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American Christian Palestine Committee, 1947-1955.

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December 30, 1947

Miss Bessie Kline  
Secretary to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
East 105th Street and Ansel Road  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Miss Kline:

I acknowledge with thanks receipt of  
check in the amount of \$82.23, covering  
fee of \$50.00 and expenses of \$32.23 for  
Baron Hans de Meiss-Teuffen's lecture on  
December 10th.

With kindest regards and best wishes  
for a most Happy New Year, I am

Cordially yours,

*Blanche J. Shepard*  
Blanche J. Shepard  
Director

BJS:EXR



**PRESS RELEASE**

**AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE**

41 EAST 42nd STREET

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• MURRAY HILL 2-4917 •

This organization combines the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, and continues the work of both organizations.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE CALLS UPON  
PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO CONVEY TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT  
"THE NEED FOR ITS OBSERVANCE OF THE UN DECISION ON PALESTINE"

- - - -

NATIONAL SEMINAR OF AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE  
URGES MODIFICATION OF ARMS EMBARGO AND  
ADMISSION OF ISRAEL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

DELEGATES ALSO WIRE BRITISH AMBASSADOR THAT THEY INTEND TO EXPOSE  
"BRITAIN'S ALLIANCE WITH THE ARABS" AND WILL  
"PRESS FOR SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THE USE OF E.C.A. FUNDS FOR THE  
WAR AGAINST ISRAEL"

- - - -

French Lick, Indiana, -- The American Christian Palestine Committee,  
representing thousands of Christian church and lay leaders in the United States,  
called upon President Harry S. Truman "to seek an accord with Great Britain on  
Palestine policy that will be in consonance with the United Nations decision  
of November 29, 1947."

Closing a three-day Seminar, the Committee wired President Truman its  
commendation for his prompt recognition of the State of Israel. At the same  
time, it urged the Chief Executive to modify the arms embargo and press for the  
admission of Israel to the United Nations.

(more)



The conference, which was attended by more than 125 outstanding Christian clergymen, educators and civic leaders, simultaneously wired Sir Oliver Frank, British Ambassador to the United States, and Sir Alexander Cadogan, British Delegate to the United Nations, expressing a "sense of outrage" with the British Government for "its open military and moral support of Arab aggressors."

"It is our resolve in our communities to publicize Britain's alliance with the Arabs and its flouting of the United Nations, and to press for safeguards against the use of E.C.A. funds for the war against the State of Israel," delegates to the fourth annual Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee stated.

In their message to President Truman, they reminded the Chief Executive that the Government officials responsible for the fight against the partition of Palestine and for the subsequent American reversal on partition last March were "still in positions of responsibility."

"We believe that retention of these men in office constitutes a threat not only to your own announced policy, but to the security of Israel and to the integrity of America's time-honored pledges for the support of a Jewish national home."

The three-day conference was high-lighted by reports and discussions on the following two themes: "Israel and the Arab World" and "Educational Problems of the American Christian Palestine Committee." Instructors and lecturers on these two subjects included: Dr. Howard M. LeSourd, Dean of the Graduate School of Public Relations at Boston University; Prof. S. Ralph Harlow of Smith College; Rev. John Stanley Grauel of Worcester, Mass.; Major Wellesley Aron of Jerusalem; Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, General Secretary of the Church Peace Union; Rev. Karl Baehr, Executive Secretary of the American Christian Palestine Committee; Miss Victoria D'Asprea of Alexandria, Egypt; Dr. Theodore Jackman, well-known clergyman and lecturer; Mrs. Martha Sharpe, founder of the relief organization - "Children to Palestine"; Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Extension Secretary of the Church Peace Union; Rabbi Philip Bernstein, former Civilian Advisor on Jewish

(more)



Affairs to General Lucius D. Clay, and James A. Maxwell, author of the best-selling book of short stories: "I Never Met An Arab Like That."

Texts of the telegrams follow:

THE PRESIDENT  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC

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

(more)



OF ISRAEL AND TO THE INTEGRITY OF AMERICA'S TIME-HONORED PLEDGES FOR THE SUPPORT  
OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

- - - - -

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

AND

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR  
BRITISH EMBASSY  
WASHINGTON DC

125 CHRISTIAN DELEGATES REPRESENTING 71 CITIES IN 26 STATES, A GROUP COMPOSED OF  
43 CLERGYMEN, 16 EDUCATORS, JOURNALISTS, JURISTS AND CIVIC LEADERS, HAVE MET  
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE AND WISH TO  
CONVEY TO YOUR GOVERNMENT OUR SENSE OF OUTRAGE OVER ITS OPEN MILITARY AND MORAL  
SUPPORT OF ARAB AGGRESSORS. IT IS OUR RESOLVE IN OUR COMMUNITIES TO PUBLICIZE  
BRITAIN'S ALLIANCE WITH THE ARABS AND ITS FLOUTING OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO  
PRESS FOR SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THE USE OF ECA FUNDS FOR THE WAR AGAINST THE STATE  
OF ISRAEL.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE



**PRESS RELEASE**

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This organization combines the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, and continues the work of both organizations.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

EDUCATORS' SEMINAR CALLS FOR DE JURE RECOGNITION  
OF ISRAEL BY UNITED STATES

- - - - -

DEMANDS ARAB AGGRESSION BE HALTED AND ISRAEL  
ARMED FOR ITS SELF-DEFENSE

- - - - -

New York, June 30 -- More than 200 educators of Greater New York, representing every college and institution of higher learning in this city, unanimously resolved that the United States Government immediately extend de jure recognition to Israel, it was announced today by Rev. Karl Baehr, Executive Secretary of the American Christian Palestine Committee, which sponsored an Educators Seminar at the Hotel McAlpin.

The six-point resolution, introduced by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, newspaper columnist and author, also demanded that Arab aggression be halted, and that the State of Israel be armed for its self-defense. The Seminar was convened for the purpose of discussing "Israel, the United Nations and the Arab World." Guest lecturers in the panel discussion included Michael S. Comay, director of the British Commonwealth Division of the Israeli Foreign Office; Edgar Ansel Mowrer, foreign correspondent and author, and Dr. Earl Hollier Tomlin, director of the Rhode Island Council of Churches.

Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, President of the New School for Social Research, was the Chairman of the Seminar. The sponsoring committee included: Dean Harry J. Carman

(more)



of Columbia University; Dean Morton Gottschall of the College of the City of New York; Dean Ruth S. Harley of Adelphi College; Dr. Alvin Johnson, President Emeritus of the New School for Social Research; Dr. Margaret V. Kiely, Acting President of Queens College; Dr. Paul Klapper, President of Queens College (on leave of absence); Dr. Eduard Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work; Dean Ernest O. Melby of New York University; Dr. Tristram W. Metcalfe, President of Long Island University; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary; Dean Thomas Clark Pollock of New York University; Brother Potamian, Dean of Manhattan College, and Dr. Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College.

The resolution, which is being forwarded to President Truman, Secretary of State Marshall, Chief U. S. Delegate to the United Nations Warren Austin and the British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Oliver Franks, contains the following six-point program:

1. Stop aggression of Arabs.
2. Arm Israel for self-defense.
3. Grant Israel immediate de jure recognition.
4. Restore American and British solidarity by policies of friendship for both Jews and Arabs.
5. Restore world confidence in the United States by rehabilitating the United Nations.
6. Develop the United Nations into a body capable of substituting law for national violence.



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## EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Rev. Karl Baehr

February 10, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

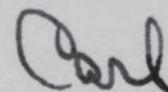
How sorry I was not to see you last week in Cleveland!

I was warmly welcomed by your representatives who gave me your thoughtful note.

The next time you are in New York, I should like very much to see you. I have a personal problem which I should like to discuss with you at your leisure. Won't you give me a ring when next you come to the city?

To you and Mrs. Silver, I send warm good wishes.

Most cordially,



Carl Hermann Voss

CHV:CS



February 14, 1950

Dr. Carl Hermann Voss  
American Christian Palestine Committee  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York 17, New York

My dear Carl:

Thank you for your letter of February 10th. Upon my return, I learned of the magnificent address which you delivered. Everyone was delighted. I am sorry that I missed it.

I hope to be in New York within the next few weeks, and I shall get in touch with you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



# AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
Rev. Karl Baehr

January 29, 1953

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
E. 105th Street at Ansel Rd.  
Cleveland, Ohio

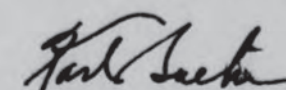
Dear Rabbi Silver:

May I add my congratulations along with the hundreds of other notes you must have received about your inspiring prayer delivered at the Inauguration ceremonies? It was an outstanding contribution to the success of that impressive event.

Several days ago, Carl Voss and I met with Jerome Davis to discuss his possible inclusion in one of our study tours to Israel and the Middle East during 1953. He indicated that you had strongly urged him to make the trip, and that you had been confident sufficient funds could be found to make the trip possible. Since the American Christian Palestine Committee, as you know, does not have sufficient funds to provide total travel fellowships for its participants, we have turned to Jewish friends and to their local communities to secure the necessary financial support. Therefore, we felt that it was only right for us to approach you to see what plans you might have had in mind. Would the Temple or the Cleveland Zionist Society be willing to make a substantial travel fellowship award to Dr. Davis? We are offering him a \$250 travel fellowship and hope that the Jewish community in New Haven will also be willing to help in this project, which as you know, will be of great value to the Zionist cause. Dr. Davis is a firm friend to Israel and lectures for the American Friends Service Committee and many other organizations all over the country. Consequently, he reaches hundreds of audiences across the United States each year.

We shall look forward to hearing from you. Carl Voss joins me in extending good wishes.

Cordially yours,



Karl Baehr  
Executive Secretary

KB:hh



February 3, 1953

Mr. Karl Baehr  
American Christian Palestine Committee  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Baehr:

Thank you for your congratulations on my delivering a prayer at the inaugural ceremonies. It was good of you to write me.

With reference to the inclusion of Mr. Jerome Davis in one of the study tours of the American Christian Palestine Committee, I believe that the Cleveland Zionist Society would be in position to contribute \$250 to a travel fellowship. Could the rest of the money be raised from other sources? Please let me know.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



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Rev. Hugh Weston  
Prof. Henry N. Wieman  
Rev. Dr. Marshall Wingfield  
Dr. Levi Edgar Young  
Dr. William Lindsay Young

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
Rev. Karl Baehr

March 16, 1953

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
East 105th St. at Ansel Road  
Cleveland 6, Ohio

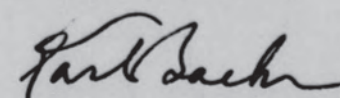
Dear Rabbi Silver:

We are grateful indeed to you and to the members of your congregation for joining in a \$250 travel fellowship, for our good friend, Dr. Jerome Davis.

Additional efforts are now being made to secure other funds in order that the total sum of \$1350 might be raised. If you should have any suggestions as to where we might secure some such additional funds, we would indeed be grateful to you.

With all good wishes in which Carl Voss joins,  
I am,

Cordially yours,



Karl Baehr  
Executive Secretary

KB:hh



March 26, 1953

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley  
Chief of Passport Division  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Shipley:

The American Christian Palestine Committee has awarded a travel fellowship to Dr. Jerome Davis to visit Israel and some of the neighboring countries. I was happy to learn of Dr. Davis's intentions to visit Israel as he has for many years manifested a deep interest in the problems of that part of the world. I have known Dr. Davis for many years and of his devotion to the great humanitarian causes of our day, and more especially, to the cause of better understanding among peoples, and peace. He has been at all times a champion of democracy and freedom, and has been opposed to all forms of totalitarian dictatorships. I hope that your Department will quickly and favorably act upon his passport application so that he may make his contemplated visit in the near future.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



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A Non-profit, Non-Political, Religious and Educational Organization

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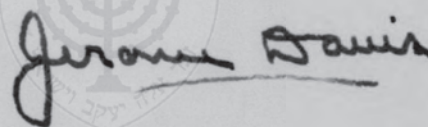
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Dear Rabbi Silver,

On my return from Oberlin I find a letter from Mrs. Shipley saying, "You are informed that your case is receiving some further consideration, not in my office. In the circumstances, I believe, it would serve no useful purpose for you to come to Washington to discuss your case with me at this time."

At least thru your efforts the case is apparently receiving further consideration and I am grateful to you. If you see anything further I can do, please let me know. I intend to see Charles Taft when I am in Cincinnati on the seventh of April.

Cordially yours,



Jerome Davis

If you wish any of the enclosed postal they are free.



# Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc.

A Non-profit, Non-political, Religious and Educational Organization

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April 18, 1953

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Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver,

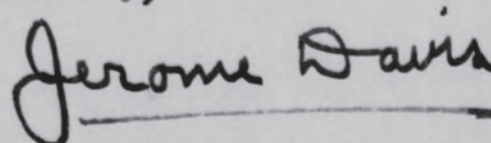
This is just to let you know that I went to Washington and saw Mrs. Shipley of the Passport Division. She says that she will try and get a decision on my going to Israel within two weeks. Ix also saw Congresswoman Bolton of Cleveland who promised to phone her. I also saw Dean Sayre of the Episcopal Cathedral who promised to write ~~Saxx~~ John Foster Dulles. Mrs. Shipley seemed quite friendly. If you see any thing further that I should do please let me know.

I have a promise of all my expenses to Israel now counting what you are also contributing so I hope very much that I can go. The Editor-in-Chief of the Toledo Blade, Grove Patterson, has written Dulles. He says, "I know of no one who is more competent to make a study and a report on conditions in Israel. I congratulate you on having the backing of Rabbi Silver, who is a great man in my book."

I think it might be helpful if you cared to write another note to Mr. Dulles saying that I was waiting for the passport and that you would appreciate favorable consideration at the earliest possible moment.

In any case many thanks for your help and for all you are doing for America and for the world.

Cordially,



Jerome Davis



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489 OCEAN AVENUE  
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Telephone WEst 3-9634

May 2, 1953

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
Cleveland

Dear Rabbi Silver,

I hesitate to bother you but I thought you would be interested to know that I raised all the money to take me to Israel but am still waiting for my passport.

I think I wrote you that I saw Mrs. Shipley of the State Department on April 15th and she promised to get a reply within two weeks. Still I have heard nothing. The former Chief Justice of the State of Connecticut wrote on my behalf but no reply. Not only have I always opposed Communism but I belong to a great many organizations that are bitterly hostile to the Communists such as the Iron Refugee Committee, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, etc. If you want to telephone Mrs. Shipley who heads the Passport Division at the State Department, I should be glad to pay the charges.

Dont feel that you must bother further on this matter but I think it is outrageous that a loyal American is treated this way about going to Palestine and Palestine only.

With deep appreciation to you for all you have done,

Sincerely,

*Jerome Davis*

Jerome Davis



# Cleveland Zionist Society

AFFILIATED WITH THE  
Zionist Organization of America

P. O. BOX 1859  
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
PRESIDENT

May 19, 1953

DR. FRED M. FALKMAN  
SECRETARY

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.  
The Temple, 6625th Rd.  
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Rabbi:

Mr. Lefton is out of town and will not be back  
until the end of the week.

I am sending you my own check so as to expedite  
matters.

WRHS

Sincerely yours  
F. M. Falkman



May 21, 1953

Mr. Earl Baehr  
American Christian Palestine Committee  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Baehr:

Dr. Jerome Davis has informed me that he now has his passport and is preparing to leave for Israel. Accordingly, I am enclosing a check for \$250.00 from the Cleveland Zionist Society to assist in his transportation, as I wrote you on February 3rd.

With warmest regards, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABRA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
Rev. Karl Baehr

June 1, 1953

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi  
The Temple  
East 105th Street at Ansel Road  
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 21st and the check for \$250 from the Cleveland Zionist Society to help defray the Study Tour costs for Dr. Jerome Davis. We are very grateful to you and to the members of the Society for their generous help in this creative venture.

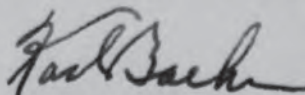
As you know, it was my pleasure to lead the April Study Tour group, and I am happy to report that the tour was most successful. In each country we visited, we had excellent cooperation from American ECA and TCA leaders and from local government officials. Each member of our tour was greatly impressed by the vital civilization Israel is creating. In an area where depressing problems are to be noted on every hand, in Turkey and particularly in Israel, energetic and idealistic people are working around the clock to improve conditions and build an enlightened democratic and social order. We anticipate an equally rewarding experience for the June tour which will be led by Dr. Voss.

To us in the American Christian Palestine Committee, it is always a source of great satisfaction to know that there are persons like yourself and the members of the Cleveland Zionist Society who understand so completely the nature and significance of the program of our Committee, and how important it is for Christians to see for themselves what is happening in Israel and the neighboring lands in order to report the facts authoritatively to the Christian community.

We need not emphasize what an extremely valuable experience this trip will be for Dr. Davis. We are confident that through his participation in the tour, the educational program of our Committee will advance significantly. The Jewish community, too, we know, will derive great benefits from his interpretation of Israel's role in the world today, especially because he goes on the tour with an open mind and a questing spirit, with no commitments.

My colleague, Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, joins me in extending thanks to you for your splendid help.

Cordially yours,

  
Karl Baehr  
Executive Secretary

KB:MFH



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Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
E. 105th St. at Ansel Rd.  
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

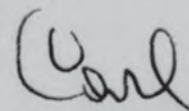
Three questions press for attention:

- 1) Did you receive a copy of The Universal God and did you enjoy it? Won't you write us a note about it?
- 2) The same queries apply to The Palestine Problem Today: Israel and Its Neighbors.
- 3) Would it be possible for your Zionist Society to do the same for Dr. Thomas Kepler, Professor of Theology, at Oberlin School of Religion, as you did for our good friend, Dr. Jerome Davis, last summer?

