6 of the release, which stress Britain's "impartiality" as between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. We refer editors to their own newspaper files, beginning with the year 1939. The British Government's anti-Jewish record on Palestine is so thoroughly documented as to render ludicrous any British claim to "impartiality."

11. The British Information Services assert that their government is "trying to

get peace in Palestine," but they proceed to oppose United Nations action under Chapter 7 of the Charter -- action favored by both the United States and the Soviet Union which would have dealt with the realities of the situation: armed aggression by the Arab States. The release argues against a "hasty" decision along these lines.

The reason for this British desire to avoid "haste" and to block Security Council action under Chapter 7 is apparent from the following dispatch to the London Times from its Jerusalem correspondent, dated May 26: "The bombardment of the Convent of Notre Dame and neighboring buildings continues. A British major of the Arab Legion commands this operation and other British officers are with him."

The arguments against the vigorous UN action advocated by the United States and the Soviet Union, which are contained on the last page of the release, were also presented in the Security Council by Sir Alexander Cadogan while he was introducing his government's truce formula. The comments made on Sir Alexander's statement by Mr. Aubrey S. Eban, Representative of the Provisional Government of Israel, will be of interest to those who have read the British Information Services document.

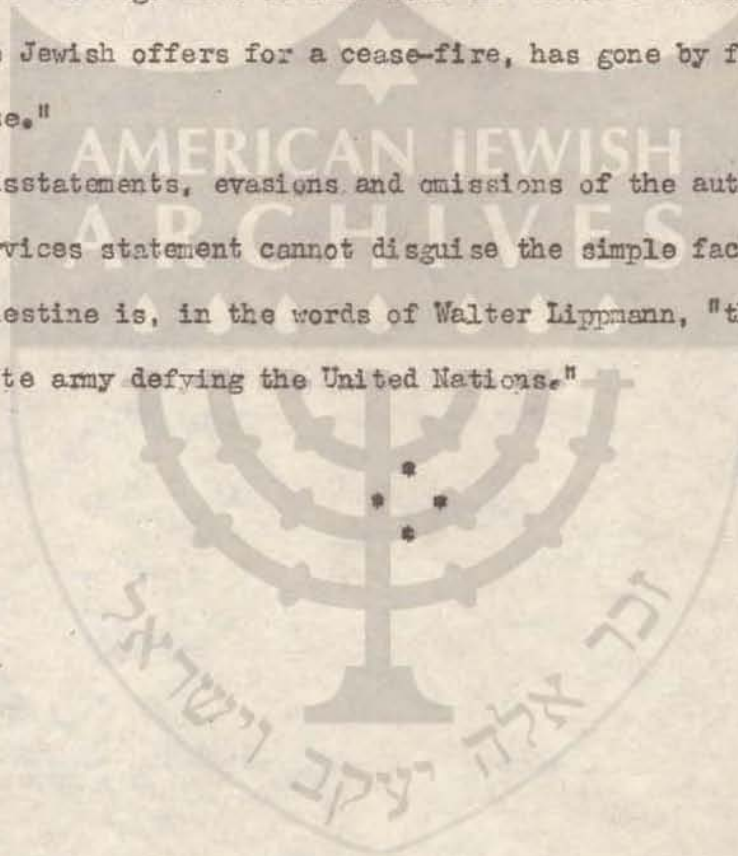
Mr. Eban said: "In the course of this debate, the representatives of the Arab States and of the United Kingdom have echoed in almost identical tones the excuses upon which the Arab States based their rejection of the cease-fire appeal. This rejection, and all the consequences which flow from it, were condoned by the United Kingdom Representative on the grounds that the Security Council had 'abandoned the political terms which the Arabs considered just and reasonable.' In this most illuminating phrase there is revealed the whole background of principle and expediency against which the (British) draft resolution can be accurately appraised. For an unconditional cease-fire and a cease-fire conditioned by the satisfaction of political terms are not different aspects of the same principle. They stand in the most complete antithesis. An uncon-

ditional cease-fire asserts the principle of peace. It upholds the fundamental doctrine of the Charter that all members of the United Nations should 'abstain from the use or threat of force in their international relations.' That doctrine is an absolute, an ideal which cannot be compromised or questioned or conditioned. On the other hand, the proposal for a conditioned cease-fire is an abasement of that high ideal of the Charter, for it upholds the doctrine of expedient violence; the efficacy of threats; the sovereignty of unilateral force. Therefore, the difference between the resolution calling for an unconditional cease-fire, and the (British) draft resolution now before us, is nothing less than the difference between the Charter and its tacit violation. For the Charter does not require member states to abstain from the threat or use of force only if the political terms which 'they consider just and reasonable are taken into account.' In acknowledging that the Arabs have no absolute duty to abstain from armed force against the State of Israel and Jerusalem unless they reap some of the fruits of victory -- a victory which exists only in their colorful imagining -- this draft resolution transports us into a world far remote from the principles and purposes of this organization. The Arabs are no longer called upon to adapt themselves to the will of the Security Council. The Security Council is called upon to adapt itself to the will of the Arab States. . .

"For the most part, Sir Alexander Cadogan's historical record is nothing but an uncritical repetition of the views previously submitted by Arab representatives. You can search its pages in vain for the faintest sign of neutrality in any single point. Thus the Security Council was again acquainted with the terms of a truce for Jerusalem negotiated exclusively between the High Commissioner for Palestine and the Arab League, and never communicated to any Jewish authority. The allegation that a truce agreement had been concluded in Jerusalem, and was broken by the Stern Group was arbitrarily presented without a single shred of evidence. This truce agreement and its alleged violation by the Jews are so mysterious and occult in their origins, that no reference to any

such agreement can be found in the communications of the Truce Commission which was resident and active in Jerusalem throughout that whole period. This allegation is totally unsupported by any source which could be described as even remotely neutral. And its rehearsal before the Council at this state can only serve to obscure the vital and essential feature of the Jerusalem situation, which is that in response to a question by the Security Council, the Provisional Government of Israel has agreed to negotiate an immediate and unconditional truce and that this offer, like the Jewish offers for a cease-fire, has gone by for several days without any response."

12. All the misstatements, evasions and omissions of the authors of the British Information Services statement cannot disguise the simple fact that what is now going on in Palestine is, in the words of Walter Lippmann, "the scandal of a British satellite army defying the United Nations."



SUBJECT:- Volunteers - Arab Legion.

CONFIDENTIAL
Headquarters R.E.M.E.
1st Infantry Division
Tel:- Sarafand Ext. 68

Lists "M" & "N"

40/ME
26 Feb 48

Herewith copy of HQ 1 Inf Div Signal 231730 B Ref No: AGL16
for your action as necessary

(Sgd.).

Capt & Adjut.
for Lieut Colonel,
Comd R.E.M.E. 1st Inf Div.

AMERICAN JEWISH
C O P Y
ARCHIVES

From:- HQ 1 Inf Div. To:- R.E.M.E. 231730 B

CONF(.) AG 116 (.) ONE THE FOLLOWING VACANCIES WILL EXIST FOR VOLUNTEERS
IN REME FOR SERVICE WITH ARAB LEGION WHEN REORG IS APPROVED (.) OFFERS MAJOR ONE
CAPT/SUB (1 CRPT GP) ONE CAPT/SUB ONE CAPT/SUB (ALA) ONE (.) OR INSTRUCTORS
TO ARAB PERSONNEL (.) ARMAMENT ARTS (VEHS) ARMAMENT ARTS (FIELD) ARMAMENT ARTS
(INSTRUCTORS LEGAL) ARMAMENTS ARTS (WIRELESS) ARMAMENT ARTS (ELECTRICAL) (.)
FOLLOWING REQUIRED TO BE SGTS OR RECOMMENDED FOR PROMOTION (.) ARMOURERS
MACHINISTS METAL VEH MECHS ELECTRICAL (V & P) INSTRUMENT MECHS (FIELD) INSTRUMENT
MECHS (TC) TELE MECHS (FIELD) (.) ALL ABOVE TO HAVE MINIMUM 12 MONTHS TO SERVE
(.) TWO (.) APPLICATIONS WILL NOT BE WITHHELD AND WILL BE FORWARDED TO THIS
HQ (.) THREE (.) SELECTED PERSONNEL WILL BE POSTED NORMALLY ON THEIR GENERAL
SERVICE LIABILITIES (.) TERM AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE NOT YET PASSED (.) IT
IS POSSIBLE FAMILIES PERMITTED TO FOLLOW IN DUE COURSE

Message Form.

Immediate.

FROM: MIDEAST

TO: ARAB LEGION AMMAN

INFO: MOV LEVANT

SECRET: 74882Q(M)2. following are programmed shipments ex
SUEZ to AQABA.

ONE. Vessel TALSEER loading SUEZ approx 9th May ETA AQABA
approx 14th May. 18409 Jericans MT 70 Petrol 360 tons
DW 480 tons measure.

TWO. Vessel NALEM loading SUEZ 9th May ETA AQABA approx 14th
May. 48 OERLIKON Guns 36 Tons DW 113 Tons MW ammunition
274 tons DW 266 Tons. Measure.

THREE. Further vessels programmed to commence loading SUEZ 10th
May ETA AQABA approx 15th May. Ammunition 255 Tons DW 167
Tons measure. name of vessel to follow.

FOUR. Escort NCO 1 ORs 3 of ARAB LEGION to accompany stores on
vessels paras two and three above.

FIVE. Request signal earliest when vessel have completed discharge
give details out turn.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date June 15, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Following are two press statements issued this afternoon by the Israeli Delegation to the United Nations:

A spokesman for the Israeli mission made the following statement today: The proposal to have the member states of the United Nations establish a check on all immigration to the Middle East is an innovation never contemplated by the Security Council cease-fire resolution and not provided in the mediator's truce proposal. It is unwarranted in principle and in practice would lead to hardship and injustice. We have pledged full cooperation with the mediator and his staff but this plan for a hydra-headed inspection of the entire world is utterly incongruous and would be deeply resented by public opinion in Israel.

* * *

A spokesman for the Israeli mission today issued the following statement: Public opinion has been given the impression that British officers have been withdrawn from the Arab Legion and returned to Amman. We wonder how Mr. Bevin will explain the activities of Brigadier Norman J. Lash who is now revealed to be the Arab Legion Commander in Jerusalem. Brig. Lash's most recent contribution to peace and civilization in Jerusalem was to threaten to fire on food convoys reaching the 90,000 Jews of that city and yesterday he issued an order of the day commanding Arab soldiers and civilians to desist from any further relations with Jews and threatening offenders with court martial as spies. Arab legionnaires frankly told our soldiers yesterday that they did not want to fight the Jews but were forced to do so by their British officers. We find it difficult to believe that Mr. Bevin is unable to influence the activities of any British officers serving with the Arab Legion.

* * *

Regards.

HLS:LD

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date June 16, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

The following statement regarding collection of funds for the Irgun or any other military organization has been issued by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver in behalf of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Please call this to the attention of your Committee and the Zionist groups represented therein.

At a meeting of the General Council of the Zionist Organization which was held in Tel Aviv last April, an agreement was confirmed between Haganah and the Irgun Zvai Leumi regarding their future cooperation. Under that arrangement the Irgun was free to collect its own funds.

The agreement also provided that upon the establishment of the Jewish State, Irgun would disband as a separate military force. The State of Israel was established on May 15th. On May 28th the Provisional Government of Israel issued a special order creating "the Defense Army of Israel." The order further stated "It is herewith forbidden to create or maintain any armed force other than the Defense Army of Israel."

In response to an inquiry which was addressed to the Foreign Secretary of Israel, the following cablegram has now been received: "In view of the dissolution of Irgun Zvai Leumi and its impending complete incorporation in the Defense Army of Israel, all separate drives and allocations are unwarranted and should be discontinued forthwith. All parts of the Defense Army are financed with central funds and no question can arise of any section or group of the Army claiming separate financial assistance for its maintenance or operations expenses."

In the light of the above we wish to apprise everyone that any collection of funds in behalf of the Irgun or for any other military organization by any individual or organization in the United States is unwarranted and is contrary to the expressed wishes of the State of Israel. There is today but one Defense Army of Israel -- "The Z'va Haganah l'Yisrael" -- and it is maintained by the Provisional Government of Israel.

We trust that the fullest publicity will be given to the above in every community.

(Signed) Abba Hillel Silver

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date June 8, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

We are again calling your attention to the anti-Zionist propaganda campaign which continues unabated in a number of national magazines. While the daily press has given overwhelming support to our cause during the past critical months, many important magazines have closed their columns to Zionist articles while opening them wide to pro-Arab writers. Life, Look, Reader's Digest, Collier's, Saturday Evening Post -- all have published viciously anti-Zionist pieces. Our efforts to bring about the publication of refutations have not yet succeeded with the notable exception of Collier's which printed an excellent article by Dr. Jorge Garcia Granados in its May 22nd issue. The publication of the Granados article was unquestionably the result of the many letters of protest which were sent after the Lessing Rosenwald piece appeared.

The June 12th issue of the Saturday Evening Post contains another article by the Arabs' chief propagandist, Kermit Roosevelt, which must not go unchallenged. A campaign of protest from all over the country must be directed at the editors of that magazine.

Here is the plan of action which I suggest to you:

1. Please remember not to write anything to the Saturday Evening Post until after the June 12th issue is on the stands or in the hands of subscribers.
2. After the issue appears, the largest possible number of letters by Jews and non-Jews should go forward to the magazine -- addressed either to Mr. Ben Hibbs, Editor, or to the publishers, or simply to The Editor -- expressing indignation at the publication of Kermit Roosevelt's article, the second in a row presenting a distorted picture of the Palestine problem.
3. These letters from readers and subscribers do not necessarily have to go into a detailed analysis of Mr. Roosevelt's article. However, for the benefit of those of your friends who may wish to write at greater length, we are enclosing a refutation of several points in Roosevelt's article. Please make certain that letter-writers use their own words.
4. Should some of the letters cancel subscriptions or announce that in the future the signatory will stop buying the Saturday Evening Post, this may prove very effective with the publishers of the magazine.

I shall appreciate a report of the action taken by you in this matter. Regards.

HLS:RB
Enc.

"THE PUZZLE OF JERUSALEM'S MUFTI"

By Kermit Roosevelt
(Saturday Evening Post, June 12, 1948)

A FEW POINTS OF CRITICISM

1. The overall purpose of Kermit Roosevelt's article is undoubtedly to whitewash the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and to present a glorified picture of this notorious war criminal and active partner of Hitler. Granted that Mr. Roosevelt does it with a great deal of subtlety and here and there introduces negative views on the ex-Mufti, laudatory remarks are so preponderant in the article that there can be no doubt as to its real objective.

2. Roosevelt's article opens with a statement that the ex-Mufti "is one of the most revered men living." This actually sets the tone for the entire piece. Any objective reader would consider this a blatant falsehood. Even among the Arabs there are more people who fear Amin el Hussein than who revere him. World opinion on the ex-Mufti is exactly what he deserves in the light of his unsavory biography.

3. Mr. Roosevelt prominently displays the ex-Mufti's statements to him that he is not anti-Jewish but only anti-Zionist, and that he never collaborated with Hitler and Himmler in the planned extermination of European Jewry. This again is a falsehood. There are documents which prove beyond any doubt Amin el Hussein's complicity in the massacre of European Jewry by the Nazis. Some of these documents are available to everybody, including the editors of the Saturday Evening Post. We refer to "The Arab War Effort," a documented account published by the American Christian Palestine Committee. Others are in the form of affidavits presented at the Nuremberg trials showing that the ex-Mufti promoted the extermination of European Jewry. There are letters written by the ex-Mufti to various Nazi officials and puppet governments in Europe, which have been published, proving that on several occasions he supported and urged the massacre of Jews.

4. Mr. Roosevelt tries to present El Hussein as an Arab patriot, who was driven to become anti-Zionist and anti-British, but he carefully avoids any mention of the ex-Mufti's active anti-Americanism. In this connection, the following excerpts from a radio address by Amin el Hussein directed to Arabs in America, delivered on March 19, 1943 in Rome, may be illuminating. This is what Amin el Hussein said on that occasion:

"...The Arabs and Moslems will not be deceived by Britain once again because not only have they known its true intentions but they have also known those of Britain's allies -- America -- and I want to draw the attention of the Arab emigrants in America to this fact, reminding them of their glorious past when they supported the National movement. I would also like to remind them that their efforts will be wasted, if, God forbid, America and her Allies may be victorious in this War because at such a time the Arabs will never rise again. I therefore know that those Arab emigrants in America will refrain from helping Roosevelt or taking part in a war which he brought on to his country...."

5. Making himself the mouthpiece of the Amin el Hussein, Mr. Roosevelt repeats that war criminal's statement that "If Palestine were to be given independence immediately, as a united country with an Arab majority, the Jewish minority there would receive the same rights and privileges that minorities receive in all civilized countries."

To call the Arab lands "civilized countries" and to accept any assurances from the ex-Mufti at their face value -- as Mr. Roosevelt does -- reveals the author's purpose in writing articles of this kind. It is of course undisguised Arab propaganda.

The same purpose can be clearly seen in the concluding section of Roosevelt's article, where he speaks of the strength of the Arab opposition to the Jewish State and tries to build up the Mufti as the one great leader.

6. It is untrue that Amin el Hussein played any part at all in the Arab revolt under Colonel Lawrence.

7. It is untrue that Amin el Hussein was elected "Grand Mufti" of Jerusalem. There is no such post as Grand Mufti of Jerusalem; and he was appointed, not elected, to the post of Mufti of Jerusalem.

8. Mr. Roosevelt writes: "His gentle voice can give orders to kill." That voice has indeed given orders to kill. There is a list of many dozens of Arab politicians and leaders in Palestine who were killed by the Mufti's henchmen because they dared to oppose his dictates.

9. Another statement by Mr. Roosevelt can not stand up in the light of the facts. He writes that the Mufti "has become the leader of all Arabs in that cause." It is generally known that Amin el Hussein's leadership is unacceptable not only to large numbers of Palestinian Arabs, but also to some of the Arab rulers outside of Palestine. Thus, King Abdullah of Transjordan and the Mufti are mortal enemies. Nor does Iraq support the Mufti's leadership.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date May 26, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Israel's real enemy in its fight for independence and survival is Great Britain. The British Government is openly financing, supplying and directing the Arab assault against the Jewish State.

Fortunately, the American people have not been confused by the propaganda smoke-screen behind which Great Britain has sought to carry out its plan to destroy the State of Israel. The American press has reacted magnificently and has treated British perfidy with the contempt it deserves. However, the battle for public opinion is far from over. Shrewd British propagandists can be expected to flood this country with lies and to re-introduce the "Red bogey" -- the argument that the Arabs must be supported in order to stem the spread of communism in the Middle East.

There is, therefore, a great task before us. We must not only be prepared to meet every new British propaganda device, but should anticipate Britain's attempts to mislead American public opinion.

We must do even more. Mr. Bevin has a very thick skin and is quite deaf to pleas for justice. There is, however, one language which he and his associates understand well -- that of the American dollar. The economic weapon is the one that this country can use most effectively in this instance, and its use is clearly called for, in view of the fact that Great Britain is financing the Arab invasion of Israel with funds supplied by the American Treasury.

Senator Styles Bridges (R., N.H.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, has already raised this question on the floor of the Senate, and a number of outstanding members of both Houses of Congress have joined him in demanding an investigation of United States aid to Britain in order to determine whether such financial aid enables the British Government to arm the Arabs against Israel. Senator Bridges has called upon Paul G. Hoffman, ERP Administrator, to report to his Committee on this question. It is no secret that the British are greatly concerned over this latest development.

We must now mobilize all our strength behind the demand that the United States Government deny Britain the funds to supply Arab aggressors. This can be done in the following ways:

1. Organize the widest possible support for the efforts initiated by Senator Bridges to investigate the effects of United States aid to Britain on the war against Israel. Write to your Senators and Representatives and urge them to insist that further American financial aid to Britain be halted until the British Government ceases its monetary and military assistance to the Arabs.

2. Call upon all molders of public opinion in your community -- editors, radio commentators, clergymen, public officials -- to back you up in this just demand. Take steps to ensure that the citizens of your city are fully aware of the facts. This can be done through the publication of advertisements in your local newspapers. Attached to this memorandum you will find the text of an advertisement which the American Zionist Emergency Council placed in the New York and Washington press. We urge you to reproduce it in your own newspapers.
3. Continue to have letters of thanks sent to President Truman for his recognition of Israel, but also be sure that such letters respectfully call upon him to modify the embargo on arms to Israel and to withhold financial aid from Britain as long as that Government continues to supply, equip and lead Arab armies.

- - - - -

As you know, the United States Government has intervened in the case of the 41 United States citizens removed from the American ship, "Marine Carp" while en route to Israel and interned in a concentration camp by the Lebanese Government. At the moment the situation is this: the State Department has disclosed that the Lebanese Government is willing to release the 41 Americans on condition that they return to this country. The United States Minister to Lebanon is questioning the interned Americans to determine their reaction to the Lebanese proposition.

A very important issue is at stake here, involving the freedom of international communications and American sovereignty. The United States Government must not permit any foreign power to take discriminatory measures against American citizens of Jewish faith travelling aboard American vessels. Nor can the seizure of the citizens of other countries while travelling aboard American ships be countenanced by our Government.

We urge you to make every effort to ensure that the full implications of the Lebanese Government's action are clearly understood by the citizens of your community. You should be able to obtain general agreement that our Government must obtain binding guarantees of no further interference with American vessels sailing between the United States and Israel.

If any of the interned "Marine Carp" passengers come from your city, we urge you to write and wire to your Senators and Representatives and ask them to intervene with the State Department, and to insist that their rights as American citizens are safeguarded -- and as American citizens they certainly are entitled to travel from this country to the friendly State of Israel without molestation or interference.

HLS:MSR
Enc.

TEXT OF ADVERTISEMENT

AMERICA: DON'T FINANCE BRITAIN'S WAR AGAINST ISRAEL

On April 16, Sir Alexander Cadogan, Great Britain's chief delegate to the United Nations, made an official statement reaffirming previous undertakings of the British Government to withdraw the Transjordan Arab Legion from Palestine before May 15, the date of the termination of the British Mandate. These official undertakings of His Majesty's Government have been unabashedly and cynically broken.

The Arab Legion has not only remained in Palestine, but has both before and after May 15 engaged in open aggression against Jewish settlements in the area of the Republic of Israel, as well as in the area of the Arab portion of partitioned Palestine. With British officers at its head, the Transjordan Arab Legion is at this very moment bringing death, destruction and desecration to Jerusalem and its holy places. In open defiance of the United Nations General Assembly's cease-fire resolution, which was designed to safeguard the Holy City and to which the Arabs had consented, British-led Arab Legionnaires are obliterating some of mankind's most sacred shrines in their murderous assault on civilization itself. The urgent appeals of Christendom's leaders have fallen on deaf ears.

The responsibility for these attacks—for the loss of life and property inflicted by the British-financed, British-trained, British-supplied and British-controlled Arab Legion—rests squarely on the Government of Great Britain. The use of a puppet's army may save the lives of British soldiers and may be exploited as a technical subterfuge, but it does not diminish Britain's culpability.

Having sought to create the impression in American public opinion that the Arab Legion is no longer under British command, and having failed in that attempt, the Foreign Office in London has now announced that it will not halt its monetary subsidy and supply of arms to Abdullah's Legion unless and until the United Nations decides that the Arabs are acting illegally. This shocking statement coincided with an official inspection of the Arab Legion's positions around Jerusalem by Brigadier Glubb, a British officer officially assigned by the War Office to command the Transjordan Legion. Furthermore, the British Foreign Office has announced that Great Britain will continue to supply arms, money and officers to the armies of other Arab states as well.

Great Britain has thus openly admitted its active participation in the war against Israel, a state created on the basis of a decision by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations General Assembly, and a state first recognized by the United States of America.

These facts should be known by all, and the inescapable conclusions therefrom acted upon. Great Britain today supports Arab aggression from Transjordan, Egypt and Iraq with money which comes from the American Treasury; with money supplied by the taxpayers of America.

If moral principles, human decency, justice in international relations and the expressed will of organized mankind have no effect upon the Government of Great Britain, the time has come for the United States to deny to Britain the funds to supply Arab aggressors. The United States Government cannot be expected to finance indirectly an organized onslaught on a friendly state. Nor can peace-loving American citizens—Jews and non-Jews—be expected to contribute to the British-led Arab war to annihilate Israel.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date June 3, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Please read the attached statement carefully. It exposes Great Britain's latest scheme against Israel and indicates the action that is needed to block the new British maneuver.

The United Nations Security Council's cease-fire resolution has been accepted by Israel and the Arabs. During the truce period, the British Government will launch a new political offensive aimed at the dismemberment of Israel. We must, therefore, call upon our Government to oppose such British efforts and to defend the political and territorial integrity of Israel.

Please ensure that the information contained in the attached statement is conveyed to all molders of public opinion in your community — public officials, educators, clergymen, editors, radio commentators, etc. We also urge that this material be used as the basis for letters to President Truman, Secretary of State Marshall, your Senators and Representatives, calling on the United States Government to take a firm stand against attempts to alter the boundaries of Israel as defined by the United Nations.

This statement will appear tomorrow, June 4th, as an advertisement in various New York and Washington newspapers. It would be most helpful if you were to duplicate this effort in your own community and arrange to have your Committee reproduce this text in the form of an advertisement in your local press.

Regards.

HLS:MSR
Enc.

OPERATION "AMPUTATION"

Israel and the Arabs have announced their acceptance of the United Nations Security Council's cease-fire resolution. Whether this will lead to lasting peace in Palestine depends upon the behavior of one power -- Great Britain. Unfortunately, it is already clear that the British Government plans to make use of the truce period to conduct a new political offensive against Israel, aimed at the dismemberment of the Jewish state.

This is Great Britain's third assault on the Jewish state since November 29, 1947, when the United Nations decided to partition Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states with an economic union and with an international regime for Jerusalem.

Operation "Neutrality"

The first British offensive was launched immediately following the United Nations decision, while Great Britain was still the mandatory power and while tens of thousands of British troops were in Palestine "to maintain law and order." The British policy at that time was to encourage Arab attacks against the Jews and then to maintain strict "neutrality" in the conflict -- a neutrality which did not differentiate between the attackers and the attacked, and which sought to deprive the attacked of the means of defending themselves. They thus hoped to place Jewish Palestine at such a disadvantage in the struggle with the Arabs that, after the termination of the Mandate, the Jews would regard their situation as hopeless and beg the British to stay on.

At the same time the British conducted a systematic program of sabotage, designed to make it impossible for the United Nations to carry out the partition decision. They refused to abide by the United Nations' recommendation that a seaport and hinterland be evacuated by February 1 to provide facilities for Jewish immigration. They even refused to permit the United Nations Palestine Commission to enter Palestine in time to carry out the tasks assigned to it. The Commission summarized Great Britain's attitude as follows: "The refusal of the mandatory power to cooperate in implementing the Plan, its rejection of any progressive transfer of authority, and the inability of the Commission to be in Palestine, constitute a serious jeopardy to the discharge of the Commission's responsibilities."

By thus seeking to discourage the United Nations and by creating a general feeling of defeatism, the British hoped that in the end the United Nations would be compelled to urge them to remain in Palestine to maintain law and order.

The British Government's price for then maintaining the peace, which it was always committed to enforce, would have been the abandonment of partition and the substitution of Foreign Secretary Bevin's pet scheme for the federalization of Palestine. This is how Mr. Bevin hoped to vindicate his contention that the United Nations' decision could never be carried out.

But the Jews would not be intimidated. They stood fast in Palestine and in the council chambers of the United Nations -- and Mr. Bevin's first assault on the United Nations' decision was defeated.

Operation "Glubb"

The Mandate was rapidly coming to an end. Political maneuvers in the United Nations to reverse the decision of November 29 were unsuccessful. The Jews had

already established de facto governmental authority over the territory assigned to them by the United Nations. The Arab attackers had been thoroughly beaten by the Jewish Armed forces. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that the Jews had won.

Embittered by the complete collapse of his plan, Mr. Bevin then removed the mask of "neutrality" and openly launched a large-scale military offensive against the newly-established state of Israel. Of course, the nominal leader of this war of aggression is Britain's puppet king, Abdullah; and Arab, rather than British, soldiers are being employed. But no one has been fooled. World opinion has understood that the war in Palestine is a British-financed, British-supplied, British-engineered invasion.

Nor was public opinion misled by subsequent British statements that twenty-one officers out of the more than two hundred British officers and non-commissioned officers serving with the Transjordan Arab Legion would be withdrawn -- to Transjordan. Everyone realizes that British officers do not find it difficult to direct military operations from Amman.

It has been correctly pointed out that history always remembers what happens to Jerusalem. England may well reflect on the role which its Foreign Secretary has assigned to it in Jerusalem's never-ending story. It will not be forgotten that in the year 1948, in the month of May, Great Britain directed military operations against the Holy City which resulted in the destruction and desecration of some of mankind's most sacred shrines.

The onslaughts of the Transjordan Arab Legion and the other Arab states, supplied with arms and funds by Great Britain, have not only failed to destroy Israel, but have not so much as dented the boundaries of the Jewish state. Israel has withstood the British-led invasion and has not yielded an inch of its territory. This spells the defeat of Mr. Bevin's second major offensive.

Operation "Amputation"

Now Great Britain is launching the third attack against Israel. During the coming weeks the British Government will seek to achieve by political manipulation what its puppet Abdullah could not gain by force of arms. Great Britain will seek to extort territory assigned to Israel by the United Nations and turn such areas over to Abdullah -- in other words, to itself. It is no longer a secret that Great Britain covets the Negev and hopes to annex this southern portion of Palestine to Transjordan. Nor have the British succeeded in disguising their intention of installing Abdullah in a new capital, namely, Jerusalem -- notwithstanding the fact that the Holy City was designated as an international area by the United Nations.

This is Mr. Bevin's new master plan. As before, he will make every effort to enlist the support of our State Department in the pursuit of his objectives. Unfortunately, there have been moments when the British have succeeded in such efforts. It will be recalled that immediately prior to the November 29 decision of the United Nations, it was our State Department which was induced to argue in favor of precisely those territorial "adjustments" which the British government is today seeking to effect. But American public opinion kept our State Department from pursuing this unjust course at that time.

It is, therefore, not too early in the day for Americans to call upon our Government to oppose the new British scheme. America must defend the political and territorial integrity of the Republic of Israel which it has recognized.

If our Government acts justly and consistently -- and there is every reason to hope that it will -- Great Britain's third, and perhaps final assault will be defeated.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date June 1, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Today the Provisional Government of Israel issued three important documents:

1. The text of Foreign Minister Shertok's reply to the Security Council's resolution with reference to a cease-fire.
2. A summary of the military position in Palestine by a military spokesman of the Israeli Government.
3. A statement on the manifesto issued by the so-called Christian Union in Jerusalem.

We are sending you copies of these three statements and urge you to use them in keeping your community informed about the most recent political and military developments regarding Palestine.

Regards.

HLS:MSR
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date June 1, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Today the Provisional Government of Israel issued three important documents:

1. The text of Foreign Minister Shertok's reply to the Security Council's resolution with reference to a cease-fire.
2. A summary of the military position in Palestine by a military spokesman of the Israeli Government.
3. A statement on the manifesto issued by the so-called Christian Union in Jerusalem.

We are sending you copies of these three statements and urge you to use them in keeping your community informed about the most recent political and military developments regarding Palestine.

Regards.

HLS:MSR
Enc.

C
O
P
Y

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

Office of the
Acting Representative
To the United Nations

New York, N. Y.

June 1, 1948

Hon. Trygve Lie
Secretary General of the United Nations
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Sir:

On Saturday, May 29, I transmitted to the Provisional Government of Israel the text of the resolution adopted by the Security Council with reference to a cease-fire in Palestine for a period of four weeks. I now have the honor to convey the following reply from Mr. M. Shertok, Foreign Minister in the Provisional Government of Israel:

"The Provisional Government of Israel has given full consideration to the resolution of the Security Council adopted on May 29, 1948 calling upon all governments and authorities to order the cessation of all acts of armed force for a period of four weeks.

"The Provisional Government of Israel has decided to respond to this call and to instruct the High Command of the Defence Army of Israel to issue a cease-fire order to Israeli forces on all fronts to be observed as from Wednesday, June 2, 3:00 AM Israeli time (corresponding to 7:00 PM New York Daylight time) if the other side acts likewise. The Provisional Government of Israel will also comply with all the injunctions and obligations imposed by the resolution, provided that a similar undertaking is entered into by the other governments and authorities concerned.

"The readiness of the Provisional Government of Israel to cooperate in the execution of the cease-fire as laid down in the Security Council's resolution is based on the following assumptions which, in the opinion of the Provisional Government, are clearly implied in the terms of the resolution:

"1. That the ban on the import of arms into the territory of the Arab states enumerated in the resolution should apply also to the deliveries of arms from stocks owned or controlled by foreign powers within those territories.

"2. That during the cease-fire, the armed forces of neither side will seek to advance beyond the areas controlled by them at the announcement of the cease-fire and that each side will be entitled to maintain the positions in its military occupation at that time.

June 1, 1948

- "3. That freedom of access to Jerusalem will be ensured for the supply of food and other essentials, as well as for normal civilian entry and exit.
- "4. That any attempt by the parties concerned to stop or impede the normal transport of goods assigned to Israel and other states concerned will be regarded as an act of armed force.
- "5. That while the Provisional Government of Israel is ready to comply with the injunction that persons of military age admitted during the cease-fire period should not be mobilized or submitted to military training, its freedom to admit immigrants, regardless of age, will not be impaired."

Although all these consequences seem to flow naturally from the text and spirit of the cease-fire resolution which the Provisional Government of Israel accepts without reservation, it seems important for the avoidance of misunderstanding that they should be placed on the record at this stage.

In addition to this letter, I have been instructed to seek an early occasion, at the discretion of the Security Council, for explaining the views of the Provisional Government of Israel in an oral submission. May I request that the contents of this letter be made available to members of the Security Council.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Aubrey S. Eban
Acting Representative
Provisional Government of Israel

C O P Y

16 East 66th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 1, 1948

A military spokesman of the Israeli delegation today issued the following summary:

Communiqués issued in Cairo and Amman continue to give a distorted impression of the military position in Palestine.

The facts after two weeks of attempted invasion by five Arab armies are as follows:

The territory of the State of Israel is entirely free of invaders, and Israeli forces in operations of active defense have seized military control of more than 400 square miles of territory outside the State of Israel. Israeli forces are in control of the whole of Galilee. Syrian and Lebanese invaders have been evicted entirely from Palestinian soil, and Israeli forces have been operating tactically on Syrian and Lebanese soil.

The coastal plain from the Lebanese border down to Isdud (the Arab border city under the partition plan) is under full Israeli control. All the seaports of Palestine (with the exception of Arab Gaza) - Acre, Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jaffa are in Jewish hands. Israeli forces have advanced within the last few days into the Arab triangle in the direction of Jenin, capturing Lajjun and Zirin.

In the south Egyptian attacks on Jewish villages have all been successfully repelled. Advanced bases of the Egyptian forces in Majdal have been successfully attacked. Egyptian forces are operating exclusively on Arab territory.

All territory assigned to Israel in the Jordan Valley has been cleared of the invader, and Beisan is the seat of a Jewish military command.

The heights overlooking the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road, which is outside Israel's territory, are all in Israeli hands, with the exception of the Latrun monastery around which the battle is now raging.

Dispatches placing Arab forces a few miles from Tel Aviv are entirely misleading since the boundaries of Israel are at many points only a few miles east of Tel Aviv.

Q O P Y

16 East 66th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 1, 1948

A spokesman for the Israeli Government today issued the following statement:

The so-called Christian Union in Jerusalem, which has issued a manifesto regarding damage to religious buildings in the Holy City, is not a neutral body. It is a group of Arab clergymen or clergymen with predominantly Arab congregations, which has completely identified itself with the political aims of the Arab Higher Committee. None of the Protestant churches is associated with this group, nor is the Roman Catholic Church as such.

Over two months ago, on March 24, the Syrian delegate in the Security Council read out a political statement by this group which gave complete support to the Arab case. It demanded the revocation of the General Assembly's partition resolution and declared the solidarity of this group with their "Moslem brethren."

Since then this body has continued to be active in the field of Arab political propaganda.

Many of the benevolent institutions to which the manifesto refers served as British army quarters prior to the termination of the Mandate and were occupied by the Jewish forces upon their evacuation to prevent the Arab military forces from taking them. Others were originally occupied by Arab forces, used as military bases and taken by the Jews as a matter of absolute military necessity.

The new manifesto is a distortion intended to divert attention from the primary fact that it was a foreign Arab army - the British-led and armed Trans-Jordan Arab Legion, which bombed and shelled Jerusalem - not the Jewish defenders of that city. The fact is that Jewish religious institutions suffered the major brunt of the damage and all the synagogues in the Old City were destroyed. Jewish synagogues are also Holy Places.

It is regrettable that such attempts to stir up hostility against the Jewish cause should be made by a partisan political group sheltering behind the cloak of religious sentiment.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date May 17, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

The 14th of May will be remembered as one of the great dates of history. On that day the State of Israel came into being once again; and the President of the United States announced that our great country has extended recognition to the new Jewish State.

This is indeed a moment of fulfillment. Last night a tremendous outpouring of humanity in and around Madison Square Garden, New York City, gave expression to the great joy of the Jewish people on this historic occasion, and also made it unmistakably clear that the Jews of America will not let up in their efforts until Israel is victorious.

The keynote of last night's tremendous demonstration was struck by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who declared that President Truman's great act of statesmanship in recognizing Israel must be translated into effective, practical steps by our Government -- acts which will aid the Jewish State in its struggle against the Arab aggressors. All of the great personalities who spoke in Madison Square Garden last night joined Dr. Silver in calling for an immediate end to the unfair and discriminatory embargo on arms to the Jewish State and demanded that the valiant defenders of Israel receive both the moral and material aid they need in their fight for independence.

This just demand must now be projected by all American Zionists in the most effective way possible. All of us, working together, have achieved much. But the work is not over -- not until Israel has defeated and expelled the invaders.

For the present, please ensure that the following is done:

1. Urge that all letters of congratulations and gratitude which are being sent to the President for his magnificent act in recognizing Israel respectfully call upon him to modify the arms embargo immediately, so that the army of Israel may be enabled to defend the new State properly.
2. Express your thanks to your Senators, Representatives and other public officials who have aided the struggle. Such letters should point out that our country's recognition of Israel must be followed by the modification of the arms embargo. Also ask our friends in Congress to remain on guard against any new attempts to reverse American policy on Palestine.

Throughout these past critical years the Congress of the United States has stood by our side. We may have occasion to call upon the Legislative Branch of our Government for additional help. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that you remain in close personal contact with your Senators and Representatives, acknowledge their efforts in our behalf and submit suggestions.

We are confident that Israel will win through to victory. But we must strengthen the hands of the brave citizens of the Jewish State, so that great sacrifices of precious lives will not be necessary. We believe that the Zionists of America, who have done so much to bring about this glorious moment in Jewish history, will remain at their posts until the war is won.

HLS:RB



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date May 5, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed for your information is a copy of the statement made by Mr. Moshe Shertok before Committee I of the General Assembly on April 27, 1948.

Also enclosed is a memorandum which the Jewish War Veterans have sent to their posts. I send it to you for your information with the hope that your local committee will cooperate in this project.

Regards,

HLS:RB
Encs.



National Headquarters
Jewish War Veterans
of the United States of America
50 West 77th Street
New York 24, New York

April 19th, 1948

HEADQUARTERS RELEASE NO. 56

IMPORTANT!

Palestine and Partition are in the hearts and on the minds of every Jewish War Veteran. The extreme gravity of the present crisis must be brought home to members of the Congress and the Senate in the most immediate and forceful terms.

The Policy Committee has approved a program, which, if successful, may bring our Government to revert to its original position on Palestine.

Simply stated, the program calls upon every Jew in America to ask each of his non-Jewish friends to "Write a Line for Palestine" to his respective Congressman and Senator. If Jews in every section of our country undertake this obligation immediately, Congress and the State Department should be flooded with individual letters from non-Jews, bringing home the vital fact that the partition of Palestine is not primarily a Jewish problem--that it is fundamentally a problem of basic justice and honor that concerns all Americans, regardless of religious belief. If each letter is different; if it is in the individual handwriting of a Congressman's non-Jewish constituent, the impact of the total effort--which should produce a flow of no less than 1,000,000 letters to Washington--cannot go unnoticed by even the most indifferent of public servants.

Your National Commander has appointed Comrade Burton Cooper of the Lt. Robert Bernstein Post, Brooklyn, National Chairman of the "Write a Line For Palestine" program. I now take this opportunity to appoint to the Committee for this project each Post Commander.

Program suggestions for putting this plan into effect on a scale designed to inspire the writing of letters by the million will reach you shortly. Meanwhile, the following preparatory steps should be initiated at once:

1. Post Commanders, as members of the National Committee of the "Write a Line for Palestine" program, should call an emergency muster for the purpose of informing all comrades of the basic facts of the project. These involve the widest possible contacts by all comrades with non-Jewish acquaintances--veteran and non-veteran alike-- to request that they write individually to their Congressmen and Senators urging a return by our Government to its original position on partition.

2. Post Commanders should appoint immediately a special sub-committee to administer Post participation in the program. The name and address of the chairman of the sub-committee should be forwarded promptly to Comrade Cooper at National Headquarters so that maximum savings in time may be effected on all communications with respect to this program.

3. The sub-committee should take immediate steps to obtain the cooperation of all other Jewish organizations in your community so that the program may be given added impetus among non-veterans in your community.

4. The sub-committee should compile a list of all comrades who hold membership in the Legion, VFW and other general membership groups and insure that these comrades present the program to their fellow-veterans of non-Jewish faith with the least possible delay.

SPEED IN GETTING THIS PROGRAM UNDER WAY IS THE FIRST ESSENTIAL. That is why this release is being held to a minimum. That is why all JWV units are being urged to make this program the subject of an immediate emergency muster.

JULIUS KLEIN
NATIONAL COMMANDER

DIST:
All Posts
All Counties
Departments
NEC members

STATEMENT OF MOSHE SHERTOK,
HEAD OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE JEWISH AGENCY
BEFORE COMMITTEE I OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
April 27, 1948

The present session was convened for the purpose of giving further consideration to the question of the future government of Palestine. This euphemistic phrase "further consideration" clearly portended a revision of the solution previously adopted. Though it was not sought formally to abrogate the Assembly's Resolution of November 29, 1947, the proposed trusteeship arrangement was tantamount to its complete reversal. The Resolution had stemmed from the recognition of two basic facts: first, that Palestine is ripe for independence; second, that within it exist two nations. Accordingly the Assembly decreed the creation in Palestine of two independent States linked in an Economic Union. Trusteeship does violence to both these basic realities. Palestine is forced back into subjection, to outside tutelage and the duality of its population is ignored.

From the standpoint of the Jews the proposal is totally unreal. For not only are the Jews expected to forego the independence and statehood accorded them by the Resolution. They are invited to accept a status which is no status at all; whatever the constitutional formulae, without any of the shields forged for the Jews by the Mandate, the Arab majority is bound to assert itself at their expense. None of the fundamental provisions of that document, which were designed to promote and safeguard the development of the Jewish National Home, is reproduced in the United States draft trusteeship agreement. The recognition, with all its corollaries, of the connection of the Jewish people throughout the world with Palestine is swept away.

Above all, the right of Jews, as Jews, to immigrate and settle in Palestine is no longer to be valid. The wording of the United States proposal on immigration alone would be enough to condemn the entire project in the eyes of the Jewish people. Presumably in an attempt to overcome these insuperable obstacles to Jewish acceptance of trusteeship, the honorable representative of the United States has painted a glowing picture of an era of economic prosperity and progress to be ushered in for Palestine by that regime- big irrigation works, attraction of capital, agricultural and industrial development, and what not. May I recall that Ambassador Austin has visited my country. He has had the opportunity of ascertaining at first hand that the progress of Palestine in our time has been primarily due to continued large scale Jewish immigration and to constructive Jewish initiative and capital investment which drew its strength and inspiration from but one source, the hope of rebuilding a free Jewish commonwealth. To deny to the Jewish people the fulfillment of that hope is to destroy their initiative and arrest the progress of Palestine. Trusteeship and economic progress in the context of Palestine are a contradiction in terms. A tree bears no fruit after its roots have been severed.

The Resolution of the Assembly, by establishing a Jewish State, albeit in a part of Palestine, provided for the fulfillment of the fundamental concept of the Palestine Mandate; it sought to realize in 1947, against the background of existing circumstances, what was originally conceived in 1917. It was true to the creative trend of modern Jewish history which has its roots in Jewish national independence in the ancient past and in age-long Jewish martyrdom. The United States trusteeship proposal disregards the past, flies in the face of present day realities and darkly beclouds the future.

The Jews of Palestine and the Zionist movement have rejected the trusteeship idea. The executive of the Jewish Agency and Jewish National Council in Palestine have declared their uncompromising opposition to any proposal which would prevent or delay the establishment of the Jewish State. In fact, it may be asked whether an attempt to revise or to set aside the Assembly's Resolution is not at variance with international law. Much has been said by opponents of the Resolution of its allegedly non-binding character in view of the fact that technically it is no more than a "recommendation." It is of course a truism that resolutions of the Assembly in matters which concern the national sovereignty of the members of the United Nations are mere recommendations which with all their moral and political weight have no binding character. But the Resolution on Palestine is different in essence. The problem here is not one of a conflict between two sovereign states in regard to which the Assembly can do no more than "recommend" a settlement. At stake in the case of Palestine is the future of a territory which is subject to an international trust, and which therefore constitutes a direct responsibility of the United Nations. It is not within the jurisdiction of any member of the the United Nations, but solely within that of the United Nations as a whole to determine the future of that territory, and that decision has a binding force. Moreover, we believe it to

be arguable that the decision of November 29, 1947 cannot legitimately be revoked or altered. That decision conferred statehood upon the Jews of Palestine as it did upon the bulk of the Palestine Arabs. Each group acquired rights under the Resolution which it cannot now be forced to renounce. It is significant that the Resolution throughout refers to the two states in terms which imply that they already exist. Now to go back on the Resolution and to re-impose on Palestine some form of international tutelage is to legislate out of existence an established fact.

But whatever the legal aspect of the situation, there can be no doubt as to its political realities. During the eight months, April to November, when the Palestine problem formed the subject of continuous and active examination by the General Assembly and its organs, the political status of Palestine was in suspense; but this has by no means been the fact since the end of November. The passage of the Resolution has released a process of change which has grown apace from week to week, and even from day to day, with the progressive liquidation of the Mandatory regime. While the present special Assembly deliberates, the position of Palestine does not remain static. Systematically or otherwise, the plan of partition is being implemented. It is not merely a question of setting up a central authority to administer the area of the Jewish State upon the termination of the Mandate on May 15. Such authority is already in operation, filling the vacuum, territorial and functional, which is produced by the shrinking of the Mandatory Administration. The Jews, in building up their government, are not merely striving to uphold and exercise their rights under the Resolution; their present course of action is imperatively dictated by the necessities of civilized life, and of life itself.

It is no longer a question of whether and when and with whose help will the militia of the Jewish State be set up. The Jewish militia is already in existence and in action, fighting its battles day in and day out. To impose a trusteeship is no longer a matter of substituting one resolution for another. It will have to contend with the compelling forces which produced partition and which have in turn been vastly accelerated by the acceptance of partition by the Assembly.

That the process of the establishment of the Jewish State had been made unnecessarily and tragically difficult needs no elaboration. When distinguished delegates speak of peaceful implementation as of a hope unfulfilled, they seem to forget that the Assembly's Resolution was adopted in the teeth of persistent threats to defy it by force, that the question of an international force to give effect to the Resolution had been discussed at considerable length on various occasions, and that no such force was provided, not because it was unnecessary, but because it was found impracticable. During the last regular session of the Assembly, the Jewish Agency had pointed out that if trouble in Palestine were localized, the Jews would be able to cope with it alone, but if the country were invaded by forces from the neighboring states, an international force would be called for, primarily because such an invasion would be an open revolt against the authority of the United Nations which it would be the duty of the United Nations to put down. We refer to the deterrent effect which the mere existence of an international force would exercise because there is no contradiction between peaceful implementation and availability of force. On the contrary, it is an axiom of international politics that readiness to use force is an indispensable condition of the maintenance of peace. At the same time the Jewish Agency declared that should formation of an international force prove, for any reason, impracticable, the Jews would be ready under any contingency, to carry the burden of defending themselves and their State alone, but in that event they would require and deserve assistance in arms.

Our fear that armed forces from neighboring countries might invade Palestine has materialized. The invasion is officially and publicly organized and financed by the governments of the Arab States, members of the Arab League and of the United Nations, in deliberate obstruction of the Assembly's plan. Documents which we have submitted to the Security Council contain conclusive evidence of our contention. The incursions of military formations from the neighboring countries into Palestine have proceeded in broad daylight under the very eyes of British military and civil authorities. The British navy has continued to blockade Palestine's seaboard against the arrival of visaless Jewish immigrants, but the land frontiers, north, east and south, were left open to the aggressor. Inside Palestine the British forces proved either unable or unwilling to put down Arab violence and to

protect Jewish settlements from attack. Sometimes they were of help; more often they turned against Jewish defenders; in most cases they stayed aloof. The United Kingdom Government continued to supply arms to Arab States under the existing treaties in disregard of the active part played by these governments in the invasion of Palestine. On the other hand, no armed assistance was provided to the Jews and they were left to fend for themselves. The appeals of the Jewish Agency for the relaxation of the United States embargo in favor of those defending themselves and the Assembly's Resolution were fruitless. So was our appeal to the Security Council for an international arms policy in defense of an international decision. The Security Council even found itself unable to declare the invasion of Palestine a threat to the peace within the terms of the Charter and of the Resolution on Palestine.

