



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
3

American Zionist Emergency Council. 1949-1950.

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

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

• NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

May 4, 1950

My dear Rabbi:

After much heart-searching and careful consultation, the American Zionist Council has come to the conclusion that it is our solemn duty to raise our voice in protest against the approval by the United States Government of the British policy of arming the Arab states and its refusal of Israel's plea for defense arms.

We are convinced that our own State Department is genuinely concerned for the peace and security of the Middle East. By continuing, however, its specific and general approval of the sending of arms by Great Britain to the Arab states and, at the same time, her denial of Israel's requests for arms for its defense, it is, in fact, applying a fuse to the powder keg in the Middle East.

The Arab League has proclaimed its intention to organize a united economic and military front of all Arab states against the struggling State of Israel. Arming the Arabs now is encouragement of their war-like intransigence against Israel.

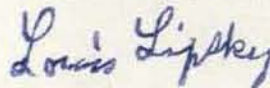
We challenge our Government genuinely to implement its professed policy of seeking peace and security in the Middle East. This it can do now, with arms going to the Arab states, only by providing Israel with arms to defend itself. Arms for Israel are essential for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East!

It would be of great value if American Rabbis would dedicate one of their Shevuoth sermons to their observations on this critical situation. We solicit your cooperation in this matter. We shall appreciate it if in addition you will arrange to send appropriate collective wires from your congregation on this subject to President Truman, Secretary of State Acheson, and your Senators and Representatives.

We are enclosing several items which will be of interest to you.

Please inform us on the attached card of the action you take.

Sincerely yours,



Louis Lipsky
CHAIRMAN

LL:SR
Encs.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

MEMORANDUM ON REARMAMENT OF MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES

The Security Council embargo on the shipment of arms to the Middle East was lifted in August, 1949. Since that time the British Government, with the approval of the United States Government, has been shipping arms in considerable quantities to the Arab countries. According to authoritative sources, these shipments have included jet planes, heavy tanks, four-engined bombers, submarines, destroyers, corvettes and heavy artillery.

These large shipments of arms to the Arab countries have caused considerable apprehension in many quarters which view such action as a prelude to the resumption of warfare in the Middle East. At best, it has made exceedingly difficult the signing of final peace settlements to replace the existing armistice arrangements between Israel and the Arab States. Arab leaders who have found it difficult to acknowledge defeat at the hands of Israel are threatening a "second round" against her. Their reluctance to make a just and final peace treaty grows in direct proportion to the amount of war potential which they receive almost daily from Britain with American approval.

During the past months many segments of American public opinion have registered their strong disapproval of the policy of our Government in sanctioning the British action and for our own willingness to provide the Arab States with war materiel, while denying such materiel to Israel despite its request for such arms. In defending this policy, Secretary Acheson has stated:

1. Arms are being supplied by Britain to the Arabs in line with existing treaty arrangements;
2. These arms are solely for keeping internal order;
3. The Arab States must be armed to resist aggression in the Middle East;
4. The U. S. Government is unable to act favorably on the Israeli request because of the shortage of such materiel and because of our own treaty arrangements with other countries which must receive priority.

Even a cursory examination of the above statements reveals their superficiality:

1. Whenever the interests of world peace are paramount, treaty arrangements between individual countries have been brushed aside. The same treaty arrangements in existence today between Britain and the Arab countries were in existence in 1948 when the United Nations ordered an arms embargo to the Middle East. There was no valid reason why that embargo could not have been continued until the peace treaties were signed. There is no valid reason today for not re-imposing that embargo.
2. The type and quantity of arms being delivered to the Arab States hardly substantiates Mr. Acheson's claim that those states are being armed solely for keeping internal order. The heavy military budgets adopted by the Arab countries also belie this contention.

3. If, as is claimed, the Arab States are being armed by Britain and the United States to resist foreign aggression, presumably the Soviet Union, why should the same argument not apply to Israel? Is it not equally important to keep the Soviets out of Israel? How long could the Arab States be expected to resist the Soviet Union once it had gained a foothold anywhere in the Middle East? The sober fact in the situation is that no amount of arms supplied to any or all of the countries of the Middle East could hold off the Soviets for any length of time once it has launched a major attack.

It may be appropriate also to remind those who shape our foreign policy of the unreliability of the Arabs as allies in time of crisis. During World War II it was the Jews alone in the Middle East who fought side by side with the democracies while the Mufti and his cohorts were actively aiding Hitler.

4. The American Government in the past has made it a policy of responding to the appeals of those democratic countries which may be threatened by foreign invasion. Now that Israel has asked for such help, why is it that our Government suddenly finds itself short of the necessary war equipment and has decided to grant priority for this equipment to other countries?

The foregoing brief review and analysis leads us to one conclusion: the forces in Britain who are interested in prolonging chaos and confusion in the Middle East - and unfortunately those forces seem to have gained the upper hand in our State Department - are bent on the resumption of warfare between Israel and her neighbors. They thereby mistakenly hope to salvage the position of the foreign business interests which they represent as well as the position of the tottering Arab rulers which this last-ditch effort is meant to bolster.

An aroused American public opinion can yet avert this threat to the well-being of the millions of people in the Middle East as well as erase the sore spot which may yet involve the world in a global war of destruction.

*
* *
*

5/3/50

From New York Post
May 2, 1950

TO BE FRANK

By Dr. Frank Kingdon

The ways of the British Foreign Office are always a wonder to watch in much the same way as it is fascinating to see a wily real estate operator acquire extra lots by the use of dummies to conceal his own interest. Fascinating, but not endearing.

The dummy in the present case is called Abdullah, an intriguing little chieftain who managed to get control of a country containing about 350,000 wandering Bedouins which the kindly Foreign Office equipped with a well-trained fighting force called the Arab Legion. The Pashas commanding this army were British, on the British Army payroll, up to and including the onomatopoeitic Glubb Pasha. In the books of the Foreign Office, the Bedouins were nothing, Glubb was a desert expert, the Arab Legion was a valuable frontier force, and Abdullah was a King and no people know better than the British how useful a king can be, provided he takes guidance with docility.

The real estate for which the Foreign Office had a hankering was called Palestine. The obstacle was an obstinate people who refused to hand over the deed. Instead, they drove out the British bailiffs and then beat back the neighbors the British set on them. The only force in the neighborhood left in shape to make life uncomfortable for the people who would not surrender was the Arab Legion.

It moved across the Jordan and possessed some of the land including the Old City of Jerusalem. The Foreign Office still had the idea it might drive the embattled defenders of their farms and cities into the Mediterranean. When this dream was exploded, Abdullah, under orders, called for an armistice. His idea was to draw a long breath and recuperate for the final drive to the sea.

His only difficulty turned out to be that the people of the land got their breath first, and when he renewed his attack, they struck with such force that he knew he could not even hold the Old City. Seeing his peril, the Foreign Office jumped to his aid with a pious appeal to the United Nations to intervene, and fighting stopped with the little chieftain still holding both sides of the Jordan and still in Jerusalem.

The Foreign Office now was in a quandary. It clung to the idea of controlling Palestine, but in the glare of the United Nations it could not be quite crass enough to tell Abdullah to announce that he would at once annex what he had occupied by force. So it instructed him to be patient, until the sagacity of Whitehall had figured a more seemingly respectable procedure. They finally evolved the impeccable device of a referendum which, strange to relate, resulted in the people of the land watched by his army asking to be included in his kingdom. With this vote to support him, he annexed the land he occupied.

This done, the Foreign Office approved his action and accorded him full recognition as king, undoubtedly by the grace of God. At the same time, having their puppet well established on the borders of Israel and in possession of the Old City, they extended full recognition to the government of Israel also.

The net outcome is that the Foreign Office is back in Palestine with an army it controls on Israel's most exposed border and dedicated to assuring that Israel shall not enlarge its territory. Not having been able to prevent Israel from coming to birth, the Foreign Office has compromised by keeping it within range of its guns.

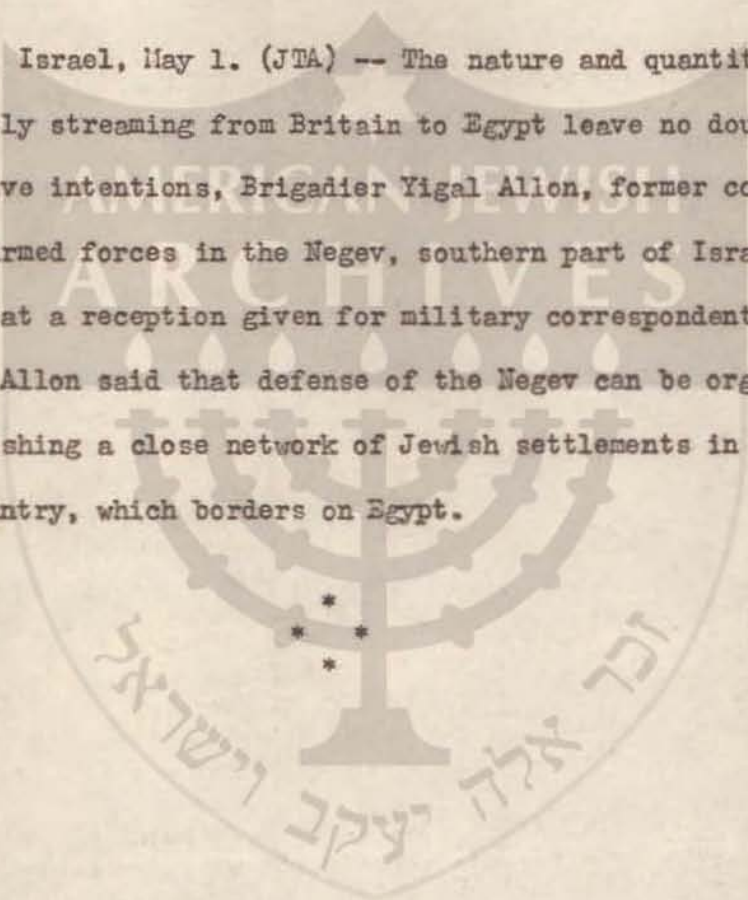
* * *

From the
JTA Daily News Bulletin
May 2, 1950

EGYPT DEFINITELY ARMING FOR OFFENSIVE AGAINST
JEWISH STATE, MILITARY COMELANDER SAYS

BEERSHEBA, Israel, May 1. (JTA) -- The nature and quantities of weapons presently streaming from Britain to Egypt leave no doubt about Egypt's offensive intentions, Brigadier Yigal Allon, former commander of the Israel armed forces in the Negev, southern part of Israel, declared today at a reception given for military correspondents.

Brigadier Allon said that defense of the Negev can be organized only by establishing a close network of Jewish settlements in that part of the country, which borders on Egypt.



SUGGESTED FORM FOR WIRE TO
PRESIDENT TRUMAN, SECRETARY OF STATE ACHESON,
SENATORS, REPRESENTATIVES

WE _____ RAISE OUR
(name of organization, place, date)
VOICES IN PROTEST AGAINST APPROVAL BY UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH POLICY OF ARMING ARAB STATES
AND ITS REFUSAL OF ISRAEL'S PLEA FOR DEFENSE ARMS
STOP IN FACE OF ARAB WARLIKE THREATS AND ARAB
LEAGUE ORGANIZING OF UNITED ECONOMIC AND MILITARY
FRONT AGAINST STRUGGLING STATE OF ISRAEL WE SHARE
OUR STATE DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN FOR PEACE AND
SECURITY IN MIDDLE EAST BUT VIGOROUSLY ASSERT THAT
ONLY BY PROVIDING ISRAEL WITH ARMS TO DEFEND ITSELF
CAN THE PEACE OF THE MIDDLE EAST BE SUCCESSFULLY
MAINTAINED STOP WE CALL UPON YOU TO USE YOUR GOOD
OFFICES TO THIS END STOP

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

NO. 7

October 17, 1949

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

In order that you may be guided in the planning of mass meetings in your community during the period October 30 to November 6, as outlined in our directive No. 6 of October 11, 1949, I am sending you the following enclosures:

- a) Excellent background material on Jerusalem for speakers, radio, and press. Please use it to its best advantage remembering that we wish the AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE U.N. TO FAVOR THE COMMON SENSE SOLUTION OF THE JERUSALEM PROBLEM AS ADVOCATED BY THE ISRAELI DELEGATION.
- b) Three model resolutions to guide your meeting in adopting a resolution to be conveyed to President Truman and, wherever possible, in person to your local Congressmen and Senators (who will be in their home districts at the close of Congress which is expected shortly).
- c) An article which appeared in the October 13 issue of the New York Times, pointing up the need for the kind of action we are requesting.

If you have not done so, please return the postal card sent to you on October 11, giving us a preliminary report on your meeting plans. At the completion of your mass meeting, send us a full report on it, enclosing a copy of the resolutions adopted and any action taken.

May I also urge you once again, if you have not done so already, to send us the names of the officers and sub-committees of your reorganized local committees. I cannot emphasize too strongly how important it is -- during this crucial period -- to have local committees ready and at work.

With Zion's greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Unger
Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:MB
Encs.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, Israel, having won its war of independence, has now taken its rightful place as a free and independent state among the nations of the world and as a member of the community of nations -- the United Nations organization; and

WHEREAS, American Jewry, which has substantially aided in the fulfillment of the Zionist ideal, is eternally grateful to the United States Government for the leading role it played in the effectuation of Palestine's partition and in the subsequent admission of Israel to the United Nations organization; and

WHEREAS, the security of Israel is now being threatened, this time by the United Nations Conciliation Commission's plan to sever Jerusalem from Israel, a plan which would place all of the Holy City within a 60-square-mile enclave under the "full and permanent authority" of the United Nations; and

WHEREAS, the Jews of Jerusalem, having undergone the most extreme suffering during the war when their city was under siege and in difficult straits, are now being called upon to surrender their city to an alien supervision; and

WHEREAS, the siege of Jerusalem was lifted, not by a United Nations truce, but by the military strength of Israel who, though sorely pressed for its own survival summoned all of its resources to relieve stricken Jerusalem and save it from strangulation; and

WHEREAS, the City of Jerusalem is predominantly Jewish in population (comprising approximately 90 percent of its total inhabitants), in art, culture, educational and medical institutions, commerce, trade and industry.

WHEREAS, for three thousand years the Jewish people have looked upon Jerusalem with special reverence, regarding it as the spiritual center of the Jewish religion.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, representing the _____ do hereby call upon the United States Government to repudiate the impractical and unjust plan of United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission which would cut off Jerusalem, the City of Zion, from Israel.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that while we are mindful of the international character of the Christian shrines and Holy Places in Jerusalem we would recommend that only these sites -- and no more -- be placed under the supervision of the United Nations.

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to President Harry S. Truman and be brought to the personal attention of Congressman _____ and United States Senators

(name)

and _____

(name)

(name)

RESOLUTIONS

HAVING NOTED that the United States Government was instrumental in the establishment of Israel and in the Jewish State's subsequent admission to membership in the United Nations;

HAVING NOTED the successful military defense of their newborn State by the heroic inhabitants of Israel;

HAVING NOTED that Jerusalem was saved from complete destruction by the Jewish defenders of that city and by the assistance of the military forces of Israel, themselves hard-pressed in battle on other fronts;

HAVING NOTED the historical connection of Jerusalem with the Jewish people for three thousand years;

HAVING NOTED that present-day Jerusalem is predominantly Jewish in population, culture, language, trade and industry;

THE (name of organization) NOW REQUESTS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

1. To recognize the political status of the Government of Israel in Jerusalem and to limit the role of the United Nations in that city to the safeguarding of the generally-recognized Holy Places in accordance with agreements which could be entered into between the United Nations and the Government of Israel on the one hand, and the United Nations and the competent Arab Governments on the other;
2. To refrain from supporting any move, from whatever source, which would impose any alteration of the present boundaries of Israel as fixed by the series of armistice agreements entered into by the Government of Israel with the adjoining Arab States under the auspices of the United Nations.

THE (name or organization) has instructed its officers to forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States and to (names of Congressmen and U. S. Senators).

RESOLUTIONS

We, as Americans and as Jews, members of the Jewish community of

Appeal to Harry S. Truman, as President of the United States, to lend the weight of his influence in the United Nations to ensure a solution of the problem of Jerusalem that shall be both equitable and practical.

We submit that for two thousand years the Jewish people in their Dispersion have prayed for their return to Jerusalem, which is eternally linked with the restoration of Zion.

We urge the rejection of the plan submitted by the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission to have Jerusalem and its environs placed under an international administration on the ground that the plan is both impractical and unjust; and would deprive its population of their civil, political and economic rights as an integral part of the State of Israel.

We are confident that a covenant can be entered into with the State of Israel for the protection of the Holy Places without impairing any of the rights of the people of Jerusalem.

From NEW YORK TIMES
October 13, 1949

U.S., BRITAIN FIRM ABOUT JERUSALEM

Will Oppose Effort by Israel to Incorporate New City -- Solution Held Far Off

By Sam Pope Brewer

Lake Success, Oct. 12 -- The United States and Britain plan to oppose any effort to incorporate the New City of Jerusalem into the State of Israel, spokesmen for their delegations to the United Nations General Assembly indicated here today.

Both countries, the spokesmen said, supported the United Nations Conciliation Commission's plan to divide the city into Israeli and Arab zones but to keep the whole area, including Bethlehem, under international rule.

A United States spokesman said that his delegation would not insist on rigid adherence to the plan as it now stands but believed that it must stick to its basic principles.

Recently there have been rumors that the United States and Britain were coming around to the view that it would be more practical to allow Israel to take over the part of the city populated by Jews. This has been denied by the representatives of both countries here. With Israel determined to take over that section of the Holy City and the Arabs equally determined to oppose the step, prospects for an early and successful settlement are not bright.

In the General Assembly the Palestine question is not expected to come up even in committee for a month. It is on the agenda of the Political Committee but has been crowded into the background by other items.

However, the Conciliation Commission on Palestine, which has been meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, is moving here and will begin meetings next week to be ready to report to the Assembly when required.

* * * *

MEMORANDUM ON JERUSALEM

October, 1949

(This material is being distributed by the American Zionist Council as a source of reference and background on the Jerusalem problem.)

The United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission has presented to the General Assembly a draft instrument establishing a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area.

All will agree that the fundamental object of an international regime for Jerusalem is to safeguard the Holy Places which are sacred to Christianity, Islam and Judaism, and to ensure free access to them. The Commission was instructed by the General Assembly to present detailed proposals which would attain that objective.

In examining the instrument submitted by the Palestine Conciliation Commission, two questions arise:

1. Is it faithful to its objective?
2. Is it practical?

To safeguard the Holy Places it is necessary to establish an international regime whose duties and functions are concerned with the Holy Places. Such a plan would respect the religious sentiments of all faiths. But the instrument drafted by the POC provides for an international regime which would not only supervise the Holy Places, but would also intrude into the secular and political life of the people residing in Jerusalem. Such a regime, encroaching on the rights, duties and responsibilities of the inhabitants themselves, could be established only with the consent of the parties directly concerned. Patently, such consent, involving the voluntary surrender of rights won at great sacrifice, would not be forthcoming.

By proposing the impossible, the Commission has thus defeated its objective; but it has rendered a useful service, for an analysis of the draft instrument reveals the impossibility of devising an international

government, superimposed upon a population, without regard for its own problems and legitimate interests.

When one contrasts the theoretical blueprint of the Commission with the realities of life in Jerusalem itself, one must conclude that if the United Nations wishes to safeguard the Holy Places, it should do precisely that. To go beyond is to venture into the realms of futility and failure.

It is not intended to analyze the draft instrument in detail, for a plan that is fundamentally and basically unacceptable to the people whose consent is a condition precedent to its peaceful implementation cannot be saved by patchwork revision. In this connection, it is of interest to note that the peoples directly concerned were never shown the draft instrument or acquainted with its broad outlines or provisions. It is curious that an undertaking where consent is so essential an element to success, there was no consultation of any kind. Yet in another sense, the procedure is not surprising, for it is in keeping with the character of the plan itself. The plan does not consult the interests of the people. It ignores them. Indeed, it does them injury.

The proposed draft is unacceptable because:

1. It is detached from the realities of life in Jerusalem.
2. It violates fundamental principles of the United Nations.
3. It ignores all past experience.
4. It imposes an impossible burden on the United Nations itself.

I. IT IS DETACHED FROM THE REALITIES OF LIFE IN JERUSALEM

The Conciliation Commission's plan was drafted as though in a vacuum. It seems to treat Jerusalem as some devitalized antiquity inhabited by a population entirely devoid of national, communal and cultural sentiment. The City of Jerusalem is not a museum. It must not be regarded as a relic to be wrapped in wax. It is a living city. It is conscious of its rich historic and religious tradition, but at the same time it is a modern city.

It looks with keen interest to the future and the welfare of its people.

The people of Jerusalem are devoted to their City. They have a most devout reverence for its history and sanctity. This reverence is entirely compatible with the maintenance of normal every-day secular life. Like every other intelligent people, they want to elect their own government officials, decide how much they will pay in taxes, control the expenditures of their government's revenues. They desire self-determination and independence in association with their own people. Of this they gave clear evidence within the last two years when they fought for their freedom and won it at great cost of life.

Under the proposed draft, the peoples of Jerusalem would be denied self-determination. Decisive powers would be vested in external agencies outside their control. Jerusalem would be divided into two zones. But neither the Arab nor the Jewish zone would be integrated with the contiguous Arab and Jewish states. They would be separate zones. People of each zone are euphemistically referred to as "residents." Apparently they are to be citizens of no state. They are to bear allegiance to no national authority. In short, they are to be stateless.

Internationalization is not a concept readily acceptable to any people. Many sentiments, pride in common history and devotion to common destiny, give content and meaning to the concept of national allegiance. For the Jews in Jerusalem this concept, cherished for long generations, is all the more precious since it was only recently realized. Until some 18 months ago, most of these people were known as displaced persons, refugees, stateless. Many of them were homeless refugees in Europe, uprooted by the Nazis and set adrift for five, ten, fifteen years. The establishment of the State of Israel and the stout and successful defense of Jerusalem had made it possible for them to assert their own nationality.

Now to deny them this newly-won right, to render them stateless once again, would be a cruel blow which none would understand. But this would be more than a mere psychological disaster. Statelessness has physical, economic, juridical disabilities. The residents of these zones, citizens of no country, residents of no nationality, would ask themselves: To whom shall we turn for passports? Who will represent us in world commerce? Who will protect us from personal indignities abroad? Who will defend us from external aggression? Who will stand up as our spokesman in international councils, there to defend and advance our interests, to assert our rights, to express our views, to make our proper contribution to international affairs? It is a curious paradox that the proposal to internationalize the City removes its population from the international arena. Deprived of nationality, they would be unrepresented in the international forum.