Ben Zevin of World Publishing Company is giving \$200 toward Dr. Kepler's participation in the American Christian Palestine Committee Study Tour in June, and we have another \$400 available. All we need is \$1500 for Kepler to accompany the group to Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and Israel. I need not impress upon you the wisdom and worth of such a tour, for you have long been an advocate of just such trips. Do know, however, that the dividends, both spiritual and intellectual, of these Study Tours have been incalculable. This certainly would apply to Kepler throughout the northern Ohio area and in many Protestant circles.

To you, personally, and to your family, Karl Baehr and I send renewed expressions of gratitude and appreciation for what you have done in the past for the ACPC and best wishes for these years to come.

Most cordially,



CARL HERMANN VOSS

CHV:FH

\$1,500  
less 600  
\$ 900 - needed sum



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February 16, 1954

Dr. Carl Herman Voss  
American Christian Palestine Committee  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dr. Voss:

Let me thank you for your letter of January 22nd. In the first place, I want to thank you for the copy of your book, The Universal God, which I received and which I have browsed through with great interest. It is a very useful and most intelligently and attractively presented anthology of the great thoughts of men on the subject of God.

I also received the book, The Palestine Problem Today, which I read with the greatest interest. It is a concise and accurate statement of the subject and should prove valuable in keeping American public opinion properly informed. I hope that the book will receive widest circulation.

With reference to Dr. Kepler, I think the idea is an excellent one. I am enclosing a check for \$500 for the Cleveland Zionist Society as a contribution to the fund which you are raising to make it possible for him to visit Israel.

With warmest regards, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:rms  
enclosure

*check made out to  
AHS +  
endorsed by him  
sent*



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(dictated 2-19-54)

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
E. 105th St. at Ansel Rd.  
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In Dr. Voss' absence, I am acknowledging your letter to him of February 16th and the check for \$500 which represents the contribution of the Cleveland Zionist Society to the fund he is raising to enable Dr. Thomas Kepler to participate in the ACPC June 1954 Study Tour.

We expect Dr. Voss back in the office the latter part of next week. Your letter and check will then be brought to his attention, and it will be his pleasure, I know, to write you and thank you personally for your understanding and generous help.

With all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

*Lilian Mond*

Lilian Mond  
Administrative Assistant

LM: FH



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March 9, 1954

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
E. 105th St. at Ansel Rd.  
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

As you know, we had the big Washington Conference (which Dores Sharpe, Henry Miller Busch, and a couple of others from Cleveland attended) and have had our hands full ever since clearing up post-Conference details. Thus, it was impossible for me to write you, as you deserved, and thank you for your appreciative and warmhearted comments about The Universal God and The Palestine Problem Today. I deeply appreciate your good word and shall share it with World Publishing Company and Beacon Press, respectively.

Thanks, too, good friend, for having made possible the contribution of \$500 for the Study Tour fellowship on behalf of Dr. Thomas Kepler. We sincerely appreciate this encouragement and support. Dr. Kepler will, I know, be as grateful as are we for the generosity of the Cleveland Zionist Society in helping make possible his trip.

Karl Baehr joins me in sending warm good wishes to you and your family.

Most cordially,

*Carl Hermann Voss*

CHV: FH

CARL HERMANN VOSS



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Rev. Karl Baehr

April 20, 1955

(dictated 4-6-55)

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Ansel Road & E. 105th St.  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

You and the Zionist Society of Cleveland were so helpful last year in making possible a great part of the travel fellowship which enabled Prof. Thomas Kepler of the Oberlin School of Religion to accompany our American Christian Palestine Committee Study Tour to Israel and the Arab countries. I turn to you again, for aid.

We have, for some time, been anxious to send Mr. J. D. Noble, director of the Council on Human Relations in Cleveland, on a Study Tour. He has often manifested an interest in going. Not until this year has it been possible for him to clear his crowded schedule to accompany the Tour, concerning which the enclosed folder tells you more. We have virtually no other resources for Mr. Noble's trip than those which made possible the trip of Prof. Kepler. Three other individuals helped -- Rabbi Barnett Brickner and his temple aided immeasurably, as did likewise Mr. Ben Zevin, president of the World Publishing Company, and Rabbi Charles Shulman. Thus, Dr. Kepler had a splendid trip concerning which, I believe, you have already heard in an address at The Temple given by him.

Would it be possible for the Zionist Society similarly to aid us in making possible Mr. Noble's trip? The money could be sent either to Mr. Noble or to the Committee, as was done in the case of Dr. Kepler. We would deeply appreciate hearing from you at your earliest opportunity.

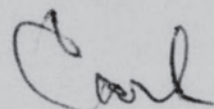
I need not point out to you, Dr. Silver, how important these trips are, for you will recall how, in London in 1945 at the World Zionist Conference, you discussed with Dr. LeSourd and myself the possibility of having just such trips as these at later dates. At that time, we talked of chartering a ship -- in Meyer Weisgal fashion, I suppose! -- but fortunately, air travel becomes much easier and thus, we do the whole trip in a month, including the Arab countries, too. You know how helpful Spencer Irwin has been, and on this score you did yeoman service in making possible his trip. For this, we are grateful.



May I impose on you for something else? There will soon be some additional publicity given my book, The Universal God. May I trouble you for a paragraph which could be used in a page of quotes to include Reinhold Niebuhr, Halford Luccock, et al.? Thanks ever so much.

To you and Mrs. Silver, whom I enjoyed seeing on Ed Murrow's "Person To Person" program last winter, I send love and warm good wishes. Karl Baehr and all of our staff at the ACPC join me in sending these greetings.

Most cordially,



CARL HERMANN VOSS

CHV:FH  
Enc.





April 28, 1955

Dr. Carl H. Voss  
American Christian Palestine Committee  
471 Park Avenue  
New York 22, New York

My dear Friend:

Thank you for your letter of April 20th.  
The Cleveland Zionist Society would very much  
like to be helpful again this year in making  
possible a travel fellowship to Israel. Un-  
fortunately, its funds for this year are already  
committed.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:rms



**PRESS RELEASE**

**AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE**

342 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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For Further Information Phone:  
Miss Katherine Blackburn  
Emerson 3-5334

FOR RELEASE MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 4:00 P.M.

WASHINGTON, D.C. Monday, November 22 .....

More than 300 Christian leaders from 36 states and the District of Columbia urged the President and the Secretary of State today to refrain from sending arms to the Near East until peace within the region is assured.

In a joint declaration submitted to President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, the group advocated that the United States urge the dissident parties to reach a peaceful settlement and grant economic and technical assistance to the Near East "to help it fight the foes that breed dissent, revolution and communism, namely oppressive poverty, widespread illiteracy and debilitating diseases."

The statement was presented today by the Rev. Karl Baehr, Executive Director, and Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Chairman, Executive Council, of the American Christian Palestine Committee, to Col. Henry A. Byrcoade, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs.

Among the signers of the statement, sponsored by the American Christian Palestine Committee, were leaders from all walks of life. Included are Dr. John R. Mott, Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, Prof. H.A. Overstreet, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mr. Walter P. Reuther, Prof. William F. Albright, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Bishop Charles K. Gilbert, Bishop Henry St. George Tucker.



It was the conviction of the more than 300 signatories that a "Near East at peace must be concomitant with, if not prior to, the establishment of any Near East defense arrangement."

They pointed out that without peace the nations of the under-developed Near East can have no stability or health nor can they "summon either the will or the strength to oppose external aggression."

While commending U. S. goals in the Near East, they charged that "the gravely deteriorating situation between the Arab states and Israel indicates that something has gone wrong with our approach and suggests that a reappraisal is urgently necessary."

They criticized the apparent assumption by the State Department that the Arab states would become more inclined to cooperate with the West and make peace with Israel if they received unilateral grants of arms.

"The reaction of the Arab leaders to this special treatment," they declared, "has not been a growing desire for peace, but rather a feeling that the United States has now given tacit approval to their determination not to meet with the representatives of Israel and that they are free to work more vigorously for Israel's destruction. As a direct consequence, the psychological setting for a destructive arms race has been created, and fear and suspicion of attack mount on both sides."

Instead of shipping arms into the area, they asked the Government to lend its assistance in fostering statements and actions of peaceful intent from the Arab states and Israel.

"The present atmosphere of suspicion and impending violence could then give way to negotiation. Both Arab and Israeli in tandem could thereby create a Near East infused with new social, economic and spiritual



vitality -- the best possible deterrent to the designs of communist conquest and the most effective way to further, in one fateful area of the world, the aims of the free world."

They also expressed the hope that Arab statesmen will give prompt and positive responses to Israel's overtures to peace and listed four recent events which they considered would provide the basis for constructive negotiations. These were Israel's offer of a free port at Haifa for Jordan, transit rights across Israel in the Negev to the several Arab states, the decision to complete the release of all Arab refugees' blocked accounts in Israeli banks, and the offer to sign non-aggression pacts.

Other outstanding leaders signing the statement were: Prof. Moses Bailey, Prof. James Luther Adams, Dr. Devere Allen, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Prof. Stringfellow Barr, Mr. Jonathan Bingham, Rev. Dr. W. Russell Bowie, Dr. George Walker Buckner, Mr. Frank W. Buxton, Prof. Albert Sprague Coolidge, Bishop Ralph S. Cushman, Dr. Taraknath Das, Mrs. India Edwards, Rev. Dr. Don Frank Fenn, Mrs. Walter Ferguson, Rev. Donald Harrington, Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, Dr. A. Eustace Haydon, Dr. Conrad Hoffman, Jr., Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Dr. Howard Mumford Jones, Mrs. Olga Koussevitzky, Hon. David L. Lawrence, Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, Dr. Russell Henry Stafford, Dr. Daniel D. Williams.

(The full text of the statement and the list of more than 300 signers is attached.)



AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

471 Park Avenue

New York 22, N. Y.

Murray Hill 8-3113

Executive Director  
Rev. Karl Baehr

November 22, 1954

Similar letter sent to:

Honorable John Foster Dulles  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The enclosed statement, "Needed: A Reappraisal Of Our Near East Policy", deals in large measure with the recent State Department decision to send arms to several Arab lands prior to a negotiated peace between the Arab states and Israel. Over three hundred leading citizens across the United States have signed the document, and earnestly desire that we call this matter to your immediate attention. The names of the signers are attached.

We strongly hope that the troubled Near East will move into an era of peace and well-being. To achieve this goal, we firmly believe that arms should not be sent into the area. A certain measure of internal stability within the Arab states and between the Arab lands and Israel is necessary, we believe, before arms can play anything other than a role destructive of the free world's democratic objectives for all the peoples of the area, including both Israelis and Arabs.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Hermann Voss  
Chairman, Executive Council

Karl Baehr  
Executive Director

Enc.



NEEDED: A REAPPRAISAL OF OUR NEAR EAST POLICY

The problem of Near East security, we believe, needs to be reexamined. We are prompted to offer our observations because of the critical nature of the area for the defense of the Free World. The United States is deeply involved -- and necessarily so -- in this vital section of the globe, and the peaceful future of the various peoples there is largely dependent on the success of our policy in bringing them political stability, economic progress and social advance. These are commendable goals. Yet the gravely deteriorating situation between the Arab states and Israel indicates that something has gone wrong with our approach and suggests that a reappraisal is urgently necessary.

In our view, the new crisis in the Near East stems not from the goals we have set for ourselves, but from the means employed to reach these ends and from some of the assumptions which have prompted our government to choose these means.

A basic assumption on the part of our State Department appears to have been that the Arab states, feeling aggrieved and insecure, would become more inclined to cooperate with the West and even reach an accord with Israel, if they alone were elected to receive arms. The reaction of the Arab leaders to this special treatment has not been a growing desire for peace, but rather a feeling that the United States has now given tacit approval to their determination not to meet with the representatives of Israel and that they are free to work more vigorously for Israel's destruction. As a direct consequence, the psychological setting for a destructive arms race has been created, and fear and suspicion of attack mount on both sides.

It is our measured conviction -- a view held, we believe, by the great majority of informed leaders in the United States -- that a Near East at peace must be concomitant with if not prior to the establishment of any Near East defense arrangement. Without peace the nations of this underdeveloped region can have no stability or health. Nor can they summon either the will or the strength to oppose external aggression.



In the interests therefore of effectually strengthening the defenses of the Free World and of fostering an era of peace and progress for Arabs and Israelis alike -- the announced goal of the Administration -- we urge that no arms be shipped into the Near East area until peace within the region is assured; that we concentrate on urging the dissident parties to reach a peaceful settlement of their differences; and that meanwhile we grant each Near East land the economic and technical assistance necessary to help it fight the foes that breed dissent, revolution and communism, namely, oppressive poverty, widespread illiteracy, and debilitating diseases. A democratic Near East can be built only on the foundations of respect for the human personality -- whether Arab peasant or effendi, Israeli laborer or farmer. In such a situation of shared strength, potential aggressors would be inclined to desist.

Four recent events certainly seem to provide the basis for constructive negotiations:

- (1) the recent offer by the Israel government of a free port of Haifa for Jordan,
- (2) the suggestion of transit rights across Israel in the Negev to the several Arab states,
- (3) the decision to complete the release of all Arab refugees' blocked accounts in Israeli banks, and
- (4) most recently the offer to sign non-aggression pacts.

It is our hope that Arab statesmen will give prompt and positive responses to Israel's overtures for peace.

Instead of shipping arms into the area, we believe our government would do well to lend its assistance in fostering statements and actions of peaceful intent from both the Arab states and Israel. The present atmosphere of suspicion and impending violence could then give way to negotiation. Both Arab and Israeli in tandem could thereby create a Near East infused with new social, economic, and spiritual vitality -- the best possible deterrent to the designs of communist conquest and the most effective way to further, in one fateful area of the world, the aims of the free world.



LIST OF SIGNERS OF THE STATEMENT, "NEEDED: A REAPPRAISAL OF OUR NEAR EAST POLICY"

Mrs. E.B.Aldrich, Pendleton, Ore.  
Miss Helen J. Almy, Cambridge, Mass.  
Rev. John W. Abbott, New Haven, Conn.  
Mrs. Florina Adams, R.N., Watertown, Mass.  
Prof. John Luther Adams, Chicago, Ill.  
Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Adams, Portland 2, Ore.  
Prof. William F. Albright, Baltimore, Md.  
Mr. Bruce R. Allen, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Dr. Devere Allen, Wilton, Conn.  
Prof. Mary E. Andrews, Baltimore, Md.  
Rev. W. Waldemar W. Argow, Baltimore, Md.  
Dr. Henry E. Atkinson, New York, N.Y.  
Judge Wm. H. Atwell, Dallas, Texas

Rev. Karl Baehr, New York City, N.Y.  
Rev. Bedros Baharian, Quincy, Mass.  
Prof. Moses Bailey, Hartford, Conn.  
Mrs. E.M. Bailey, Acworth, Ga.  
Miss Emily G. Balch, Wellesley, Mass.  
Miss Deborah H. Barus, Newton Centre, Mass.  
Prof. Stringfellow Barr, Charlottesville, Va.  
Mrs. Alice Pierce Barry, El Paso, Texas  
Rev. Dr. Robert M. Bartlett, Shrewsbury, Mass.  
Mr. Cyril J. Bath, Solon, Ohio  
Rev. Charles G. Bauer, Camden, N.J.  
Prof. Gertrude Beers, Lincoln, Nebraska  
Mrs. Lucille L. Beck, Denver 18, Colorado  
Mr. Carl A. Benson, Toledo, Ohio  
Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Daytona Beach, Fla.  
Mr. Jonathan E. Bingham, New York City, N.Y.  
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Rev. John Saunders Bone, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Mr. W. Fred Bonney, Nashville, Tenn.  
Mrs. Vesta Bowden, Aurora, Colorado  
Rev. Dr. W. Russell Bowie, Alexandria, Va.  
Dr. Jno. W. Bradbury, New York City, N.Y.  
Mr. Gaines T. Bradford, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Rev. Edward H. Brewster, Portsmouth, N.H.  
Hon. Owen Brewster, Dexter, Maine  
Mr. Robert M. Brill, Buffalo 17, N.Y.  
Mrs. Mary K. Brod, New Rochelle, N.Y.  
Mr. H. Warren Buckler, Jr., Baltimore, Md.  
Dr. George Walker Buckner,  
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Miss Helen Bullard, Atlanta, Ga.  
Prof. Henry M. Busch, Cleveland, Ohio  
Rev. Dr. F.W. Burnham, Richmond, Va.  
Prof. Harold Buschman, Kansas City, Mo.  
Mr. Frank W. Buxton, Brookline, Mass.

Rev. Charles H. Campbell, Flushing, N.Y.  
Mrs. Walter B. Cannon, Cambridge, Mass.  
Rev. Paul N. Carnes, Youngstown, Ohio  
Mr. Fred L. Christenbury, Memphis, Tenn.  
Mrs. Harry Christian, Fargo, North Dakota  
Rev. Karl M. Chworowsky, Westport, Conn.  
Dr. Alfred A. Cierpke, Chattanooga 4, Tenn.  
Miss Charlotte Isabel Claflin, Buffalo, N.Y.  
Rev. James P. Claypool, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Dr. Robert C. Clothier, New Brunswick, N.J.  
Rev. Donald B. Cloward, White Plains, N.Y.  
Miss Helen Coates, New York City, N.Y.  
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The People Speak  
On  
Palestine

WRHS  
AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION  
ON THE  
UNITED STATES AND UNITED NATIONS

American Christian Palestine Committee

41 East 42nd Street

New York 17, N. Y.



## *Introduction*

The American reversal on Palestine came as a great shock to the American people. American support of the General Assembly's partition resolution had widespread public approval throughout the country. The decision of the United States to abandon its support of partition was sharply questioned by large sections of American public opinion.

The criticism of American policy on this issue is perhaps unprecedented. Rarely, if ever before, has there been such general condemnation of the conduct of our foreign affairs.

On the pages that follow we have reproduced some of the critical editorials which appeared in leading newspapers within the last three months. It would require a much larger volume to print all the editorials but we should note that the press of all sections of the United States — metropolitan and rural — including the most influential newspapers of the country, join in censure of the American shift on Palestine.