Encouraged by the Council's inaction and by the absence of any military assistance to the Jews by the United Nations, the Arab Governments and the Palestine Arab Higher Committee intensified their campaign of violence. The blustering commanders of the so-called Arab Liberation Army promised their followers the loot of Tel Aviv, the razing of all Jewish settlements to the ground and the hurling into the sea of the Jews who survived. Jewish Jerusalem found itself besieged. The Old City within the walls, with all its shrines, was allowed by the Administration to fall into the hands of fanatical Arab guerrillas. Its small Jewish community owed its survival only to the gallantry of its own defenders. The 100,000 Jews of Jerusalem were cut off from food and other supplies, and their communications with the outside world were disrupted by Arab bands operating outside the city. Jerusalem was shelled for the first time in its history.

In all these circumstances, the entire Jewish people of Palestine rallied to the supreme task of self-defense - defense of its life and property, of its rights and future. The defense organization of the Jewish community, the Haganah, came out into the open. It enrolled new members, improved its organization, increased its equipment as best it could. It had to be on the alert night and day in more than 300 Jewish villages and towns, never knowing where and when the enemy would choose to muster an overwhelming superiority of forces for a decisive blow. As a result, large proportions of manpower and equipment were immobilized in purely static defense. Inevitably the Haganah was compelled to assume the counter-offensive to tie up the enemy's resources, to forestall attacks and to strike at menacing concentrations of foreign troops. Above all, there was the imperative need to relieve isolated Jewish settlements and to save Jerusalem. To this day, every Arab attack against Jewish settlements has been repelled and not a single Jewish village or defense post has been evacuated anywhere in the country. As time went on, the Haganah in successful counter-thrusts scattered the attacking forces and drove the enemy back to its bases. It occupied Arab strongholds, including villages and hilltops, commanding the main road to Jerusalem, which was thus reopened to food convoys. This daring enterprise was undertaken by the Haganah after every hope had to be given up of inducing the British authorities to protect the access to Jerusalem, and as the only means of saving the Jews of Jerusalem from starvation. But the position inside Jerusalem remained critical. The most revolting chapter of the present Palestinian situation is the fate of the great Hadassah hospital on Mount Scopus, adjoining the Hebrew University. The Arab command had converted an Arab quarter lying athwart the route from the hospital to the city into an armed stronghold from which all Jewish convoys, whether medical or otherwise, were attacked. On April 13th, after an assurance of safe conduct by the British authorities, a convoy carrying medical and university staff was blown up by land mines and attacked with machine-gun fire; 74 Jews, mostly doctors, nurses, university professors and students, were butchered, some of them burned to death. Though the massacre went on for hours, a British army unit stationed nearby took no action, while a Jewish defense unit was held up on the way to the scene. After the disaster, the hospital found itself completely cut off. British military authorities proceeded to negotiate - yes, to negotiate - with the bands entrenched in the Arab quarter to let food and hospital equipment through. The Arabs refused, insisting on the total evacuation of the hospital, and the British took no action. Again the Haganah had no choice but to act on its own, and on Saturday night, April 24th, after a fierce battle, the Arab bands were ejected and the Haganah forces occupied the Sheikh Jarrah Quarter. Promptly, British troops intervened and proceeded to shell the Haganah posts. The present situation in that quarter is obscure and the fate of the hospital hangs in the balance.

When British troops evacuated Haifa, the Haganah forces moved in to prevent the main part of the city, placed by the Resolution in the Jewish State, from falling into the hands of foreign Arab bands which had already infiltrated into it and attacked the Jews. By and large, we have broken the first wave of Arab aggression. It depends largely on international reaction whether the second wave will begin.

When I hear Arab spokesmen bemoaning the fate of Palestinian Arabs as innocent victims of wanton and brutal attacks allegedly perpetrated by the Jews, I am reminded of the old Arab proverb: "Darabani wa-baka, sabaqani wa-shtaka," which means, "He beat me and wept, ran ahead of me and complained." The Arabs are suffering from the boomerang effects of their own mischief, and their distress is self-inflicted. Were it not for the onslaught against the Jews initiated by the Arab Higher Committee and magnified to its present proportions by the Arab States, Palestine would today have been a peaceful country. Plagued by defeat, Arab representatives have sought refuge in wildly exaggerated allegations against the Jews. Typical was the report of the Syrian delegate about the events in Haifa. According to the formal statement presented to the Security Council by Sir Alexander Cadogan, the engagement in Haifa was started by the Arabs who attacked Jews for several days before the Jews took the action which brought the town under their control. The number of Arabs killed in the operation, according to official British sources, was about 100, and there was nothing to justify the term of massacre. I would add that a high ranking British officer in Haifa, in describing the events to a well-known foreign press representative, commended the smoothness with which the Haganah carried through the operation and the high regard its fighters had shown for human life.

The Arab spokesmen before this Committee have also distorted the facts about Arab civilian evacuation. It is by no means the policy of the Jews to drive Palestinian Arabs out of their towns and villages. On the contrary it is both our desire and our interest to show that Arabs can be perfectly secure within the Jewish State. Even before the Haifa engagement there had been a large-scale Arab exodus from Haifa, running into tens of thousands. The reason was that these people had no heart for the fighting and did not want to be involved in trouble. The subsequent mass evacuation was dictated by Arab commanders in a military demonstration - with one eye on the Arab world and the other on this Assembly. In Tiberias there had been a truce between local Jews and local Arabs which lasted several weeks. It was broken by armed men who came in from outside and when the Jews counter-attacked, again it was the Arab command which called upon the people to leave.

In Jaffa, which is outside the Jewish State, truce negotiations initiated by the local Arabs were in progress two months ago when the town came under the command of an Iraqi officer who promptly ordered their discontinuance. When warned by the Arab mayor, he replied: "I don't mind the destruction of Jaffa if we secure the destruction of Tel Aviv." Arab attacks from Jaffa against Tel Aviv were resumed, as were the Jewish counter-attacks, and here too Arabs proceeded to flee.

We have made it clear in the Security Council that we would most sincerely welcome a truce provided it was not a mere sham, to be used as a mask for the preparation of further and more violent aggression. The conditions for a real truce must include an effective prevention of further armed incursions from outside and the removal of foreign bands already in Palestine. Nor must our rights under the Resolution be prejudiced. But even before the truce resolution was adopted by the Security Council, we offered to cease fire as soon as the other side did. Yet Arab attacks have not stopped, and judging by what we hear of conferences and preparations in the neighboring Arab capitals, we must be ready for graver ordeals. Arab heads of governments and military chiefs are assessing the results of the first wave of invasion, which was a fiasco, and are preparing for a new phase of their military adventure. Forces composed of guerrilla volunteers with a mere sprinkling of regular officers have failed, they are now considering the dispatch of regular armies across the frontiers. For a long time past, there has been a plan for the invasion of Palestine by the armies of Saudi Arabia and Egypt from the south, Iraq and Transjordan from the east, and Syria and Lebanon from the north, possibly with a view to eventual partition of the territorial spoils between Palestine's neighbors. Iraq is now in the throes of an acute

economic and financial crisis and is reported to be urgently appealing for outside help, yet notwithstanding internal difficulties, she is reported to be ready to dispatch for direct and overt intervention in Palestine.

But the spearhead of this new campaign of aggression is to be, according to reports, the Arab Legion, the army of Transjordan. Units of this Legion have for a long time past been stationed in Palestine as part of the British garrison. Their presence has been a constant menace. Of late they have taken an increasing part in Arab aggression in Palestine. The other day we were assured by the representative of the United Kingdom in the Security Council that the Legion would be removed from Palestine before May 15th. Yet only yesterday we read that the main airport of Palestine at Lydda which belongs to the Jewish State was, upon the withdrawal of British personnel, occupied by the Arab Legion. So were the British barracks in Jerusalem. At the same time the King of Transjordan is reported to have stated officially that his troops would soon march into Palestine, bent on conquest. He is now being credited with the intention of himself marching into Jerusalem, at the head of a composite column of troops of the Arab League, to be crowned as King of Palestine.

It is obvious that the Legion can move into Palestine, whether before or after the 15th of May, with the same ease and facility with which the invading Arab forces have hitherto moved in. The Transjordan Government jointly with the Government of the United Kingdom would then be responsible for a most critical situation. Though the Transjordan Government is seeking admission to the United Nations, it apparently feels free to violate the Charter with impunity. Certainly the United Nations is not powerless to halt this flagrant move to open warfare. The responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom is equally unmistakable. The Anglo-Transjordanian Treaty which has just been renewed provides for full military alliance between the two countries and the establishment of a Joint Defense Board. Under the treaty, the Government of Transjordan receives an annual subsidy of \$8,000,000 from the United Kingdom for the maintenance of the Legion. The commander and other senior officers of the Legion are appointed by the British Government, and the Government of Transjordan may not undertake offensive operations outside its own territory without consulting its ally. We understand that British evacuation plans include the supply of all operating requirements for the next eight months. If Transjordan brings war to Palestine, the British Government will be responsible, and if the whole issue is not placed on the agenda of this Committee and of the Security Council, then it cannot be said that the United Nations is dealing with the realities of the Palestine crisis.

I ought to make it clear, Mr. Chairman, that while we believe that this threatened invasion of Palestine by the regular armies of the Arab States around us calls for very firm action by the United Nations, we ourselves are making every possible preparation to meet the next phase of the onslaught with our own forces. We certainly do not regard the Arab Legion as invincible and we are prepared to join issue with it. Our strength may be limited but there is nothing that a people conscious of its past and cherishing its future will not do in defense of its life and liberty, if forced to. We know we shall be helped by Jews throughout the world, wherever they may be. We are as appreciative as any other people of the boon of peace. But like any other freedom-loving nation, we do not set peace above everything else in life. Peace is a means to higher ends, not an end in itself. Moreover, the terms of the Arab Higher Committee or the Arab League, would place us on the precipice of national as well as of physical extinction. That would certainly not mean peace.

This debate is already twelve months old, yet it keeps reverting to the roots of the problem and to its most fundamental aspects. Notably, the distinguished delegate of the Lebanon has made a renewed intellectual effort to probe the problem to its very foundations. I appreciate the honesty of his purpose, but I deplore the mental or psychological obstacle which he has not managed to overcome. That obstacle is the refusal, conscious or otherwise, to concede to the Jews what is regarded as the natural and elemental birthright of any other people under the sun, namely, its right to a country which it can call its own, its right to a complete mastery over the conditions of its life, its right to accommodate within that country as many of its sons and daughters as it can, its right to a seat in the family of nations and its right to make its own distinctive contribution in all fields of endeavor to the common stock of mankind. The delegate of the Lebanon is prepared to concede us many things: full civil and political rights, complete freedom of

religious worship, full opportunity to develop our Hebrew language and culture, and so on. He denies us only one thing: equality - not individual equality, which he grants - but collective equality - equality of status for the Jewish people with all other nations. So long as you do not realize that the Jewish people as a people is homeless and that homes for individuals, happy and prosperous as they may be - if they are - are no substitute for a home for the people, you do not begin to touch the core of the Jewish problem and it is idle for you to attempt a solution.

Dr. Malik seems to forget - or maybe he does not - that all the blessings he would bestow on us in the Palestinian state of his conception are fully enjoyed today by Jews as individuals in every democratic and progressive country. Nevertheless, the yearning for Zion persists, for here the soul of the people seeks its redemption, and only here can the body of the people as a national entity achieve its renaissance. Dr. Malik assures us that in the Palestine State, in which the Jews would give up their claim to a separate collective identity, they would be able to hold the highest offices, including appearance as delegates of that State to the United Nations. Does he really imagine that such a prospect is so startlingly novel in Jewish history? There was a time when the Foreign Minister of the Second German Reich was a Jew and he appeared in that capacity in the highest international councils. It is not so long ago that the Prime Minister of France was a Jew who, by virtue of his position in French life, may at any time be called to fill that office again. In modern times, there have always been Jews in the governments of Great Britain. In the United States, Jews have held and are holding state positions of the highest dignity. All these honors and distinctions, of which those directly concerned and other Jews were rightly proud, did not advance the Jewish people one step towards the solution of its problem as a people. Only a territory of its own, in whose history the people has deep roots and over whose future it has the unchallenged mastery - in brief, statehood in its own country - can solve the problem.

This is the historical aspect. But what of the practical problem as it affects today the 700,000 Jews of Palestine and those hundreds of thousands who are determined to settle there? Dr. Malik appealed to us, Palestine Jews, to seek integration into our Arab environment and abandon all claims to "separate existence". If by "integration" he means that we should seek to get closer to our environment, that we should study its language and its ways of thought, that we should forge links with our neighbors near and far, then he is right and this is exactly what we are trying to do. But if by "integration" he means that we should strive to dissolve in our environment, then he asks for the impossible, and what is more, he commits an injustice for he seeks to do to us what he does not want done to himself. His own country, the Lebanon is far less sharply differentiated from the rest of the Levant than we in Palestine are from our Arab neighbors, yet the Lebanese people rightly regard an independent political status as an essential condition of their harmonious integration into the Arab world as a whole.

For us no question of integration into the Arab world exists, for we are not nor do we wish to be Arabs. It is the essence of our return to Palestine that there, and there alone, we can live as Jews and nothing else. We do not cut ourselves off from the world around us; on the contrary, we are anxious to be connected and associated with it as closely as we can; but we do not give up our corporate identity; rather are we anxious to develop it to the highest level attainable, as our neighbors do, as do all nations. We believe that the very process by which each of the countries around us has attained its separate independence and sovereignty makes our claim to statehood unanswerable. We also know that we are already a nation and that the process of our complete emancipation as a sovereign state in the part of Palestine assigned to us will prove irresistible.

We do not base our claim on any cultural or economic superiority. But it is indeed singular that a man of Dr. Malik's intellectual stature should be prompting us to conform to the patterns of life which characterize the countries of the Arab East - some of which are centuries behind us in education, social structure and economic development - and yet should deny us equality of status, even with the most primitive of them. It is equally singular, if not absurdly incongruous, for the United States to endorse the claim of these relatively primitive societies to sovereignty and membership in the United Nations and yet advocate further tutelage for both peoples of Palestine.

In all his admonitions to us, Dr. Malik appears to assume that the Jews by a mere act of will can surrender their independent existence and renounce immemorial aspirations to the reconstitution of their State. He reveals how profoundly even most cultivated Arab minds persist in misunderstanding or underestimating the historic motives and all the strains and stresses of Jewish life. The idea that a people should rest content with a disembodied culture and give up its claim to free political institutions would sound too ridiculous to merit any serious thought if applied to any other nation. The United Nations itself is conclusive proof that the independent sovereign state is the only normal unit of national activity - the only recognizable constituent part of the international world.

That the attainment of statehood by the Palestine Jews would have been infinitely easier if it did not involve the inclusion in the Jewish State of 350,000 Arabs living today within its area is axiomatic. But the retention in the Jewish State of this Arab minority is by no means such an enormity in ethics and in practical politics as some of the more violent critics of the plan of partition would represent it to be. As has been pointed out time out of number, justice and practicability are relative concepts in the highly complex and most closely integrated international scene of today. The question is, in which case would injustice and practical difficulty be greater: if less than one-third of the Palestine Arabs were left in the Jewish State while remaining surrounded by masses of their kith and kin in the neighboring countries, all of which, including the newly to be formed Palestine Arab State, would enjoy full sovereignty and independence, or if twice that number of Jews were left as a permanent and completely isolated minority in an Arab State with the Jewish people as a whole deprived of statehood forever?

It would appear that the coupling of an economic union with partition should have been regarded as a further safeguard for the Arab minority, added to its ethnic unity with the wider Arab perimeter, its geographic contiguity with independent Arab states and the self-interest of the Jewish State to mete out to it the fairest treatment possible. Yet the Lebanese delegate repeats the theses of the distinguished representative of Pakistan that there is something absurd or anomalous about the idea of economic unity combined with political separation. In reality, this is one of the most advanced conceptions which modern political thought has produced. It would be worthwhile in this connection to recall the following extract from the speech of the representative of the Netherlands at the General Assembly on November 26, 1947:

"We are convinced that the establishment of a unitary state would not be the appropriate solution for the United Nations to preach now. Historically speaking it is a fact that nearly always in all parts of the world where there was to be found a historically formed difference between peoples whom destiny brought together, no solution in the direction of a unitary state has proved to be workable. After the Napoleonic Wars, Belgium and the Netherlands were brought together in one unitary state. Although our two peoples had very close ties, relations and interests...this unitary state ended rapidly and unsuccessfully. The differences between Arabs and Jews now are much greater.. than those between Belgium and the Netherlands in 1830. Now, together with Luxembourg, those countries are reunited, not politically but economically, and now what counts is not our political separation but our union for economic purposes...History has taught our three countries this valuable lesson of independence combined with unity for certain important but limited purposes. We try to apply this lesson earnestly because we believe strongly that this is the best way to freedom, prosperity and the safeguarding of minorities. We believe this not only because it is our own way, but because it is also a very human and intrinsically democratic way."

Failing to learn this lesson, Dr. Malik denies both principles - separate political independence and economic unity. He calls upon the Jews to commit political suicide and then proceeds to brandish over their heads the threat of economic boycott. It was astounding to hear the President of the Social and Economic Council uphold as a "sovereign right" this expedient of economic warfare which every provision of the Charter enjoining economic cooperation, and full collaboration between nations generally, implicitly condemns.

To divert in this context to the trusteeship idea, it is no paradox to say that the plan of partition with economic union leads through separation to the eventual

highest degree of attainable unity, whereas trusteeship, by the imposition of artificial unity, is bound to widen the gulf between the two peoples and is liable to make it eventually unbridgeable. For under trusteeship as under the Mandate, the two parties will seek their self-expression by a continuous pressure and counter-pressure on the third party, that is the trustee, and will thereby pull apart and sharpen their differences; whereas under partition they will face each other as equal partners, bear the full brunt of direct responsibility and be driven by the impact of their own interests to accept their mutuality and come to terms, both within the economic union and beyond it.

Incidentally, the representative of the Arab Higher Committee again tried to assail the plan of partition on legal grounds by invoking the arbitrary theory that the termination of the Mandate can only result in the conversion of the mandated territory into a unitary state. Not only is there no vestige of evidence in support of this theory in the Mandate itself, but the actual course of events which has so far attended the liquidation of mandates has produced two major precedents in support of partition. France was granted one mandate by the League of Nations for the Levant territory, yet that territory comprises two states, Syria and Lebanon. The Palestine Mandate itself is another case in point. There was one mandate for Palestine and Transjordan, yet its oneness did not prevent the first partition of Palestine, the setting up of Transjordan as a separate Arab Kingdom, nor has any Arab national institution ever voiced a protest against this procedure.

The delegate of the Lebanon concluded by inviting the Jews to face an either/or. But the alternative which he commends- that of collective renunciation by the Jews of the very essence of their ideal- is a purely imaginary one. The sooner Dr. Malik and his friends give up this peice of wishful thinking and accept the reality of Jewish nationhood, the better for all concerned. It is thus the Arabs who are faced with an either/or, and in their case the positive alternative is fully practicable and entails, comparatively speaking, a very small sacrifice for which a peaceful and more prosperous future will be an ample compensation. Either they will pursue a sterile campaign which will absorb all their best energies to no constructive purpose or conclusive result, with the vain object of crushing the Jewish nation- that stiff-necked people- out of existence; or they will acknowledge the Jewish right to Statehood, based on history and on the facts of today, and will then accept the Jewish Palestine as an equal partner in the great enterprise of regenerating the Middle East. The choice is between perpetual, aimless discord and immediate, fruitful peace.

Above all, let it not be forgotten that history has seen few more impressive proofs of mass determination than that provided by the transports of Jewish refugees which, despite all hardships and hazards, continue to cross the sea on the way to Palestine. Will the Arab navies stop them?

Mr. Chairman, we shall never cease to offer peace to our neighbors and to pledge our cooperation and association with them, provided our elementary claim to equality of status is accepted and our need for growth and development within a reasonable part of Palestine- the part assigned to us by the Assembly's Resolution- is satisfied. We shall accept nothing else than a State. We shall accept nothing less than that area. But as a State within that area, we shall solemnly undertake to respect its boundaries, scrupulously to observe the obligation of full equality of civil, religious and political rights to all our co-citizens, and effectively to cooperate with the neighboring states within such organized framework as may be found acceptable for the common benefit of all. An alliance based on mutual non-aggression and on joint economic and development activities would find in us a most willing partner. But the starting point must be equality of status. Our claim for statehood is inherent in our elementary human dignity. Our striving for it draws its strength from the eternal bond between us and our country and from the centuries of exile and persecution. Our urge to attain it now is the direct result of the impact of world events upon the position of the Jewish people in Palestine and in other parts of the world. For all those who have eyes to see, the Jewish State already exists. Jewish control of the Jewish State area is a growing reality. Arab rule over the Jewish area is a flight of fancy. The full-fledged development and international recognition of the Jewish State cannot be long delayed. All the energies of the Jewish people are mobilized to bring about that consummation.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

May 3rd, 1948

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Friend:

The American Christian Palestine Committee will hold its fourth National Seminar at the French Lick Springs Hotel, French Lick, Indiana. This conference is designed to bring about increased understanding of the aims of our Movement on the part of leaders of Christian opinion. It will be a significant event in our nationwide public relations and political program. The Seminar will open on Sunday evening, June 20, and will close mid-day, Tuesday, June 22nd.

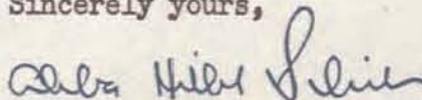
In its efforts to reach the American people, the American Christian Palestine Committee enlists the support of Christian leaders in every community who join with us in educating the general public on the Palestine question. Previous Seminars in Princeton, Ocean City and Highland Park have produced many such men and women, and we have high hopes that the forthcoming meeting in French Lick will be equally successful.

I urge you to assist this project by arranging for the participation of carefully selected non-Jewish representatives, men or women, of your community. Please think in terms of civic leaders such as newspaper editors, college presidents, outstanding professors and prominent churchmen. The individual or individuals selected should have several of the following qualifications: (1) Sympathy with Zionist aspirations, (2) Standing in the community, (3) Ability as a public speaker, (4) Capacity for action. He need not be fully informed on all aspects of the question; the Seminar will provide him with all of the facts. It is suggested that you send a new representative, rather than one who has attended a previous Seminar, unless you feel that further briefing is called for. If in doubt as to whom to send, you might consult with a Christian leader who has already attended one of our Seminars.

Local Zionist Emergency Committees are asked to defray the travel and hotel expenses, the latter amounting to about \$26 for two days, including meals. Please forward to us immediately the name, address and profession of your delegate so that an official invitation may be issued by the American Christian Palestine Committee. Travel reservations should be made as early as possible in order to enable your delegate to arrive at the French Lick Springs Hotel on the evening of June 20, in time for the opening meeting. I know that I can count on you and your Zionist colleagues to cooperate in this important undertaking.

Your early action and reply are requested.

Sincerely yours,



Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman, Executive Committee

AHS:SHK

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date April 29, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Numerous inquiries have reached us concerning an "Emergency Conference to Propose a United States Policy for Palestine and the Middle East", which is scheduled to take place in Washington from May 7 to May 10. In view of the fact that invitations to this Conference are being distributed on a nationwide basis, some questions may arise in your own community as to the sponsorship of the project. We are, therefore, sending you the following information which we urge you to pass on to any leaders of your community who have received an invitation and who have made inquiries concerning the Conference.

Neither the American Zionist Emergency Council, nor any of its constituent organizations, is in any way associated with this Conference. This is another example of unauthorized activity by the same "Bergson Group" which has on so many earlier occasions taken advantage of the Jewish tragedy in order to project itself into the limelight. The non-Jewish personalities whose names they are exploiting in connection with this new "Emergency Conference" are acting in the belief that they are serving our cause. They are, of course, being advised that this group in no way represents the Jewish people of Palestine or of the United States and has no connection whatever with the Zionist movement.

Should this question arise in your city, or should you hear that any local leaders have been invited to participate in the Bergson Group's latest project, please take immediate action to clarify the situation.

Regards,

HLS:1/EF

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 29, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

The Jewish people has proclaimed that on May 16 -- the day after the termination of the Mandatory Government of Palestine -- "a Government of the Jewish State shall come into being."

That historic date is rapidly approaching. American Jewry must be prepared to observe the event in an appropriate manner and thereby strengthen the Jewish nation in its struggle for existence. Our primary task must be to win support and recognition for the Jewish state and help to establish it so solidly that no combination of military or political forces shall be able to undermine it.

It is clear, therefore, that nationwide demonstrations on May 16 will be essential, and that they must attract the widest possible attention. You will readily understand that we are at this moment unable to indicate the exact form and character of these demonstrations. However, while various aspects of the current political situation must await clarification and crystallization, we need not postpone our general preparations for May 16.

We urge you to alert your community for the event, and to begin at once to enlist the support of friendly groups or individuals, both Jewish and non-Jewish, for that occasion. We also advise you to engage an auditorium or open-air meeting place for the night of May 15 or Sunday, May 16.

As soon as we are in a position to provide you with specific information on this event, we will send you detailed suggestions.

Regards.

HLS:MEF

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 29, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Plans are rapidly taking shape for the day of mobilization, protest and prayer which is to be observed in approximately 8,000 synagogues throughout the United States on Thursday, April 8th. All of the religious organizations -- orthodox, conservative and reform -- are cooperating to make this day a milestone in our struggle for the Jewish State.

One of the principal features of the project is the organization of the mailing of at least one million postcards to President Truman. The text for these postcards was sent to you several days ago and a great many houses of worship have also received it.

Some congregations may not fully realize the political importance of these cards and it would therefore be most helpful if a thorough check were made of your synagogues. Postcards could then be supplied to those which have until now not taken the initiative in this matter.

Any other ideas which you may have to insure the widest possible use of these cards -- by Jewish people -- will be appreciated.

It will also be advisable to have various congregations in your community place small advertisements in your newspapers on April 8th. We would appreciate tear-sheets of these at your earliest convenience, together with a report indicating the approximate number of cards sent to the President from your community.

HLS:TRB

PRESS RELEASE

THE NEW YORK BOARD OF RABBIS, INC.
150 Nassau Street
New York 7, N. Y.
Telephone: REctor 2-9248

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK BOARD OF RABBIS HOLDING SPECIAL SERVICE OF
PRAYER AND INTERCESSION FOR PALESTINE

SILVER WILL PREACH WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31; LEADING ORTHODOX,
CONSERVATIVE AND REFORM RABBIS WILL JOIN IN PROTEST AGAINST
U.S. GOVERNMENT'S REVERSAL

New York, March 29 -- A special Service of Prayer and Intercession, which will give expression to "profound shock and deep grief at the American Government's reversal of the United States' declared policy with respect to the partition of Palestine," will be held Wednesday, March 31st at 11:00 A.M. at Temple Ansche Chesed, West End Avenue and 100th Street, New York City. This was announced today by the New York Board of Rabbis, which is joining with all other rabbinical and congregational bodies in the United States in a nationwide protest against the United States Government's reversal, which the Board characterized as "an act of betrayal."

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and of the American Zionist Emergency Council, will preach at the special Service, the Board announced. Other participants will include the outstanding leaders in the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Rabbinate. The invocation will be delivered by Rabbi David de Sola Pool of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue; greetings will be extended by Rabbi Joseph Zeitlin of Temple Ansche Chesed; Rabbi Simon G. Kramer will speak on behalf of the New York Board of Rabbis; Rabbi David J. Seligson of the Central Synagogue will lead in readings from the Psalms; Rabbi Louis C. Gerstein of the Spanish

(more)

and Portuguese Synagogue and Rabbi Morris M. Goldberg of Temple Shaare Zedek will lead in Scriptural readings; Rabbi J. X. Cohen of the Free Synagogue will deliver a prayer for the United Nations; Rabbi Theodore N. Lewis of the Progressive Synagogue will present Rabbi Silver; and the benediction will be delivered by Rabbi Abraham M. Heller of the Flatbush Jewish Center. Prayers will be chanted by Cantor Adolph Katchko.

The New York Board of Rabbis today adopted a resolution on U. S. policy with respect to Palestine which reads as follows:

"The New York Board of Rabbis, representing the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Rabbinate of New York, at its Executive Committee session unanimously expressed its profound shock and deep grief of the American Government's reversal of the United States' declared policy with respect to the partition of Palestine.

"It is the conviction of the New York Board of Rabbis that this act is a betrayal of the hope of the Jewish people that has been fortified by the conscience of humanity speaking through the United Nations. It is also a gross surrender to force. Such a surrender threatens the destruction of the hopes of humanity in the United Nations, an instrument for preserving peace in the world and promoting justice for the little peoples of the human family. We call upon the Truman Administration to recall the reversal and to return to the plan approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"And the New York Board of Rabbis further resolves to call on its members for a service of prayer and protest to be held at the Temple Anshe Chesed, 100th Street and West End Avenue, New York City, on Wednesday, March 31st, at 11:00 A.M."

Rabbis throughout the New York metropolitan area will attend this service, which will launch the nationwide protest mobilization of American Jewry scheduled to take place on Thursday, April 8th. Officers of the New York Board of Rabbis include: Rabbi Theodore N. Lewis, President; Rabbi Simon G. Kramer, Vice-President; Rabbi Morris M. Goldberg, Treasurer; Rabbi David J. Seligson, Secretary; and Rabbi Harold H. Gordon, General Secretary.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 17, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

In a memorandum submitted on February 9th to the UN Palestine Commission and made public by UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie on March 9th, the leading United Nations legal authorities presented their opinion on the major questions which have arisen in the course of the Security Council's discussions on Palestine.

The legal experts declared that the Security Council has the power to implement partition and that it does not have the power to alter the partition plan. These findings reject the position taken by the United States delegation in the Security Council and are of great importance in the present situation.

We are sending you a copy of this significant memorandum and trust that you will find various means to call it to the attention of molders of public opinion in your community.

AT:RB
Enc.



AMERICAN JEWISH

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



President Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

April, 1948

As an American Jew who loves our country and is proud of its democratic heritage and ideals, I was outraged at the sudden repudiation by your Administration of the United Nations decision on Palestine, which our Government has helped to achieve. It is with deep regret that I must express my sense of disillusionment with your Administration, Mr. President, because of this betrayal of Jewish hopes, of the United Nations, and of your own pledges.

I support the Jewish State and fervently hope that your Administration will heed the voice of the people on this vital question.

Respectfully yours,

MEMORANDUM

May the Security Council Implement the United Nations Palestine Partition Plan?

The Security Council of the United Nations is now considering the Palestine problem referred to it by the Palestine Commission of the General Assembly.

Two major questions have arisen in the course of its discussions.

Does the Security Council have the power, under the Charter, to take action to carry out the plan envisaged in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly, November 29, 1947?

Does the Security Council have the power to alter the Assembly's recommendations and order a new solution of the Palestine problem?

These questions have been answered by the legal experts of the United Nations Secretariat.

In a memorandum submitted on February 9 to the Palestine Commission and made public by Secretary General Trygve Lie on March 9, the leading United Nations legal authorities hold that:

The Security Council has the power to implement partition.

It does not have the power to alter the partition plan.

These findings are of great importance, for they reject the position taken by the United States delegation in the Security Council. The representative of the United States has insisted that the Security Council may take action only in the event of a threat to the peace, but may not, under the Charter, carry out a decision of the General Assembly. Moreover, by proposing new consultations between all the parties, the United States has implied a willingness to depart from the General Assembly's recommendations and to explore new proposals.

The Powers of the Security Council

The legal experts of the United Nations hold that while the Palestine Commission has primary responsibility for the implementation of the partition plan and is intended to be the supreme administrative and legislative authority in Palestine in the period between the termination of the Mandate and independence, the Security Council has been given certain powers of a supervisory character over it.

Thus the Security Council was requested by the General Assembly to take the necessary measures as provided in the plan for its implementation. It was also requested to take measures connected with its functions as the executive organ of the United Nations, if circumstances require.

The working paper states:

"3. The Plan specifies that the Security Council may:

(a) issue instructions to the Palestine Commission as it may consider necessary:

(b) take such action as it may deem proper with respect to that state for which a provisional council of government cannot be selected by 1 April 1948, or if selected, cannot carry out its functions.

"4. In connection with (b) above, the Security Council is free to take any action that it deems proper. In connection with (a) however, the powers of the Security Council have some limitations:

The Security Council may not issue instructions altering the essence of the Plan of Partition. Its instructions should always aim at the implementation of this Plan. This would follow from the fact, that the scope of the Security Council's collaboration was limited in the General Assembly's request to taking the necessary measures, whatever they may be, for the implementation of the Plan, as provided in the Plan. It is obvious that the General Assembly, having arrived at a certain Plan, wished the Security Council to assist in the smooth functioning and implementation of that concrete Plan.

"5. Except for the above limitation, it is suggested that the Security Council on its own motion or at the request of the Commission, may issue any instructions it considers necessary. These instructions may be either substantive or procedural in character, of a general nature, or connected with some specific matter. They may elaborate or supplement the Plan. They may add, clarify, adjust or replace a detail which would prove to be unworkable. They may also deal with a completely new question, not foreseen by the General Assembly. They may cover not only the functions expressly specified in the Recommendations but also those implied."

May the Security Council Accept the Responsibilities Assigned to it by the General Assembly?

The basic principle governing the role of the Security Council is to be found in Article 24 of the Charter, paragraphs 1 and 2 of which read as follows:

"In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility, the Security Council acts on their behalf.

"In discharging these duties, the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII."

While there is nothing in the Charter specifically defining that the Security Council may accept the responsibilities assigned to it under the partition plan, it does not follow that the Security Council has not been conferred sufficient power to assume new responsibilities.

As a precedent, the UN legal experts cite the case of the Free Territory of Trieste.

Under the Italian Peace Treaty, the Council of Foreign Ministers requested the Security Council to accept responsibilities in connection with the

administration of Trieste.

When the matter came before the Security Council, the Australian representative raised a legal objection. The Secretary General then cited Article 24 as a grant of power sufficiently wide to enable the Security Council to act. The Council vote was 10 in favor, with one representative abstaining.

The document continues:

"By its decision, it recognized the principle that it has sufficient power, under the terms of Article 24 of the Charter, to assume new responsibilities, on condition that they relate directly or even indirectly to the maintenance of international peace and security, and that in discharging these duties, the Security Council acts in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations (Article 1 and 2 of the Charter).

"In the light of the Trieste precedent, it may be assumed that the Security Council has the power to accept the responsibilities that the General Assembly requested it to accept with regard to Palestine.

- "7) In that connection, the Security Council may take into consideration;
- (a) that Palestine is a territory which has been for many years under international administration, the future integrity and independence of which is a matter of international concern. Internal disorders in Palestine might lead to international friction and might endanger peace;
 - (b) that the General Assembly, by more than two-thirds majority, concluded that the present situation is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations, and that any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by its Resolution constitutes a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression;
 - (c) it may be anticipated that the situation in Palestine will undoubtedly deteriorate further if adequate armed forces do not take possession of Palestine on the withdrawal of the Mandatory. Any deterioration, involving also the existence of the City of Jerusalem-territory under Special International Regime - may eventually endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.
- "8) It is suggested that such considerations as the above, bring the Palestine question within the scope of Article 24 of the Charter, as interpreted in the case of Trieste, and that the Security Council has the power required to accept the responsibilities assigned to it by the General Assembly. It is submitted that if the Security Council deemed that it was within its competence to accept responsibilities for the carrying out of certain provisions of a treaty negotiated and concluded outside of the United Nations, it is still more appropriate that it should accept responsibilities for the implementation of a plan adopted by the General Assembly."

The Question of an International Police Force

The UN legal experts consider that it is obvious that order and security in Palestine are necessary not only for the implementation of the plan "but also generally for avoiding anarchy and chaos and for minimizing bloodshed and to prevent breach of international peace."

The Security Council may employ an international armed force in Palestine either under Article 42 of the Charter or in accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly, in conjunction with Article 24 of the Charter. To use military force under Article 42, the Security Council should first determine the existence in Palestine of a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of

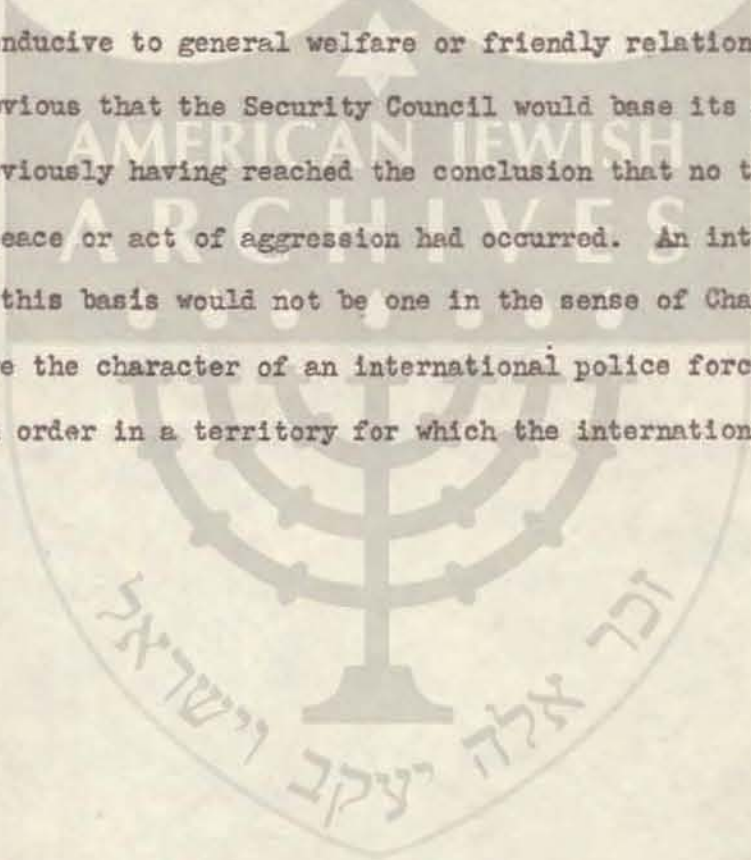
aggression.

"It is clear that the construction given by the General Assembly was that a challenge to the peace may take place not only through action against the territory of Palestine, even without outside assistance; not only action against the territorial integrity of Palestine but also against the settlement envisaged by the Resolution," the memorandum said.

Citing the power of the Council, under Article 24, the experts declare:

"In a general manner, it may be conceived that the Security Council might consider that outside the Resolution of the General Assembly, outside the specific powers conferred upon it by the Charter, it has a duty inherent in Article 24 of the Charter, especially, as interpreted in the Trieste case, to assist substantively in the implementation of a Plan considered by more than a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly as conducive to general welfare or friendly relations among nations.

"It is obvious that the Security Council would base its action on such grounds only after previously having reached the conclusion that no threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression had occurred. An international armed force set up on this basis would not be one in the sense of Chapter VII of the Charter. It would have the character of an international police force for the maintenance of law and order in a territory for which the international society is still responsible."



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 16, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

Enclosed you will find a reprint of an advertisement published in New York and Washington, D. C. newspapers on Saturday, March 13th under the sponsorship of the American Christian Palestine Committee.

You will find this a timely analysis of the political situation, embodying, at the same time, suggestions for a solution of the critical problem which faces us.

It would be extremely helpful if you could find the means to place this advertisement in your local press. If you do so, we suggest that you add the names of several outstanding Christians in your community who are associated with us in the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish State. The material may also be used for letters to editors, news stories, columnists, radio commentators, etc.

In publishing this advertisement please bear in mind that the passage of time makes it necessary to change the text slightly. The first paragraph should now read:

"This is a fateful week for Palestine -- and for the peace of the world. Soon we should know whether the United Nations shall henceforth be regarded merely as an international debating society, whose decisions and considered judgments may be lightly shunted aside, or whether it is to be an effective instrument for the settlement of disputes -- and the hope of mankind. It is our firm conviction that upon the action to be taken by the Security Council with regard to Palestine rests the future of international organization to preserve and maintain peace."

Point One of the three-point program at the end of the advertisement should now read:

"That the United States Representative to the Security Council take . . . ", etc.

We are enclosing, at the same time, a reprint from the New York Times of March 3rd in which Mr. James G. McDonald discusses the statement of the so-called "Committee for Justice and Peace in the Holy Land," of which Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve is the chairman. Mr. McDonald's comment should be helpful to you.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB
Encs.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date March 29, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

ANTI-ZIONIST PROPAGANDA IN U.S. MAGAZINES

Our enemies are now engaged in a propaganda campaign to discredit the Zionist movement and to destroy the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947. The anti-Zionist forces operating in this country are now coordinating their activities and are receiving expert guidance and advice from officials of the U. S. State Department. It is clear that the appearance of hostile articles in leading United States publications during the past few weeks is not accidental, but is part of a well-organized and carefully-timed anti-Zionist drive, which has been devised by propagandists of the State Department and of the oil companies.

They are currently making use of the war hysteria which now exists throughout America and are linking the viciously anti-Zionist material which they feed to the nation's press to the over-all American "security" question. All of this simply means that we must redouble our own efforts and counteract this scheme to destroy our position in American public opinion. We have done it before and we shall do it again.

The American Zionist Emergency Council is working intensively on the United States magazine front. We have already succeeded in convincing editors of certain important publications to drop anti-Zionist pieces which had been scheduled for early publication. But the situation remains very serious and once again we must call upon you to aid our work by bringing about the strongest possible readers' reaction.

At this moment we ask you to concentrate on the two magazines which this week published extremely harmful comment on Palestine. These magazines are Life and Reader's Digest, both of which were hostile to our cause throughout the recent critical years. You will recall that in the case of both publications, the strong readers' reaction to earlier hostile articles brought about a) a refutation printed in the Reader's Digest, and b) the occasional publication of favorable material in Life. Such results must be achieved again.

In the case of Life, please arrange to have as many letters as possible sent at once protesting against this week's editorial, "Easter in Palestine." Assuming the guise of a "peacemaker," Life proceeds to misrepresent the issues of the Palestine question and to distort the very nature of Zionism. An indication of Life's cynicism may be found in its description of the American Council for Judaism and the bitterly anti-Zionist League for Peace and Justice in the Holy Land as "moderate Zionists and non-Zionist friends of Palestine." Needless to say, Life points to "moderate Zionists" like the Rosenwald group and "friends" like the new Gildersleeve Committee as people who have the right idea on the question.

The Reader's Digest is no better. The article, "Must There Be War In The Middle East?" by Bayard Dodge, former president of the American University in Beirut, is also a unique piece of distortion. Also in the role of a "neutral," Dr. Dodge presents the Arab propaganda line in toto.

Let the editors of these two magazines know how you feel about these articles. The reaction of subscribers to Life and the Reader's Digest is particularly important in this connection. We urge you to organize a large-scale letter-writing campaign in which both Jews and non-Jews will be asked to participate.

Send letters to:

Mr. Henry R. Luce
Life Magazine
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y.

and

Mr. DeWitt Wallace, Editor
and
Mr. Kenneth W. Payne,
Executive Editor
Reader's Digest
Pleasantville, New York

HLS:MSR



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

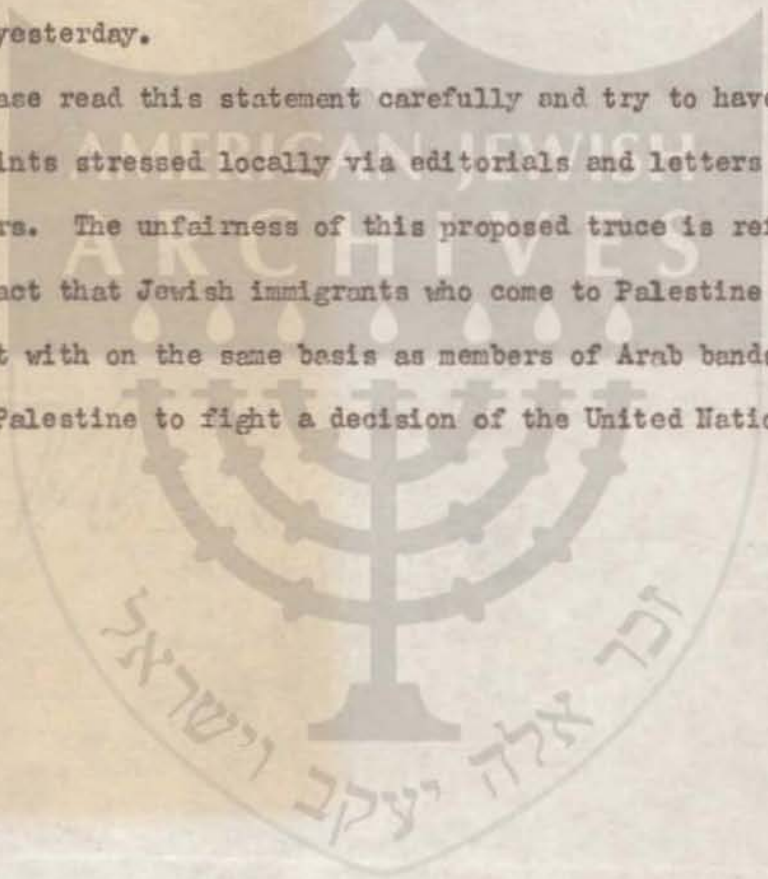
Date April 16, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is the Jewish Agency's reaction to the truce proposals at the Security Council, as delivered by Mr. Moshe Shertok yesterday.

Please read this statement carefully and try to have its major points stressed locally via editorials and letters to your newspapers. The unfairness of this proposed truce is reflected in the fact that Jewish immigrants who come to Palestine to settle are dealt with on the same basis as members of Arab bands, who come to Palestine to fight a decision of the United Nations.

HLS:RB



JEWISH AGENCY STATEMENT ON TRUCE PROPOSAL

The question of truce in Palestine was raised in the Security Council as part of a general proposal to set aside the plan adopted by the General Assembly for the future government of Palestine and to substitute for it an entirely different solution of the Palestine problem which the Jewish Agency found utterly unacceptable.

Actually the resolution calling for a truce was adopted by the Security Council in conjunction with the decision to convene a special session of the Assembly for the purpose of undertaking the revision of the plan. Thus the truce proposal in its very inception appeared to load the dice very heavily against Jewish interests.

Moreover, the wording of the resolution on truce, by referring merely to a truce between the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine, ignored the major aspect of the present disturbed condition of the country, which is its invasion by armed forces from outside, organized by the governments of the neighboring Arab states, members of the United Nations and, in the case of Syria, member of the Security Council itself, and tolerated by the mandatory power.

The resolution of the Security Council called upon Arab and Jewish groups in Palestine to cease acts of violence. It addressed no admonition to the neighboring Arab states to discontinue the recruiting, training and arming of military contingents on their territories for armed intervention in Palestine, and the actual sending of such forces across their frontiers into Palestine. According to reliable press reports, further large-scale incursions of armed units and further importation of war materials from the neighboring countries into Palestine took place only within the last two or three days as the first installment of a new wave of invasion.

Nevertheless, the Jewish Agency declared itself willing to enter into a truce arrangement so that an end may be put to the bloodshed and destruction which is now ravaging the life of Palestine and claiming a mounting toll of victims. In its readiness to contribute its full share to the immediate restoration of peace in Palestine, the Jewish Agency was concerned to safeguard two main objectives:

First, that the truce should be an effective one and that it should not serve as a mere cover and protection for the preparation of further aggression. Secondly, that the conclusion and observance of the truce should not jeopardize legitimate long-term Jewish interests and should not prejudice the main issue which is now at stake.

Accordingly, the executive of the Jewish Agency in Palestine on April 4, 1948, adopted the following resolution regarding the truce proposal:

"The Jewish Agency welcomes the efforts of the Security Council to produce a cessation of hostilities in Palestine and to prevent a continuation of bloodshed in the future. The Jews of Palestine were forced to defend themselves against the series of attacks launched against them by the Arabs since December 1, 1947. Responsibility for the situation in Palestine falls also upon the mandatory power, which, despite its duties and its public declarations, failed to preserve law and order, failed to prevent the invasion of Palestine by organized Arab guerrilla bands from neighboring states, provided arms to Arab states which have been sending these guerrilla bands into Palestine and suffered these foreign invaders to establish themselves in military camps in Palestine, to disrupt communications in various parts of the country, and to besiege the city of Jerusalem.

"The Agency will gladly agree to a military truce which will put an effective and immediate end to all acts of violence, re-establish freedom of movement throughout the land on all roads and highways, restore free access to the holy places, withdraw all foreign troops and guerrillas, remove all units of the Trans-Jordan Arab Legion to Trans-Jordan, and prevent the incursion of such foreign forces and armed bands into Palestine in the future. To make such a truce effective, provision must be made for an international commission to supervise its execution. The Jewish Agency cannot rely in this respect upon the British authorities.

"It must be clearly understood that such a military truce shall not impede Jewish immigration and shall not affect preparations now in progress to assure essential public services, and for the establishment of an autonomous government in the area of the Jewish state immediately after the termination of the mandate on May 15."

This remains the attitude of the Jewish Agency.