The Jews of Jerusalem are Israelis. They regard themselves as nationals of the new State. They consider the Jewish sections of Jerusalem to be an integral part of that State. They could not be deprived of that citizenship without their consent. And in no condition would they give their consent.

To sever modern Jerusalem from the State of Israel is a surgical amputation critically injuring the health both of the City and the State. For the first time, the City now enjoys self-government and it is bound to develop far more rapidly in the future than it has done in the past. But this promise of growth and expansion is clouded by the threat of denial of self-rule. Past experience amply justifies that fear. It is fortified by the explicit provisions of the draft document, The decisive vote of the proposed general council is to be cast by those whom the people themselves do not elect. This council determines levies to

be paid. Here is taxation without representation - aggravated by the likelihood that one part of the City will be asked to subsidize the other at the expense of its own growth and development.

The primary requisite of any community's growth is people. On this point the draft document proposes a curious strait jacket. Article 5 declares the responsible authorities shall take no steps in matters of immigration which might alter the present demographic equilibrium of the area of Jerusalem. This is a bald - if unspoken - ban on Jewish immigration into Jerusalem. This in itself is an evil proscription, reviving the bitter memories of the Palestine White Paper of 1939 which all but prohibited Jewish immigration into Palestine and which set in motion the train of events that led finally to the end of the Mandate. The all-compelling incentive of the Jewish struggle for independence in Israel was the universal demand of the Jewish people to open their country to Jewish immigration. Now it is proposed that there be a limitation on Jewish immigration into Jerusalem. Are conditions to be created which will compel Jews to organize "illegal" Jewish immigration into Jerusalem? Will Jews be driven to organize a new underground to carry on that immigration and to defend it?

Moreover, it must be recognized that the ban falls with unequal weight, for the new international authority is not to attempt to control a population increase resulting from birth. The Arab birth rate in Palestine has always been much higher than the Jewish birth rate. In fact, the rate of population increase of the Arabs has been the highest in the world. Obviously, a rule which limits Jewish immigration but ignores the natural Arab increase will weight the demographic equilibrium in favor of the Arab zone.

Put bluntly, this clause asserts in the name of the UN: "No Jews are welcome here." Such a proclamation would not only create a most violent reaction inside Israel. It would be deeply resented by Jews all over the world. It would be welcomed only by those who preach racial and religious discrimination.

II. IT VIOLATES FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE UN

It does not require detailed discussion to conclude that the proposed draft is inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. The proposal to denationalize in the name of internationalization is objectionable not merely because injury is done to a people. It is objectionable because violence is done to fundamental principles. There is some irony in that Article 7 of the proposed document calls upon the local authorities of the Arab and Jewish zones to ensure human rights and fundamental freedoms. But such rights and freedoms which have been acquired by the people of Jerusalem and which are now being exercised by them are to be abrogated by this very same document.

Article 1 of the UN Charter affirms the principle of equal rights and self-determination and declares it to be the purpose of the United Nations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The obligation of the United Nations to assist peoples toward self-government and independence is clearly expressed in Article 75 of the Charter. Nowhere is the United Nations or any of its organs empowered to help people to non-self-government or to assist in the establishment of non-self-governing territories.

For the United Nations to embark on such a program would be to retreat ignominiously from high principle and purpose. Thus to announce to the world in the name of the United Nations that Jewish immigration to Jerusalem is to be barred is to suggest that the United Nations has a low estimate of the value of people themselves and it is prepared to make invidious distinctions between peoples. It would be a strange undertaking for the United Nations to attempt to withhold from people the exercise of their right of self-determination. Such proposals are neither within the competence of the United Nations nor in accord with its conscience.

III. IT IGNORES ALL PAST EXPERIENCE

For three religions--Christianity, Islam and Judaism--Jerusalem is sacred, an eternal shrine. For the Jewish people, Jerusalem holds cultural and national as well as spiritual associations. It is the center of their national history. It was the capital of the First and Second Jewish Commonwealths. For two thousand years of Jewish exile and dispersion Jerusalem was not merely a city of a revered past. It was the promise of a glowing future. To sever Jerusalem from the Jewish State is to do violence to Jewish history. It offends the sensibilities of every Jew in Jerusalem and Israel. It arouses the deepest reaction among Jews as a people, for it would be a crushing blow to their national honor and dignity.

The plan quarrels with recent history, including the experience in the United Nations itself. It ignores completely the events of the past 24 months. It is as if the history of Jerusalem began on the day the draftsmen placed their proposals on paper.

When the General Assembly began consideration of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, the representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine made it clear to the Assembly that they believed Jerusalem was irrevocably linked with the proposed Jewish State, and they advocated that the modern sections of Jerusalem, built and inhabited by Jews, be made part of the Jewish State. This proposal was not accepted by the General Assembly, and in deference to the wishes of that body and to the sentiments expressed by religious spokesmen of the world, the Jewish Agency representatives assented to the proposal that Jerusalem be internationalized. Having given their assent, the Jewish representatives then did everything in their power to implement the plan. Representatives of the Jewish Agency, accepting the declaration of the General Assembly on Jerusalem as a promise

that Jerusalem might be spared conflict and its shrines safeguarded from war, worked with organs of the United Nations to draft a statute for Jerusalem. But confronted with Arab resistance and boycott, the organs of the United Nations failed to assume the responsibilities to which they were pledged. The Trusteeship Council on April 21, 1948, abandoned its efforts to draft a statute for Jerusalem. It adopted a resolution referring the matter back to the General Assembly.

By that action, the Jewish population in Jerusalem was abandoned by the world and left to itself in the face of grave danger. Fighting broke out in Jerusalem within a few hours after the General Assembly adopted the Resolution of November 29, 1947, and from that time on, the Jewish population of Jerusalem was subjected to sniping, shellfire, starvation and siege. In May, 1948, the position grew even more desperate, for Jerusalem was separated from the newly established State of Israel and isolated from the world itself.

The Jews of Jerusalem, the Jews of Israel, yield to no one in their devotion to the sacred City. It was not the Jews who shelled its shrines. It was not the Jews who destroyed its water supply. It was not the Jews who blockaded its roads to deny it food. It was not the Jews who blew up its Holy Places. On the contrary, it was the Jews who defended Jerusalem and sought to save it from destruction. Nothing that happens to Jerusalem is ever forgotten in history, and the world will long remember the ordeal through which Jerusalem passed. Hundreds, thousands of its people today carry wounds which painfully recall that struggle. For months the people were reduced to a pitiful ration of food and water. Many literally faced death by starvation. And those who died were unburied for days. In this crisis, the international community which had assumed the right to exercise jurisdiction over Jerusalem failed to discharge its responsibilities. Jerusalem, its people and its sacred places were rescued for civilization by the people of Israel who, by a

herculean effort, opened a road to the beleaguered City, brought it food, water, arms and life itself.

No monument to this sage in Jewish history has yet been erected. No memorial attests to the City's suffering and agony unless it be the charred skeletons of trucks and convoys which lie along the road from Bab-el-Wed up to the Holy City--silent sentinels of the youth who fought and died to liberate Jerusalem. The story of this struggle is etched in the mind and heart of every Jew in Jerusalem and in Israel. The bond between Jerusalem and Israel is the bond of common struggle and survival. It cannot again be severed.

In this light, the bland suggestion that the New City, surrounded as it is on three sides by Arab forces, be again rendered defenseless, seems totally unrealistic. In these circumstances it is inconceivable that the people would agree to divest themselves of military forces, essential to life itself. The United Nations may not ask any people to commit suicide.

IV. IT IMPOSES AN IMPOSSIBLE BURDEN ON THE UNITED NATIONS ITSELF

Past experience of the United Nations itself should deter it from an undertaking beyond its competence and capacity. It is no disrespect of the United Nations to suggest that that organization is not equipped at this stage to impose upon an unwilling people a superstructure of government which abridges the rights of the people concerned and violates the Charter of the United Nations. The chief purpose of such a commission--the safeguarding of the Holy Places--is defeated from the outset if it attempts to do more than to achieve that purpose.

It is essential, if the Holy Places are to be protected and maintained, that a practical and workable plan be adopted. The Government of Israel has repeatedly affirmed its support of the principle of full international control for the protection and immunity of the Holy Places. The Government's attitude was submitted to the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly by the

representative of the Government of Israel on May 5, 1949. At that time, the representative said in part:

- "1. The Government of Israel cooperated to the fullest extent with the Statute drawn up in November, 1947. It bears no responsibility for the failure of that project, a failure which arose through the deliberate armed resistance of the Arab States and the refusal of the organs of the United Nations to ratify or assume the obligations necessary for the fulfilment of the Statute.
- "2. The Government of Israel advocates and supports the establishment by the United Nations of an international regime for Jerusalem concerned exclusively with the control and protection of Holy Places and sites. If such a regime for the Holy Places is established, my Government will cooperate with it.
- "3. The Government of Israel will also agree to place under international control Holy Places in other parts of its territory outside Jerusalem...
- "4. The Government of Israel is prepared to offer the fullest safeguards and guarantees for the security of religious institutions in the exercise of their functions. The Government of Israel is prepared to negotiate immediately with all religious authorities concerned with this end in view...
- "5. The Government of Israel will persevere in its efforts to repair the damage inflicted on religious buildings and sites in the course of the war launched by the Arab States.
- "6. The Government of Israel regards with pride and satisfaction its part in the restoration of peace and order which are the essential requisites of any reverent care for the Holy Places and sites.
- "7. The integration of the Jewish part of Jerusalem into the life of the State of Israel has taken place as a natural historical process arising from the conditions of war, from the vacuum of authority created by the termination of the Mandate, and from the refusal of the United Nations to assume any direct administrative responsibilities on the scene. This integration, which is paralleled by a similar process in the Arab area, is not incompatible with the establishment of an international regime charged with full juridical status for the effective protection of the Holy Places, no matter where situated...
- "8. The Government of Israel will continue to seek agreements with the Arab interests concerned for the maintenance and preservation of peace and the reopening of blocked access into and within the City of Jerusalem. Such negotiations now proceeding however do not affect the juridical status of Jerusalem which we shall seek to define by international consent....
- "11. The Government of Israel draws attention to the existence of profound Jewish religious interests, which give Jerusalem a central and abiding place in Jewish spiritual life. All the sacred associations of Jerusalem

derive ultimately from its Jewish origins. The preservation of synagogues, the right of access to the Wailing Wall and of residence within the Walled City require international guarantees and implementation..."

This position remains unchanged. The Government of Israel advocates the establishment of an international regime for the Holy Places. It will help to establish such a regime. It will fully cooperate with it. It earnestly hopes that the United Nations will concede to the people of Jerusalem an appreciation of their rights and responsibilities in a measure equal to that people's understanding and respect for universal interest in the Holy City.

To keep Jerusalem sacred, it is unnecessary to profane every democratic principle. The national interests of the people of Jerusalem can be reconciled with world interest in the City's shrines, without violating either. These interests are not in conflict.



AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

September 29, 1949

PREPARE FOR THE EMERGENCY

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL: - 3

The best opinion here is that the following questions, vital to Israel and its future security, may come up at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am listing them in the order of their probable occurrence:

First, Severance of Jerusalem from Israel and its establishment under Alien Rule;

Second, The Question of Arab refugees;

Third, The Proposal to Amputate the Negev from the State of Israel.

It is said on good authority that the United States seeks a postponement of the introduction of the Jerusalem problem before the General Assembly until after the November elections. The Government's purpose is obvious. It seeks to avoid political embarrassment. There is no reason, however, why it should not be embarrassed on an issue so vital to us and to which it has apparently given its prior approval.

The question of Arab refugees will not come up until the Clapp Commission returns from the Middle East with a special report on the economic and agricultural development of that part of the world.

Concerning the dismemberment of the Negev -- which both the United States and Great Britain have been steadily pursuing through backdoor diplomatic pressure these past six months -- it seems likely that a deal could be struck on the first two issues if Israel would give its consent to an appreciable loss of territory in the Negev -- which it will not do.

In general, these are the subjects relevant to Israel which will come under the purview of the UN body. It is expected that the General Assembly will remain in session until the end of this year. No decision on the above issues are anticipated during October; they may be reached in November and December. These months may be the vital ones for Israel.

* * *

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

The pressure of an emergency situation dictates the nature of our work during the weeks and months ahead. American public opinion must be aroused and effectively organized throughout the country to the end that the State Department and the Administration will desist from their attempts to deprive Israel of Jerusalem and reduce Israel to an unviable entity.

The role of the COUNCIL during the current session of the General Assembly is self-evident. We must fight the battle for Jerusalem and the Negev in the newspapers, on the air, in the magazines, on the lecture platforms. We dare not lose the battle ahead of us. The consequences are too costly.

* * *

THEREFORE: Organize for the emergency! Follow the instructions contained in my letter of September 15th!

Call together representatives of all local groups affiliated with your Committee; review the political situation affecting Israel in the light of the communications that have been addressed to you; discuss your own public relations program relative to the form of emergency action your community should adopt; and if you have not done so already, elect your officers and appoint the chairmen of your committees.

If the Chairmen of your Public Relations and Press Committees are already appointed, have them get into action at once. Send their names and addresses to JEROME UNGER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, as soon as possible.

* * *

The period of the emergency will continue from now until the end of the year. But action should begin at once. Your first duty is to Help Save Jerusalem for Israel.

With Zion's greetings,

Louis Lipsky
Louis Lipsky
Chairman

LL:SR
Encs.

P.S. To keep you informed on the latest developments of the Jerusalem issue, we are enclosing 1) excerpts from an address by Aubrey S. Eban to the United Nations General Assembly on this subject; and 2) two recent articles from the J.T.A. News.

"We regard the Jerusalem problem as composed of two elements. First: there is the responsibility of the United Nations for ensuring that Holy Places and site are reverently preserved and that religious institutions are assured full liberty in the exercise of their functions. The other purpose, no less valid, and for the Government of Israel not one whit less compelling, is the need to assure the Jewish population of the city the full enjoyment of its democratic political rights in association with the only government to which it is now prepared to offer its allegiance.

"We see no incompatibility between these two purposes. Conflict can arise only if there is an unjustified encroachment by one upon the other. Thus, if the political aspirations of Israel and of Jerusalem's population were carried to the point of repudiating the concern of the United Nations for the safeguarding of Holy Places and sites there might be an encroachment upon a universal religious interest. No such eventuality will take place. On the other hand, if the United Nations were to impose upon the population of Jerusalem any burden or deprivation not strictly related to the satisfaction of universal religious interests, an encroachment would take place upon cherished political freedom.

"It would be a disservice to realistic investigation to ignore the exact relationship existing between the Jews of Jerusalem and the State of Israel at this time. The situation may be briefly described. When a law is promulgated in Israel, the Jews of Jerusalem obey it. When a tax is levied in Israel, the Jews of Jerusalem pay it. When the parliamentary institutions of Israel are elected, the Jews of Jerusalem help to elect them and participate in their operation. When civil or criminal litigation arises in Jerusalem, it is to the courts of Israel alone that the Jews of Jerusalem take their case. The coinage and stamps of Jewish Jerusalem are the coinage and stamps of Israel. The slowly reviving economy of Jerusalem is sustained and nourished from the State of Israel. The language and religion, the cultural sentiment and national allegiance of the Jews of Jerusalem are those which they hold in common with the State of Israel and its people.

"There is thus no link uniting a citizen of Paris to the Republic of France; there is no bond between a citizen of London and the United Kingdom which does not exist at this time between a Jew in Jerusalem and the State of Israel. For in modern society no man, however conscious of civic pride, feels completely in the limits of a purely municipal allegiance; he must reach out to identify himself with a wider political and social culture. In this respect, too, the Jewish citizens of Jerusalem are as those of all other cities.

"Yet there is one particular aspect in which the link between Jewish Jerusalem and the State of Israel has an altogether special strength. In 1947 the United Nations, having undertaken full responsibility, both for the religious and secular life of Jerusalem, declined to carry out any responsibility for either one of the two. Jerusalem fell into siege and famine. Its population underwent a martyrdom unknown in post-biblical times, while the international community looked on helpless, and inert. Men, women and children fell by the hundreds, both in the city's defence, and in its relief. At critical moments both its water and food supplies were cut off with no hope of replenishment. If this situation had endured for but a matter of days, there would have overtaken every living Jew in Jerusalem an annihilation more total and complete than the most effective and devastating bombardment can ever inflict. Salvation came from one quarter alone. The State of Israel, struggling against dire odds for very survival itself, girded all its strength to throw a lifeline to the beleaguered city, reopening its communication and saving it from dreadful strangulation. Every man, woman, and child in Jewish Jerusalem today can thus ascribe the fact of his physical survival directly and concretely to the State of Israel and its government."

CARDINAL SPELLMAN MUM ON REPORT HE ASKED TRUMAN
FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM

NEW YORK, Sept. 26. (JTA) -- A spokesman for Francis Cardinal Spellman today refused to comment on a report that the Cardinal had interceded with President Truman to have the city of Jerusalem internationalized.

The report, which emanated from Montreal, quoted the Rev. Raphael Quinn, secretary of the Roman Catholic Custodian of Holy Places, as the authority for the fact that Cardinal Spellman had interceded with President Truman. Father Quinn was also quoted as having charged that elements of the Israel forces were "wholly responsible for the defamation, bombing and destruction of many Holy Places" within Jerusalem.

He added that the Israel Ministry of Religion has disclaimed responsibility for these acts and "we are still without compensation or future assurance of safety." Father Quinn said the Arabs have always respected the Holy Places and called King Abdullah of Transjordan a "great and good friend of the Franciscan Order."

A report from Rome yesterday said that the Catholic Church would not be satisfied with any solution less than internationalization of Jerusalem and the Holy Places in Palestine. The report emanated from Quotidiano, organ of the Catholic Action Party in Italy, and one of the publications through which the Vatican releases semi-official material.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM ASKED BY
APOSTOLIC REPRESENTATIVE IN CANADA

MONTREAL, Sept. 26. (JTA) -- Demand for the internationalization of Jerusalem "in the name of four hundred million Catholics" was voiced here by the Apostolic Representative to Canada, Monseigneur Antoniuti who came from Ottawa to address a Montreal gathering.

The Papal Nuncio said that Christians must not remain indifferent to such a "scandalous situation" where soldiers are again making merry at the "foot of the Crucifix" and added that "four hundred million Catholics and millions of other Christians demand from all interested powers that justice be done in Palestine to the rights of the Christian world and that in the birthplace of Christ be guaranteed the peace which He sought to bring to this world."

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

• NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

September 16, 1949

Dear Rabbi:

On the very eve of our Holy Days, in the celebrations and prayers of which Jerusalem occupies such an important place, the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission has announced its plan for the internationalization of Jerusalem. Writing to you, we do not have to enlarge on the injustice and impracticability of the Conciliation Commission's plan for Jerusalem. We must see to it that the voice of the Jews of America is raised as powerfully as possible in defense of Jewish Jerusalem and in demand for its incorporation in the State of Israel. We are confident that you fully share our sentiments. Accordingly, may we take the liberty of making the following suggestions:

First: That during the Holy Day services in your synagogue - either on Rosh Hashana or on Yom Kippur - you devote one of your sermons to an appraisal of the critical nature of the Jerusalem problem.

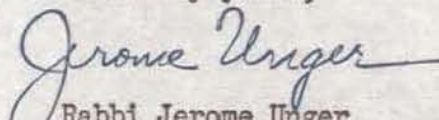
Second: That you utilize your best efforts and invite the cooperation of the President and Officers of your congregation to the end that a telegram or telegrams (in the name of your Temple or Synagogue, Sisterhood, Men's Club, etc.) be sent to the President of the United States, urging him to disavow the recommendations of the United Nations Conciliation Commission to internationalize Jerusalem. Please do not fail us at this juncture.

We herewith enclose for your information and use the following material which you may find helpful in this "Save Jerusalem" campaign. This material contains:

- A. Analytical comments on the Conciliation Commission's plan for Jerusalem, together with a short historical survey of the Jewish character of Jerusalem.
- B. A reprint of an editorial in the New York Herald Tribune which appeared on September 15, 1949.
- C. Suggested texts for telegrams to the President of the United States to be sent during the Holy Days period. Naturally, these texts should not be followed literally, but should be used as a model for your own particular needs.

We feel confident that you will cooperate with us to the utmost in the urgent tasks which we face today, and we hope and wish that this coming year may be the year of our full national redemption. Warmest greetings and earnest wishes for a very good year.

Sincerely yours,


Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR
Encs.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

SEPTEMBER 15, 1949

Jerusalem and the U. N.

The proposal of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission for permanent internationalization of Jerusalem, whatever its theoretical attractiveness may be, appears to have been far outrun both by time and events. It is not merely a question of the Israelis' refusal to cede their rights in Jewish Jerusalem, although this alone would make the U. N.'s task of taking over the entire city a formidable one, but also of the practicability and effectiveness of the Conciliation Commission's proposal. There was a time, perhaps, when internationalization, which was suggested in the U. N.'s original partition resolution of 1947, might have been imposed; but it was the Israeli Army and not the U. N. which saw to it that the partition of Palestine became a reality. The fighting for Jerusalem proper left the Israelis in possession of the New City and King Abdullah's Arab Legion in control of the Old City, and the complete acquiescence of both sides would be a prerequisite to any plan for treating the city as a whole.

The commission's plan, as a matter of fact, envisages the internationalization not only of Jerusalem but of a sixty-square-mile enclave around the city, including Bethlehem. Although many of the city's administrative functions would be reserved to the U. N., each side would police its own zone, and the holy places, which constitute the crux of the entire Jerusalem question, would be open to all. But the important question of what kind of citizenship the residents of the area would hold is left untouched, and there is, as yet, no U. N. police force powerful enough to make internationalization effective on all levels, or even to guarantee access to the holy places in case they should be threatened. Furthermore, enclaves of this sort have a way of creating problems rather than settling them, and the Jerusalem area is lacking in the natural advantages that sometimes enable a port, for example, to exist as an entity.

That the United Nations, as the representative of the world community, has a rightful place in Jerusalem, is denied by none. The Israeli government has repeatedly and consistently expressed its willingness to have the U. N. supervise the holy places, not only in Jerusalem but elsewhere, and there is no reason to doubt that both the letter and spirit of such an agreement would be rigidly adhered to. It is conceivable, also, that the U. N. could perform valuable service as a mediator in the city and as a guardian of the rights of outside parties. There is no reason why a satisfactory compromise along the lines set forth by the Israeli government should not be worked out and, in time, become acceptable to all interested parties. But stability in Palestine scarcely seems likely if the U. N. persists in a now outdated plan of setting up a third state in a country that is barely large enough for two.

ANALYTICAL COMMENTS ON THE
U.N. PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION'S PLAN
FOR AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME IN JERUSALEM

What Is Wrong With the Conciliation Commission's Plan?