A report has come from one authoritative analyst that during the week ending March 27, after the United States reversal was announced, 62 per cent of the editorial comment on Palestine was adverse to the new United States policy, only 20 per cent supported it, while 18 per cent of the comment was mixed or neutral in tone.

It is clear that American public opinion still supports the General Assembly's resolution of November 29, 1947, and that the majority of the American people are hopeful that the General Assembly of the United Nations will, in justice to the two peoples of Palestine and to the United Nations itself, stand firmly by its past position on the Palestine Partition Plan.

**American Christian Palestine Committee**



## Collective Paralysis on Palestine

Last spring the situation in Palestine appeared desperate enough to necessitate a special session of the United Nations Assembly. A committee was appointed to investigate and report; the regular Assembly session debated the question and, after a bitter fight, adopted a plan calling for the partition of the Holy Land. The British refuse to bear sole responsibility; the Arabs are in arms—and the Jews remain, for all practical purposes, in the same position as when this lengthy U. N. process began nearly a year ago. That is to say, they have no legal defense organization, no legal method of acquiring (or even possessing) arms, no legal method of increasing their strength through immigration. To be sure, they do have a paper promise of statehood from the U. N., but the international organization, apparently exhausted by the effort required to produce this document, is now striking attitudes of languor and embarrassment, waiting for Palestine to explode, or for someone to take the initiative in averting tragedy.

The position of the United States at this juncture is one of peculiar responsibility. Officially and unofficially the United States took the lead in urging a change in the conditions of the British mandate, and later in promoting partition. If Palestine collapses into anarchy upon the withdrawal of the British it will be a terrible reflection upon American policy no less than upon the prestige and authority of the United Nations. It is necessary, therefore, that this country take the initiative in securing U. N. action to implement partition.

The most obvious procedure would be to give the Jews of Palestine the legal right and the means to defend themselves. Mr. David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency, is confident of the ability of his people to protect their interests if they are allowed to form a militia and are armed by the U. N. Such a program, then, should be the first order of business for the Palestine Commission and the Security Council, and the United States could well exert every legitimate influence to secure the adoption of a definite plan toward this end.

If the Jews of Palestine can be armed and organized in time, there may well be no occasion for further U. N. action. But as a matter of insurance the world organization should canvass other methods of enforcing its decision. Palestine could be defended by contingents from U. N. member states. This would involve, in all probability, a Russian unit, as well as American troops. Another method would be through the formation of a distinctly U. N. constabulary, recruited from volunteers who would not represent individual states, but the organization as a whole. Such a force would take time to form and train, but it would be open to fewer objections than any other means of U. N. military intervention.

The U. N. is looking to the United States for some light and leading on the enforcement of partition, and this country cannot afford to withhold it. The keynote of American policy must be collective action; it should not involve unilateral measures that would impose the entire burden on the United States. But the present state of collective paralysis on the Palestine issue is too dangerous to endure—too dangerous for Palestine, for the U. N. and for the United States.

— February 6, 1948

## NEW YORK Herald Tribune

### The Straddle

It is difficult to read Mr. Austin's opening statement to the Security Council as anything save a last—a really stupendous—effort to straddle an issue which can be straddled no longer. In its elaborate legal niceties the statement is correct. The General Assembly's decision for partition was a "political" decision; it could have the force only of a recommendation, not of law. To enforce such a decision is no part of the Security Council's duty or authority; it is empowered only to keep peace. It cannot impose the partition plan or any other plan; all it can do is to determine whether Palestine presents a threat to international peace, and then take action necessary to avert that threat.

In suggesting that under the circumstances the first step on the part of the Security Council should be the appointment of another committee to "look into" the matter and further to "consult," the Austin statement, if not correct, is at any rate logical. The Assembly's partition plan was expected to be in effect self-enforcing; the fact that it has not proved so means that in this important respect the plan is a failure and therefore it is a fundamentally new situation which confronts the Council, in which "consultation" is appropriate. The validity of all this careful reasoning must be recognized. Unfortunately, its futility is too obvious even for comment.

The Austin statement does go so far as to say that "if" the Council should decide that in order to maintain peace it is necessary to use armed force "in connection with" Palestine, the United States will be ready to "consult . . . with a view to such action as may be necessary to maintain international peace." This wobbling stand is unlikely to impress the Arabs, or the other members of the Security Council. It will not counter-balance the proposal for another committee, which can only convince the Arabs that they have partition on the ropes and that with a continuation of their present tactics they may even finish it for good.

The Truman administration has made a mighty attempt to straddle this issue, which it has itself helped to develop into a chasm too deep and wide and dangerous for any straddling. The practical alternatives are as before: either to enforce partition upon the Arabs or abandon Jewish Palestine. As the British learned long ago, one cannot attempt to straddle without seeming to favor one side or the other and earning the bitter enmity of both. The British, speaking through Sir Arthur Creech-Jones, were at least completely forthright. They are through, once and for all; they will spend no more blood on this thankless business and will have nothing whatever to do with enforcement of any kind. If the United States is not to stand by while Palestine slides into chaos, carrying the United Nations with it, then the United States must say with equal forthrightness what it will do and what it will urge the Security Council to do.

— February 25, 1948

### Why?

There are few Americans who will be able to regard the action of their government in the case of Palestine without a sinking of the heart. Quite apart from the merits of the partition plan, it is painfully obvious that Mr. Austin's statement to the Security Council on Friday represents either a reversal of the earlier policy of the United States or an acknowledgment that the policy ignored facts which were patent to the most casual observer. Neither alternative is to the credit of the Administration.

Mr. Austin contends that the partition plan, proposed by the General Assembly and supported there by the United States, "cannot now be implemented by peaceful means." Certainly this possibility—or, rather, probability—must have been foreseen by the American delegation and the Administration from the outset. If so, the United States should have guarded against the various difficulties which Mr. Austin since has raised in the Security Council—legal, political and military. Failure to do so created only the ghost of a Jewish state under United Nations guaranty, stimulated explosive tensions in the Middle East and brought death to hundreds, disillusionment to millions. The prestige of U. N. has received its heaviest blow, and that of the United States has been hard hit. From every standpoint the situation is far worse than when the U. N. Assembly was originally summoned in special session to deal with the Palestine crisis.

The United States has taken a firm stand in demanding that peace be restored in the Holy Land under a U. N. trusteeship. This by no means reduces the military responsibilities which the enforcement of partition might have entailed. Indeed, it rather adds to them. The Jews of Palestine have conceded all that was possible toward the achievement of a viable Jewish state; the Arabs have been confirmed in their intransigent opposition to such a state. A U. N. trusteeship, following immediately upon Great Britain's announcement of its intention to renounce the mandate conceivably might have provided a transition period in which international authority could have been established in Palestine and an international solution worked out. Now, after an abortive experiment in partition, the U. N. will have to fight to make itself respected—and fight hard. It will merely inherit Britain's "squalid war" in the Holy Land, made more squalid by opportunities missed and promises unfulfilled.

The people of the United States demand and deserve an explanation of the palpable blunders of American policy in respect to Palestine. There have been many unofficial excuses, references to a changed world picture, to oil, to military weakness and the like. But no responsible official has openly discussed the practical aspects of the American course in the Middle East nor offered any reasons why that course need be altered so shortly after it was fixed. If such reasons exist they should be frankly discussed, or the United States must bear the obloquy of seeking covert ends at the expense of justice. And this country cannot so tarnish its leadership.

— March 21, 1948



## U. S. Stand on Palestine Called Sacrifice of Moral Leadership

Sumner Welles Says the 'Vital Elements in Our National Security' Which Swayed Marshall Cost Us Repute With Small Nations

By Sumner Welles

Former Under Secretary of State

The official explanations of the reversal of our policy on Palestine at least make two points wholly clear. There is no shadow of justification for this reversal; and the position which the United States now occupies is profoundly humiliating.

Secretary Marshall states that our action is due to "vital elements of our national security." He implies that the enforcement of partition would bring about the dispatch of Soviet troops to Palestine, and that the resulting situation would "touch off the powder keg."

If this government had had the foresight, when the Assembly adopted its partition resolution, to insist upon the creation by the Security Council of a United Nations constabulary for Palestine composed of contingents from the lesser powers, there would have been no possibility that Russia or any other major power could seek to police Palestine. The Arabs would never have resorted to extreme measures. Today Arab aggression is increasing. Encouraged by the way the mighty United States has weakly given in to their threats, the Arabs have flouted the United Nations. They reject any suggestion of a trusteeship. They will try to seize the whole of Palestine as soon as the British withdraw.

### Jews Seek to Hold Area

The Jews are defending the areas granted them under partition. They have announced the establishment of a provisional government to assume control of those areas the day after the British leave. They are abiding by the terms of the Assembly's decision. But they will resist any proposal that does not give them their promised freedom.

Because of our previous vacillation, partition may now mean local hostilities. But a trusteeship would touch off the very "powder keg" of which we are told to beware. In that event Russian intervention would be certain.

Are military dispositions the only "vital elements of our national security"?

To many of us the good faith of the United States, the preservation of its moral leadership among the nations of the world, the confidence that other peoples possess in its dependability and the survival of the United Nations are elements that are also vital. It is these elements that the reversal of American policy on Palestine has flagrantly disregarded.

The legalistic arguments that the American delegate was instructed to deliver to the Security Council represent a flat denial of the responsibility of the United Nations for the preservation of world peace. That denial undermines the very foundations upon which the United Nations was built. The action of the United States in regard to Palestine can be as far-reaching in its results as the refusal by the League of Na-

tions to protect China when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. We are destroying the faith of the peoples of the world in the efficacy and authority of the United Nations.

### The U. N. as a "Vital Element"

Are the American people willing to agree that the United Nations has already ceased to be a "vital element of our national security?"

What confidence can the weaker nations have in our good faith when this government waffles on its commitments?

The United States was chiefly responsible for the adoption by the Assembly of the partition resolution four months ago. Since that time the President, the Secretary of State and the American delegate to the United Nations have given repeated assurances that the American government stood foursquare behind that decision. The Jews of Palestine have relied on those assurances. Their entire course has been governed by that faith. Yet those assurances have now been deliberately violated.

The lesser members of the United Nations are already in open revolt.

The effect upon the confidence of the smaller nations in American leadership can best be illustrated by the published statement of a representative of one of the Latin-American republics: "First they convinced us that partition was the only answer. Now they are trying to convince us that partition is insane. It is true that I represent a small nation which cannot stand alone. I am willing to accept United States leadership. But this is treachery. By this latest reversal the United States has forfeited whatever moral justification it once had for leading the small nations."

### War Danger Aggravated

At this crucial moment when we seek to rally the countries of Eastern Europe to our leadership in the fear of Russian expansion, are we prepared to agree that our moral prestige and the confidence of other peoples in the good faith of this country are no longer "vital elements of our national security?"

This reversal by the United States will increase, and not diminish, the danger of a major war in the Near East. It deals what may well be a death blow to the United Nations, and to our hope for collective security. It shakes confidence in the United States throughout the world.

For what is alleged to be momentary expediency we have thrown away national assets that were essential to our safety. And these, unfortunately, are not assets which can be soon regained.

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— March 30, 1948

### Partition Is the Issue

Mr. Truman's grave emphasis upon the open warfare that is "just over the horizon" in Palestine will not be taken lightly. At this season and on this day when so many hearts are doubly conscious of the tremendous events which have made Palestine the Holy Land for millions, the prospect of death and destruction sweeping through that land is particularly appalling. Certainly, if reason could prevail, if a truce might be agreed upon to avert worse calamities than those which have already ravaged Palestine, there would be cause for rejoicing.

But there have been many efforts to solve the Palestine dilemma by pure reason—as well as by more passionate and less high-minded methods—over many years. The Jews and Arabs are fighting now in the Holy Land. They have been brought to blows by forces which were powerful enough to make them prefer the risks, the sacrifices and the hardships of war to the conditions which might prevail were they to lay down their arms. Those conditions are not changed by Mr. Truman's plea for a truce.

Partition is still the paramount issue. Mr. Truman argues that the American trusteeship plan is not a substitute for partition, but simply an emergency device to forestall the chaos which would ensue from the abandonment by Great Britain of her mandate. But chaos is not threatened simply by Britain's formal renunciation of her responsibility. It would spring from the intense pressures which have been generated within Palestine by the conflicting interests of Jews and Arabs. Trusteeship would not of itself reconcile those interests. It would not end the powerful Jewish drive toward statehood. It would not abate the fierce Arab hostility to these goals. It would be a return to the uneasy stalemate which has been so often broken by violence.

The first reactions to Mr. Truman's proposal for a truce indicate the lack of any objective basis for an agreed suspension of hostilities. Arab spokesmen assert they will end their campaign only if the Jews renounce all hopes of partition. Jews have made it clear that partition is the irreducible minimum of their demands, and they have already set up their state. Upon such a deadlock, Mr. Truman's plea can have little effect, and the trusteeship plan seems shadowy and unsubstantial against the harsh realities now warring in the Holy Land. Doubtless the President was sincere in yesterday's statement, but sincerity is only one element in policy, not a substitute for it.

— March 26, 1948

### The Fact of Partition

The report of the Palestine Committee of the United Nations reveals candidly how little has been accomplished by this body in implementing the partition resolution of last Nov. 29. It foresees in Palestine, unless adequate outside help is forthcoming, "administrative chaos, starvation, widespread strife, violence and bloodshed." At the same time, in a solemn declaration, the General Zionist Council has asserted that an independent Jewish state will be established on May 16, the day following Britain's departure. The vacuum left by the Palestine Commission is thus being filled by the Zionists themselves; and partition, which has had its setbacks as a theory, is being transformed into a solid fact.

That the Zionists have been driven to act without the official blessing of the international organization is regrettable; yet it is difficult to see how any other result could have been anticipated. The partition resolution of the United Nations fanned to consuming flame the long-held hopes of the Jewish world; it was not to be supposed that Zionists could wait indefinitely upon the hesitations and delays of outside powers. As the Arab opposition to a Jewish state forced upon them the need for military

### PROTOCOL IN PALESTINE

The pitiful weakness of the United Nations in the present stage of its development is highlighted by yesterday's news that the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine have agreed to adhere to the Geneva conventions on the treatment of wounded and prisoners. Today we are one day closer to May 15 than we were yesterday. Tomorrow the gap will have been further narrowed between what is now a bad enough situation and that which is expected to be so much worse.

It is just four months since the General Assembly of the United Nations, after a long and thorough exploration of all the available alternatives, and acting by more than the necessary two-thirds majority, proposed a solution of the Palestine problem which might well have worked successfully if it had commanded, from the very outset, the full and active and consistent support of the Security Council and all interested Powers. Instead of such support, however, the newly created Palestine Commission (consisting of the representatives of five small nations, removed both physically and spiritually from the conflict) was so completely ignored by those with power to make decisions that it began to describe itself as the "five lonely pilgrims." The Security Council turned its attention almost exclusively to other matters. And the United States, chief advocate of last November's plan for a settlement, embarked upon a series of moves which have been remarkable for their inconsistency and bewilderment. A measure of the deterioration which has taken place in four months' time is this agreement that men shall be killed in conformity with the "rules of war!"

— April 1, 1948

action, so the Western indecision has forced on them the political initiative. Though we dislike to see the international authority by-passed, we cannot as Americans be wholly insensitive to the reasons which impel a people to declare its independence, not wholly unmoved by the courage which makes such a declaration possible.

The rapidly developing situation in Palestine calls our policy-makers to a re-examination of their course. They still tend to act as if partition were something which depended on their will, and could be given or withdrawn by turns. They talk, if reports from Washington are correct, about sending troops to maintain security in the Holy Land only if a truce between Jews and Arabs has first been achieved—ignoring the fact that the Arabs will make no truce with partition, and that the Jews will not surrender the goal they have desired so long and which they have seen coming so near. The United States must seek to limit its involvement in this troubled area and apply its force in the most efficient possible way. But the time has come when a course must be laid which accepts our full responsibility and is shaped to the unescapable factors—military and political—of the Palestine situation as a whole.

— April 15, 1948



## A TEST FOR THE COUNCIL

The Security Council of the United Nations has agreed to put the question of an international armed force for Palestine on its agenda. The circumstances being what they are, we do not see how it could have failed to reach this decision. It is to be regretted only that the matter will be taken up "as soon as it is practicable." There is an urgency about the question that does not brook delay.

When the General Assembly of the United Nations, last Nov. 29, voted in favor of the partition of Palestine it did so with full knowledge of all the factors that now make the present situation an explosive one. It was aware of the strength of Arab opposition to partition, of the declared intention on the part of the Arabs to resist this solution by force of arms and of the threats of intervention by Arab forces outside of Palestine. Nevertheless, after a long and careful debate in which the existence of all these factors was clearly recognized, the General Assembly reached the conclusion that partition was both the most equitable and the most practicable solution of the problem with which it was confronted. Having so decided, by more than the two-thirds majority required under the Charter to give validity to its decision, the General Assembly is entitled to look to the Security Council, which is the enforcement agency of the United Nations, for action to make certain that its decision stands.

We are aware of the difficulties that must be faced in creating an international force for this purpose. We cannot believe, however, that these difficulties are as great as those which will result if the situation in Palestine is permitted to drift to a catastrophe. In defense of its own authority, in justice to those whose claims were recognized by its decision of Nov. 29 and in the interest of peace and order, the Security Council must face the issue squarely and without further loss of all too precious time.

— February 12, 1948

## REPORT ON PALESTINE

When the General Assembly of the United Nations voted last November to recommend partition as a solution of the problem in Palestine, it took several steps which were intended to give effect to its recommendation. It created a special Commission, consisting of representatives of five smaller nations (Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Panama, Bolivia and the Philippines), to serve as its agent in this matter. It requested the Security Council to "take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation." And it also urged that the Security Council "determine as a threat to peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution."

The special Commission met at Lake Success in January. Though its members have not visited Palestine in person (threats of violence from Arab sources have served as a deterrent to this procedure), it has had access to ample information concerning the course of events since the General Assembly made its recommendation. On the basis of this information the Commission now reports that the provision of an adequate international force is essential if the plan for partition is to be carried out.