The Jewish Agency was subsequently honored by an invitation from the distinguished President of the Security Council to attend a conference with a view to discussing the terms of the truce. There was only one brief formal meeting, attended by representatives of both the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, after which the President of the Security Council held a series of informal talks with the representatives of those two bodies separately. In reply to the President's question as to the conditions under which we would be prepared to conclude a truce, we defined our attitude in the following terms:

Had the aggression against the Jews been confined to the Arabs of Palestine, we would have been ready for a truce unconditionally. In actual fact, in that eventuality, the question of a formal truce and of negotiations in that regard need not have arisen at all, as it would have been enough for the Arabs to cease fire in order to produce an immediate cessation of all armed reaction against them on the part of the Jews. But the military situation in Palestine has been completely transformed by the invasion of the country from outside.

The very presence on the soil of Palestine of foreign armed forces is a permanent act of aggression against the Jews. Unless these forces are removed and further armed incursions prevented, the truce would be a godsend to the aggressor, for under its cover and without the fear of any interference on the part of the Jews, the Arab command would be able to bring up further reinforcements, to occupy points of vantage, to perfect its military organization and to be ready for renewed assault under much more advantageous conditions.

We, therefore, have to put forward, as essential conditions of the truce that the armed units which were brought into Palestine from outside be withdrawn and that no further incursions should be tolerated. This is the summary of our position as explained by us to the President of the Council.

It would be observed that the two stipulations which we have made are purely military in character. They are intended to insure that the truce should be a real truce and not a sham. We have put forward no political conditions in connection with the truce. We gathered, however, from questions put to us by the President of the Security Council that political conditions had been put forward by the other side. These conditions we had to resist.

In the light of these general observations, I now propose, Mr. President, with your kind permission, to deal in some detail with the provisions regarding the truce included in the draft which was communicated to us yesterday and which now lies before the Security Council.

As a first general observation, I would point out that the scheme of the truce here outlined is founded on the assumption that the present mandatory administration in Palestine would discharge its functions under the mandate to preserve law and order. Quite apart from the question whether the present mandatory can be relied upon to do so in view of its recent record, it is clear that the truce arrangement proposed is thus by its very terms limited in its duration to the very short period which remains between now and May 15, on which date, according to the mandatory Government's decision which it announced to be irrevocable, the mandate is to be terminated. It is on this definite assumption that we now discuss the truce proposals.

I now address myself to the preamble of the draft resolution. Its third recital states "that the United Kingdom Government, so long as it remains the mandatory power, is responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in Palestine and should continue to take all steps to that end." We must, with all due respect to the Security Council, take exception not merely to the word "continue" which implies that the mandatory administration in Palestine has hitherto discharged its responsibilities in maintaining peace and order -- this is most lamentably not the case -- but to raise objection to the mandatory administration being given the sanction of the Security Council in advance for whatever step it might deem fit to take in the field of security.

The recent record of the mandatory administration makes it impossible for us to repose any trust in it in that regard and we would regard it as nothing short of calamitous if in the light of that record it were thus formally assured of full international support for whatever, in its own wisdom, it might do or leave undone. We would, therefore, urge that the recital should be limited to the recognition of the fact that the mandatory power is responsible for the maintenance of peace and order while the mandate lasts, and that the remaining part of the recital after the word "Palestine" should be deleted.

In regard to sub-paragraph (A) of paragraph 1, I would observe that the requirement that all activities of a military or para-military nature should cease is far too wide to be practicable. It may be interpreted as involving the discontinuation of all normal defense arrangements without which the Jewish population of Palestine will be seized by a feeling of insecurity which will be inimical to any truce. The Jewish Agency would therefore propose that the clause should read "cease all acts of violence, terrorism and sabotage."

A point of fundamental importance arises in connection with sub-paragraph (B), which contains the most important and welcome injunction against the bringing in to Palestine of armed bands or individuals from outside. With the injunction so formulated we are heartily in agreement, but what we cannot accept is that it should be extended to include "individuals capable of bearing arms," as this would affect Jewish immigration. We cannot possibly agree that Jewish immigrants into Palestine, whatever their age group or physical condition, should be put on the same footing with those elements who are now being sent into Palestine in violation of its land frontiers with the deliberate purpose of upsetting the peace of the country and committing acts of aggression against the Jews and against the authority of the United Nations.

These people have not a vestige of any legal or political right to be in Palestine. They come there with the avowed object of breaking the law and disturbing the peace. By contrast, Jewish immigrants come to Palestine by virtue of an internationally recognized right. Palestine is their home in which they come to live. The equation of the two categories is untenable. We would urge that the words "capable of bearing arms" be deleted and that instead the wording should be "armed or entering Palestine with the deliberate purpose of taking part in the fighting."

Coming to sub-paragraph C, I would point out that as worded it goes much too far in a most sweeping manner and may be interpreted as imposing during the truce period a world embargo on the acquisition of arms for future Jewish defense, while leaving it free to Arab states to accumulate any quantities of arms they may be able to purchase for future fighting in Palestine. We, therefore, urge that the sub-paragraph should read "refrain from importing weapons and war materials" and that all reference to acquisition should be deleted.

A point of most far-reaching significance arises in connection with sub-paragraph (D). Here each party is called upon to refrain pending further consideration of the future government of Palestine by the General Assembly "from any political activity which might prejudice the rights, claims or positions" of either community.

The mere introduction of a political subject into the question of a military truce is liable to vitiate the issue. And we should urge that this whole sub-paragraph be deleted. Should its deletion not commend itself to the Council, we would urge that it be amended. To begin with, the term "political activity" seems inappropriate. It is too loose and might be taken to refer to any meeting, any public address, any article in the press, any resolution.

We would suggest to substitute the word "action" for the words "political activities." Further, the question of prejudicing claims does not arise at all. My claim can be prejudiced only if I myself renounce or compromise it. It cannot possibly be prejudiced by whatever the other party does. We suggest, therefore, that the word "claims" should come out altogether. But the main difficulty arises in connection with the word "rights."

The position as far as rights are concerned cannot be left in its present vague form, liable to be interpreted at will. The Arab community may claim as its right the spreading of its dominion over the whole of Palestine and the subjugation of the Jewish community. Can the Jews be expected to refrain from any action which might prejudice that alleged right which they categorically deny and whose exercise would affect the very roots of their existence?

An objective, internationally recognized, criterion is here imperative. We therefore suggest that the paragraph should be amended to read "refrain, etc., from any action which might prejudice the rights or position of either community under the mandate and the resolution of the General Assembly." It cannot be a moot point in an organ of the United Nations that pending further consideration of the future government of Palestine by the General Assembly, the existing resolution of the General Assembly stands and is fully valid.

With regard to sub-paragraph (E), I must state that the mandatory administration, by its own record and by what we would describe as its sins of omission and commission, about both of which enough has been said in our previous statements to the Security Council, has forfeited its title to Jewish cooperation.

Nevertheless, in the interest of preservation of life we would be prepared to co-operate with the various organs of the present Palestine Government in certain spheres where we would regard cooperation as necessary and warranted, but there can be no question of our pledging general cooperation to the British administration of Palestine which has so manifestly disregarded and even acted contrary to its most basic responsibilities.

Sub-paragraph (F) seeks to secure the safety of the holy places. We submit that this is not enough. What has to be secured is also free access to all shrines and sanctuaries for those who have an established right to visit and worship at them. It is not enough, for instance, to lay down that the Wailing Wall might not be blown up. Free access to the Wailing Wall must be guaranteed for the Jews in accordance with the immemorial practice which has been internationally sanctioned.

I now come to Paragraph 2. Despite the unquestionable default of the British mandatory administration in the maintenance of law and order and its particularly lamentable and most alarming failure to prevent the invasion of Palestine by armed forces from outside, this paragraph proposes to charge that administration with the duty of supervising the execution of the truce provisions. The Jewish Agency cannot possibly agree that the mandatory administration is impartial in the present conflict and can properly be entrusted in this highly responsible task which requires complete objectivity. If the draft is left in its present form and no authoritative United Nations organ is set up to supervise and ensure the observance of the truce, we could consider that no adequate provision at all has been made in this record.

Paragraph 3 seeks to prevent further infiltration into Palestine of armed forces from outside. What I said in regard to the expression "capable of bearing arms" with reference to sub-paragraph (B) of Paragraph 1, applies equally to the same phraseology in Paragraph 3. The injunction itself against the mere entry into Palestine of armed bands, etc., does not go far enough.

We would urge that the Governments of states neighboring to Palestine should be called upon to prohibit in their territories the recruitment and preparation of forces for eventual incursions into Palestine. Moreover, there is no reference in the paragraph or anywhere else in the draft, to the fate of the foreign armed units already in Palestine. They all live in special camps, the location of which is common knowledge.

By omission, the draft resolution suffers them to remain where they are, or even to change their location and select better sites for their future activities. I have already stated that the mere presence of these bands on the soil of Palestine is regarded by the Jews as a permanent act of aggression. They are, indeed, a constant irritant and a perpetual source of danger. The absence of a clear provision to evacuate or at least to immobilize those bands, forces the Jewish Agency to reserve its position in this regard.

In conclusion, I would take the opportunity of emphasizing again that foreign invasion is the crux of the whole difficulty, and the fact that the mandatory government has allowed it to proceed unchecked mars its record more than anything else.

The Security Council has not so far deemed fit to place on record in clear and unequivocal terms the responsibility of either the Arab Governments or the Government of the United Kingdom for the present intolerable situation which has been created in and around Palestine by this continued process of invasion.

No doubt, encouraged by such inaction of the Security Council, the governments of the Arab League are now reliably reported to be preparing plans for the occupation of the whole area of Palestine by their armies, which would cross its frontiers from north, east and south immediately after the termination of the British mandate. To face this issue squarely is, I submit, the most urgent duty of the Security Council.

* * * *



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date**

April 20, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Enclosed is an analysis of the trusteeship proposal which the United States is reportedly preparing to present to the UN General Assembly. The final form which the United States plan will take is not known, but it will in all likelihood be similar to the proposal which was published last week.

In order to understand what is involved in the trusteeship proposal, you should read the attached memorandum carefully. You will find that it includes good material for editorials, articles, radio speeches, etc. It can be most useful in your public relations activities.

Regards.

HLS:RE

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

OBSERVATIONS ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES REGARDING A TEMPORARY TRUSTEESHIP
FOR PALESTINE FORMULATED BY THE UNITED STATES (APRIL 5, 1948)

In discussing the United States proposal for a temporary trusteeship, it is necessary to examine:

- A. The general applicability of the trusteeship system to Palestine;
- B. The particular circumstances in which it is proposed to institute a trusteeship at this time;
- C. The specific provisions for temporary trusteeship contained in the document submitted by the United States to other members of the Security Council on April 5, 1948.

A. THE APPLICABILITY OF TRUSTEESHIP TO PALESTINE

1. It may be assumed that the authors of the Charter did not draft its trusteeship provisions with the purpose of prolonging foreign rule indefinitely over peoples inspired by a sense of maturity and an urgent desire for national freedom. Nor does international opinion favor further tutelage for Palestine.

2. It is significant that during the second regular session of the General Assembly not a single voice was raised in favor of a solution involving any postponement of independence. In its report to the General Assembly the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine unanimously declared:

- "a) Although sharply divided by political issues the peoples of Palestine are sufficiently advanced to govern themselves independently.
- b) The Arab and Jewish peoples after more than a quarter of a century of tutelage under the Mandate both seek a means of effective expression for their national aspirations.
- c) It is highly unlikely that any arrangement which would fail to envisage independence at a reasonably early day would find the slightest welcome among either Arabs or Jews."

None of these propositions are open to question. They are endorsed by all available experience and judgment.

3. The trusteeship system is designed either for the government of territories whose inhabitants are not yet sufficiently advanced to operate self-governing institutions or for strategic areas. To apply it to Palestine is thus to pervert its true function and to involve the system itself in the discredit arising from inevitable disorder. The movement to set aside the Resolution of the General Assembly has already weakened its moral authority, and has revealed the Security Council as a body unable either to secure Charter observance or to resist aggression. It is now proposed to embroil the Trusteeship Council in an effort to subject mature populations, placed by the General Assembly on the threshold of statehood, to outside rule of indefinite duration. Thus the prestige of the United Nations as a whole and the efficacy of its principal organs are likely to be impaired through this attempt to replace a solution involving independence by a solution involving tutelage, in a territory where the principles and procedures of trusteeship appear to have no relevance at all.

4. Moreover, the maturity of the population is not the only reason why the trusteeship provisions of the Charter are incongruous in the context of a Palestine settlement. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, as defined in Article 76 of the Charter are "to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of trust territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence." Thus the trusteeship provisions of the Charter have no reference to the unique position of Palestine in history and law as a territory in which the interests of the present inhabitants are not the sole or even the predominant object of international concern. In contradistinction to other Mandates in neighboring countries, the Palestine Mandate acknowledged rights in Palestine not only for the country's

(*) Report of the United Nations Special Committee, Vol. 1, p. 43.

inhabitants, but also for the Jewish people throughout the world. Indeed it has been established that "unquestionably the primary purpose of the Mandate as expressed in the preamble and its articles is the establishment of the Jewish National Home."(*) Under Article 80 of the Charter, Jewish rights derived from the Mandate were preserved until such time as the Mandate was replaced by a new agreement. Later the General Assembly confirmed the validity of those rights and gave them formal expression through the establishment of a Jewish State. Thus during three decades the special rights and interests of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine have three times been upheld through successive international instruments. No legal competence exists anywhere by which these rights can be annulled. It is quite inadmissible to brush them aside by assimilating Palestine to a political system in which they have no place. Yet such is the effect of basing the government of Palestine on the trusteeship provisions of the Charter which acknowledge nothing but the interests of the country's present inhabitants as the guiding principle of administration.

5. The sui generis character of Palestine arising from its unique historical associations and its special relation to the purposes of Jewish national rehabilitation and freedom has been acknowledged on innumerable occasions by the United States through Presidential and Congressional statements. Indeed, its acceptance forms the cornerstone of the United States policy on Palestine as hitherto expressed.

6. This distinction between Palestine and those neighboring countries in which the advancement of the inhabitants was the paramount consideration is completely obscured if Palestine is torn out of its legal and historical context and forced into the inappropriate framework of the trusteeship system. The special relation of Palestine to the Jewish people formally disappears if Palestine comes under the proposed trusteeship. But it will not disappear in actual fact. Palestine cannot be forced by an act of will to resemble Togoland or the Cameroons or the Pacific Islands, nor can it possibly respond to the processes and principles of government designed for those territories. The trusteeship provisions do not fit -- and were never intended to fit -- the most distinctive historical, cultural or ethnic realities affecting Palestine.

B. CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING TRUSTEESHIP TODAY

7. Palestine has been governed under a form of trusteeship (i.e. the British Mandate) for twenty-six years. Recently the conditions under which the British Mandate operated proved so intolerable to Jews, Arabs, British and American public opinion and the community of nations as a whole that the replacement of the Mandate by a form of immediate independence became the only common aspiration of all the parties concerned. The prospects of the new trusteeship cannot be unaffected by the discredit and unworkability of the old.

8. Those prospects would be particularly tragic if the trusteeship were built on or around British participation. British policy in the Near East is firmly wedded to the alliance with the Arab League, and has for that reason been sharply directed against those fundamental Jewish interests which the General Assembly has recently approved. It follows that any prolongation of British rule must involve a resumption of the "squalid war" whose disastrous effects forced the Palestine issue upon the attention of the United Nations. The war will be all the more squalid because both British and Jewish opinion have been recently buoyed up by the hope of imminent separation. The Jews would face British repression in the aftermath of a historic moment in which their independence was

(*) Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine, pp. 38-39.

solemnly promised. The British Government, if it at all complied with American pressure in this regard, would have to fight its own public for the "right" to remain in Palestine and sustain a burden which the British people passionately longs to relinquish. The Arabs would also be deprived of substantial advantage, however anti-Jewish the conditions of the trusteeship agreement might be. Under partition they were to obtain independence in a large part of the country; under trusteeship they obtain no independence at all. Even if there is Arab acquiescence in trusteeship on immediate tactical grounds, it must, by the very logic of Arab national sentiment be shortlived.

9. In this atmosphere it would be an irresponsible fantasy to imagine a trusteeship government establishing genuine authority throughout the country by May 15. Moreover the lesson that a General Assembly Resolution can be revised by violence will further undermine the moral force of the new regime. If the General Assembly accepts a trusteeship policy in response to force, the Trusteeship Council will hardly come with increased authority to the task of administering an unwilling and restive population, to whom independence was promised but four months ago.

10. Although the prospects of disorder are greatest if the present mandatory power is pressed, against its judgment, to prolong its tenure they are formidable enough irrespective of the identity of the trustee. The Jews will regard the trusteeship, to whomever it may be entrusted, as robbing them of their independence to which they had looked forward poignantly after a quest of many centuries. The Arabs will find themselves saddled with a trustee after three decades of national struggle in the Near East against the maintenance of western control.

11. It is quite unrealistic to plan a new trusteeship regime on a clean slate, without regard to the effect of November 29 or the implications of May 15. The situation in Palestine has been radically transformed since November 29th as a result of the General Assembly's Resolution; and the transformation is entirely hostile to the prospects of trusteeship. The turn of events in the past four months has had both a psychological and a practical effect. The United Nations having recognized the Jews of Palestine in November as a nation fit for imminent independence, is now being asked to regard them in April as a minority within the population of a non self-government territory to be held in tutelage for a period of "indefinite duration." The Jews themselves however are unlikely to adapt their thinking to this violent reversal. Nothing will ever divest November 29 of its significance as a momentous day in their history. Henceforward they will never again think in any other political idiom but that of national sovereignty; and the trusteeship regime will be separated from the Jews by a widening gulf of mental and spiritual distrust. The Arabs too may awaken early to their loss of an objective which they had at least partially gained by the award of statehood in a part of Palestine on November 29.

12. But the trustee will not merely be called upon to swim against every current of political sentiment in the country. He will be faced with a process of virtual partition which has gathered such momentum in recent weeks that not even considerable armed force could now arrest it. This process has for long been inherent in the political and social realities of Palestine. Ten years ago the Royal Commission was already able to report that: "to maintain that Palestinian citizenship has any moral meaning is a mischievous pretence. Neither Arab nor Jew has any sense of service to a single State... There is little moral value in maintaining the political unity of Palestine at the cost of perpetual hatred." UNSCOP and the General Assembly merely recognized and expressed this political separation. They did not create it. Palestine is inhabited by two peoples. They have separate

political aspirations, though common economic interests. The scheme of partition with economic union is such a full response to these basic realities that having once begun to operate it has inevitably crystallized very quickly into the receptive framework of Palestinian life.

13. The disintegration of the Mandatory regime since November 29th has given a spectacular impetus to this partition tendency, both in its functional and its territorial aspects. As the Mandatory relinquishes an essential governmental service in the Jewish area, the Jews begin to operate it. As the Mandatory virtually evacuates a certain zone, Jewish authority asserts itself. There are large populated areas of the country, both Jewish and Arab, in which the writ of the central administration does not run at all. The degree to which this process had developed can be appreciated from the fact that the Jews themselves exercise full responsibility in their community for the most vital governmental function --- that of defense. Meanwhile an existing tendency of Jewish autonomy has been accentuated in every field. In the coming days and weeks the Mandatory's disintegration will leave a widening vacuum in food supplies, communications, postal and telegraphic services, currency, police, etc., etc. The Jews, anticipating chaos, have worked out plans and prepared machinery to assure continuity and order in the daily routine of life. The entire Jewish population reposes its trust and obedience not in any central government of the entire country, but in its own authorities, on the understanding that they will set up an administration for the Jewish State area. The provisional Jewish authorities are already endowed with that effective internal recognition which is the most vital test of independent nationhood.

14. In the Arab community a similar though less conscious or centralized process has taken place. In the central part of the country the invading forces of the Arab League under Fawzi al Kawukji exercise full administrative as well as military control. In other areas the local municipalities are becoming increasingly independent of the central government. The incoming trustee will thus find the country already organized into independent compartments of control and allegiance. The incentive of November 29th and the logic of May 15th, both drawing their force from the facts of the situation, have done their work. Palestine is moving forward inexorably towards Partition in a pattern of growing decentralization.

15. In this situation, the United States proposal comes on the scene in an attempt to galvanize a dying mandate into life or to build a new trusteeship on the wreckage of the old. There is no precedent for such a tour de force. All other trusteeships have arisen as a smooth continuation of mandates previously held under conditions of unity and peace. To impose foreign rule by newly-arrived administrators over these two autonomous societies is technically far-fetched; and to create a new focus of authority and allegiance to which both Jews and Arabs will give the slightest attention is beyond human resource. The only United Nations authority which might play a constructive role in the new pattern of life would be one which is guided and animated by the logic of this spontaneous partition and by a desire to facilitate it.

16. It is because the very concept of trusteeship is so flagrantly out of accord with the general principles and current realities of the Palestine situation that no improvement of the United States proposals can make them a useful starting point in the quest for a political settlement. With this reservation, however, it may be useful to comment on the fifteen general principles now before us.

C. COMMENT ON UNITED STATES PRINCIPLES FOR TEMPORARY TRUSTEESHIP

Comment on Paragraph 1 (Non-prejudice of Rights)

There is no device whereby a temporary trusteeship can fail to "prejudice the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned"; nor can the trusteeship fail to determine "the character of the eventual political settlement." The rights of all parties are affected by the very institution of a trusteeship at this time. For example, the General Assembly recognized the Jewish claim to statehood, conferred certain rights on the basis of that claim, and envisaged a position of full sovereignty by October 1. Under the new proposal, October 1 will find the Jews of Palestine not as a State within fixed frontiers, but as a minority within the Arab population and under outside rule. The theory that such a spectacular change from imminent independence to indefinite subjection leaves the "rights, claims and position" of the Jews unprejudiced is untenable. "The character of the eventual political settlement" is also bound to be affected at every turn by the operation of the trusteeship regime. Even if there is substantial Jewish immigration and land settlement the prospects of Jewish statehood will still be prejudiced by postponement. If there is not, the growth of Arab population will cause a proportional weakening of the Jewish position and adversely affect Jewish prospects when "the eventual political settlement" is determined. There can be no stand-still in a process of life; each party is either becoming relatively stronger or weaker at every moment. The effect of this paragraph is merely to define the effects of the trusteeship proposal in misleading terms. The constitutional provisions of Paragraph 6 are sufficient to show how drastically Jewish rights are prejudiced by this plan.

Comment on Paragraphs 2 and 15 (Duration of Trusteeship)

The Trusteeship is defined in paragraph 1 as "temporary" and in paragraph 2 as of "indefinite duration". Since according to paragraph 15 it can only be terminated by Arab-Jewish agreement, the word "permanent" would perhaps give a more realistic view of its duration. It is a fact that 25 years of tutelage have failed to produce agreement. On November 26, 1947 the representative of the Mandatory Power stated in the General Assembly:

"After years of strenuous but unavailing effort, His Majesty's Government have reached the conclusion that they are not able to bring about a settlement in Palestine based upon the consent of both Arabs and Jews, and that the Mandate is no longer workable."

On the same occasion the representative of the United States declared:

"No plan has ever been presented either here or in any other place which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented."

It is not a mere coincidence that agreement has not emerged from a long period of trusteeship. The very fact that a third party stood between Jews and Arabs while the respective limits of Arab and Jewish independence were not finally determined, created the conditions of perpetual discord. It is an axiom of the Palestine question that political uncertainty is the enemy of Arab-Jewish agreement. The Arabs will seek no agreement until they are confronted with the Jews as a permanent and equal factor with which they have to come to terms. The Jews will accept no position of subjection to the Arabs and will continually press on

towards independence. In abandoning a settlement which gave partial satisfaction to the desire of each party for independence the United States has thus set back the clock of Arab-Jewish agreement. The termination of the trusteeship is made dependent on conditions which can never mature as long as trusteeship lasts. The unpopularity of trusteeship will be greatly increased in both communities by the fact that it is of indefinite duration with no visible end in view. This has an obvious bearing on the question of enforcement.

Comment on Paragraph 4 (Jerusalem as Analogy)

The statute of Jerusalem was not bound in any way by the trusteeship provisions of the Charter. Its authors had complete freedom to determine its conditions according to the realities which confronted them. Because it was not based on the trusteeship provisions of the Charter, the Statute did not have to be initiated by the Mandatory Power. It is difficult to see how the authors of a trusteeship agreement, bound as they are by the Charter's specific procedures and requirements, can be free to embody at will the features of the Jerusalem Statute. Nor is it clear how a trusteeship agreement can legally be initiated by the United States. This casual reference to the Statute of Jerusalem does not make it clear whether or not the Statute would remain in force if a trusteeship agreement were recommended by the General Assembly for the country as a whole. The Statute of Jerusalem in any case rests on the exceptional basis that the city's population is called upon to let the city's universal association have precedence over its civic and secular interests. This unique arrangement obviously provides no precedent or justification for establishing permanent foreign rule over the country as a whole.

Comment on Paragraphs 3, 5 and 6 (Constitution)

These paragraphs contain the constitutional provisions of the projected trusteeship. It is proposed that a new regime called the Government of Palestine should be established forthwith in order to assume the "administrative, legislative and judicial powers" which have either become inoperative during the mandatory's disintegration, or were to have devolved automatically upon Jewish and Arab authorities. The Government is to act in accordance with the principles of Trusteeship as defined in the Charter, and with instructions from the Trusteeship Council which must in the nature of things be in conformity with those principles. This may amount to an injunction to the Government to ignore or suppress the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine, since these are not covered explicitly or implicitly in any of the Articles dealing with the Trusteeship system.

The provision for a "democratically elected legislature" is the gravest feature of the entire proposal, and raises disquieting questions as to its intentions. This provision appears to involve the application of majority rule to Palestine as a whole, and to ignore the dual character of its national composition. The most widely accepted principle in the Palestine question is the irrelevance of formal democracy, based on majority domination, to a country composed of two separate nations which do not hold the ends of life in common or agree on the central purposes of the state. In such conditions, to apply democracy to the population as a whole is to deny it to the Jews entirely, by subjecting them to minority status. The essence of the Palestine question lies in the need to apply self-determination not to a fictitious single entity, but to the two separate groups, so that each is free and sovereign within the widest limits compatible with the freedom and sovereignty of the other. The Royal Commission, the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Anglo-American Committee, UNSCOP, and the General Assembly have all emphatically rejected the application of a

unitary majority principle to the constitution of Palestine. Its revival here illustrates the degree to which these proposals are cut adrift from all the accumulated lessons of history and experience.

The position would be in no way improved if a Chamber based on parity were set up alongside the Chamber based on "democracy" with a virtual power of veto. The objectives most essential to the Jews all require authority for positive action (i.e. immigration, development, settlement). If one Chamber obstructs these measures and the other reaches deadlock, the result is that those measures are not authorized. The noes have it. Deadlock and a negative decision are identical with reference to any scheme of positive action. The constitutional provisions of this proposal are thus a complete surrender to the Arab desire to block all change and development required in the Jewish interest.

The provision that the Governor-General may have "to legislate by order" in the almost certain contingency that the "legislature could not be assembled" emphasizes the dictatorial implications of this proposal. A Governor-General placed between the opposing pressures of Jews and Arabs and therefore tending to yield to the strongest pressure and to the status quo, is an exact replica of the conditions which led the Mandate to chaos and disorder.

Comment on Paragraph 7 (Enforcement)

Since neither the Arab nor the Jewish community seems inclined to help impose a trusteeship upon itself, it is unlikely that the Governor-General will be able to rely on locally recruited forces. It is clear therefore that a heavy and permanent burden of enforcement will fall upon such member States as may voluntarily adhere to the protocol envisaged for this purpose. This burden will probably not be less than that which the Mandatory Power has been called upon to bear in circumstances very similar to those arising from this trusteeship proposal. It will certainly be a heavier burden than that involved in the implementation of the General Assembly's Resolution, which had elements of self-enforcement through its militia provisions. Moreover, enforcement of the partition resolution would only have been necessary until such time as the two States were firmly established and functioning. In the trusteeship proposal, on the other hand, there is no end of enforcement in sight. The question arises whether member States who were unwilling to use their forces to establish independence for Jews and Arabs within authoritatively defined limits will now commit their forces to military rule "of indefinite duration" for the purpose of suppressing aspirations for independence recently approved by the United Nations. The scope and spirit of this enforcement task are an ironical commentary on the plea that partition had to be set aside because it involved enforcement.

The problem of enforcement will be most acute in the months immediately following May 15. The whole basis for this plan therefore collapses unless it can be shown capable of producing adequate forces by that date. The protocol will presumably be open for the adherence of member States only when the General Assembly has accepted the principle of a trusteeship regime. Even then it is not clear whether the General Assembly or the Trusteeship Council will automatically accept the services of any member States which choose to volunteer for participation in enforcement. It is conceivable, for instance, that the Arab States may be the only states to adhere to the protocol. If their adherence were accepted, the trusteeship would merely legalize the existing Arab invasion of Palestine and future invasions contemplated.

It would be extravagantly sanguine to expect that the procedure laid down in Paragraph 7 will lead to the recruitment and dispatch of forces within a

matter of weeks. It is significant that no agreement between member States on the use of armed forces in accordance with Article 43 has been reached during three years of continuous negotiations. It is a legitimate conclusion that this plan contains no enforcement provisions likely to take effect from the date of the termination of Mandate.

Comment on Paragraph 8 (Existing Arrangements)

The existing arrangements in Palestine insofar as they relate to central governmental machinery are rapidly falling apart; and the only orderly processes of government on May 15 may well be those organized by the Jewish State. The main problem facing the Government of Palestine, even on the remote assumption that it could be called into existence by May 15, would be that of recapturing the allegiance of the population from the Jewish and Arab authorities which now command it.

Comment on Paragraph 9 (Immigration and Land Settlement)

The association of the Arab community in the task of fixing a basis for Jewish immigration and land purchase is a grave prejudice to the existing claims, rights and position of the Jews. Under the Mandate there was a positive injunction to facilitate Jewish immigration and encourage close settlement by Jews on the land, irrespective of Arab political consent. Under the General Assembly's Resolution full control of immigration and land settlement was conferred upon the Jewish Provisional Council of Government for the area under its jurisdiction. In other words there is an established international practice which denies any formal validity to the Arab desire to obstruct Jewish immigration.

The provisions envisaged for immigration and land purchase are not specified in this proposal. The scheme as a whole, however, would seem to determine that those provisions will be meagre. In the first place, the constitutional provisions of paragraph 6 give predominance to the Arabs in all legislative and consultative processes; and this alone must operate against the authorization of any substantial immigration or land purchase by Jews. In the second place, mere formal provisions for immigration can have no real effect unless there is a regime in Palestine which is able to so shape economic and development policies as to create conditions in which mass immigration can be absorbed. Immigration is encouraged not by the mere issue of permits, but by the opening up of economic opportunities and facilities. This fact explains the inseparable connection between the concepts of Jewish statehood and Jewish immigration. Recent Palestinian history proves that a government torn indecisively between two pressures, the one claiming and the other opposing immigration, cannot be the agent of a progressive development policy. Still less can conditions favourable to immigration be created by a legislature whose majority is concerned to make immigration impossible. Experience has conclusively proved to the Jews that the only effective guarantee of continued and substantial Jewish immigration lies in the placing of immigration and development policies under Jewish control.

Comment on Paragraph 10 (Standard of Living)

The effort to peg down Palestine's standard of living and public services to that "which can be supported by the resources of Palestine" is particularly remarkable at a time when sixteen countries in Europe have been declared as unable to subsist on their own resources. Palestine's budgetary independence and relatively high standard of living derive largely from the interest of world Jewry in the development of an expanding society in Palestine. The whole trend of the present proposal is to withdraw recognition of that interest and thereby impoverish

the resources of Palestine, arrest its development and force down its living standards.

Comment on Paragraph 14 (Immunity of Holy Places)

The guarantees contained in the General Assembly's Resolution for the protection of the Holy Places and the assurance of free access are now likely to be violated through the failure of the United Nations to assume its responsibilities in Jerusalem. It would be more fruitful at this stage to provide for the effective carrying out of those guarantees than merely to repeat them in the texts of a new agreement.



STATEMENT OF SIR CARL BERENDSEN, DELEGATE OF NEW ZEALAND,
BEFORE THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS, APRIL 20, 1948

It is a sombre, indeed a tragic, occasion which has led to this meeting, and it is a heavy responsibility that falls upon each and every delegate in this Chamber. The occasion calls for the most complete integrity of thought and action, and it is clearly the duty, as well as the right, of every Government represented here to express its thoughts on the incredible and shocking situation that has developed. It is a time for plain speaking, and I am sure that none of my colleagues will take offence if I do, in fact speak plainly.

The problem with which the Assembly was called upon to deal last November was admitted by all to be most difficult and intractable. The situation as it presented itself then was the cumulative result of a long series of events stemming perhaps from the dim ages of the past, but for most practical purposes originating in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. That document like -- most regrettably like -- the vast majority of international documents, is not notable for clarity or definition. All, I think, agree that it is open to more than one construction, and the exact intent of its meaning has been a matter of repeated and lengthy debate and discussion in the ensuing years. Nor indeed have those portions of its intent, which are common ground to all, been free from dissent from its very inception. I have no intention of entering into any analysis of what the Balfour Declaration did mean or what was the ethical basis even for that portion of its intent upon which all agree, as a minimum, it must mean. Even that aspect is perhaps beside the point. The Mandate over Palestine was entrusted to the United Kingdom -- with the definite approval of many of those nations represented here -- and for a very lengthy period the British have been administering that territory with what any impartial observer must agree has been a commendable degree of material success, and certainly at all times with the highest motives and intentions. But it may well have been that throughout the whole of that period they have been attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable, that the conflicting rights and interests in that Holy but unhappy land -- of the Arabs on the one side and the Jews on the other -- were not at any time capable of acceptable compromise. From time to time blood has been shed in the course of this long and acrimonious dispute, and I would remind my colleagues of what I fear many of them are too often inclined to forget, that on very many occasions the blood that has been spilt has been the blood, not of the two principal contestants in this unhappy quarrel, but British blood, the blood of those who were, as trustees for humanity, endeavouring to carry out a thankless and perhaps impossible task. Finally, the British decided that they could no longer bear this burden, that the problem had become, if it had not always been, an international problem, that not only was it unfair that the burden and the odium of this task should fall upon the British alone while others at all times have felt free to offer advice and criticism from the sidelines without, of course, shouldering any portion of the responsibility for themselves, but also because of this factor, that the UK, having devoted its all to the prosecution of that great war for liberty, justice, peace and order which has just concluded, had found itself as the result, as the direct result, of its efforts during that conflict in a position of great difficulty. I think no one will disagree that Britain's temporary weakness -- because, believe me, it is temporary only -- and the sacrifices in blood, in treasure and in repute that she has been called upon to make in this thankless and perhaps impossible

task, proved to be too much and the United Kingdom, as you know, last year announced its intention of relinquishing the mandate and laying the whole matter before the United Nations where, as a world problem, it unquestionably belongs.

I am not one of those who believe that the UK has deserved the criticism it has received for its administration of the Mandate. I am not about to suggest that every step that the British have taken on the matter in Palestine has been wise or well-considered. But I do assert that what they have done from the inception of the Mandate until they were forced to the conclusion that the problem was beyond them, and laid the question before the United Nations, they have done with the highest motives, and that no other state represented here, even had it been willing (which it was not) to accept these obligations, would, or indeed could, have done any better in the circumstances as they existed.

But last year Britain agreed that Britain had failed, and the United Nations, in Special Assembly, undertook the responsibility of finding a solution. You all know what happened. After very lengthy debate a Special Committee of the Assembly was sent to Palestine. It conducted exhaustive enquiries and on its return produced a report to the Assembly which I have no hesitation in characterising as a model of moderate and constructive thought.

The views of this Special Committee -- and other views -- were considered at very great length at the General Assembly meeting in September, and after most careful consideration, and after hearing the representatives of both parties principally concerned in this tragic conflict of rights, the Assembly decided, by the requisite majority of two-thirds, that the course which appeared to offer the best chance of success in the circumstances was that of partition with economic union. Let me repeat that this was decided after the most lengthy and anxious consideration, and let me repeat that it was agreed to, that it was supported, by the requisite majority of the members of this body. Allow me to read the list of those delegations who placed themselves affirmatively on record as supporting the proposal for partition with economic union. They were as follows:

Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussia, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Sweden, the Ukraine, South Africa, the Soviet Union, the United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.

That, then, was the considered decision in November last, the considered decision of the Town Meeting of the World, the expression of the conscience of this forum of the nations of the world, in a most earnest effort to solve this tragic problem.

Now I do not think that any delegation which voted in favor of this decision felt that partition was a perfect solution. I think most people were of the opinion that the problem was susceptible of no perfect solution, that any decision at all must inevitably be the cause of injustice and hardship to very many thousands of worthy people, and that the best that could be done, and the least that should be done, was to decide upon that solution which offered the least injustice, the least departure from principle and the least practical difficulties in the circumstances as they had arisen during the course of the past thirty years.

The New Zealand Government believed then that partition was the best solution, and it believes the same thing today. It is our view that the Assembly decided to do the right thing in the wrong way, and I am not expressing that view only now, with the all the advantages of hind sight. On behalf of my delegation and

my Government, I expressed the same view when the matter was being considered last November, and if my colleagues will do me the honor of recollecting or reading what I said then, they will find that throughout the whole course of the discussion the New Zealand delegation took the view that while partition with economic union was the best course to adopt, nevertheless if the Assembly assumed the right -- as we believed it should -- to divide that country into a Jewish state and an Arab state, the Assembly must at the same time assume the duty of ensuring an orderly and peaceful implementation of that decision. And up to the very last moment I expressed New Zealand's grave and anxious apprehensions as to the efficacy of partition without enforcement and called -- unhappily without avail -- on the members of the United Nations and particularly the Great Powers, to face this question of enforcement. Up to the very last moment, I asked whether the Assembly was prepared to gamble with the lives of innocent people in Palestine. The appeal fell on deaf ears. You were prepared so to gamble; we did gamble and we lost. But we do not pay. You know today who is paying. The gambler's loss is being paid by the people of Palestine; it is being paid in part by British boys dying at their post of duty, but for a much greater part it is being paid, and will continue to be paid, by the people of Palestine, be they innocent or guilty, be they Arab or Jew. And the situation that has arisen today, incredible and disgraceful to us as it is, was, to any one who faced the facts and who was not deaf and blind, as clear and as obvious and as inevitable as night following day. They were many in November who professed to believe -- they will allow me to doubt whether they did believe -- that enforcement would not be necessary. That is an order of simplicity which is quite beyond my comprehension, and if there were such as did in fact believe this to be a possibility then they must certainly have paid no heed to the protests and warnings of our Arab colleagues. Nobody who heard these debates as I have heard them could fail to be impressed with the warmth and the emotion and the conviction with which the representatives of the Arab states expounded their cause and warned the Assembly of the consequences. Nobody could have failed to realize the justice of much of what the Arabs represented to us. Nobody doubted that whatever decision was arrived at in connection with the Palestinian problem it would inevitably bring some degree of hardship, some degree of injustice to a substantial number of people. The problem, I repeat, was susceptible of no perfect solution. But if there were in this room any who believed that the partition of Palestine could be accomplished peacefully and with good will on all sides and without enforcement, then I must say that that is a degree of naivete which did them little credit. But of course, in human affairs, there is always an inclination to hope, which in turn leads to a belief, that all will be well. Quite often it is well, but it is seldom well unless somebody is working hard and with careful forethought to ensure that it is so. And the Assembly's solution could have been effective had we taken the necessary steps to ensure that it was.

There were others last November who, apprehensive, and justly apprehensive, that this great, and it was hoped, final attempt, to solve the Palestinian problem could not be carried out without force, were nevertheless content to believe that that force had in fact been provided. Those who answered New Zealand's repeated appeals for means of implementation told us of two sources of enforcement power which, by implication, they suggested were adequate. We were told in the first place that there was to be an Arab militia and a Jewish militia and that these two militias would be able to keep order. Well, that again shows an order of simplicity which is quite beyond my comprehension, and I pass that over for what it is worth. And finally, we were told that there was always the Security Council which would see to enforcement. Well, all that one needs to say in this connection is to ask delegates to regard the situation as it exists today and the steps that the Security Council has found itself able to take.

I repeat that the Assembly in its November decision did the right thing, but by reason of its failure to provide for implementation, it did the right thing in the wrong way, and because of our error then, as the result of our error then, we have the situation today. The result of our error is death, bloodshed, murder, outrage and agony in Palestine. The result of our error then is a grave risk that the Assembly of the United Nations, is in serious and humiliating danger of losing the public confidence upon which its authority in the last resort depends. We have today, therefore, an additional problem, not only how to do justice to both Jew and Arab, but how to avoid wrecking the authority and the influence of the Assembly. I say to you that neither this organization nor indeed any of its members can hope to give to the world the lead of which the world is so sorely in need, unless that lead is steady and consistent, unless the course that is set yesterday is the course that is followed steadily today and tomorrow. The alternative is inevitable confusion and dismay.

I am far from suggesting that where circumstances have altered policies must remain immutable, but the submission of the New Zealand delegation is this, that if partition with economic union was right in November, it is right today, and indeed, I have heard no logical suggestion to the contrary. The circumstances have not changed in the slightest. The only new factor that has arisen in respect of Palestine since the matter was so carefully considered and decided in November is a detestable series of murders and outrages in Palestine. And by both sides, for there is no one who can defend or explain or excuse the violence for which it seems clear certain sections of the Jewish community have been responsible, any more than it is possible to defend or explain or excuse the violence for which certain sections of the Arab community have been responsible. Both call for the strongest censure, the utmost detestation; both call for repression by lawful force. And if an attempt is made, as in logic no doubt it can be made to draw a distinction between Jewish activities as intended on the whole to support the decision of the United Nations in favor of partition, while the activities on the side of the Arabs are intended to destroy that decision, I say that an outrage is an outrage, and a murder is a murder, and it is our plain and obvious duty to see to it that outrages and murders are stopped.

And we are, I submit, clearly bound to ask ourselves, what, if anything we have done to further the objectives which we laid down last November, and to counter the opposition which we all knew would, and which in fact did, arise. I fear the answer is nothing. It is certainly very little, despite the earnest efforts of the Commission, and much quite obviously has been done with the contrary object.

It is now suggested, as I understand it, though the proposal is far from clear in some of its implications, and the various statements that have been made do not always appear to me to have been consistent, that because of this series of murders and outrages partition at this state has become impossible. I say to you not only that these abominable incidents should have been foreseen and prevented, but that to put them forward as a reason for abandoning the decision arrived at after most careful and anxious consideration only a few months ago seems to the New Zealand delegation to be a most fantastic distortion of logical thought. If, indeed, the considered decision of the General Assembly is to be stultified, to be defeated by the application of illegal and reprehensible violence, if the Assembly allows its decision to be abandoned because it is challenged and opposed by force, then the Assembly will be taking upon itself a responsibility which will bear tragic fruit for many generations to come.

But one is entitled to ask how is the Assembly to go about it to provide

force if force is necessary, as of course it is. I will not content myself by saying, as I am fully entitled to say, that force should have been provided last November, but I would venture very gravely to doubt whether the force that would be required to implement trusteeship would be any less than the force that would be required to implement partition. And if the members of the United Nations should be willing each to take its proportionate part in enforcing a decision of the United Nations in respect of a trusteeship for Palestine, those members should, on any logical basis, equally be willing to provide their proportionate share of a United Nations force to implement the decision to which it pledged itself last November.

That is the policy which the New Zealand Government has instructed me to support at this meeting. We still believe that, with all its defects, however imperfect we may all agree that solution is, the decision of last November is nevertheless the best solution that the situation offers. We believe that, having made the decision in November we should, undeterred by lawless violence, proceed to enforce that decision by the united action of the members of the United Nations.

And I call upon my colleagues to take thought, to take serious thought, before they abandon their decision of principle as the direct result of outrages and murders which might well have been foreseen and indeed, I believe, were foreseen before that decision was made. I call upon my colleagues in this Assembly to take thought, careful thought, before they strike that tragic, perhaps irreparable blow to the United Nations that would be involved in capitulation by the world to threats and violence. It is the old, old problem which the League of Nations was not prepared to face, and which the United Nations has not yet shown itself ready to face, whether we can hope to preserve peace and order in the world by words alone. We cannot, and anybody who contends to the contrary is not facing the facts. There is no place now for wishful thinking. While the New Zealand delegation will continue to support the enforcement of partition through the joint action of all members of the United Nations, we shall nevertheless join in the consideration of any proposal which offers prospects of ending the strife in Palestine and achieving a just settlement between the Jews and the Arabs within a reasonable period. And if it is found possible to achieve a truce between the contending parties on just and reasonable terms, I need not add how warmly such a development would be welcomed by the New Zealand Government.

But here is a test case, and believe me, the future of this organization and the future of the world may indeed depend upon the way in which it is decided. What the world needs today is not resolutions, it is resolution. And it is the most earnest hope of the New Zealand Government that the Assembly will adhere to the principles it accepted last November, and show that resolution which the situation demands. We must not, we dare not, add to the irresponsibility of our November decision for partition without enforcement, the further and final irresponsibility of a surrender to illegal force.

Will you allow me to conclude by commending to your attention one of the rules laid down by a very great American for the conduct of his life, a rule which is as true for this organization as it is true for any nation or any individual. Benjamin Franklin said "Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve."

STATEMENT OF DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER BEFORE THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE,
SECOND SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
APRIL 22, 1948

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Political Committee: I am profoundly grateful for the privilege which has been extended to the Jewish Agency for Palestine to participate in these discussions. I had the honor to represent the Jewish Agency for Palestine at the first Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations just a year ago. It was in high hope and confidence that we appeared before the Assembly at that time. We are frank to acknowledge to a sense of bewilderment which we experience today when we appear before the Second Special Session which is considering not the consummation of a work which was so nobly begun a year ago, but ominous proposals aimed at reversing a course of action which had been thoughtfully and courageously pursued.

A variety of explanations have been given by those who are responsible for convoking this Special Assembly. An air of unreality pervades all these explanations. It is maintained that the past few months have demonstrated that the plan which was adopted last November could not be implemented by peaceful means and that, therefore, a new solution must be found. This argument has been fully met by the spokesmen of several delegations who have expressed themselves here, notably by the very incisive and eloquent statement of the distinguished representative of New Zealand. I have very little to add to what has already been said in this regard except to point out that the spokesman of the United States Delegation, Ambassador Herschel V. Johnson, in his first statement before the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question, on October 10, 1947, declared that the problem of internal law and order during the transition period "might require the establishment of a special constabulary police force recruited on a volunteer basis by the United Nations." It was generally understood that some degree of force would be necessary in view of the repeated assertions by spokesmen of Arab countries that they would resist by violence any plan not to their liking which might be adopted by the United Nations. In spite of these repeated threats and in full realization of the possible consequences of their action the members of the United Nations overwhelmingly adopted the partition plan. They adopted it because they had come to realize that it was the most practical and feasible plan which could be worked out and which came closest to doing substantial justice to both peoples of Palestine. The Assembly assumed, as it had every right to assume under the terms of the Charter, that the Security Council would discharge its responsibilities and would utilize all its powers to prevent a breach of the peace and enable the authorized agencies of the United Nations to carry out their functions in the implementation of the Assembly resolution.

It was further assumed that the Mandatory would, in the interim period, maintain law and order, more especially since it insisted that that responsibility belonged exclusively to the Mandatory Power until the termination of the Mandate.

It was also assumed that, in accordance with the provisions of the plan, there would be established armed militias, recruited from the local populations, which would, in due course, take over responsibility for public security in their respective states.

But the Security Council failed lamentably to carry out its responsibilities. It refused to determine that a breach of the peace existed in the country despite the report submitted to it by the United Nations Palestine Commission, which declared: "Powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are

defying the Resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein." The Security Council walked away from its clear and bounden responsibility.

The Mandatory Power not only refused to cooperate in the implementation of the scheme but failed utterly to discharge its elementary duty to maintain law and order in the country, a duty which it repeatedly refused to share. One need but read the report of the United Nations Palestine Commission submitted to this Assembly to realize the extent to which the refusal of the Mandatory Power to cooperate has obstructed the plan and has rendered the execution of the Commission's task so difficult. We should also like to call the attention of this Committee to the Memorandum which the Jewish Agency for Palestine submitted to the United Nations Palestine Commission on February 21st on the subject of "British Policy in Palestine since the Adoption of the General Assembly Resolution," which records the story of the Mandatory's egregious failures to preserve public order, to maintain the security of the roads, and to guard the frontiers against the incursion of armed bands from the neighboring countries bent upon aggression.

Nor were the militias allowed to be established. The Jews of Palestine were prepared from the outset to provide the necessary manpower for the preservation of the public security and for the faithful execution of the decision of the United Nations. But every conceivable obstacle was placed in their way. Such forces as they had were denied legal status and indispensable equipment. Paradoxically, in their efforts to protect the population and to carry out the mandate of the United Nations, they were compelled to go underground.

There is, therefore, no ground whatever for the assertion that the plan of partition had to be abandoned because it was unworkable or because it could not be peacefully implemented. The truth is that the agencies which were relied upon to ensure the security of the country either failed to cooperate or were prevented from cooperation.