The Plan of the U. N. Palestine Conciliation Commission for an international regime over Jerusalem and its vicinity should be rejected on grounds of injustice and utter impracticability.

The Conciliation Commission's plan treats the problem of Jerusalem out of the context of the entire Palestine issue, and therefore the entire approach of the Commission is purely theoretical, as an analysis of the recommendations will easily show.

The plan totally ignores the fact that only a short time ago a bitter and bloody Arab-Jewish war took place, and that Jerusalem formed one of the main battlefields in this war. It takes no cognizance of the heavy casualties paid by Jerusalem Jewry for the defense of the Holy City, including its internationally revered shrines; the grave danger of total extermination faced by the Jews of Jerusalem; the hunger and thirst they suffered during the many months when the city was incessantly shelled by the Arab invaders, cut off from its hinterland, blockaded and starved.

How can one come now and tell the nearly one hundred thousand Jews of Jerusalem that the many hundreds of young Jewish lives sacrificed in the "break-through" on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv Road -- at the Kastel, Latrun, etc. -- were in vain; and that in the future their lives and the lives of their children will be cut off from the State of Israel and depend entirely on the same United Nations which remained totally inactive in the face of the most brutal onslaughts on Jerusalem only one year ago? No community of living men and women can be expected to accept such a plan.

The Life of Jerusalem Jewry Is At Stake

Nor does the plan provide for any real military protection of the Holy City under this international regime. On the contrary, while stipulating the complete demilitarization and disarmament of Jerusalem, the plan envisages a police force of one thousand men, half of whom are to be Jewish and the other half Arab, and therefore both partisan forces who may be confidently expected to be loyal to their respective communities and governments, rather than to the United Nations. The fact of the matter is that the plan wants the United Nations to take nominal charge of Jerusalem, without giving it any real power and strength.

Free Access to the Holy Places

The motivating reason behind this plan is supposedly the desire to provide international protection for the Holy Places and free access to them for members of all religions. It has already been indicated above that the United Nations, as in the case of Jerusalem, will not dispose of a real force capable of any defense. The United Nations will have to depend entirely on the good-will of the two communities. Access to the Holy Places, moreover, is physically impossible without the wholehearted cooperation of Israel and its government. Jerusalem does not lie on the sea. Any pilgrims or visitors would have to land on Israeli territory and pass through Israeli territory in order to reach the Holy Places.

Accordingly, if the repeated assurances and guarantees offered by the Government of Israel for free access to the shrines are not accepted by the international community, the setting up of a United Nations regime in Jerusalem would not solve the problem.

Jerusalem Is a Jewish City

Ninety percent of the Holy Places is contained within the walls of the Old City, and the rest is just outside the walls. It is the Holy Places proper that have to be internationalized and not the whole of Jerusalem. In other words, if we look for a sound, just and practical solution -- the workability of which must depend, under the circumstances, on the wholehearted cooperation of both Israel and Transjordan -- the United Nations should seek administrative power over the Holy Places and not territorial power over the Jerusalem area and its population.

Jerusalem Depends On Israel For Its Economic Survival

If the plan of the Palestine Conciliation Commission is seen from an economic viewpoint, its total impracticability is no less evident. Jerusalem's economy is not self-contained. The Holy City has no developed industries. Its main sources of income in recent years were derived from its having been the administrative center of Palestine. If Jerusalem is severed from the rest of the country, it is condemned to slow but certain economic deterioration.

Jerusalem also depends on Israel for its supplies. Agricultural produce comes to Jerusalem from the countryside, which will be outside the suggested international zone. Industrial products must come to Jerusalem either from the factories of Israel or imported through Israel. Even water must be brought to Jerusalem by pipes from Israel. If, as the Commission suggests, Jerusalem becomes an independent entity and the State of Israel is not allowed to have any of its governmental institutions there, a sizeable proportion of the population of Jerusalem will remain without income and livelihood, and consequently, will have to "emigrate" from Jerusalem into Israel.

From whatever aspect one analyzes the Conciliation Commission's plan, one is bound to arrive at the conclusion that the outcome will be tantamount to a death sentence for the city of Jerusalem and its present inhabitants. Whoever wants to see the Holy City exist and develop in the future must unconditionally reject any plans for its internationalization. Jerusalem and Israel are one and indivisible. The problem of the Holy Places and free access to them can be best solved by international administration of the Holy Places proper. Such an administration could count on the full cooperation of the Israeli Government, which repeatedly offered guarantees of free access to the shrines to members of all religions.

*
* *
*

JERUSALEM -- ETERNAL AND HOLY CITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

From that day some three thousand years ago when David, the warrior king, captured a mountain stronghold of the Jebusites and made it his capital, Jerusalem has been at the very core of Jewish life and Jewish history. To the Biblical chronicler of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, Jerusalem was the city which God "had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel." To Isaiah, prophesying of the end of days, it was clear that in that better time "the word of the Lord" would "come forth from Jerusalem" to all the peoples of the earth. For the exiles of Judah weeping by the rivers of Babylon, the name and memory of Jerusalem summed up all their agony and all their faith: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

In the great literary monument of the First Destruction, the Biblical book of "Lamentations", Jerusalem has a unique and central place. Bewailing the misery and captivity of the people of Judah, "Lamentations" can never forget the specific tragedy of the City of Jerusalem -- a city so dear to the writer that he describes it in almost human terms. The very first sentence of the book is characteristic: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces..."

As Jerusalem had sprung first to the mind of the poet lamenting its destruction, so did it spring first to the mind of the prophet rejoicing over the return from the first exile -- "Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, He hath redeemed Jerusalem." It was, indeed, concern for the welfare of Jerusalem, almost equally with concern for the welfare of the Jewish community in Judah, that moved Nehemiah -- the great founding father of the Second Commonwealth -- to leave the comfort and prestige of his post in the Persian court of the fifth century before the common era. "I was in Shushan the palace, and Hanani, one of my brethren came, he and certain men of Judah, and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, that were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem." When, in answer, he was told of the affliction of the Jews and the burnt gates and broken walls of Jerusalem, Nehemiah became the arch-type of those other great leaders who in the centuries after him were to leave the civilization into which they had become successfully assimilated and devote their ardor and their lives to the rebuilding of Zion. To the Persian King, asking him the cause of his sorrowful appearance, his answer was in epic terms: "Why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?" It was to be under Nehemiah's leadership that the city, its walls and its gates were rebuilt.

In the days of the Second Commonwealth, Jerusalem was the cherished center not only of the Jews in the Land, but of the multitudes scattered in the diaspora of Egypt and other nearby lands. The Second Destruction of Jewish national life at the hands of Rome in the year 70 is mirrored in legend and tradition largely in terms of Jerusalem; so were the hopes of restoration hung upon Jerusalem. "Rabbi Joshua the son of Levi said: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel: You have been the cause of the destruction of my House and the exile of my children. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem and then will I give you peace.'" And "Rabbi Jochanan said: 'The Holy One blessed be He has sworn: I will not enter the Heavenly Jerusalem until I have come into the earthly Jerusalem.'" And again "He who mourns over Jerusalem will yet see its rejoicing." And "never will the Shekhinah depart from the Wailing Wall."

It was not through sentiment and literature alone that Jews expressed their bond with Jerusalem after the Destruction. Those who had not been exiled from Judea broke into fiery revolt in the year 132 -- largely because the Emperor Hadrian proclaimed plans for rebuilding Jerusalem as a Roman colony with a new and resplendent temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. From the countries of the Near East Jews hastened to Palestine in their thousands to fight with the Jews in the Land under Bar Kochba. During the three years that they held out successfully against the Roman legions, significantly, the phrase "Deliverance of Jerusalem" was struck across the faces of the Roman coins then in use.

The dream of physical reconquest of the Land and the Holy City died with Bar Kochba's defeat; the spiritual attachment went on. During the 1800 years of the second dispersion, the prayers, the ceremonies, the literature and the thinking of Jews throughout the world, reverted again and again with passionate and prime concern to Jerusalem. The grand climax of the festival of liberation is the stark and absolute "Next year in Jerusalem." The prayer that "the voice of bridegroom and of bride shall soon be heard in the streets of Jerusalem" is intertwined with the personal rejoicing of the Jewish bride and groom throughout the world.

Though after the failure of the Bar Kochba revolt, most of the Jews of Judaea were exterminated, Jerusalem laid waste and Jews forbidden to enter the new city built on its ruins, Jews made their way to it incessantly. With the Arab Conquest, the old Roman ban disappeared and Jews resettled Jerusalem, even being allowed to build a synagogue in the Temple area. Despite the bloody struggles between successive Moslem dynasties, Jerusalem's Jewish community stubbornly held its ground, reinforced by immigration of Jews from Babylon, the Arab peninsula, Egypt, Syria. In the course of the Crusaders' almost complete extermination of Palestine Jewry, the worst fate fell to the Jews of Jerusalem: they were burned alive inside their synagogue. But resettlement of Jerusalem began even during the Latin Kingdom and went on through the centuries, reaching its highest pre-modern point in the sixteenth century immigration of the expelled Jews of Spain and Portugal. In the historic imagination of the Jewish people, of course, the symbolic type of the medieval pilgrim to Jerusalem has been and remains the great figure of Judah Halevi, journeying to dangerous Jerusalem in a tiny twelfth century boat, leaving behind him in Spain, home and garden, family and friends, epitomizing a central motive of Jewish history in one line: "My heart is in the East but I am in the furthest West," singing magnificent hymns to Jerusalem, "fairest of view, delight of the world, city of the great king," dying -- according to tradition -- at the Wailing Wall.

Pilgrim after pilgrim made his way to Jerusalem, and by the middle of the nineteenth century -- the threshold of our era -- eight thousand of the approximately 15,500 total population of Jerusalem were Jews. In 1837 with Sir Moses Montefiore's aid the first houses outside the walled Old City were built by Jews, and ever since, almost completely as the result of Jewish effort, love and financial investment, the New City has grown to its present size and magnificence, its Jewish population reaching almost 100,000. This was no simple accident: from the economic and geographical viewpoint Jerusalem has almost no justification for a large population -- it has grown because, throughout the ages and particularly in the seventy years of modern Zionist resettlement, Jews have cherished it, looked upon it as their natural capitol, felt it -- in the religious sense -- particularly "meritorious," particularly desirable, to live in it.

Three thousand years of Jewish devotion to Jerusalem reached their climax in the incredible courage, self-sacrifice and endurance which enabled the Jews of Jerusalem to endure hunger, thirst, and bombardment by the Arab Legion in the dreadful months of the modern siege of Jerusalem. An ordinary city could hardly have been held under such adverse circumstances. Saving Jewish Jerusalem meant to every one of its besieged inhabitants saving the heart of Jewish history and faith, the heart of modern Israel. That heart, so saved, must not now be cut away.

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning..."

9/16/49



DRAFT OF WIRE

PRESIDENT HARRY S TRUMAN
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC

IN BEHALF OF CONGREGATION _____ OF _____,
(name) (city)
COMPRISING A MEMBERSHIP OF _____ FAMILIES, AND GATHERED AT
(number)
THIS HIGH HOLIDAY PERIOD, SACRED TO JEWRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WHEN OUR
AGE-OLD PRAYERS FILL OUR HEARTS AND MINDS WITH IMPERISHABLE LONGING FOR
JERUSALEM, THE CITY OF ZION, I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO EXPRESS THE FEELINGS
OF DISFAVOR AND DISAGREEMENT OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THIS CONGREGATION WITH
THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE U.N. PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION TO
INTERNATIONALIZE THE CITY OF JERUSALEM. IN OUR VIEW THIS NEW PLAN TO
PLACE ALL JERUSALEM UNDER U.N. JURISDICTION IS UNJUST, UNREALISTIC AND
IMPRACTICABLE. THE CONCERN OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD FOR THE SHRINES AND
HOLY PLACES IN JERUSALEM IS EASILY UNDERSTANDABLE AND IS SHARED BY ALL
JEWS. BUT ONLY THE HOLY PLACES -- AND NOT THE WHOLE OF THE CITY -- SHOULD
BE PLACED UNDER UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION. MAY WE EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT
JERUSALEM WILL BE RESTORED AS THE ROCK AND HOPE OF ISRAEL. MAY WE RESPECT-
FULLY URGE THAT THE U. S. DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS REJECT ANY PLAN
WHICH WOULD SEVER THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM FROM THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

SIGNED

9/16/49

ENTIRE CITY OF JERUSALIM. WE VIEW THES
IMPRACTICABLE SCHEME TO SETTLE THE THOR
OLY CITY. THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM, WHI
F THE CITY, IS 95 PERCENT JEWISH IN POPU
EL OF THE NEW CITY WOULD ROB THE JEWISH
WE RESPECTFULLY POINT OUT THAT 90 PERCENT
E WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE OLD CITY NOW U
THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY GRANT
OLY PLACES WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION AND I

DURING THIS SACRED PERIOD OF JEWISH FESTIVITY AND PRAYER MAY WE, ON
BEHALF OF THE CONGREGATION _____ OF _____
(name) (city)
AND REPRESENTING A MEMBERSHIP OF _____ FAMILIES, RESPECTFULLY
(number)
PETITION YOU TO TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE UNJUST AND UNREALISTIC RECOMMENDA-
TIONS OFFERED BY THE UN PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION TO INTER-
NATIONALIZE THE ENTIRE CITY OF JERUSALEM. WE VIEW THESE RECOMMENDATIONS
AS A TRAGIC AND IMPRACTICABLE SCHEME TO SETTLE THE THORNY PROBLEM OF THE
FUTURE OF THE HOLY CITY. THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM, WHICH COMPRISES THE
MAJOR PORTION OF THE CITY, IS 95 PERCENT JEWISH IN POPULATION. ANY PLAN
TO DEPRIVE ISRAEL OF THE NEW CITY WOULD ROB THE JEWISH STATE OF ITS HEART
AND SOUL. MAY WE RESPECTFULLY POINT OUT THAT 90 PERCENT OF THESE SACRED
INSTITUTIONS LIE WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE OLD CITY NOW UNDER THE CONTROL
OF THE ARABS. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY GRANTED FREEDOM OF
ACCESS TO ALL HOLY PLACES WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION AND IS WILLING TO ACCEPT
U.N. SUPERVISION OVER THESE HOLY SHRINES. AS AMERICANS AND JEWS WE VOICE
OUR CONCERN OVER THIS MOST RECENT PLAN TO PLACE JERUSALEM UNDER ALIEN
JURISDICTION AND SEGREGATE THE CITY BUILT BY JEWISH TOIL AND SACRIFICE
FROM THE STATE OF ISRAEL. WE RESPECTFULLY EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE U.S.
DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS WILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY PLAN WHICH WOULD
DEPRIVE ISRAEL OF THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM.

9/16/49

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

• NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

September 16, 1949

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:-2

The Jerusalem situation has taken a definite turn for the worse in recent days; it now appears likely that the United Nations, with the tacit approval of the United States Government, will adopt a resolution to internationalize all of Jerusalem, including a sixty-square-mile enclave around the city. I need not indicate to you how tragic this eventuality could prove to the State of Israel and the Jews of the world. A Jewish State without Jerusalem is as inconceivable as a Jewish State without Jews.

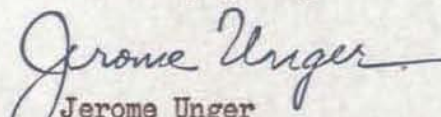
During the next few weeks, the Council will attempt to bring to the notice of the administration in Washington the strong disfavor with which the Jews of America view the recommendations of the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission to internationalize Jerusalem. As a first step in this direction, the Council has invited the rabbinate of America to proclaim from their pulpits during the High Holiday period the refusal of American and World Jewry to acquiesce to the severance of Jerusalem from Israel. Although special letters and informational data (see enclosed material) have been sent from this Council to every rabbi in the country, may I urge you to reinforce our appeal with a personal visit to the rabbis of your community, exhorting them to devote a sermon to the critical problem of Jerusalem's future.

For your information, the Council encloses also drafts of telegrams -- addressed to President Truman -- which have been prepared for the use of the Rabbis, their synagogue and Temple officials, Sisterhood presidents, Men's Club officers, and other organizations affiliated with these congregations. We feel confident that this type of pressure on the White House will make a profound impression. The administration in Washington which has been so sensitive in the past to the sentiments of the Jews of America and their friends should be given a clear picture of American Jewry's reaction to this most recent plot against the State of Israel.

May I urge your immediate and vigorous cooperation in this campaign. We are hopeful that the High Holiday period will mark a definite change in the Jerusalem situation. This can be brought about only with your strong and decisive action. Please be good enough to keep this office informed of the progress of your activities.

• With Zion's greetings, I remain

Sincerely yours,


Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR
Encs.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

• NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

September 16, 1949

C O P Y

Dear Rabbi:

On the very eve of our Holy Days, in the celebrations and prayers of which Jerusalem occupies such an important place, the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission has announced its plan for the internationalization of Jerusalem. Writing to you, we do not have to enlarge on the injustice and impracticability of the Conciliation Commission's plan for Jerusalem. We must see to it that the voice of the Jews of America is raised as powerfully as possible in defense of Jewish Jerusalem and in demand for its incorporation in the State of Israel. We are confident that you fully share our sentiments. Accordingly, may we take the liberty of making the following suggestions:

First: That during the Holy Day services in your synagogue - either on Rosh Hashana or on Yom Kippur - you devote one of your sermons to an appraisal of the critical nature of the Jerusalem problem.

Second: That you utilize your best efforts and invite the cooperation of the President and Officers of your congregation to the end that a telegram or telegrams (in the name of your Temple or Synagogue, Sisterhood, Men's Club, etc.) be sent to the President of the United States, urging him to disavow the recommendations of the United Nations Conciliation Commission to internationalize Jerusalem. Please do not fail us at this juncture.

We herewith enclose for your information and use the following material which you may find helpful in this "Save Jerusalem" campaign. This material contains:

- A. Analytical comments on the Conciliation Commission's plan for Jerusalem, together with a short historical survey of the Jewish character of Jerusalem.
- B. A reprint of an editorial in the New York Herald Tribune which appeared on September 15, 1949.
- C. Suggested texts for telegrams to the President of the United States to be sent during the Holy Days period. Naturally, these texts should not be followed literally, but should be used as a model for your own particular needs.

We feel confident that you will cooperate with us to the utmost in the urgent tasks which we face today, and we hope and wish that this coming year may be the year of our full national redemption. Warmest greetings and earnest wishes for a very good year.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Unger
Rabbi Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:SR
Encs.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

ANALYTICAL COMMENTS ON THE
U.N. PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION'S PLAN
FOR AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME IN JERUSALEM

What Is Wrong With the Conciliation Commission's Plan?

The plan of the U. N. Palestine Conciliation Commission for an international regime over Jerusalem and its vicinity should be rejected on grounds of injustice and utter impracticability.

The Conciliation Commission's plan treats the problem of Jerusalem out of the context of the entire Palestine issue, and therefore the entire approach of the Commission is purely theoretical, as an analysis of the recommendations will easily show.

The plan totally ignores the fact that only a short time ago a bitter and bloody Arab-Jewish war took place, and that Jerusalem formed one of the main battlefields in this war. It takes no cognizance of the heavy casualties paid by Jerusalem Jewry for the defense of the Holy City, including its internationally revered shrines; the grave danger of total extermination faced by the Jews of Jerusalem; the hunger and thirst they suffered during the many months when the city was incessantly shelled by the Arab invaders, cut off from its hinterland, blockaded and starved.

How can one come now and tell the nearly one hundred thousand Jews of Jerusalem that the many hundreds of young Jewish lives sacrificed in the "break-through" on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv Road -- at the Kastel, Latrun, etc. -- were in vain; and that in the future their lives and the lives of their children will be cut off from the State of Israel and depend entirely on the same United Nations, which remained totally inactive in the face of the most brutal onslaughts on Jerusalem only one year ago? No community of living men and women can be expected to accept such a plan.

The Life of Jerusalem Jewry Is At Stake

Nor does the plan provide for any real military protection of the Holy City under this international regime. On the contrary, while stipulating the complete demilitarization and disarmament of Jerusalem, the plan envisages a police force of one thousand men, half of whom are to be Jewish and the other half Arab, and therefore both partisan forces who may be confidently expected to be loyal to their respective communities and governments, rather than to the United Nations. The fact of the matter is that the plan wants the United Nations to take nominal charge of Jerusalem, without giving it any real power and strength.

Free Access to the Holy Places

The motivating reason behind this plan is supposedly the desire to provide international protection for the Holy Places and free access to them for members of all religions. It has already been indicated above that the United Nations, as in the case of Jerusalem, will not dispose of a real force capable of any defense. The United Nations will have to depend entirely on the good-will of the two communities. Access to the Holy Places, moreover, is physically impossible without the wholehearted cooperation of Israel and its government. Jerusalem does not lie on the sea. Any pilgrims or visitors would have to land on Israeli territory and pass through Israeli territory in order to reach the Holy Places.

Accordingly, if the repeated assurances and guarantees offered by the Government of Israel for free access to the shrines are not accepted by the international community, the setting up of a United Nations regime in Jerusalem would not solve the problem.

Jerusalem Is a Jewish City

Ninety percent of the Holy Places is contained within the walls of the Old City, and the rest is just outside the walls. It is the Holy Places proper that have to be internationalized and not the whole of Jerusalem. In other words, if we look for a sound, just and practical solution -- the workability of which must depend, under the circumstances, on the wholehearted cooperation of both Israel and Transjordan -- the United Nations should seek administrative power over the Holy Places and not territorial power over the Jerusalem area and its population.

Jerusalem Depends On Israel For Its Economic Survival

If the plan of the Palestine Conciliation Commission is seen from an economic viewpoint, its total impracticability is no less evident. Jerusalem's economy is not self-contained. The Holy City has no developed industries. Its main sources of income in recent years were derived from its having been the administrative center of Palestine. If Jerusalem is severed from the rest of the country, it is condemned to slow but certain economic deterioration.

Jerusalem also depends on Israel for its supplies. Agricultural produce comes to Jerusalem from the countryside, which will be outside the suggested international zone. Industrial products must come to Jerusalem either from the factories of Israel or imported through Israel. Even water must be brought to Jerusalem by pipes from Israel. If, as the Commission suggests, Jerusalem becomes an independent entity and the State of Israel is not allowed to have any of its governmental institutions there, a sizeable proportion of the population of Jerusalem will remain without income and livelihood, and consequently, will have to "emigrate" from Jerusalem into Israel.

From whatever aspect one analyzes the Conciliation Commission's plan, one is bound to arrive at the conclusion that the outcome will be tantamount to a death sentence for the city of Jerusalem and its present inhabitants. Whoever wants to see the Holy City exist and develop in the future must unconditionally reject any plans for its internationalization. Jerusalem and Israel are one and indivisible. The problem of the Holy Places and free access to them can be best solved by international administration of the Holy Places proper. Such an administration could count on the full cooperation of the Israeli Government, which repeatedly offered guarantees of free access to the shrines to members of all religions.