Under the Charter of the United Nations, only the Security Council is in position to supply this force. Considering this fact, and considering also the formal request for "necessary measures" addressed to the Security Council by the General Assembly at the time of the adoption of the resolution for partition, it is now clearly the duty of the Security Council to consider

# The New York Times

## TO SAVE THE PEACE

On May 15 Britain will give up her Palestine mandate and withdraw her troops from the Holy Land. Unless the United Nations acts decisively before that date this withdrawal will certainly be followed by disaster. The United Nations is now in the position of having issued the partition decree and having taken no steps to enforce it. The tragedy of Palestine will therefore be a shattering blow to the U. N. as well as to world peace. Yet in the face of this grim fact the Security Council on Friday voted a delay of at least ten days by referring the matter to the permanent members of the Council. No postponement of the evacuation date of May 15 was included.

We do not believe ten days should be needed or ought to be wasted while blood flows in Palestine and the situation there steadily degenerates. We believe two steps can be and should be taken, immediately, by the Security Council and member governments which may avert the impending calamity: (1) The United Nations should forthwith urge the British mandatory Power to grant Haganah, the Jewish militia in Palestine, a *de jure* status in place of the *de facto* status already reluctantly accorded. After all, the Zionists, whose lives are now in danger, are in Palestine because of British cooperation. The barest good faith demands that they be allowed to protect themselves. We believe Britain could ill afford to ignore this recommendation of U. N., and that she will rise in the world's good opinion if she follows the wise and humane course. (2) We believe that the United Nations should urge the United States and other U. N. member countries to lift any embargo they may have placed on the supply of arms to the legal Zionist militia, and that they, too, under the pressure of this world recommendation, will act accordingly.

These steps will not relieve the United Nations of the ultimate responsibility for policing Palestine and for protecting it against invasion from without. Haganah, however, officially recognized and supplied, may be able to hold the line until further help can be organized or until the Arab dissenters realize that they cannot defy the power and public opinion of the rest of the world. But action must be swift. The lives of many people, the prestige of the United Nations and peace itself depend on this decision.

— March 8, 1948

whether, by what means and how soon an adequate international force can be provided. There is no time to be lost in answering these questions. There should be no disinclination to answer them merely because new and more extreme threats of violence are coming from Arab sources. When the secretary general of the Arab League declares, as he did yesterday, that his countrymen will "fight" any U. N. police force sent to Palestine, he must be told that he is challenging the authority, the prestige and the very right to existence of the United Nations.

— February 17, 1948

## THE SWITCH ON PALESTINE

There can be little doubt that the partition of Palestine is being blocked by the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. A land once known for milk and honey now flows with oil, and the homeland of three great religions is having its fate decided by expediency without a sign of the spiritual and ethical considerations which should be determining, at least in that part of the world. Ancient Palestine was once described as "not the land of philosophers but the home of prophets." It would take a prophet sitting on a rapidly spinning turntable to have foreseen the course which our Government has pursued during these last few months.

Three things need to be said, and to be said at once, concerning the present shift of American policy on Palestine. The first is that it comes as a climax to a series of moves which has seldom been matched, for ineptness, in the handling of any international issue by an American Administration. The second is that it is a plain and unmistakable surrender to the threat of force. And the third is that it holds little promise of being able to avoid the very hazards which it is intended to circumvent.

So far as the first point is concerned, it may be said that all of the critical considerations now enumerated by Mr. Austin as reasons for our Government's change of policy—namely, the strength of Arab opposition to the partition plan, the necessity of providing a large international armed force to implement that plan, the reluctance of the small nations and all of the large Powers, with the sole exception of Soviet Russia, which has its own objectives in the Mediterranean, to provide that force—were inherent in the situation when the original decision in favor of partition was made last Nov. 29. Nevertheless, it was primarily on the initiative, and under the pressure, of our Government that the decision for partition was adopted. Somewhere along the line there has been a shocking lack of liaison and of common purposes between the American State Department and the American delegation in the United Nations, with the White House itself apparently utterly at sea. Inept, uncertain and confused, the prestige of American foreign policy has suffered a severe blow in the handling of this issue.

As for the second point—the surrender to the threat of force—it is obviously and admittedly Arab intransigence that has forced the American Government to change its policy and to bow to Arab threats, and to propose that the whole United Nations retreat with us in the face of Arab scorn and fury. Unfortunately, if this is done, it will not be the first time that the United Nations has had to yield to the threat of force. It has been bludgeoned out of Northern Korea by Soviet Russia and out of the Balkans by Soviet Russia's satellites, but each surrender of this kind is a blow to the authority of the United Nations. Meantime, we have played a shabby trick on the Jewish community in Palestine, which put its faith in our promises.

Finally, where does this new decision leave us? It leaves us still under the inexorable necessity of helping to furnish that international armed force which we have been so reluctant to provide. For to maintain what Mr. Austin describes as a "temporary trusteeship" over the whole of Palestine will certainly require an armed force. It may well require an even larger armed force than would be required for partition, for, as Secretary General Lie notes, the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine drew the conclusion that "a trusteeship for Palestine would be fought by two

## MR. TRUMAN ON PALESTINE

The statement read by President Truman to his press conference yesterday is a much-needed attempt to explain and to justify an American policy on Palestine which has been as badly bungled, as confused and as inconsistent as any policy well could be.

Mr. Truman says that our Government put aside the partition plan, which it supported so strongly last November, "because it has become clear that the partition cannot be carried out at this time by peaceful means." He adds that "we could not undertake to impose this solution on the people of Palestine by the use of American troops, both on Charter grounds and as a matter of national policy." If these are the best reasons that can be cited for the abandonment of partition, we must say (1) that warning was given by many competent observers last November that partition could not be carried out without the provision of some international force, and (2) that American troops have been used, and are today being used, in another Mediterranean area—Trieste—to impose a solution on the people of that area, and no questions have been raised of their employment for this purpose, either on "Charter grounds or as a matter of national policy."

As a present alternative to partition, proposed without prejudice to "the character of the final political settlement," Mr. Truman calls for a renewed effort to arrange a truce in Palestine and a temporary United Nations trusteeship. A truce must of course involve at least some tentative agreement on the scope of Arab and Zionist authority, for neither party to the present struggle is likely to lay down its arms without such assurance; but here we face the hard fact that every effort to achieve such an agreement, over the long span of three decades, has been wrecked on the rocks of Arab and Zionist nationalism.

As for the trusteeship: We share the President's hope of averting further violence and bloodshed, and conflict that might spread far beyond Palestine itself. But British experience clearly shows that a trusteeship, like a mandate, could not be maintained without an adequate armed neutral force. Will the United States help to supply that force? Will we send American soldiers to help maintain a trusteeship, though not to help enforce partition? Mr. Truman says that if a trusteeship is established, "we must take our share of the necessary responsibility." But this is a vague statement, which does not mention troops. And the matter of troops is the crux of the proposal for trusteeship, and the question that will surely be addressed to us if we propose a trusteeship to the General Assembly.

— March 26, 1948

parties instead of one." This is the prospect with which the whole series of moves now culminating in Mr. Austin's announcement leaves us.

— March 21, 1948



## They Can't Make Bricks Without Straw

Palestine partition is doomed unless the United Nations, which fostered the plan, now moves swiftly to save it.

The partition project is disintegrating under the blows of a heavily one-sided civil war, as Arabs armed by the British seek to wipe out the very nucleus of the proposed Jewish state, whose defenders are paralyzed by a United States embargo on shipment of arms to the Palestine Jews.

The British are helping to sabotage partition by their arming of the Arabs and their cynical failure to preserve the peace in the Holy Land in the final months of their mandate.

The Jews in Palestine are fighting not merely for the independence guaranteed them by the United Nations; they are fighting for their very lives. Hundreds have been killed and many more wounded by Arab bullets and knives in raids upon Jewish settlements.

In defiance of the United Nations, the Arab League has announced that the armies of the Arab countries will occupy all of Palestine as soon as the British withdraw. These nations refuse to recognize the existence of a Jewish state; they intend, with the assistance of arms from the British, to make the Holy Land a wholly Arab dominion.

What their plans mean in death, destruction and misery to the peaceful Jewish inhabitants who had been granted the hope, at least, of a homeland all their own, can only be imagined.

How can the United Nations—how can the United States, which has given its sanction to partition—sit by and see the plan fall apart in bloody war?

Having authorized partition, it is clearly up to the U.N. to enforce it. But thus far all that has been done is the appointment of a five-member Palestine Commission, whose assignment it is to go to Palestine, on some date not yet determined, and see to it that the U.N. plan is executed.

As the British do not want the Commission to arrive until two weeks before they withdraw, and as Arab attacks upon the Jews

are mounting in violence all the time, the size of the task confronting this body is evident.

The Commission is being called upon to undertake the impossible feat—a reminder of Pharaoh's order to the people as told in the Old Testament, Exodus V:7—of making bricks without straw.

Without the implements to preserve the peace and to protect the Jews while they are erecting their new nation, the Palestine Commission is hopelessly handicapped from the outset.

The obvious need in Palestine is an international police force directed by the United Nations, to keep order and enforce partition.

Request for such a force was made to the Palestine Commission on Thursday by Moshe Shertok, political chief of the Jewish Agency. If that request is not met, he added, then the burden of keeping order and protecting the new-born Jewish state must fall upon a Jewish militia, and the U.N. should take immediate steps to permit the Jews to arm, equip and train an adequate force.

The Security Council is the agency which must act upon establishment of a U.N. police force. Soviet Russia may, as it has so often before, again obstruct action in this regard. But the U. S. should press for it, nevertheless, and offer every assistance.

Meanwhile the unfair embargo against shipment of arms to the Palestine Jews, while their enemies can obtain all they want, should be lifted. Arms and equipment which the Jews desperately require to defend themselves should be sent them. The arms embargo should be directed against the Arabs, who are fighting partition, not against those who are upholding it with their lives.

It is unthinkable that, having given the Jews a glimpse of long-sought freedom in a land of their own, we should now permit the door to be slammed against its realization.

We should abet neither Arab war on partition nor British sabotage of it by indifference and neglect. The Jews need help if they are to save their lives and their homes, and we must see that they get it.

— January 17, 1948

## The Daily Record

Long Branch, New Jersey

### TIME FOR RE-STUDY

The United States has been projected into the Palestine problem by its championing of the cause of partition in the United Nations. This action was prompted by the purest of motives, as well as by the fact that partition is the best solution to the knotty problem of granting living space to the Arab population.

The first motive was the desire to correct an historical wrong dating back to the Roman empire to restore to the Jewish race their homeland and open the gates of a modern Promised Land to the victims of war and aggression in Europe.

On the other side of the picture is the embargo on arms to Palestine by our State

Department, which in effect gives the advantage to the Arabs in the inevitable war which followed partition. It also makes necessary such clandestine procurement and shipping of the tools of war as has been revealed in Monmouth County and north Jersey.

Meanwhile the Arabs are bountifully supplied by Egypt and other members of the Arab league. Russia, which gave approval to the partition may also see her advantage in the bloody strife which will hamstring the efforts of the United Nations to cool a cauldron which could lead the world into another war.

There is nothing very clear in our actions. Our State Department forgets that had it not been for the aid of France we would have been sorely pressed to win our own independence. We obtained not only supplies but ships and fighting men, something we have not been asked to give in the current struggle for liberty.

It is time we restudied our position.

— January 24, 1948

### U. S. LOSES FACE BY PALESTINE REVERSAL

Just once on any important issue have the United States and the USSR agreed in the United Nations. That was on the partition of Palestine, which this country has since repudiated in one of the strangest somersaults in the history of American foreign policy. Now we are putting forth a proposal for a commanded truce in Palestine, commanded by the UN.

This proposal does not seem to have a ghost of a chance to become effective. The Arabs long ago refused to consider such a deal, and the Jews have announced that when the British leave next month, they will at once proclaim a Jewish republic.

Fighting between Jews and Arabs has been going on for months, with the British making the most feeble gestures toward maintaining order. Nearly 2,000 people have been killed on both sides. It is open war on a guerrilla scale, with almost daily bombings and ambushes.

That anything could have been done to prevent it is doubtful. The Jews and Arabs both are embittered, and the British for months have been seeking to get rid of their mandate. But it is tragic that the United States should have taken the lead toward a UN solution that it later abandoned. Why did we seek partition of Palestine, and then run away from it when it was adopted by the UN?

The reason, of course, is that no nation cared to contribute troops to a UN force which would make the decision effective. And this country was not only averse to sending American troops into Palestine, but it was also concerned that no Russian troops should appear in the lands bordering the Mediterranean.

But it seems incredible that this could not have been foreseen in advance by the state department. Our foreign policy seems to be in a state of incredible confusion.

\* \* \* \*

— April 4, 1948



# The Boston Globe

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MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1948

## Palestine

Mr. Harold Stassen describes the reversal of this nation's policy on partition of Palestine as "outrageous." His views are verified in the gloom which has descended upon the United Nations at Lake Success.

During the better part of the past two years the directors of American policy have repeatedly, publicly, declared that, while willing to make generous concessions, our nation's government would flatly refuse to compromise basic principles in the name of expediency. Yet two fundamental principles of publicly professed American policy have been mutilated by this about-face on partition.

The first principle wrecked—the integrity of solemn pledges maturely given—underlies the whole policy of the United States regarding Palestine these past twenty years—a principle defined and championed by every American President since Woodrow Wilson; a principle enshrined in our treaties; a principle supported even by successive British Governments up to 1939, when Chamberlain abandoned it; a principle backed by the present Labor Government of Britain also—until it took office in 1945.

The second principle demolished by the decision of President Truman (for he, not Secretary Marshall, is responsible for policy decisions) is that this move levels a devastating blow at the U.N., which Mr. Truman was championing only last Wednesday. In the name of expediency, armed defiance of a decision taken by the U.N. Assembly under American leadership, is being appeased.

This will not bring peace to the Holy Land. It leaves our nation's prestige in the Middle East low indeed and the stature of the U.N. diminished.

— March 2, 1948

## CHICAGO SUN

MARSHALL FIELD, Editor and Publisher

### Needed More Than Ever

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT was so upset over the administration's reversal on Palestine that she offered to resign as a delegate to the United Nations. In good conscience she could not agree with the new Palestine policy, yet she doubted whether she could criticize it with propriety while remaining a delegate.

President Truman and Sec. Marshall told her to go ahead and criticize, and begged her not to resign. So Mrs. Roosevelt made clear, in her column, her conviction that the U. S. should not have run out on the U. N. She appears to hope that the small nations will give our government "the courage to stand by a decision once taken, putting more faith than we do in the ultimate value of a strong United Nations."

Politically, there was every reason why the administration should prevail on Mrs. Roosevelt to stay on as a U. N. delegate. She is one of the few strong assets of the administration.

But there is a stronger reason for her remaining on the job. That is the deep confidence which millions of Americans have in her sincerity, her patience, her unflagging devotion to the cause of international co-operation for peace. She owes it to the people, rather than to the administration, to continue in service.

We hope that Mrs. Roosevelt will continue to speak her own mind freely on every issue that comes up. Her value is not as a spokesman for the administration, but as a spokesman for the American people in their desire for a strongly supported United Nations.

— April 2, 1948

## Fear and Palestine

By Eleanor Roosevelt

En route to England, March 31.  
—I am an outsider, a simple citizen of the United States, and I



Mrs. Roosevelt.

have no inside knowledge except the knowledge of the way we, as a delegation in the United Nations General Assembly, came to our decision last fall on the question of Palestine. Our responsible officials naturally have knowledge that we ordinary citizens do not have. They may have ample justification for the fears which they spread before Congress in order to get co-operation in what are necessary measures for strength and defense. I dislike actions, however, that are taken from fear, since they are apt to be unwise and unjust.

The United States has now suggested that a special session of the Assembly be called to reconsider the case of Palestine. I shall be interested to see whether the little nations share our fears or whether they try to give us the courage to stand by a decision once taken, putting more faith

than we do in the ultimate value of a strong United Nations.

Under the new suggestion that the U. N. create a new mandate for Palestine until some peaceful solution can be worked out between the Jews and Arabs, I cannot help wondering who is going to see to it that an armistice actually is carried out. There are extremists on both sides of this question. Palestine is accustomed to violence and bloodshed. Announcing an armistice is not going to bring it about.

It seems to me that the U. N. and we, as a great nation, are going to be faced with exactly the same problem that we had in supporting partition. One of the questions at issue has always been immigration into Palestine by the Jews. If the new mandate government permits any immigration, the Arabs will object; if it permits no immigration, the Jews will object. And in the meantime miserable, desperate people will sit in camps in Europe and on Cyprus. With each day, they become less able to be valuable citizens anywhere.

The very group of Jews in the United States who consider partition a mistake, and who do not

believe in a Jewish homeland, will be demanding vociferously that we take in more displaced persons here and that we hasten their establishment in other countries. Both these things, I think, we should do through the International Refugee Organization and through passage of the Stratton bill or some other similar bill. But we must face the fact that there are many Jews, who have spent months and years being hunted over Europe, who want to go to Palestine and nowhere else. The pressure will be upon the mandate government and there will be another bone of contention to trouble the waters in Palestine.

I fail to see that we have done away with any troubles or problems by our new stand. And if this change in policy was undertaken to lessen the danger of war I fail to see where it has achieved that end. The USSR stands pat on its previous decision. And I will not be surprised if quite a number of nations refuse to turn about, in response to our whim. For they may feel—as I do—that no solution being perfect, the one already adopted by the U. N. might as well be implemented, since, with all the argument and effort that has been made, no perfect solution has yet been found.

—reprinted by permission of the World-Telegram and the United Features Syndicate  
March 31, 1948

## CHICAGO SUN

MARSHALL FIELD, Editor and Publisher

FRIDAY, January 23, 1948

### Danger for the U.N.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS foundered on the rock of "non-intervention" in Spain and Ethiopia. There is danger that the United Nations may founder on the rock of non-intervention in Palestine.