Another explanation which is put forward for abandoning the resolution of last November is the assertion that the Security Council refused to accept the request which was addressed to it by the General Assembly on the 29th of November. It is maintained that the United States had offered a Resolution at the Security Council "to accept, subject to the authority of the Security Council under the Charter the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in paragraphs (a) (b) and (c) of the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947." If accepted, this resolution would have placed the Security Council behind the plan of partition with economic union, but "this United States proposal failed to receive the necessary support in the vote which took place on March 5th", and accordingly the partition plan was rejected by the Security Council.

The record of the meeting of March 5th, however, shows that no such rejection of the partition plan was intended by the Security Council. Members of the Council refrained from voting on paragraph 1 of the United States resolution until the permanent members of the Security Council, after the consultations called for by the resolution, had indicated clearly the steps which they were prepared to recommend to the Security Council as a whole to back up the resolution of the Assembly. I call particular attention to the statement which was made on that occasion by the distinguished representative of France, who declared: "The representative of Belgium has explained that his amendment does not imply, in any way, that the Security Council does not accept the recommendation of the General Assembly. However, under the Belgian amendment, we reserve a decision upon the substance of the question until the proposed committee (of the permanent members) has made the investigations which are necessary."

Likewise, the representative of Canada declared that "the Canadian delegation will support the Belgian amendment as we believe that acceptance of the first paragraph of the United States draft resolution should be postponed until the five permanent members of the Security Council have had an opportunity to consult one another and the parties directly concerned and, in particular, to satisfy themselves and us that the possibilities of progress through conciliation have in fact been exhausted."

The resolution which was finally adopted by the Security Council clearly called on the permanent members of the Council "to consult and to inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine and to make, as the result of such consultations, recommendations to it regarding the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly."

It is therefore clear that the failure of the Security Council to adopt the first part of the American resolution on March 5th was not a rejection of the plan of partition. On the contrary, the affirmative action taken by the Council on that day indicated an intention to consider favorably a concrete program with a view of implementing the partition plan.

Actually, in the discussions which ensued among the big powers, no serious consideration was given to any measures, not even those of a non-military character which could have been taken by the Security Council, and which might still be taken. No serious effort was made to determine whether a threat to the peace had actually developed in Palestine and what action should be taken by the Security Council to meet that threat.

At one of the meetings of the permanent members of the Security Council the representatives of the Jewish Agency presented a nine-point program for the implementation of the Assembly's resolution without recourse to an international force. The program which we submitted was as follows. The Security Council was:

"1. To assume the responsibilities assigned to it in the General Assembly's plan for implementation.

"2. To determine any attempt to alter by force the Assembly's resolution as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression."

"3. To determine that a threat to the peace does exist in view of actions by certain Arab Governments.

"4. To call upon Arab member states to stop recruiting and organizing armed forces to resist the Assembly's resolution, and to withdraw their nationals already sent for this purpose.

"5. To call upon Arab States to stop their warlike propaganda and incitement contrary to the unanimous resolution of Assembly against warmongering (October 12, 1947).

"6. To call upon Mandatory Power to prevent the entry of unauthorized foreign forces and to expel those already in Palestine.

"7. To instruct the Palestine Commission to proceed with all speed with all phases of implementation, with special priority to the establishment of Provisional Councils of Government and the organization and equipment of militias.

"8. To call upon Member States to offer arms to parties cooperating with the United Nations resolution and to withhold them from those defying it.

"9. To empower the Palestine Commission to take all steps which may assist in the maintenance of peace in Jerusalem."

None of these proposals was acted upon, nor is the Jewish Agency aware that they were ever discussed.

We are driven to the conclusion that the decision to thrust aside the Assembly's resolution and substitute some other plan was arrived at long before the Security Council met to consider the matter.

Mr. Chairman, the basic facts in the situation are terrifyingly simple. The Arabs proceeded to carry out the threat which they had made at the sessions of the Assembly last November. They resorted to mob violence from within Palestine and organized invasion forces from without. In the face of these acts of violence and organized aggression to alter by force the decision of the United Nations, the Security Council faltered and retreated. Confronted by defiance, it capitulated.

It is now proposed to adopt another plan, which seemingly would not meet with resistance on the part of the Arabs. In other words, it is now proposed that the United Nations as a whole shall capitulate. This is the real meaning of the new proposal to substitute trusteeship for partition. It is designed to appease violence and reward aggression. It sweeps aside all considerations of equity and law. It sacrifices the results of collective judgment and constructive statesmanship to terrorization. But for all this the world does not need a United Nations. This proposal summons before the bar of this high tribunal the victim of aggression and exacts from him a penalty for loyal compliance with its decision.

All of us here, I am sure, must realize that this is not a new or unique experience in international affairs, an experience which has brought so much sorrow and calamity to our world. The distinguished representative of China must surely recall the year 1932 when the big powers prevented the League of Nations from taking collective action to defend his country against shameless and wanton aggression. He, and all of us, are aware of the tragic consequences, not alone for the League of Nations, but for the whole world, which resulted from that act of grave moral abdication.

So also must our distinguished friend from Ethiopia recall the year 1936 when the head of his State, standing before the League of Nations, nobly but vainly appealed to the conscience of mankind to arrest the brutal aggression of an arrogant dictator bringing death and ruin to his country. Then, too, the great powers refused to permit effective sanctions to be imposed upon the aggressor, who, not long thereafter, helped to plunge the whole world into the abyss of war.

Nor, I am sure, has anyone forgotten Munich!

Is it not clear that this international community is now in danger of repeating the tragic mistakes of the past few years? Is it not evident that world-wide disillusionment, caused by such a moral defeat and bankruptcy of principle, is even now corroding the foundations of this great institution upon which such high hopes of mankind are centered?

Mr. Chairman, the Jewish Agency has submitted to the United Nations Palestine Commission and to the Security Council two memoranda on Acts of Arab Aggression.

It is needless here to review the facts therein recounted. They are largely a matter of public knowledge. Suffice it to call attention to the summary statement of the Palestine Commission itself, which declared: "Armed Arab bands from neighboring Arab States have infiltrated into the territory of Palestine and together with local Arab forces are defeating the purposes of the resolution by acts of violence."

Seated around this table are representatives of Arab States whose governments pledged themselves to observe the letter and the spirit of the Charter and who have, by their own admissions, called for violent resistance to the decision of the United Nations, armed and equipped bands of their nationals who proceeded to cross the frontiers into Palestine to carry death and destruction to the inhabitants of that country. They are at this very moment preparing for even larger military action upon the termination of the mandate, if not sooner.

This clearly is not merely non-acceptance of a General Assembly recommendation. This is brazen and contemptuous violation of the United Nations Charter, which calls upon its member states to refrain from the threat or the use of force in international relations.

The representatives of these states, who have flaunted the United Nations, are here today counseling this international organization, whose authority and prestige they have trampled underfoot, to sanction their aggression and to reward their violence by repudiating a decision which had been overwhelmingly adopted and to substitute for it a solution which would be entirely acceptable to them. This indeed is an incredible spectacle -- astounding, sinister, ominous.

Undoubtedly the Arab States have been emboldened to embark upon this career of violence and aggression by the attitude of the Mandatory Power and by the temporizing and vacillation of other powers who have special interests in that part of the world. So far as the Mandatory Power is concerned, the measure of its responsibility for what has transpired in Palestine since November 29th is fully indicated in the report which was submitted by the United Nations Palestine Commission to this Assembly. We do not wish to enlarge upon the record or to engage in further recriminations. There is but one urgent request which we would address to the Mandatory on the eve of its departure from Palestine. It is a request, I am sure, in which the members of the United Nations would wish to join; that its departure from Palestine should be attended with a minimum of disorganization, and that it should not further contribute to the chaos and destruction to which that country is exposed. Above all, we request that it should not make available the means of aggression -- arms and military equipment -- to the aggressor states, and that it should remove the British led, trained and financed Arab Legion from Palestine and ensure its non-intervention in the affairs of Palestine in the future. Having been unwilling to implement the decision of the United Nations, it should at least refrain from abetting, however indirectly, the tragic conflict in the country.

As to the new proposal for Palestine which has been suggested by the United States Delegation, we should like to make the following observations: It is too late in the day to impose a trusteeship on the peoples of Palestine. They have lived under the tutelage of trusteeship for a quarter of a century. They fretted under it. They now seek their independence. They are entitled to it. They will have it.

The apparent receptiveness of some Arab spokesmen to the suggestion of trusteeship should be discounted as a purely tactical maneuver to defeat partition.

It is that and nothing else. The Arabs have always been opposed to any mandate or trusteeship. They have always insisted on an independent and unitary Arab state in Palestine which would consign the Jewish population to the position of a permanent minority.

They have uncompromisingly rejected the Royal Commission proposals, the Partition Commission proposals, the White Paper of 1939, the Anglo-American Committee's proposals, the Morrison (federal) Plan, the Bevin (provincial autonomy) Plan, the Majority Report of UNSCOP, the Minority Report of UNSCOP and the Resolution of the General Assembly.

It is vain to assume that another short period of trusteeship will achieve an agreed settlement for Palestine which a quarter of a century of trusteeship failed to achieve. There are two separate and distinct peoples living in Palestine, each having its own national aspirations, its distinctive character, religious, cultural, linguistic. Each people wishes to be master in its own home, in control of its own destiny. Ten years ago the Royal Commission, which made a thorough study of the Palestine problem and which likewise recommended partition as a solution, declared: "To maintain that Palestinian citizenship has any moral meaning is a mischievous pretense. Neither Arab nor Jew has any sense of service to a single state ... there is little moral value in maintaining the political unity of Palestine at the cost of perpetual hatred." The United Nations fully realized these simple and incontrovertible facts, and accordingly resolved to recognize the independence and freedom of both peoples by establishing two sovereign states which were to be linked for mutual benefit in economic union. There is no better solution possible. Postponing this solution for a few more years through the reimposition of a trusteeship would only exacerbate the situation and prolong the present agony. After another period of strife and bloodshed, the United Nations would be compelled inexorably to return to the partition solution.

The proponents of this new proposal have acknowledged that trusteeship will require a considerable measure of force. If force must be used to impose trusteeship, which admittedly is not a permanent and final solution, and settles nothing, why, in all reason, should it not be used to enforce a decision which has already been arrived at by the United Nations after a most careful and thorough-going investigation of the whole subject and after taking full account of all proposals which have, through a period of many years, been offered for the solution of the Palestine problem?

The Jews of Palestine have already announced their unqualified rejection of any trusteeship plan. The Jewish people reluctantly accepted the partition decision of last November which involved the sacrifice of one-half of the territory of the Jewish National Home for the sake of achieving independence and statehood. Their independence was in fact recognized by that act of the United Nations. They have proceeded to organize their national life on the basis of that decision. It represents for them the consummation of centuries of national aspiration and struggle. They will not now surrender it for a settlement which deprives them of that very independence which they at last achieved, whether it is done under the guise of trusteeship or any other guise. Nor should the United Nations make this cruel demand of a people to which, less than five months ago, it declared in effect: We recognize your historic right to rebuild the Jewish State in ancient Judea and we shall assist you in every way to establish that state.

The United Nations Palestine Commission may find it difficult to carry out its responsibilities. There are those who would have it suspend its activities.

The Jewish people of Palestine, however, cannot -- will not -- suspend its activities on behalf of the Jewish State, however difficult it may prove. For them, this is the mandate of their historic destiny. For them there is no alternative.

Mr. Chairman, we wonder how far it is realized by the distinguished representatives here assembled to what a large extent partition has already become a political and economic reality in Palestine. A large degree of political, economic and social separation has existed between Arabs and Jews in Palestine for years. The United Nations Special Committee and later the General Assembly recognized this separation. Since November 29, this process of partition has been greatly accelerated. It owes its acceleration not only to the incentive of the Assembly's resolution, but also to the rapid disintegration of the central mandatory regime and the creation of a vacuum in authority. The virtual partition now developing in Palestine has both a functional and a territorial aspect. The Jewish community of Palestine is already exercising unchallenged authority in many of the most important branches of public activity. In matters of defense, the Jews are entirely autonomous and self-dependent. Their military organization alone is responsible for the defense of the community, both urban and rural, and is rapidly assuming the structure and spirit of a regular military force.

In some parts of the country, the Jewish military command exercises administrative functions as well. Thus the area of the Negev (Southern Palestine) contained within the area of the Jewish State depends entirely for its services on the facilities provided by the Jewish command of that area. In Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, throughout the coastal plain and in other areas, the security instructions issued by Jewish military commanders are accepted by the population.

There are many essential services in which the Jews have always exercised partial autonomy and which are now becoming increasingly centralized under Jewish control. The health, education and social services in the Jewish community depend entirely on Jewish resources and administration.

The Jewish central authority has already begun to collect taxes from the Jewish community. Jewish civil servants in the Mandatory administration are responsive to the instructions of the Jewish Agency with regard to their plans for remaining at their posts or otherwise.

The Jewish authorities have already made arrangements, by contract, for continuity of the food supply after the termination of the Mandate.

The Jews have already made plans to assure the continuity under their own control, of postal and telegraph services. Arrangements are completed for the issuing of postage stamps and currency after May 15.

All these functions and prerogatives of government are being exercised by a Jewish provisional authority which commands general support. They are being exercised as the only alternative to anarchy and the disruption of civilized life.

In the Arab community, a similar though less centralized process is in progress. Arab municipalities are becoming increasingly independent of any central administration and are maintaining the essential services within their areas.

Many installations and assets of the Palestine Government have already passed into Jewish and Arab hands respectively.

Large sections of the country, including many of the most densely populated areas, have already fallen under Arab or Jewish control. These areas of virtual independence do not correspond entirely with the frontiers laid down in the Assembly's resolution, but they are corresponding more and more to those frontiers.

The coastal plain, the Valley of Jezreel and the settled part of the Jewish Negev are territories in which Jewish authority is virtually complete. In the central part of the hill country, the only effective authority is that of the Arab military command.

A system of permits, closely corresponding to a passport system, exists within both the Arab and Jewish areas, in order to control access and safe conduct.

It would be an almost impossible task for an outside regime to establish a centralized authority in this situation, or to obtain the allegiance of Jews and Arabs, who are already developing the habit of obedience to their own authorities. This process of virtual partition, already well advanced, is inevitably widening its scope and deepening its roots at the very moment that the Assembly deliberates on the future government of Palestine. Any attempt to impose a trusteeship on Palestine under these circumstances, must of necessity involve violent effort to suppress and disrupt these forms of independent national life which have already been established and which the people will not relinquish without a struggle. Is it the purpose of the United Nations to deprive people of their freedom and independence or is it to assist them in achieving such freedom and independence as rapidly and completely as possible?

May 15th was set as the date for the inauguration of the new order in Palestine. Accordingly on the day following, a Provisional Jewish Government will begin to function in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations resolution. The Jewish State will thus be a reality. The only threat to its existence will come from the neighboring Arab States who are now conspiring to overthrow it. The crux of the issue before the General Assembly today is not how to implement the Resolution of November 29, 1947, but how to enjoin and prevent the Arab States, whose representatives are seated around this table, from violating their Charter obligations and from defeating the will of this international tribunal. This is the challenge which confronts the United Nations. Earnestly we pray that it may meet that challenge, not alone for the sake of the Jewish people, but for the sake of all peoples, great and small, who look hopefully to it as their shield and armor.

The Jewish people, though sorely beset, is moving into that future which was visioned by its seers and prophets of old, reestablished in freedom on its ancestral soil, relying upon the justice of its cause, confident of the goodwill of the nations, and praying for the guidance of Divine Providence.

*
* *
*

TRIBUTE TO DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
Hotel Astor, New York City
Monday Evening, December 29, 1947

Address of DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Chairman of the
American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and of the
American Zionist Emergency Council

- - - - -

It was just a month ago that the decision was taken in the Assembly of the United Nations. It has been a month of unprecedented exaltation for our people all over the world. Their spirits leaped up like a brilliant flame in the glad surprise of the long hoped for and never quite expected victory. Their parched and thirsty souls drank deep of the waters of salvation. The nations of the world had again vindicated our claim to national restoration. By an overwhelming vote -- only two Christian States dissenting -- they decreed that the Jewish State shall be re-established and set the date for its establishment for October 1948.

Thus the messianic drama of Israel which had been unfolding in many lands through long centuries of tragic acts and sorrowful scenes suddenly reached a triumphant climax in the dramatic setting of an international council chamber, where in an atmosphere of unspeakable tension, the nations voted, each in its turn, and when the vote was tallied, they had decreed the end of the Galut! We have rejoiced in the fulfillment of a prophecy that has come true: "When the Lord will bring back captive Zion, we shall be like dreamers! Then will our mouth be filled with laughter and our tongue with song."

Our tired hearts were refreshed and uplifted when we witnessed the fine championing of our cause of liberation by one noble country after another -- by the many countries of South and Central America, by the countries of Western

Europe, by all the dominions of the British Commonwealth and by other countries of good will. We were deeply moved by the strong, unfaltering support which we received from the Soviet Union and from Poland and Czechoslovakia. And we were, of course, profoundly pleased and happy with the role which our own Government came to play in the final hour of decision. Especially gratifying was that rare phenomenon -- baffling and disturbing to all those who prescribe cold war as the remedy for an ailing and war-sick world and prescribe all suggestions of amity and reconciliation -- which showed the two greatest world powers working in complete accord and unity of purpose to solve a grave international problem, and reaching a solution.

Those who are despondent over the turn of affairs in international relations, and the seemingly irreparable rift which has been created between the East and the West, might well take heart in contemplating the full and ready cooperation which did exist between the United States and the Soviet Union on the issue of Palestine. Here was an area where, we were told, imperial interests were inevitably destined to clash, and where power politics would most certainly tear East and West hopelessly apart. Nothing of the sort happened, to the utter consternation of all the preachers of the irresistible conflict. On the contrary -- here was ready and friendly agreement. In my humble judgment, there is much food for thought here, and strong warrant for a more hopeful world outlook, and a less intractable statesmanship.

In this connection it should be stated that those who were responsible for the earlier and now discredited propaganda that the Soviet Union, in its desire to penetrate the Middle East and its rich oil fields, would side with the Arabs against the Jews, and that Great Britain and the United States must

therefore not favor the Jewish cause for fear of driving the Arab States into the arms of the Soviet Union, have now slightly revised their propaganda. The Soviet Union, it is now proclaimed, favored the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine in the confident expectation that this would arouse the Arabs, create disturbance and necessitate the intervention of the Security Council. The Security Council would have to send troops. The Soviet Union, being a member of the Security Council, would then have its own troops included in whatever international force is sent to Palestine. Once there, they will never be dislodged.

This is the new, or rather the revamped, propaganda which is being peddled about today in Washington by agents of all sorts --- British, American and Arab --- as well as in the public press, and which, along with the supplementary propaganda that the so-called illegal immigrants coming into Palestine are really communist agents in disguise, is being adroitly spread to destroy U.S.-U.S.S.R. cooperation on Palestine, and to prevent the implementation of the United Nations decision. Every effort is being made to thrust Palestine back into the dangerous arena of power politics, from which the U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement and the action of the United Nations have most opportunely lifted it. There are even some members in the Congress of the United States who, out of ignorance or malice, are lending themselves to the spreading of this baseless and mischievous propaganda. Needless to say the Zionist movement has no orientation either to the West or to the East. If we need to define our orientation, it is definitely and unmistakably to the United Nations. We are happy that our problem received a solution by international agreement in which the East and the West harmoniously cooperated. We hope that it will remain so in the future.

It might be noted, in passing, that our frank joy in the decision of the United Nations, to re-establish the Jewish State was not prompted by an infatuation with the idea of nationalism as such, or by the idolatry of statehood. We are not chauvinists. Zionists have been denounced as secularists and political nationalists. Of course we are secularists insofar as we oppose a theocratic state, and we are political nationalists insofar as we believe in the re-establishment of the Jewish State. But this does not exhaust the full content of our aspirations.

Israel's resolution through the centuries to rebuild its national life in its ancestral home was guided by sound instinct and inspired by the same prophetic idealism which twice beckoned our ancestors from exile to national restoration in Palestine. In both instances, at Sinai and by the rivers of Babylon, there stirred a deep, mystic conviction that only in a free national existence, could that which was best and unique in Jewish life find full scope and opportunity, and what was best and unique was always conceived of as transcending the moiety of political independence, or the customary compensations of national status and security. It reached beyond that to a vision of "new things, things kept in store, not hitherto known.".....to a redeemed humanity and a world order reconstructed after the pattern of the Kingdom of God.

In 1929, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl, I wrote in a Herzl Memorial Volume which was published in that year:

"It is well that the political phase of Jewish Messianism is coming to a close in the upbuilding of the National Homeland. We shall not have to lay so much stress in the future on the importance of nationalism. We shall henceforth be confronted not with its lack but with its consequences. Hitherto wanting the full complement of the attributes of nationalism, we were constrained to over-emphasize its virtues. Many of the spokesmen of our cause were driven to extol nationalism, per se, which is after all a quite recent and demonstrably, a quite inadequate human concept. It is not mankind's

ultimate vision. Certainly it is not the substance of our own ancestral tradition, whose motif is not nationalism but prophetism. Nationalism is not enough. It is a minimum requirement, not a maximum programme. Our national rebirth was made possible by a war in which nationalism was thoroughly exposed and discredited. Nationalism is a means, not an end. 'What is great in a man,' said the philosopher, 'is that he is a bridge and not a goal.' This is true also of men collectively -- of nations and of national cultures.

"Nationalism will not suffice the eternally questing soul of our people. After its national life is secure, Israel must push on to the frontiers of the new world -- the world of internationalism, of economic freedom, of brotherhood and of peace."

I believe that this motif of authentic Jewish lineage has not been wanting in the humble and consecrated labors of the present-day nation-builders in Palestine, and I am convinced that Palestine will in the days to come become the workshop of our people's highest ideals and aspirations.

Our builders in Palestine will have much to endure and much to overcome, but they will assuredly match their hour. They have still to discover their political eyes. They are children of the crucible. They have come from the four corners of the earth and from all parts of the Galut, and the Galut leaves its mark on everyone. They hail from all cultural zones, and from all political backgrounds. They represent most diverse personal experiences and they must all be fused into an organic whole. They must learn unity in diversity and patience under stress, and the knack of subduing the voices of the partisan, the doctrinaire and the fanatic in the joyous tumult of building.

Edmund Burke defined the religion of the early American colonists as being a refinement on the principle of resistance. "It is the dissidence of dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion....agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty." That might well define also the temper and character of our pioneers in Palestine. There is marvelous promise in all this for a free and unshackled life, but also much danger.

Our people will live in a land which is not a "fortress built by nature for herself against infection and the hand of war", as Shakespeare sang of England, but in a very open land whose borders are difficult to defend, and whose security must rest on the stout hearts, the political wisdom and the national discipline of its people. What they have gained with courage, they will have to keep with prudence.

But the spirit, the will and the capacity are there, and they will not be found wanting.

The Land of Israel will be small, made smaller by partition, but the people of Israel will make it great. The monumental contributions to civilization have been made by great peoples which inhabited little countries. Mind and creative endeavor will compensate for what our people has been forced reluctantly to relinquish. Generations to come, living in that land of challenge and renewal, will speak great words and do great deeds, and in the magnitude of their upsoaring, there will tower the majesty of that little land of revelation which, like some precious jeweled clasp, draws three continents together on the shore of the Western Sea. Not in opulence but in eminence will their destiny be fulfilled, and the elixir of their pride will be distilled not out of dominion or far-flung borders, but out of the faithful and skillful building of the good society,

It is now a month since the historic decision, and while our happiness is unabated, our minds are turning soberly to the pressing and difficult problems involved in the implementation of that decision.

Those problems are ours -- but they are also those of the United Nations. The United Nations accepted the responsibility to decide the future government of Palestine. It accepted, after long and careful examination and debate, the report of the Special Committee which it had appointed to make a complete and thoroughly objective survey of the entire situation. It has set up the machinery and fixed the time schedule for implementation. It was completely aware of all the difficulties involved, and was forewarned, not once but many times, by delegates of Arab States of their resolve to thwart by violence a decision of the United Nations favorable to partition. Nevertheless the United Nations acted, despite these threats and in the full knowledge of all that was involved, convinced that there was no other way out, and that a solution could no longer be postponed. If the United Nations were now to be deterred from its course by the planned violence, by riots and demonstrations, calculated to convince the world that the UN decision is impossible of implementation, and thus by force to alter the settlement which it decreed, the United Nations would not only suffer an irreparable loss of prestige and authority, but its future effectiveness as the agency "to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and constitutional law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace" -- would be disastrously undermined.

The Mufti and his henchmen are attempting to sabotage the establishment of the Jewish State, but they and their collaborators in the neighboring Arab States, which are covenanted member states of the United Nations, and as such pledged to

abide loyally by its decisions, are engaged as well in a shameless, frontal attack upon the very life of the United Nations itself.

We are confident that the United Nations will not permit itself to become the victim of insolent intimidation and the sport of organized hoodlumism. We are also confident that the Security Council of the United Nations -- which is to act as the guide of the UN Commission appointed by the Assembly to implement its decision, will give this Commission every measure of support and encouragement; and should the situation in Palestine come to constitute a threat to the peace, as a result of the attempts to alter by force the settlement envisaged by the resolution of the Assembly, the Security Council will act with decisiveness and dispatch. The confidence of some Arab delegates that the Security Council will fail to back up the action of the Assembly will prove as vain as was their earlier confidence to prevent a two-thirds vote in the Assembly itself.

The future of the United Nations will be enormously strengthened in the difficult months ahead if our own Government will remain indubitably firm throughout, and ardently cooperative with the United Nations in this matter. It has not always been so in the matter of Palestine. It was not always so during the protracted Palestine deliberations in the United Nations. Our officials were not always of one mind, and this resulted in confused counsel and stultified action, as well as in the bewilderment of governments who quite naturally looked to the United States for guidance and leadership.

Our Government has, since the last war, assumed unprecedented diplomatic initiative and pre-eminent leadership in world affairs. It has not been content to remain passive, or only mildly active, as just one nation among many, in the tasks of world reconstruction. Destiny has singled it out for leadership in this century and regardless of cost, it has boldly and wittingly assumed that role. In many parts of the world the impact of that political direction is now felt.

Palestine is definitely within the orbit of those great political problems which America, true to its assumed role, must face, and to which it must bring the same determined leadership which has characterized its approach to other world problems. Should it fail to do so, and should it evidence, as on occasion it did, only a formal and passing interest, for the sake of the record or to allay criticism, the Palestine problem, in spite of the United Nations decision, will sag hopelessly, and the situation will move from bad to worse.

Time and again, both at Lake Success and Flushing Meadow, we heard from some American spokesmen the ominous slogan: "The Palestine issue is a matter for the UN, not for the U.S. We will vote for the UNSCOP Report when the time comes, but we will do no more than that." We knew who was the author of this quite transparent slogan and who defined that line. Fortunately he did not prevail. Involved in this slogan was the total renunciation by our Government of the clear responsibilities of the new diplomatic leadership which it has assumed in the world, and in that very part of the world. Our Government did not announce that Greece and Turkey, or the political and economic fortunes of Western Europe, or China, were matters for the United Nations and not specifically for the United States.

When the crucial hour of decision arrived, however, our Government rose to the challenge of the hour and the mandates of its destiny. Its voice rose clear and unmistakable; and in so doing, it encouraged other states to back up the recommendations of the UN Special Committee on Palestine. As a result, the resolution was overwhelmingly adopted. Our Government now stands committed to its implementation. The UN plan is now definitely a part of American foreign policy and should be as aggressively and determinedly advanced as other major policies of our Government. Our Government should assist the UN in every way possible and should employ all its diplomatic machinery and influence to expedite the matter. Delay is dangerous. Defeat will be catastrophic.

The problem is to tide over the next ten months. Once the Jewish State is established and admitted to the United Nations, and the neighboring Arab states are confronted by an accomplished fact, they will as a matter of practical politics, seek ways for mutually satisfactory arrangements with the Jewish State and for peaceful cooperation -- and the way will be open. Peace with the Arab world will then be possible. The dangerous period is the short formative one of the next few months. Here is where our Government can be tremendously helpful.

There is no provision in the United Nations resolution for an international police force to insure law and order during the transition period. Great Britain announced that it would be responsible for law and order as long as it remained in the country. It is clearly not doing it. If 100,000 soldiers and police cannot insure security in that small country, or even patrol properly one main artery of travel in Palestine -- the 42-mile road between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem -- to enable men to travel on it without being killed by snipers, one is forced to question the sincerity of that government's declaration. It would be highly desirable to have an international force accompany the Commission of the United Nations when it arrives in Palestine to carry out the instructions of the United Nations. It need not be large, but it must know what it is there for. The present military force in Palestine is the blunted instrument of the hopelessly blundering policy of Mr. Bevin, which amounts to this: His Majesty's Government "loyally accepts the Assembly's resolution", but it will do nothing to implement it. The British forces in Palestine will maintain law and order, but they will remain neutral when clashes result between the Jews who have loyally accepted the decision of the UN and who seek peace -- and the Arabs who are violently resisting it and provoke war!

But whether an international force is sent to Palestine or not -- it is immediately imperative that the Jewish people of Palestine shall be enabled forthwith to defend themselves. They have the manpower. They need arms. Surely those states -- and foremost among them the United States -- which voted to create a Jewish State must feel honor-bound and duty-bound to see that the citizens of that state in the making are properly protected against the murderous assaults of those who have resolved to defy the will and the conscience of the nations of the world. Here, again, the United States holds the key to the situation, both as regards the formation of an international force, and the equipment of the Jewish militia. Our Government has not hesitated to send arms and military missions to other parts of the world to back up its foreign policy.

The problem of our refugees still remains most pressing. When will our refugees begin at last to move in large numbers into Palestine? What conceivable purpose is served by keeping these men, women and children pent up in detention camps where they have languished for so long; or in driving them away from the shores of Palestine now that the United Nations has finally decreed that the Jewish State shall be set up in Palestine in 1948? What else but the meanness of spirit of a defeated statesmanship and the spitefulness of a disgruntled bureaucracy can account for it? There are thousands of refugees in various parts of Europe who simply can no longer wait. They will not be permitted to remain where they are. They must move. Surely it cannot be Great Britain's wish to climax and close her political career in Palestine with some more stark tragedies like the "Exodus". Why cannot the act of parting be sweetened by an act of generosity and humanity which will help to reconcile friends who should never have been estranged?

My dear friends, American Jewry has deserved well at the hands of the Jewish people. History will pay homage to the role which it played in this searching and heroic hour. It rose to the occasion splendidly. It knew how to close ranks. It acted with wisdom, dignity, and courage. It spoke effectively to the hearts and minds of the American people and its representatives in government, and to the responsible heads of our Government. It is generally acknowledged that what was achieved was due in a large measure to the magnificent labor of American Jewry.

But much remains to be done. November 29th was only the evening and the morning of the first day -- the day when light broke through the darkness of our world. Our great community, providentially spared for this hour, must now shoulder the vast economic burdens involved in the setting up of the Jewish State. Judging by the remarkable demonstration a few days ago at the conclave of the leaders of American Jewry in Atlantic City, our people are fully aware of their new responsibilities and are resolved to meet them. Whatever aid may come from other sources, the primary responsibility is ours.

We shall also have to stand on guard during the next critical period to see that no political conspiracy of evil-doers shall undo or harm the Jewish State, as its builders proceed to lay its foundations. The Jews of America, proud and loyal citizens of this great country who have demonstrated time and again in peace and in war their devotion and patriotism, will in the spirit of American democracy wish to assist this new free and democratic country which will rise on the shores of the Mediterranean, and which will embody those same great Biblical ideals of justice, brotherhood, and peace, which inspired the founding fathers of this Republic.

National Emergency Conference
American Zionist Emergency Council
Jewish Community Center, Washington, D. C.
February 15, 1948

ADDRESS BY DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN

There is unfortunately no doubt about the fact that we are going to continue to find ourselves in a state of permanent emergency until we are over the last hurdle and the Jewish State has been established in fact as well as in law, firmly and unshakably. Until then we may expect recurring crises and until then you may expect to be summoned time and again when the situation requires it. It is well at such a moment of crisis to bear in mind older struggles and how we surmounted our difficulties in the past. We have been through the wars and we are not easily daunted by new campaigns and new offensives, however formidable they appear to be when they are mounted.

It is well in the moment of triumph to bear in mind the difficulties which still lie ahead and it is well at the hour of peril to cast a backward glance at the times and think of the dangers surmounted on other occasions. You recall the past crises. You recall the apprehension, for example, with which we met the announcement of the formation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and how our worst apprehensions did not come true; how our general moral and political position was not weakened but rather strengthened by the unanimous report which finally emerged. It is only a matter of eighteen or twenty months since the leaders of the Jewish Agency in Palestine were arrested and detained at Latrun in a tremendous effort on the part of the British Government to crush the spirit of the Yishuv, to break its resistance, to break the backbone of our movement generally. You recall how that effort failed ingloriously. You recall, too, the attempt of the British Government to cover up its repudiation of the Anglo-American Committee Report by putting forward the celebrated Morrison-Grady proposals. That maneuver was defeated and the report rejected not only by Jews and Arabs, but also by the Government of the United States.

Last year after our discussions with Mr. Bevin had collapsed, or after his discussions with us had collapsed, we met here under the impact of the announcement from London that the whole question would be referred to the U.N. That, my friends, was a very serious moment and a very serious challenge. Nobody could tell how it would go. If you allow me, I'd like to quote a brief passage from my report last year. I said then: "The position in the U.N., difficult and uncertain today as it is from our standpoint, contains elements of great uncertainty and potential danger to the British point of view. Britain is no longer on the bridge at the helm directing the ship of state of the community of nations. There are fresher, younger, stronger, more powerful forces that have appeared upon the world scene." Nevertheless, it was a very great challenge, and no one could foretell the outcome. That chapter, as you know, has ended and ended well for us. But think for a moment of what might have been the situation if things had not gone so well. We had been summoned by the British Government before the highest international tribunal, the court of last resort. If the verdict had gone against us, the British Government would have had in its hand an iron-clad decision and judgment from which so far as we could see there was no further appeal. We went into that arena and fought it out to a victorious and glorious conclusion.

There were many crises during those few months, as you know. Time and again you were summoned, you and the countless thousands whom you represent, to bring to bear the full weight of American opinion, the conscience of this country, to strengthen the hands of those in our Government who wished and sought to do the right thing. To be sure, diplomacy and diplomatic negotiations are highly dramatic and carry a romantic appeal. I was privileged to be one of the small number of representatives of the Jewish Agency who participated in the U.N. proceedings day after day and week after week, but I know I am speaking for my distinguished colleagues when I say that the best of diplomats can only make the best out of given circumstances. He can only exploit existing forces and realities in political life. If he is skillful and clever, he will exploit them well. If he is less gifted and less clever, he will not do so well. In our case it was the tremendous current which was generated by countless thousands of the unnamed soldiers of our cause in this country, that moved our Government and carried to its destination our frail vessel, freighted with the historic aspirations of our people. Without that current all on the bridge -- helmsmen, captain, pilots and sailors -- would have found themselves becalmed, manipulating instruments and steering gear, but producing no forward movement.

And now to the events since November 29th and the situation which has developed. You all realize that even the representatives of the nations dealing with this question at Lake Success were confronted with a ring of difficulty from the outset. The British Government left no room for doubt that so far as it was concerned, it was not going to help to implement the partition decision. It would not use or permit the use of its forces for implementation, and it would not hand over its administrative authority and powers to the projected Jewish and Arab States. It would not even be contaminated by contact with those forbidden things, and the sub-committee working on the subject was therefore compelled to devise a formula and procedure whereby the circle might be squared, whereby in the presence in the country of a Mandatory Government which refused to associate itself with the decision of the U.N., it would nevertheless be possible to effecuate all the complicated measures required for a smooth handing over of authority and power from the Mandatory through the U.N. to the Jewish and Arab States.

Such a program was actually devised through a great deal of difficulty and deliberation, and there were a few cardinal points upon which its success or failure largely depended under the circumstances. What were these points? First, it was realized that with this uncooperative administration in Palestine, it was necessary that a U.N. Commission be set up and that it appear upon the scene in Palestine with the least possible delay, so that it could gradually take over various functions and arrange for them to be assumed by the Jews and eventually by the Arabs. Secondly, one of the pivotal points was the plan for the evacuation, the freeing, not merely of a seaport but of a seaport area with hinterland in the Jewish State, by February 1st, so that at the earliest possible time there might be at least one corner of the country which could serve as an open door for the admission of refugees and immigration, and would make possible the bringing in of necessary equipment, even foodstuffs, in case of difficulties. A free area would thus be provided where the Jewish militia might begin to be organized and trained and have its maneuvers, and where the U.N., through its Commission, could at once assume control, temporary sovereignty. Then a third point was planned

very early; that there should be established a provisional council of government as the instrument for taking over administrative responsibilities, at least in the Jewish State. This establishment of the provisional council was a necessary prerequisite to the organization of the armed militia, because the armed militia was to be responsible to the provisional council under the general direction of the U.N. Commission.

The British Government has systematically sabotaged every one of these principle items of the recommendation. It has in the first place refused point blank to permit the U.N. Commission to enter Palestine until a week or two before the Mandate is terminated. It said: "We will continue to administer the country as a whole until a week or two before that date and then we are going to hand over this whole business to you and say, 'Now, carry on.'" It refused point blank the second point, the freeing of a port area as a base of operations. It only withdrew British soldiers and police from Tel Aviv without relaxing its control. Above all it continued to blockade the port of Tel Aviv and all other ports in order to ensure its control, so that even today if a vessel approaches Palestine with illegal -- so-called illegal immigrants -- and they are no longer illegal because, under the U.N. decision, beginning February 1st there was to be free immigration through this free Jewish port, the vessels are seized and the immigrants taken to Cyprus. If a vessel approaches carrying what the British suspect to be arms or necessary equipment, military equipment, it is seized and taken to Haifa subject to careful examination. Since the U.N. Commission could not be admitted to Palestine because of British refusal, the third point becomes most difficult to implement, namely the early establishment of the provisional council of government. Theoretically, of course, that could be done at long distance. Let the Commission sit in Lake Success and by means of cable and wireless carry on the necessary delicate negotiations for the purpose of creating in Palestine a provisional council of government. Finally, the British Government has not only refused to permit the establishment of a militia -- but has refused to permit any steps leading toward the eventual organization of a militia. No enlistment for it; no recruitment; no preparations of any kind. This is the sum total briefly of the British response to these fundamental aspects of the U.N. resolution.

I have not said a word about all the things which have been going on in the country, the lack of order, breakdown of security, the seizure of arms from Haganah defenders. The other day, you recall, after a great attack upon Kfar Etzion not very far from Jerusalem had been repelled, and news came that further attacks were being planned, the Haganah or the Jewish authority, the Jewish Agency, attempted to send to Kfar Etzion a convoy of things which they desperately needed for defense. The British authorities stopped the convoy on the grounds that the barbed wire and cement which it carried constituted military equipment and was therefore subject to confiscation or stoppage. But these harrowing details are known, and there is something very much bigger with which we have to contend. I regret that thus far in all our activity and discussion and educational campaigns, this has not been brought out as fully and forcibly as it should. In it lies the heart and crux of the whole matter. What would a faithless and disloyal Mandatory administration do if it wished to make sure that the U.N. decision should not be implemented? It would connive at the infiltration into Palestine of large armed Arab bands drawn from established military units of the neighboring

Arab countries under the guise of volunteers. It would admit bands to cross the frontiers of Palestine in increasing numbers, install them in mountain strongholds, disperse them in various parts of the country, train and drill and make plans and prepare for the great day, Der Tag, when the British administration, having been relaxed or terminated, these forces could hurl themselves upon the Yishuv at strategic points and plunge the country into the throes of war. That is what a faithless administration would do if it sought to defeat the right of the UN. That is precisely what the British Mandatory regime has now done and is doing daily.

The other day, the New York Times carried in the very same issue two news stories. One reported that a shipload of 700 refugees approaching Haifa had been intercepted by the gallant navy of his Britannic Majesty and shunted off, seized and carried back to Cyprus. That was one military, or I should say, naval operation of the Mandatory. The other story carried the report that 700 -- precisely the same number -- 700 armed Arabs crossed the Jordan on a bridge with full military equipment and many truckloads of supplies, and descended into the heart of Palestine. No one who knows Palestine, a tiny country, and the few bridges on the Jordan, and knows the kind of military establishment which the British have there and the scouting planes they have, could doubt for a moment that this large force could easily have been halted if there was a desire to do so. Moreover, the Jewish Agency had secured information about the invasion in advance: it is not so difficult to learn that a band has been formed, is just across the border, and is preparing to invade. In one instance, such information was communicated to the British Government four days ahead of the actual crossing of the frontiers by a band. The information was pigeon-holed, and Sir Alexander Cadogan at Lake Success in meeting with the UN Commission simply communicated to them the fact that by this date some 2,000 or 2,500 armed Arabs have crossed into Palestine. An armed invasion of the country is going on while it is still under Mandate, with the full knowledge and, I must say, with the full approval of the Mandatory Government. It cannot be otherwise unless they should plead imbecility: every intelligent person is presumed to intend the results of his actions. So what we are confronted with, what the UN is confronted with, what Mr. Truman and Mr. Marshall are confronted with -- is the ugly and shameful fact of a gross betrayal of trust on the part of the Mandatory and a deliberate effort to deliver the Yishuv unarmed, inadequately defended and protected, to the tender mercies of Arab bands and Arab armies.

The newspapers publish pictures of meetings of the Arab League attended by prime ministers and foreign ministers of the Arab States, and record moneys paid out of the official exchequers of various Arab Governments and other matters of aid and assistance given by them to organize this invasion of Palestine. Moreover, it is notorious that the agents of the British Foreign Office, members of the Foreign Service, maintain close and intimate contact with these Arab leaders and may be presumed to be advising and guiding them. The original meeting held by the Arabs after the UN decision, was attended by Sir Gilbert Clayton, the well-known British representative in the Near East, and he must be presumed to have been an accessory to all of their plans and designs. That is the stark reality. It is almost incredible that a Mandatory Government, which has been responsible for the peaceful administration of the country and has responsibility toward 1,800,000 inhabitants, should be deliberately planning to throw the country into chaos and to permit one section of the population to subjugate, and if possible exterminate, the other section. But that seems to be the truth. It is further incredible to me that this evil design for which there is but one word -- murderous intent -- should be carried out by a government which is daily asking the United States for favors, for moral backing, for military backing.

for financial support, to save itself from bankruptcy.

My honest personal judgment -- I don't know whether it is shared by all of my colleagues -- is that all these military measures which have been taken are directed ultimately not so much by military as by political masterminds. I am inclined to believe that all this is part of a political effort -- a political campaign with the objective of bringing about a drastic revision or complete reversal of the UN decision. All that has been happening in this country in the past weeks seem to bear this out. A vast campaign has been organized and we are now in the midst of it; a campaign stretching from the Near East to Washington and San Francisco. Perhaps it is we who made America the second front, but it is that now and there is a tremendous campaign going on, directed by very good minds. They realize that reversal of the UN policy cannot be brought about without the participation or at least the acquiescence of the United States. Their campaign is clever -- I believe it is the most difficult that we have yet had to contend with despite the fact that we have a UN decision behind us. Some of us have had occasion to engage in discussions -- all of us have read articles. Incidentally, I should judge from my own modest experience in public affairs and public relations that millions of dollars are being expended on the campaign. Because of the clearly recognizable pattern that you see everywhere it is evident that all the arguments emanate from some central source, centrally directed. One typical argument is that the UN decision was after all not a decision but a recommendation, hence, quite simply, if the recommendation proves unworkable, it should be revised.

It is true that when the British originally announced that they were going to refer the Palestine matter to the UN, they spoke of getting a recommendation from the UN, but it is also true that in the course of the discussions and the proceedings of the UN, it became clear that what was happening was not a mere formality, a mere recommendation, but that a new settlement was being made, a new international settlement of the Palestine territory. It was so accepted by all concerned, except by the Arabs who insisted that the UN did not have the legal power to do so. The British Government, shortly after the UNSCOP report, in its first statement before the Ad Hoc Committee announced that it accepted the first recommendation of the UNSCOP, namely, the termination of the Mandate, and the second recommendation, namely the withdrawal of British forces. This meant that Britain was giving up its control and was prepared to have the UN take over and decide what was to be done. The UN did not merely adopt a resolution after months of investigation and acrimonious debate, but went very much further. It set up a committee to implement that report, that resolution. This was much more than recommending. It called upon the Security Council and it called upon the Trusteeship Council to carry out their respective tasks under the resolution. And Foreign Minister Bevin himself in London in an address before the House of Commons said very clearly that the highest international court had acted, had rendered a verdict and there is now a decision. He repeated these words and over again -- "the decision of the UN." Yet now there is some clever boy in the State Department who gets his advice from some clever Englishman or some Arab, who points to the text of the resolution and says "You see, it is only a recommendation."

The greatest and superficially most formidable argument which is being used all over the country is, however, the argument of national interest. "We as Americans must set our national interest above the interest of any group or section of the population -- above all pressure groups." It has been said repeatedly that it is Secretary Forrestal more than anyone else who seems to harp

upon this theme and this note of national interest. I think that not only we who are Zionists and good citizens, but every right thinking American whose thinking is not distorted by hate, by emotional bias, by anti-Zionist or pro-Arab prejudices, every straight thinking American will concede at once that if we speak of national interest it is difficult to find a higher national interest than support of the UN which our country helped to create and upon which it has based and anchored its foreign policy. Any secretary of defense who insists upon basing our national interest and national policy exclusively upon oil or upon the atomic bomb is guilty of such shortsightedness, such lack of moral perceptions, such lack of appreciation of the basis of American policy and national interests, that it is dangerous to leave the defense and security of our country in his hands.

Now, of course, there is the argument about oil. We are told that the whole world now depends upon the oil wells of Saudi Arabia and that, as a result of the partition plan, the pipeline may suffer damage somewhere along the line or there may be some delay. The whole Marshall Plan will collapse, the whole world will collapse unless the oil companies can have things precisely their way. I am not going to get into the argument at length. Much should be said about that, about the extent to which these oil companies who are salting away tens of millions of dollars beyond the reach of the American Treasury and American taxes, are trying to teach us what is American citizenship and American national interest. But the fact remains that thus far nothing is happening to curtail the oil flowing from Saudi Arabia. On the contrary, before the 29th of November, the cry that Ibn Saud would cancel the oil concessions was heard repeatedly and it was Ibn Saud himself, out of his royal mouth, who denied it and said that he has no intentions of cancelling the concessions or affecting American oil interests. The pipeline is going ahead and the other day an official of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline, a company which is actually building the pipeline, deprecated all this talk of interference or interruption of the work. He pointed out that most of the pipeline, perhaps 80% of its length, lies in Saudi Arabia, and that it will take a long time before that part is completed. And that for the present at least there is certainly no danger to it.

Then there is a particularly sinister argument about Russia. The old argument used to be that if America takes a pro-Zionist line it will drive the Arabs into the open arms of the Soviet Union. Then it turned out much to everybody's surprise that Soviet Russia took the same position as the United States, and there were no outstretched arms for the Arabs to throw themselves into. But now the argument is reversed. Just because Russia went along with us, just because Russia supported the partition policy, Russia must have had a sinister motive. Therefore to carry out partition is to carry out Russian designs whatever they are, and inevitably it means somehow installing Russia in Mediterranean bases. The second aspect of this Russian bogey is the Communist bogey; the attempt to smear us -- to identify Zionism with Communism, and Jewish refugees from the Balkan countries as harboring among them Communist agents. You will recall, if you are not too young, that during the war we had the problem of bringing in Jewish refugees from Nazi Europe on the same leaky boats as now. The argument then was twisted the other way, and it was said that Nazi agents were coming in among the refugees. As if Hitler's agents or Stalin's agents, if he wished to have them in the Near East, had no other way of finding their way there than by means of leaky boats which take months to reach Palestine.

Then there is the general argument that we need the friendship of the Arabs.

There are people who simply refuse to learn from experience and history that precisely their argument of appeasing the Arabs was employed by Chamberlain and the others in 1939, when the British Government insisted it had to issue the White Paper or else the Arabs would be hostile and unhappy. The reward which the Allies reaped from the Arabs during the war is too recent and well-known to require elaboration. Today under our very eyes, the same thing is happening again. Britain has been throwing Jewish Palestine to the wolves in the hope of consolidating her influence in the Near East. And immediately upon the heels of this action of hers, she began actively to negotiate treaties with the Arab countries. She met a rebuff instantly from the very first country, Iraq. An Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was signed by the Iraqi prime minister with the result that there was a revolt, a coup. The prime minister had to flee for his life to Trans-Jordan and a new government was set up which repudiated the treaty and refused to ratify it. And the newspapers said that in British circles in London, this was taken very seriously as indicating the need for revaluation and perhaps revision of Britain's whole policy towards the Arab States. There is little doubt that by playing this Arab game, the British will have as little joy from the Arabs in the future as they have had from them in the past. Our country will not gain in prestige but have its prestige trampled under foot and dragged through the mire if the Arabs find that it can be intimidated within a few weeks into reversing the stand it took publicly before the UN.