*
* *
*

JERUSALEM -- ETERNAL AND HOLY CITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

From that day some three thousand years ago when David, the warrior king, captured a mountain stronghold of the Jebusites and made it his capital, Jerusalem has been at the very core of Jewish life and Jewish history. To the Biblical chronicler of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, Jerusalem was the city which God "had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel." To Isaiah, prophesying of the end of days, it was clear that in that better time "the word of the Lord" would "come forth from Jerusalem" to all the peoples of the earth. For the exiles of Judah weeping by the rivers of Babylon, the name and memory of Jerusalem summed up all their agony and all their faith: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

In the great literary monument of the First Destruction, the Biblical book of "Lamentations", Jerusalem has a unique and central place. Bemoaning the misery and captivity of the people of Judah, "Lamentations" can never forget the specific tragedy of the City of Jerusalem -- a city so dear to the writer that he describes it in almost human terms. The very first sentence of the book is characteristic: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces..."

As Jerusalem had sprung first to the mind of the poet lamenting its destruction, so did it spring first to the mind of the prophet rejoicing over the return from the first exile -- "Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, He hath redeemed Jerusalem." It was, indeed, concern for the welfare of Jerusalem, almost equally with concern for the welfare of the Jewish community in Judah, that moved Nehemiah -- the great founding father of the Second Commonwealth -- to leave the comfort and prestige of his post in the Persian court of the fifth century before the common era. "I was in Shushan the palace, and Hanani, one of my brethren came, he and certain men of Judah, and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, that were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem." When, in answer, he was told of the affliction of the Jews and the burnt gates and broken walls of Jerusalem, Nehemiah became the arch-type of those other great leaders who in the centuries after him were to leave the civilization into which they had become successfully assimilated and devote their ardor and their lives to the rebuilding of Zion. To the Persian King, asking him the cause of his sorrowful appearance, his answer was in epic terms: "Why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?" It was to be under Nehemiah's leadership that the city, its walls and its gates were rebuilt.

In the days of the Second Commonwealth, Jerusalem was the cherished center not only of the Jews in the Land, but of the multitudes scattered in the diaspora of Egypt and other nearby lands. The Second Destruction of Jewish national life at the hands of Rome in the year 70 is mirrored in legend and tradition largely in terms of Jerusalem; so were the hopes of restoration hung upon Jerusalem. "Rabbi Joshua the son of Levi said: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel: You have been the cause of the destruction of my House and the exile of my children. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem and then will I give you peace.'" And "Rabbi Jochanan said: 'The Holy One blessed be He has sworn: I will not enter the Heavenly Jerusalem until I have come into the earthly Jerusalem.'" And again "He who mourns over Jerusalem will yet see its rejoicing." And "never will the Shekhinah depart from the Wailing Wall."

It was not through sentiment and literature alone that Jews expressed their bond with Jerusalem after the Destruction. Those who had not been exiled from Judea broke into fiery revolt in the year 132 -- largely because the Emperor Hadrian proclaimed plans for rebuilding Jerusalem as a Roman colony with a new and resplendent temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. From the countries of the Near East Jews hastened to Palestine in their thousands to fight with the Jews in the Land under Bar Kochba. During the three years that they held out successfully against the Roman legions, significantly, the phrase "Deliverance of Jerusalem" was struck across the faces of the Roman coins then in use.

The dream of physical reconquest of the Land and the Holy City died with Bar Kochba's defeat; the spiritual attachment went on. During the 1800 years of the second dispersion, the prayers, the ceremonies, the literature and the thinking of Jews throughout the world, reverted again and again with passionate and prime concern to Jerusalem. The grand climax of the festival of liberation is the stark and absolute "Next year in Jerusalem." The prayer that "the voice of bridegroom and of bride shall soon be heard in the streets of Jerusalem" is intertwined with the personal rejoicing of the Jewish bride and groom throughout the world.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Though after the failure of the Bar Kochba revolt, most of the Jews of Judaea were exterminated, Jerusalem laid waste and Jews forbidden to enter the new city built on its ruins, Jews made their way to it incessantly. With the Arab Conquest the old Roman ban disappeared and Jews resettled Jerusalem, even being allowed to build a synagogue in the Temple area. Despite the bloody struggles between successive Moslem dynasties, Jerusalem's Jewish community stubbornly held its ground, reinforced by immigration of Jews from Babylon, the Arab peninsula, Egypt Syria. In the course of the Crusaders' almost complete extermination of Palestinian Jewry, the worst fate fell to the Jews of Jerusalem: they were burned alive inside their synagogue. But resettlement of Jerusalem began even during the Latin Kingdom and went on through the centuries, reaching its highest pre-modern point in the sixteenth century immigration of the expelled Jews of Spain and Portugal. In the historic imagination of the Jewish people, of course, the symbolic type of the medieval pilgrim to Jerusalem has been and remains the great figure of Judah Halevi, journeying to dangerous Jerusalem in a tiny twelfth century boat, leaving behind him in Spain, home and garden, family and friends, epitomizing a central motive of Jewish history in one line: "My heart is in the East but I am in the furthest West," singing magnificent hymns to Jerusalem, "fairest of view, delight of the world, city of the great king," dying -- according to tradition -- at the Wailing Wall.

Pilgrim after pilgrim made his way to Jerusalem, and by the middle of the nineteenth century -- the threshold of our era -- eight thousand of the approximately 15,500 total population of Jerusalem were Jews. In 1837 with Sir Moses Montefiore's aid the first houses outside the walled Old City were built by Jews, and ever since, almost completely as the result of Jewish effort, love and financial investment, the New City has grown to its present size and magnificence, its Jewish population reaching almost 100,000. This was no simple accident: from the economic and geographical viewpoint Jerusalem has almost no justification for a large population -- it has grown because, throughout the ages and particularly in the seventy years of modern Zionist resettlement, Jews have cherished it, looked upon it as their natural capitol, felt it -- in the religious sense -- particularly "meritorious," particularly desirable, to live in it.

Three thousand years of Jewish devotion to Jerusalem reached their climax in the incredible courage, self-sacrifice and endurance which enabled the Jews of Jerusalem to endure hunger, thirst, and bombardment by the Arab Legion in the dreadful months of the modern siege of Jerusalem. An ordinary city could hardly have been held under such adverse circumstances. Saving Jewish Jerusalem meant to every one of its besieged inhabitants saving the heart of Jewish history and faith, the heart of modern Israel. That heart, so saved, must not now be cut away.

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning..."

9/16/49



DRAFT OF WIRE

PRESIDENT HARRY S TRUMAN
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC

IN BEHALF OF CONGREGATION _____ OF _____,
(name) (city)
COMPRISING A MEMBERSHIP OF _____ FAMILIES, AND GATHERED AT
(number)
THIS HIGH HOLIDAY PERIOD, SACRED TO JEWRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WHEN OUR
AGE-OLD PRAYERS FILL OUR HEARTS AND MINDS WITH IMPERISHABLE LONGING FOR
JERUSALEM, THE CITY OF ZION, I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO EXPRESS THE FEELINGS
OF DISFAVOR AND DISAGREEMENT OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THIS CONGREGATION WITH
THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE U.N. PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION TO
INTERNATIONALIZE THE CITY OF JERUSALEM. IN OUR VIEW THIS NEW PLAN TO
PLACE ALL JERUSALEM UNDER U.N. JURISDICTION IS UNJUST, UNREALISTIC AND
IMPRACTICABLE. THE CONCERN OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD FOR THE SHRINES AND
HOLY PLACES IN JERUSALEM IS EASILY UNDERSTANDABLE AND IS SHARED BY ALL
JEWS. BUT ONLY THE HOLY PLACES -- AND NOT THE WHOLE OF THE CITY -- SHOULD
BE PLACED UNDER UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION. MAY WE EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT
JERUSALEM WILL BE RESTORED AS THE ROCK AND HOPE OF ISRAEL. MAY WE RESPECT-
FULLY URGE THAT THE U. S. DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS REJECT ANY PLAN
WHICH WOULD SEVER THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM FROM THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

SIGNED

9/16/49

ED BY THE UN PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION TO
THE ENTIRE CITY OF JERUSALEM. WE VIEW THESE REC
AND IMPRACTICABLE SCHEME TO SETTLE THE THORNY PR
HE HOLY CITY. THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM, WHICH CO
ON OF THE CITY, IS 95 PERCENT JEWISH IN POPULATION
ISRAEL OF THE NEW CITY WOULD ROB THE JEWISH STATE
MAY WE RESPECTFULLY POINT OUT THAT 90 PERCENT OF
S LIE WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE OLD CITY NOW UNDER
S. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY GRANTED FRE
LL HOLY PLACES WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION AND IS WILL
ISION OVER THESE HOLY SHRINES. AS AMERICANS AND
OVER THIS MOST RECENT PLAN TO PLACE JERUSALEM UN

DURING THIS SACRED PERIOD OF JEWISH FESTIVITY AND PRAYER MAY WE, ON
BEHALF OF THE CONGREGATION _____ OF _____
(name) (city)
AND REPRESENTING A MEMBERSHIP OF _____ FAMILIES, RESPECTFULLY
(number)
PETITION YOU TO TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE UNJUST AND UNREALISTIC RECOMMENDA-
TIONS OFFERED BY THE UN PALESTINE CONCILIATION COMMISSION TO INTER-
NATIONALIZE THE ENTIRE CITY OF JERUSALEM. WE VIEW THESE RECOMMENDATIONS
AS A TRAGIC AND IMPRACTICABLE SCHEME TO SETTLE THE THORNY PROBLEM OF THE
FUTURE OF THE HOLY CITY. THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM, WHICH COMPRISES THE
MAJOR PORTION OF THE CITY, IS 95 PERCENT JEWISH IN POPULATION. ANY PLAN
TO DEPRIVE ISRAEL OF THE NEW CITY WOULD ROB THE JEWISH STATE OF ITS HEART
AND SOUL. MAY WE RESPECTFULLY POINT OUT THAT 90 PERCENT OF THESE SACRED
INSTITUTIONS LIE WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE OLD CITY NOW UNDER THE CONTROL
OF THE ARABS. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY GRANTED FREEDOM OF
ACCESS TO ALL HOLY PLACES WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION AND IS WILLING TO ACCEPT
U.N. SUPERVISION OVER THESE HOLY SHRINES. AS AMERICANS AND JEWS WE VOICE
OUR CONCERN OVER THIS MOST RECENT PLAN TO PLACE JERUSALEM UNDER ALIEN
JURISDICTION AND SEGREGATE THE CITY BUILT BY JEWISH TOIL AND SACRIFICE
FROM THE STATE OF ISRAEL. WE RESPECTFULLY EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE U.S.
DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS WILL REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY PLAN WHICH WOULD
DEPRIVE ISRAEL OF THE NEW CITY OF JERUSALEM.

9/16/49

PRESS RELEASE
from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LIPSKY SCORES U.N. PLANS FOR JERUSALEM FOR
"TAKING THE HEART OUT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL"

CALLS INTERNATIONALIZATION PLAN "MORAL OUTRAGE" AND
"OFFENSE AGAINST HISTORY AND TRADITION"

New York, Sept. 14 -- Mr. Louis Lipsky, chairman of the American Zionist Council, declared today that the plan submitted by the U.N. Palestine Conciliation Commission for the internationalization of Jerusalem was "both unjust and impracticable" and that it would "be rejected by every Jew in every land".

Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Lipsky said that in the view of the American Zionist movement, the proposed plan "would take the heart out of the State of Israel" and that it was "inconceivable that there should be a sovereign State of Israel without a Jewish Jerusalem". He pointed out that the Jews constituted 95% of the population of the New City of Jerusalem and that practically all of the Holy Places about which Christians are concerned lie within the Old City now under Arab control.

Mr. Lipsky further asserted that "as Americans and as Jews, we protest the placing of Jerusalem under alien jurisdiction and segregating the city built by Jews from the new-born State of Israel as a moral outrage and an offense against history and tradition."

The full text of Mr. Lipsky's statement follows:

(more)

"With regard to the proposal of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission, I would point out that the State of Israel will doubtless make its reply through its delegation in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"In the view of the American Zionist Council, however, speaking for all American Zionists, the proposal would be rejected by every Jew in every land as being both unjust and impracticable. The proposal would take the heart out of the State of Israel and place the Holy City under the political control of an international body. The New City of Jerusalem, known as Jewish Jerusalem, is 95% Jewish in population, and it is inconceivable that there should be a sovereign State of Israel without a Jewish Jerusalem. If the United Nations is concerned for freedom of access to the shrines and the holy institutions, we point out that 90% of the Holy Places lie within the walls of the Old City under the control of the Arabs, and that the Israeli Government has already granted the freedom of access to all Holy Places within its jurisdiction, and is willing to accept United Nations protection over these Holy Places.

"As Americans and as Jews, we protest the placing of Jerusalem under alien jurisdiction, and segregating the city built by Jews from the new-born State of Israel as a moral outrage and an offense against history and tradition."

PRESS RELEASE

from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Zionist Organization of America
Hadassah
Mizrachi Organization of America
Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Zionists-Revisionists of America
Hashomer Hatzair
United Labor Zionist Party

426

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LIPSKY ASKS FOR U.S. "FAIR DEAL" FOR ISRAEL

ZIONIST COUNCIL HEAD SAYS DISTURBING REPORTS CANNOT BE DISMISSED

WITH "EASY PHRASES OF DIPLOMATIC LANGUAGE"

CALLS FOR END OF "AMERICAN SUPPORT OF EFFORTS TO CONVERT

DEFEAT OF ARAB AGGRESSION INTO POLITICAL VICTORY"

New York, N. Y., September 14 -- Mr. Louis Lipsky, newly-elected chairman of the American Zionist Council, today voiced the deep concern of American Zionists over the many disturbing reports that the United States Government is "now pressing for a solution to certain aspects of the problem of the Middle East which we are bound to regard as hostile to the basic interests of Israel." He added that these reports cannot be dismissed "with the easy phrases of diplomatic language."

The Zionist leader called for a "Fair Deal" attitude by President Truman towards Israel. Specifically, he called for "an end to American support of efforts to convert the defeat of Arab aggression into a political victory at the expense of the people and the State of Israel."

Mr. Lipsky also called for an end to all "overt or covert pressures" on Israel to cede parts of its territory to Arab states, and urged the United States not to support any policy which would call upon Israel "to absorb

(more)

impossible numbers of Arab refugees who fled Palestine at the behest of Arab war leaders."

Requesting that assurances be given by our Government that "henceforth Israel will be permitted to develop in peace and security," he called for active American support for the initiation of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states, looking toward final peace settlements.

The full text of Mr. Lipsky's statement follows:

"I have accepted the chairmanship of the American Zionist Council as an opportunity to serve the Zionist cause in a difficult time. It was the Council, under the exciting chairmanship of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, which led in mobilizing American public opinion in support of the Zionist movement and helped to pave the way for the establishment of the State of Israel.

"There is an urgent need for continuing the work of the Council with greater vigor and devotion than ever before. Israel has a long way to go to reach its goal of security and peace. Many of its enemies are still unreconciled to the new situation created by decisions of the United Nations. There are difficult days ahead. The true friends of Israel will have to stand by its side in the coming days of trial and struggle. Jews and Christians will be called upon to unite in support of the heroic efforts of the people of Israel to maintain their freedom and, at the same time, to provide homes for the tens of thousands of Jews who are finding their way back to the Jewish land.

"Gratitude to President Truman and the American Congress has been expressed by the American Zionist Council on a number of occasions for the part they have played in launching the State of Israel. Disturbing reports have come from many sources, however, that the United States Government is now pressing for a solution to certain aspects of the problem of the Middle East which we are bound to regard as hostile to the basic interests of Israel. These reports cannot be dismissed, and our anxiety relieved, with the easy phrases of diplomatic language.

(more)

"The Council is deeply interested in knowing whether President Truman's 'Fair Deal' attitude is intended to include the State of Israel. If so, this calls for an end to American support of efforts to convert the defeat of Arab aggression into a political victory at the expense of the people and the State of Israel. It calls for an end to all overt or covert pressures on Israel to cede parts of its territory to Arab states and to absorb impossible numbers of Arab refugees who fled Palestine at the behest of Arab war leaders. On the other hand, it calls for active American support for the immediate initiation of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states looking toward a final peace settlement.

"It cannot be overlooked that every discussion between Great Britain and the United States with regard to Palestine has produced schemes to further Great Power interests at the expense of Israel. If, as most recent reports indicate, the current discussions between Great Britain and the United States are to include the reconsideration of strategic defense plans in the Middle East, it is our duty as Americans and as Jews to ask that assurances be given by our Government that henceforth Israel will be permitted to develop in peace and security in the territory it has won by decision of the United Nations and by the blood of its heroic defenders."

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date August 17, 1949

From The Praesidium

To keep you informed, we are enclosing extracts from a number of recent newspaper stories indicating that the enemies of Israel in the State Department have again revived the scheme to lop off a major portion of the Negev from Israel. This time their pretense is that a compromise solution on Arab refugees can be reached only on the basis of a "territorial adjustment" on the part of the Jewish State. The "territorial adjustment" which they seek is the relinquishing to the Arabs of the southern portion of the Negev, including Elath and Aqaba. This scheme is, of course, not a new one. It has been cropping up at intermittent intervals during the past two years whenever the British Foreign Office felt that the time was ripe. On all occasions American public opinion was able to rise in wrath against those sinister political machinations and cause their subsequent defeat.

The present picture at the moment appears critical; we must be prepared for any eventuality that may threaten the existence and future welfare of Israel. In the next few days we may have to call upon you for concrete action.

ld
encs.

Excerpts from NEW YORK TIMES August 12, 1949

U. S. PREPARES PLAN FOR ARAB REFUGEES
Compromise Would Ask Israel to Accept 250,000
and to Give Up Part of Negev
Tel Aviv is Held Opposed
Government Believes It Has Jeopardized Its Political Life
Already with 100,000 Offer

By Gene Curri van

Tel Aviv, Israel, August 11 -- The United States, probably in collaboration with France and Turkey, its fellow members on the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission, is preparing a compromise plan on the Arab refugees designed to bring peace to the Middle East, it was learned authoritatively tonight.

The proposal would call for the return of 250,000 Arabs to Israel and would also require Israel to relinquish the lower part of the Negev, desert area in the south. The plan possibly may offer the Gaza strip, now held by the Egyptians, as compensation for the Negev, but this point has not yet been worked out.

In return for these concessions, the United States is prepared to underwrite the cost for resettling the Arabs and to permit Israel to retain all other territory acquired after the United Nations partition plan of November 29, 1947, and thereby lay the foundation for a lasting peace.

There is every reason to believe that such a proposal would be flatly declined by the Israeli Government, which believes it already has jeopardized its political life by offering to take back 100,000 Arabs and which, it is felt, under no circumstances would give up one acre of the Negev.

* * *

Excerpts from NEW YORK POST August 13, 1949

BRITAIN RESUMES SALE OF ARMS TO ARABS; U. S. READY TO FOLLOW

By John Hohenberg

Lake Success, August 12 -- Britain today resumed arms sales to the Arab nations that lost the war against Israel, with strong indications that the U. S. would follow soon.

The resumption of arms shipments coincides with a renewed drive to force Israel to give up a part of the Negev, Palestine's southern desert, so Britain's Arab allies would be linked by a land bridge. Reports from Lausanne say the UN Conciliation Commission wants Israel to yield some of the Negev, take back 250,000 Arab refugees and take the Gaza area, now held by Egypt, in return.

Israel is bound to refuse despite the heavy pressure.

While the U. S. and Britain are pledged to a "moral embargo" on arms shipments, in order to prevent an arms race between Israel and the Arabs, there is no indication that the new British arms shipment will be in any limited quantity. Fighting planes, it was pointed out, aren't necessary for "internal Arab security."

* * *

Editorial from NEW YORK POST August 14, 1949

NEW OFFENSIVE AGAINST ISRAEL: Once again Israel faces bad diplomatic news. Lifting of the U. N. Middle East arms embargo may mean a form of pro-Arab "neutrality" under which the western arsenals promote a new Arab military adventure; it occurs simultaneously with reports of new Anglo-American pressure to force Israel to surrender a part of the Negev. The full consequences of these developments could be gruesome. They could mean a revival of the tragic policy, compounded of blunder and ignorance, malice and miscalculation, that shadowed U. S. actions in 1948. Israel will survive, as some statesmen were amazed to learn last year. The crucial question for us is whether we will again risk our own political and moral prestige by stumbling anew into an anti-Israel formation. Have we learned nothing? Or are the men who falsely predicted in 1948 that Israel could not endure still trying to salvage their reputations as prophets?

* * *

Excerpts from JTA August 15, 1949

ISRAELI SPOKESMAN DENIES U. S. PROPOSED JEWISH STATE SURRENDER WHOLE OF SOUTHERN NEGEV

Lausanne, August 14 -- Tel Aviv reports that the U. S. has proposed the surrender by Israel of the whole of the southern Negev were categorically denied today by an Israeli delegation spokesman. He said that at no time had the United States formally made this proposal.

The Lausanne talks, under the auspices of the UN Conciliation Commission, were continuing, he said, adding that considerable progress was made today in a meeting of the Jerusalem subcommittee. The Israeli delegation, he went on, was still hopeful of a successful outcome of discussions involving also the four Arab states of Egypt, Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon.

Reverting to the reported American proposals, he explained that throughout the Lausanne talks there had been many conversations, with Mark F. Ethridge, then with Raymond Hare and more recently with Paul A. Porter, during which the question of territory was informally discussed.

The Americans had all along argued, he recalled, that Israel must give territorial compensation for keeping western Galilee. They had sounded out the Israeli delegation regarding regions which might be given up by the new state. Mr. Porter had inquired two weeks ago into the Israeli attitude to a suggestion that the southern Negev might be surrendered by Israel.

He was at that time informed by the chief Israeli delegate, Reuven Shiloah, that Israel would resist such a proposal to the utmost and if there was one issue which could turn Israeli public opinion against western orientation, it would be United States insistence that Israel must give up part of the Negev.

After that the Americans did not again raise this issue in Lausanne. The view of both Commission members and the Israelis in Lausanne is that Mr. Porter's mission to Washington is primarily concerned with other matters, mainly Mr. Porter's instructions.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* August 8, 1949

From The Praesidium

Repeated newspaper stories regarding the plight of the Arab refugees from Israel give currency to a grossly exaggerated number of these refugees. It is important that American public opinion be educated to disregard the fantastic claims of 800,000, 900,000, and 1,000,000 Arab refugees, made by pro-Arab circles, and be acquainted with the true facts of the situation.