Each day's crop of killings in Palestine makes it clearer that a conspiracy exists to countermand the United Nations decision for peaceful partition of that land.

The Arabs make no secret of their determination to resist the decision by violent means. What is worse, one sees disturbing evidence that some British and American officials who were never enthusiastic about partition might not mind too much if it fails.

President Truman and the State Department lose no opportunity these days to proclaim full support and strengthening of the U.N. as the cardinal aim of American policy. If they mean it, they can now make their words good. The United States should take the lead in establishing a U.N. constabulary that can keep the peace in Palestine while Britain is withdrawing and the Arab and Jewish states are being set up.

The reasons no such action has been taken are no doubt the same reasons which induced the policy-makers to sidestep the enforcement issue in the first place. Our oil interests in the Middle East impel us to avoid offending the Arabs as far as possible. Above all, the State Department apparently fears that any suggestion of U.N. enforcement may bring Soviet Russia into the Mediterranean—a domain which we consider safe for our military forces, but not for Russia's.

In short, the obstacle to U.N. enforcement is the strategic duel of the big powers. It was the same sort of power politics that caused the League to throw Spain and Ethiopia to the wolves. To complete the parallel, the forces which now challenge the authority and integrity of the U.N. are the feudalistic, anti-democratic, pro-fascist Arabs who played Hitler's game in the war.

The issue is now bigger than Palestine itself. The issue is whether the United Nations possesses the moral force to make its decisions stick—whether the power politics of its members can be subordinated to the collective interest in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Since American leadership was a major factor in bringing about the Palestine decision, the United States has a special obligation to lead the U.N. in backing it up. Unless we do, future pledges of devotion to the U.N. will sound mighty hollow.



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An Editorial

## Betrayal

By T. O. THACKREY

Stripped of platitudes, the statement of the United States before the United Nations Security Council yesterday cancelled out the plan for the partition of Palestine the United States fought to secure last November 29.

This is betrayal, though quick study of the statement does not disclose it—as it was intended not to disclose it.

The statement is intended to make us believe the United States is merely seeking a method of carrying out the partition decision.

The United States asks the Council to determine whether there is a threat to peace; it offers to consult with the other great powers on the formation of an international army to enforce the peace, if it is found to be threatened; it pledges to support whatever action the Council takes.

This has the sound of a constructive policy, particularly when coupled with intimations that, if the Council decides an armed militia is required to enforce the peace, a way would be found to supply arms.

It was intended to sound constructive.

But it was betrayal.

The first of the significant statements—an outrageous statement containing the very essence of betrayal—was this from the United States:

**"The Council's action . . . is directed to keeping the peace and not to enforcing partition."**

But if enforcement of the partition decision is not the business of the Council, the only United Nations organ empowered to use force, then it is the business of nobody and is meaningless.

The United States' statement is not content with nullifying the partition decision by conspiring to negate any possibility of its enforcement, however; it goes further.

**"The Charter does not empower the Security Council to enforce a political settlement whether it is pursuant to a recommendation of the General Assembly or of the Council itself,"** is what the U. S. delegate said.

## A Sacred Trust?

By T. O. THACKREY

One of the many peculiar oversights which needs to be called sharply to the attention of the United Nations in this period when the United States is persisting in calling for a trusteeship over all Palestine, is the fact that a trusteeship has already been established—but has not been supported.

I refer to the trusteeship over Jerusalem.

The gentlemen seem to have forgotten.

If trusteeship, as opposed to partition, will make for peace, as the United States insists, why is it that the United States, in common with all of the other powers, great and small, so neglects the Jerusalem trusteeship?

When the General Assembly last November 29 created the Palestine Commission, it ordered the commission to proceed with the formation of an Arabian and a Jewish state in Palestine.

But it also created a United Nations trusteeship over Jerusalem, as a direct U.N. responsibility, which would specifically guarantee the preservation of this Holy City as a shrine for the many religious faiths.

Jerusalem is not a partition problem. Neither the Arab nor the Hebrew state of Palestine is involved in its administration.

Here, then, is the test of trusteeship.

Has the United Nations assumed its responsibilities for this area? It has not. Has the United States offered, in its own behalf, or in concert with other nations, to give both moral and physical support to this trusteeship? No.

Has the United Nations ordered the Arabian states to cease the open warfare on Jerusalem which is raging hourly through the streets, mindful of the fact that, in this instance, Arabs are not warring over partition, but are making warfare directly on a United Nations trusteeship?

The answer is no.

The men primarily responsible for American foreign policy—the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense—tremble with fear and retreat shamelessly before Arabian aggression.

They speak feelingly and publicly of the risk of war, of our national security, of the sacred lives of American boys in uniform which they dare not jeopardize, when confronted by an Arabian gangster bent on making a mockery of the words honor, justice and international law.

They pose as super-patriots when challenged in the Middle East.

What is it that makes the gentlemen so cowardly, so weak, so concerned with peace and so fearful of risking American lives there; and yet so bold, so full of courage, so careless of the sacred lives of American boys in Berlin?

This statement terms the action of the General Assembly a recommendation, which it is not, rather than a decision, which it was.

It also embarks on the most dangerous of all concepts—that whether the General Assembly or the Security Council or both, reach political decisions, the United Nations under no circumstances is empowered to enforce them.

Since every question involving a threat to peace is a political question, what the United States has actually said in its anxiety to avoid enforcement of the partition decision is that no decisions can be enforced.

This is another way of stating that the way to nullify any decision is for the opposed group or groups to attack, threaten the peace, and then have the Security Council maintain peace by nullifying the decision that caused the attack.

The United States also proposes a five-power Security Council Commission to study the Palestine problem.

This commission supersedes, of course, the Palestine Commission empowered by the General Assembly to implement a decision which we now deny was a decision.

What really was done at Lake Success yesterday by the United States was to do these things:

1. Kill the partition decision reached by the General Assembly.

2. Take the whole Palestine problem away from the Assembly and place it effectively in British and Arabian hands for "settlement."

Next, we shall no doubt see the spectacle of the United States urging that Great Britain be begged to remain in Palestine "to keep the peace."

It would have been more honest to state flatly that we have placed our foreign policy in the tender hands of the British Foreign and Colonial offices, and have empowered the Nazi-Arab war criminal the ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, our new Secretary of State for Palestine.

If no other course can restore us to honor, perhaps it is not too soon to raise the question of impeachment.

— February 25, 1948

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Why are we so ready to risk world conflict in Berlin, but fearful of risking regional conflict in Arabia? Does our sacred honor have its roots only in German soil?

What is it that makes the life of an American boy so precious when confronted by an Arab bent on destroying the world's hope of peace with honor, but so valueless when confronted by a Russian?

The truth becomes more obvious each day.

The truth is that the gentlemen are not in the least concerned with the security of the lives of American boys in uniform, or with honor, or with justice . . . they are concerned with other, less virtuous, considerations: power and private profit.

The Jerusalem trusteeship is neglected because the United States and Great Britain, in company with the Nazi war criminal, Husseini, leader of the Arab Higher Committee, have agreed to betray the United Nations and all concept of international justice, and with it the world's greatest hope of peace and justice—for Arabian oil and for nothing else.

Powerful private interests in Socialist Great Britain reap dividends from Arabian oil concessions; powerful private interests in democratic America reap dividends from Arabian oil concessions; feudal Arabian chiefs are profiting privately from selling the national resources of their citizen slaves. None wishes this cozy situation disturbed.

That is why the United States is fighting so desperately before the United Nations to kill the Palestine decisions already taken by the General Assembly. Evidently the President hadn't been taken in on this three-way scandalous secret when he ordered an all-out fight for partition last November—a fight that was won by co-operation between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R.!

Just as evidently, the President knows now.

But the evil scheme is doomed to failure; the General Assembly probably will meet—but it is highly improbable that its decision will be reversed. Not even the United States, Great Britain and Arabia are likely to muster sufficient votes to achieve that monstrous betrayal.

And, meanwhile, the Palestine decisions stand.

The will of the world assembled has been expressed.

Jerusalem is the sacred trust of the United Nations.

Partition is the clear decision of the United Nations.

Mr. President, the longer the delay in returning the United States to a policy rooted in honesty and honor, the greater will be the revulsion of the people, the deeper the scandal, the more tragic the consequences to the whole world.

— April 5, 1948



MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1948.

## Palestine Retreat

Palestine has become more plainly than ever merely a pawn in the game of power politics. The United Nations has become more plainly than ever a side show. Nationalism once more has won out over internationalism. That, in brief, is the meaning of the United States' abandonment of partition.

The fact which stands out in the situation is that the United States—apparently concerned chiefly about the power struggle with Russia—has reversed its position of last November, when it was largely responsible for the Assembly's adoption of partition. Part of this change may be due to fresh evidence that the Arabs would resist partition. But suggestions that the United States expected peaceable acceptance of partition are hard to credit. American diplomats are not that naïve. The key to the shift was frankly disclosed in Secretary Marshall's speech at Berkeley—"the grave international situation."

The United States' new proposal for a UN trusteeship for Palestine is not clearly persuasive, either, unless it is a maneuver to keep the British there. If the British carry through present plans to get out, UN will have Pales-

tine in its lap by August anyway. Will a trusteeship give UN power to keep the peace? Even "freezing" the present situation does not promise peace.

A project for having Jews and Arabs "come to agreement" would be more attractive if that kind of effort had any record of success in Palestine or if there were new factors pointing to success now. The Jews, outraged by what they call the "betrayal" of partition, are not now in a mood for compromise. And the Arabs, encouraged by the American retreat before their threats, are not likely to concede much.

A firm stand for a genuine international settlement through UN has seemed to us the soundest basis even for an Arab-Jewish agreement. The present move appears to weaken UN for reasons of power politics. We are more concerned by that than by any effect it may have on Jewish or Arab fortunes. It may be necessary to retreat from firm support of a UN settlement in order to checkmate Russia. But let it be clearly recognized that if there is in this action any short-range gain for "vital elements of national security"—as Secretary Marshall intimates—there is a long-range loss for international peacemaking.

## The Reversal on Palestine.

Secretary MARSHALL has tried to take upon his own shoulders responsibility for the Administration's about-face on Palestine. He says that he recommended it to President TRUMAN and that the President approved his recommendation. That is considerate of the Secretary of State, but it is the President who must really take the blame for a series of blunders which has made our foreign policy look ridiculous.

In November we were all for partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, and got enough other nations to go along with us until we could get an O. K. from the United Nations. Then, late in February, WARREN R. AUSTIN made a statement to the Security Council which indicated that Washington was getting ready to take it all back. Finally, last week, it was announced that we have changed our minds about partition and now want some kind of trusteeship for the Holy Land.

This is quarterbacking with a vengeance! But neither Mr. TRUMAN nor Secretary MARSHALL seems to be a very good triple-threat man, able to run, pass or kick as expediency may dictate. Either our policy toward Palestine was wrong in November—wrong because nobody in authority seemed able to foresee what would surely come of it—or else it is wrong now. The Secretary of State has an explanation which is a little too glib to be persuasive. He says that since we took our original stand for partition "we have explored every possibility of a peaceful implementation of that recommendation" but without success. But what kind of "peaceful implementation" can we expect for the trusteeship plan, which starts out with two strikes on it—bitter disappointment for the Jews and no very great assurance of support from the Arabs? This episode constitutes a chapter in the diplomatic annals of the United States which few Americans can read without chagrin and dismay.

TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1948



## No More Delays

The United Nations Security Council has received the bald facts from the UN's own Palestine Commission. That is, the Council has received them formally. Actually, the facts have been plain as day from the time when the UN first began considering the partition of Palestine.

It is now time to act. The UN must have an international army of enforcement, and it must have one fast. In less than three months the British will turn over its Palestine mandate to the UN. And when May 15 arrives, a force must be there to take over.

Before that there must be a decision on what countries are to provide troops; who will command them; how they are to be outfitted, supplied and paid, and by whom. Then they must be assembled and trained and transported.

Why the UN has not discussed the need of enforcement before now is a mystery. Discussion should have begun the day after the Arab governments gave official, explicit notice that they would not recognize partition, and would oppose it by force of arms.

There are considerations of policy and politics beneath the surface of the major powers' attitude toward enforcement. This government, for example, has to think about such things as the oil that the Arabs sell us, and the possible result of Soviet participation in enforcement. It must weigh the demand for lifting the embargo on arms for the Jews against the opposition to such shipments by Britain, which is still the

mandatory power.

But these considerations, and those of other countries, seem trivial compared to what will happen to Palestine and the UN if partition is not enforced. And since the majority of the UN member nations are not bothered by the problems that confront the big powers, why haven't some of them come forward with a call for action?

It is quite evident what will happen if nothing is done. The Jews will have a bad time of it, even if they are supplied with arms after the British leave. They will be greatly outnumbered by an international army of invading Arabs.

UN prestige will receive a heavy blow. The Palestine question finally found Washington and Moscow in agreement. That was encouraging. But if the UN is to bow before the first challenge of its first major decision, it may collapse like the League of Nations—only much faster.

It seems certain that the blustering Arab front would dissolve before any concerted show of power. By modern military standards, the Arabs' equipment is primitive. Their threats and saber-rattling are directed toward the nations that are their best customers. It is unlikely that, in a showdown, they would want to cut themselves off from their major source of revenue.

But any enforcement action must come through the UN. If individual governments should intervene, the present suspicions and ambitions would increase. They might sow the seeds of World War III. So there is only one choice. The UN must act, and act quickly.

— March 16, 1948



## OPINION

## Look at the Record—and Weep

He is for partition. He is against partition. He is for trusteeship because it won't need enforcement. He is for trusteeship with British enforcement. He is for trusteeship with American enforcement but without American troops, or maybe with. He is for UN, but he is against what UN decides. He is for truce; but he is against partition which would bring a Jewish truce, and he will not say that he is for an Arab state which would bring an Arab truce.

Asked why the U. S. A. supported partition originally, he says that a schoolboy's hindsight is better than a President's foresight. If this means anything, it means he thinks the U. S. A. should never have supported partition. But apparently he has no more faith in the schoolboy's hindsight than in his own foresight, for in the next breath he insists the U. S. A. is still for partition.

He is the master logician. Consider: he wants Jews and Arabs to agree. For 25 years, while the British have been in Palestine, the Jews and Arabs have failed to agree. Ergo, says he, the British must stay on in Palestine.

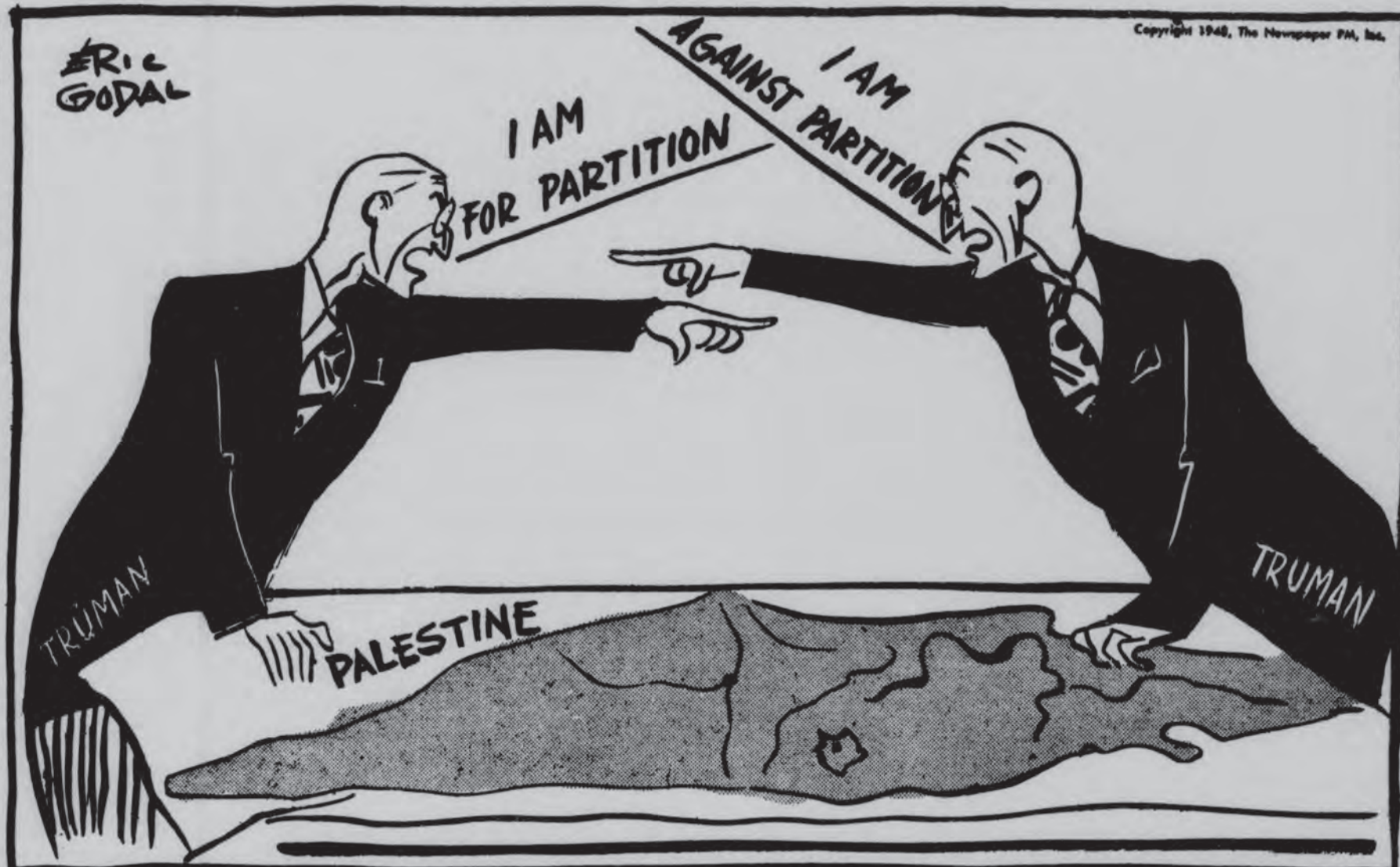
He is an eminent international jurist. He says: "We have explored every possibility consistent with the basic principles of the UN Charter for giving effect to partition. Unfortunately, it has become clear that the partition plan cannot be carried out at this time by peaceful means."