I'd like to say a word about the situation in Washington and how it reflects itself within the UN. You know there is a great deal of talk to the effect that the United States exercised undue pressure upon so many countries to get the vote through. This is also, of course, essentially a lying bit of propaganda. We who were there at Lake Success -- some who are here with me on the platform, Mrs. Rose Halprin and others -- will remember how we sweated blood trying to get the United States not to exert pressure, but to make its position unmistakably clear. It is only natural at the United Nations that a large numbers of countries take their cue in international affairs, especially on matters which are remote from them, from the United States as a leading power. If the United States is not sufficiently active in advocating a particular point of view, smaller powers tend to draw the natural inference that the United States is not interested in having the point of view prevail. They know that where it is really interested it goes all out. The whole question in the UN and the Commission and the Security Council will continue to revolve about the attitude of the United States. Certainly the United States and the others would not want Russia to take the leading role.

In Washington there has been a move on foot to bring about a change -- a reversal on Palestine. Hardly any action is required for this. All it needs is inaction -- allowing things to drift from bad to worse; drift in the Commission; drift in the Security Council; drift in Palestine; and just sit back and say "Oh my! Oh my! what a terrible mess, but there is nothing that can be done about it." All this talk about the decision's really being only a recommendation was designed to pave the way for adoption by the Security Council of some new decision. The situation in the Security Council is far from satisfactory. There are a number of countries there which did not vote for partition, which abstained, and there is Syria and Columbia which came very close to voting against partition. Unless the United States delegate in the Council takes the lead and sets the pattern, things are likely to drift there, too.

It is true, as I learned when I was here a few weeks ago and conferred with some of the congressional leaders, that leaders of both parties and significantly

leaders of the Republican Party have been approached with the idea that the time has come for taking Palestine out of politics and for evolving a bi-partisan policy. This is something which we always favored in all our efforts, and whenever we introduced a resolution or anything else, we have tried to introduce it as a bi-partisan measure. But what is now intended is a negative rather than an affirmative bi-partisan policy. Dr. Silver has been here, spent almost all of last week in Washington, and we believe that as of the moment this maneuver has miscarried and that there is no prospect at least for the time being of this kind of plot going through. But this is not enough. We have made no progress on the matter of the embargo to which apparently the United States Government lent itself as part of the Machievellian conspiracy abroad to which I have referred. For the moment at least there is no intention to revise the embargo. Nor is any other action being taken, though there is a report which for the moment is unconfirmed that our government has addressed or made representations to one or two of the Arab States.

There is a whole string of things which our country is called upon to do which it can do both within the UN and outside of it. When our government has a policy to promote in which it is vitally interested, it does not usually wait for the UN to give the cue, but acts on its own. It did so in the case of Greece and Turkey. We have a military mission -- 700 strong -- in Greece today to bolster up the Greek Government in its fight against the guerillas, and money and arms and equipment. And so when Secretary Marshall or others state that the United States has not revised its position and doesn't intend to do so, we welcome their statements, but when they add that the United States supports the UN decision and UN procedures, then we have to stop and ask what that means. It would seem to mean in the first place that we take no action on our own of any kind excepting such action as may be taking place through UN channels. Well, the embargo was not decreed by the UN. It was a unilateral decision and there is no reason why it cannot be changed by the United States alone, which made it and can now unmake it. Nor does anything prevent our government from addressing itself directly to the Arab States, who are largely dependent upon American favors and American support, and giving them a stern warning that such an encirclement and invasion of Palestine will not be tolerated, and that we will support all appropriate measures, nationally and internationally, to prevent the consummation of that crime. Nothing prevents our government, either, from addressing itself directly to the British Government, with whom it has such friendly and intimate relations. As far as we know, not a word has been said by our State Department by way of remonstrance or protest against the flagrant violation of the UN decision by the British Government.

The United States can also indicate in advance to the UN Committee and Security Council the kind of action which the United States is prepared to support. They say the UN has not yet asked for arms; there will be nothing wrong in the United States intimating publicly or privately that it is prepared to serve as the arsenal of democracy for Palestine, for Jewish Palestine, if the UN creates the appropriate channels through which to push the arms. Furthermore, the Security Council is not only empowered to create an international force (and there again the United States has to say its word), but it can also invoke other powers, sanctions against aggressive states; it can denounce any of the Arab States as an aggressor and can invoke those sanctions. The United States ought to indicate such a course of action to the Security Council. Or has our government already forgotten the case of Abyssinia and the League of Nations? Abyssinia was attacked. It was a member of the League. The League refused to act; it inflicted auto-paralysis upon itself. Abyssinia was devoured by fascist Italy

and that was the beginning of the end of the League of Nations. I think there is no hypocrisy on our part if we go forward now and warn our government that the Palestine issue is the test not only of the moral authority but of the very life of the UN. It happens that we feel this most keenly because we are closer to the situation, but we would be unfaithful to our responsibilities as American citizens if, seeing this danger approaching, we failed to raise our voices or were intimidated by propaganda from doing so. We see this danger, and we shall say forthrightly to the American people that it is not the Jews of Palestine who are threatened with murder; it is the UN which is being murdered before our eyes by several of its own members. We call upon our government to take action to prevent that murder, to restore the authority of the UN and the prestige and honor and faith of our own country upon which ultimately our national security rests.



National Emergency Conference
American Zionist Emergency Council
Jewish Community Center, Washington, D. C.
February 15, 1948

ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

It has always been an enriching experience to visit that historic land where our people is building a new life. But today, particularly, a visit to Palestine is a soul-stirring experience, for one sees the Jewish nation moving forward through conflict and uncertainty, but always with an exaltation of spirit continuing to rebuild the Jewish State. One feels in Palestine -- I felt it every day that I was there -- a strange sort of exhilaration, a sense of being lifted up by some mystic national fervor, being caught up in decisive currents of history.

I have returned to join with you in this last and final battle which will end in our complete victory. On the eve of the implementation of the United Nations decision, it is quite natural that all the opposition forces whom we have had to fight through the years and whose determination has increased with the increase in our strength and our proximation to victory -- it is quite natural, I say, that these forces should be gathering all their strength for a final attack upon us. They are doing this now, but they will be defeated.

I want first to say a word to you about what I saw in Palestine, before discussing with you what we ought to do here in the next few days and in the next few weeks. It is very important that as far as possible we see what is happening in Palestine today in a true perspective. A true perspective cannot be achieved merely by piecing together the dramatic incidents which occur in Palestine every day and find their expression in the headlines of our newspapers. On the contrary, one is likely to get a rather distorted picture from them. Indeed, one of the great forces opposed to us is very eager that the American people at this time should get an untrue and distorted picture of what is going on in Palestine for the purpose of the opposition propaganda from whatever channel it comes, is focused on the single objective of demonstrating to the American people that the United Nations plan which was approved so overwhelmingly by the nations of the world, is unworkable that it is leading to chaos in Palestine and therefore must be abandoned or revised. There is no doubt about the fact that Palestine is a disturbed country today, a seriously disturbed country pretty much like Greece, India, China and other parts of the world, though somewhat less than some of those countries. It is a disturbed country largely because of the failure or the unwillingness of the Mandatory Government to maintain law and order, though it has claimed the maintenance of law and order as its sole right and responsibility and has not permitted anyone else to share in the task. Actually, law and order in Palestine could be maintained completely today if the Mandatory Government did not interfere with Jewish self-defense.

Palestine is an area of political tension and strife today, made increasingly so by the sabotaging role of the Mandatory and by the great uncertainty which hovers over the future plans of the United Nations with regard to Palestine. That uncertainty is due largely to the indecisive position, the hesitancy and stalling of our own Government, which as the world's greatest political power holds the key to action or inaction in the United Nations. But while Palestine is disturbed, it is very far from any condition even approximating chaos. Nothing is broken down in the Yishuv -- absolutely nothing, and the compact mass of what will constitute the Jewish State has, with relatively minor disturbances, been

carrying on a normal life. The real points of attack have been the outlying areas which are not to be included in the Jewish State, but which positions the Jews of Palestine correctly refuse to abandon. For example, by its seeming defenselessness, a point like Kfar Etzion tempted the Arabs to attack. They attacked in numbers ten times those of the defenders and were completely repulsed. Similarly, way up north, Yechiam, a settlement which, like Kfar Etzion, is not to be included in the Jewish State, proved very tempting to the Arab marauders; it, too was attacked and again the attackers were repulsed. Then there is the case of the road from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem, the main artery of travel of the country which passes largely through what will be the Arab State and where travel was supposed to be protected by a government which assumed sole responsibility for protecting lawful traffic on the highways of the country. That highroad, little more than forty miles long, has been a favorite spot for Arab bands who lie in wait for Jewish convoys to take pot-shots at them, while the Mandatory Government which has in Palestine, they say, some 100,000 troops and the largest concentration of armed vehicles and tanks to be found in any such small area in any part of the world, has been unable to patrol those forty miles. It has refused escorts to Jewish convoys on the ground that this might be interpreted as British implementation of Partition.

On November 22, the British representative in the United Nations declared that so long as the Mandate continues to exist, that is until May 15, his Government insisted on undivided control throughout the country. This is a promissory note which the Mandatory Government is not honoring. It is not maintaining law and order and when Jewish defenders attempt to do so in self-defense, which is the first law of nature, they are disarmed and arrested. The Jewish Agency, for example, repeatedly requested permission to use armored cars for Jewish Settlement Police escorting convoys on the roads. The Jewish Settlement Police is a force recognized by the Mandatory, but permission to use armored cars was refused it. On December 11, ten members of the Jewish Settlement Police compelled to travel in an open tender to Kfar Etzion were killed by a band of some 80 to 100 Arabs armed with machine guns. A week later, the Government permitted the Jewish Settlement Police to use armored cars but only within Jewish village boundaries, where they were not needed at all, but not to protect road traffic. The reason given was that if Jewish settlement police traveled in armored cars on the open roads the Arabs would be provoked. So, traveling in open cars on the high roads on January 22, when I was in Palestine, another splendid group of seven members of the Jewish Settlement Police were killed and horribly mutilated. And a week later, British military headquarters informed the representatives of the Jewish settlements in the Jordan Valley who asked again for permission to use armored cars to protect themselves, that they must under no circumstances use armored cars outside the confines of their settlements since that would provoke the Arabs and if they did so they would be stopped by force by the British Army. Such incidents can be multiplied. The Government itself is either unable or unwilling to maintain order. It resents the charge that it is unwilling. One must therefore conclude that it is unable to maintain law and order, but it interferes with the Jews who wish to defend themselves while they are engaged in legitimate travel through the country.

Then there is the case of the City of Jerusalem which is the seat of Government and ought to be the most peaceful city in Palestine, particularly since it is not to be included either in the Jewish State or in the Arab State, but is to be internationalized, with a governor of its own. In this seat of the Mandatory where the High Commissioner lives and where there is a huge concentration of troops and equipment, the Arab gangs, as you know, have been permitted to seize control of the gates to the Old City and have besieged the Old City where there

are some 1500 to 1800 of our people who cannot go out. None are permitted to come to relieve them. The great British Empire has reconciled itself to this situation of armed bands besieging the gates to the Holy City of Jerusalem so that a British officer or a British soldier who wants to enter the Old City must show his identification card to an Arab gangster before he can enter. Only twice or three times a week do these Arabs permit a British convoy to bring in food for the besieged. Access to the Kotel Maarave -- the Wailing Wall -- which to us is our most sacred place in the Holy City, is denied to us. No protests are made -- none from our State Department. I wonder what would happen if, for example, tomorrow access to the Holy Sepulchre were denied to Christians.

In Jerusalem last Friday, four Jewish young men, members of the Haganah, were arrested for bearing arms in self-defense at a Jewish road block protecting the entrance to a Jewish quarter. They were arrested, and then they were turned loose in an Arab area only to be murdered and their bodies were discovered the next day. Outside of Jerusalem there are occasional incidents of sniping still going on in that area between Tel-Aviv and Jaffa where the two cities abut, and occasional incidents of disturbances in Haifa, but the life of the Yishuv in its hundreds of settlements and colonies goes on apace. Up to 80 or 90% of the economic life of the country is normal; the factories are working, people are employed, the harbors are crowded with shipping. There is a good citrus crop being exported. The cultural life of the Yishuv goes on. While I was in Tel-Aviv I had the pleasure of attending a magnificent concert and listening to Beethoven's 9th played by the Symphony Orchestra under the baton of the great conductor, Molinari, with a chorus of 250 voices. I attended the theatre of the Habima and saw a beautiful production of a new play. Meetings are being held daily, every evening. Life is teeming, just as in Washington or in New York or Cleveland. I say this not in order to paint a glowing picture but in order to correct the perspective.

What worries the Yishuv and what should worry us is the great potential danger which lurks in the situation. That is the danger from across the borders as Arabs infiltrate into Palestine, equipped by governments, in bands that are trained, some of them well-officered, some of them well-equipped, having arms more modern in some regards than we possess. They are coming across the border almost daily, and the border which this Mandatory Government assumed in the sight of the world to control and to patrol, is a wide open door. The Mandatory Government knows of these bands coming in. They know where they concentrate. Everybody in Palestine knows it but up to this date not a single invading Arab who comes into the country for the one purpose of murder and loot, not a single Arab invader has been arrested. Not a single Arab invader has been disarmed. No attempt has been made to break up these bands. No attempt has been made adequately to patrol those borders. One does not know as yet the number of those who have already invaded Palestine. The Mandatory Government has informed the United Nations that already there are some 2500. Some of the newspaper agencies have estimated the number at 7,000. Some at 15,000. One does not know the exact number but it is quite conceivable that, given the invitation of an open door and given immunity from arrest and immunity from disarmament, more and more will be tempted to come into the country.

This is what is giving the Yishuv great concern. Against the possible incursion of large numbers of Arabs, an unpredictable number from neighboring countries who are members of the United Nations and are pledged to observe loyally the decisions of the United Nations, our defense forces are not adequately armed, and everything is being done both by Great Britain and the United States to see that they do not get arms. I can understand the action of Great Britain, though I cannot forgive it. Great Britain has a clear policy in

Palestine -- to weaken the position of the Jew as much as possible, to strengthen the position of the Arab as much as possible, to bring about a collapse of the plan of the United Nations or to seek a revision which will be acceptable to Mr. Bevin, to please the Arabs of the neighboring countries because Great Britain at the moment is actively engaged in trying to make treaties with these neighboring countries. Though the one it completed with Iraq turned out disastrously, Bevin is not discouraged. The British line is clear. They have not accepted the partition solution. They have told the world that they have no intention of implementing it, although they did say that they would loyally abide by the decision. What loyalty means to Mr. Bevin, I cannot say; or honor for that matter, or truth. However, I do say that I can understand the position of Great Britain in wishing to keep the 700,000 Jews of Palestine as defenseless as possible; it can thus exercise pressure upon that seemingly defenseless community. So it searches every ship that comes to Tel-Aviv or to Haifa to make sure that there is not a rifle there or a gun or a bullet which might help the Jews of Palestine to defend themselves.

What is, however, absolutely incomprehensible to me is the position of our own Government. I cannot understand why, having along with thirty-two other nations resolved that there shall be set up in Palestine a Jewish State, knowing full well that this Jewish State is being menaced by Arab States that have made no secret of their intentions to destroy it, the United States of America should clamp down an arms embargo which makes it impossible for this menaced and threatened state to defend itself. I read the statement of Mr. Marshall this morning. I have high regard for Mr. Marshall. I suspect -- I don't know -- that while his signature is affixed to that document, it was written by somebody else -- I even suspect by whom. It is a document which is clever, legal, technical, formal -- if technicality and formalism are adequate for this desperate situation -- but clearly not realistic, clearly not reassuring. Thirty Republican Congressmen had asked Mr. Marshall about the shipment of arms by Great Britain to the neighboring Arab countries and as to whether these shipments might not endanger the peace in that part of the world and negatively effect the decision of the United Nations. The same question was asked in the House of Commons and the British Defense Minister, Mr. Alexander, stated that his government has no reason to suppose that arms assigned to Arab States under treaties would find their way to Palestine. For the House of Commons that is an adequate answer, but why should our State Department accept so ludicrous an answer? On December 17, 1947, seven Arab Prime Ministers of the seven Arab countries issued a joint communique in which they declared that they would supply the Arabs of Palestine with arms, money and men. We must, therefore, assume that these Arab States have very carefully separated the weapons which they received from Great Britain and their other weapons, and are making sure that those sacred weapons will never fall into the hands of the Arabs of Palestine. On January 14, 1948, the Egyptian newspaper, Al-Masri, reported -- and I am quoting -- that "all arms used by the Iraqi volunteers in Palestine are modern weapons supplied by Britain." Everybody in the Middle East knows this. But our State Department wants us to believe that it isn't so.

Our State Department also want us to believe that inasmuch as there has been no overt act in that part of the world, the question of sending an international force has really not arisen. One wonders what our State Department understands by an "overt act." When you publicly announce, as the representatives of the Arab States did at the United Nations within the hearing of all of us, that they do not accept the Palestine decision, that they will resist it; when the seven Prime Ministers of those states announce publicly that they will supply arms to those who intend to bring about a revision of the decision by violence; when they permit volunteers to train in their countries, equip

them and arm them and send them across the borders to fight in Palestine -- God in Heaven, what is an overt act, if these are not? Why does our State Department lend itself to such legalistic and technical folderol when the lives of human beings are at stake, the life of a people is at stake?

The Haganah is well able to take care of the situation, provided it is not confronted by unpredictable attack under one camouflage or another from the neighboring countries. To meet that kind of an attack it needs new equipment. Its main problem is not the problem of manpower. I have had occasion to see the youth of Palestine. There is no finer youth in the world. Splendid young men and young women with calm and courage and fine self-discipline and unquestioned loyalty. They are completely dependable. I visited some of their camps. I remember in one camp where there were some 900 of these young men and young women, they asked me to talk to them. I asked them what message they would like me to bring back to their fellow Jews in America, and in one voice they cried out: "Give us weapons; t'nu lanu neshek. We are prepared to fight, if necessary, with bare fists, but certainly you wouldn't ask that of us. Give us the weapons that we need." And so there are three things which the Yishuv would like to see done as it fights for statehood and for survival -- it is thinking at the moment in terms of both statehood and survival. First of all, it needs weapons; weapons can be had (without great difficulty) even in spite of the embargo. If they cannot be had in this country they can be had elsewhere, but money is needed; large sums of money, cash, and immediately. On May 15, it will be too late. You are dealing here with a situation where every day, every hour is an eternity for the Yishuv. The stronger it is, the easier will be the political campaign; the weaker it is, the more difficult will be the political campaign.

Next to weapons -- and here we can help -- the Yishuv would like to see the Jewish Militia brought into existence immediately. The United Nations Commission has asked for the right to establish this militia as quickly as possible. Great Britain has refused, and the United States has raised no objection. It takes time to organize a militia, to train it, to equip it. It is preposterous to assume, and the British would like to have us assume, that on May 15 they are laying down the Mandate and quitting, and on May 1 or May 7 or May 9 a Jewish Militia can be created over night and take over the defense of the country. The Yishuv is prepared to bear the brunt of self-defense but it must be given time to organize and weapons with which to arm itself. I have yet to hear a word from our State Department urging that steps be taken immediately towards the organization of a Jewish Militia so that it will be ready -- completely ready -- on May 15. Then, thirdly, the Yishuv would like to see an international force in Palestine. It need not be large, it may be merely a token force, as a symbol to the Arab world that if they persist in fighting they will not only fight the Jews of Palestine but will be fighting the whole world. Evidently this request will be made of the Security Council. It is a logical request. The United States Government up to this moment has not indicated what its position will be. I couldn't understand the statement which I read this morning on that particular subject. The inference seems to be that the United States is waiting to see what the Security Council will decide. Well, in Heaven's name, the United States is a member of the Security Council. It has a voice in the making of the decision and a not insignificant voice -- perhaps the most significant voice there. What is it waiting for?

The idea has arisen in certain circles or is being circulated that if there is to be an international force, it must be made up of the great powers. That would include the Soviet Union and -- the argument runs -- if the Soviet Union sends some soldiers to Palestine, if one out of every five in the international force is a Soviet soldier sent there for a definite period of time under the

direction of the United Nations, that will mean Soviet penetration into the Middle East, for once Soviet soldiers get there they will not get out. This cheap propaganda has been spread far and wide throughout the circles of government. Actually, we have in the Palestine decision one issue on which the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed. Why then should they not be permitted to carry out their decisions together, along with the other nations. But all you have to say today is "communism" and that ends the argument. There is no rhyme or reason -- a slogan is enough. Since there is this opposition to an international force of big powers, you quite naturally suggest an international force of the smaller powers. Other objections are raised, all aimed at the same end: that the United Nations shall not act effectively in the situation and that it shall collapse.

I want to say one word in connection with a new line which has begun to make itself heard in the last few days. We thought on November 29 that the long debate which had gone on, not merely for months but for years, about Palestine, had finally ended with the decision of the United Nations. Ten weeks later the whole debate is being reopened, and all the hackneyed arguments that were repeated time and again through the long months of the debate preceding the decision and all the arguments which we heard at the time of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, are now being trotted out as new arguments, as though something new has happened in the world in the last ten weeks. The intention is of course to force the abandonment of the plan or a revision. Pious voices tell us: There is shooting in Palestine; some people have been killed; it is terrible; this plan of the United Nations is unworkable. Though nobody has yet taken the first step to convert the plan from paper to some form of reality, it is concluded that the plan is unworkable and therefore a new compromise should be found by calling together the moderates of the two camps. One hears the plea for a compromise from Dr. Magnes, from Dorothy Thompson, from magazines of all kinds -- and I stand absolutely bewildered. I had thought that the plan of partition was the supreme compromise to end all compromises; that is how the UNSCOP Commission clearly envisaged it. The Commission met with all the groups concerned, listened to all proposals, weighed all plans, and found none of them acceptable. It finally said that the only practical and feasible solution, which would satisfy neither of the two parties, would be partition. The UNSCOP report read: "It was recognized by all members of the Commission that an effort must be made to find a solution which would avoid meeting fully the claims of one group at the expense of committing great injustice against the other."

Thus this compromise solution was found, and Herschel Johnson speaking for the United States delegation on November 22 said: "I think that there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented either to this Assembly or to the Mandatory Government which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews... No such plan," he said, "has ever been presented and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented. If we are to effect through the United Nations a solution of this problem it cannot be done without the use of the knife. Neither the Jews nor the Arabs will ever be completely satisfied with anything we do and it is just as well to bear that in mind." And so he stated for the United States Government ten weeks ago that "this plan of partition offers in the view of the United States delegation, the best practicable present opportunity and possibility of obtaining in a future foreseeable to us now a peaceful settlement in Palestine."

Now partition is being presented as a Jewish proposal, as the proposal of the Zionist extremists. I remember this same Miss Dorothy Thompson going after me with tongs because I opposed partition and therefore was the extremist -- a

violent extremist -- while those who favored partition were the statesmen, the patient moderates, praised to the skies. Now that partition has been accepted by the Zionist movement, the partitionists are the violent extremists, and another type of moderate has to be found for another compromise. And nothing is said about what this compromise is to be and what will happen if the Arabs in keeping with their long line of resistance to any compromise resist even this last one. At this late stage when the nations of the world, after months of research and investigation, heart-searching, study and discussion, have finally arrived at this solution, those who now propose that the solution be scuttled and new compromises be sought are thinking -- consciously or unconsciously -- in terms of compromises which will force the Jewish people to make still further concessions, to reduce a country which was to have been a Jewish National Home covering 40,000 square miles, from the 5,000 square miles now allotted it, down further to some little minuscule Vatican City. If that is not in their minds, then they are simply thinking of endless delays as a means of frustrating any solution of the problem, and thereby catapulting Palestine into endless chaos. Beware of our friends -- if you can call them that -- bearing gifts in pious baskets.

AMERICAN JEWISH

I want to say one word to you, my friends, about what we ought to do. What is it we are asking of our Government? Nothing new -- absolutely nothing new. We are asking it to stand by its commitments. It made its decision after long years of promises. Now suddenly I read in the papers that the United States Government exerted pressure upon other nations on behalf of partition. You and I know better. We know with what great difficulty our own Government was finally persuaded to remain true to a quarter of a century of tradition, Congressional resolutions and party commitments. When it voted for partition, it joined the Governments of other nations which cannot conceivably be accused of having been influenced by a Jewish vote at home; indeed, in many cases, their Jewish populations were either insignificant or almost non-existent. All four British dominions were among those which voted for partition, and only two Christian countries in the world opposed the plan. To assert, as is often done, that American support came through pressure of the Jewish vote is a contemptible defamation of America. Of course, the Jews of America are deeply concerned with this problem. The Jews in Palestine are blood of their blood, and flesh of their flesh. Of course, we want to see our Government help the Jews achieve the Jewish State, but the basis of our claim is not the pressure of votes. It is the pressure of morality, the pressure of law; the pressure of justice; the pressure of the spirit.

Whenever I have sat down to discuss our problem with Mr. McCormack or with other members of Congress, as I have done through these long years, I have yet to recall, and I am sure Mr. McCormack will bear me out, a single instance in which I raised the question of the Jewish vote. But once having stamped the seal of American approval upon this plan which is to solve one of the greatest international problems, which is to give the Jewish people at long last a chance to rebuild its life in its ancestral home, finding peace, security and dignity for a storm-tossed and life-buffed nation, once we have come to this glorious consummation as we did on November 29th and the road is open for this realization, have we not the right to ask of our Government to see the thing through, to give it the authority and the prestige of this great democracy and to facilitate, not to make difficult or obstruct or delay, but to facilitate the implementation of the plan? When our Government becomes earnest about any of its foreign policies, ladies and gentlemen, it knows exactly what to do, and does it with dispatch, with a full heart and a full hand, without waiting for any sanctions or mandates from the United Nations. When we resolved on a certain policy in Greece and Turkey, right or wrong, it became our policy. We sent Greece money, weapons, a military

mission, naval detachments, marines -- that is how this Government backs up a foreign policy about which it is in earnest. In the case of the Palestine decision which should normally now be part of our foreign policy, the only actions our Government has so far taken are the embargo and the threat to take away their passports from Jewish boys -- not those who are going to Palestine -- but those who are in Palestine, who are being attacked just like all the other Jews in Palestine, and who joined up with our defense units to protect their lives. I was in Palestine when the American Consul received instructions from the State Department to announce that these brave American boys, G.I.s, who had fought for America in the Second World War, are in danger of having their passports taken away from them. I was ashamed of myself as an American citizen. I couldn't explain to my fellow Jews in Palestine what was happening in Washington.

We have the right to go to our Government, to the administration and to the head of the Government, for it is the head of a Government who is responsible for the foreign policy. We have the right to ask in the name of America, in the name of American honor, in the name of the U.N. which America helped to bring into existence, and in the name of the Jewish people here and in Palestine, that our Government do its utmost quickly because time is of the essence. Any delay contributes to disintegration and anarchy; action must be taken quickly, decisively, to see that this decision is fully carried out. There is a time schedule -- one date has already been missed, and our Government did not protest. That was February 1st on which, according to the plan of the United Nations, the Port of Tel Aviv was to be declared an open port and turned over to the incipient Jewish State. When that day approached Great Britain said, "No," and our Government said nothing. There is another day coming -- April 1st -- when the provisional government is to be established. During these critical weeks the militia has to be created, equipped. The State must be prepared for any eventuality, for May 15th when the Mandatory lays down its Mandate. We have a right to ask of our Government the lifting of the embargo, the modification of the embargo. The U.N. did not recommend the embargo. It was a unilateral act of our Government. It must be lifted if a Jewish militia is to be created in Palestine. We have the right to ask of our Government that when the Palestine case goes to the Security Council this week or next week, it should not sit idly by and see what other governments will do and perhaps allow the request for an international force to go by default. That may quite easily happen in the Security Council especially if the most powerful nation on earth remains silent and gives no guidance to the others. We have the right to ask of our Government that it take a position of affirmative leadership and back up the request of the U.N. Commission in the Security Council.

We, the United States, helped to destroy the League of Nations by refusing to join it and thus prepared the way for the Second World War. I spoke with a very high personage in the Council of the U.N. recently and he said to me: "There is every possibility that if this decision of the U.N. is scuttled, then the U.N. will collapse. There will be no reason for its continued existence if any of its decisions taken after months of work can be undone simply by threats and intimidation on the part of certain nations. The U.N. might as well fold up. And the responsibility," he said, "regrettably will again be at the doorstep of the United States, because everybody knows that whatever the United States will say or do in this matter will be decisive."

Good friends, when you go to see your congressmen and your senators, as I hope you will do, and unfold to them the story as I and others have tried to do, bring this fact to their attention: that much more is involved in this than Palestine. There is involved the sole hope of mankind for a more decent order of society in the years to come. The prestige and authority of the United Nations will be fully established if the Palestine decision is loyally carried out. The collapse of the United Nations may not come next week or next month, any more than the collapse of the League of Nations took place immediately after its failure to check Japanese aggression in Manchuria. But that failure made the League's fall inevitable. For there is a chain of inevitable events in history. And so the U.N.'s failure to act on Palestine would hurt mankind, even as it would hurt the Jewish people.

We are on the eve of the last battle. With all my criticism of the American Government and of its policies, I have always believed -- and I do now -- that when the final moment of decision comes, as it came on November 29th, the American Government will express the sentiments of the American people. We must make those sentiments heard in Washington and throughout the country in the next days, in the next critical weeks. Be on the alert, be mobilized, exercise every ounce of energy and influence you possess in every sphere of influence that you know of! Stand on guard with our brave sons and daughters of Judea in Palestine, and with God Almighty we will win through!



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date February 26, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

The statement made by Ambassador Austin on behalf of the United States in the meeting of the United Nations Security Council on February 24, is replete with ingenious formulas which lend themselves to diverse interpretations. More important than the actual wording is the intent behind the deliberately vague text.

The purpose behind this document is to embark upon a procedure which, while supporting the United Nations Assembly plan in principle, will lend itself to delays and may lead, in the guise of consultations, to the reopening of the question of Palestine's political future.

Indeed, under the consultation procedures envisaged in the statement, the time-limits of April 1st and of May 15th, set by the General Assembly for the establishment of a Provisional Council of Government and for the termination of British rule, can easily be reached without a Council of Government having been constituted, without an international force having been brought into being, and with chaos reigning in Palestine. This would lend apparent justification to a last-minute request to the British Government to continue ruling Palestine beyond May 15th, a request which the British Government would "magnanimously" grant if its conditions and desires were agreed to.

Another thought which may well have been present in the minds of the real authors of the statement made by Mr. Austin is that in the course of the consultations with the British Government, the Jews and the Arabs, opportunities would present themselves further to whittle down the United Nations plan.

This attempt to arrive at an eventual revision of the United Nations plan through the device of consultations and negotiations should be fully exposed. It represents an inadmissible departure from the position of the United States as defined by Mr. Herschel Johnson in his speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 26, 1947, as follows:

"Much has been said during the course of these debates on the desirability and necessity of presenting to the General Assembly a plan which would command the agreement of both the principal protagonists in this situation. I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented, either to this Assembly or to the Mandatory Government during its long years of tenure, or in any other place, which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No

such plan has ever been presented, and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented. If we are to effect through the United Nations a solution of this problem, it cannot be done without the use of the knife. Neither the Jews nor the Arabs will ever be completely satisfied with anything we do, and it is just as well to bear that in mind..."

This was the basis on which the Government of the United States decided to support the Partition Plan. The question before us is whether the Administration will cooperate in the implementation of that plan or whether the Administration is becoming an instrument in the hands of those who seek to upset it. The circuitous and equivocal stand expressed in the Austin statement unfortunately lends credence to the latter interpretation.

All available evidence indicates that the equivocal position which found expression in the Austin statement has been engineered by career officials whose bitter hostility to the United Nations Plan is notorious, and by oil company lobbyists who seek to change American policy to suit their private interests. It is deeply disturbing, however, to observe to what extent the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Chief American Delegate to the Security Council are influenced by these groups and are lending themselves to so iniquitous a policy.

It is equally disturbing to observe that this policy is pursued despite the danger which it connotes to the future effectiveness of the United Nations, mankind's principal safeguard of peace. If carried on, this policy would constitute a disastrous betrayal of the ideal of the United Nations.

Against this performance, you should at once raise your voice in protest. You are, therefore, requested

- 1) to take urgent steps to explain the facts to the newspaper editors, radio commentators, politicians, clergymen, teachers, and other moulders of public opinion in your locality;
- 2) to request all our friends, both Jewish and Gentile, to express their views and their indignation in letters and telegrams to the President and the Secretary of State;
- 3) to request all our friends to express their views in letters, telegrams and telephone calls to their Senators and Representatives, urging their immediate intervention to stop this latest device to upset the United Nations plan.

ASSOCIATION OF PARENTS OF AMERICAN STUDENTS IN PALESTINE
314 West 91 Street
New York 24, N. Y.
Telephone: TRafalgar 7-4885

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1948

PARENTS OF AMERICAN STUDENTS IN PALESTINE SUBMIT MEMORANDUM
TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND SECRETARY MARSHALL SUPPORTING SELF-DEFENSE MEASURES

- - - -

DECLARE THAT AMERICAN STUDENTS ARE OBJECTS OF "THREATS"

BY U.S. CONSULATE IN JERUSALEM

- - - -

New York, Feb. 20 -- In a memorandum sent today to President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall, the Association of Parents of American Students in Palestine requested that students from the United States be given the "basic human right" to defend themselves when attacked without threat of penalization by the American Consulate in Jerusalem.

The Association, which represents "500 parents of students who are now in Palestine," stated that while American students do not ask for any "extraordinary measures of protection" from the U.S. Government, "they trust that their Government will not withhold from them those services and amenities which citizens engaged in lawful pursuits in any foreign country have a right to expect.

"All of our children, and especially those who have fought in the armed forces of our country, would regard with amazement any suggestion that they are not to defend themselves when attacked. We submit that such conduct cannot be expected from those who have been brought up in the American tradition and have fought for the liberties of the land they love," the memorandum stated.

"We cannot believe that our Government would act to impair their civic status or to penalize them in any other way if they exercise that right. And yet statements have appeared, ascribed to our Consulate in Jerusalem, which contain such threats," the Parents' group asserted.

(more)

Mrs. Selma Borowsky and Mrs. Peter Sokolower, president and secretary respectively of the Association, were signatories to the memorandum in behalf of their group. They pointed out that many of the American students in Palestine were studying there under the G.I. Bill of Rights. Most of the American students attend the Hebrew University in Jerusalem or the Hebrew Institute of Technology in Haifa, they disclosed.

The memorandum pointed out that while carrying out the normal course of their studies in Palestine during the present difficulties, American students "are compelled to take all proper and necessary measures to secure their safety against those who threaten their lives.

"In taking those measures it is natural and, indeed, vital that they cooperate with all others in Palestine who are similarly threatened." In defending themselves against personal danger, "our sons and daughters are only exercising an elementary human right, and are violating no law of man or God in doing so," the Association insisted.

"At the same time, it should be stressed, they are defending the policy of their country and the integrity of the United Nations, upon which the peace of the world so largely depends. The lawful world for which mankind yearns will not come into existence by discouraging and penalizing those who stand on the side of the law against those who seek to overthrow it," it was stated.

The full text of the memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM FROM THE
ASSOCIATION OF PARENTS OF AMERICAN STUDENTS IN PALESTINE
TO HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN

February 20, 1948

The Association of Parents of American Students in Palestine represents some 500 parents of students who are now in Palestine attending the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, the Hebrew Institute of Technology at Haifa and other institutions of learning in Palestine. Many of these students are veterans of the recent war and are attending those institutions under the G.I. Bill of Rights. In view of the fact that the security and welfare of our sons and daughters in Palestine are affected by the disturbed conditions now prevailing in the Holy Land, as well as by statements ascribed to our Consulate in Jerusalem threatening their status as

(more)

American citizens, which have been published in the United States, we respectfully beg leave to submit to you the following considerations:

1. Our sons and daughters now in Palestine are engaged in the lawful and legitimate occupation of scientific study and research in institutions of high and recognized standing. They proceeded to Palestine for that purpose prior to the outbreak of the present disturbances, and with the consent of their Government. Their presence in Palestine, moreover, gives them the opportunity of which they are proud to make use, to represent and promote the spirit and ideals of their country in a backward region of the world. They do not intend to abandon their studies under threat of violence from lawless elements. It is their intention, on the contrary, to continue and complete their studies in the institutions in which they are matriculated. They ask for no extraordinary measures of protection on their behalf from their Government, but they trust that their Government will not withhold from them those services and amenities which citizens engaged in lawful pursuits in any foreign country have a right to expect.

2. In the pursuit of their lawful occupation in Palestine, our sons and daughters are compelled to take all proper and necessary measures to secure their safety against those who threaten their lives. In taking those measures it is natural and, indeed, vital that they cooperate with all others in Palestine who are similarly threatened.

3. We cannot believe that our Government would attempt to deny our sons and daughters this basic human right. We cannot believe that our Government would act to impair their civic status or to penalize them in any other way if they exercise that right. And yet statements have appeared ascribed to our Consulate in Jerusalem which contain such threats. All of our children, and especially those who have fought in the armed forces of their country, would regard with amazement any suggestion that they are not to defend themselves when attacked. We submit that such conduct cannot be expected from those who have been brought up in the American tradition and have fought for the liberties of the land they love.

4. Deeply concerned as we are over the security and status of our sons and daughters now in Palestine, we feel that the general situation that has prevailed in that country since the decision of the United Nations to partition it into Arab and Jewish States, bears vitally on the safety of our children. Our sons and daughters in Palestine and we, their parents in America, hailed that decision, and we rejoiced especially because our country played a leading, and perhaps decisive, part in its adoption. Since that decision, Palestine has suffered unabated violence and bloodshed as a result of Arab attacks upon the Jews.

5. In view of the part played by our Government in the adoption of the United Nations decision, we expected, and so did our sons and daughters in Palestine, that our Government would do what is proper and necessary to prevent the decision from being nullified by violence. They and we expected that our Government would at least refrain from doing anything that might impair the ability of those attacked to defend themselves. They did not expect that our Government would impose an embargo on arms which has the effect of denying weapons of defense to those attacked, at a time when the attackers are procuring arms from the governments of neighboring Arab states, which, in turn, continue to procure arms from Great Britain.

6. The policy of obstruction and sabotage of the United Nations decision on the part of the Mandatory Power, is a matter of public record, and it has a distinct bearing on the security and welfare of our sons and daughters in Palestine. Most of them attend the Hebrew University and reside in Jerusalem, where,

(more)

as they inform us, they are deprived of essential items of food, and of fuel for heating and cooking, because the police and military of the Mandatory Power have not only failed to protect the convoys on the supply road between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, but have prevented the Jews from protecting them by disarming their convoy guards and interfering with their efforts to repel attacks. Such conduct on the part of the forces of the Mandatory Power as well as its refusal to open a port for the entry of Jewish refugees, its refusal to recognize a Jewish militia, its refusal to let the United Nations Commission come to Palestine early enough to function effectively, cannot fail to encourage the Arab aggressors and thus increase the threat to the safety of our sons and daughters.

7. We are advised that the threats against the status of our sons and daughters as citizens of the United States, which have been reported as emanating from our Consulate in Jerusalem, are without warrant in law or precedent. In defending themselves against immediate personal danger, our sons and daughters are only exercising an elementary human right, and are violating no law of man or God in doing so. At the same time, it should be stressed, they are defending the policy of their country and the integrity of the United Nations, upon which the peace of the world so largely depends. The lawful world for which mankind yearns will not come into existence by discouraging and penalizing those who stand on the side of the law against those who seek to overthrow it.

8. We respectfully request, therefore, that agents of our Government be restrained from making our sons and daughters the targets of threats and innuendos. We also request that our Government proceed vigorously with its Palestine policy as expressed in its strong support of the United Nations decision, using its influence with the Mandatory Power to the end that it will aid rather than thwart the implementation of that decision, and lifting the embargo on arms so that the victims of violent aggression will not be handicapped in their efforts to defend themselves. We are confident that such action by our Government will go very far towards insuring the safety of our sons and daughters and helping them to complete their studies in Palestine.

Respectfully submitted,

Association of Parents of American
Students in Palestine

Mrs. Selma J. Borowsky, President
46 West 83 Street, New York City

Mrs. Peter Sokolower, Secretary
750 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committee Date February 25, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

Enclosed you will find the address by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the Extraordinary Conference of the American Zionist Emergency Council held in Washington, D. C., on February 16, and the political analysis by Dr. Emanuel Neumann at the same Conference on February 15. This presents a wealth of material which you may apply to your current efforts.

A directive is being prepared covering our political situation in view of the address of Senator Warren Austin before the Security Council of the United Nations. This directive will go forward to you tomorrow. It will clearly indicate the need for increased efforts by our communities and our friends in the present campaign.

Regards.

AT:RB
Encs.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 5, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

An article by Lessing J. Rosenwald, president of the American Council for Judaism, entitled "The Fallacies of Palestine," is scheduled to appear in next week's issue of Collier's Magazine. This office has received advance copies of the article, which is compounded of distortions, misstatements and half-truths and is clearly designed to prejudice public opinion against our entire movement.

We shall, of course, make every effort to bring about the publication of a refutation in Collier's. However, we need not wait until next week to indicate our displeasure at the fact that the editors of Collier's should, at this time, publish an anti-Zionist article by an individual who represents a very small section of American Jewry and whose views have been repeatedly repudiated by the American Jewish community as a whole. May I suggest, therefore, that letters go forward at once to Collier's, based upon the information that an anti-Zionist piece by Lessing Rosenwald -- advance copies of which have already been circulated -- is scheduled to appear in the magazine, and protesting that an unpopular minority opinion should be prominently displayed at the very moment when international decisions which will determine the future of Palestine are in the making. Such letters should, of course, call for the presentation of the Jewish position by someone who accurately reflects Jewish opinion.

It will be particularly helpful if letters along these lines are sent by Collier's subscribers. Communications should be addressed to Walter Davenport, Editor, and William L. Chenery, Publisher, Collier's Magazine, 250 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

AT:RB

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 17, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

Attached you will find a press release covering the National Emergency Conference of the American Zionist Emergency Council held in Washington on February 15th and 16th. This includes the resolutions which were adopted unanimously by the assembled delegates of approximately 800 representatives of Jewish communities in 35 states. The release does not include the excellent political analysis made by Dr. Emanuel Neumann at the morning session on February 15th, nor the brilliant summary of the Palestine situation and the fervent appeal made by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. These will be sent to you within a few days.

We suggest that the material contained in the resolutions be used as the key points in our propaganda approach to news columns, editors, radio commentators and Christian contacts. They summarize our objectives most effectively.

I take this occasion to express the wholehearted appreciation of the American Zionist Emergency Council for the magnificent response to our call for the Emergency Conference. Both the spirit and the content of the Conference were of a high order. The men and women who came to Washington carried out their directives in an efficient and constructive manner. We feel that as a result our position has improved somewhat, but most assuredly not to the extent which would enable us to slow down the work which has been outlined to you and which you are carrying on. Every effort must be stepped-up. The telegram and letter campaign must be continued. We must also maintain our alertness with regard to newspaper material, radio reports and comments. Mass meetings must be held through which we can place our case before the public. Christian contacts must be expanded and wherever possible our Christian friends should be asked to send letters and telegrams and hold meetings under their own auspices.

Kindest regards,

AT:RB
Enc.

PRESS RELEASE from AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi Organization of America • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
United Zionists-Revisionists of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion (United Labor Zionist Party)

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE OF 800 ZIONIST LEADERS CALLS UPON
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT "TO RE-ASSERT ITS INITIATIVE"
IN UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE DECISION

- - - - -

REPRESENTATIVES FROM 35 STATES URGE MODIFICATION OF U.S.
EMBARGO AND ASK AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR JEWISH MILITIA;
ZIONIST DELEGATES CONFER WITH HOUSE AND SENATE MEMBERS

- - - - -

Washington, D.C., Feb. 16 -- The National Conference of
Zionist leaders, convoked by the American Zionist Emergency Council,
today called upon the United States "to re-assert its initiative
in the United Nations and to take action to vindicate the integrity
of American policy."

In a tri-fold request addressed to the United States Govern-
ment, the 800 Zionist leaders representing 35 states, specifically
asked the immediate modification of the American embargo on arms
to the Middle East; action by the Security Council against the
nations defying the United Nations Resolution on Palestine, and
the formation of a Jewish militia and "of such international forces
as may be required" to carry out the Palestine decision.

Participants in the National Emergency Conference, which was
held in the Jewish Community Center, represented approximately
250 cities throughout the United States. The Zionist leaders

spent most of today calling upon Congressmen and Senators from their sections of the country. The legislators were given a detailed report on the crisis in the Holy Land and were enjoined to take such steps that would lead to the immediate implementation of the United Nations decision on Palestine.

An eye-witness account of the present position of Jews in Palestine was given last night by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, who recently made an emergency return from the Holy Land.

Declaring that threats, intimidation and aggression were forces which helped to destroy the League of Nations while the United States stood idly by, Dr. Silver said: "If the work of the UN can be scuttled by Arab threats, then the United Nations might as well fold up and everyone will know the blame will lie at the door of the United States," Dr. Silver charged.

In the resolutions adopted unanimously by the Conference, reference also was made to recent statements by President Truman and Secretary Marshall to the effect that the United States was continuing to support the UN decision on Palestine.

"It (the Conference) finds it indefensible," the resolution stated, "that the Government of the United States has, on the one hand, failed to act in the face of this grave situation, and on the other hand, by certain specific actions of its own has contributed to its deterioration."

The full text of the resolutions adopted by the Conference follows:

RESOLUTIONS

I. The National Emergency Conference of the American Zionist Emergency **Council**, meeting in Washington, D. C., on February 15, 1948, sends its message of greetings and solidarity to the valiant em attled Yishuv in Palestine. It pledges the whole-hearted support of American Jewry to our brothers in Palestine in our common struggle to establish the Jewish State.

II. The Conference condemns the sabotage of the UN Resolution by the British Government. After insisting on sole control over Palestine, the British Government has not only failed to maintain public order, but is using these powers of control to encourage lawlessness on the part of Arab extremists, to permit the invasion of Palestine by armed Arab bands from neighboring countries, and to disarm and otherwise prevent effective defense by the Jewish defense forces in the country.

III. The Conference takes cognisance of the statements of the President of the United States and of the Secretary of State to the effect that the United States Government continues to support the settlement arrived at by the United Nations.

It, therefore, finds it indefensible that the Government of the United States has, on the one hand, failed to act in the face of this grave situation, and, on the other hand, by certain specific actions of its own, has contributed to its deterioration.

IV. The Conference calls upon the Government of the United States to re-assert its initiative in the United Nations and to take

action to vindicate the integrity of American policy.

The Conference, specifically, calls upon the Government of the United States:

(a) To instruct the American Delegation to the United Nations Security Council to obtain faithful compliance with the UN Resolution by all governments concerned and to take all necessary measures against those member states of the United Nations which openly defy the General Assembly's Resolution;

(b) To instruct the American Delegation to the United Nations Security Council that it support, and, if necessary, initiate, the formation of a militia for the Jewish State and of such international forces as may be required to insure the speedy carrying out of the Resolution of the Assembly;

(c) To modify the embargo on arms to the Middle East so as to insure an unimpeded flow of arms to the Jewish defense forces in Palestine for the purpose of defending attacked Palestine Jewry, which is upholding the UN Resolution.

V. The Conference appreciates the energy and devotion with which the UN Palestine Commission is pursuing its task. The Conference expects the UN Security Council to act decisively to implement the Resolution of the UN Assembly and to prevent defiance of the Charter and of the Assembly Resolution by the Governments of the Arab States and of the United Kingdom.

PRESS RELEASE from AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi Organization of America • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
United Zionists-Revisionists of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion (United Labor Zionist Party)

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AMERICAN JEWS MOBILIZE TO FIGHT TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION'S

"ACT OF BETRAYAL" ON PALESTINE

- - - -

American Zionist Emergency Council Calls For Nationwide Demonstration

Of Public Indignation Against "Shocking Reversal"

AMERICAN JEWISH

Jewish War Veterans To Hold Protest Parade

- - - -

Religious Organizations Call Day Of Mobilization And Prayer

- - - -

New York, March 22 -- American Jewry today mobilized to fight the Truman Administration's reversal of its position on Palestine, which the American Zionist Emergency Council characterized as "nothing less than an act of betrayal."

The Council, which represents the entire Zionist movement in the United States, announced that a nationwide program of action has been launched to demonstrate "whether American public opinion is willing to have our foreign policy dictated by oil imperialists and British agents, or whether it wishes to maintain the moral integrity and national honor of this country." Leading organizations are cooperating in this national effort, including the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, rabbinical and Jewish religious groups, as well as prominent Christian bodies.

The Council was authorized to announce that the Jewish War Veterans will hold a protest parade and demonstration on Sunday, April 4th, in which that

(more)

organization's state and county units of the New York metropolitan area will participate. All other veterans' groups have been invited to join in the demonstration and it is anticipated that every veterans' organization in New York will be represented.

A day of mobilization and prayer, called by the combined orthodox rabbinical and lay organizations of America, will take place on Thursday, April 8th in approximately 6,000 synagogues of the country. Organizations participating in this effort include the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, Mizrahi Organization of America, Agudas Israel of America, Union of Grand Rabbis of the United States and Canada, National Council of Young Israel, Vaad Harabanim, and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. A similar program for a day of intercession and prayer is being planned by the Synagogue Council of America and the Rabbinical Assembly of America.

Jewish religious organizations in Palestine, England, South Africa and Australia are participating in this effort, which will assume a worldwide character.