It is suggested, therefore, that you should try to have a letter to the editor published in the paper correcting this impression. The attached three drafts may be used by you as a basis for the letter to be written locally to the editor. There is no need, of course, to reproduce either one of these drafts literally. If you succeed in placing a letter on the subject in one or more of your local newspapers, kindly let us have a copy of the published letter.

SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Sir:

The recent story which appeared in your paper regarding the future of Arab refugees from Israel again indicates the confusion existing in the public mind with reference to the numerical size of the problem. All kinds of figures have been mentioned, ranging all the way from 500,000 to 1,000,000. Since the total Arab population of the part of Palestine now included in Israel amounted to 736,000, and since over 170,000 Arabs are now living in Israel, it is manifest that 560,000 represents the maximum number possible of such refugees. Arab sources and circles that seem to be uncritically friendly to the Arabs operate with much larger figures, but it is difficult to see where those refugees come from. The International Red Cross estimates the number of refugees, for purposes of United Nations Relief, at about 750,000, but it freely admits that this figure includes a large part of the resident population of the Arab parts of Palestine who never fled anywhere from anyone, as well as many Bedouins who actually moved to the areas where refugees are congregated in order to share in the relief being distributed there.

SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Sir:

Your recent story about Arab refugees from Israel, although it focuses attention on a very important human problem, errs seriously in its statistics. The number of given in your story, as well as the other estimates which have recently appeared in the press and which go all the way from 750,000 to 1,000,000, represents an arithmetical impossibility. The former British administration in Palestine which liked to emphasize the Arab character of the country and therefore was prone to over-estimate the number of Arabs living there, put the Arab population of the part of the country now under Israeli control at 736,000. About 170,000 Arabs are now living in Israel. Even on the basis of the exaggerated British statistics, the number of Arab refugees from Israel cannot therefore possibly exceed 566,000. The above remark is not made with a view to minimizing the issue. These 566,000 persons are as much entitled to permanent homes and decent conditions of life as all other human beings. Nothing is to be gained, however, by exaggerating their number.

SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Sir:

While it is universally admitted that the Arab refugee problem is a grave and ominous one, there is no unanimity at all on the question of how many bona fide Palestine Arab refugees there are who now languish in the Arab countries of the Middle East -- victims of the recent Arab-Israeli hostilities. Obviously, it would be a difficult and painstaking task to conduct a population census to determine the exact number of Arab emigres, but it might be worth the effort if it would dispel, once and forever, the conflicting estimates on this issue put out by persons and parties allegedly in the "know".

The figures vary with the times. Little over a year ago, the popular estimate was that a quarter million Palestine Arabs had been rendered homeless by the war in the Holy Land. With each new month the figure advanced by many thousands; by the early part of this year, the figure had snowballed to close to the million mark. Thereafter the estimate dwindled to 750,000 and has generally remained at this level despite the vacillations of partisan groups and their statisticians.

Yet, even this figure -- which has become the popularly-quoted one -- is not without its detractors. The Israeli Government, for one, has steadily maintained that the number of Arab refugees never exceeded 550,000. This figure, it maintains, has been decreased slightly in recent months due to the devious but steady infiltration of Arabs into the borders of Israel, and due also to the newly-adopted Israeli policy of allowing those refugee Arabs who have relatives in Israel to be readmitted there. The estimate now offered by Israeli sources is 520,000.

There appears to be one accepted explanation why the Arab refugee figure continues to be pegged at its present inflated number. The reason is bound up with the answer to the question -- when is a refugee not a refugee? It has come to light that a great many of the distraught and destitute Arab "refugees" were -- and are -- distraught and destitute without ever having budged a single inch from the shelter of their four walls during the Palestine hostilities of last year.

In a dispatch by Albion Ross, New York Times correspondent in Beirut, Lebanon dated May 14th, that reporter noted:

"The International Red Cross, which is responsible for the feeding and care of refugees in Palestine, is urging United Nations Palestine relief headquarters here to recognize a large part of the resident population in parts of Palestine held by the Arab Legion as resident refugees. The reason, according to International Red Cross representatives here, is that a great part of the resident population of the Hebron, Jerusalem and Nablus areas, making up Arab-held East Palestine, has become completely destitute....

"Red Cross workers have said that it was becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate, as far as destitution was concerned, between the refugees and the residents, as the Arab-occupied areas do not produce sufficient food or salable goods to nourish more than a small percentage of the resident population."

This would indicate, according to the best and most impartial source available (for the International Red Cross has been immaculately unpolitical in its

handling of the Middle East refugee question), that the 750,000 figure is an all-inclusive one; that it counts within its roster bona fide Arab refugees who quit their homes because of the War, the Arab poor and destitute of Arab-held East Palestine whose position worsened when the flow of foodstuffs was choked off, Arab Bedouins who move with the seasons -- and with the dole, etc.

In all references to the tragic Arab refugee problem, one cardinal point must be kept in mind at all times. Arab refugeeism is a direct consequence of the war launched by the Arab States against the Jews of Israel. It will be recalled that it was not Israel which began the warfare; it was the invasions by six of its neighbors which forced the Jewish State into a war that it never sought. Even when the hostilities reached their most intense pitch, the Israeli authorities sought to induce the Arabs in the contested areas to remain in their homes, offering them guarantees for their protection and security.

There is the well-known case of the wholesale flight of the Arabs from Haifa. The Israelis had made repeated requests to the Arabs to remain in Haifa. For a time, at least, it appeared that they would. Then the Arab Higher Committee made an announcement over the air urging all Arabs to quit Haifa. The reason given was that upon the final withdrawal of the British, the combined armies of the Arab states would invade Palestine and drive the Jews into the sea. It was clearly intimated that those Arabs who remained in Haifa and accepted Jewish protection would be regarded as renegades.

This factor cannot be glossed over superficially when the problem of Arab refugees, in its larger picture, is being weighed by the legislators of international justice.

Sincerely yours,



MEMORANDUM

To. Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** August 8, 1949

From The Praesidium

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which is sponsoring a daily broadcast from Israel ("Report from Israel") over Station WMCA in New York City, has informed the Council that recordings of this program are now available to affiliated bodies of this organization for broadcasting purposes throughout the country. These recordings will be available at a very nominal cost.

"Report from Israel", conducted by the well-known American commentator Arthur Holtzmann in Tel Aviv, is an on-the-spot program which features interviews with Israeli personalities, Government spokesmen, distinguished visitors to Israel, etc. It also gives comprehensive coverage to Israeli news and is replete with feature material of interest to Jew and Christian alike.

Mr. Holtzmann's commentary runs approximately eight minutes in length. It would not be difficult to build up a full fifteen-minute broadcast around the Holtzmann recording. This can be done by including Israeli music in the program, brief talks by local Zionist or Christian leaders, the injection of commercials, etc. Commercials should be of a public-spirited nature, such as, appeals in behalf of the UJA, the AQPC, the JNF, etc.

The Jewish Agency will make each "Report from Israel" broadcast available at \$8.00 per recording. Thus, a once-per week broadcast will cost \$8.00; a twice-per week program will cost \$16.00, etc. In most cases, it should not be too difficult to secure radio time gratis from local stations on a public service basis. In the event you may require a sample recording to present to your local station, this office will be happy to comply with your request.

We urge you to take advantage of this opportunity. At an almost negligible sum it is now possible to acquire a regular weekly (twice-weekly or more frequently scheduled) radio program which has already proved of inestimable value to the public relations work of the Zionist movement.

Please let us know whether any local station is interested in the project and how many recordings per week you will require.

WDX:SR

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** June 10, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

You have undoubtedly noticed recent press dispatches from Washington and Lausanne indicating a serious deterioration in the attitude of the Department of State toward Israel. The attached copies of a few recent news dispatches will give you the highlights of the story. In addition, I attach a memorandum setting out the background of the present crisis and the steps which will presumably have to be taken in order to bring about an improvement.

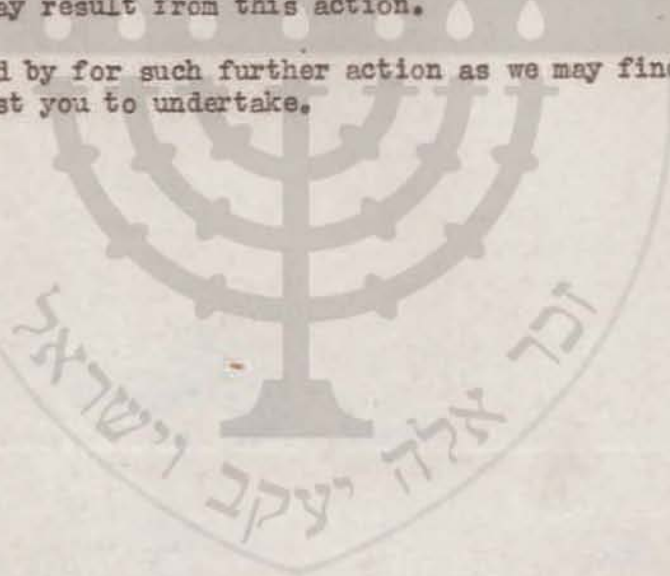
Your urgent attention is invited to this memorandum. It is imperative that you arrange for an immediate discussion of the situation in the light of the memorandum with the editors of your local newspapers, with a view to stimulating favorable editorials along these lines. I would appreciate your sending us copies of any editorials which may result from this action.

Please stand by for such further action as we may find it necessary to request you to undertake.

Regards.

AT:ASR

Enc



MEMORANDUM

Recent developments in Washington and Lausanne indicate that tendencies hostile to Israel have once more gained the upper hand in the Department of State. With the attention of President Truman largely concentrated on legislative issues and with Secretary of State Acheson out of the country, it seems that these hostile tendencies are enjoying for the moment a fairly free hand in determining the policy of the United States Government toward Israel.

Anti-Israel and pro-Arab sentiments, as we know from experience, are too widely spread in the Department to be placed at the door of any particular official or group of officials within the Department. They rather permeate the entire operating staff of the Department's Middle Eastern divisions. Whenever strict supervision by the White House is relaxed, these sentiments assert themselves anew. At the present juncture this seems again to be the case.

The following are the major elements of the present disquieting situation:

1. The principal trend now apparent in the Department of State is the revival of the hope of a group of Department of State officials that it will be possible to return to something akin to the abortive "Bernadotte Plan" advanced last summer and rejected by the U. N. Assembly. The Egyptian Government being clearly unwilling to assume the burden of administering Gaza and taking care of the Arab refugees located there, it is the hope of the State Department officials and of their colleagues in the British Foreign Office that Egypt might be persuaded to cede that area to Transjordan or permit its use as a base by Britain. This, in turn, would be followed by a demand for the cession by Israel of a considerable part of the Negev to Transjordan, so as to insure an uninterrupted connection from Transjordan to the Mediterranean. This projected expansion of Transjordan at the expense of Israel can only be understood in the light of the treaty between Great Britain and Transjordan under which the latter country serves as a military base for the British Empire. Once more territorial arrangements in the Holy Land are to be juggled to fit military and strategic considerations.

Nor are the military considerations the only ones that matter. It is no secret any longer that the Negev contains considerable mineral resources including, in all probability, oil deposits. Again, the hopes of a people are to be sacrificed to the self-seeking purposes of the oil lobby.

To justify this maneuver, representatives of the State Department resort, of course, to arguments allegedly based on high principle. They refer to a statement made by Dr. Jessup in the United Nations last year according to which, if Israel wanted additional territory beyond that awarded by the partition resolution, it should receive it on the basis of compensation. No reference is made to the fact that since then the creation of an independent Arab State in part of Palestine contemplated originally in the partition resolution has been tacitly abandoned by all concerned. The Arab part of Palestine is not to become self-governing, but is to be incorporated into one or several of the neighboring Arab States. And it is those Arab States, which have no right to the annexation of Palestinian territory, that are to be "compensated" by Israel. The unsuccessful aggressors are to be compensated with the territory which they failed to conquer and which has never been awarded to them.

It should be pointed out that the Jessup formula was rejected by the General Assembly in Paris, which ordered completely unprejudiced negotiations, without giving any ruling in favor of the thesis that the invading States might become larger than previously while Israel must give up territory which it legally holds under the armistice treaties. Under the armistice agreements between Israel and her neighbors, the territorial positions set out in these agreements cannot be changed except by "mutual consent." Thus the Jessup formula, rejected by the General Assembly, is also in conflict with the armistice agreements, under which Israel has no less right in Western Galilee than Transjordan in Central Palestine. Unless the United States would order Transjordan to withdraw from Central Palestine or surrender its territory elsewhere, its pressure on Israel is evidently one-sided and biased. There is already evidence that the reiteration of this arbitrary and non-legal formula has already encouraged the Arabs to put forward demands they did not make before.

2. A particularly blatant example of the tactics adopted in this connection has to do with the so-called "Gaza Plan." Spokesmen for the Egyptian Government, unwilling to be burdened with the large mass of Arab refugees (over 200,000) concentrated in the tiny area of Gaza (about 150 square miles of territory at the southern end of the Mediterranean coast of Palestine) and not interested in the acquisition of the small strip of outlying territory, unofficially suggested some time ago to the Israeli representatives that an important partial solution of the refugee question could be found if Israel were to take over both that narrow strip of territory and all the refugees who are there at the present time. The Egyptian spokesmen explained that out of consideration for public opinion at home, it would be impossible for the Egyptian Government to take the formal initiative in any such proposal and suggested that this be done by Israel. After receiving encouragement from members of the American delegation at the U. N. Conciliation Commission, the Israeli Government agreed to assume the initiative in proposing this solution. After this was done, the Department of State in Washington and the American representatives at Lausanne suddenly changed their tune, alleging that this was a Jewish move designed further to increase the territory of Israel.

3. These tendencies have been in evidence ever since the U. N. Conciliation Commission embarked upon its work. Acting on instructions from the Department of State and under the influence of Department of State officials accompanying him, the recently resigned American member of the U. N. Conciliation Commission, Mr. Mark Ethridge, did not attempt to bring Arabs and Jews together. The example set by Dr. Ralph Bunche in the course of the armistice negotiations of encouraging separate contacts between Israel and each of the Arab States, an example which was so manifestly fruitful, was not followed. On the contrary, the Conciliation Commission has encouraged the Arab delegations in Lausanne to meet as a group, thus helping to create a concerted Arab front opposed to Israel. Through the use of these methods, the Conciliation Commission has in fact served to harden the position of the Arab States vis-a-vis Israel to the point where the Arab States have become far less conciliatory now than they were two months ago. As a result of the activities of the Conciliation Commission, the prospects for peace and harmony in the relations between Israel and its neighbors, far from improving, have seriously deteriorated.

It should be emphasized that this attitude is not ascribed to the personal initiative or ill will of Mr. Ethridge but to the instructions which he received from the Department of State and the influences exercised upon developments in Lausanne by officials of the State Department present in Lausanne. As a matter of fact, while Mr. Ethridge was still fully active as a member of the Conciliation Commission, these tendencies were held in check by him to a certain extent.

4. So strong is the desire of the group of State Department officials to proceed with their designs and to take revenge for the past failures of their Palestine policy, that, in the process, they are even willing to sacrifice the interests of the Arab refugees by whose plight they are apparently so moved. It is natural that the first decisive step in the direction of the rehabilitation and resettlement of the Arab refugees is the establishment of definitive peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors. The adoption of the "Gaza Plan," to which both interested parties, Egypt and Israel, were unofficially committed, would have taken care of well over 200,000 of the Arab refugees. Spokesmen for the Israeli delegation in Lausanne have already indicated their readiness, once peace is established, to permit many more Arab refugees to return to Israel, there to be reunited with members of their families. Thus, nearly one-half of the Arab refugees would have been able to resettle in Israel. As to the other half, considerable opportunities are known to exist for their resettlement in the under-developed and under-populated areas within the boundaries of the Arab States. But rather than encourage the reestablishment of peace on this basis, and rather than proceed with despatch to such a settlement of the Arab refugee question, the group now in control of State Department policy in the Middle East prefers to keep the tension alive, even though this means that the refugees continue to suffer. A diplomatic victory over Israel in the interest of the oil companies and of self-seeking imperial designs on the part of Great Britain seem to be more important to them than peace and human welfare.

5. Here again, an effort is made to hide nefarious designs behind the appearance of principle. It is elementary that a mass return of Arab refugees to Israel, at a time when the Arab States are openly threatening the resumption of the war, would mean the introduction of a powerful fifth column in the new State. It is equally elementary that a mass return of these refugees to Israel would place on her shoulders the sole burden for rehabilitating the refugees, whose plight was primarily due to the war of aggression under taken by the Arab governments. And yet, sublimely disregarding these facts, the State Department seeks to press Israel into an agreement to the wholesale resettlement of the Arab refugees in Israel, while ignoring offers already made by Israel involving a partial settlement of the refugee problem.

The officials concerned must know that this position is utterly unreasonable and that no State that wishes to survive could agree to it. In the circumstances, it is impossible to consider their stand as anything other than an attempt to place Israel in the wrong before American and world opinion, by formulating a demand which Israel cannot possibly accept.

6. Once more, the situation seems to call for that kind of drastic intervention by the President of the United States to which he had repeatedly

to resort in the past in dealing with the group of recalcitrant and opinionated bureaucrats who have come to regard American policy in the Middle East as their own domain. There is serious danger that, if left any longer to their own devices, these officials will succeed in perverting the thoughts of Secretary of State Acheson and Under-Secretary of State Webb to their own narrow and biased way of thinking. Before that happens, and before these eminent public servants have succumbed to these influences, determined action should be taken to prevent the small group of willful men in the Department of State from dragging the United States government once more down the path of iniquity. Steps should be taken to use American influence to further peace and harmony between Israel and her neighbors on the basis of existing realities, rather than permit a biased group of officials to foment once more irredentist designs on the part of extreme Arab elements. The signal success which was characteristic of Dr. Bunche's efforts in this respect during the comparatively short period of time when he was not hampered by State Department instructions, points the way toward a satisfactory solution of this problem.

7. The question of the Arab refugees, so pathetic because of the human misery involved, so important because of the element of international tension which it represents, and potentially so costly to the American taxpayer if permitted to remain unsolved, would be partly advanced toward a solution if the Government of the United States would again become a factor in encouraging peace between Arabs and Jews. At the same time, a great deal would be achieved if parallel action were taken immediately by the Government of the United States to show that it is seriously concerned over the plight of the Arab refugees and is willing to cooperate in their resettlement. This could be clearly manifested if the President of the United States were to call on a group of public-spirited citizens and experts to study and report on the best way to effectuate such a resettlement. One of the most highly respected citizens of the United States, former President Herbert Hoover, has already indicated his interest in this question. Mr. Hoover, to whom President Truman has turned a few times in recent years for advice on important matters of public policy and who has acquitted himself of those tasks with such credit and distinction, would be an admirable choice to head a study commission of this kind.

* * * * *

June 10, 1949

EXCERPTS FROM PRESS DISPATCHES AND RADIO REPORT

OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY

Washington, June 6--Indications are growing that the State Department Near East Division, which has been staffed with consistent pro-Arab adherents, is slowly regaining the initiative in formulating United States policy toward the Israeli-Arab conflict. This is a repetition of past performances in which only direct action by the Chief Executive has served to keep the United States on the side of the Jewish struggle to set up a state.

Unless White House intervention is forthcoming again, it is considered likely in informed quarters here that United States influence will attempt to bring about a solution to the Israeli-Arab peace talks which will be unfavorable to the Israeli point of view.

A sudden reversal of official United States policy was noted yesterday in an ONA dispatch from Lausanne where the United Nations Conciliation Commission is sitting. The report indicated that the United States delegation on the three-nation commission had received new directives to abandon support for the so-called Gaza Plan, under which the Israelis would be ceded a small coastal strip in return for admitting to the Jewish State 230,000 Arab refugees in the area.

A State Department spokesman in Washington confirmed to ONA today that the United States was not accepting the Gaza Plan but insisted that this represented no change in policy. United States policy, he said, has always been that if Israel wanted any additional territory beyond that awarded by the General Assembly resolution of Nov. 29 it should be on the basis of compensation.

Nevertheless, a change in policy interpretation over this point is evident. Up until the last few days, United States negotiators have considered as compensation the admission by Israel of the 230,000 Arab refugees. Now the State Department interpretation of policy apparently is that compensation must be in territory.

* * * *

JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY

U.S. Would Oppose Plans for Increasing Israel's Territory, State Dept. Says

Washington, June 6--A State Department spokesman today confirmed that the U.S. Government does not favor the "Gaza Plan" allegedly submitted by the Israeli delegation to the United Nations Conciliation Commission at Lausanne. He emphasized that this does not represent any change in the policy of the American Government with regard to the Palestine problem.

The U.S. policy, he said, has always been that if Israel wanted additional territory beyond that awarded by the U.N. General Assembly partition resolution, it should receive it on the basis of compensation. The "Gaza Plan" allegedly suggests the transfer of the Egyptian-held Gaza coastal strip to Israel along with its population of Arab residents and refugees.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency (continued)

At a State Department press conference today comment was refused on whether the U.S. Government sent a note to Israel in the past few days requesting that the Jewish state accept a reported 800,000 Arab refugees who fled Palestine during the Arab-Israeli fighting. A report that such a note was sent during the week-end appeared in the New York press. However, the Israeli Government yesterday denied having received any such request. Israeli officials here today emphasized that to their knowledge no such note had been received at the Israeli Embassy.

Indications here point to the fact that unless President Truman intervenes again, pro-Arab officials in the State Department will attempt to bring about a solution of the Arab-Israeli peace talks at Lausanne unfavorable to the Israeli cause. It is noted that these pro-Arab officials in the Near Eastern division of the State Department are slowly regaining the initiative in formulating U.S. policy in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY

Tel Aviv, Israel, June 7--Dr. Walter Eytan left for Lausanne, Switzerland, today, taking with him various alternative proposals designed to break the deadlock in negotiations between Israel and four Arab countries, it was learned here today.

Israeli relations with the Arab neighbors, Syria, the Lebanon, Egypt and Transjordan, have reached a serious impasse. In addition to the Lausanne deadlock, the Israeli-Syrian armistice discussions which broke down weeks ago have not been resumed. Negotiations of the Israeli-Transjordanian mixed armistice commission are also seriously bogged down.

This series of enervating deadlocks is holding up the turning of Israel's full energies to the enormous domestic problems involved in immigration, absorption of newcomers and reconstruction. Dr. Eytan, Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry and head of Israel's delegation to the Lausanne talks, who returned here from Switzerland five days ago for consultations, will attempt to break through the morass, according to a report from authoritative sources.