Has he read the UN Charter? Article 41 of Chapter VII says:

"The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions. . . . These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communications and the severance of diplomatic relations."

Has the U. S. A. tried any of these "peaceful" means? Yes—but not against the Arabs. Only against the Jews. For what else is the U. S. embargo on arms to the Jews but an "interruption . . . of communications"?

He is the world's greatest physicist, specializing in vacuums. He says: "Trusteeship is not proposed as a substitute for the partition plan, but as an



effort to fill the vacuum soon to be created by the termination of the (British) mandate on May 15."

Fill the vacuum with what? A pencil-fiddling trusteeship commission which will stop violence by shaking its collective head and saying: "Naughty! Naughty!" Or an army? If an army, which army? The UN army which couldn't be formed to enforce partition? The U. S. army which couldn't be sent to implement partition on "both charter grounds and as a matter of national policy"? The British army? But supposing, for once, the British mean what they say, and withdraw their army?

Well, you can always fill Palestine with Nature. The Nature which abhors a vacuum. Is this U. S. policy on Palestine: pro-Nature? Or Nudism? Or Rosicrucianism? Or the transmogrification of the incarnate?

He is the great peacemaker, the shedder of sweetness and light: "I have instructed Ambassador Austin to urge upon the Security Council in the strong-

est terms that representatives of the Arabs and Jews be called at once to the Council table to arrange such a truce."

Truce, its wonderful! For the last three weeks U. S. delegates have been talking truce to the Arabs and Jews. In U. S. delegation headquarters at 2 Park Ave. At French delegation headquarters at 4 E. 79th St. At Chinese delegation headquarters at 350 Fifth Ave. Also, on previous occasions, in the General Assembly, in the committee room of the ad hoc Committee on Palestine, and in the delegates' lounge at Lake Success. Also, still earlier, a UN commission talked truce to Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Hebron, Nablus and almost every other corner of the Holy Land as well as in Beirut, Lebanon.

Truce, its wonderful! The Jews have said: "By all means truce, if you give us the partition UN has promised us." The Arabs have said: "By all means truce, if you throw partition out of the

window." They said that before the President's statement yesterday, and they have said it again since—in New York, in Beirut, in Cairo, in Jerusalem, in Tel Aviv, in Nablus, in Hebron, in Damascus, in Lake Success.

Must they say it again in the Security Council? Is the President really disinclined to believe anything unless it is uttered in the sacred chamber of that august body? What a place to look for truth!

Mumble-jumble, the voodoo incantations of a man who wants desperately to succeed, and is desperately afraid he can't even succeed himself. That's how he talks. What is he really thinking?

Whatever it is that the President is thinking, I know what western European diplomats at Lake Success are thinking. They are thinking: Here is the great country, which promises us help against the 500 divisions of the Soviet Union, reduced to drizzling impotency by a couple of thousand Arabs brandishing small arms.—VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN.

## Washington Perspective

## Partition Already Exists

By I. F. Stone

## WASHINGTON

The impression created in this country is that the American Government is trying to make up its mind whether or not to partition Palestine.

The actual situation in Palestine, as disclosed in first-hand reports by recently returned travellers and in confidential reports to Lake Success, is quite otherwise.

These reports show that partition by and large is already an accomplished fact. What is bothering the American State Dept. and the British Foreign Office is not whether to enforce partition, but how to undo it. Their search is for the way in which they can destroy the Jewish State with the least possible public outcry. In the Arab



areas, the Arabs have achieved virtual independence. The British have withdrawn most of their troops from the Arab portions of Palestine. Those remaining have been instructed to obey the control orders of Arab gendarmes and pickets, to stop at road blocks, to show their papers and to acquiesce in searches.

The British no longer make any effort to control the frontiers which divide the Arab part of Palestine from Egypt, Trans-Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Thus the Arabs have been free to bring in men and supplies from the surrounding countries.

The Arab part of Palestine is split into two parts under three area commanders. Samaria is controlled by Fawzi el Kaukji, one of the leaders of the '38-'39 uprising who was in Berlin with the Mufti during the war, but came back bitter against the Mufti. The anti-Mufti forces, whose stronghold was in the Arab cities of Samaria, have rallied behind el Kaukji.

In the rest of the Arab country, there are two area commanders, both lieutenants of the Mufti—Abdel Kader el Hussein in Jerusalem and Hassan Salameh in Jaffa. Salameh was a German parachutist during the war and was dropped by plane in Palestine late in 1945.

In the Jewish area, virtually all governmental services, including police stations and police have been taken over by the Jews, who now have effective control not only in the thickly settled areas of the coastal plain and the Emek, but in the Negev as well.

The major threat to the Jewish State, which was a going concern weeks before its provisional proclamation last week, lies not so much in the Arabs as in the British troops.

Most of the British troops have been withdrawn from the Arab areas and most of them are concentrated in the Jewish areas.

Were the UN Assembly to reverse its decision on partition and were the British to assume the trusteeship proffered them by the U. S. A., these troops would be available for action, i.e. for war, against the Jewish State.

The actual situation is thus pretty much as planned by the British months ago. The Arabs are free to bring in volunteers, the British forces have been concentrated in the Jewish areas, the Jewish State is blockaded from the sea by the British Navy and "blockaded" in another sense also by the American arms embargo.

Partition is in effect, but under circumstances which have given the Arabs freedom to prepare for war while Jewish resistance is being hamstrung by Anglo-American policy.

Should the British withdraw their troops as promised and end their naval blockade of the Jewish seacoast, the UN would be unable to impose a trusteeship on Jewish Palestine without organizing an international force or obtaining American troops to make war on the Jewish community there.

Partition exists, though under circumstances arranged by Anglo-American policy to favor the Arabs against the Jews. It can no longer be ended by statements from the White House or reversals at Lake Success.

The only "hope" today of the enemies of Jewish Palestine is to stall along, to continue the British naval blockade and the American arms embargo, and to stir up the Arabs for a mass attack after May 15 on the Jewish area.

Anglo-American policy today is not aimed to "conciliate" the Arabs. Its aim is to use the Arabs to crush the Jews as quickly as possible, if possible. Its real, though not its declared aim, is to liquidate the Yishuv, to "reverse" partition in blood.

The fumblyings and mumblyings at the White House are not as idiotic as they appear to be. They are desperate efforts to play for time while hoping for Arab victory.



# THE PLAIN DEALER

AND DAILY LEADER

## AGAIN BETRAYAL

In reversing its stand for the partition of Palestine the United States has seriously weakened its position as a great power, opened the door to the Russian interference which it fears, abandoned the United Nations as an instrument for peaceful international relations and solved nothing.

The world can only view with amazement the request of the American delegate, Warren R. Austin, that a special session of the General Assembly be called to reconsider the Palestine question.

The request that the Holy Land be placed under a United Nations trusteeship is the culmination of the confusion which prevails in policy-making quarters in Washington.

American policy has suffered a rout from the position taken on Nov. 29 when, with 30 other nations, it approved the recommendation of the United Nations Commission on Palestine that the territory be divided into independent Jewish and Arab states with Jerusalem an international territory.

From that day the pro-Arab element, the strategists and those fearful of Russia got to work in Washington. Until Feb. 12, at least, there was no apparent change. On that day President Truman again expressed his support for partition. Twelve days later Austin, acting merely as the administration mouthpiece, uttered his famous weasel words and double talk at Lake Success, the collective intellectual product of Washington's "best minds."

Since then the peregrinations before the Security Council have clearly highlighted the American determination to push through the reversal which came Friday. The moral obloquy which the United States has incurred by this new and inexcusable betrayal of the Jews is matched only by the stupendous stupidity of the new policy.

A cursory examination of the factors involved proves this. The real reason for the change is fear of Russia. America professed to believe that Russian troops attached to the international force that was needed in the Holy Land to keep order after the expiration of the British mandate on May 15 and until the new states were functioning entities would subvert the whole Near East from western control.

The reversal has not obviated this fear, fantastic as it is, for an international force still will be necessary to institute a trusteeship. In truth, the change has increased the danger of Russian meddling in the oil lands at the crossroads of three continents.

By its reversal the United States has made the Palestine problem more chaotic than it has been since the day in 1922 when Britain accepted the mandate from the old League of Nations. The betrayed Jews are determined to have their own state. The Arabs, to whose sensibilities the western powers have always catered, are likewise dissatisfied. Disorder will continue and excuses, if not reasons, multiplied, for Russian intervention to "keep order." After all, the Near East is the vestibule to the Soviet Union from the south.

Another reason for the betrayal, one in which Secretary of Defense Forrestal is particularly interested, is the strategic supply of oil from Iraq and Saudi Arabia. This may be jeopardized, it is believed, if the Arabs are alienated.

Ibn Saud, absolute master of Saudi Arabia, has publicly proclaimed that the Arab-Jewish tension will in no way be allowed to interfere with western exploitation of the petroleum in his kingdom. Ibn Saud is too interested in keeping the royalties flowing into the royal coffers to permit any political consideration to interfere.

Iraq, which but recently rejected a treaty of friendship with Britain, has clearly indicated that its relations with the west are not predicated on any issue growing out of Palestine. Should the Iraqi interfere with production in their fields it will be because they resent foreign exploitation, are extremely proud of their young independence, and not because they like or dislike the United Nations decision on Palestine.

Moreover, the oil can be brought out through the Persian Gulf without going through pipe lines transversing Syria, Palestine or Transjordan. Then, too, the whole question of American oil needs in the Near East is one that could well stand a full airing by Congress.

By this stand the United States, which took the lead in creating the United Nations, now takes the lead in destroying that world body as a medium for peace. It has said, in effect, that United Nations decisions are valid only so long as they coincide with what the powers in Washington believe to be national interests.

## No Room At the Inn



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NEW YORK AGE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

## PALESTINE AND MR. TRUMAN

WHEN President Harry Truman announced his civil rights program to the nation, THE NEW YORK AGE commended the President highly for his stand on an important issue.

The commendation by this paper for Mr. Truman's pronouncement was made, not because we happen to be a Negro newspaper, but because we are a patriotic, American organization and we automatically stand up and cheer for anything which we sincerely feel is good for America.

Mr. Truman has made another pronouncement.

He has made a pronouncement on Palestine.

The Truman statement on civil rights was a confirmation and reaffirmation of faith in the basic principles of the Constitution and human decency.

The Truman statement on Palestine is a denial and betrayal not only of a people, but also of a promise and of justice itself.

It was not good for America. It was not good for the world.

Because Mr. Truman has made a positive and forthright statement on Negro rights, we are not bound to side with him on every issue.

True Americans are with you when they consider you right and dead against you when they consider you wrong.

We consider that President Truman has made a fatal error, which chalks up a black mark against the American record of justice. That record needs no more black mark.

— Cleveland, March 21, 1948

— April 3, 1948



March 27, 1948

## THE *Nation*

### *Partition Was the Pay-off*

THE government is now fully committed to military preparation for war with Russia. For this, it needs bases on both sides of the Mediterranean. To secure them, it is willing to pay a price which smacks strongly of Munich. This is the real reason behind our abandonment of partition in Palestine.

The new plan, more than a month in the making (it was reported in *The Nation* of March 6), bears no relation to the actual items on the agenda of the Security Council; British sabotage of the United Nations resolution, armed revolt against it, and the Palestine commission's request for an international force.

The victims of this new policy are not the Jews, but the peace-loving peoples of all nations and the United Nations itself. The victors are Britain and its sabotage; the Arabs and their blackmail; and, not least, the military clique in our own government, led by Forrestal and briefed by Loy Henderson. To that clique, the President has abdicated his authority over the foreign policy of the United States.

A day before its announcement, the President was not aware that this reversal of policy had been decided upon. In fact, he assured an outstanding Zionist leader on March 18 of his continued efforts to hasten the implementation of partition. Not he, nor any leader of Congress, nor any representative of either political party had been consulted.

THE aim of the United States now is a tripartite trusteeship in administration of Palestine, with the British as principals. France is to be returned to the Middle East via the back door. The American role is to underwrite the whole enterprise and to serve as coadministrator. Under the new plan, *we are prepared to send American troops to Palestine*. A special meeting of the General Assembly will pass on the proposal.

To make the betrayal of partition more palatable to the Jews, the State Department plans quietly to lift the arms embargo and to propose writing into the trusteeship agreement provisions for some additional immigration and possible removal of restrictions on the sale of land. And if the Jews should still resist—well, we shall have an army in Palestine to “keep order.” And at home, those officials who have dared to charge the President with “lack of patriotism” on the Palestine issue will hardly hesitate to accuse proponents of partition of divided loyalties.

Secretary Marshall says the new policy was forced by the failure of big-power consultations, the certainty that no implementing resolution would pass the Security Council, the fear of resulting chaos in Palestine. If this is so, the fault is ours. At no time since November 29 has

the United States made any effort to secure implementation. On the contrary, we are guilty of collusion with the British and the Arab states to defeat it. When the Security Council discussions opened, the United States, Russia, France, Canada, Belgium, and the Ukraine were committed to partition. China, Britain, Colombia, and the Argentine had abstained in the November 29 vote. Syria was the sole dissenter. Only one vote was required to insure the passage of an implementing resolution; it would have passed had we given the signal.

How, then, did it come about that the Chinese proposed, and the French, under Cabinet instructions to follow America's lead, seconded the maneuver of retreat? The representative of the government of Chiang Kai-shek, dependent for its very life on the support of the United States, was the man who threw in the monkey wrench—always with American acquiescence.

Twice, skilful interventions by Gromyko almost won out; first, in defeating Security Council indorsement of “consultations” for revision; again when, for a brief moment on March 16, the United States and France agreed that the Arab revolt constituted a threat to peace. So fearful were the British of such a declaration, and of the further possibility that they would be asked to police the area, that they rushed Gladwin Jebb, Bevin's senior adviser, to Lake Success to prevent it from being made. Their great dilemma was how to avoid *publicly* casting the veto which *actually* they have been exercising by their behavior ever since partition was voted.

CAN the trusteeship proposal be carried? Probably. In the Security Council, the Russians can register their opposition by an abstention; even a veto would not prevent a General Assembly meeting from being called. Whether or not the small powers that supported partition can now resist the American steam roller is a question. The outlook is not very encouraging.

None the less, trusteeship will have a hard road to travel. Whether or not the Arabs resist, the Jews will. The de facto Jewish state, proclaimed by Ben Gurion, can of course be crushed by British arms under the current emergency regulations. Will the United States support the British? Will the Congress send troops to put down a Jewish state when presumably it would not do so to carry out partition? The answer of the American electorate, and particularly of the progressive elements, can be decisive. At least two weeks must elapse before a special session of the General Assembly can be held. In the interval, an integrated revolt must be organized—aimed at the President and the Congress—against America's betrayal of its own policy and of the United Nations.

WATERTOWN, N. Y.  
TIMES

#### PALESTINE MUDDLE.

President Truman's most recent statement on Palestine will do nothing to clarify the issue. He calls for an immediate truce between the Jews and the Arabs. He says that he has not abandoned the idea of eventual partition but says peace must be assured first. In order to assure such peace, he would have the United Nations establish a trusteeship.

The Arabs lost no time in denouncing the proposal for a truce as long as partition is still contemplated at some time in the future. Evidently, therefore, the president's suggestion is going to get nowhere. The Palestine issue is left exactly where it has been and the fighting will continue.

The president also criticized Britain for withdrawing from Palestine on May 15th rather than Aug. 15th. He said he didn't know why the British were giving up their mandate in May instead of August and added that he was not running the British government.

The suggestion has been advanced in some quarters that our government has abandoned partition because we feared that Russian as well as American troops might have to be sent to Palestine to enforce the decree. Under a UN trusteeship, would not this same thing happen? Russia would have a right equal to ours to participate in such a trusteeship.

It all adds up to the fact that we are following the British policy and are trying to appease the Arabs. The British could never make this work and neither can we. Until we adopt a forthright Palestine policy, one based on justice and not expediency, the Palestine issue will continue just as confusing and just as baffling as it is now.

— March 26, 1948



## DOUBLETALK ON PALESTINE

President Truman at his news conference yesterday did an unusual amount of talking, and a considerable percentage of his total word output was devoted to Palestine.



Warren R. Austin

Warren R. Austin, U.S. delegate to the United Nations, last Friday revealed our Government's classic welch on Palestine, when he took back all the Administration had previously pledged for partition and asked the UN to set up a temporary Holy Land trusteeship pending some other solution of the Jewish-Arab differences.

The welch having pleased nobody but the Arabs, the Russians and some characters in our State and Defense departments, Mr. Truman yesterday attempted to explain and justify it.

Unfortunately, he said, partition cannot be carried through by peaceful means right after the British drop their mandate on May 15. But unless "emergency action" is taken, that date will most likely signal the outbreak of "large-scale fighting" in Palestine. Mr. Truman insisted that the UN temporary trusteeship plan is workable, and that it is up to the UN to make it work.

The United States, he said, "is prepared to lend every appropriate assistance to the UN in preventing bloodshed and in reaching a peaceful settlement." He ended with this peroration: "With such a truce and such a trusteeship, a peaceful settlement is yet possible; without them, open warfare is just over the horizon. American policy in this emergency period is based squarely upon the recognition of this inescapable fact."

What we'd like to know is the specific meaning of all this mess of solemn wordage. For instance, what does "every appropriate assistance" by the United States include? The President said earlier in the statement that it did not include sending American troops to Palestine.

But if American policy is based on recognition that a truce and a trusteeship can prevent a full-scale Palestine war, how does the President propose to back up that policy? By moving some of our Mediterranean naval forces to the Palestine coast and telling the Jews and Arabs to calm down or else? And if they don't obey that order, what then? Or just what does Mr. Truman have in mind?