In announcing this mobilization of American public opinion the American Zionist Emergency Council issued the following statement:

"The U. S. Government's reversal of its position on Palestine is nothing less than an act of betrayal. It is a betrayal of all the solemn commitments and pledges of every American administration since the time of Woodrow Wilson, and more especially, of the repeated promises and declarations of the Truman Administration. It is also a betrayal of the high objectives to which our Government is committed in world affairs, and undermines faith in the noble utterances of our official spokesmen with regard to the rights of small nations and the sanctity of international covenants. In striking this cruel blow at a small and persecuted people, the Truman Administration has shaken the very foundations of the United Nations and has

(more)

seriously compromised the future effectiveness of international organization to preserve and maintain world peace.

"The citizens of this country will call the Administration to account for its action. American public opinion must now demonstrate whether it is willing to have our foreign policy dictated by oil imperialists and British agents, or whether it wishes to maintain the moral integrity and national honor of this country. The citizens will surely make their feelings known to an Administration which employed the shabby procedure of going through the motions of consultation on the implementation of partition while waiting for the opportune time to spring this shocking reversal of policy. At the very moment that Administration leaders were assuring the American people that our Government continues to stand behind the United Nations decision, a blueprint to scuttle partition was in the inside pockets of our representatives at the United Nations.

"We believe that the answer of the American people will be clear and emphatic: we will have none of this duplicity and double-dealing. We believe also that American public opinion will give its fullest support to any action which the Jewish community of Palestine may take in carrying out the decision of the nations of the world."

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date

March 22, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Last Saturday night we sent you the enclosed wire which indicated the reaction of organized Zionism to the latest act of betrayal by the Administration in Washington in its program to scuttle the UN decision to partition Palestine.

Today we issued a release to the general press, a copy of which is enclosed, further elucidating the Zionist position. In the release are listed certain activities which are now under way to give public expression to our demand that the Administration return to a recognition of its political and moral obligations to support the UN decision and cease its efforts to destroy not only Jewish hopes and established rights, but the United Nations itself.

In these two documents you will find the line to be followed in your efforts to bring to bear the weight of public opinion on the Administration. Not only must we now continue the telegram and letter-writing campaign, but it is vitally necessary that we multiply the number of friends and adherents who will make their voices heard in Washington. It is also essential that our position be brought to the attention of your editors, columnists, radio commentators, ministers, and public officials. Mass meetings are called for wherever possible. Parades of veterans and others should also be organized. We are sure that the officers of the Jewish War Veterans and other veterans groups in all localities will lend themselves wholeheartedly to such an activity.

We know that you will cooperate to the limit of your capacity with those organizations which, within a day or two, will announce the day of mobilization and prayer, (Thursday, April 8th) which you will find outlined in the enclosed release.

Keep in touch with us and let us know what you are doing and how we may be of further service.

Regards.

HLS:TRB
Encs.

American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

THE FOLLOWING NIGHT LETTER WAS SENT TO THE CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

MARCH 20, 1948

THE SHOCKING REVERSAL OF POLICY ANNOUNCED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY IS NOTHING LESS THAN AN ACT OF BETRAYAL. WE HAVE BEEN DEALT A SEVERE BLOW BY THOSE WHO HAD PROFESSED FRIENDSHIP FOR OUR CAUSE AND OUR PEOPLE. IF THE PERPETRATORS OF THIS CYNICAL ACT BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL NOW BREAK OUR MORALE AND SCATTER OUR FORCES THEY ARE BADLY MISTAKEN. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT AMERICAN ZIONISM WILL PROVIDE THE ANSWER WHICH IS CALLED FOR IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND THAT ANSWER IS ACTION. WE CONTINUE TO STAND ON OUR RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. OUR POLICY WAS CLEARLY STATED BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL YESTERDAY BY DR. SILVER, WHO SAID QUOTE THE DECISION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY REMAINS VALID FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE. WE HAVE ACCEPTED IT AND WE ARE PREPARED TO ABIDE BY IT. IF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THE MANDATES WHICH WERE ASSIGNED TO IT BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF PALESTINE WILL MOVE FORWARD IN THE SPIRIT OF THAT RESOLUTION AND WILL DO EVERYTHING WHICH IS DICTATED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF NATIONAL SURVIVAL AND BY CONSIDERATIONS OF JUSTICE AND HISTORIC RIGHTS UNQUOTE. PLEASE MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE LARGEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF WIRES AND LETTERS ARE SENT IMMEDIATELY TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN STRONGLY PROTESTING THIS BETRAYAL BY HIS ADMINISTRATION. WIRE OR PHONE YOUR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN IMMEDIATELY AND URGE THEM TO VOICE THEIR PROTESTS PUBLICLY AT ONCE. DON'T WAIT TO WRITE. PLEASE ASK OTHER LEADERS OF YOUR COMMUNITY, BOTH JEWS AND NONJEWS, TO ISSUE PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ALSO TRY TO BRING ABOUT THE PUBLICATION OF STRONG EDITORIALS IN YOUR LOCAL NEWSPAPERS. EMPHASIZE THAT THIS WAS MORE THAN A CALLOUS REPUDIATION OF ALL PREVIOUS AMERICAN DECLARATIONS OF POLICY ON PALESTINE. IT WAS ALSO A BLOW AT THE HEART OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THERE IS A TREMENDOUS JOB AHEAD OF US WHICH WE DARE NOT SHIRK. PLEASE KEEP US ADVISED. REGARDS.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 24, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is a statement issued on March 22 by Dr. H. V. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, who was Chairman of the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine during the last meeting of the General Assembly.

The statement is sharply critical of the "Trusteeship" proposal made by the United States when it repudiated the Partition decision of the General Assembly. Inasmuch as it comes from so important an international figure as Dr. Evatt, this statement is highly significant at this time. Will you do your utmost to see to it that it is reported in full by your local newspapers? It will aid us greatly in building public opinion at this juncture.

Regards.

HLS:EF
Enc.

PALESTINE CRISIS

TRUSTEESHIP SUGGESTION

COMMENT BY AUSTRALIAN MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (DR. H. V. EVATT)

- - - - -

The following is the text of a statement made at 11:00 P.M., Monday, March 22, 1948, by the Australian Minister for External Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Dr. Herbert V. Evatt:

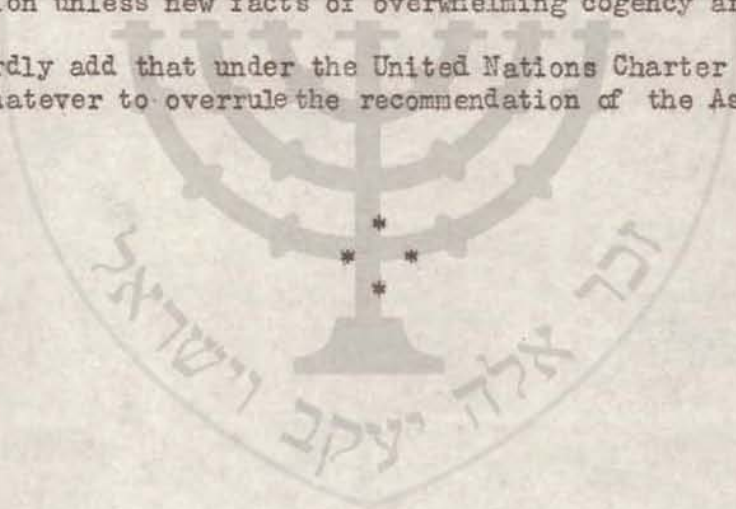
"Decisions of a competent international conference should be accepted after there has been full enquiry and fair debate and a just settlement has been reached. Accordingly any setting aside of the United Nations Assembly decision on Palestine must be closely scrutinised. It is impossible to examine the new plan in detail because nothing definite is known about it. It is said the 'Trusteeship' will be the new solution. But the word itself is ambiguous. What does it mean? It certainly seems to imply that the peoples to be placed under 'Trusteeship' are not sufficiently 'advanced' for selfgovernment. Such a suggestion would seem to be untenable in relation either to the Palestinian Arabs or to the Palestinian Jews. If however what is now proposed is a temporary United Nations Trusteeship merely for the purpose of carrying out the Assembly's decision it would be a very different matter. But is that intended? The final decision was reached in December last after two General Assemblies had dealt most carefully and exhaustively with the matter after all parties were heard and after a special Commission involving very heavy United Nations expenditure had visited Palestine and reported in favour of the principles of the plan ultimately adopted in the Assembly. The plan adopted is inappropriately labeled 'partition' because it involves four separate points: First, economic union of the whole of Palestine under the control of an authority with a majority of United Nations membership; second, political division of Palestine into two new states, Jewish and Arab; third, United Nations Trusteeship over Jerusalem and Bethlehem; and fourth, full safeguards for the holy places and especially for the Christian churches throughout the whole of Palestine. The only alternative plan suggested to the Assembly was to establish a unitary state under Arab domination with no adequate safeguards for the protection either of the Jewish people or of the Christian churches. This alternative was plainly inadmissible and was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The United Nations decision was reached by more than a two-thirds majority, the only dissentients being the Arab States and certain nations very closely associated with them. The decision was a just and impartial one and must not be lightly set aside.

The United Nations did not intermeddle in the Palestine matter. It intervened only after the United Kingdom Government had especially requested the United Nations Assembly to handle the matter as all previous efforts at reconciliation between the Arabs and Jews had entirely failed. At the United Nations the British Government did not itself propose any solution and announced it would accept the United Nations decision. In these circumstances Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand all supported the proposal finally adopted. After all that had occurred to throw the solution into the melting pot again may be very damaging to the authority of the United Nations. It has been contended that the 'enforcement' of the Assembly's decision is not possible. Had the great powers who supported the proposal at Lake Success, New York,

adhered firmly to it there probably would have been little difficulty. In any event under the Assembly's decision the New Jewish State and the new Arab State was each to be entitled to establish its own militia forces for the defence of the new territory and this decision clearly carried with it the right of Jews as well as Arabs to import arms and equipment for the purposes of defence. It is impossible to pass final judgment on the new proposal because no one has explained it as yet. I was Chairman of the Committee which worked assiduously to obtain a just solution. The Committee repeatedly modified its proposals at the suggestion of the Mandatory Power in order that the United Kingdom should be able to withdraw its forces after its long, its thankless, but on the whole, successful development of the Palestine area since it was captured from the Turks by the British and Australian forces in 1918.

In my opinion, the United Nations decision has been gradually undermined by intrigues directed against the Jewish people. It would be little short of a tragedy if the fundamental rights of selfgovernment were to be denied to both the Jews and Arabs as it is guaranteed to them under the Assembly decision just as religious freedom is also guaranteed to the Christian churches throughout Palestine. The only considerations that influenced the United Nations Assembly were those of justice and fair dealing to all concerned. It would be most disturbing if mere considerations of power politics or expediency were allowed to destroy the decision. However, if a Special United Nations Assembly is called it is hardly likely to accept any plan which involves the annihilation of the previous decision unless new facts of overwhelming cogency are proved to exist.

I need hardly add that under the United Nations Charter the Security Council has no power whatever to overrule the recommendation of the Assembly."



PRESS RELEASE from AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi Organization of America • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
United Zionists-Revisionists of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion (United Labor Zionist Party)

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U. S. ZIONISTS HAIL PALESTINE JEWRY'S DECISION TO GO FORWARD
WITH ESTABLISHMENT OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

U. S. Government's Trusteeship Proposal Assailed

"Fullest Support" Pledged to Jewish State

New York, March 24 -- The decision of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi (Jewish National Council) of Palestine that "upon termination of the mandatory administration -- and not later than May 16 next -- a provisional Jewish Government will commence to function in co-operation with the representatives of the UN then in Palestine" was hailed today as a "courageous and statesmanlike action" by the American Zionist Emergency Council, which represents the entire Zionist movement in the United States.

Pledging "fullest support to the Jewish state," the Council declared that the decision taken by the Jews of Palestine "reflects the determination of the Jewish people not to submit to last-minute attempts to deprive them of their internationally-guaranteed rights and to force a solution upon them which is politically unfeasible and morally indefensible.

"It further reflects the high resolve of the Jews of Palestine to fight for their independence notwithstanding overwhelming odds, and to uphold international justice and morality at a time when great powers, better equipped to champion

(more)

those principles, have demonstrated lamentable weakness in that direction," the Council declared.

Pointing out that the Jewish action is based upon the United Nations' decision of November 29, 1947, to partition Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states, the Council said that the Jewish people will not be deterred from moving forward in accordance with the United Nations' decision "either by Arab acts of aggression or by the political manipulations of the Mandatory Government and our own Administration."

The Council joined the Jewish Agency and Vaad Leumi in rejecting the trusteeship proposal of the U. S. Government, declaring that it "would not only solve nothing, but would seriously aggravate the problem." The Council also commended the invitation extended by the Jews of Palestine to the Arab population of the Jewish state "to take their rightful place in its organs of the government."

"It is in this spirit that the Jewish people propose to build the Jewish state," the Council declared.

The text of the Council's statement follows:

(more)

"We applaud the decision of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi (Jewish National Council) that 'upon termination of the mandatory administration -- and not later than May 16 next -- a provisional Jewish government, will commence to function in cooperation with the representatives of the U. N. then in Palestine.' This courageous and statesmanlike action reflects the determination of the Jewish people not to submit to last-minute attempts to deprive them of their internationally-guaranteed rights and to force a solution upon them which is politically unfeasible and morally indefensible. It further reflects the high resolve of the Jews of Palestine to fight for their independence notwithstanding overwhelming odds, and to uphold international justice and morality at a time when great powers, better equipped to champion those principles, have demonstrated lamentable weakness in that direction.

"The historic action which has now been taken by the Jews of Palestine is in fullest harmony with the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947. That decision provided a clear mandate to the Jewish people to proceed with the organization and establishment of a provisional government, and since November 29, they have made great strides forward in carrying this out. They have now made it clear that they will not be deterred either by Arab acts of aggression or by the political manipulations of the Mandatory Government and our own Administration.

"We are heartily in agreement with the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi in categorically rejecting any plan to set up a trusteeship regime for Palestine, as recently proposed by the U. S. Government. When viewed against the background of the realities of the Palestine situation, such a proposal would not only solve nothing, but would seriously aggravate the problem. Trusteeship was not approved by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. It would deprive the Jews of the national independence which the United Nations have assured

(more)

them and would keep Palestine under foreign military rule. Furthermore, more force would be required to maintain a trusteeship than would be necessary to carry out the United Nations decision to partition Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states.

"Once again the Jews of Palestine have evidenced their desire to live in peace and friendship with their Arab neighbors. The democratic principles which will guide the Jewish state are reflected in the invitation which has been extended to the Arab population of the Jewish state 'to take their rightful place in all its organs of government.' It is in this spirit that the Jewish people propose to build the Jewish state.

"We are confident that the provisional council of government of the Jewish state will receive the support of public opinion everywhere. The peoples of the world will surely realize that, in taking their stand, the Jews of Palestine are upholding the rights of all small nations and are preserving the dignity and prestige of the United Nations.

"We pledge our fullest support to the Jewish state and shall back up its struggle for existence in the crucial months ahead."

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date March 24, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

On Thursday, April 8, more than eight thousand Jewish houses of worship will be the centers for the expression of American Jewry's indignation over the about-face of President Truman's Administration.

All Rabbinical and Congressional bodies in the United States are behind this nationwide effort, and are sending directives to that effect to their memberships. These directives will outline the purposes of the day of mobilization and prayer, and indicate the various methods through which the American Jewish community may most effectively participate in our current campaign to drive home to the Administration a sense of moral and political guilt because of its efforts to scuttle the Partition decision.

Following is a list of the national groups participating:

The Synagogue Council of America
The Central Conference of American Rabbis
The Rabbinical Assembly of America
The Rabbinical Council of America
The Union of American Hebrew Congregations
The Union of Orthodox Congregations of America
The United Synagogues of America

Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America and Canada
Agudath Israel of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
National Council of Young Israel
Vaad Harabanim of New York
Poale Agudath Israel
Zeire-Agudath Israel
Hapoel Hamizrachi
Hashomer Hadati
Women's Mizrachi Organization
Women's Section of Agudath Israel

These groups hope to have a minimum of one million post-cards addressed to the President of the United States signed and mailed on April 8. The text of the post-card follows:

Dear Mr. President:

As an American Jew who loves our country and is proud of its democratic heritage and ideals, I was outraged at the sudden repudiation by your administration of the United Nations decision on Palestine, which our Government had helped to achieve. It is with deep regret that I must express my sense of disillusionment

with your administration, Mr. President, because of this betrayal of Jewish hopes, of the United Nations and of your own pledges.

I support the Jewish state and fervently hope that your administration will heed the voice of the people on this vital question.

Respectfully yours,

(name)

(address)

In addition, all of the Congregations will be requested to publish the text of this post-card in their local newspapers, with such alternatives as may suit their particular purposes. It is hoped that in this way large numbers of small advertisements (two columns by three inches or more) will appear in the local press, especially in larger centers of population, over the signatures of the President and Rabbi of each Congregation. These advertisements should appear on April 8, as part of a call to the members of the Congregations to attend the services and participate in the action.

ALL ZIONIST GROUPS SHOULD DEVOTE THEMSELVES ENERGETICALLY AND PROMPTLY TO THE TASK OF ENSURING THE SUCCESS OF THIS MOBILIZATION DAY.

It might be helpful to organize a committee of Rabbis and Presidents of Congregations in your community to plan all the details involved in this project. Where necessary, the Zionist groups should make post-cards available to Congregations and use their influence to ensure the largest number of advertisements on Mobilization Day.

It will be important for us to learn from you the extent to which your community is participating in this effort. We believe that the response to this call will be tremendous if it is properly organized and projected.

All of us will be looking forward eagerly to your report.

Regards.

HLS:TEF

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* March 23, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

We must try to bring about the adoption of the largest possible number of resolutions of protest against the United States Government's reversal of policy on Palestine. In order to facilitate your work in this direction, we are sending you the enclosed draft of a resolution which you may use as a basis for the preparation of similar expressions on the part of the various organizations in your community, both Jews and non-Jewish.

Please be sure that the adoption of such resolutions is given the widest possible publicity and that copies are sent to President Truman, Secretary of State Marshall, and to the Chief of the United States Delegation to the United Nations, Warren R. Austin. Will you also arrange to have copies sent to this office.

Telegrams and letters of protest and indignation must continue to pour in on the White House. Please organize this activity on a community-wide basis and keep us posted on your efforts.

You will, of course, continue to receive additional information and material from us for use in the present situation.

Regards.

HLS:MSR
Enc.

R E S O L U T I O N

WHEREAS, the United States Government has repudiated the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947 to partition Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish States; and

WHEREAS, this callous reversal of policy constitutes an act of betrayal, since it violates the traditional American policy on Palestine as stated by two Congressional Resolutions on Palestine, repudiates the pledges of both major American political parties, and reneges on the partition decision of the United Nations -- a decision which was brought about largely as a result of the decisive role played by our Government; and

WHEREAS, in its recent statement of reversal the United States Government has committed an act of appeasement by bowing to the intimidation of those Arab states which have flouted the will of the United Nations on the Palestine decision; and

WHEREAS, by thrusting aside the judgment of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the United States Government has struck a shattering blow at the future effectiveness of the United Nations as an international instrument for preserving and maintaining the peace and security of the world; and

WHEREAS, the hundreds of thousands of Jews still languishing in the Displaced Persons Camps of Europe have been cruelly disillusioned by the very nation to which they look for salvation; and

WHEREAS, the new United States proposal can only serve to aggravate the situation in Palestine and increase tension and bloodshed in that country.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, (name of organization), do hereby express our deep indignation and our sense of outrage over this act of betrayal by the Administration of President Truman.

AND BE IT RESOLVED that we call upon the President to revoke this action immediately, lest our Government be guilty of undermining the United Nations.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we, (name of organization), hereby express our solidarity with the Jews of Palestine in any action that they may take to carry out the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent immediately to President Harry S. Truman, Secretary of State George C. Marshall and to the Chief of the United States Delegation to the United Nations Warren R. Austin.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date March 26, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

On Wednesday evening, March 31st, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver will give the official Jewish reaction to the most recent developments on Palestine in a radio address over the Columbia Broadcasting System. The broadcast is to take place from 6:15 to 6:30 P.M., EST.

We urge you to make arrangements now to insure the largest possible listening audience. In addition to calling this to the attention of the various organizations and groups which cooperate in your local Zionist efforts, it would be advisable to arouse public interest in the address by placing small advertisements on the radio page of your local newspapers. We suggest that you ascertain whether the CBS station in your area is scheduling Dr. Silver's address, following which you may wish to insert an advertisement on Wednesday, March 31st, urging the public to listen.

Regards.

HLS:MRB

PRESS RELEASE from AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi Organization of America • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
United Zionists-Revisionists of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion (United Labor Zionist Party)

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U.S. ZIONISTS "NOT DELUDED" BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S

STATEMENT OF POLICY ON PALESTINE

AMERICAN JEWISH
U.S. TRUSTEESHIP PROPOSAL ASSAILED
ARCHIVES

New York, March 25 -- The American Zionist Emergency Council today issued the following comment on President Truman's statement at his press conference concerning U. S. policy on Palestine:

We are not deluded by the attempt made by President Truman at his press conference today to make the United States proposal of a trusteeship over Palestine more palatable to public opinion. The President's conception of the Palestine issue was most unrealistic and leaves unanswered all of the questions which were raised in the Security Council by Delegates who indicated unwillingness to be led up a blind alley by an improvised plan, which on the one hand scuttles the decision of the United Nations, and on the other hand offers no sounder solution.

(more)

Who is to enforce the trusteeship which Mr. Truman proposes? If he is thinking of an international force, why the reluctance to think in those terms in connection with the implementation of the United Nations partition decision? Mr. Truman's efforts to justify the sudden reversal of U. S. policy as having been designed to "keep the peace" in Palestine is most unconvincing when viewed against the generally acknowledged fact that far more force would be required to maintain a trusteeship than would be necessary to carry out the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947.

Mr. Truman seemingly believes that a permanent solution of the Palestine question can yet be achieved by agreement between Jews and Arabs. If so, we propose that he read the proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly's Special Session on Palestine, at which the United States Delegate, Mr. Herschel Johnson, declared:

"I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented, either to this Assembly or to the Mandatory Government during its long years of tenure, or in any other place, which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented, and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented. If we are to effect through the United Nations a solution of this problem, it cannot be done without the use of the knife."

We wonder whether Mr. Truman is fully cognizant of the facts concerning the conflict in the Holy Land when he calls for a "truce" between Arabs and Jews. We respectfully call his attention to the comment of the Jewish Agency for Palestine on this question made in a letter to Secretary-General Trygve Lie on March 17, 1948. At that time the Agency declared:

"It must be emphasized that insofar as the term "truce" implies a conflict

(more)

between two belligerents it does not accurately fit the facts of the present situation in which, on the one hand, an attempt is being made by the Arab States and the Arabs of Palestine to alter by force a settlement approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, while the Jewish Community has been defending itself and the decision of the United Nations which it has loyally accepted. . .

"The moment that Arab aggression ceases Jewish armed reaction will also terminate. There must of course be a clear understanding that the cessation of Arab aggression will also include the stoppage of preparations for future aggression, the evacuation of foreign forces and the prevention of further incursion of armed bands into Palestine."

We also beg to differ with President Truman's assertion that our Government "vigorously supported" the partition decision of the General Assembly. Exactly the opposite was the case. Long before the Security Council began its deliberations on Palestine it became clear that our State Department was determined to sabotage the United Nations' decision. From the very beginning of the Security Council's meetings it was also clear that the Truman Administration was employing legalistic devices and all manner of delaying tactics in order to evade our Government's clear obligation to support the implementation of the United Nations' decision.

We deeply regret to state that not only has Mr. Truman failed to convince us that his proposal has merit, but his statement has only served to confirm our original contention that the U. S. trusteeship plan will exacerbate the situation in Palestine, bring about the shedding of further innocent blood and endanger a just political settlement.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 18, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

We are sending you the enclosed script of a radio broadcast on the current Palestine situation in the hope that you will succeed in putting it on the air through your local radio station.

This script, written in the form of a current affairs discussion, is suitable for a half-hour broadcast (after the addition of the usual introductory and closing announcements). It calls for the participation of three speakers and a moderator. However, you may feel free to revise this form to suit your local requirements.

Please let us know about your efforts in this direction.

AT:MSR
Enc.

RADIO SCRIPT

MODERATOR: It is now more than three months since the partition of Palestine was voted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Since that time, Palestine has entered a critical stage in the world arena. Civil strife has broken out among the Jews and the Arabs; the country has been invaded by Arab forces from Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Great Britain has complicated the situation in the Holy Land by refusing to comply with the recommendations adopted by the General Assembly; and the United States Government is seemingly reluctant to follow through on its strong stand as a supporter of partition. More than ever before, the world wonders what should be the proper course of action on Palestine. I have stated these problems in the expectation that our three guests in the studio this evening will discuss them one by one. I feel confident that our fortunate choice of authorities on the Palestine question -- Mr. A.,

(his title and background)

Mr. B.,

(his title and background)

and Mr. C.,

(his title and background)

will go a long way towards clearing up the many issues which confront us on the present phase of the Palestine problem. Mr. A., I feel certain that most Americans are aware of the seemingly-revised policy on Palestine now adopted by the American delegation to the Security Council. I wonder if you would be good enough to tell us something about this United States policy, and also give us your personal reactions to it.

Mr. A: With reference to the current United States policy on Palestine Mr. (moderator), I believe that Ambassador Austin, the American delegate to the Security Council, has been saying in effect that "We must do nothing and do it quickly". This statement is less facetious than it sounds. While insisting that the United States still believes in partition, our Government has been doing nothing to bring about its implementation. The purpose behind our delegate's evasive statements, I believe, is to bring about the adoption of Security Council procedures which, while supporting the General Assembly plan in principle, would create further delay. Such delaying tactics might also lead to the reopening of the whole question of Palestine's political future. I think most of us believed that when the General Assembly decided at the end of November to adopt the partition solution that Palestine was finally on its way towards political stability. I think it was

agreed that the partition of the Holy Land into separate Jewish and Arab States was not an ideal solution, but a compromise solution. Nobody was wholly satisfied with partition. The British had already turned it down in the late Thirties. The Jews thought that it was most unfair that they were to be given approximately 5,000 square miles, when 40,000 square miles was originally promised them under the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. The Arab reaction, of course, we have all seen. I believe, however, that almost all impartial authorities on this question are agreed that in the partition of Palestine, there was finally laid down a compromise solution which would completely satisfy no one, but which would be the most equitable formula possible under present conditions. I have a copy of Herschel Johnson's statement made just one day prior to the adoption of the partition plan -- which bears out what I have just said. Mr. Johnson, as we all know, was the United States delegate to the General Assembly. He said -- and I am quoting:

"Much has been said during the course of these debates on the desirability and necessity of presenting to the General Assembly a plan which would command the agreement of both the principal protagonists in this situation. I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented, either to this Assembly or to the Mandatory Government during its long years of tenure, or in any other place, which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented, and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented. If we are to effect through the United Nations a solution of this problem, it cannot be done without the use of the knife. Neither the Jews nor the Arabs will ever be completely satisfied with anything we do, and it is just as well to bear that in mind..." (end of quote.)

The point I am trying to make is that the world was finally convinced that the problem of Palestine was finally on its way to being solved when partition was adopted. The disturbing aspect of our delegate's latest utterances on Palestine is that now -- after a special session of the General Assembly had been held last May, and after a special committee of inquiry had made its investigations in Palestine, Europe and the Middle East for a period of four months, and after the General Assembly had considered its Special Committee's investigation and acted on it by ruling that Palestine be partitioned -- after all these important

months have passed, the United States delegate is paving the way for a reopening of the entire question for new discussions and new delays.

MR. B: With your permission, Mr. A, I would like to point out something that wasn't brought out in your discussion.

MR. A: Go right ahead, Mr. B. I didn't mean to carry the ball all by myself.

MR. B: Well, as I see the picture developing from events in the Security Council, the ground is now being carefully prepared for another commission to go to Palestine, to investigate and make its report, thus delaying the enforcement of partition for several more months. Under the series of consultations which our delegate is seeking to bring about, the deadlines of April 1st and May 15th, set by the United Nations for the establishment of Jewish and Arab Governments and the evacuation of British troops respectively, would be superseded by new discussions and new attempts at so-called conciliation. In the meantime, of course, chaos and anarchy would reign in the Holy Land. The strife and bloodshed that would result as a consequence of this "do-nothing" policy in Palestine might produce a last-minute request that the British continue to rule Palestine beyond May 15 -- the day that Britain is scheduled to terminate her mandate. This request to stay on for a while might then be "magnanimously" acceded to by Britain on condition that her terms are met and partition abandoned. Now, this device of continued "consultations" and "negotiations" is not new in the brief but turbulent history of the United Nations' handling of the Palestine problem. For example, a few days before the partition plan was adopted by the General Assembly, the Columbian delegation introduced a resolution to delay a final solution until the Arabs and Jews had further opportunity to negotiate. This Columbian maneuver was defeated largely through the efforts of Mr. Herschel Johnson, our Government's delegate to the Assembly, who pointed out that there were countless instances where attempts had been made to get the Jews and Arabs together in order to negotiate -- but without success. It was Mr. Johnson's strong plea that partition be passed without delay that resulted in swinging the tide in favor of the partition resolution. In the light of Ambassador Austin's quite different statements, it appears that our State Department may now be attempting to defeat by involved legalisms the very decision which our Government was so instrumental in bringing about last November. I believe that this sudden change of heart on the part of our official spokesmen was engineered by those officials in the State Department who have always been hostile to the United Nations decision and by oil company lobbyists in Washington who seek to change American policy to suit their own private interests.

MODERATOR: This brings us to a point, Mr. B., which I was hoping would be covered during our little session this evening. So much as been said about oil in connection with the Palestine problem that I believe our radio audience would benefit considerably from a full discussion of this particular phase of the question. I should like to approach the subject of oil from this angle: To what extent is the United States dependent upon Middle East Oil, and how does this affect our policy on Palestine? Mr. C., you haven't been given much of an opportunity to get into this picture. Suppose you cover the oil phase of this discussion.

MR. C.: Thank you, Mr. (moderator). For a while it appeared as if I was going to be lost in the shuffle. Middle East oil, as you indicated, is held by some as absolutely vital to our security, particularly in case of war. To them, Middle East Oil, is the big argument against Palestine partition. That is, since the Arabs do have the oil, they are the persons with whom we've got to do business. The validity of the oil argument, however, depends upon the answers to the following questions. Is there a shortage of oil in the United States? What is the relationship between Middle East Oil and the Marshall Plan? If the oil-rich countries of the Middle East, notably Saudi Arabia, refuse to sell their "black gold" to the United States, will they sell it to Soviet Russia? Let me answer the first question that I raised -- is there an oil shortage in the United States? I believe that there is not. Many authorities on oil can be quoted to the effect that the United States possesses sufficient oil resources and has access to enough oil deposits in areas close to our country to supply all of our peace-time requirements for a long time to come. More specifically, a gentleman by the name of Joseph E. Pogue, who is the Vice-President of the Chase National Bank and a member of the National Petroleum Council -- and who, incidentally, is quite in the "know" -- stated recently in Detroit that the United States faces no shortage of oil whatever. He pointed out that scientific estimates of proven underground oil reserves for the entire world now stand at about 73 billion barrels. Of these, the United States has 24 billion barrels, with 9 billion more available to us in the Caribbean area. Mr. Pogue estimated that Middle East Oil reserves stand at about 30 billion barrels. Now, Mr. Pogue should know what he is talking about. His connection with one of America's leading banks and with the National Petroleum Council puts him in an excellent position to judge how much oil we need in the United States -- and how much is available to us. Mr. Pogue's figures, of course, speak for themselves. Of an estimated world total of 73 billion barrels, the United States has in its own territory -- and at its doorstep in the Caribbean -- a total of 33 billion barrels

of oil. In other words, more than 45% of the world's oil is practically in our own backyard.

As to the question of the relationship of Middle East Oil to the Marshall Plan -- Secretary of Defense James Forrestal recently testified before a Senate Committee to the effect that King Ibn Saud's oil is indispensable to the success of the Marshall Plan. In fact, all the oil experts who deny that America is threatened by an oil shortage agree that oil for the recovery of Europe should be supplied largely from the Middle East. It is my contention that despite their opposition to partition, those Arab Governments which possess large oil resources, will not cancel their American oil contracts and concessions. King Ibn Saud, for example, has stated on at least two occasions since partition was adopted that his opposition to the UN decision on Palestine would not affect his oil dealings with United States oil companies. Indeed, at the time when the Arab League called for a two-day work stoppage throughout the Middle East -- as a protest against the passage of the partition plan -- Ibn Saud emphatically refused to allow the work stoppage to affect the Arab laborers employed by the American oil people in Saudi Arabia. In speaking of oil -- as an essential product in time of war -- we must keep this in mind. Oil is useful if you can get to it. If any of us were to look at a map of the Middle East, we would immediately learn what our military experts must know by heart -- that Russia is the only great power whose home territory is directly adjacent to the Middle East. The United States is about 7,000 miles away. Even Great Britain has the whole length of the Mediterranean and a slice of the Atlantic to cover before its ships reach the oil on the Persian Gulf. Experience has shown that the formal ownership of oil fields is of no account whatsoever in time of war. Accessibility is the only thing that really counts. As an example, may I point to the Rumanian oil fields during the last war. These oil reserves, mainly in Ploesti, were owned principally by American and British companies. But in World War II, the Rumanian oil fields were accessible to the German Armies, and not to the Allied Powers. Therefore, it was Hitler who used the oil of Rumania -- and not the Allies. In other words, should there be a new war, the United States could not count on the oil reserves of the Middle East -- even though it owned them.

MODERATOR: Excuse me for interrupting at this juncture Mr. C., but our time is running a little short and I would like our radio audience to hear an explanation of your last question. Do you think that if Saudi Arabia became sufficiently angry at the United States -- because of its championing of the partition plan -- do you think Ibn Saud would be willing to sell his oil to Soviet Russia? Mr. A.

I see you straining in your seat to get in a few more licks. Would you like to answer this question?

MR. A: Yes I would Mr. (moderator). I think that there are two reasons why this would be impossible. First, Russia has never indicated that she particularly needed Ibn Saud's oil; and second, Ibn Saud would under no circumstances sell his oil to the U.S.S.R. -- even if the Russians wanted it. You see -- nobody knows exactly how much oil Russia has within her wide, sprawling territories. What we do know is that her Baku oil resources are among the richest in the world. These alone are probably sufficient to oil her war machine. But to get back to Ibn Saud. He is perhaps the most absolute monarch in the world. As such, it is inconceivable that he would do business with a Communist Government which is pledged to overthrow monarchies such as the one over which Ibn Saud rules. Moreover, the King of Saudi Arabia is astute enough to realize what would happen if he allowed Russian oil companies -- with their politically-wise petroleum engineers and commissars -- to penetrate his realm.

MR. B: There is one other important point -- perhaps the most important -- which I would like to emphasize before this discussion ends.

MODERATOR: Go right ahead, Mr. B.

MR. B: Well, I think it should be made absolutely clear that we are discussing more than the future of Palestine. What is involved here is the future of the United Nations itself -- and the peace of the world. If Arab states get away with acts of armed aggression against the Jewish community in Palestine, whose objective is to intimidate the United Nations into reversing its partition decision -- if after all those months of debate and investigation and deliberation, the United Nations will be compelled to revise its judgment -- then I believe that the United Nations will be through as an effective instrument for the settlement of international disputes. And I think all of us realize what the consequences of such a collapse will be for world peace.

I don't think the American people want this to happen, and I believe that it is the job of all of us to make certain that the attempts of the Arab rulers and of the British Government to scuttle the United Nations decision on Palestine are defeated. This can be done only if our own Government assumes leadership on this question, which we have a right to expect on the basis of its declared policy. I believe our Government must do the following immediately:

1. Take a clear stand in the United Nations for the speedy carrying out of the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947 and favor the sending of an international force to Palestine to help maintain the peace and to enable the United Nations Commission to carry on the work of implementation which was

assigned to it;

2. Urge the immediate organization and equipment of the Jewish militia in Palestine, which was provided for by the United Nations decision; and

3. Revise the present embargo on arms, so that the Jews of Palestine may be able to resist acts of aggression against their lives and their homes.

MR. A: That is a program which was clearly stated, Mr. B, and which I wholeheartedly support.

MR. C: I am in complete agreement on that, too, and believe that it is now up to American public opinion to save Palestine and save the United Nations.

MODERATOR: Thank you very much, gentlemen. I am confident that it was an evening well-spent for all of us.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-1160

March 30, 1948

Dear Rabbi,

In connection with the special service for Palestine proclaimed by the Synagogue Council of America for April 8th, it is of vital importance that the congregants notify the President of the feelings prevailing in the Jewish community regarding the attitude of the Administration on the Palestine question.

A tentative text of a postal card is given below, but it would be impossible to supply all congregations with the printed cards and we would, therefore, appreciate it if this card could be printed locally and distributed for signature and mailing.

May we enlist your cooperation? Local Zionist committees, we are sure, would be glad to be of help.

Very sincerely yours,

ABE TUVIM
Director of Special Events

Dear Mr. President:

As an American Jew who loves our country and is proud of its democratic heritage and ideals, I was outraged at the sudden repudiation by your administration of the United Nations decision on Palestine, which our Government had helped to achieve. It is with deep regret that I must express my sense of disillusionment with your administration, Mr. President, because of this betrayal of Jewish hopes, of the United Nations and of your own pledges.

I support the Jewish state and fervently hope that your administration will heed the voice of the people on this vital question.

Respectfully yours,

(name)

(address)

On the reverse side:

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

PRESS RELEASE

DAY OF PROTEST, PRAYER AND INTERCESSION FOR PALESTINE

For Further Information Call:
Harold Manson
342 Madison Avenue, Room 1426
New York 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-1160

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1948

Jews Throughout America Observe Day of Protest, Prayer
and Intercession for Palestine

More Than A Million Postcards Sent to President Truman

Assailing Administration's "Betrayal"

COUNTRY'S LEADING RABBIS CALL FOR U.S. RETURN TO SUPPORT OF UN DECISION

New York, April 8 -- The American Jewish community held special services of intercession for Palestine this evening (Thursday, April 8, 1948), giving expression to the Jewish people's indignation over the U.S. Government's reversal of policy on Palestine and offering prayer for the embattled Jews of the Holy Land.

Every rabbinical and Jewish congregational organization of America participated in this nation-wide mobilization, including the Synagogue Council of America, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the Rabbinical Council of America, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Union of Orthodox Congregations of America, the United Synagogues of America, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America and Canada, Agudath Israel of America, the Mizrahi Organization of America, the National Council of Young Israel, Vaad Harabanim of New York, Poale Agudath Israel, Zeire-Agudath Israel, Hapoel Hamizrachi, Hashomer Hadati, the Women's Mizrahi Organization and the Women's Section of Agudath Israel.

(more)

In the New York metropolitan area a large number of manufacturers and businessmen closed their factories and places of business at 4:00 P.M. in order to enable their workers to arrive at their respective synagogues at an early hour. In most instances, services were held in the late afternoon or in the early evening.

More Than a Million Postcards Sent to President Truman Protesting "Betrayal" On Palestine.

Synagogues throughout the country distributed to their worshipers postcards addressed to President Truman which read: "As an American Jew who loves our country and is proud of its democratic heritage and ideals, I was outraged at the sudden repudiation by your administration of the United Nations decision on Palestine, which our Government had helped to achieve. It is with deep regret that I must express my sense of disillusionment with your administration, Mr. President, because of this betrayal of Jewish hopes, of the United Nations and of your own pledges. I support the Jewish state and fervently hope that your administration will heed the voice of the people on this vital question."

It was estimated that more than a million of these postcards were mailed to the President.

Jewish religious organizations in Palestine, England, South Africa, Australia and Canada also held special services, giving the day of prayer and protest a world-wide character.

Rabbi Milton Steinberg Calls Upon U.S. Government to Retrieve its Misstep.

In their sermons, the leading rabbis of the country joined in denouncing the Administration's repudiation of its pledges and obligations regarding Palestine and called for a return to the support of the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947.

Rabbi Milton Steinberg, of the Park Avenue Synagogue, declared: "Many harsh things can rightfully be said concerning our country's reversal of

position on the Partition of Palestine: that it is shocking in its capriciousness; unconscionable in its abandonment, under the threat of force, of a course carefully weighed and deliberately adopted as the right; brutal in its desertion of the D.P.'s rotting in their internment camps and of Jewish Palestine fighting for its existence, wanton in the damage it has inflicted on the U.N.; humiliating in its besmirching of American honor and prestige; a bad political bargain in that it has won for our country only the undependable, mercenary friendship of the Arabs, a friendship always available to us so long as the weather remains fair and we have money to spend; and, finally, stupid, being that kind of political move of which Talleyrand once said mordantly: 'It is worse than a crime, it is a blunder.'

"But the one proposition which most requires to be pronounced and acted upon is that this misstep -- whether it be sin, blunder or both -- can and must be retrieved.

"It must be retrieved, in the first instance, for the sake of those tens of thousands of Jewish homeless to whom Palestine is the sole hope of a home, whose plight President Truman recognized over two years ago but has forgotten since; and, in the second instance, for the sake of those Jews who trusting the nations of the world, America among them, have devoted their lives to laying the foundations of a progressive, democratic Jewish state in Palestine.

"Most of all, it must be retrieved for the sake of the United Nations, that its decisions may not be put to mock and mankind's hope of peaceful adjudication of international disputes frustrated.

"The misstep, finally, must be retrieved for America's sake, that our country's pledged work shall not be set for sale in return for oil concessions, that its determination may not be shown so weak as to be swayed by the threats of anyone, that its good repute and moral integrity may be vindicated before all the world.

"Then our democracy there is, as Lincoln taught us, no better hope for all the world -- provided America remains true to its best self in all things, in this crucial matter of Palestine not least of all."

Rabbi Irving Miller Says U.S. Government's "New" Palestine Policy is Threat to Democracy.

Rabbi Irving Miller, Chairman of the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, speaking at the Congregation Sons of Israel, Woodmere, Long Island said: "On this day of Mobilization and Prayer, we should concern ourselves with the moral and ethical, rather than with the political or strategic, aspects of the Palestinian situation. What concerns us is the moral climate of our country. And it is precisely in that respect that we are forced to give utterance to our sense of shock and dismay at our country's 'new' policy on Palestine. For this 'new' policy must be viewed against a background of thirty years of implicit and explicit support of the Jewish National Home. Beginning with November 2, 1917, when President Wilson approved the text of the Balfour Declaration, and ending on November 29, 1947, when America cast its affirmative vote for Partition, the record is replete with congressional resolutions, party pledges, and presidential pronouncements. Why then this reversal of a record of three decades? Must all this give way to oil and profits? Is there a price at which America's plighted word and honor can be bought? Is this the moral climate in which democracy and fair play are to become the heritage of future generations?

"There is yet one more aspect that must give serious concern to all American citizens who believe in the American way of life. In this struggle, as in all other struggles, there are two sides. On the one hand, is the Yishuv which over several decades has built up in the Middle East an outpost of civilization and democracy with benefits to Arab and Jew alike. The Yishuv's adversaries in this struggle are not the Arab people, but a band of feudal

kings, effendis, and chieftains, led by former Nazi collaborators similar to those who were condemned to death by our country among others at Nuremberg as war criminals. On whose side is our country? By placing an embargo on arms to Palestine, by warning Jewish G. I.'s in Palestine that they will forfeit their passports if they defend themselves against Arab attacks, by creating the impression in the American call for a truce that Jews and Arabs are equally the aggressors, and now by abandoning Partition and proposing a trusteeship which would make the neighboring Arab States parties to the agreement, our country - the world's greatest spokesman for democracy - is giving clear evidence that it has turned its back on the democratic Yishuv and is collaborating with the Mufti and his ilk. Can democracy thrive in such a climate?"

Rabbi Levinthal Says America's Last Word on Jewish Palestine Has Not Yet Been Spoken.

Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, said: "We pray for the people of Israel that they may be sustained in their faith and in their courage to establish the Jewish State in Palestine in these dark days when they are forsaken by those who were their allies in their hopes. Verily, as the prophet Jeremiah bewails, 'I called to my friends, but they have betrayed me.'

"But we pray, too, for our beloved America, that she may regain her true soul, that she may remain faithful to her ideals, that she may not sell her birthright of national honor for a mess of pottage or oil.

"America, as an exemplar of world morality, could indeed have made the United Nations the instrument for world peace. By her reversal on the Palestine solution and by yielding to threats of force, she struck a mortal blow to the United Nations, which has rendered it impotent as a serious influence for the solution of world problems.

"We believe, however, that the last word of America on Jewish Palestine has not yet been spoken, and that the conscience of America will yet force those in authority to do justice to that people that was denied world justice through so many ages."

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date January 29, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

I am sure that you will be interested in the attached excerpts from letters written by Harold P. Manson from Tel-Aviv, together with an analysis of British strategy sent from Jerusalem.

Mr. Manson is Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council. He is now on leave of absence and is a correspondent for the Overseas News Agency.

Regards.

AT:RB

Encs.

LETTERS FROM THE FRONT

by

Harold Manson

Tel-Aviv, January 11, 1948. Today I saw The Land for the first time, and it was beautiful. I can thank the Arabs for that first thrilling glimpse of Tel-Aviv and its environs from the air: because they have made motor travel on the roads unsafe, I was prevailed upon to fly into Tel-Aviv via "Aviron" -- a two-seater cub, efficiently piloted by a stalwart member of the future Jewish Air Force. We came down on a landing strip, laid out along the seacoast just outside the city, which Tel-Avivians already refer to as "the airport". (and judging by the activity I saw there, it will be precisely that before very long.)

The initial (and somewhat misleading) impression of Tel-Aviv today is that of a superbly normal city, going about its business with both efficiency and charm, and bursting with creative energy. War -- the dirty business of killing, bombing and sniping -- seems very remote from this lovely, almost idyllic, sea-side community with its gleaming white buildings; its thoroughfares, boulevards and promenades teeming with pleasant, relaxed faces; its crowded cafes and shops; its strong children running about in the bright Mediterranean sun. But in the midst of one's happy contemplation of this warm scene, one suddenly hears rifle shots or the sound of an explosion, and then one sees the real Tel-Aviv: a city at war, whose sense of security comes from the knowledge that many brave young men and women risk (and sometimes lose) their lives daily to insure that the "cousins" over in Jaffa don't dare to penetrate the all-Jewish city.

Tel-Aviv, January 12, 1948. I think I'm beginning to get the "feel" of the place -- both its wartime aspects and its far more important permanent features. To begin with, this is one of the friendliest spots on earth. Invitations to dinner, tea and just plain visits come bewilderingly fast, and one is hard put to organize one's daily schedule in such a way as to avoid converting one's stay here to a prolonged social occasion. While everybody seems to be working hard, there is a relaxed attitude which, I suppose, is a direct result of the general sense of "belonging" and a feeling of security. But here, too, one must look beneath the surface to see the real thing. One suddenly remembers that the charming couple discussing modern art in Palestine have an eighteen-year old boy who is, in all likelihood, roaming the hills somewhere to guarantee his people's security -- and boys like that die every day in Palestine.

My journalist friends tell me that I'm in luck. I was privileged to be an eye-witness of a unique bit of "action" on my second day here. A bit after noon, as I was returning to the Gat Rimon Hotel from the Jewish Agency office, I passed Barclay's Bank on Allenby Road just as a small truck zoomed away, careened around a corner and disappeared. There was suddenly much excitement, with police cars speeding to the scene and armed troops taking up stations around the bank. A group of white-faced men and women were herded out of the building into official cars -- and that was all. Gradually the crowd, which had gathered on the opposite side of the street, dispersed, clearly annoyed that details as to what had transpired were not available. Later I learned that eight Jewish boys had held up the place (for the umpteenth time) and had made off with approximately 15,000 Pounds. There were no casualties.

The Arabs over Jaffa way have been rather active today. It seems that the sons of Allah are using the minaret of a mosque for sniping purposes. They seldom hit anybody, but it's damned irritating to know that Haganah retaliation would be

denounced as an attack on a holy place and could precipitate "holy warfare."

Tel-Aviv, January 14, 1948. Much of the beauty of the place was charmingly pointed out to me today by Reuben Rubin, the painter, at whose house I met many people from all walks of life who make this country tick: industrialists, businessmen, professional men, artists -- all singularly intelligent individuals who are currently harnessing their energies and talents to the country's present needs. Reuben and his lovely wife, Esther, certainly make life here more pleasant for many people. Following our promenade (the high point of which was a visit to the Dizengoff Park for Children, where hundreds of beautiful kids testified to Eretz Israel's bright future) Reuben took me with him to the Habimah, where a new Anski piece "Yom Valaila", is in rehearsal. While Reuben supervised set installations and costume fittings (all designed by him) I watched the play take form on the stage.

Arab attacks and British "neutrality" be damned! The artistic and cultural activity of the Yishuv was going forward without interruption, and these men and women in the dark auditorium were also fighters.

On my way back to the hotel I came "under fire" for the first time. I had decided to walk home along the seashore, but started my promenade at the lower end of Hayarkon Street, not too far from Jaffa. Suddenly bullets began to fly (one of our friends in the minaret again) and the few people on the street took cover, then calmly turned the corner and went about their business. There was no sign of panic or even excitement. Quite a people, these Jews.