The concern expressed here unofficially over the Arab attitude centers on the belief that the State Department policy-makers are reverting to the old practice of accepting the British lead in Middle Eastern affairs. As a result, the late Count Folke Bernadotte's plan for the partition of the Negev area is being revived in Lausanne, with revisions, and the whole idea is said to have Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson's tacit approval.

The ascendancy of State Department thinking over the policies of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission coincides with the decline in personal influence of the United States member, Mark Ethridge, who has resigned and is to be succeeded at the end of this week by Raymond Hare,

Overseas News Agency (continued)

Deputy Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs of the State Department.

The resurrected Negev proposal would call on Great Britain to act as mediator and "divider" of the area between Egypt and Transjordan.

The over-all impression here is that the Arab states, with the silent approval of the British Foreign Office and the State Department, intend to stall the negotiations and delay final settlement on the basis of the Arab refugee question. This strategy is aimed toward throwing the whole Palestine problem back to the U.N. General Assembly at its session next September, by which time it is hoped Catholic pressure over the Jerusalem issue will have developed serious enough proportions to set back Israel.

* * * *

WORLD NEWS ROUNDUP (RADIO REPORT) June 9, 8:00 A.M., CBS Network

David S. Schonbrun from Paris--The second story I've got this morning is about American policy on Israel. Again on good sources, that I cannot name, it can be stated that our Secretary of State Dean Acheson has held secret talks on Palestine this week in Paris with Britain's Ernest Bevin. A new co-ordinated Anglo-American policy on Israel is being worked out, and my informants tell me that there has been a sudden switch in American policy on Israel in the last two weeks.

One piece of evidence: Our State Department representative, Mark Ethridge, privately told the Israelis to propose a compromise offer on the Arab refugee question. When the Israelis did so, they were surprised to find that the American representative who had suggested it sat silent.

The big question now is what is happening to American policy on Palestine? Are we about to witness an important shift? And another question heard in Paris this morning: Have the British and Egyptians a secret agreement to garrison British troops in Gaza?

* * * *

ISRAEL ASSAILS U. S. ON ARAB RE-ENTRY

Spokesman Attacks Reported
Pressure to Re-admit Some
Who Fled During Fighting

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

LAKE SUCCESS, June 9—A spokesman for the Israeli delegation to the United Nations today attacked a reported attempt by the United States to induce Israel to start readmitting some of the Arabs who fled from Israeli territory during the fighting last year.

The spokesman did not go into details, but said that "as long as the Arab states refuse to enter into peaceful relationships with Israel, the return of masses of Arabs to Israel would be a quixotic undertaking, which could not possibly be reconciled with any normal concept of national security."

"Israel's position in this regard," he added, "has always been widely understood and accepted and it is, therefore, surprising to hear suggestions that it may now be ignored and that the actual return of the Arabs may be insisted upon before the over-riding security considerations have been satisfied."

The dispatch to which the spokesman referred said that United States representatives, both in Tel Aviv and in Lausanne, Switzerland, where the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission is now meeting, had expressed "extreme impatience" with Israel's refusal to permit at least some of the Arab refugees to return. The dispatch said that representatives of Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan had said they could not discuss a peace settlement with Israel until the refugee problem had been solved.

According to reports here, the Israeli representatives at Lausanne offered, some weeks ago, to allow the return of some refugees who were close relatives of the Arabs who had remained in Israeli territory. On May 21, it was reported, they offered to permit the return of 230,000 Arabs on condition that Egypt turned over to Israel the Gaza strip, where they now are.

Criticism Held Illogical

The Israeli spokesman here did not confirm these reports, but said that the only "constructive and concrete suggestions" had been made by Israeli representatives and that "we must express our surprise that these proposals have not received the consideration they deserved at the hands of those who have expressed such deep concern with the problem."

"It is obviously inappropriate to refuse to act on such proposals and simultaneously to criticize Israel for alleged inaction and non-cooperation," he added.

According to earlier reports here, the Conciliation Commission is now considering a proposal whereby Egypt would retain the Gaza coastal strip, while King Abdullah of Jordan would receive the Majdal area, north of Gaza, together with other territory now occupied by Israeli forces, which would provide King Abdullah with access to the Mediterranean.

The Israeli spokesman said this was an attempt to revive the Bernadotte plan, and contended that "these plans would involve the mutilation of Israel's territory and the transfer to some or all of the Arab states, which aggressively invaded Palestine, of a substan-

tial part of the land which Israel holds under armistice agreements."

The spokesman said that the General Assembly resolution of last Dec. 11, which established the Conciliation Commission, called for "completely unprejudiced boundary negotiations," and emphasized that "the existing territorial position under the armistice agreement can be altered only by negotiations with the Arab states leading to peace agreements."

"It would be against the basic principle of the Dec. 11 resolution and inimical to the prospects of an early agreement for any outside influence or pressure to be exerted in favor of any preconceived view of what the final boundaries should be," the Israeli spokesman added.

"Israel has made detailed boundary proposals at Lausanne which are based squarely on the resolution of the General Assembly of Dec. 11. Israel will continue to bend all its efforts to achieve a peace settlement by negotiations through the good offices of the United Nations."

Israel Asked to Unbend

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

TEL AVIV, Israel, June 9—From sources close to the Israeli Government it was learned today that the United States had requested Israel to unbend and admit a "certain" part of the refugees so that the Lausanne discussions might proceed. It appears that a stalemate has been reached and that someone has to concede to avert failure.

The Arabs refuse to discuss major points on the agenda until the refugees have been handled adequately and the Israelis are unwilling to proceed if they have to make this serious concession before they know what the returns will be.

The Israelis primarily do not admit responsibility for the refugees.

They further insist that while there is still a state of war they cannot very well admit thousands of Arabs who would be a direct threat to Israel's own security, especially when the Arab countries announce daily through the press and the radio that they are only marking time and will take "revenge" as soon as possible.

The Government also has asked just what concessions the United States is asking the Arabs to make. It was pointed out that Jerusalem still is cut off by the main road but manages to continue communications through a circuitous secondary highway; that the Arab controlled water system to Jerusalem still is not working; that the Naharayim power station still is in Arab hands and that all the important potash works at the Dead Sea are made commercially impotent because of the Arab refusal to supply the necessary fresh water and a convenient outlet for products.

In other words, Israel is wondering what the Arabs are supposed to concede under this plan to accommodate the refugees.

The net result seems to be that either the Arabs and Israelis will work out their own local problems, as they are now doing in the case of the Jerusalem boundaries, or the entire case must be presented

to the World Court for adjudication.

Tel Aviv Offers Plan

By C. L. SULZBERGER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

PARIS, June 9—The Israeli Government has proposed that the pre-war frontiers at the northern and southern extremes of the former mandated territory of Palestine should be accepted as the permanent borders between the new state of Israel and Lebanon and Egypt respectively.

This proposition, it was learned tonight, has been submitted to the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, now meeting with Israeli and Arab delegations in Lausanne in an effort to find a basis for peace in the Middle East.

The Israeli proposals, which have not been accepted by any Arab representative, furthermore suggested that the eastern frontier should be established approximately along the armistice line fixed by mediators when the fighting ceased.

This would be conditional upon the fate of Arab Palestine. The suggestion is based upon the premise that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan would absorb the Arab-occupied and Arab-held territory of the mandated area and that the armistice line—or virtually the same boundary—would become the frontier between Jordan and Israel.

The proposal on the southern frontier is involved directly with the refugee question. At present Egyptian forces are in occupation of a strip around the seaport of Gaza which originally was part of Palestine. There are an estimated 230,000 Arab refugees in that slice of land now.

As previously reported from Lake Success, Israel has offered to take back those refugees if the Gaza area is restored.

Unacceptable to Arabs

This idea has not been accepted by the Arabs. It has been disregarded, not formally rejected. The Arabs do not appear to have any instructions from their Governments to discuss territorial settlements but appear to be limited to seeking an agreement on the refugee question at this time.

It is known that the United States would be delighted if—including a deal on the Gaza strip and the Arabs it contains—Israel agreed to take back enough refugees to give the fledgling country an Arab population of 400,000. However, it is not expected that that many will be returned.

Reports that the United States State Department asked Israel to take back 800,000 are untrue. While about 900,000 Arabs are now being fed in relief centers, it is estimated by officials that not more than 700,000 of these are Palestine refugees. Thus the 800,000 figure, which has been circulated, would put Washington in a position of demanding the return to Israel of more refugees than there are.

Reports from Lausanne tonight indicated that Arabs are very irked by the Israeli occupation of a neutral zone around Jerusalem and are demanding that the conciliation commission force an evacuation.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** June 2, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

The enclosed memorandum is a most interesting analysis of the Arab refugee question and should serve to bring you up-to-date on that problem. It was written by Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin, adviser on Middle Eastern affairs to the American Zionist Council. Please use this material as background for letters to the press, etc.

Regards.

AT:SR

Enc.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINE ARAB REFUGEES

(Memorandum submitted by Eliahu Ben-Horin,
Author of THE MIDDLE EAST: CROSSROADS OF HISTORY)

1. The question of the future of the Arab refugees from Israel continues to be a source of uneasiness in international relations. Until settled, it may be expected to intensify the friction between Israel and the Arab States, to provoke tension between the Great Powers and the countries of the Middle East, and to confront the world with the existence of a group of frustrated and unhappy human beings who might easily become prey to demoralizing influences. For these reasons, a rapid and satisfactory settlement of that problem appears eminently desirable.

2. Further urgency is lent to the question by the fact that the maintenance of a large mass of Arab refugees in their present position of uncertainty, is very costly, while it does not bring a solution any nearer. A sum of \$16,000,000 has already been appropriated for the relief of these refugees by the U.S. Government. A similar sum has been or is being appropriated by several foreign governments. This money is due to be expended by next August, at which time the question of further relief expenditures will undoubtedly arise. Considerable amounts have also been provided for Arab refugee relief by private relief agencies and voluntary contributors. These funds, too, are well-nigh exhausted and more will be required. The demands on the U.S. Government and on private funds, largely from the United States, will continue and may have to be met again and again.

3. Growing recognition is given in all quarters to the need to proceed speedily with the resettlement of the large mass of the Arab refugees. It is generally understood that only a small part of these refugees will be able to return to Israel, and that even such a limited return will hardly be possible except as part of a general resettlement scheme for these refugees and in connection with an over-all improvement in Arab-Israeli relations. There is growing agreement that most of the Arab refugees in question should be enabled to settle

on the land or to find a place in urban occupations in the various Arab countries whose recent war against Israel has had so much to do with the emergence of this particular refugee problem. It is understood that officials of the American and the British Governments, as well as United Nations circles, tend towards this viewpoint in growing measure, and that informal discussions are afoot with various Arab governments to explore the willingness of the latter to cooperate in such a resettlement scheme.

4. A serious danger that has to be faced in this connection is the danger of a diffusion of effort. There seems to be some feeling that the mass of the Arab refugees might be distributed among the different territories of the Middle East, notably Transjordan, the Arab part of Palestine, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. (Egypt has officially declared that it is in no position to absorb any of the Palestine Arab refugees.) It is understood more particularly that the Government of Transjordan is willing to accept for resettlement within the territories under its control most of those refugees, presumably in consideration of the large monetary expenditures which would be made by outside sources, especially by the Government of the United States, to facilitate such a settlement. It is open to serious question whether such a large-scale operation could be successfully accomplished in the relatively arid territories under Transjordan control. It is quite conceivable that, once the money has been expended, it would appear that the future of the refugees has not been assured after all. Similarly, opportunities for the resettlement of the refugees in Lebanon and Syria are open to serious doubt.

The governments of those countries, disinclined as they are at present to accept any considerable number of the refugees for permanent residence, may be coaxed into doing so by the promise of American largesse. But once foreign funds have flowed directly or indirectly into the treasuries of those countries, it may

well be that the Arab refugees would once more find themselves facing an unsettled future and therefore remain a burden on the world. Because of this, every effort should be made to decide beforehand on the most feasible large-scale scheme for Arab refugee resettlement and, once the answer is found, to concentrate on its execution. Thus there would be avoided a great deal of waste motion, waste of funds, human misery and international friction.

5. From an over-all viewpoint, it seems that Iraq is the country which can most easily provide for large-scale resettlement of all of the Arab refugees from Palestine with greatest benefit to the country itself. For several decades attention has been focused on Iraq's need for additional population and on the tremendous opportunities existing in that country for agricultural development. The British Government, at the time when Britain still held the Mandate over Iraq, was interested in large-scale agricultural development there. Iraqi statesmen themselves raised the question from time to time. International authorities in the field of economics, nutrition, and soil development have repeatedly drawn attention to this situation in Iraq. In the United States, Mr. Herbert Hoover, among others, suggested in 1945, long before there were any Arab refugees from Palestine, that everybody's interest might be served by encouraging the large-scale resettlement of Palestinian Arabs in Iraq. The former President put it as follows:

"...In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys supported probably 10,000,000 people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about 3,500,000 people in modern Iraq....

"My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to complete this great land development on the consideration that it be made the scene of resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine....

"There is room for many more Arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race, which is Arab-speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab

population of Palestine would be the gainer from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer, for it badly needs agricultural population....It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict...."

The fact that several hundred thousand Arabs who formerly lived in Palestine now find themselves unrooted only lends further strength to Mr. Hoover's suggestion. We must remember, too, that even those Arabs who may be able to return to Israel will have to undergo a process of rehabilitation and adapt themselves to totally new conditions. As Dr. Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, who recently returned from supervision of the Friends' Arab refugee relief program in Southern Palestine, puts it in a letter to me: "...The third problem, and a very important one, would be an additional program for those who return to Israel as well as those who go elsewhere, for the Arab will have to pursue modern farming methods wherever he may be and this will involve real training."

6. A further consideration militating in favor of the choice of Iraq as the place where most of the Arab refugees should be encouraged to resettle, is connected with the international situation. As the most northeastern of the Arab lands, lying close to the borders of the Soviet Union, Iraq, from the long-range viewpoint, occupies a particularly important strategic position. But Iraq is very weak internally and will remain so until and unless the Arabic element of its population is considerably strengthened. At present, the many national minorities and particularly the very sizeable Kurdish minority form too large a section of Iraq's population. The claims of the Kurds to an independent Kurdistan (which would be carved out of the territories of Iraq, Iran and Turkey) are on record. All this makes Iraq particularly vulnerable to attempts from whatever quarter to foment trouble and threaten the political stability of the area. The addition of a considerable number of new residents, Arab in race, Moslem in religion and agricultural by occupation, would greatly

strengthen Iraq internally and thus also heighten its chances of resisting the forces of disorder.

7. Assuming that the above considerations represent a correct analysis of the situation, nothing can be gained by further delay. It would seem best to have action undertaken at once to prepare the ground for large-scale development projects in Iraq. It is understood, of course, that the consent of the Government of Iraq to admit the refugees in question must be obtained. There is no reason to doubt Iraq's concurrence with the scheme if necessary measures are taken on the diplomatic, financial and technical levels. As for the execution of the project, consideration might be given to entrusting it to a suitable agency of the United Nations, working in cooperation with the Government of Iraq and with such other governments or official institutions as would assume certain responsibilities in this connection. In order to lift the question at once to the necessary level of a major humanitarian and statesmanlike project which would command the respect of world opinion at large and of public opinion in the United States more particularly, it might be advisable to request the only living former President of the United States, the Honorable Herbert Hoover, to undertake a study of this project, together with a suitable committee.

June 1949

MEMORANDUM

To Leaders of Zionist Organizations and
Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date May 16, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

Within the very near future the American Zionist Council will elect new officers and announce the nature and scope of its new activities.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has stated that he will not continue as chairman of the Council. It is not necessary to dwell at this time on Dr. Silver's role as the leader of American Zionism: his accomplishments have been written into Jewish history.

May I suggest that the chairmen of local emergency committees and leaders of Zionist organizations in the United States send messages expressing gratitude to Dr. Silver, who led our movement to victory. These will be presented to Dr. Silver in a bound volume. We are sure that you will respond most enthusiastically to this suggestion and that you will wish to send such a message to this office as speedily as possible.

Kindest regards.

AT:LD

P.S. If possible, please send your message unfolded.

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

MEMORANDUM

To

Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date

April 19, 1949

From

Abe Tuvim

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

On May 2nd Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is scheduled to deliver a radio address on the American Broadcasting Company's full network. His subject will be the "First Anniversary of Israel." The time -- 11:16 - 11:30 P.M. (E.D.T.)

It is recommended that you make contact with your local A.B.C. radio station to insure that they include Dr. Silver's address in their schedule. In the event the scheduled time is unsuitable for your communities, it is suggested that Dr. Silver's address be recorded and broadcast at a more appropriate one.

To promote a large listening audience, it is recommended that small advertisements be taken in your local press pointing up to this event. Your cooperation is most vital.

AT:LD

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 19, 1949

From Abe Tuvim



The trend of events makes it increasingly clear that the utmost political pressure will be exerted upon Israel in connection with the question of the Palestinian Arab refugees. You will find useful material on this problem in the enclosed reprint of an article by Elishu Ben-Horin from the Christian Science Monitor of April 12.

Regards.

AT:LD

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date April 5, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

Deserving of special attention is the following statement concerning Christian shrines and interests in Palestine, made in a memorandum of March 21, 1949, to the Hon. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, by Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon, National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, of which Francis Cardinal Spellman is President:

"On August 20, 1948, we asked you to make an inquiry regarding criminal acts against Christian persons and places during the progress of the Palestinian warfare. The undersigned is happy to report that he personally, after an extended journey in the area, can testify to the genuine desire of the government of Israel to repair the damage done and to maintain proper relations with the religious institutes within its boundaries."

Enclosed also, for your information, is a pamphlet containing the Prime Minister of Israel's opening statement to the Israeli Constituent Assembly, outlining his Government's program of action.

AT:AF
encl.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** March 22, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

It is some time now since you first heard from Dr. Abba Hillel Silver regarding the Study Tour to Israel under the sponsorship of the American Christian Palestine Committee. While a number of communities have responded splendidly both in raising funds for this project as well as selecting an outstanding local personality as their delegate, we regret that thus far your community has not yet been able to pursue this project to its successful conclusion.

As an indication of the calibre of delegate thus far selected to represent various communities, I am happy to be able to state that the list of those who will comprise the Study Tour include editors of large metropolitan dailies outstanding ministerial leaders, university deans and a presiding judge of a U. S. Circuit Court.

If your difficulties in connection with this project stem from your failure to raise the necessary funds to put it over, I suggest that you make contact with the leaders of other Zionist Emergency Councils as well as individual Zionist leaders adjacent to your community so that perhaps jointly you may be able to raise the funds and select a delegate to represent your area. Rabbi Rubin Dobin of Far Rockaway, New York, has been able to use this technique successfully in his area.

I know I need not dwell at length on the vast amount of propaganda which continues to be showered upon the country by returning delegates from anti-Zionist Seminars to the Arab world. Such Seminars continue to be sponsored by various groups which have not become reconciled to the establishment of the State of Israel and are doing their utmost to harm its development. Our answer to these groups is to do exactly what they are doing -- and to do it better!

Please do not postpone any further your action in this important matter. We need your help now; the time is growing short. The Tour is scheduled to leave from New York on April 20. May we count on you and your community to do your part now as faithfully as you have done it in the past.

Kindest regards,

AT:QLD

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date February 17, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Attached you will find a memorandum on Jewish-Catholic relations arising from the situation in Israel. We are sending this to you so that you may have some factual background on the problem, and to bring you up to date currently. We believe this will be helpful to you and will send you additional copies upon request.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB

Enc.

MEMORANDUM

JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS IN AND OVER ISRAEL

Past Recriminations

During the first months of the Palestine War, reports describing desecration of Christian sanctuaries by Jewish soldiers were widely publicized in the American press, particularly in Catholic publications. Needless to say, these reports had an unfavorable effect on Jewish-Catholic relations in the United States and the world over. If left unchecked, this development could have lead to most undesirable results both for the State of Israel and for the Jewish communities in many lands.

We, therefore, feel that a recent report on this question by a competent eye-witness deserves our careful attention. We refer to a survey of Catholic institutions and interests in Israel made by Eliahu Ben-Horin, well-known writer and Adviser on Middle Eastern Affairs to the American Zionist Emergency Council. Part of Mr. Ben-Horin's tour of Catholic institutions in Israel was made in the company of Monsignor Thomas McMahon, who represented Cardinal Spellman on a special mission to the Middle East, and Monsignor Anthony Vergani, Vicar-General of the Latin Patriarchate in Israel. Mr. Ben-Horin is therefore in a position to report to some extent the impressions of these two Catholic dignitaries.

Not One Incident in Many Months

Mr. Ben-Horin's report was submitted at a conference of representatives of Jewish national organizations. The outstanding feature of his report is the fact that not a single case of desecration or mistreatment of Christians has taken place since the establishment of the Government of Israel. This merely reemphasizes the truth that whatever excesses occurred, took place during the height of the Palestine War last summer and were perpetrated by irresponsible individuals; accordingly, responsibility for those acts cannot properly be ascribed to the Government of Israel or the Jewish community as a whole. From the moment stable government was established in Israel, not one serious complaint was recorded.

Minorities in Israel

In an article under the above title, published in the New York Herald Tribune of January 5, 1949, Mr. Ben-Horin described and analyzed the facts about the situation of the national and religious minorities in Israel and the treatment accorded them by the Israeli Government. A large-scale and costly program of education for Arab children has been adopted and put into operation by the Government, at the expense of the state budget. The minorities, Christian and Moslem, enjoy complete equality of civil rights, with the exception of freedom of movement for the duration

of the war. As soon as peace is established, this single restriction will be removed. The special needs of the various religious communities are catered to by the government with the greatest care and understanding. In his article, Mr. Ben-Horin described a Christmas party tendered the Christian prisoners of war by the Israeli command of the camp, which he attended, along with a Catholic Bishop and an Arab Catholic dignitary from Haifa. Both the prisoners and the Haifa visitors praised the Israeli authorities for the humane and considerate treatment they accorded the prisoners of war.

The Christian Communities

The mass flight of the Arabs from Palestine has left only about one hundred thousand of them in Israel. However, it was mostly Moslems who ran away. Of the million Moslems, only about 50,000 stayed behind, whereas an equal number of Christians remained out of a total pre-war community of only 125,000. Nazareth and the Christian villages in Lower Galilee now hold the majority of the Christians in Israel. Their churches and monasteries were hardly touched by warfare. Most of the Christian communities in this area are intact.

In the mixed cities of Palestine -- Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Acre -- the Christian population has decreased in number through the Arab flight, but the communities exist, enjoy complete freedom to practice their faith, and most of the churches are in perfect condition. The same is true of the smaller towns, like Ramleh, on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road. It was mainly in Jerusalem, where a battle of artillery went on for months at close range, that churches as well as synagogues suffered damage from warfare. The Church of Dormition on Mount Sinai, just outside the walls of the Old City, was hit by many Arab shells. The same applies to the Church of Notre Dame, which is on the border dividing the Jewish positions from the Arab. Wherever physical damage was inflicted on Christian churches, it was done by Arabs, namely by the Transjordan Legion. This fact is proved beyond doubt.