As we read this vaguely worded statement of yesterday, it seems to have been just an assemblage of high-toned doubletalk, coming from a Chief Executive who doesn't have any definite plans in the Middle East crisis.

We doubt that this failure to lay any concrete facts or proposals on the line will satisfy any more people than did the Administration's welch on Palestine last Friday.

—and in the Washington Times-Herald  
of the same date

RACINE, WIS.  
JOURNAL TIMES

## Palestine Blunder

Abandonment by the United States of the Palestine Partition plan represents a serious diplomatic blunder despite contentions that the shift was politically expedient to avoid war in the Holy Land and at a time when Soviet-American relations are reaching another crisis.

America was responsible for obtaining approval of the partition plan by the U.N. general assembly. Now Secretary Marshall says that "partition could not have been achieved through peaceful settlement." Marshall also adds that "informal consultations with other members of the Security Council have made it clear that the council would not now pass a resolution to proceed with partition."

The Arabs warned U.N. early and often that they would resist partition. Therefore, the state department certainly knew, even before it pushed the partition plan through the assembly, that force would be necessary to enforce the plan.

The argument now that the plan is being rejected to avoid the use of force makes little sense.

Further, it is evident that simply transferring Palestine from the British trusteeship to a trusteeship under the U.N. will not eliminate the need for troops to quell the present fighting between Jews and Arabs. The British had to use troops during their mandate under the League of Nations, and it was the failure of the Jews and Arabs to agree on Palestine's future after the British withdrew that brought the matter before the U.N.

Now the United States proposes to return to where we were before the U.N. began a study of the problem, and try once again to get the Arabs and Jews to agree. In view of the failure of the British during 20 years, and the failure of partition as proposed by the U.N., it is, we believe, asking a miracle, to expect a peaceful solution under the new U. S. proposal.

The State Department must also have known there was likelihood that the Arab countries might try to punish America for supporting partition by shutting down our oil supply in the Near East.

The Arab resistance won out, but no one will ever know whether the Arab nations would have backed down if we had been willing to call their bluff.

However one may feel about partition, the American handling of it has weakened our own world prestige. It has strengthened Russia's position. And it has dealt the U.N. a heavy blow.

The United States, not Russia, has thrust aside a majority decision of the assembly of nations, and it has further weakened the U.N. by asking it to retreat before the opposition of a few small, weak countries.

The newest proposal is in no sense a solution to the age-old problem of Palestine. It merely backs us up to a previous position from which mankind has a right to expect a better start can be made.

Meanwhile, thousands of lives may have been lost while America failed to press for enforcement of our own partition plan.

— March 24, 1948



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# MIAMI DAILY NEWS

## UN, U. S. And Palestine

It is none too soon that the Palestine commission has come to the conclusion that it must find a way, probably through the United Nations security council, to raise an international force to keep the peace in Palestine during and after the transition from the British mandate to independence under the proposed partition.

The Arabs have made it plain beyond the slightest doubt that they will overrun the new Jewish state unless they are faced by the twin blocks of organized international disapproval and insurmountable armed strength. Invasion of the new state, whether by member states of the Arab league, or by filibustering parties raised, trained and set in motion within the territories of these states, would be in direct violation of the United Nations charter.

Clearly, the sanctity of international engagements and the prestige of the United Nations are at stake. So, also, are the more limited but equally vital interests of the democratic community within the United Nations. Failure to protect Palestine would be a blow to all that these nations stand for, and it would gravely injure their moral credit in the world. It might also injure their strategic position by encouraging a Soviet attempt to send troops of their own on the pretext of enforcing the UN's decision. If the Russians launched such an adventure, we would accede to it only at the cost of our whole strategic position in the Middle East. Contrariwise, we would resist it only at the risk of having full-scale war flame in the Levant, a war which it would be virtually impossible to localize once it got under way.

In view of these facts, it should be America's role in the Palestine commission and in the security council, to press with all its might for immediate organization of an adequate international force to guard the Jewish state. Bulwarks

which we erect in advance will ward off trouble. Vacuums which we leave unfilled by timidity or vacillation will invite trouble. If we drift, we may wake up someday in late spring to find ourselves already in the vortex of armed conflict.

In the meantime, as a hedge, although an inadequate one, against delay in organization of the UN force, we should find ways of making it plain to the Arabs that, if forced to act alone, we will take a part no less bold than the part we have taken in Greece. But there is a step even less drastic which we can and should take right away. We should repeal the embargo on the export of arms to the Jewish Agency, to Hagannah and to all legitimate Jewish defense forces already on the scene.

The states of the Arab league are arming and training for the undisguised purpose of assaulting Jewish Palestine. The British are sending arms to the Arab league states. The British say that they are sending only normal quantities which presumably will be used to equip the national forces of those states. But who is to guarantee that those forces will not be launched against Palestine? If they are not sent as national forces, who is to say that men and arms, or even arms alone, will not be diverted, unofficially to the aggressors, in the manner of Hitler's and Mussolini's operations in Spain?

If the Arabs are getting arms from the outside world and the Jews are not, the result will be a foregone conclusion, that is, unless the UN intervenes effectively. In other words, our "non-intervention" would in effect be intervention—intervention to overthrow the settlement which we ourselves created. Surely we had enough of this kind of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war to bring us a full understanding of its hypocrisy, its cynicism and its mortal dangers.

JAN. 25, 1948

ESTABLISHED 1869

### The Chattanooga Times

#### A REGRETTABLE REVERSAL

America's sudden reversal of its stand on partition of Palestine will accomplish little, save the extension of bitterness over the entire question. It is a retrogressive step for our nation to take and one which most people will regret.

Zionists who hailed the United States' leadership in securing the partition plan's acceptance by the United Nations last September are understandably most bitter. But, regardless of one's feeling on the correctness of partition, most citizens do not like to see the United States back down on a stand firmly taken and a covenant solemnly entered into.

If there was any hope the proposal for a United Nations trusteeship over Palestine would halt the conflict and save bloodshed, there would be more justification for our about-face. But the fighting goes on, and there is no end in sight.

In Tel Aviv, an informed Jewish source said leaders may proclaim a Jewish republic anyway. Then "it will be up to the United Nations to

recognize it, ignore it, or suppress it," he added.

What can be the Arabs' reaction to such a move except to step up their opposition?

The dependence of the United States on oil supplies from the Middle East apparently has entered into the decision. There was this bitter comment from a spokesman for the Jewish Agency for Palestine:

"Oil has apparently become more expensive and more important to the United States than Jewish blood. It is not altogether surprising, that the United States should sell out the Jewish state in favor of its own plans."

If, indeed, we are purchasing oil with our reversal, we are doing so at a heavy cost. Our turnaround will rankle in the breasts of the Jewish people for generations to come. And the host of small nations who look to America for leadership will be disheartened and mistrustful for our having faltered.

— March 21, 1948

## Washington Memo

EDITOR: Charles Van Devender  
Associate: Oliver Pilat, James A. Wechsler  
and William O. Player Jr.

### Arabs Are Bluffing With Vital Oil, Their Cards Show, and Still We Fall for It

Washington, Feb. 10.

American policy on Palestine is being influenced, and perhaps determined, by one of the most amazing bluffs in history—the threat that this country's access to Middle East oil will be cut off unless we repudiate the United Nations decision to partition the Holy Land.

Fantastic thing about this bluff is that all of the cards are showing—and all that the Arab League and the Mufti's Higher Committee for Palestine have is a busted flush.

Public and private dispatches during the past six months from Syria, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia have agreed on one point: The Arab countries are even more desperately interested than is the U. S. in completion of the pipelines that will bring full development of Arabian oil fields and that will mean dollar prosperity to the Arab governments as surely as it will mean oil plenty to the Western Hemisphere.



FORRESTER

The Arab rulers are not interested in francs or pounds, for the obvious reason that nothing much can be bought with those currencies. What they want is dollars. Strangely enough, they are also dependent on this country for distilled oil products to run the thousands of American automobiles, trucks and buses they have acquired in recent years. Gasoline in Syria and Lebanon is now being rationed and is producing from \$1.60 to \$2 a gallon in the black markets.

Little Lebanon, alone, is counting on \$100,000,000 of oil company money being spent in that country during the next few years in completing the Mediterranean pipeline. In Syria, where the pipeline means employment for 60,000 persons, demonstrations against the government have occurred in an effort to speed ratification of the pipeline agreement.

Throughout the Middle East there is a realization that if political difficulties result in U. S. steel being diverted to tankers the pipelines probably never will be built.

Yet there are American officials—of whom Defense Secretary Forrester is the most important—who have completely fallen for the Arab bluff that the pipelines will be cut off unless the U. S. repudiates the U.N. decision on Palestine. And the frightened propagandists of the oil companies here are actively bolstering the spectres raised by Forrester.

When the full history of the mysterious and undercover Washington drive against partition is finally written the heretofore unused name of James Terry Duce may merit an extensive chapter. Duce is the vice-president in charge of operations of the Arabian-American Oil Co. He journeyed to the Middle East soon after the partition vote at Lake Success.

According to information from highly responsible sources, Duce's pilgrimage was a fateful turning point. In conversations with Arab leaders at Beirut he expressed his company's disappointment at the terms of the U.N. decision. They, in turn, suggested that there was a "way out"—the abandonment of partition and the establishment of a Hebrew equivalent of the Vatican state in Jerusalem.

Duce returned to this capital last month. He subsequently conferred with officials in both the State and Defense departments and reported to his company that he had received a "warm response" from some influential dignitaries. Duce reportedly found that the "Red threat" was the most persuasive argument and he played it hard.

Now the words that he recited have become common Washington language and are being echoed by some top-ranking government officials. Lobbyists for Standard Oil and Socony Vacuum are promoting the same campaign, using Duce's "reports" as a major weapon in their underground drive.

But the interesting—and unpublicized—side of Duce's story is that he also is said to have informed his company that there was no early danger of the cancellation of oil leases; that the problem was "long-range."

In any case the chronology is significant. For it shows that the renewed fight against partition here broke loose at just about the time that the unheralded agent of Arabian-American Oil began circulating his scare tales and it also supports the belief that the dire Arab threats to cut off Middle East oil from America are pure bluffs.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1948



## Peace in the Holy Land

Mr. McDonald Dissents From the Gildersleeve Report

To the New York Herald Tribune:

My reading in the New York Herald Tribune today of the statement of the Committee for Justice and Peace in the Holy Land and the explanation of the Chairman, Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve, has left me with a feeling of amazement and consternation: amazement that the group of American educators and religious leaders who have endorsed the new Committee should ignore the realities of the Palestine problem and basic Christian interests in the Middle East; and consternation that these leaders should in the name of "peace and justice" invite the United Nations to commit suicide by yielding to Arab aggression and to Arab threats of war.

The sponsors of the Committee are quoted as contending that "the Palestine problem must be solved through conciliation or some sort of compromise agreeable to both the Arabs and the Jews." This is tantamount to asking the Jews to surrender their hopes and their rights in Palestine. The Arab leaders when they appeared to give testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (of which I was one of the American members) were unanimous and unyielding in their demand that the Jews should relinquish all special rights or claims to such rights in Palestine. Unashamedly, these Arab leaders demanded the scrapping of the Balfour Declaration with its clear and solemn pledge to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. They demanded, too, the scrapping of the League of Nations Mandate which incorporated the Balfour pledge and which had made that pledge the international law of the civilized world for decades. In short, the Arab spokesmen would agree to nothing less than that the Jews become a helpless and defenseless minority in their historic, their promised homeland. In the two years since the Anglo-American Committee concluded its hearings, Arab intransigence has not diminished. Instead, if that were possible, it has increased.

In view of this Arab defiance, the call of the Committee for "compromise agreeable to both the Arabs and the Jews" must have the effect of bringing pressure to bear upon the Jews to yield to Arab intransigence. How such pressure can contribute towards "peace and justice in the Holy Land" is a mystery which neither the Committee's statement nor the explanation of its Chairman does anything to clear up. The amazing fact is that the Committee and its sponsors could have so completely disregarded the obvious pro-Arab effect of their call for "compromise."

Similarly, the Committee ignores the miracle of re-creation which the Jews have worked in Palestine under the Mandate and the beneficent effect of that re-creation upon the welfare and the feelings of the masses of the Arabs in the country.

That the Arab worker and peasant are not unaware of the benefits of Jewish enterprise, modern techniques and devotion to the land is evidenced by the fact that in the recent outbreaks of violence the masses of the Palestinian Arabs have had little or no part. On the contrary, the Arab attacks have been spearheaded by guerrillas or members "on leave" of the armed forces from across the frontiers. Surely if the rank and file of Palestine Arabs were as violently anti-Jewish as their self-appointed leader, there would be no need—since the Arabs outnumber the Jews two to one—for assistance from Syria, Iraq and other neighboring Arab states.

Among the sponsors of the new Committee is such a large proportion, if not a majority, of Protestant religious leaders that the reader naturally concludes that Christian interests in Palestine and the Middle East would be advanced by the proposed surrender to the Arabs. Precisely the opposite would be the more likely result of such un-Christian sacrifice of the Jews to Arab fanatical nationalism.

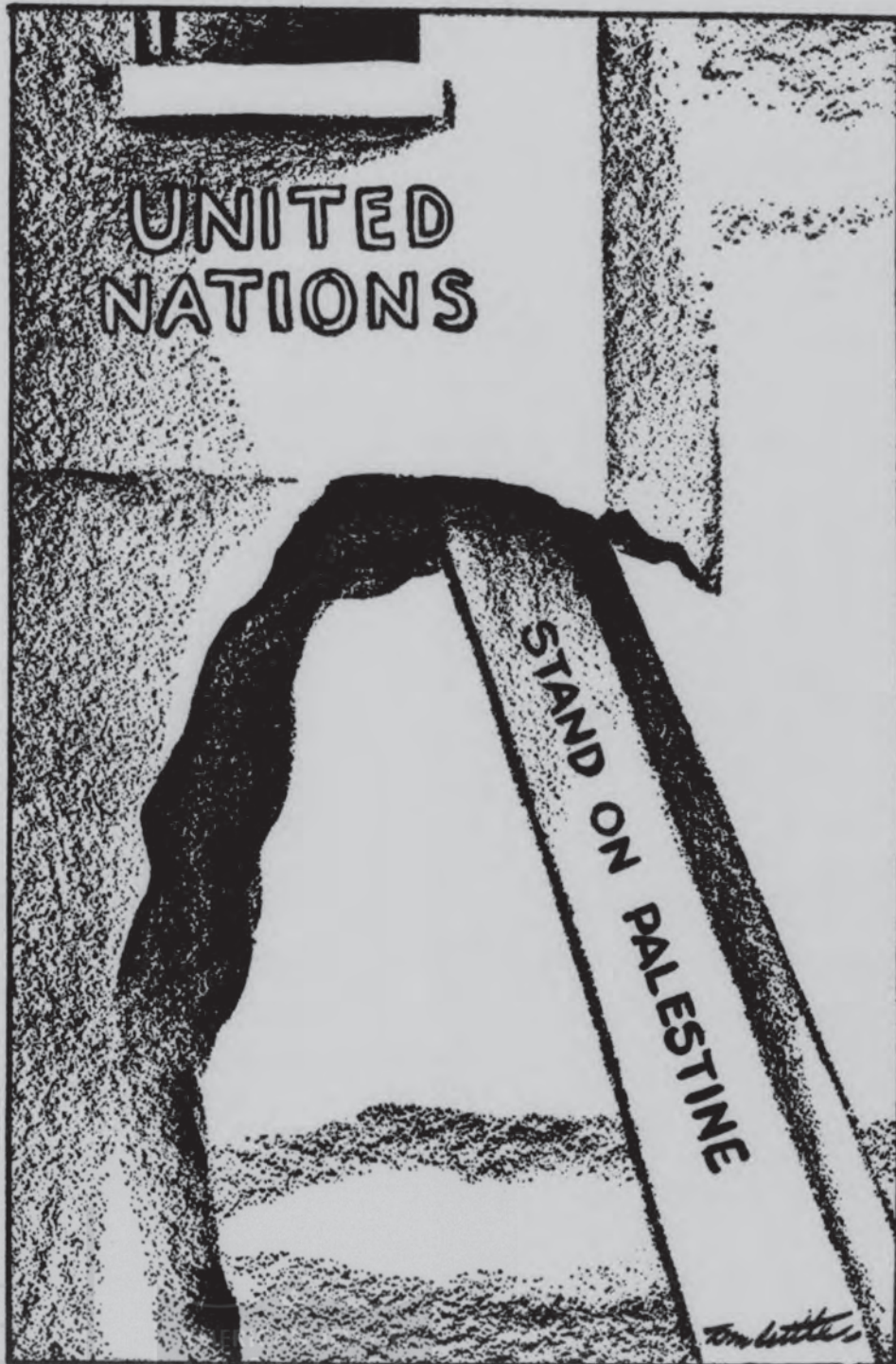
During the investigation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Palestine and the neighboring Arab states, we were given many opportunities to hear either in open session or private interviews, the opinions of Christian leaders. Of all these leaders none impressed me as deeply as did the Patriarch of the Maronites. This venerable head of one of the most important Christian sects in the Middle East was unqualified in his support of the Zionist aspirations in Palestine and in his denunciation of those Moslem leaders whom he charged were, in the name of Arab nationalism, preparing the way for a frontal attack upon Christianity in that area.

The Patriarch's statement made to me in the presence of his advisers was in substance as follows: "In Palestine the Zionists are synonymous with rebirth and fertility; the Arabs have been synonymous with aridity and decay. The only menace to Christianity in this part of the world is from the success of inflamed Moslem nationalists. Tell your American Christian friends this truth about the danger which threatens Christianity here." Very respectfully I suggest to the Christian leaders sponsoring the new Committee that they take account of the Patriarch's warning.