Dr. and Mrs. Silver are due here soon. There is a great deal of excitement in the Yishuv about his coming. The trip will clearly be valuable in terms of "morale". I do hope that the Silvers won't be swamped with meetings and interviews when they get here, as the moments of relaxation were few and far between in Paris, where Silver had to attend one reception after another -- at all of which there was great warmth and enthusiasm, but also much speech-making. (Incidentally, Dr. Silver's address in the Palais de Chaillot was masterful, even for him -- and in Yiddish, too.) My hunch is that the pattern will repeat itself here, as I am constantly being queried as to the date of his arrival (about which I maintain total ignorance -- for obvious reasons.)

Tel-Aviv, January 15, 1948. The Silvers are here. They landed in Lydda last night, slept a few hours (under Haganah guard) and arrived in Tel-Aviv this morning via "Aviron." The "siege" has already begun, and the men behind the desk at the Gat Rimmon are being driven to distraction by the scores of would-be visitors. There has been a steady procession of local dignitaries up to his room and both Mrs. Silver and I are planning to snatch him away and out into the open.

At lunchtime we met Ben-Gurion and Mrs. B.-G. in the dining room. Cordial greetings were exchanged and we were invited to tea on Shabat. We managed to get away for a stroll later in the day. Dr. Silver was greatly impressed by the sense of security and confidence everywhere.

Tel-Aviv, January 16, 1948. More interviews and visitors all morning. I'm beginning to realize that there is a method to all this and that Silver isn't deliberately inflicting gab-fests upon himself. He is actually sizing up the entire situation here. Now that I think of it, I believe he is the only man I know who can sit in a room and listen to people, representing various viewpoints, and a day or two later emerge with a full grasp of a problem, including all its nuances and subtleties.

In the afternoon, Dr. Silver met with the Hebrew editors and newspapermen at the local press club. The conference was a great success from every point of view.

In the evening, to the home of Harry and Ida Davidowitz, where we were much impressed by Dr. Davidovitz' Hebrew translations of Shakespeare.

Tel-Aviv, January 17, 1948. There was a great deal of shooting last night, and two big explosions. This morning we learned that the British had blown up two houses in the Jaffa -- Tel-Aviv area, one Arab and one Jewish, which had been used by snipers. How terribly fair and "neutral" to punish both the attackers and the attacked...I was treated to something special this morning. About 8:30 A.M., while I was getting a breath of morning air on my terrace, there was a terrific explosion to the left and I saw fragments of a house go up in the air and a cloud of dust and smoke settle over the "border area." Later I learned that our boys had destroyed another Arab snipers' hangout.

In the afternoon we went to the Ben-Gurions' for tea. Goldie Meyerson came in after a bit; and the current situation, with emphasis on the Yishuv's present needs, was gone into at some length. In the midst of the conversation, men came in with a report on the 35 lads who had been sent to reinforce Kfar Ezion. You know, of course, what the report was -- but you should have seen Silver's face at that moment. We left soon afterwards with very heavy hearts, not at all anxious to attend the concert of the Palestine Orchestra, which we were scheduled to go to in the evening.

As it turned out, all of us were glad that we went. They played the Ninth, Molinari conducting, and performed it beautifully. Schiller's "Ode to Joy" had a deep personal meaning for every person in the Ohel Shem on Saturday evening, January 17, 1948. There was electricity in the air. And Beethoven was a Zionist, singing out his message of hope -- this time to the Jewish people. He sang of the glory of our cause and he assured us of its triumph. It was definitely not an ordinary musical evening.

Incidentally, I was informed that the male section of the chorus was smaller than usual...

As we were leaving, the entire audience congregated in the entrance and outside the auditorium, and when Dr. Silver appeared on the stairs there was a tremendous ovation, following which all present sang Hatikvah. (I have never heard it sung that way before.) The crowd lined the streets and applauded as Dr. Silver's car pulled away. I have seen many demonstrations of popular esteem and affection for Dr. Silver back home, but this topped them all.

We returned to the hotel, cheered and refreshed by the events of the evening. We all needed such an evening, for at day-break tomorrow we leave for Jerusalem -- under rather unusual conditions.

By Harold Manson

Jerusalem, January 23 (ONA) -- Behind the smoke of the dirty war which is being waged in Palestine, the pattern of current British policy in the Holy Land is slowly becoming discernible. British "neutrality" in the Palestine conflict, which does not differentiate between attackers (Arabs) and attacked (Jews), and which often takes the form of depriving the attacked of the means to defend themselves, is part and parcel of an over-all British plan for Palestine designed to demonstrate that partition is not implementable and aimed at the reintroduction of the British Foreign Secretary's pet scheme for the federalization of the Holy Land.

British strategy seems to run along the following lines: Weaken the Jews as much as possible during the interim period so that they will be under a serious disadvantage in their struggle against the Arabs after the Mandate is terminated in April or May. The Jews then will presumably realize the hopelessness of their situation and beg the British to stay on in the Holy Land in order to maintain law and order. This could easily be arranged in view of the fact that British troops will still be here, concentrated in the Haifa enclave -- their evacuation center. The British Government's price for maintaining peace would be abandonment of the partition solution, substituting instead something along the lines of the old Morrison-Grady plan.

The British evidently anticipate that the morale of the Jews will crack during the forthcoming months. They apparently reason as follows: After the Arabs strike their strongest blows against the Jewish community (which will have become weakened by British arms searches and the American arms embargo) they will then hope for a re-emergence of that type of Jewish leadership which British spokesmen characterize as "moderate" and with whom deals might be made on the basis of a revived Morrison plan.

With regard to the United Nations, British strategy is clearly designed to place a long series of obstacles in the way of the implementation of the November 29 decision favoring partition. Repeated efforts will be made to delay the arrival of the UN Commission in Palestine. The effect of these efforts on the question of an international force should discourage the UN in its task and create a general feeling of defeatism. In the end the international body itself might be compelled to urge the British to stay on to preserve law and order. The British will then be prepared to accept this task only on the condition that the UN decision is revised to meet Bevin's views on Palestine.

This correspondent also learned that the British have, on various occasions, suggested that the Jews evacuate certain areas of Palestine for reasons of "military exigency." Significantly enough, abandonment of these areas would reduce the proposed Jewish state to an approximation of the boundary lines of the Morrison-Grady federalization plan. Thus, on December 6, the British suggested that the Jews abandon their settlements in the Negev; on January 8, they advised the Jews to evacuate the tip of Northern Galilee; on January 14, they asked Jews to leave Etzion region. Such requests serve to disclose exactly what constitute the British Government's intentions for the Holy Land.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date February 6, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

We wired you today as follows:

"YOUR PRESENT EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MODIFICATION OF ARMS EMBARGO FOR YISHUV AND FORTHRIGHT AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ESTABLISHMENT JEWISH MILITIA AND INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE MUST BE STEPPED-UP CONSIDERABLY OTHERWISE SITUATION IN WASHINGTON WILL NOT BE MEASURABLY IMPROVED. MESSAGES TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS MUST POUR IN FROM THE COUNTRY IN OVERWHELMING NUMBERS. WE CALL UPON YOU TO EXERT EVERY INFLUENCE AT YOUR COMMAND TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE. PLEASE INFORM US IMMEDIATELY NAMES YOUR DELEGATION TO EMERGENCY COUNCIL CONFERENCE WASHINGTON FEBRUARY FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH UNLESS YOU HAVE DONE SO. ORGANIZED ZIONISM SHOULD BE 100% REPRESENTED. REGARDS."

ABE TUVIM

It is of the utmost urgency that you take all measures to carry out the above directive. At no time has there been a greater need for the collective voice of America to be heard on the Palestine issue. We must bend every effort to prevent people in high places in our Government from scuttling the UN decision on Palestine. Every friendly Christian; civic, cultural and fraternal organizations; synagogues, temples and churches; and above all, the entire Jewish community must be involved in this effort.

* * *

We are attaching a memorandum entitled, "Palestine Partition and United States Security" which will bring you up to date on some of the issues confronting us and which we hope you can use to good advantage in contacting the press, radio, organizations and individuals.

Kindest regards.

AT:FB
Enc.

PALESTINE PARTITION AND UNITED STATES SECURITY

In the two months which have passed since the adoption of the Partition Plan for Palestine by the United Nations General Assembly, the irreconcilable opponents of the Plan have been conducting a vigorous campaign aimed at the annulment of the UN decision. With inventiveness of mind worthy of a better cause, they have marshalled conceivable and sometimes quite inconceivable arguments. As soon as any one argument is refuted by hard facts and actual developments, a new reason is put forward or a new rumor spread. What all these arguments and rumors have in common is one aim: to upset the UN decision and prevent the materialization of Palestine Partition.

Several already discarded arguments of the anti-partitionists ought to be mentioned here before considering the important aspect with which we are here concerned. Among these exploded arguments the following are most prominent:

1. The threat that if the United States supported the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and the United Nations approved the Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, the Arab States in the Middle East would align themselves with Soviet Russia.

2. The threat that King Ibn Saud would cancel the American oil concession in his domain in retaliation for American support of Palestine Partition.

The facts are that the United States of America did officially support the UNSCOP plan for Palestine Partition and the United Nations did approve of that plan, yet this did not lead to an alignment between the Arab States and the Soviet Union. Nor has King Ibn Saud cancelled American oil concessions; he told an American newspaperman in December that reports that his government was prepared to cancel American oil concessions are "untrue and irresponsible". Now that these two arguments can no longer be used to combat the Partition Plan, we find the UN decision being assiduously described as a threat to American security in this period of dangerous international friction. The unrest caused by the Partition Plan, the argument runs, may have an adverse effect on the flow of Middle Eastern oil; lose America the friendship of Arab and Moslem everywhere; and make the establishment of a Jewish State so difficult that it had better be scrapped before it is too late.

THE TRUTH ABOUT OIL

Middle East oil, described as vital to our security, particularly in case of war, figures very prominently in the arguments against Palestine Partition. The validity of the oil argument depends on the answers to the following questions:

- (a) Is there a shortage of oil in the United States, or is such a shortage likely to arise as far as our domestic requirements in peacetime are concerned?

(b) What is the relation of Middle East oil to the Marshall Plan and what part would it play in a new world war?

(c) Can the oil-producing countries in the Middle East afford to let their "black gold" stay underground undeveloped, unproduced and unmarketed? Can they dispose of their oil through some alternative to the present American-British concessions?

(d) Is there complete identity between the business interests of the big oil companies with holdings in the Middle East and the national interests of the United States?

DOES OIL SHORTAGE THREATEN AMERICA?

Many authorities on oil can be quoted to the effect that the United States possesses enough domestic oil resources and has access to enough oil deposits in geographically close areas to supply all our peacetime requirements for a long time to come. To quote one authority among many, Mr. Joseph E. Pogue, Vice-President of the Chase National Bank of New York, and member of the National Petroleum Council, addressing the Economic Club of Detroit on November 17, 1947, stated:

"...The United States will face a shortage of oil only if we create it out of a shortage of understanding and imagination... The current short supply of oil is linked to our rapid industrial expansion, but there is more smoke than fire in any interpretation of this as an indication of rapid failure of oil resources.

"...Estimates of proved underground oil reserves for the entire world now stand at 73 billion barrels, distributed as follows: In the United States, 24 billion; Caribbean Basin, 9 billion; Russia, 8 billion; Middle East, 30 billion; and the rest of the world, 2 billion.

"The oil of the Middle East is not primarily required in the United States, and no large quantities of it in the foreseeable future need come here... Most of that oil will be consumed in the Eastern hemisphere, gradually relieving the dependence of that area upon the oil of the United States and the Caribbean and increasing the availability of the latter for consumption in this country."

Mr. Pogue should know. His connections with one of America's leading banks and with the National Petroleum Council, place him in a good position to judge the requirements of our industrial expansion and the extent of our oil reserves. The figures which Mr. Pogue quotes speak for themselves. Of an estimated world total of 73 billion barrels, the United States has in its own territory and at its doorstep (Caribbean Basin) 33 billion barrels, which represents over 45% of all the oil on the globe.

By way of postscript, we should quote a significant statement which has just been made on this very subject. We refer to a Letter to the Editor by Eugene Holman, President of Standard Oil of New Jersey, published in the New York Times of February 4, 1948. We suggest that Mr. Holman's letter be

read by all those who seem to be alarmed by the prospect of an oil shortage in the United States. It states inter alia:

"...That future discoveries in the United States will be large is generally agreed. One estimate is that as much oil remains to be discovered in the land area of continental United States as has been discovered since the beginning of the industry... Thus, the nation's oil 'resources' are much larger than its 'reserves'. Clearly, we have far more than - at least several times - ten years to count on for very large-scale domestic oil production."

Mr. Holman goes on to evaluate optimistically the large quantities of petroleum to be found under offshore areas, as well as the prospects of synthetic oil production.

While the magnitude of Middle East oil resources is undeniable, the sober truth emerges, that the United States is not threatened by an oil shortage at present or in the foreseeable future, and that America does not need Middle Eastern oil for its domestic requirements.

MIDDLE EAST OIL AND ERP

Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, testifying before a Senate Committee, stated recently that Middle East oil is indispensable to the success of the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe. All the oil experts who deny that America is threatened by an oil shortage agree that oil for Europe must be supplied largely from the Middle East.

The petroleum reserves of Europe (located in Rumania, Austria and Poland) are comparatively small, and are now for the most part under Soviet control. If America is not to oil the Marshall Plan from domestic or Caribbean resources, Europe must get oil from elsewhere. The natural source would be the Middle East.

It is now argued that though Ion Saud has not withdrawn the oil concession from the Arabian American Oil Company, or Iraq from the British-American-French-Dutch concession, the partition decision has already caused enough trouble to slow down the flow of oil from these concessions and to prevent the construction of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline from Saudi Arabia to the Eastern Mediterranean. This is absolutely false. Actually, the refusal of the Syrian Government to ratify its agreement with the Trans-Arabian Pipeline was due not to its opposition to Palestine Partition but to a quarrel between Syria and Lebanon as to their respective shares in the pipeline royalties. As long as there is no new world war, the oil of the Middle East, it may be safely assumed, will flow to Europe. What will happen in case of a new war, we shall try to describe below.

MIDDLE EAST OIL IN THE EVENT OF WAR

The map will tell us what our military experts must know by heart - that Russia is the only great power whose home territory is directly adjacent to the Middle East. The United States is about 7,000 miles away. Even Great Britain has the whole length of the Mediterranean and a slice of the Atlantic to cover before its ships reach the oil on the Persian Gulf.

Experience has shown that formal ownership of oil fields, pipelines and refineries is of no account in time of war. Accessibility is the only thing that matters. The Rumanian oil fields in Ploesti were owned mainly by American and British companies, but in World War II Ploesti was accessible to the Wehrmacht and not to the Western Powers. It was Hitler who used the oil of Rumania. Similarly, for many crucial months in the last war the oil of Iran, Iraq and other Middle East countries was inaccessible to allied tankers, and American and Caribbean reserves were drawn upon disproportionately. In the first World War, the British fleet succeeded in defeating the German fleet, not because Winston Churchill had acquired 51% of the stock of the Anglo-Persian Company for the British Government, but because British control of the seas enabled the oil tankers to reach Scapa Flow from the Persian Gulf.

In sum, should there be a new world war our strategists would be prudent to realize that we should not count on the oil reserves of the Middle East.

IS IBN SAUD FREE TO CHOOSE?

King Ibn Saud may be considered the arch-type of the potentates in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, and the questions asked here about him apply to all the others. Is Ibn Saud free to choose; is he in a position suddenly to decide to cancel the American oil concession? Is there any competitor in sight, whom he could call in to work his oil fields, after withdrawing the American concession? Or would he let the vast deposits of petroleum remain underground, unproduced and unsold?

The only sober and realistic answer to all these questions is an emphatic "no". In the present state of international relations and in the light of the financial dependency of Europe on the United States, there is no country in Western Europe whose government would encourage or permit its oil companies to take over a concession which belonged to American oil interests. Nor is there today any oil combine outside of the United States which could offer King Ibn Saud sizeable royalties, technical skill and all the equipment necessary for large-scale production, piping, refining and marketing, on a level anywhere near that of the American companies.

The only country which would feel no hesitation on political grounds if the Saudi Arabian concession were offered to it, is Soviet Russia. In this case, however, Ibn Saud would be the one to hesitate - and hesitate very

definitely. For perfectly obvious reasons, Ibn Saud would be opposed to any Soviet penetration of his domain. Moreover, financially and technically Soviet Russia would be even less advanced than any of the Western European powers. We may, therefore, safely say that King Ibn Saud and the other Arab kings and governments have no choice - unless they are prepared to forego all the benefits accruing to them from the black gold found in abundance in their domains.

Should any country with large deposits of such a crucially vital resource as oil adopt a dog in the manger policy, it is rather doubtful whether the world at large would stand for it. Were King Ibn Saud, the Shah of Iran, the Regent of Iraq or the Sheik of Kuwait suddenly to announce that he no longer wished to have his oil extracted from underground and supplied to people in need of oil, the world would not hesitate to employ means which would quickly change the minds of these Arab potentates. Nor, objectively speaking, is any of these Moslem rulers or all of them jointly, in a position - political, military or economic - to withhold from the world such vital supplies. One may, however, say with the greatest certainty that such a contingency is not likely to arise. It is so well known as to be a truism that Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Bahrein are largely dependent on their income from oil for their existence, their governmental budgets, and the comforts and luxuries of their ruling classes. Striking confirmation of the correctness of this analysis is provided by King Ibn Saud's repeated statements, both before and after the Partition decision, to the effect that he has no intention of cancelling the American concession and will in fact provide all necessary protection for its normal functioning.

ARAMCO'S INTEREST AND U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST

The stand adopted by the Arabian-American Oil Company on political issues in the Middle East and on Palestine Partition in particular, is simple and understandable. The only criterion which the owners of the Saudi Arabian concession apply to any Middle East issue or development is its possible effect on the company's business interests and profits. This is the narrow though natural approach of the businessman, and is understandable, particularly when one remembers that Saudi Arabian oil has already provided many millions of net profit to ARAMCO and is likely to supply many more millions.

Applying its yardstick of business and profits to the Palestine problem, ARAMCO soon arrived at the conclusion that, as far as it was concerned, Jewish need and hope for national rebirth in their historic homeland were no help and might possibly prove disturbing. Clearly, even though help to Zionism cannot cause Ibn Saud to withdraw the concession, it may put him in a bad mood and result in inconvenience. This possibility was enough to cause ARAMCO to take a hostile attitude toward Zionism.

All this is human and, therefore, understandable. But American big business behind ARAMCO went much further. Over a number of years, our policy-makers in Washington have been skillfully impressed with the idea that America's national interests are necessarily and always identical with ARAMCO's business interests. This supposed identity of interests between the American

people and the Arabian-American Oil Company, was manifestly absent when ARAMCO overcharged the American navy for petroleum supplies to the tune of many millions of dollars or when ARAMCO manipulated its affairs so as to deprive the U.S. Treasury of large sums in corporation taxes - as has been demonstrated before a Senate Committee just recently. An old anti-Zionist bias among certain officials in the Department of State was reinforced by planting ARAMCO's own men in key government positions where they could promote the company's interpretation of American national interest in the Middle East. The records of the Senate Investigation Committee show several cases of men who while in service with the State Department and the Petroleum Administration were at the same time on the payroll of ARAMCO or of one of the large oil companies controlling ARAMCO. It is needless to add that the salaries they received from the oil companies were three times as high as those paid them simultaneously by the U.S. Treasury.

It is evident that the national interests of the United States are not necessarily and automatically identical with the interests of a private business concern. The whims and preferences of Ibn Saud may be all-powerful with ARAMCO, but American foreign policy must be based on long established American principles and traditions, international commitments, the interests of world peace, the upholding of the United Nations. When the line of demarcation is drawn between American national interests and ARAMCO's interests, it becomes apparent that while the United States is interested in the development of the oil fields of Saudi Arabia, there is a limit to the price - in national honor and in stable world relations - which we should be willing to pay for it.

U.S.A., RUSSIA, BRITAIN AND PARTITION

American-Soviet agreement on Palestine Partition was undoubtedly a very fortunate feature in United Nations developments. The two great powers, at loggerheads on every other international issue, found a common approach to one important problem. This augured well for the United Nations, for the prospects of world peace and for adequate solution of the Palestine problem. The present effort of anti-partitionists to present this American-Soviet agreement as a devilish device of the Kremlin to cause chaos in the Middle East and make America unpopular among "the 80,000,000 Arabs" or even "350,000,000 Moslems" in the world is a blatant absurdity. Assuming that American endorsement of partition has been unpopular among Arab leaders, how can Russian backing of partition be said to have made friends for the Soviet among the same Arabs?...

Appeasement of Arab extremists has never paid. The fact of the matter is that even Great Britain - despite its determined opposition to partition and despite its very outspoken pro-Arab line of policy on the question of Palestine - cannot boast of having acquired unquestioning Arab friendship in the Middle East. The developments with regard to the new British-Iraqi Treaty prove this point. Palestine Partition had nothing at all to do with the riots in Baghdad, the dismissal of the Iraqi Cabinet, the flight of the Prime Minister and the new Iraqi Government's refusal to ratify the proposed treaty. The rioting was purely anti-British, for sentiment against Britain runs high in Iraq, though it was Britain that piloted Iraq toward early independence; sponsored Iraq for membership in the League of Nations and later in the

United Nations; promoted the Arab League; saved Iraq from Rashid Ali's Nazi putsch in 1941; trained Iraq's army and supplied its armaments.

Or let us take British-Egyptian relations. The minute the Palestine question is solved, the problem of the Sudan will again appear prominently on the international agenda. Egypt will again be up in arms against Britain, and Egypt will be supported by all the other Arab States.

Britain is no more sure of the friendship of the Arab Middle East than the United States. From either or both of the two powers the Arabs will take as much as they can get - in money, arms, military training, economic development and political support - and if a world crisis comes, they will give little or nothing in return. It was so in the first and second world wars, and it will be so if and when a new world conflagration occurs.

Among the many strange rumors spread behind the scenes, there is a new story to the effect that Great Britain and with her the Arab States may stay neutral in the event of a Russian-American War. This is of course ridiculous. America may need Middle East oil to supply Europe, but England would be completely paralyzed without the oil of Iran and Iraq, for there are no domestic oil resources in the British Isles. Greece and Turkey may be considered forward positions of American security, but for Britain they are the frontline trenches of her Empire. Should the great calamity of a new world war occur, it is safe to predict that the United States will join Great Britain in such a war and not the other way around.

THE "FORMIDABILITY" OF ARAB OPPOSITION

If two gunmen were to attack a citizen on Times Square in New York and beat him to death, while the policeman on the corner did nothing to defend the victim or even helped the attackers, the impression would be created that the two gunmen were very strong and the victim very weak. This elementary parable applies admirably to what is happening today in Palestine and in the Arab countries. In Syria, Iraq, Aden, Bahrain the application is quite literal. The local Arabs, with the active help of the police, massacre Jews, loot and burn Jewish property, and prevent Jewish defense. In Palestine itself, the British condone and support Arab bands, and hinder Jewish defense. What is more, while the Arabs get arms from the British, via the Arab States, the Jews are denied arms by the United States Government, which applies its embargo equally to the Arabs defying the United Nations decision and to the Jews fighting for its implementation.

In these circumstances, it is easy to create the impression that Arab opposition to partition is formidable and Jewish ability to defend the future Jewish State is questionable. It was precisely this impression that the anti-partitionists wished to create in the public mind, as an important tactic in their campaign for a reversal of the United Nations decision. If one sees through this artificially distorted picture, a different pattern of Middle Eastern realities emerges.

As far as population statistics are concerned, Arab propaganda runs wild in its exaggerations, and there are naive people among us who accept their exaggerations. There are no 80,000,000 Arabs in the Middle East. There are only about 15,000,000 Arabs and 16,000,000 Egyptians (who are not Arabs but an Arabic speaking people). Likewise, there are not 350,000,000 Moslems in the world. The grand total of Mohammed's followers in the world amounts to about 285,000,000. But the Moslem world, as a whole, is very little concerned with Palestine. Mohammedan Turkey and Mohammedan Iran, the Moslems of Soviet Russia, of China and of India are not ready to wage war on behalf of Palestine's Arabs. As for the Arab States in the Middle East, the numerical weakness, inadequate technical training and equipment of their armies are well-known. These armies cannot represent a "formidable" force, even if all of them should merge under a unified supreme command. In fact, the existing Arab armies together are numerically not stronger than the Haganah. In technical skill, adaptability to the requirements of modern warfare, spiritual strength and readiness for sacrifice, the Jews of Palestine - fighting for their lives and for their only hope of national freedom - certainly represent a much more determined and potent force than the Arabs.

Furthermore, the Jews of Palestine and of the world are united (even the Irgun and the Stern Group will submerge their differences in face of an Arab onslaught), while the criss-cross ambitions, feuds and interests of the Arab potentates and the ruling cliques of Arabia are as strong as ever. Ibn Saud and King Abdullah are still mortal enemies; so are King Ibn Saud and the Regent of Iraq. The politicians of Syria are opposed to Abdullah, fearing his Greater Syria Plan. The Christian majority of the Lebanon is opposed to its own Pan-Islamic Government, to Syria and to the Arab League. The kings of Egypt and Saudi Arabia are serious rivals in the Islamic world. King Abdullah and Amin el Hussein, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, are openly opposed to each other and compete for control over the Arabs of Palestine.

With the "policeman on Times Square" siding openly or tacitly with the gunmen, it is easy to create the impression of a formidable and united Arab opposition. In actual fact, however, no more than a few thousand mercenaries, many of them drafted from among the starving proletariat in the Arab lands outside of Palestine, have thus far been active in the Palestine disorders.

Once the Jews of Palestine have the arms and modern equipment which they need; once the United Nations has all the support it legitimately deserves in the implementation of its decision; once the Arab League knows beyond doubt that the United Nations and the great powers are determined to carry out partition, the "formidability" of Arab opposition to Palestine Partition will disappear.

February, 1948

*call Laderman
Phil Milschein
Ed Miller*

MEMORANDUM

To CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

Date

January 30, 1948

From ABRAHAM TUVIN

A SPECIAL EMERGENCY MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVE COMMUNITIES OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL WILL BE HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15TH AND MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16TH, AT THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER, 16TH AND Q STREETS NORTHWEST. The Sunday session will begin at 11:00 A.M. KOSHER LUNCHEON WILL BE SERVED. There will be a mass meeting Sunday night at which Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is expected to report on his visit to Palestine and to review the critical political situation which prompts the calling of this meeting. IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT YOUR COMMUNITY BE REPRESENTED. An effort will be made to provide hotel facilities for those who cannot do so directly. We urge, however, that you make your own reservation, if at all possible. We will try to devote most of Monday, February 16th for visits to Congressmen and Senators. IT MIGHT BE WELL FOR YOUR REPRESENTATIVE TO BEGIN MAKING APPOINTMENTS NOW. LET US KNOW BY WIRE WHO WILL REPRESENT YOUR COMMUNITY AND WHETHER YOU ARE MAKING YOUR OWN HOTEL RESERVATIONS.

* * * * *

Our situation has not improved sufficiently to warrant any let-up in our present campaign to bring to the attention of the President of the United States and the Secretary of State the deep misgivings we feel because of their failure to take steps to implement the decision of the UN by the creation of an international force, or to provide arms for the heroic Jews of the Yishuv.

We call upon you to accelerate your efforts. Every avenue for political contacts and for messages and telegrams to the President and the Secretary of State should be explored and followed through. All friendly organizations should be called upon to help. Christians - ministers and other leaders in public life - should be enrolled in this effort. Every Jewish family in your community should be represented by at least two telegrams. These activities are most vital to our cause. Nothing should stand in the way of carrying them out.

AT:RB

THE FOLLOWING WASHINGTON HOTELS, IN THE ORDER
LISTED, ARE NEAR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER



HOTEL ROOSEVELT
HOTEL MAYFLOWER
HOTEL STATLER
HOTEL CARLTON
HOTEL LAFAYETTE
HOTEL HAY-ADAMS
HOTEL AMBASSADOR
HOTEL HAMILTON
HOTEL WILLARD
HOTEL WASHINGTON

NOTE: When asking for reservations, please inform the hotel
of the time of your arrival, accommodations desired, and length
of stay.

TRIBUTE TO DR. ABRAHAM HILFEL SILVER
Hotel Astor, New York City
Monday evening, December 29, 1947

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS OF DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD CONFEDERATION OF GENERAL ZIONISTS
AND NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

- - - - -

Dr. Silver has been the architect-in-chief of American Zionist policy in recent years. More than any other American Zionist leader he has brought the Zionist program onto the highway of American public opinion. This policy utilizing the democratic methods of the American political process, namely, direct communication between the people and their representatives in government, succeeded in winning the legislative and executive aims of our government to the advocacy of a Jewish State. Our government's advocacy proved decisive in bringing about the favorable UN decision. Therefore Dr. Silver's contribution has been a decisive factor in the epoch-making dispensation of a Jewish State. It is fortunate that American Zionism, in this crucial period, had Dr. Silver's far-visioned and courageous leadership. He is deserving of the lasting gratitude of the Jewish people for the successful mobilization of the force of American public opinion and for his masterly presentation of the Zionist case before the UN.

With the UN decision, only the first stage of the Jewish State program is concluded, the stage of policy pronouncement. Now we are in the second stage, that of implementation. The Mufti and his collaborators are doing their utmost to frustrate the decision of the UN and make it come to naught.

Erstwhile Hitlerites openly defying and threatening to thwart a decision of an overwhelming majority of the United Nations must not be permitted by the UN to "get away with it" by taking advantage of the fact that the UN Assembly

(more)

is not in session. The Security Council should act, for inaction breeds a deterioration of the situation. Whatever moral prestige the UN has gained by this great decision will be lost if it is not backed up firmly.

It behooves the United States both as a member of the UN and as an avowed advocate of a Jewish State to react against the breach of international law and order being fomented by the Arab States. Its declared embargo on arms to Palestine helps the Arab aggressors who can secure arms readily from neighboring Arab States and hurts the Jewish forces of self-defense.

Great Britain's policy in this transition stage, under the guise of strict neutrality, in effect gives aid and comfort to the Arabs. Under the pretext of evenhanded justice, it is supplying arms to the Arab aggressors and denying them to the Jewish defenders. Invoking technicalities, it is inviting the UN Palestine Commission to stay out of Palestine until Great Britain is ready to leave, thus deliberately planning to create a situation of chaos in which lawlessness and banditry can thrive. What a petty, spiteful, inglorious closing to a chapter which began gloriously with the Balfour Declaration.

I speak as one who all his life considered himself a friend of England, headed the Jewish effort for British War Relief in the U.S. during the war when Great Britain was in desperate need of friends here. The Jewish people still clings to the hope that British policy may change for the better so that Great Britain can go out of Palestine honorably by cooperating with the UN instead of obstructing it.

In the meantime the Haganah can be relied upon to defend and protect the Yishuv. Comparing the present flareup in Palestine with the Arab attacks in 1936, it is evident that the Jewish defense force is incomparably better prepared to meet the attacks. As a matter of fact the Haganah is exercising restraint -- the restraint, however, which comes from strength not from weakness. It is also evident that whereas the Arab attacks of 1936 resulted in the infamous British White Paper, restricting Jewish immigration and land purchase, and thus rewarding

(more)

the murderers and the bandits, the Arab attacks of 1947 will prove to be the last desperate attempt of the Mufti to gain his ends. He will not succeed. Instead of a British White Paper there will be a Jewish Blue and White Paper, the charter of the Jewish State.

As American citizens we turn to our government and we say: "You have done a great work in helping to bring about the decision to create a Jewish State. Don't consider your work done until the Jewish State stands securely. Such economic assistance as you can give the nascent Jewish State and such help as you can provide to bring large numbers of Jewish DP's out of Europe into Palestine, will be an important contribution. The Jews of America will do their full part. They are endeavoring to raise through the United Jewish Appeal an unprecedented sum of \$250,000,000 in 1948 for Jewish needs overseas and here. But right now the urgent task on the political level, is to act firmly vis-a-vis the Arab trouble-makers. The prestige of the U.S. and of the UN demand that the Jewish State come into being with the firm backing of the great powers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. who brought about the resolution for its establishment.

* * *

TRIBUTE TO DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER
Hotel Astor, New York City
Monday Evening, December 29, 1947

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MESSAGES

From Governor Thomas E. Dewey

IT IS A MATTER OF THE DEEPEST REGRET TO ME THAT THE HEAVY PRESSURE OF PREPARATION FOR THE FORTHCOMING SESSION OF THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO LEAVE MY DESK IN ALBANY AT THIS TIME OF YEAR. NOTHING ELSE WOULD PREVENT ME FROM ATTENDING THE TRIUMPHANT DINNER IN HONOR OF RABBI HILLEL SILVER WHOSE WISE, BRAVE AND SKILLFUL LEADERSHIP IN THE ZIONIST CAUSE HAS CONTRIBUTED SO GREATLY TO THE VICTORY BEING CELEBRATED ON MONDAY NIGHT.

IT HAS BEEN MY PRIVILEGE TO WORK WITH DR. SILVER IN THIS CAUSE FOR MANY YEARS, EVEN UP TO THE LAST MINUTE, AS ITS SUCCESS WAS HANGING BY A THREAD IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THERE IS NO TRIBUTE WHICH COULD BE SUFFICIENT RECOGNITION TO THE QUALITY OF HIS LEADERSHIP AND I JOIN YOU WHOLEHEARTEDLY IN YOUR OUTPOURING OF AFFECTION AND REGARD FOR HIM.

THE FIRST AND WHAT I HOPE IS THE GREATEST HURDLE HAS BEEN OVERCOME. THERE ARE OTHER SERIOUS OBSTACLES AHEAD, BUT SURELY WITH ITS TRADITIONS OF COURAGEOUS AND ZEALOUS PIONEERING, THE FUTURE PROBLEMS OF PALESTINE CAN AS SURELY BE SOLVED AS THOSE WHICH ARE NOW HISTORY. IF THE GREAT NATIONS WILL AS FIRMLY ADHERE TO THE DECISION THEY HAVE JOINTLY REACHED AND AS STEADFASTLY SERVE NOTICE THAT THEIR DECISION SHOULD BE RESPECTED, I AM SURE THAT WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO INCREASING STABILITY AND, IN THE END, THE PEACEFUL BUILDING OF THE GREAT NEW PROGRESSIVE HOMELAND FOR WHICH WE ALL FRAY.

- - - - -

From Bartley C. Crum

I REGRET MORE THAN I CAN SAY MY INABILITY TO BE WITH YOU IN HONORING

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER. WITH THE MOMENTOUS DECISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AMERICAN JEWRY AND MEN OF GOODWILL EVERYWHERE MUST REDEDICATE THEMSELVES TO THE BASIC SPIRITUAL AND MORAL VALUES FOR WHICH DR. SILVER HAS BEEN THE UNGCOMPROMISING SPOKESMAN FOR SO MANY YEARS. IT IS OF PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE THAT THE JEWS, IN RETURNING TO ERETZ, ARE BRINGING WITH THEM, UNTARNISHED, THE VALUES WHICH WERE LARGELY REMOVED FROM THAT LAND WITH THE DIASPORA. PLEASE SAY FOR ME TO DR. SILVER "SHALOM".

From U.S. Senator Robert A. Taft

I DESIRE TO JOIN IN ANY TRIBUTE TO DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER FOR THE GREAT WORK WHICH HE HAS DONE. I HAVE ALWAYS FELT THAT I WAS ONLY ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE PROBLEM AND UNABLE TO ACCOMPLISH A GREAT DEAL, BUT I HAVE RELIED ON HIS GOOD JUDGMENT, AND I AM PROUD TO HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH HIM IN THE WORK.

From House Minority Leader, Rep. John W. McCormack

I REGRET EXCEEDINGLY THAT, DUE TO OFFICIAL BUSINESS REQUIRING MY PRESENCE IN BOSTON, I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ATTEND THE TESTIMONIAL DINNER BEING TENDERED TO DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER. I HAVE A VERY HIGH REGARD FOR DR. SILVER AND I VALUE HIS RESPECT AND FRIENDSHIP FOR ME. HIS UNTIRING CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF THE ESTABLISHMENT IN PALESTINE OF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT JEWISH COMMONWEALTH ARE KNOWN TO ALL. IT WAS MY PLEASURE TO COOPERATE WITH HIM AND THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH HIM, AND TO DO EVERYTHING I POSSIBLY COULD TO BRING IT ABOUT. HE MERITS THE THANKS AND COMMENDATION OF ALL PERSONS FOR HIS OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP IN THIS GREAT MOVEMENT, AS WELL AS FOR THE NOBLE, CONSTRUCTIVE LIFE HE HAS AND ALWAYS

TRIBUTE TO DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER

WILL LEAD IN ALL DIRECTIONS. PLEASE CONVEY TO DR. SILVER MY DEEP FEELINGS OF RESPECT FOR HIM AND TO ALL PRESENT MY KINDEST REGARDS.

- - - - -

From Speaker of the House, Rep. Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

BECAUSE OF PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS DURING THE CONGRESSIONAL RECESS, I REGRET IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO BE IN NEW YORK ON THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 29TH. HOWEVER, I DO WISH IT WERE POSSIBLE FOR ME TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS MERITORIOUS TRIBUTE TO DR. SILVER.

AS ONE WHO HAS LONG BEEN INTERESTED IN THE JEWISH HOMELAND IN PALESTINE, DR. SILVER'S UNFLAGGING AND AGGRESSIVE EFFORTS OF THIS CAUSE AT ALL TIMES HAS, OF COURSE, COME UNDER MY PERSONAL OBSERVATION. HE HAS BEEN A TOWER OF STRENGTH AND IT IS ENTIRELY FITTING AND APPROPRIATE THAT THIS TESTIMONIAL SHOULD BE GIVEN IN HIS BEHALF.

- - - - -

From General John H. Hildring

PLEASE EXTEND TO DR. SILVER MY SINCEREST RESPECT AND ADMIRATION, AND MY BEST WISHES FOR A SUCCESSFUL MISSION TO PALESTINE.

- - - - -

From Dr. Louis Finkelstein, President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America

IT WOULD BE A JOY INDEED FOR ME TO JOIN WITH YOU AT THIS DINNER IF I COULD POSSIBLY DO SO. I HAVE HAD GREAT AFFECTION AND ADMIRATION FOR DR. SILVER FOR MANY YEARS AND REALIZE THE GREAT DEBT IN WHICH HE HAS PLACED US.

- - - - -

From Mayor Thomas A. Burke, of Cleveland, Ohio

AS ONE OF OUR ESTEEMED FELLOW CITIZENS, CLEVELAND TAKES PRIDE IN YOUR

IMPRESSIVE LEADERSHIP BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH CONTRIBUTED SO GREATLY TOWARD THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE AFTER 2000 YEARS OF SEEKING RESTORATION. YOUR STATESMANLIKE EFFORTS, TOGETHER WITH THOSE OF YOUR COLLEAGUES, HAVE MADE WORLD HISTORY. OUR ENTIRE COMMUNITY DERIVES GRATIFICATION IN THE THOUGHT THAT OUR NATIVE ATMOSPHERE OF EQUITY AND DEMOCRACY PROVIDED A NATURAL BACKGROUND IN WHICH YOUR LONG STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE FOR YOUR PEOPLE FOUND SYMPATHETIC SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT. WE JOIN IN PAYING OUR TRIBUTE TO YOUR ACHIEVEMENTS.

From Moshe Shertok, Head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine

I REGRET EXCEEDINGLY THAT MY URGENT TRIP TO PALESTINE HAS MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO BE PRESENT AT THE DINNER TENDERED FOR DR. SILVER ON DECEMBER 29th. I SHOULD LIKE TO ASSOCIATE MYSELF IN THE TRIBUTE TO BE PAID TO DR. SILVER'S LONG AND OUTSTANDING RECORD IN THE SERVICE OF THE ZIONIST CAUSE OF WHICH THE LAST AND MOST SIGNIFICANT CHAPTER IS HIS CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY EXECUTIVE.

IT WAS UNDER DR. SILVER'S CHAIRMANSHIP THAT IT WAS GIVEN TO THE AMERICAN SECTION AT THE SESSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY IN APRIL AND IN SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER, 1947 TO STEER THE VESSEL OF ZIONIST POLICY THROUGH THE STORMY SEAS OF DEBATE, OPPOSITION AND INTERNATIONAL ENTANGLEMENTS, TO ITS PORT OF DESTINATION AND TO ACHIEVE INTERNATIONAL APPROVAL FOR WHAT HAS PROVED PRACTICABLE IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, OF THE ORIGINAL ZIONIST PROGRAM. KNOWING AS I DID, HOW STRONGLY DR. SILVER HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN OPPOSED TO THE COMPROMISE SOLUTION, I ADMIRERD THE MORE HIS WHOLEHEARTED ACCEPTANCE OF IT AND THE UNSWERVING DETERMINATION WITH WHICH HE PURSUED THE NEW COURSE TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, ONCE IT BECAME A MATTER OF PRACTICAL POLITICS AND RECEIVED THE APPROVAL OF THE EXECUTIVE AS A WHOLE.

I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUED HARMONIOUS COLLABORATION WITH DR. SILVER IN THE HARD TRIALS WHICH THE NEAR FUTURE STILL SEEMS TO HOLD IN STORE FOR US. IT IS THE

EARNEST HOPE OF US ALL THAT HIS SINGLEMINDED DEVOTION, HIS COURAGE AND DRIVE SHALL FOR MANY YEARS TO COME BE AT THE SERVICE OF OUR PEOPLE AND OF THE JEWISH STATE NOW IN THE MAKING AND SOON WE HOPE AN ESTABLISHED REALITY.



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** January 15, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

There is one extremely important phase of our public relations work to which we wish to call your attention and ask your cooperation in carrying out a plan to meet the needs of the day.

The propaganda activities of both the British and the Arabs are becoming increasingly evident from day to day. At the present time there are any number of spokesmen for these enemies of Zion who are touring the country and who plant their distortions in the American public mind. Most of the time we have no way of knowing about these lectures and interviews until they are over. Quite often it is too late then to effectively combat the insidious influence which has been spread.

There is a growing need for each community to couple their direct political activities with maintaining constant alertness to what is taking place on non-Jewish platforms. Each community must realize that only by being watchful in advance can we hope to counteract hostile propaganda. It is imperative that news of any anti-Zionist speaker be reported to us as far in advance as possible.

We therefore urge you to appoint (if you have not already done so) a committee of capable Zionists, charged with the following tasks:

1. Reception for Zionist speakers, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and make arrangements to exploit their presence through the local press, radio, etc.
2. Maintain a constant check on lecture notices in churches, colleges and civic groups, and report to us any visiting speaker who may be anti-Zionist.
3. Promote an active liaison with non-Jewish groups with a view to providing new engagements for speakers to present the Zionist case.
4. Utilize the speakers under the direction of the Club Program Service of the American Christian Palestine Committee (41 East 42nd Street, New York) or other non-Jewish speakers known to be friendly to us, thus making additional openings available.
5. Maintain a constant contact with the national office in the carrying out of the above program.

Please let me hear from you. Regards.

AT:RB

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** January 19, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

The attached statement was sent to 180 leading newspaper editors in the United States as another step in our campaign to clarify, and to stimulate sympathy for, our cause.

The material embodied in the statement appeared also as full page advertisements in the NEW YORK TIMES, TRIBUNE, POST, PM, and the WASHINGTON POST.

We urge most strongly that wherever possible this statement and the important signatures which are appended be placed by Zionist communities as an advertisement in daily newspapers. The statement may be used also in such orientation work as may be going on among radio commentators, etc.

If any newspapers in your city use the material, whether sent by us or placed by you, we would be grateful for tear sheets.

Kindest regards.

AT:GH
Encs.

TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Since the United Nations General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine on November 29, 1947, a shameful situation has arisen to which public opinion cannot remain indifferent.

Openly defying the United Nations, the governments of the Arab States, themselves members of the UN, are deliberately encouraging aggression against the Jews of Palestine. They are using Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Iraq as bases for these operations. They are providing funds, ammunition and military training, and have already launched attacks in force from Syria and Lebanon against Palestinian Jews. In Palestine itself this state of affairs has resulted in unbridled violence by armed Arab bands organized by Haj Amin el Husseini, the same Arab leader who, during the war, immeasurably aided Hitler in broadcasts from Berlin urging the Moslems of the Middle East to revolt against the Allies.

This campaign of violence has no moral justification. It is directed against a decision of the United Nations made only after nearly twenty committees of inquiry investigated the problem over a period of more than 25 years. This decision was, finally, a compromise which granted national states in Palestine to both Jews and Arabs.

The campaign of violence we now witness does not spring from a spontaneous uprising by the majority of Palestine's Arabs. On the contrary, they wish to live in peace with their Jewish neighbors. But they are terrorized by the Mufti's bands assisted by his confederates in Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut and Damascus. Significantly, Arab violence is largely directed against Jerusalem which, according to the UN decision, is to be an international territory because of its sacred character to the Christian world.

The campaign of Arab aggression, led by a group of former Nazi allies and aided by accomplices across the frontiers, is therefore directed not only against the Jews, not only against the peaceful majority of the country's Arabs, but against the authority of the United Nations itself.

This is a bold attempt to blackmail the United Nations into submission. It is an attempt by violence to render impotent the first great decision of the United Nations. If this campaign succeeds, it will reduce the United Nations to a debating society. In a moment when world peace is the hope of all men of good will, it will smash the effectiveness of the only instrument of international peace we possess. It will disillusion those millions who had hopes that at last some way other than the holocaust of war could be found to settle international problems.

If the United Nations cannot make its Palestine decision stick, if a handful of willful men can prevent a UN decision from being carried out because they do not like that decision, then no future action of the UN will have more worth than the paper upon which it is written.

For this state of affairs not only the Mufti and his cohorts are responsible. Other powers are not wholly free of responsibility. The British Government, which insisted that it retain sole control over the country and sole responsibility for law and order until the termination of the Palestine Mandate, seems either unwilling or unable to maintain law and order. We do not attempt to judge whether it is a matter of unwillingness or of inability. But the fact remains that the security situation in Palestine is steadily deteriorating.

One thing is certain: while Arab bands attack Jewish settlements, blockade wide areas, and waylay traffic on the highways, British officials and forces have

repeatedly interfered with Jewish defense and counterattack, repeatedly arrested and disarmed the defenders, and repeatedly confiscated their armaments.

The United Nations has not yet taken action against these overt acts of its Arab member-governments, which constitute an open defiance of the Resolution of the General Assembly and of the Charter itself. Nor has the United Nations reacted as yet to the fact that the Mufti's bands and the attitude of the British Administration are a clear challenge and threat to the authority of this international body.

If only the safety of the 700,000 Jews of Palestine were at stake, this alone should have evoked the concern of American public opinion. Our Government was largely instrumental in bringing about the United Nations decision on partition. What had we in mind when we encouraged the aspirations of the Jewish people to nationhood in Palestine? Was it our intention to leave them there defenseless?

Much more is at stake than our moral responsibility toward the Jews. We repeat, the very future of the United Nations is in jeopardy. This open defiance of a United Nations decision comes from a group of Middle Eastern states, which depend upon the UN and the Western world for their sovereignty and international recognition, for their political and military protection as well as economic development. If we permit such conduct on the part of the Arab States, then the authority of the United Nations will suffer a staggering blow which can result in incalculable harm to men everywhere.

Let us make no mistake about the dangers involved in this situation. The conflict may widen and assume world-wide dimensions, or this aggression of the Arab States can be restrained, thus making the Palestine solution a potent

factor for peace and stability in the world. America must help to determine whether the effectiveness of the UN shall be destroyed or strengthened.

The United States wants peace in the world. It is to its vital interests to uphold the Palestine decision of the United Nations. Our Government should therefore actively support the following measures:

1. A stern warning to the Arab States calling for an end to the sabotage of the UN decision.
2. An unmistakably clear declaration to Great Britain that as long as she remains in Palestine, her armed forces can be neither neutral nor quasi-neutral, but must align themselves in defense of public law and the UN decision.
3. Immediate use of the proper UN agencies to provide international military protection for Palestine Jewry and make immediately available the necessary military force to implement the United Nations decision on Palestine.
4. Immediate equipment of the Haganah, under United Nations auspices, to enable this Jewish constabulary defense force to carry out police powers within Jewish territory in Palestine.

Only in this manner can the United States and the United Nations prevent the threatened conflagration. The delay in implementing the UN decision has encouraged the Arab League and the Mufti in their defiance of the UN, and have forced the Jewish people to resort to desperate means to provide themselves with arms for their defense and the maintenance of the UN decision.

THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Senator Owen Brewster
Frank Buxton
Bartley C. Crum
Samuel Guy Inman
Senator Edwin C. Johnson

Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk
Senator James E. Murray
Prof. Harry A. Overstreet
Dr. Daniel A. Poling
Dr. Ralph W. Sockman
Senator Charles W. Tobey

Senator Robert F. Wagner

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date January 23, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

We have begun an intensive campaign on local, county and state political levels to urge upon our Government active support of those four points stressed in the advertisement of the American Christian Palestine Committee sent you a few days ago. Those points included: warning the Arab States to end their sabotage of the U.N.; making it clear to Great Britain that her forces in Palestine must act in defense of the U.N. decision; immediate use of the proper U.N. agencies to make available the military force necessary for the implementation of partition; and immediate equipment of the Haganah under U.N. auspices.

In a recent press interview, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Acting Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, said, "America's moral credentials in the Palestine question will depend not merely on what it said, but on what it does. We look to President Truman to prevent this issue from becoming a quagmire of intrigue and inertia."