On the other hand, the Israeli authorities -- central and local -- have not only done their utmost to repair whatever internal damage was done by Jewish soldiery, but take good care to supply all the needs of the Christian communities. Thus, despite the grave shortages of food and the severe rationing in the country, the Government has regularly supplied food to the old and infirm of the Christian communities in Jerusalem, footing the cost itself. All through their tour of Israel, the two Monsignori and Mr. Ben-Horin came across cases of excellent care and understanding displayed by the Israeli authorities towards the needs of the Christian communities. When, for instance, the sisters of the French Monastery in Ein Karem, outside of Jerusalem, asked the Israeli Military Governor of the

area to intervene on their behalf with the Transjordanian authorities in the Old City for the release of their Mother Superior, the latter was brought back to the Monastery the same afternoon.

Prospects of Future Relations

Summing up, Mr. Ben-Horin arrived at the conclusion that there is no reason to expect future complications in Jewish-Catholic relations, as far as the safety of the Catholic sanctuaries and the rights of the Catholic community in Israel are concerned. However, there are other problems concerning Israel which will surely affect Jewish-Catholic relations in the future. The question of the administration of the holy places is one of those problems. However, there are indications that this issue may be resolved in the not too distant future in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. Israel unconditionally favors the establishment of an international regime for the holy places, as long as the latter term is not interpreted too broadly. In other words, Israel supports an international regime for the Old City of Jerusalem, but is unalterably opposed to the inclusion of New Jerusalem (which contains no holy places) in the international area. Although the Catholic Church has thus far failed to express itself authoritatively on this issue, there are reasons to believe that an Israeli-Catholic understanding may be reached.

The most difficult problem, and the one whose solution will probably require the greatest effort on the part of all concerned, is the problem of the Arab refugees. Hundreds of thousands of them are today homeless and hungry. Even though the responsibility for their plight does not lie with Israel, as long as their fate remains undecided the pressure of their presence on the borders of Israel is bound to prove a serious irritant both in Jewish-Arab and in Jewish-Catholic relations. It is to be hoped that before long a constructive plan will be evolved for a permanent solution of the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees.

*
* *
*

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 3, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

There seems to be a tendency among some Zionists to believe that, with the creation of the State of Israel, and its full recognition by the U.S.A., there is less need for public relations activities in the general community as well as within the framework of the American Christian Palestine Committee. Actually, the information we have gathered from all over the country does not bear out this belief.

Reports reaching our offices prove decisively that there are forces at work preparing for a long and sustained attack on the State of Israel and on the position taken by Jews in the United States toward that State. Vigilance on our part, therefore, is as necessary as ever. The list of charges and accusations levelled against Israel, and propagandized with vigor throughout the United States, is a formidable one. It includes alleged Soviet orientation, brutality against Arab refugees, desecration of churches and holy places, attempts to nullify missionary gains, Jewish imperialism (encroachment on the territory of surrounding Arab countries), dual loyalty of American Zionists, use of vast Jewish resources for propaganda, endangering of vital American oil supplies, loss of American prestige in the Middle East with a corresponding increase in Soviet influence -- and many, many more.

This multi-fronted attack is being carried on by lecturers from the public platform, articles in newspapers, magazines and church publications, by letters from missionaries in the field, and by every conceivable means.

We list below some of the hostile forces actively engaged in anti-Israel propaganda.

American Lecturers

Individuals such as Kermit Roosevelt, Colonel Wellington Furlong, Captain Michael Fielding, Khalil Totah, Harold R. Hoskins, and many others are constantly touring the country and lecturing on Palestine and the Middle East in the spirit of pro-Arab propaganda. Some of them, like Khalil Totah and Kermit Roosevelt, speak on behalf of organizations -- the Institute of Arab-American Affairs and the Committee for Peace and Justice in the Holy Land, respectively. Others, like Furlong and Fielding, appear to be free-lance lecturers speaking under the auspices of lush commercial lecture bureaus. Mr. Hoskins, an officer of the Foreign Policy Association, is being sponsored at non-publicized meetings of the Foreign Policy Association and of other important opinion-making groups.

Propaganda from the Middle East

A. Middle East Study Tour:

A ten weeks seminar and Middle East Tour on modern Arab life and culture will be held during the summer with headquarters at the American University of Beirut.

(more)

Sponsored by Western Michigan College of Education, Kalamazoo; Wilson Teachers College, Washington, D. C.; State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York; and the American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon, the seminar is primarily designed for teachers, but students or others who may be interested in teaching are eligible. A group of about 40 will leave New York by plane about the middle of June and will return the last week of August.

Thus, 40 trained pro-Arab spokesmen (the majority of them teachers) may return this fall from the Near East with a Beirut orientation, and will reach thousands of young people as well as clubs, churches, radio audiences and newspaper readers with their biased views. A relatively low rate has been set as the cost of this tour, indicating possible subsidization.

Educators

The following American educators, missionaries, and others with a pro-Arab orientation, deserve our attention:

Professor John S. Badeau, President of the University of Cairo, extremely active as a speaker under excellent sponsorship including Foreign Policy Association, colleges, institutes, church federations, etc.

Dr. Floyd H. Black, President of Robert College and American College for Girls, Istanbul, Turkey.

Professor Homer W. Davis, President of Athens College, Athens, Greece.

Dr. Millar Burrows of the American School for Oriental Research.

Y.M.C.A. Leaders

A. L. Miller, General Secretary of Jerusalem, Y.M.C.A.

Wilbert T. Smith, formerly of Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem, now a member of Institute of Arab-American Affairs.

Paul Hoffman, also of Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem

Relief Workers such as Dr. Edwin Moll, Director of Palestine Branch of Lutheran World Federation, and various others attached to the American Friends Service Committee and Church World Service.

Dr. Hartman A. Lichtwardt, Medical Missionary of Detroit.

Missionaries Home on Rotating Leaves, such as Glora Wysner of the Methodist Church, also a member of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs, and Garland Evans Hopkins, secretary of the Missions Council of the Methodist Church.

Professor John A. Wilson, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

Professor T. Cuyler Young, Professor of Oriental Languages, Princeton

Professor Walter L. Wright of Princeton University

Professor William Stinespring of Duke University

(more)

Missionaries Abroad

Periodically, letters from missionaries in the field to Christian leaders and friends in America are widely circulated. Important leaders in missionary, federal and world church groups are outstanding in anti-Zionist propaganda. Such names as Henry Sloane Coffin and Henry Smith Leipen, to mention only two, come at once to mind.

An example of this is to be found in an editorial appearing in "Christianity and Crisis" of February 21, 1949 entitled "Perils to America in the New Jewish State". It is perhaps the most vicious attack which has yet been made upon Israel and American Jews who support the new State. An analysis of the editorial, which has been sent out to a number of leading Christian friends of Israel by the American Christian Palestine Committee, has the following to say in its opening paragraph:

"The editorial is obviously written with animus, and, however much it disclaims anti-Jewish feeling, it cannot but give rise to such feeling among its readers. The facts on which it is allegedly based are so distorted by the author's emotional bias that their accuracy is extremely dubious. One would have thought that in a journal of Christian opinion special care would be taken to verify facts and to eliminate all traces of prejudice."

In addition to all the above factors, the following should be listed among the anti-Israeli forces active on the American scene:

Government officials, i.e. Edwin M. Wright, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State.

Visiting Arabs from the Middle East, like Musa Hussein.

Arab students scattered throughout the United States.

The above list of individuals engaged in pro-Arab propaganda in the United States is by no means complete. There are other individuals and organizations whose primary purpose is to combat the establishment and development of Israel, and to promote Arab interests on the American scene. The Institute for Arab-American Affairs, The American Council for Judaism, and the Gildersleeve Committee admittedly belong in this category. However, there are many other public bodies in the United States whose wholehearted association with the Arab viewpoint is not so apparent. They may be even more dangerous, for that reason.

The Middle East Institute in Washington, which publishes the Middle East Journal, is an illustration in point.

All in all, there is no exaggeration in our saying that we are facing a formidable array of hostile forces which will demand all the vigilance and talent at our disposal.

In the past, it has often happened that local committees have informed us of acts of anti-Zionist propaganda after they have already taken place, asking for our counteraction. It would be obviously more advisable and effective if, whenever possible, we could be informed before a given pro-Arab speech or lecture takes place, so that we are able to devise measures in good time. It is with this aim in mind that we have listed for you here the most outstanding among the pro-Arab propagandists in the United States. Accordingly, the moment that you learn that any of these persons are about to appear on a local platform, please advise us immediately.

Best regards.

AT:BHB

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** February 23, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

It is very important to our future work that we make a survey of Congressional opinion with regard to Israel.

While there is a great deal of information at hand, collated from reports which have come in from our communities from time to time, from visits to members of Congress, and from the work of our Washington office, we need additional information from our communities.

There is no doubt that during the period of the elections last year, and since then, you have had a number of occasions to contact not only the candidates for the House of Representatives and the Senate, but specifically those who were elected.

We would therefore like to have you send us a candid report on each of your Senators and Representatives in order that we may make a thorough study of where they stand on our problems.

I would urge that you do this at the earliest possible occasion.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 16, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

This is a follow-up to the letter sent to you by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on February 11th with reference to the projected series of Seminars in Israel undertaken by the American Christian Palestine Committee. A number of communities have already expressed a keen interest in the project and it is hoped that many others will participate.

I am, therefore, writing to you to urge that you take the matter up at the earliest possible moment and that we may hear from you without too much delay. This undertaking is the most important planned by the American Christian Palestine Committee in its many years of outstanding service to the cause of Israel. Every effort should be made to assist them in organizing a large contingent of leading American Christians to make this Study Tour of Israel.

There is a great deal of work still ahead for us on the American scene. Many vital problems affecting the future of Israel remain unsolved and for a number of years to come a good deal will depend on the manner in which the infant state is interpreted to the American public.

Leaders in Christian communities who are friendly to our cause will be increasingly important to us in this work. We will need them as spokesmen in the coming days and Zionist communities should unhesitatingly throw themselves into this plan which will develop these effective spokesmen.

Our attention has been called to a number of activities undertaken by groups unfriendly to us. One of these is a six week seminar to be held this summer at the American University of Beirut under the sponsorship of three American colleges and the University of Beirut. Out of this activity there will undoubtedly emerge a number of American educators who will spread the gospel of those whose enmity to Israel is so clearly evident. We must be prepared to meet this eventuality. The plan of the American Christian Palestine Committee will help materially in that direction.

Please let us hear from you.

Regards.

AT:RB

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

February 11, 1949

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Friend:

You will recall that the American Christian Palestine Committee has conducted four annual seminars in which Christian leaders participated as delegates selected by local Zionist communities. The Executive Council of the American Christian Palestine Committee has decided to hold the fifth National Seminar in ISRAEL, and has requested our cooperation in what will be the most significant event yet planned in our nation-wide public relations program.

The assembly date in Tel Aviv for this American Christian Palestine Committee Study Tour to Israel is tentatively planned for April 28th; the tour will close in Israel on May 12th. As many participants as possible will leave on the S.S. Queen Mary from New York on April 20th so as to profit from the round table discussions planned aboard ship. Delegates who find this sailing date inconvenient will take the trip by plane a few days later.

May I urge you to assist this project by arranging for the participation of a carefully selected non-Jewish representative, man or woman, of your community. Please think in terms of a newspaper editor, a college president, an outstanding professor, a prominent churchman or a leader of management or labor. The individual selected should have several of the following qualifications: (1) sympathy with Zionist aspirations, (2) standing in the community, (3) ability as a public speaker or as a writer, and (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.

The Executive Council of the American Christian Palestine Committee believes that the American people need firsthand reports of Israel today,--its achievements and its problems, - its economic needs and possibilities for industrial and agricultural development. They submit that while we have gone a long way in educating the public, we are still beset by hostile propaganda groups seeking to undermine the State of Israel by false accusations concerning its politics, its form of government, its intentions towards Arab neighbors and its potentials as a world force for good will and moral advancement. The American Christian Palestine Committee delegates to Israel will be in a position to counteract these hostile influences, after an intensive study of conditions in Israel, under sponsorship of Israeli experts.

I would urge local Zionist Emergency Committees to defray travel, hotel and personal expenses of their delegate for this important and unprecedented public relations project. The cost is estimated at a maximum of \$2,000 from New York to Israel and return, depending on mode of travel. A number of communities are already planning to distribute the costs by joining with one or two nearby cities and thus sponsor a delegate jointly.

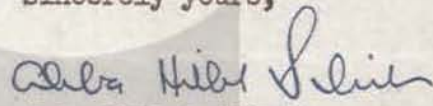
All steamer and transoceanic plane tickets will be reserved through an agency

February 11, 1949

chosen by the American Christian Palestine Committee, which is arranging for a block of plane and steamer reservations. 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. 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

P. S. Under no circumstances is money to be sent to the Emergency Council or to the American Christian Palestine Committee. You will receive a directive as to the travel agency which is handling this matter.



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 3, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

Attached you will find some excerpts from the British press during the hectic days preceding Britain's de facto recognition of the State of Israel, and the remarks made by Mr. Winston Churchill in the historic debate in the House of Commons on January 26th.

The press comments represent a cross-section of British opinion. These and the statement of Mr. Churchill should prove very helpful to you during the coming days, in which we may see a continuation of Mr. Bevin's effort to force Israel to yield part of the Negev.

While our political position is undoubtedly better than it has been in a long time, we must continue to face the facts and be guided by past history. This was clearly indicated in a recent memorandum which was sent to you, and which included a statement by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on that subject.

The remarkable change in British press opinion evidenced in the attached extracts, is due to a number of causes, among them being the firm position taken by our Government and a growing awareness of press opinion in America.

American press opinion is cabled and telephoned daily to Britain by the British Information Service and other agencies of the British Government in the United States. It is clear that the magnificent support given our cause by the American press has had its effect not only on the British press but also on many members of the British Government.

For this result and for many other services promptly and effectively rendered, the hundreds of Zionist Emergency Committees in the United States are to be congratulated. Never before in the history of our struggle has there been a press so unanimous in its support of our position and in its condemnation of Mr. Bevin's anti-Israel policies.

I know that you will continue to put the material you receive to good uses. Should you want additional copies, we will supply them.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB
Enc.

THE BRITISH PRESS ON MR. BEVIN

The DAILY TELEGRAPH, a London newspaper which reflects conservative opinion, editorialized on January 14th:

"His (Bevin's) policy at the very best, has left us in the Middle East in the position of OSCAR WILDE'S character who 'had no enemies but was cordially disliked by his friends,' and he must often have regretted his rash undertaking more than three years ago to stake his political future on solving the Palestine problem. It is a great pity that he allowed matters to drift for nearly 18 months before handing over what was always an international problem to the United Nations; that he opposed a policy of partition for at least another year; and that he has never been able to obtain much credence for his undoubtedly sincere desire to be impartial as between the two sides."

On January 15th, the NEW STATESMAN, a weekly periodical which has strong labor leanings, stated:

"Mr. Bevin still seems determined to wrest the Negev from the Jews even if it means one more military intervention in Palestine -- with grave danger to world peace. If the Rhodes Peace talks fail, and if Egypt can be induced to accept our freely-offered help, then the danger of a military conflict between Britain and Israel will be real. British troops are reported in readiness to repeat the Akabah action at Gaza, and we are prepared to go to the aid of the Iraqi troops who have been valiantly defending their homeland by shelling for the last two weeks a Jewish settlement 250 miles from the Iraqi frontier. This wild folly must stop."

The LONDON OBSERVER, a conservative newspaper which has consistently backed up Mr. Bevin in his foreign policies, observed on January 16th:

"There is an unfortunate touch of hypocrisy in our clinging to a Security Council cease-fire resolution of last November, which was meant to establish a temporary basis for armistice negotiations in a fleeting situation, while at the same time we continue to disregard the basic Palestine resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, which decreed the partition of Palestine and the allocation of the territory as a permanent settlement. This resolution gave the Negev area, which the Israelis have now reconquered from the invading Egyptian forces, to Israel. By labelling the Israeli reconquest of this area 'aggression', we implicitly declare that ruling of the United Nations null and void."

In an editorial entitled: "Hence The Pyramids," the independent DAILY MIRROR commented on January 28th:

"Progress at Rhodes, where Jews and Arabs seek the road to peace, a more reasonable and responsible attitude in Washington, the indication of Commonwealth recognition for Israel, all move slightly nearer the solution for which everybody sighs. That solution is more important than the possible dissolution of Mr. Bevin. He received a clear warning in the House that everybody is irritated past patience with fumbling, with mysteries, and with his sphinx-like resistance to other ideas than his own. British interests in the Middle East are vital. Mr. Bevin is right in thinking we must be strong in defending them. But when will he learn to deal with nettles without stinging himself and everybody else? His handling of the problems has served too often only to increase them."

The TRIBUNE, a weekly Socialist periodical, devoted its leading editorial of January 14th, to the Anglo-Israeli crisis. Its concluding paragraph asked the following questions:

"Does Mr. Bevin want the peace negotiations in Rhodes to succeed? How does he think that purpose can be served by always arraigning one side as the guilty party? How long will it be before he and his advisers recognise facts which are obvious to the rest of the world? How long are we to persist in policies which arouse bitter condemnation in the Dominions, in American quarters normally most friendly to this country, and throughout the civilised world? How long must we wait for the British Government to admit the error of the past, to sweep up the remnants of a shattered diplomacy, and to start rebuilding a friendship between peoples who should never have been enemies?"

The Lord Rothesmere SUNDAY DISPATCH, a weekly pro-imperialist newspaper, reflects its strong views on Israel in a by-lined story by Alastair Forbes, an outspoken Tory. Mr. Forbes declared:

"The country, and the world, waits in vain for a sign of method in Mr. Bevin's midwinter madness... It may be very disagreeable for the British public to have to hear once more that the deaths of British subjects must be dismissed as 'regrettable incidents.' It may be very disagreeable to see Mr. Bevin exposing us to impertinence from Tel Aviv, rebukes from Washington, and ridicule from the world. But these incidents are but the by-products of Mr. Bevin's larger incompetence... It was the British interest in all this to keep out of the struggle and to strive, together with America, for an early armistice. The first step towards this should have been de facto recognition of the Tel Aviv Government in order that our good offices might be of some use. But this Mr. Bevin refused."

THE ECONOMIST, a weekly liberal newspaper which specializes primarily in financial news, editorialized on January 15th:

"What is Mr. Bevin up to? The last British moves in the Middle East must seem incomprehensible, not only to the man in the street but to those who have been attempting to follow the unfolding of events in Palestine with some attention... The repercussions of the British Government's sudden fit of temper have been uniformly unfavourable. If the first aim of British policy in the Middle East is -- as it should be -- to walk in step with the Americans, the weekend's sabre rattling has undone all the good achieved by the quiet intervention of a week before. Last week Britain was hoping to escape being called upon for help by its Arab allies; this week it seems to be inviting them to summon its armed forces to their side."

TIME AND TIDE, an independent weekly, stated in a front page editorial (January 15th):

"The British Government has created a most unfortunate impression before the world by being at once aggressive and weak. The threats of strong action and the demands for an explanation before the Security Council, in the incident of the planes shot down on the Egyptian frontier, dwindled away within a few days to a face-saving statement emphasizing the 'great restraint' of the British Government and its sincere hope for peace in Palestine... Meanwhile, not only abroad but in England, pertinent questions were being put. Mr. Amery, writing to 'The Times,' asked how it was that British planes 'came to be at that spot and so close to the ground fighting that one of our pilots was actually brought down by anti-aircraft fire.' It is perfectly evident that the planes should never have been ordered to make that reconnaissance flight. Observing the movements of Israeli troops in the Negev is a matter for the Conciliation Commission, the members of which are the United States, France and Turkey. Great Britain is not one of them."

On January 7th, THE TIMES, an independent London daily, commented editorially:

"At a time when the militarists threaten to gain the upper hand at Tel Aviv, moderate men must be given every encouragement to persevere in moderation, and they are not helped by the British disinclination to recognize their efforts."

On January 28th, the Parliamentary correspondent of THE TIMES, had this to say about the "showdown" vote in the House of Commons:

"It certainly came as an unpleasant surprise to Mr. Bevin and his colleagues that after the Prime Minister's appeal to his supporters to make this vote a matter of confidence in the Government so many Labour members should have sullenly abstained. Had it not been for Mr. Attlee's intervention at the end of the debate there might have been even more Labour abstentions and a few of those who abstained might have voted against the Government."



REMARKS OF WINSTON CHURCHILL BEFORE HOUSE OF COMMONS

DURING PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON PALESTINE, JANUARY 26, 1949

- - - - -

I am quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bevin) will have to recognise the Israeli Government, and that cannot be long delayed. I regret that he has not had the manliness to tell us in plain terms tonight, and that he preferred to retire under a cloud of inky water and vapour, like a cuttlefish, to some obscure retreat. De facto recognition has never depended upon an exact definition of territorial frontiers. There are half-a-dozen countries in Europe which are recognised today whose territorial frontiers are not finally settled. Surely, Poland is one. It is only with the general Peace Treaty that a final settlement can be made.

Whether the right hon. Gentleman likes it or not, and whether we like it or not, the coming into being of a Jewish State in Palestine is an event in world history to be viewed in the perspective, not of a generation or a century, but in the perspective of a thousand, two thousand or even three thousand years. That is a standard of temporal values or time values which seems very much out of accord with the perpetual click-clack of our rapidly-changing moods and of the age in which we live. This is an event in world history.

I do not feel any great confidence that he (Mr. Bevin) has not got a prejudice against the Jews in Palestine. I am sure that he thought the Arab League was stronger and that it would win if fighting broke out, but I do not suggest for a moment that he wished to provoke war. He was quite right in saying, in effect, that, in that particular quarrel, they needed very little provocation, but the course he took led inevitably and directly to a trial of strength, and the result was opposite to what I believe he expected it to be. I will say no more than that.

I certainly felt that the spectacle of the Jewish settlements being invaded from all sides -- from Syria, Transjordan and Egypt -- and with a lot of our tanks and modern tackle, was, on the face of it, most formidable, but I believed that that combination would fall to pieces at the first check, and I adhered to the estimate I had formed in the war of the measure of the fighting qualities and the tough fibre of the Zionist community, and the support which it would receive from Zionists all over the world. But the Foreign Secretary was wrong, wrong in his facts, wrong in the mood, wrong in the method and wrong in the result, and we are very sorry about it for his sake and still more sorry about it for our own.