Dr. Goldstein demanded arms for the Jewish defenders of Palestine, emphasizing that "here the United States has a direct responsibility." He also demanded that an international armed force be placed at the disposal of the U.N. Implementation Commission and that the Tel Aviv port be opened for Jewish immigration on February 1st.

This effectively sums up our situation. We have every right to expect our Administration to stand by established American policy on Palestine and to use its great influence to implement the U.N. decision. Without American leadership in this direction, the condition will become aggravated to the further detriment of our cause. It is therefore most urgent that you contact political leaders in your community who may be in a position to transmit to the Democratic National Committee the present state of mind of American Jews, resulting from the failure of the Administration to take steps which will make the U.N. decision workable.

We urge you, also, to organize a public meeting to be held within the next ten days, to highlight the policies listed above. It will be very helpful to enlist the public goodwill of our Christian friends. It would also be well to ask our Christian friends to write to their Congressmen, Senators and to the President urging that speedy action be taken.

Please let us know what activities you will be able to undertake at this crucial time. Kindest regards.

AT:SBR

N.B. - IN A FEW DAYS YOU WILL RECEIVE A CALL FOR PUBLIC ACTION.
BE PREPARED!

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date January 21, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

Enclosed you will find the following:

1. Copy of a telegram sent to President Truman by the "Committee to Arm the Jewish State" which is self-explanatory and which may be useful to you in the work which you are carrying on. This was featured widely by the press and radio.
2. Reprint of the advertisement of the American Christian Palestine Committee from the Herald Tribune of New York. We hope that you have made some headway in placing this material as an advertisement in your local press. It was sent to you several days ago in multigraphed form, but we are sending the printed layout as well.

In connection with this, it is subject to your own determination as to whether such advertisements as you place in your newspapers are signed by the people whose names appear at the bottom of the advertisement or are signed by local leading Christians and Jews, or both.

We will appreciate very much receiving copies of any advertisements you may place.

Regards,

AT:RBH
Encs.

C
O
P
Y

WESTERN UNION

January 17, 1948

Honorable Harry S. Truman
White House
Washington, D. C.

The Arab attack upon the Jewish people inspired by the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and former collaborators of Adolph Hitler is also an attack upon the authority of the United Nations and the prestige of the United States.

The decision of the United Nations to partition Palestine was the first great definitive judgment of that body on an important international dispute. Should that decision be nullified by deliberate sabotage on the part of Arab states, which profess adherence to the United Nations Charter, the usefulness of that body would be irreparably impaired and its future jeopardized.

In view of the unlikelihood that an international police force can be organized in time to avert disaster, we respectfully call upon you to take immediate action to modify the arms embargo to the Middle East so as to permit lend-lease and shipment of military equipment to those states that support the United Nations decision to partition Palestine. There is no other alternative at the present time; and time is of the essence.

We are mindful, Mr. President, of your many exertions to fulfill our nation's pledges to the Jewish people. It was the resolute action of our government at Flushing Meadows which brought forth the decision to partition Palestine.

It is indefensible to exert our initiative to create a Jewish State on paper, and then simultaneously declare an arms embargo, the only effect of which is to enable Arabs to massacre defenseless Jews and prevent the fulfillment of the objective we so ardently sought. We would do simple justice to the Jewish people, while serving the cause of peace, to assist them in their heroic effort to resist aggression perpetrated in violation of international law.

THE COMMITTEE TO ARM THE JEWISH STATE representing American business, civic and professional leaders of all religious faiths appeals to you, Mr. President, to take prompt action to enable the Jewish people to defend themselves and to defend at the same time the authority of the United Nations and the prestige of the United States.

COMMITTEE TO ARM THE JEWISH STATE
Robert F. Wagner, Honorary Chairman
Dean Alfange, Chairman
9 East 40 Street
New York, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date January 26, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

The following telegram was sent to you on Saturday night, January 24:

CRITICAL SITUATION MAKES NECESSARY IMMEDIATE DISPATCH OF UNPRECEDENTED NUMBER OF LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT PROTESTING FAILURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO HELP MAKE ARMS AVAILABLE TO YISHUV FOR DEFENSE AGAINST ARAB AGGRESSION AND ITS RELUCTANCE TO TAKE LEAD IN OBTAINING VIGOROUS UN ACTION TO IMPLEMENT PALESTINE DECISION BY INTERNATIONAL FORCE. ALSO CONTACT YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES INFORMING THEM OF COMMUNITY'S VITAL CONCERN AND ASKING THEIR HELP.

Coming after the firm and effective support which the American Government gave at the United Nations Assembly to the decision creating the Jewish State, our Government's present attitude in the face of unfavorable developments is the gravest single factor we face today. The arms embargo announced by the State Department without any attempt to distinguish between the aggressors and the defenders, between those who defy the United Nations by brute force and those who fight to uphold the verdict of the international organization, is still in force. The widely publicized measures undertaken by the State Department regarding the withdrawal of American passports from American volunteers joining the Haganah are calculated to show the displeasure of the Department with such activities. They serve to discredit the Jewish fighters in the eyes of the American public, and further to encourage our enemies. The renewed propaganda voiced by some people very close to our Government, purporting to indicate that the United Nations decision is impracticable and detrimental to the interests of the United States, and should therefore be revised, is a further sign of the dangerous turn which events have taken.

It would serve no useful purpose to dissipate our energies by voicing our just indignation against the doings of the Mufti bands, of the Arab States, or of the British Government. As long as the Government of the United States tolerates their activities, there is little to be gained from protests along these lines. Nor can much be achieved by addressing ourselves directly to the United Nations. Unless the Government of the United States -- the leading member of the international organization -- takes the lead in bringing about vigorous action by the United Nations, as it has done in the cases of India, Indonesia, Korea, Greece and Iran, the international body is unlikely to take any effective action.

Our efforts must be concentrated on getting the Government of the United States to follow through on its pledges and to see to it that the decision to which it has given such valuable support should become a reality in fact.

The foreign policy of the United States is the responsibility of the President of the United States. In this task he is supported by the chosen representatives

of the American people in the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is therefore to the President that citizens of this country should address their just grievances and from him that they are entitled to ask redress. And as far as possible, the Senators and Representatives from the different States and Congressional Districts ought to be made aware of the views of their constituents, in the hope that they will support these views in direct representations to the President.

We have asked you accordingly to give voice to the shock and the protest which you feel at the equivocal part played by our Government in the Palestine tragedy. Despite previous indications from many parts of the country of a growing desire for this sort of campaign, we had hoped that it would prove unnecessary; now, however, it is clear that no further time can be lost. We hope that all Zionist groups, members of the Jewish community, and Christian friends of Zionism, will make known their views by letters and wires to the President and by contact with their local Senators and Congressmen.

In your letters and telegrams you should stress, in words of your own choosing: (1) your shock at seeing the American Government, which took so glorious a part in the UN decision, endanger it by its passive toleration of current efforts to undo that decision; (2) your inability to comprehend this change in attitude; and (3) your hope that the Government will adopt speedy measures for the supply of arms to enable the Yishuv to defend itself as well as the UN decision and to speed up the dispatch to Palestine of an international force.

AT:ASR



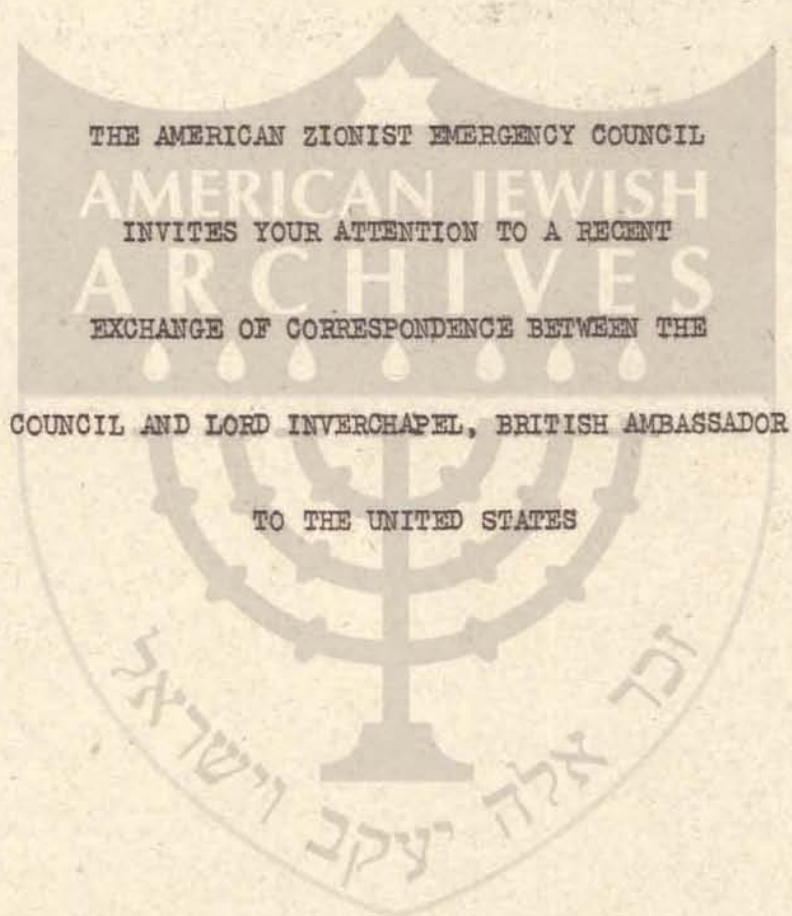
PRESS RELEASE from AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi Organization of America • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
United Zionists-Revisionists of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion (United Labor Zionist Party)

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1948



TELEGRAM OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

January 8, 1948

His Excellency British Ambassador
Washington, D. C.

On behalf of the entire Zionist movement in the United States, we feel constrained to express our profound shock at the behavior of British Administration in Palestine. Having insisted on sole administrative control of the Holy Land and on retention of sole responsibility for law and order until the termination of the mandate, Great Britain has adopted a stand of quasi neutrality towards riots and disorders now taking place. We say "quasi neutrality" because we are in possession of telling facts regarding cases where British military and police, while suppressing, disarming, and imprisoning Jewish defence forces, tolerate and actually abet terrorist attacks of Arab bands.

Arms which have been confiscated from Jewish defenders by British forces have been subsequently found in possession of Arab aggressors. Hundredthousand troops are allegedly incapable of keeping free the forty mile highway between Jerusalem and the coast. The Jewish quarter of the city of Safad is under blockade or Arab bands unmolested by British police. While hunting for Jewish refugees whose entry Britain barred notwithstanding the United Nations recommendation, armed Arab bandits from Syria are permitted to enter Palestine. Blockade of short road connecting the center of Jerusalem with the Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital is permitted, thus isolating principal cultural and medical institutions in Palestine.

Most shocking, the old City of Jerusalem with holy places of three religions has been yielded by government forces to Arabs blockading the area and threatening the massacre of 1800 Jews living there. This is not even abdication of governmental powers for, while remaining inactive in the face of Arab aggression, large British forces busily prevent the besieged Jewish population from effectively and openly defending itself.


(more)

Having declared its acceptance of United Nations verdict, Britain now helps those who attempt to sabotage this verdict, who were first to attack, and against whom Jews must defend themselves. We wish to register our emphatic protest against this attitude and our conviction that in the circumstances Great Britain is responsible for continuing disorders in the Holy Land and for any loss of life of the Jewish population in the old City of Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine between the present time and the transfer of authority to the United Nations.

We pledge ourselves not only to give every assistance to Palestine Jewry, but also to fight British connivance with Arab aggressors in Palestine. In all justice your government should either leave Palestine forthwith or decently fulfill its responsibilities.

American Zionist Emergency Council

Israel Goldstein,
Acting Chairman



LETTER OF THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR

January 12, 1948

BRITISH EMBASSY
Washington 8, D. C.
12th January 1948

Israel Goldstein, Esq.
Acting Chairman
American Zionist Emergency Council
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Goldstein:

I write to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram about Palestine which I shall transmit to my Government.

I feel sure that upon reflexion you will not be surprised when I tell you that I cannot accept the implication in your remarks that the Palestine administration has been favouring the Arabs at the expense of the Jews, or the statement that they are tolerating and actually abetting terrorist attacks by Arab bands. It is not surprising that in some cases Jews have been prevented from taking the law into their own hands, as this can only increase the confusion, but you make no mention of the fact that large quantities of arms have also been seized from Arabs or that a number of Arabs have been arrested for the same reason. You must yourself know that there are not 100,000 troops available for keeping free the road from Jerusalem to the coast. This road is now reasonably open and is covered by mobile patrols. There is also a battalion stationed in the Ramleh-Lyddah area. A considerable number of the troops in Palestine which do not, I believe, amount to 100,000 in all, are engaged in administrative duties and they are moreover now making the necessary dispositions for withdrawal. To prevent incidents altogether it would very probably be necessary to put the whole country under martial law and it is not, I presume, suggested that this should be done, in view of the dislocation which would result, not to speak of the delay which would be caused to the plans for withdrawal.

As you must be well aware, British and Arab police have been withdrawn from the Tel-Aviv - Petah Tikvah area and they have been replaced by a Jewish civil

guard. In Jerusalem, Haifa and elsewhere the Jewish Agency has, at the suggestion of the Administration, appointed liaison officers with the police. It has been made clear to the Jewish Agency that the Haganah will not be obstructed so long as it acts in a purely defensive role. While it seems to be true that the Arabs were the first to attack, it would have been a greater contribution to the restoration of order if the Haganah -- and other groups -- had in fact confined themselves to defence. They have not done so and as a result of indiscriminate reprisals in certain cases they must bear a considerable share of the blame for the continuance of disorder. Incidents such as that at the Semiramis Hotel cannot but render more difficult the task of the Administration in restraining Arab attacks and bringing them to an end.

In spite of the dissatisfaction which you express, it is quite clear that but for the efforts of the security forces, whose casualties since the United Nations decision have been 23 killed and 85 wounded, both communities would by now have been fully engaged in internecine slaughter. If the situation is to return to normal it is necessary for both communities -- that which has on the whole seen its hopes realised in the United Nations as well as that which has not -- to exercise restraint. In a situation which was bound to be very difficult the administration is trying to fulfil its responsibilities, but the co-operation which it is receiving from the two communities in Palestine has fallen far short of what it has the right to expect. Although I understand the anxiety which you and all who are concerned about the future of Palestine feel concerning the present situation and while I have no wish to condone Arab attacks or to underestimate the suffering which they have caused, I do believe that consideration must be given to the difficulties which face the Administration in Palestine. The termination of the Mandate and the withdrawal of troops would present very considerable problems even if absolute quiet prevailed, and every diversion of the Administration's efforts caused by the present disturbances cannot but hinder the rapid completion of its task.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Inverchapel

REPLY OF AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

January 19, 1948

His Excellency
The British Ambassador
British Embassy
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 12th in reply to my telegram of January 8th, and I am grateful for your assurance that you will transmit that telegram to your Government.

I appreciate your statement that you do not wish to condone the Arab attacks and your apparent acceptance of the fact that the Arabs were first to attack. I also fully understand the reasons which made you put forth every argument that could conceivably be cited in justification of the attitude of the British authorities in Palestine. At the same time, I must again point to the facts set out in my telegram to you of January 8th, most of which were not touched upon in your reply. These facts are incontrovertible and do not leave much room for doubt as to the role played by British officials in Palestine.

As to the points made in your letter, I cannot agree that to maintain public order it would have been necessary to put the whole country under martial law. It would quite suffice if the very well known centers from which the attacks are launched were placed under curfew, their stores of arms seized, and the well known instigators of the attacks arrested. I regret to say that neither information from Jewish sources nor that appearing in the general press indicates that anything of the kind was done.

Nor can I agree with your statement that large quantities of arms have been seized from Arabs. On the contrary, all information coming from Palestine confirms the fact that, even in those cases where British forces do intervene, Arab attackers are almost invariably permitted to retreat unclosted in full possession

of their arms.

You explain that "to prevent incidents altogether" would cause delay in the plans for withdrawal. I do not quite see how this fear explains the fact that forces are available to hunt for "illegal" Jewish immigrants into the country but are not available to stop the continuous penetration into Palestine of armed bands and ammunition from Syria, the Lebanon and Egypt. Nor can this fear explain why British security forces, when present on the scene of Arab attacks during the first stage of the present disorders, did not take suitable action against the rioters but stood passively by -- as happened in many well-authenticated instances -- thereby encouraging the Arabs to believe that the attacks upon the Jews are not unwelcome to British officials in the country. Nor does it explain why forces cannot be found to disarm and arrest Arab formations which avowedly lead the attack, but are found for the purpose of disarming and arresting Jewish formations engaged in defense and occasional counter-attack.

I do not quite see how the Arab population could possibly be expected to regard this attitude of the British authorities as an invitation to exercise restraint. Nor do I see how it is possible, in the circumstances, to chide the Haganah for not remaining strictly on the defensive. If the Haganah were to follow your advice, with the British Administration maintaining its present attitude, it would only mean that the Arab rioters would soon be in control of most of the country, just as, with the tacit permission of the British authorities, they are now in control of the Old City of Jerusalem.

You will forgive me for telling you that a growing segment of public opinion is unable to explain the British attitude on any other grounds than that the British have deliberately embarked upon a policy of benevolent toleration towards the Arab riots in the beginning in order to encourage their growth; and that now, with the riots having assumed major proportions, British forces become somewhat more active in combatting them in the hope that this would lead to a request by

the United Nations or by the Jews themselves for continued British occupation of Palestine.

I share your expressed desire that the disturbances now taking place in the Holy Land be ended, and I cannot but repeat my profound conviction that had the British authorities not adopted an attitude of toleration in some cases and encouragement in others towards the rioting Arabs, the disorders would never have assumed their present scope. A great many Jewish and Arab lives as well as the lives of a great many members of the British security forces who fell victims to this most unfortunate policy would have been spared.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Israel Goldstein
Acting Chairman
American Zionist Emergency Council



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date January 12, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

Enclosed you will find the following two items:

1. Statement issued by the Jewish Agency for Palestine with reference to the munitions seized by U. S. Government agencies.
2. A form letter embodying important elements in the Zionist position with reference to the Palestine situation.

We urge you to arrange for the widest possible dissemination of this information. There have been many news stories and radio broadcasts which have distorted and often misrepresented the facts as we know them. We must get our case before the people.

With reference to the statement by the Jewish Agency, it should be made perfectly clear that the Agency played no part whatsoever in the incident in which cases of explosives were seized aboard a ship which was to sail for Palestine. The materials which were confiscated subsequent to this incident were purchased legally and were subject to application for formal export license. Nothing in the transaction was in violation of any federal law or statute.

In the matter of the form letter which we are sending you, we advise very strongly that you do not use it in its present form unless it is for the purpose of orienting editors of your newspapers in personal visits. If it is to be used in a letter to the editor of your newspaper, it should be rewritten, since it would not do to have identical letters sent by different people in either the same city or in neighboring cities.

We cannot urge you too strongly to act on this directive at once. It is of the utmost importance to the future of the Yishuv that the American people be set straight on the issues confronting us.

It would be helpful if you could get outstanding Christians in your community to issue statements based on the information we are sending you.

It is also vital that this argumentation be made available to your radio commentators and to friendly Christian ministers who might be good enough to preach on the subject. This is the time for action. We depend upon you and our good friends in your community to carry out this directive with dispatch and efficiency.

We will look forward to receiving your report.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB
Encs.

STATEMENT BY
JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

The Jewish people of Palestine are in desperate need of arms for their defense. The ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, who collaborated with Hitler in the destruction of 6,000,000 Jews in Europe, has now called the Arab world to arms to carry on his work of massacre and extermination.

Through his connections with the Arab League and the Arab states, the Mufti has the facilities to acquire arms and munitions for aggression and invasion. The Jewish Agency for Palestine has the responsibilities of a state about to be born. It must protect the lives and homes of the 700,000 men, women and children of Palestine. The United Nations decision made no provision for an international force, but did provide for a Jewish militia to defend the Jewish state and to maintain public security. It therefore devolved upon the responsible defense forces of the Jewish community of Palestine to rush preparations in a race against time in view of the threatened Arab aggression in defiance of the U.N. decision and the announced early withdrawal of British troops.

Accordingly, steps were taken to arrange for the legitimate purchase of war surplus materiel and equipment. To facilitate these purchases, the Jewish Agency made dollar credits available. The materials found near Asbury Park on Thursday were, to the best of our knowledge, legally procured to await legitimate shipment. It has throughout been our understanding that all such purchases and their transportation were in full conformity with American law.

We are proud to give our aid to the embattled Jews of Palestine. We trust that materiel urgent for their defense may soon be shipped to them legally and with God's help reach them in time to meet their grave emergency.

DRAFT OF MODEL LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir:

With tragic regularity American newspapers have been carrying daily accounts of the strife and tension now spreading through the Holy Land. Although the cries of the wounded and dying cannot be heard in this country, the people of the United States -- as, indeed, the people of all the nations of the world -- should not consider the turmoil in Palestine as a local struggle between Jews and Arabs, in which Americans should maintain a "hands-off" attitude. It will be recalled that it was not the Jews who decided on the partition of Palestine, but the United Nations. It should not be expected, therefore, that the whole burden of putting into effect the decision of the world's highest tribunal should rest exclusively upon the overtaxed shoulders of the Jewish people of Palestine.

In recapitulating the events which led up to the UN adoption of partition, one must consider that it was only after a long and careful examination of the UNSCOP report, first by the Ad Hoc Committee and finally by the General Assembly, that the United Nations finally reached its decision to divide the Holy Land. The United Nations was completely aware of all the difficulties involved, and was forewarned, not once, but many times by delegates of Arab States of their resolve to oppose by violence any decision of the United Nations favorable to partition.

Nevertheless, it is to the eternal credit of the UN that it acted despite these threats and in the full knowledge of all that was involved. If the United Nations were now to be intimidated by Arab violence, by riots and demonstrations deliberately calculated to make the world believe that the UN decision is impossible of implementation, then it would suffer an irreparable loss of prestige and authority. Its future effectiveness as the agency "to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and constitutional law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace" -- would be disastrously undermined.

The future of the United Nations will be enormously strengthened in the difficult months ahead if our own Government will live up to its moral and legal obligations, and actively cooperate with the United Nations on the question of Palestine. Since the last war the United States has assumed unprecedented diplomatic initiative and pre-eminent leadership in world affairs. Destiny has singled it out for leadership in this century. It has boldly assumed that role. In many parts of the world the impact of that political direction is now felt. Palestine is clearly within the orbit of those great political problems which America, true to its assumed role, must face, and to which it must bring the same determined leadership which has characterized its approach to other world problems.

With reference to Palestine, our Government now stands committed to the implementation of partition. The UN plan is now an integral part of official American foreign policy. Our Government should assist the UN in every way possible and should employ all its diplomatic machinery and influence to expedite the implementation of the Palestine solution. Delay is dangerous. Defeat will be catastrophic to the future peace of the world.

I am convinced that if the partition of Palestine is to be faithfully effectuated, then the United Nations must act in a manner that would leave no doubt as

to its intent. In view of the deterioration of public security in Palestine and the failure of the British authorities to maintain order, it now appears that an international force -- even a small one -- should accompany the United Nations Commission which has been delegated to carry out the actual partitioning of the Holy Land. This international force, although not necessarily great in numbers, must know what it is there for. Its military deployment in the Holy Land would be a concrete symbol of the authority of the United Nations and serve as a powerful deterrent to further violence.

Certainly it is imperative that the Jews of Palestine should be given every right to defend themselves. They have the manpower in the para-military organization of Haganah, but this force is badly in need of arms and materiel. Surely the nations of the world which voted to create a Jewish State -- and especially the United States -- must feel dutybound to insure that the citizens of that State are properly equipped to protect themselves against the assaults of those who are determined to defy the will and conscience of the world's highest tribunal.

The United States holds the key to the situation, both with regard to the formation of an international force and in the proper equipment of the Jewish militia. In our long history, our Government has not hesitated to send arms and military missions in other parts of the world to back up its foreign policy. It should not hesitate now.

Sincerely yours,

1/12/48



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date December 15, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

CONFIDENTIAL

On Thursday, December 11, the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council met to consider the future of our organization. It was unanimously agreed that the American Zionist Emergency Council should, indeed must, continue its work for some time to come. We are hereby informing you of this decision, so that you, in turn, may notify your Committee that its operations are not to be halted or attenuated, but are to be continued until the UN decision has been translated into reality -- until the Jewish State has been firmly and securely established.

In analyzing our great political victory in the United Nations and in reviewing the present situation, Dr. Silver made a number of observations at the Executive Committee meeting which will unquestionably be of interest to you. While discussing the factors which brought about the Jewish State decision, Dr. Silver stated that this achievement is directly traceable to the work carried on in this country over the past years by the American Zionist Emergency Council and its Local Emergency Committees. It is now crystal clear that the UN decision would not have been taken but for the position which the American Government took, Dr. Silver said, and added that this U.S. stand was, in turn, a direct result of the organized activities of the Zionists of America. Our work throughout America -- in building public opinion, in canalizing this mass sentiment towards Washington, in bringing it into play quickly and effectively -- finally produced the historic American stand in the United Nations, which won the day for our cause.

Dr. Silver made these observations for the record because we have just closed an historic chapter and he felt that the Zionists of America should have a sense of deep satisfaction in the knowledge that their labors have proved decisive in the achievement of our victory.

With regard to our future work, Dr. Silver pointed out that while the Jewish State has been decreed by the United Nations, it has not yet been established. Officially the Jewish State is to come into existence on October 1, 1948. The coming ten months will be highly critical, for the Arab leaders of Palestine and the neighboring countries remain unreconciled to the UN decision and will continue to fight that decision with every weapon available to them. They are today engaged in an enormous propaganda campaign designed to fill the world press with such sensational reports of their opposition to the UN plan as to create the impression that the plan is unworkable. They also hope to institute as much physical violence as is possible in order to persuade world opinion that the work of the UN Commission is doomed to failure and that the whole subject should, therefore, be reconsidered by the UN. In brief, we are now confronted with an organized attempt to sabotage the decision of the nations of the world.

In view of all this, American public opinion and the attitude taken during the coming months by our Government will be of paramount importance. We should not take it for granted that because the American Government finally took its fine stand in support of the Jewish State, those forces in our country which have taken a persistently negative attitude towards our cause will now become silent and inactive. While we fervently hope that the declared U.S. policy will now be carried forward with forthrightness and vigor, we must remain on the alert lest unfriendly individuals in and out of the Government attempt to revert to their old techniques of undermining our position.

We see, then, that there may yet be a great task ahead of us. In any case, the immediate task is obvious. We must continue to win friends for the Jewish State and combat all of the current efforts to destroy the UN decision.

May we suggest that the following steps be taken in your community at once:

1. If your local newspapers, in their headline treatment of the current disturbances in Palestine, tend to exaggerate the seriousness of the situation and to create the impression that "the Arab world is in flames", proper approaches should be made to the editors, so that their headlines will accurately reflect the facts in the dispatches.
2. If you have not already written letters of thanks to those in your community who have been helpful during the past critical months -- and whose help we may need in the future -- please do so.
3. If there are individuals in your city who have connections with member countries of the United Nations, please send us their names.

Please convey the contents of this memorandum to your Committee and continue to keep us posted on your activities.

Regards,

HLS:MSR

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date January 2, 1948

From Harry L. Shapiro

Under separate cover we have sent you a number of speeches made at the recent dinner in tribute to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on the eve of his departure for Palestine.

Please study the significant address of Dr. Silver carefully as it contains the basic elements of our present policy. Also convey its contents to the members of your committee so that they may be provided with an appraisal of the current situation.

Yesterday the New York Times published a story from London, which is the beginning of a new smear campaign by the officials of the British Foreign Office against Zionism. The purpose of the Times story was to give the impression that Communist agents are arriving in Palestine on Jewish refugee ships coming from Eastern ports of debarkation. Attached is a statement issued by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Acting Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Should any item appear in your local press which is similar to the Times dispatch described above, please utilize the attached as an answer. We will very shortly send you a memorandum which will analyze this new British propaganda campaign. It is essential that we keep on the alert to expose any new move which the British, the Arabs, or some subordinate officials of our State Department may make to sabotage the implementation of the UN decision on Palestine.

I am departing on a leave of absence of several months. Mr. Abe Tuvim will occupy my position during this interval. I sincerely hope that you will give him the same splendid cooperation that you have accorded me.

Kindest regards.

HLS:RB
Enc.

STATEMENT BY DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
JANUARY 1, 1948

The dispatch in this morning's New York Times quoting un-named British sources as charging that homeless Jews, now en route to Palestine aboard the refugee ships Pan York and Pan Crescent, are Communist "fifth column" agents is the latest example of the British smear campaign against Jewish refugees and the Zionist movement. It is a matter of deep regret that a great American newspaper like the New York Times should thus lead itself to the circulation and prominent display of deliberate fabrications emanating from British propagandists whose designs are all too transparent. No doubt the authors of this latest canard -- Mr. Bevin's associates in the British Foreign Office -- hope to frighten public opinion by linking the Zionist movement with Communism. This new variation on an ancient and discordant theme is strange, indeed, coming as it does from individuals who, only a few weeks ago, were threatening that aid to the Jewish cause will drive the Arabs into Russia's arms. Now that this line has been discredited by the United Nations decision on Palestine, which was the result of the harmonious cooperation of the United States and the Soviet Union, these same mischief-makers have set out to insinuate that Jewish refugees desperately seeking to enter their homeland -- and still barred by British armed force -- are serving Communist interests. I am confident that these latest British propaganda maneuvers against Zionism will fail as miserably as did the earlier ones, and that public opinion will not be influenced by such planted stories, which are as heartless as they are false.

Zionism, needless to say, serves as the agent of no foreign power. It is nothing more or less than the Jewish people's agent for auto-emancipation. This cause has furthermore won the support of American opinion generally, and the roster of devoted and unequivocal Christian friends of Zionism includes the names of the foremost -- leaders of our country -- Republicans and Democrats alike. We are, of course, happy that both the East and the West could come together in evolving a joint solution to the Palestine question. This is cause for general gratification and was hailed by leaders of the U. S. Government as one of the few happy auguries for the future of the United Nations. Now British agents are seeking to destroy the UN decision on Palestine by throwing the entire issue into the arena of big power strife and antagonism. Once again I am confident that they will not succeed.

As for the miserable men, women and children aboard those two refugee ships -- their only "political" affiliation is their membership in the various Zionist parties and organizations, none of which is Communist or remotely associated with the Soviet Union. It should be added, in passing, that the aforementioned dispatch distorts also the matter of the recently-announced resignation of Moshe Sneh from the Jewish Agency Executive -- a development which had nothing whatever to do with the selection of Jewish refugees for emigration to Palestine, as was alleged.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date January 7, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

The attached is the first of a series of memoranda designed to orient you and your constituency with subjects which are in the news and on the radio as an outgrowth of the situation in Palestine.

This first memorandum deals with attempts which are being made by Arab and British sources, abetted by anti-Zionist elements in our own State Department, to create and spread a Russian "bogey" with relation to the Palestine problem.

Items have already appeared in the newspapers, notably the New York Times, quoting so-called authoritative British sources as charging that great numbers of displaced persons from eastern Europe seeking to enter Palestine are "Red fifth columnists."

We can expect more of these distortions to appear in the press and to be heard on the radio and from the lecture platform.

The memorandum will arm you with an effective rebuttal. It should be used as source material in interviews with editors, letters to the newspapers, and should be made available to the radio commentators in your city.

We are dealing with foes who, in their desperate attempt to do away with the UN decision to partition Palestine and create a Jewish State, seemingly will stop at nothing to impugn the motives of the Zionist cause.

We must be on the alert if we are to render ineffective these machinations.

Please keep us informed.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

BRITISH-ARAB INSINUATIONS ON JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM EASTERN EUROPE

The Old Anti-Semitic Trick

The Jewish immigrants aboard the two ships "Pan Crescent" and "Pan York" have been accused of being "Fifth Columnists" of Soviet Russia. Anti-Semites, political as well as social, have never been too discriminating in the accusations they level against Jews. It is an old trick to accuse Jews at one and the same time of being international financiers seeking capitalistic domination of the world and international Bolsheviks striving to destroy the capitalistic world.

It is most regrettable that the Labor Government of Britain, in its determination to obstruct the decision on Palestine has descended to the use of these tactics. Only a year ago, some British members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine described the Jews in Palestine and in the D.P. camps of Europe as being excessively nationalist almost to the point of fascism. Now, British "spokesmen" want us to believe that the Jews intend to become the spearhead of Communism in the Middle East.

The Communist Threat: First Version Goes Bankrupt

Only a few months ago assiduous circulation was being given to the story that if the U.N. approved the partition of Palestine, the Arab States would ally themselves with the Soviet Union. Despite the absurdity of the idea that the feudal potentates of the Middle East would under any circumstances forego the economic advantage of an alliance with America and would welcome Soviet influence in their lands, this tale found credence in very respectable political circles. British as well as Arab propaganda circles played this card for all it was worth up to the very moment when Soviet Russia announced its support of the UNSCOP majority plan. The ground then disappeared from under their feet. Not even the most naive could any longer believe in the possibility of an Arab-Soviet alliance. A quick switch-over to a new line of propaganda was urgently required, and the new version of the Communist threat was born.

The Communist Threat: New Version

Not much time was lost before this new version was launched. While the U.N. Assembly was still in session, on November 28, 1947, Dr. Fadhil Jamali,

the Iraqi representative, incorporated in his speech the following clear hint of the new line: "...The immigrants coming into Palestine - the origins of many of whom are not known - carry the seeds of many a subversive movement to the Near East."

Mr. Camille Chamoun, the Lebanese representative, was not satisfied with a mere hint. He stated in the U.N. that "many of the Jewish immigrants now assembling in Black Sea ports for transit to Palestine were Communist agents bent on stirring up Near East trouble for the benefit of the Russians." (N.Y. Times, November 25, 1947)

Immediately after the United Nations Assembly passed the Partition Plan, pro-Arab circles in Washington improved on Mr. Jamali and Mr. Chamoun by spreading a variant of the story. According to them, disorders in the Middle East, as a result of Arab resistance to the implementation of Palestine partition, will provide the Kremlin with the long-awaited opportunity to move the Red Army into the Middle East.

Newspaper items began appearing, quoting unnamed officials, which gave further currency to the two variants. According to some press items, Communists were to infiltrate Palestine under the guise of Jewish refugees; according to others, the Soviet hope lay mainly in sending Russian troops to Palestine following a prolonged period of disorders. Even individual members of Congress began repeating this tale.

Then came what, up to the time of writing, constitutes the climax of this carefully worked-out propaganda campaign. In its issue of January 1st, 1948, the New York Times published an unsigned front-page dispatch from London under the title "Red 'Fifth Column' for Palestine Feared as Ships Near Holy Land," in which an unnamed British "authoritative source" is quoted as stating that the two Jewish immigrant ships, Pan Crescent and Pan York, "are full of potential 'Fifth Columnists'"... And next day, the New York Times reported the Washington echo to the London insinuations. "Washington Officials Concerned" was the title of a report that "Government officials are perturbed by London fears that many of the persons on board the Pan Crescent and Pan York are actual and potential fifth columnists." Another day followed, and Parker La Moore writing under a Paris dateline on the authority of anonymous "foreign diplomats", spread the same story on the pages of the Scripps-Howard press.

The picture is now complete. The Arab League in Cairo, the Foreign Office in London and the anti-Zionist circles in Washington are solidly united in their efforts to sabotage the United Nations decision on Palestine. Having failed to achieve their aims in a direct way, they now employ smear tactics and insinuations in order to influence public opinion.

A factual analysis of the two main versions which are now making the rounds would establish beyond doubt that they have as little substance as the previous threat of an Arab-Communist tie-up.

Is There a Danger of Soviet Invasion of Palestine?

The partition of Palestine is a United Nations decision and responsibility. If disorders spread in Palestine, it will be up to the United Nations to evolve the methods for securing there peace and order. Only an army or a militia organized or approved by the U.N. could move into Palestine without causing a world conflict. As long as the United Nations does not shirk its responsibilities, there is no need to fear that any single Power would intervene in Palestine. The alarmists ring, therefore, the wrong bell when they visualize a Soviet occupation of Palestine because of present disorders. It is not the Soviets who have caused these disorders. The responsibility for them has been openly assumed by the Arab Higher Committee under the leadership of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem; they are publicly abetted by the governments of the Arab States; and they are being clearly encouraged by certain elements in the British government and officialdom which still hope to have the United Nations decision set aside.

Fifth Columnists or Zionist Immigrants?

Eastern Europe is undergoing a transformation which brings it nearer to forms of life characteristic of the Soviet Union. It is against this background that one has to see the position of the remnants of the Jews in Rumania, Poland, and other Eastern European countries who have survived the Hitler extermination. The countries of Eastern Europe which now lie in the Soviet orbit or have become incorporated in the Soviet State - Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania - were the main centers of the Zionist mass movement before the war. The indescribable sufferings inflicted on East European Jewry during the war could have only intensified their Zionist beliefs and feelings. Those Jews remaining in these countries who wish to live under the new regimes are content to remain there. But most of the Jews surviving in Eastern Europe, just as those in the D.P. camps of Central Europe, look forward to escape to Palestine where they would live in a national state of their own.

To describe these confirmed Zionists as "Fifth Columnists" of Communism or of any other world force is utter nonsense.

The One True Interpretation

Despite the fantastic character of the charges, there is nothing surprising about them. Those circles which spread the story of the Jewish immigrants now entering Palestine being Communist agents, propagate the even more obvious fairy-tale that the entire Jewish community in Palestine is communist. Quite recently, Dr. Charles Malik, the Lebanese Minister to the United States, stated in a debate on the radio that there are 600,000 communists in Palestine, meaning almost the entire Jewish population of Palestine.

Even if one makes allowances for Dr. Malik's bitter partisanship and oriental imagination, one is struck by the brazenness of this statement. The Communist Party in Palestine is of infinitesimal size. It has no power and no

influence either in the political or in the economic life of the country. Both in the Jewish Agency, representing the World Zionist Organization, and in the Vaad Leumi, the elected representation of Palestine Jewry, the Communists do not have even one seat. Anyone even slightly acquainted with Palestine realities knows that if a Jewish State were today in existence, its Government would be either predominantly Labor (patterned along the lines of the British Labor Party), or a coalition of Labor, General Zionists (representing the capitalist and middle classes in Jewry) and Mizrahi (the religious wing in Zionism) - the same coalition which governs today the World Zionist Organization. The spirit of Palestine Jewry is, moreover, one of constructive effort in the field of economic and social upbuilding and not one of political revolution.

Immigration of more and more and more Jews into Palestine is the one aim which unites the Jews in Palestine and in Europe. This is the only true interpretation of the "Pan Crescent" and "Pan York", as of the many ships carrying Jews to their land that preceded these two and of the many more ships which will follow in their wake in the coming months and years.

The Refugees Aboard Pan Crescent and Pan York

Direct reports from Bucharest describe the plight of the Pan Crescent and Pan York immigrants prior to their sailing. Most of these immigrants belonged to the middle class, to whom the Sovietization of Rumania means the end of their familiar system of private enterprise. Consequently, if these middle class Jews previously wanted to go to Palestine, they have now become frantic in their efforts to leave Rumania in good time, when they can still liquidate their possessions and take with them some of their worldly goods. In addition, the Jews of Rumania are aware of the tendency in Soviet-controlled territory to prohibit any and all emigration. They fear the extension of this ban to themselves and are anxious to leave before this has taken place. Incidentally, the twelve thousand Jews that sailed on the two ships and regarding whom the hue and cry of "Fifth Columnists" has been raised, were selected by the local Zionist groups among the hundreds of thousands awaiting their turn, and those were chosen whose devotion to the Zionist cause or whose personal hardship entitled them to go first. It is really shameful that the American press, which justly prides itself on its truthfulness and thoroughness, instead of sending representatives to verify for themselves the character of Jewish immigrants to Palestine repeats a slanderous whispering campaign initiated by parties with clearly hostile intentions.

January, 1948

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** January 8, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

The attached release is the second in our series of subjects aimed to bring you up to date on our public relations campaign to clarify numerous issues which have arisen as a result of the Palestine situation.

This one deals with British acts in Palestine since the decision by the United Nations to establish a Jewish State in part of that country.

The actions of the British military and civil governments have been clearly malicious. There is no doubt that every effort is being made to place obstacles in the path of not only the UN Commission, but of the Yishuv itself in its attempts to defend our people and their future.

It is a vital necessity that the material contained in the release is made available to editors and newsmen of your press and radio commentators. All of the charges are substantiated by eye-witnesses and by responsible leaders of the Yishuv.

Both the British and Arab propaganda offices have spread stories seeking to blame the Jewish community and Haganah for what is happening in Palestine today. Every effort should be made in our communities not only to counteract this propaganda but also to lay a foundation for a friendly and helpful approach to our problem by those who make public opinion.

Please keep us informed.

Regards.

AT:RB
Enc.

PRESS RELEASE from AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi Organization of America • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
United Zionists-Revisionists of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion (United Labor Zionist Party)

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AMERICAN ZIONIST LEADER ACCUSES BRITISH OF MAINTAINING "QUASI NEUTRALITY" IN PALESTINE

- - - - -

**DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN CHARGES THAT "BRITISH ACTUALLY ABET
TERRORIST ATTACKS OF ARAB BANDS" WHILE
"DISARMING AND IMPRISONING JEWISH DEFENSE FORCES"**

New York, January 7 -- In a wire of protest to Lord Inverchapel, British Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Israel Goldstein, acting chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council which speaks for all Zionist bodies in the United States, today charged that Great Britain "has adopted a stand of quasi neutrality towards riots and disorders now taking place in Palestine."

"We say 'quasi neutrality' because we are in possession of telling facts regarding cases where British military and police, while suppressing, disarming, and imprisoning Jewish defense forces, tolerate and actually abet terrorist attacks of Arab bands," Dr. Goldstein charged.

The Zionist leader cited many instances where the British mandatory "prevented the besieged Jewish population from effectively and openly defending itself." He pointed out that various sectors of Palestine, including whole towns and villages, were under "blockade of Arab bands unmolested by British police."

Dr. Goldstein also charged that "arms which have been confiscated from Jewish defenders by British forces have been subsequently found in possession of Arab aggressors."

(more)

The full text of Dr. Goldstein's wire follows:

HIS EXCELLENCY BRITISH AMBASSADOR
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE ZIONIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, WE FREELY CON-
STRAINED TO EXPRESS OUR PROFOUND SHOCK AT THE BEHAVIOR OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION
IN PALESTINE. HAVING INSISTED ON SOLE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF THE HOLY LAND
AND ON RETENTION OF SOLE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LAW AND ORDER UNTIL THE TERMINATION
OF THE MANDATE, GREAT BRITAIN HAS ADOPTED A STAND OF QUASI NEUTRALITY TOWARDS
RIOTS AND DISORDERS NOW TAKING PLACE. WE SAY "QUASI NEUTRALITY" BECAUSE WE ARE
IN POSSESSION OF TELLING FACTS REGARDING CASES WHERE BRITISH MILITARY AND POLICE,
WHILE SUPPRESSING, DISARMING, AND IMPRISONING JEWISH DEFENCE FORCES, TOLERATE
AND ACTUALLY ABET TERRORIST ATTACKS OF ARAB BANDS. ARMS WHICH HAVE BEEN CON-
FISCATED FROM JEWISH DEFENDERS BY BRITISH FORCES HAVE BEEN SUBSEQUENTLY FOUND
IN POSSESSION OF ARAB AGGRESSORS. HUNDREDTHOUSAND TROOPS ARE ALLEGEDLY INCAPABLE
OF KEEPING FREE THE FORTY MILE HIGHWAY BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND THE COAST. THE
JEWISH QUARTER OF THE CITY OF SAFAD IS UNDER BLOCKADE OF ARAB BANDS UNMOLESTED
BY BRITISH POLICE. WHILE HUNTING FOR JEWISH REFUGEES WHOSE ENTRY BRITAIN BARRED
NOTWITHSTANDING THE UNITED NATIONS RECOMMENDATION, ARMED ARAB BANDITS FROM SYRIA
ARE PERMITTED TO ENTER PALESTINE. BLOCKADE OF SHORT ROAD CONNECTING THE CENTER
OF JERUSALEM WITH THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY AND HADASSAH HOSPITAL IS PERMITTED, THUS
ISOLATING PRINCIPAL CULTURAL AND MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PALESTINE. MOST SHOCK-
ING, THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM WITH HOLY PLACES OF THREE RELIGIONS HAS BEEN
YIELDED BY GOVERNMENT FORCES TO ARABS BLOCKADING THE AREA AND THREATENING THE
MASSACRE OF 1800 JEWS LIVING THERE. THIS IS NOT EVEN ABDICATION OF GOVERNMENTAL
POWERS FOR, WHILE REMAINING INACTIVE IN THE FACE OF ARAB AGGRESSION, LARGE
BRITISH FORCES BUSILY PREVENT THE BESIEGED JEWISH POPULATION FROM EFFECTIVELY
AND OPENLY DEFENDING ITSELF.

HAVING DECLARED ITS ACCEPTANCE OF UNITED NATIONS VERDICT, BRITAIN NOW HELPS
THOSE WHO ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE THIS VERDICT, WHO WERE FIRST TO ATTACK, AND

(more)

AGAINST WHOM JEWS MUST DEFEND THEMSELVES. WE WISH TO REGISTER OUR EMPHATIC PROTEST AGAINST THIS ATTITUDE AND OUR CONVICTION THAT IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES GREAT BRITAIN IS RESPONSIBLE FOR CONTINUING DISORDERS IN THE HOLY LAND AND FOR ANY LOSS OF LIFE OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM AND THE REST OF PALESTINE BETWEEN THE PRESENT TIME AND THE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

WE FLEDGE OURSELVES NOT ONLY TO GIVE EVERY ASSISTANCE TO PALESTINE JEWRY, BUT ALSO TO FIGHT BRITISH CONNIVANCE WITH ARAB AGGRESSORS IN PALESTINE. IN ALL JUSTICE YOUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD EITHER LEAVE PALESTINE FORTHWITH OR DECENTLY FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN,
ACTING CHAIRMAN

--30--

#302 - 1/7/48



American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

OCTOBER 11, 1947

YOU PROBABLY KNOW THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT TODAY SUPPORTED UNSCOP MAJORITY REPORT IN UN. WHILE WE ARE, OF COURSE, GRATIFIED OVER THIS DEVELOPMENT WE ARE AT SAME TIME DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF FACT THAT THERE IS LONG ROAD STILL AHEAD BEFORE WE ATTAIN OUR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS. NEVERTHELESS YOU AND YOUR COMMITTEE HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO TAKE PRIDE IN YOUR EFFORTS OF PAST WEEKS WITHOUT WHICH THIS SIGNIFICANT EVENT COULDN'T HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED. OFFICIAL REACTION OF OUR MOVEMENT TO U.S. STATEMENT IS BEING RELEASED BY EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND THE JEWISH AGENCY TONIGHT AND IS BEING SENT TO YOU. PLEASE AVOID MAKING ANY STATEMENT TO PRESS. REFER THOSE WHO REQUEST COMMENT TO TEXT OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL'S STATEMENT. YOUR COMMITTEE SHOULD NOW DISCONTINUE ITS LETTER AND WIRE CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AT PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND SECRETARY MARSHALL, BUT SHOULD REMAIN ON ALERT FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE ACTION. WE MUST BE CONSTANTLY ON GUARD AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO MODIFY AND WHITTLE DOWN JEWISH STATE AREA. FOR THE PRESENT WE URGE YOU REQUEST LEADERS YOUR COMMUNITY, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH, WHO HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN, SECRETARY MARSHALL AND OTHER MEMBERS OF GOVERNMENT TO WRITE AT ONCE EXPRESSING SATISFACTION WITH U.S. ACTION, BUT CAUTIONING AS TO DANGERS AHEAD IN AFOREMENTIONED ATTEMPTS AT MODIFICATION. NOTE THAT THIS IS NOT TO BE MASS LETTER PROJECT, BUT ONE CARRIED THROUGH BY COMMUNITY LEADERS ONLY. WE KNOW YOU AND YOUR GROUPS WILL REMAIN ON ALERT. REGARDS.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

HLS:MSR

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

October 14, 1947

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
Congregation Emmanuel
Denver, Colorado

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

We will be glad to comply with your request to add your name to our mailing list for our material. We are making the necessary notations on our records so that you should receive all publications and directives emanating from this office. The latter, however, will be for your information only, since Rabbi Laderman is the chairman of the Emergency Committee in Denver and so he is charged with the responsibility of carrying out our calls for action.

Under separate cover we are forwarding to you several of our recent bulletins and pamphlets which we feel you will find most interesting and informative.

Cordially yours,

Henrietta Herman
Community Contacts Department

HH:RHF

October 7, 1947

American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, New York.

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate very much being placed on your mailing list, so that I might receive all publications, bulletins and analyses published by the Zionist Emergency Council. I have recently returned from several years service overseas as a chaplain, where I had the opportunity to work in the camps of Germany and Austria with the Displaced Persons. I was the military assistant to Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Advisor on Jewish Affairs to the Commanding General.

In the time during which I have been away, I have missed much of the current American picture, and lean heavily upon your bulletins to keep me up to date.

Therefore, if you could place me upon your mailing list, I will have the feeling that all important information will come across my desk. If there is any charge for this service, we shall be happy to comply.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

HAF:EW