I have always felt that the Negeb should afford a means of expansion to the Jewish settlers in Palestine and offer future prospects to Zionist movements. But it is impossible to fly over these regions low down, as I did before the Second Great War, or travel through them to Petra and other places without seeing how fierce and barren these regions of the Negeb are. And yet they once held great cities and nourished important populations. The Jews, by the gift they have and by the means which they do not lack, have a way of making the desert bloom. Those who have seen it can testify. The Arabs, with all their dignity and grace, are primarily the children of the desert, where they dwell, in this part of the world at least, and for the most part, the desert lands do not become reclaimed while the Arab control is complete over them.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date January 19, 1949

From Abe Tuvim

We enclose for your information and guidance the following material relevant to the emergency conference of national Jewish organizations held at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York last night to consider the political situation arising from Britain's attitude toward Israel:

1. Excerpts from remarks by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, by whom, as chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the conference was convened.
2. Excerpts from remarks by Major Aubrey Eban, chief of the Israeli delegation to the United Nations.
3. A press release embodying the resolutions adopted and the list of organizations which accepted the invitation of the Emergency Council to the conference.

A reading of this material will clearly indicate the need for continued alertness and activity by all Zionist groups in America. Dr. Silver made this quite evident when he outlined the development of Britain's relation to Israel. While important changes in the British attitude are currently being predicted, the history of the past few years proves that overconfidence is always dangerous and alertness always wise.

Mr. Bevin's latest action announcing the release of Jewish internees on Cyprus and the accompanying reports that his over-all policy towards Israel is undergoing radical change, came about only because of tremendous world pressure in the creation of which the American Jewish community, and particularly the Zionist groups, played a very important role. Happily, President Truman and the American Government have been responsive to American public opinion, and the President has made it abundantly clear that America will not support the policy Mr. Bevin considers advantageous to Britain in the Middle East. Mr. Bevin knows this and is undoubtedly aware of the fact that both the press and radio in America are overwhelmingly opposed to his war-like intrigues in the Middle East.

The work of the American Zionist bodies in the political and educational arenas in America during the past months has been exemplary. This work must be continued if we are to match even partially the heroic sacrifices of Israel's troops and the determination of the Government and people of Israel to maintain their integrity as a nation.

Continue to visit your editors, columnists and radio commentators. Continue to supply material to your rabbis and ministers. Continue to keep your elected officials in touch with the facts in the situation. Continue to avail yourself of all the sources which help to make public opinion. Under all circumstances, remember Mr. Bevin's past policies and take nothing for granted. The achievement of freedom comes only with struggle and vigilance. Freedom will not be wished upon us. Kindest regards.

AT:RB
Enc.

Extraordinary Conference on Israel
Sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council
on Tuesday, January 18, 1949
at the Park Sheraton Hotel

Extracts from an Address by MR. AUBREY S. EBAN,

Israeli Delegate to the United Nations

The attention of the Government of Israel is entirely focused on the negotiations now proceeding with the Arab states. Israel attaches vital importance to these negotiations. It wishes ardently for their success. Despite the high feelings engendered by recent events, all governments and their representatives are clearly called upon to act and speak with the utmost restraint. All those who cherish the cause of Israel throughout the world will, I feel sure, do everything in their power to emulate that restraint.

The Government of Israel has consistently upheld the view that the conclusion of a peace settlement must arise as a direct consequence of the relations between Israel and the Arab states. Accordingly, we gave our immediate and wholehearted assent to the resolution adopted by the Security Council on November 16th calling for the negotiation of an armistice and looking toward the withdrawal and reduction of armed forces. Throughout the sessions of the General Assembly in Paris, our delegation tenaciously advocated the view that the points at issue between Israel and the Arab states could best respond to the processes of direct negotiation and should not be the subject of arbitrary solutions imposed from outside.

In its resolution adopted on December 11th, the General Assembly called upon the parties concerned to extend the scope of the negotiations called for by the Security Council on November 16th, and to negotiate a settlement of all the questions outstanding between them.

It is clear, therefore, that in negotiating on their differences under the auspices of the United Nations, the Governments of Israel and Egypt are conforming with the clearly expressed will of the international community. The very act of negotiation itself, irrespective of its outcome, marks an important stage in the development of normal Arab-Jewish relations. Deeply as it cherishes its ties of

friendship with many great countries throughout the world, Israel must always regard as one of its major objectives the establishment of neighborly relations with the immediate world in which it lives. Our foreign policy has now embarked upon an important stage of its journey towards that objective.

It was our very solicitude for the success of these negotiations which prompted us to react with such indignation against certain activities of the United Kingdom which created an artificial and undesirable tension. Our views on that episode have been communicated to the Security Council and to its individual members. It is not necessary to repeat them here. We are content for the time being with the judgment which the world public opinion has passed on that episode. In particular, we are deeply appreciative of the energetic and constructive efforts of the United States Government to diminish undesirable tensions and rancors which might have prejudiced the progress of the armistice negotiations. It is to be hoped that all governments and peoples will continue to hold the success of those negotiations as a primary aim which nothing should be allowed to impair. The decision of the United Kingdom to release the refugees held in Cyprus is a significant contribution toward the creation of a better atmosphere. It redresses a long-standing wrong.

The efforts of the State of Israel to establish its international position and reach an accord with its neighbors are by no means concluded. Many problems still lie ahead and many of them, no doubt, will form the subject of keen controversy. Nothing has happened to encourage any relaxation of vigilance, and Israel will continue to have need of its friends. Yet, at this immediate stage, it appears to me that a restrained and even reticent attitude on the part of all responsible opinion would best conform with Israel's advantage and with the cause of international peace.

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

NATIONAL EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE OF 80 JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS DRAWS
UP JOINT PROGRAM OF ACTION TO SAFEGUARD ISRAEL FROM ANY ATTEMPTS
TO INTERFERE WITH ITS "PEACE, PROGRESS AND TERRITORIAL STABILITY"

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER AND AUBREY S. EBAN ADDRESS 200 CONFERENCE DELEGATES

New York, January 19 -- The extraordinary conference of 80 national Jewish organizations, called together at the invitation of the American Zionist Emergency Council, unanimously resolved last night at its unprecedented session at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City to sponsor a "joint effort to draw... American public opinion to the need of securing Israel against any further attempts to interfere with the attainment of peace, progress, and territorial stability in the Middle East."

Pointing at the recent "unwarranted military activities" aimed against Israel by the British Government, more than 200 delegates from the leading Jewish organizations in this country expressed their "earnest hope that all parties concerned will refrain from any action that might threaten the territorial integrity of Israel."

The historic national conference, in which Jewish groups of all affiliations participated -- Zionist, non-Zionist, social, religious, fraternal and labor -- had been convoked by the American Zionist Emergency Council for the purpose of formulating a united program of action to be undertaken by American Jewry to cope with the current Anglo-Israeli crisis. The principal speakers at last night's session were Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the Council and chairman

(more)

of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and Mr. Aubrey S. Eban, chief Israeli delegate to the United Nations.

The conference also expressed its gratitude to President Harry S. Truman and the United States Government "for the just and unequivocal position taken by them in connection with recent British moves in the Middle East."

In his address, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver took note of yesterday's announcement from London that Jewish detainees on Cyprus would soon be permitted to leave for Israel. He termed this British decision as a "welcome, albeit very belated, step towards the rectification of a wrong which never should have been committed in the first place."

"The deportation of Jewish refugees and their internment on Cyprus was always illegal. Mr. Bevin insisted on maintaining this policy even after the British Mandate for Palestine expired, when Jewish immigration to Israel was not the concern of the British Government at all," Dr. Silver declared.

The distinguished Zionist leader then asked whether "this latest action of Mr. Bevin's (was) due to the rising storm of protest against his entire Palestine policy which threatens his control over British foreign affairs, or may we be permitted the hope that it represents the first step in a new -- a sane and just -- policy?"

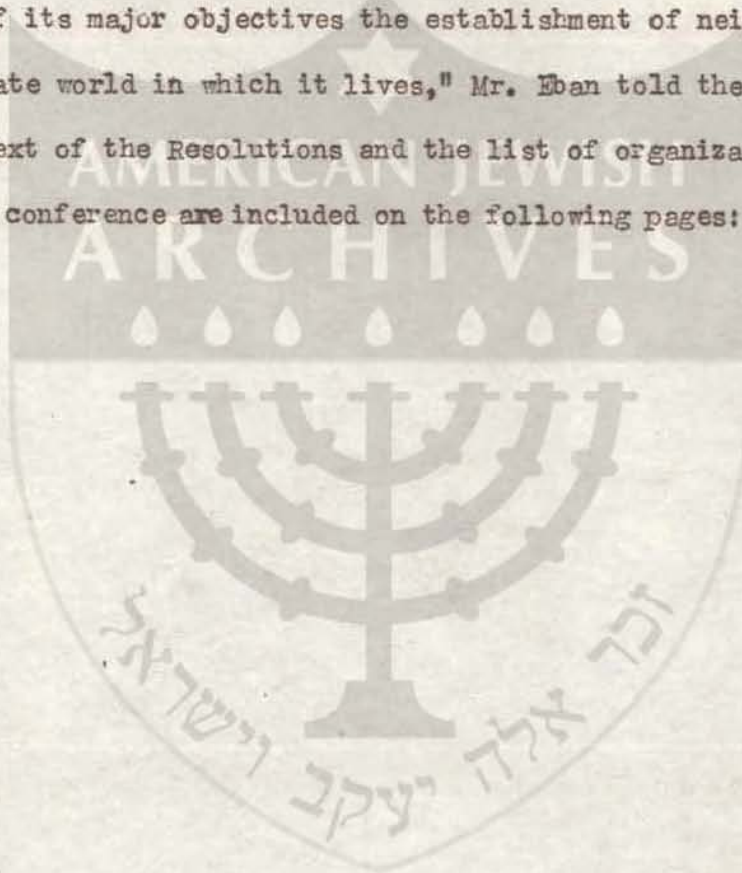
Aubrey S. Eban, Israel's young delegate to the United Nations, presented a review of recent events in the Middle East. Commenting upon the recent peace efforts of the Jewish State, Mr. Eban declared: "The Government of Israel has consistently upheld the view that the conclusion of a peace settlement must arise as a direct consequence of the relations between Israel and the Arab states."

"Throughout the sessions of the General Assembly in Paris, our delegation tenaciously advocated the view that the points at issue between Israel and the Arab states could best respond to the processes of direct negotiation and should not be the subject of arbitrary solutions imposed from outside," he emphasized.

(more)

"It is clear, therefore, that in negotiating on their differences under the auspices of the United Nations, the Governments of Israel and Egypt are conforming with the clearly expressed will of the international community. The very act of negotiation itself, irrespective of its outcome, marks an important stage in the development of normal Arab-Jewish relations. Deeply as it cherishes its ties of friendship with many great countries throughout the world, Israel must always regard as one of its major objectives the establishment of neighborly relations with the immediate world in which it lives," Mr. Eban told the assembly.

The full text of the Resolutions and the list of organizations participating in last night's conference are included on the following pages:



RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE CONVENED
AT THE HOTEL PARK SHERATON, IN NEW YORK CITY, JANUARY 18, 1949,
BY THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

- - - - -

1. The American Jewish organizations mentioned below, representing the vast majority of American Jewry, were shocked by the unwarranted military activities of the British Government on the borders of Israel. It is regrettable that these activities were responsible for the death of British pilots and tended to prejudice the pacification efforts of the United Nations and the establishment of friendly relations between Israel and its neighbors. It is our earnest hope that there will be no further activities of this nature and that all parties concerned will refrain from any action that might threaten the territorial integrity of Israel and the peace of the Middle East.

2. The Jewish organizations mentioned below express their gratitude to the President and Government of the United States for the unequivocal position taken by them in connection with recent British moves in the Middle East. By its insistence that nothing be allowed to interfere with the armistice negotiations at Rhodes and that peace between Israel and the Arab States must be based on mutual respect of their territories, the United States has enhanced its position as the leader in the fight for peace and justice in the world.

3. The Jewish organizations mentioned below send a message of solidarity and encouragement to the people and the Government of Israel. Israel can be assured that in the just struggle to maintain its independence and territorial integrity, no less than in the effort to absorb and rebuild the lives of all those to whom Israel offers the only hope for a productive life, and to consolidate the country on the basis of peace, justice and progress, it will have the unfailing support of the Jewish community in America.

(more)

4. The Jewish organizations mentioned below call upon their affiliated groups and upon the American Jewish community in general to continue their joint efforts to draw the attention of American public opinion and of the leaders of the American people to the need of securing Israel against any further attempts to interfere with the attainment of peace, progress and territorial stability in the Middle East.

The following organizations accepted the invitation of the American Zionist Emergency Council to the Conference:

Achdut Havodah - Poale Zion
Agudas Israel World Organization
Agudas Israel of America
American Council of Jews from Austria
American Federation for Lithuanian Jews
American Federation of Jews from Central Europe
American Federation of Polish Jews
American Jewish Congress
American Jewish Congress - Women's Division
American Palestine Jewish Legion
American Red Mogen David for Palestine
Anti-Defamation League - B'nai B'rith
Assembly of Hebrew Orthodox Rabbis of America and Canada
Bessarabian Federation of American Jews
B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council
B'nai Zion
Brith Trumpeldor
Central Sephardic Jewish Community of America
Federated Council of Palestine Institutions
Federation of Palestine Jews
Free Sons of Israel
Habonim
Hadassah
Hapoel Hamizrachi
Hashomer Hadati
Hashomer Hatzair
Hechalutz
Histadrut Ivrit
Independent Order Brith Abraham
Independent Order Brith Sholom
Intercollegiate Zionist Federation of America
Israel Corporation of America
Jewish National Fund
Jewish National Workers' Alliance
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.
Jewish War Veterans - Ladies' Auxiliary

(more)

Junior Hadassah
Junior Mizrachi
Masada
Mizrachi Organization of America
Mizrachi Women's Organization
National Association of Jewish Center Workers
National Committee for Labor Israel
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Young Israel
National Federation of Hebrew Teachers
National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs of the United
Synagogue of America
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Federation of Temple Youth
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Women's League of United Synagogue of America
Palestine Economic Corporation
Palestine Foundation Fund
Pioneer Women's Organization
Poale Zion - Labor Zionist Organization of America
Progressive Order of the West
Rabbinical Assembly of America
Rabbinical Council of America
Sephardic Brotherhood of America
Synagogue Council of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations - Women's Branch
Union of Orthodox Rabbis
Union of Sephardic Congregations
United Galician Jews of America
United Galician Jews of America - Women's Division
United Hungarian Jews of America
United Roumanian Jews of America
United Synagogue of America
United Zionists - Revisionists
Women's League for Palestine
Young Judaea
Zionist Organization of America

TEXT OF DR. SILVER'S ADDRESS AT THE EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE
CONVENED BY THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
IN NEW YORK, JANUARY 18, 1949

The political situation in relation to the State of Israel has been and is very fluid. It changes frequently, unexpectedly, and we naturally must adjust ourselves to these changes and variations. It is good statesmanship to do just that. Thus, for example, today you and I read in the press the announcement which was made in the House of Commons to the effect that the Jewish detainees on Cyprus, of whom there are, I understand, some 11,000, are now free to go to Israel as quickly as the State of Israel can supply transportation. We have, as you know, for many months carried on a most vigorous and determined campaign to attain this very objective. British Foreign Secretary Bevin's announcement is a welcome, albeit very belated, step toward rectification of a wrong which never should have been committed in the first place.

We welcome this announcement for the sake of these thousands of men and women and children who have been languishing under terrible tribulations on Cyprus these many months, and we are happy indeed that they will now find the Menucha and the Nachala in the land of their hopes, of their prayers, and of their devotion. A great deal, however, yet remains to be done by Great Britain, which in the last year or two, through what I regard as a shortsighted and blundering policy on the part of Mr. Bevin, has been perhaps our most determined opponent in the United Nations.

I don't know that it will meet the needs of the situation to review the whole history of the British attitude, although history is very often a guide. It certainly is a lesson that should not be lightly ignored. Under Mr. Bevin the Government of Great Britain has opposed nearly every solution for the settlement of the Palestine dispute other than that which Mr. Bevin was determined upon.

When the President of the United States proposed that the doors of Palestine be opened for 100,000 of our refugees, Great Britain opposed it. Great Britain had its way until the Jewish State itself, by its own action, opened the doors of Palestine and in a very short period of time admitted over 100,000 into the country.

Great Britain opposed the Anglo-American recommendations, although they did not propose the establishment of an independent Jewish State. She opposed it, although Mr. Bevin had promised that if the report were agreed to unanimously, Great Britain would back it.

When, at the request of Great Britain, the United Nations was seized of the problem and appointed a committee to make a new study of the situation and bring in a recommendation for the settlement of the Palestine problem, and the UNSCOP report was submitted to the United Nations, Mr. Bevin's Government again violently resisted the recommendation.

When the United Nations, a year ago last November, adopted the UNSCOP report as it was subsequently revised and amended, Great Britain did everything in her power to sabotage the implementation of that report. And in March of last year she succeeded, with the cooperation of some of our own government officials in the State Department to bring about a reversal of policy and the convocation of another Assembly whose purpose was to nullify the November decision and to put in its place a scheme for a new trusteeship over Palestine.

When on May 14, the Jewish people of Palestine proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel, and within a few months after that proclamation, the Government of the United States gave recognition to that State, Bevin's Government determined to undo that historic act, and before long we had the horrible spectacle of a British-trained, British-commanded, British-financed, British-armed Arab Legion fighting in the ancient and sacred City of Jerusalem, destroying Jewish houses of worship, killing, wounding, in an effort to avert the establishment of the State of Israel. In addition, Mr. Bevin's Government directly or indirectly encouraged the neighboring Arab States to invade Palestine and to launch a concerted attack upon the newly established State.

When these Arab armies, some of them financed, all of them encouraged by the British Government, failed to destroy the State of Israel and to drive the Israeli into the Mediterranean, when, in fact, the invading armies were beginning to receive their first crushing blows, which finally completely discomfited and routed them, it was the Bevin Government that sought to restrain the fighting prowess of Israel by all kinds of maneuvers calculated not to establish peace in Palestine but to keep the State of Israel from achieving ultimate victory.

And when finally the magnificent forces of Israel in recent weeks carried out their amazing campaign in the Negev and fairly shattered the Egyptian forces and were about to clear the Negev of all hostile armies, it was then that Mr. Bevin, realizing that he was unable to achieve his objectives by using Arab armies to fight for him, determined to maneuver for direct military intervention on the part of the British Empire. British troops were despatched to Transjordan. A defunct treaty with Egypt which the Egyptian Government had denounced and declared null and void, and the unfortunate incident of the shooting down of four or five British-piloted planes over the battlefields of the southern Negev, were seized upon as excuses to announce that Great Britain is prepared to arm the Arab States so as to encourage them to carry on their war against Israel. This, on the eve of the promising armistice negotiations between the State of Israel and several of the Arab States.

Mr. Bevin also sought to have our own Government underwrite this new policy of unilateral British intervention in the Near East. Fortunately, the President of the United States in unmistakable terms said no. Fortunately, our Government decided no longer to be involved in these desperate adventures of Mr. Bevin which are motivated by no concern for the welfare of the Arabs, and certainly by no concern for the welfare of the Israeli, but purely and simply by what he regards as the imperial interests of Great Britain. And the refusal of our Government to go along must have been couched in such clear and unmistakable terms as to have brought about

intimations of a substantial shift in the whole British attitude towards the Government of Israel.

The latest reports which have been on the air this afternoon are that the Government of Great Britain is prepared to adopt a new line, that it is prepared soon and rather quickly to give de facto recognition to Israel, and that, generally speaking, Great Britain is prepared to inaugurate a new policy, and that it has notified its dominions and the Arab States of this intention. If that is so, then we will hail it with the greatest of satisfaction. Our quarrel has never been with Great Britain or with the British people. I recall the very first time that I had occasion to speak before the United Nations. I took occasion to point out that our controversy is not with the people of Great Britain, for whom the Jewish people has always had the highest regard, a people which in the past evidenced time and again an understanding for the just claims of the Jewish people, a people that was in the past responsible for the issuing of the Balfour Declaration. Our quarrel has been and is with a wrong-minded government, with a false, ruthless, almost unpardonable policy. It is the government and its policies which we fought. When the government changes its policies and adopts an attitude of justice to Israel and cooperation with Israel in its tasks of establishing itself formally as a free and sovereign people in its ancestral home, our quarrel with Great Britain will come to an end.

However, and I again repeat this word of caution, nothing concrete has as yet been done, except for the promise of the release of the detainees on Cyprus, who never should have been detained in the first place, to demonstrate a real change of attitude on the part of the British Government. And until that change takes place, and we hope that it will take place soon, it is the part of wisdom to remain mobilized, to remain alerted, to remain critical and analytical, not only to await the development of events but to keep the pressure on until the events do take place that we wish to take place.

May I remind you that everything we have achieved in the last fifteen months was achieved by Jewish labor and Jewish effort and Jewish sacrifices. The United Nations did not establish the Jewish State. The Jewish armies established the Jewish State. The United Nations did not open the gates of Palestine for the vast stream of immigration which is now pouring into the country. The State of Israel, backed by the armies of Israel, opened the doors of Palestine. Everything that has been achieved over there and here and which is now being achieved in London is being achieved as the result of the tremendous pressure, work, determination of the Jewish people here and all over the world.

The road is still very long. The State of Israel is not yet a member of the United Nations. The State of Israel has not yet received complete recognition by our own Government. The State of Israel has not yet received that loan which has been promised and for which the State has been so prayerfully waiting these weeks and months. There is no armistice as yet in Palestine. Enemies are still on the borders of Israel. The frontiers of Israel have not yet been defined and established. The future of the City of Jerusalem has not yet been determined. Most of the grave problems, political as well as economic, remain to be solved, and nothing could be so

fatal, so lethal, to the future of the State of Israel and to the future of the Jews throughout the world, than an attitude of relaxation upon which our enemies fondly count.

And so, while the situation tonight is considerably improved over the situation five days ago when I sent that urgent call to you to come -- and I hope that the improvement will continue to be as rapid from here on -- I am happy that you are here so that you can receive from me this word of caution which I hope you will transmit to the members of your great organizations, that the great work of defending the State of Israel politically, the great work of achieving ultimate peace for Israel, remains to be done. Therefore, all our friends must be marshalled and kept informed, our friends in government, our friends in Congress, our Christian friends, the press, all the molders of public opinion, the Christian clergy of the United States, all of the forces which have so magnificently stood by us throughout our struggles in recent years. To this day Mr. Bevin has found very little comfort in the American press for his actions of the last two weeks. Not only did he find no comfort, but he found the most thorough-going denunciation. The Government of Great Britain must give a very attentive ear to American public opinion, which is reflected in the American Government, which in turn is reflected in that American aid upon which Great Britain depends today for its very survival.