Recently one of the official organs of the Church of England, "The Record," put the case incontrovertibly: "There can be no impartiality between right and wrong, between justice and injustice. . . . The only consistent course would be for the U. N. to declare the Jews as allies and defenders of the world conscience. The Haganah might logically be appointed as the international force in Palestine."

In all fairness is not this approach at once more realistic and Christian than that of the new Committee, which by urging appeasement of Arab aggression, invites the United Nations to commit suicide?

JAMES G. McDONALD.  
New York, March 3, 1948.



"HOW STRONG" —by permission of the Nashville Tennessean

### The Bridgeport Post

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1948.

#### Palestine a Challenge and a Solution

The effective implementation of the United Nations General Assembly decision on the partition of Palestine is the crucial test of the value of United Nations.

Here is a situation where the great powers are in agreement. If the decisions of this world body cannot be effectively carried out in this instance, what hope can there be of its working where the great powers are on opposite sides?

The issue here is whether a small block of Arab States, all dependent on the Western powers for their economy, openly hostile or secretly aiding the Nazis in World War II, being led by the Grand Mufti, Hitler's ally in the last war, may set at naught a decision of the United Nations General Assembly, arrived at after an impartial investigation and decided by larger than two-thirds majority of the Nations and after hearing all parties concerned.

How well the United Nations meets this challenge to its authority will determine its prestige and ability to meet the other problems which await solution.

To meet this challenge the United Nations must set up a small police force composed of levies from the smaller nations so as to avoid the jealousies between the larger world powers.

Then if Great Britain is unwilling or unable to preserve the peace or protect the Jewish Colonist, give the Jews in Palestine the opportunity to defend themselves for the time being. Sell them arms legally and arm their militia—not the terrorists but those recognized by the Jewish Agency.

It is ironic to give them partition but to disarm the Jews who must meet the threats of the surrounding Arab States which are arming the guerilla bands invading Palestine. Do this until the slow machinery of the United Nations can be made to work and do an effective job.

In the meantime when reading the news of fighting in Palestine bear in mind that the Jews in Palestine have been awarded the right to a Jewish State by the Council of the Nations of the World and are defending themselves from the state of anarchy which the Grand Mufti and the Arab State are trying to bring about, hoping in this way to prejudice the Jewish case and to re-open the decision. These facts must be kept in mind in order that the record can be kept straight.



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THE  
ARAB  
WAR  
EFFORT

A DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT



# THE ARAB WAR EFFORT

*A Documented Account*



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This organization combines the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, and continues the work of both organizations.



*We of the American Christian Palestine Committee have felt it imperative to assemble and publish this account of the part played by the Arab lands in the Second World War. In doing this we are motivated by a profound concern with the central issue of our day—the need for shaping a stable peace on democratic foundations.*

*The tendency to forget the lessons of the past has always been one of man's most dangerous characteristics. It is acutely dangerous now in the decisive days following the great agony of the war. It has become painfully clear that unless we apply to the building of the peace the lessons learned at such cost during the war, we shall not be able to meet the new perils threatening to undermine our life on this planet. One of those hard earned lessons was simply this: that appeasement does not work. The enemies of human freedom could neither be bribed nor cajoled. Munich proved that once and for all.*

*The material presented in this publication proves it once again. It demonstrates how in the days when Hitler's supremacy seemed certain, Britain was deserted and betrayed in a most strategic part of the world by peoples whose friendship she had strained herself to win. Yet now in 1947 we seem to be returning to the policy of appeasement in dealing with precisely those Arab leaders who did their utmost to aid the Axis powers. The essence of British policy in the Middle East has not altered since 1939. It has been affected but little by the failure of appeasement and by the collaborationist record of the Arab States and of the men who led and still lead them.*

*The American Christian Palestine Committee believes the pages which follow to be profoundly important. The record they present should make the governments of the western democracies reconsider very carefully their course of action in the Middle East. Are we to follow the barren and perilous line of appeasement and reaction in this nerve center of the world, the Middle East? Or are we to act along new and truly democratic lines? The facts presented here should help us reach a decision.*

*This publication does not claim to exhaust the subject of the Arab war effort. Of the thousands of available documents, fewer than a dozen are published here. Of the long lists of hundreds of Arab agents on the German payroll, only a few are mentioned. Of the numerous cases of sabotage, only a few are recorded.*

*We have appended official British and other documents to the text. A number of these have previously been published in the American, European, or Middle East press. We wish also to acknowledge the use we have freely made of the Memorandum on this subject submitted by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in February 1946.*

DEAN ALFANGE

Chairman, New York State Chapter,  
American Christian Palestine Committee



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## Pre-War Links with the Axis

**I**t is not claimed that the facts stated in this document constitute a revelation. They do not appear to be in dispute in any responsible quarter. There seems, however, to be a tendency to ignore them as no longer politically relevant. This tendency, we submit, is a most unfortunate one, for the data herewith presented point to conclusions that are still valid with regard to the political reasoning prevalent among the Arab peoples. Those peoples have now become full-fledged members of the United Nations. Their voices are heard in all international deliberations. The facts about their political and social beliefs and allegiances are thus of genuine importance to all concerned with the establishment of a stable and democratic world order.

That during the war there was a period of Arab collaboration with the Axis is generally, if vaguely, known. Yet—whatever the reason may be—most recent discussions of the Middle East omit or slur over that “unfortunate” period. Arab spokesmen have apparently come to believe that the true facts of Arab pro-Nazi activity have been forgotten. They are now actually claiming rewards for the help which they say the Arabs gave the democracies. In the face of this rather amazing perversion of history, it would seem important to publish a documented account of the Arab war effort—material which otherwise would almost certainly never reach the general public.

No observer of conditions in the Middle East before the war could have denied that animosity towards the British and sympathy with the Axis powers were widespread among the common people of the Arab countries who were not enemy agents in any direct sense. These feelings permeated the majority of the population, while the leaders often cooperated directly with the Axis. Fascist and Nazi ideologies were not so much imitated as paralleled in the Arab world; they fitted into modes of thought already in being and were taken up by existing political clubs and associations. This leaning towards Fascism was strengthened by the “appeasement” policy practiced by the British in the Middle East even before Munich. British colonial officials seemed to believe that it was necessary to make every effort to win over dangerous and extremist elements among the Arabs: those moderate Arab leaders among whom were some real democrats (the late Dr. Shahbandar of Damascus, for instance) could be safely ignored, since they presented no threat to British interests. Hence most of the money spent by the British with a view to gaining Arab sympathy went into the pockets of a few uncompromising extremist leaders, for the most part of Fascist tendencies. Little was done to gain the sympathy of the masses through improvement of health, education, housing, and it was only natural that the masses should come to believe in the infallibility and power of those extremist leaders whose favor the British were currying.



After the war began, the unpolitical masses were impressed by the propaganda promises and the military successes of the Germans, and they long remained convinced of the ultimate victory of the Axis Powers. The attempts Britain had made to meet what were considered legitimate Arab political demands were interpreted as symptoms of fatal weakness; and British propaganda on Nazi brutality only served to confirm Arab belief in Germany's strength and the wisdom of being on her side. Thus, even the few pro-British Arab leaders felt obliged to conceal their opinions and to pose as anti-British, in order not to forfeit the support of their following.

Significant evidence as to the way the Arab world felt during the war has been given by an Englishman particularly qualified to speak, Glubb Pasha, Commander of the Transjordan Arab Legion. He wrote, discussing the Iraqi revolt of 1941:

The British of course always knew we were going to win the war, but at the time of these operations every Arab was perfectly convinced that Britain was finished for ever, and that it could only be a question of weeks before Germany took over Arabia. The Iraqis were perfectly sure of this or they would not have declared war on us . . .

In brief, during the six weeks before the fall of Baghdad, every Arab was convinced that we were done for. Every Arab force previously organized by us mutinied and refused to fight for us, or faded away in desertions. The men of the Arab Legion alone not only stood firmly by us, but played a most active, energetic and valuable part in our little campaign.<sup>1</sup>

Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and the Lebanon did not declare war on Germany until February 1945, when the end of hostilities was imminent and victory had become absolutely certain. These declarations of war at the eleventh hour were merely formal, since none of these states took any direct part in military operations. The declarations were obviously aimed at securing seats in the United Nations Organization in the establishment of which at San Francisco only those nations were permitted to participate which had declared war on the Axis before March 1, 1945.

One Arab principality did declare war on Germany as early as 1939. It was Transjordan which was under British mandatory rule and was not independent, having to rely mainly, as it still does, on grants-in-aid from the British Government, which also maintains the country's military force, the Arab Legion. Iraq declared war in January 1943, after the reversal of the fortunes of war at Al-Alamein had proved definite. This declaration was clearly motivated by the need to atone for the stab in the back Iraq had given the Allied cause in 1941.

The general attitude of the Arab States was a reflection of the long-standing relationship between certain Arab circles and the Axis Powers. The trips by Arab students to Germany and Italy, the visits of German politicians and agents to the Arab East, the flow to Arab countries of money and of Arabic newspapers and magazines from Germany and Italy, the propaganda broadcasts in Arabic by the radio stations of the Axis—all these activities had over the years created the state of affairs which was exploited during the war. In the case of Palestine, it is by now generally acknowledged that the Arab Riots of 1936–1939 were stimulated and subsidized by Nazi and Fascist sources. The Mufti of Jerusalem through his agent in Geneva, Emir Shekib Arslan, was in contact with Mussolini years before the war. Some of their intercepted correspondence was published as early as 1935 in Arab papers opposed to the Mufti.

<sup>1</sup> In the appendix to Somerset DeChair's *Golden Carpet*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1945, p. 243



IN SYRIA AND THE LEBANON connections between certain groups of Syrian leaders and the Axis States were of long standing. There were a number of strong pre-war Arab-Nazi organizations—the Iron Shirts (led by Fakhri al-Barudi of the National Bloc, member of the Syrian Parliament to this day); the League for National Action (headed by Abu al-Huda al-Yafi, Dr. Zaki al-Jabi and others); the An-Nadi al-Arabi Club of Damascus (headed by Dr. Said Abd al-Fattah al-Imam); the Councils for the Defense of Arab Palestine (headed by well-known pro-Nazi leaders, such as Nabih al-Azma, Adil Arslan and others); the Syrian Popular Party (led by the Fascist Anton Saade, who escaped during the war to the Germans and was sent by them to the Argentine). The National Bloc, the principal party in Syria, and more particularly the Istiqlal group (headed by Shukri al-Kuwatli, now President of the Syrian Republic) had for many years been openly pro-Nazi.<sup>2</sup>

Before the war Baldur von Schirach, leader of the Hitler Jugend, visited Syria on a special mission and established close contact with these circles, particularly the An-Nadi al-Arabi Club, and with the Arab youth organizations.

IN IRAQ, xenophobia has long been characteristic of the political mentality of the country's leaders, and even the so-called pro-British group is not entirely free of it. The Army plays an important part both in domestic and foreign policy, and it was entirely pro-Nazi before the war. In Iraq, as in Syria, there were a number of pro-Nazi clubs and associations which were in contact with the German Ambassador, Dr. Grobba. Among them may be mentioned the Al-Muthanna Club, founded by Dr. Amin Ruweiha, Said Thabit and others, and the Al-Futuwa Club, which sent delegates to the Nuremberg rallies. In the early part of the war, Iraqi politicians had relations with the German ambassadors in Baghdad and Ankara. Von Papen's top contact man with Middle Eastern Arab circles was the well-known Iraqi politician, Naji Shawkat.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of the war there were a considerable number of political emigrés in Iraq; most of them had come from Palestine, were violently anti-British and had close connections with the Germans. These included Haj Amin al-Husseini, Jamal al-Husseini, Munif al-Husseini, Daud al-Husseini, Is'haq as-Salah al-Husseini, Amin Tamimi, Hasan Abu Saud, Fawzi Qauqji, Izz-ad-Din ash-Shawa, Is'haq Darwish, Dr. Amin Ruweiha, Salim Abd ur-Rahman, Darwish Maqdadi and many others. With the help of the Iraqi Government, some of them had become civil servants and teachers in Iraq, and were thus in a position to propagate their doctrines among the masses of the people.

Haj Amin al-Husseini, ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, was the central figure in the group. He had come to Iraq from Syria in mid-October 1939. Nuri Said, then Prime Minister of Iraq, received him with the state pomp and ceremony usually accorded a visiting hero. On October 22nd Nuri Said gave an official banquet in his honor, attended by members of the Cabinet, the Presidents of the House of Representatives and the Senate, Rashid Ali el Kailani, and many other notables. This was the first of a series of similar receptions and celebrations, attended among others, by Taha el Hashimi, Minister of Defense, and Ali Jawdat el Ayyubi, at present Iraqi Minister to Washington.

<sup>2</sup> See below, Document I in the Appendix, a description of Syrian Political Parties taken from an official British Military Handbook, issued by Middle East General Headquarters for the use of British troops about to invade Syria in June 1941. The pro-Nazi character of almost all the parties is obvious at first glance.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Document II below, an official British report entitled *A Short History of Enemy Subversive Activity in Iraq, 1935-1941*, issued by the Defense Security Office, C.I.C.I., in Baghdad, April 11, 1945.



The hospitality of the Iraqi Government did not end with these banquets. The ex-Mufti was voted £18,000 by the Iraqi Parliament and was further paid the sum of £1,000 a month out of the Iraqi Secret Service Funds in addition to the 2% attached at source from the salary of every Iraqi Government official, including the military and the police. Over and above these official grants, the Iraqi public responded to the appeals of the Red Crescent Society and the Palestine Defense Society by contributing considerable amounts in order that Haj Amin and his retinue might live in the lavish style to which they had been accustomed.

Haj Amin set out at once on a working program.<sup>4</sup> His first move was to organize into an efficient and active pressure group the Palestinian refugees and Syrian reactionaries who crowded around him. He made his first inroads into the Iraqi Government by engineering into office his own Palestinian and Syrian followers. At the same time Haj Amin extended his influence to certain Iraqi nationalist organizations (some of which already enjoyed German support and money). Fascist in character, they were willing victims of his intrigue.

Immediately upon his arrival in Iraq Haj Amin bent his efforts toward renewing and strengthening his contacts with the Axis agents. Authoritative sources report that he was paid £60,000 by the Germans and £40,000 by the Italians.

As later events proved, far and away the most important of the ex-Mufti's associations in Iraq, however, was with Rashid Ali el Kailani and the four commanding officers of the Iraqi Army—known as the "Golden Square." These officers now began to interfere quite openly in Government politics and made no secret of their anti-British pro-Axis bias. Their sentiments were soon shared by the majority of Army officers and official military opinion held that a German victory was inevitable. Increasingly convinced that Nuri Said's British associations would irrevocably compromise Iraq when the Axis finally emerged triumphant, this group forced Nuri Said to resign and on March 31 made Rashid Ali el Kailani Prime Minister.

This maneuver was the first open step in Iraq's active participation on the side of the Axis. Immediately the reins of Government were in their hands, the rebellion started. The revolt against the British was launched in April 1941.<sup>5</sup>

## The Iraqi Revolt

Up to the time of the Iraqi revolt the general line of the Arab governments had been the cautious one of avoiding any definite step which might involve commitment to the Allies or cause offense to the enemy, as long as the issue was in the balance.

At the beginning of hostilities, the Arab States did break off diplomatic relations with Germany. When, after attacking France, Italy entered the war on what seemed clearly the winning side, they were by no means eager to break off diplomatic relations with her. In the early years of the war, the Italian embassies and consulates in Cairo, Baghdad and other cities

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Document III, *The Ex-Mufti's Role in the Iraqi Revolt*, report by the British General Service of Intelligence (G.S.I.), December 1, 1941.

<sup>5</sup> Whereas the revolt broke out in April, it was not until May 2 that the Iraqi Government declared war formally on Britain.



became centers of anti-British espionage and intrigue, and most Arab Governments connived at the activities of Italian diplomats and their Arab agents, despite repeated British protests.

The Iraqi revolt came when the outcome of the war seemed certain. In the spring of 1941 Britain's fortunes were at their lowest ebb. Neither Russia nor the United States had yet entered the war. The full fury of the Axis was directed against Britain. The British armies had just been driven out of Greece. In Syria the Vichy regime worked hand in glove with the Italo-German Armistice Commission, preparing footholds there for the German armies. In the Western Desert the Axis forces were already on the move. General Glubb's observations as to Arab confidence in an Axis victory, have already been quoted. The Iraqis, as he said, were perfectly sure of it when they rose against England.

The revolt had of course been planned as an integral part of German strategy. Had the Iraqi succeeded in attaching Iraq to the Axis orbit, the Allies would not only have lost their chief source of oil—Iraq and Iran—but even more crucial results would have come about. Hitler would have split the British Empire in two. The Western half would have been cut off from its source of raw materials (India), while the Eastern half, with its armies in the field would have been left isolated and without supplies. Hitler might thus, at that time, have succeeded in beating each half separately. The Germans would have pushed for an immediate juncture with Japanese forces who had already started the Indian Subhas Bose revolt. The Russians could ultimately have been outflanked by an invasion from Iraq to the Caucasus. Alamein and Stalingrad would have been Axis victories. (*See map, p. 11.*)

It was indeed a critical moment that the Iraqi rebels, prodded and aided by the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, chose for their uprising. For two months the fight hung in the balance. British troops were rushed to Basra from India. A column left Palestine and moved by forced march across the desert into Baghdad. For the rebels, German and Italian airplanes, refueling in Syria, were thrown into the fight. Trainloads of French arms were shipped to Iraq by General Dentz, Vichy High Commissioner in Syria and the Lebanon, upon instructions from the Italo-German Commission. At the call of Haj Amin and the Iraqi military, subversive elements throughout the Middle East were touched off into activity.\*

Looking back, one sees that it was by sheer miracle, by the courage of the British columns converging on Baghdad, but most of all by the heroic Greek and British resistance in Greece and Crete—resistance which held until May 20, 1941, thus preventing the Germans from transporting reinforcements of men and material to Iraq—that the Iraqi revolt was quelled.<sup>†</sup> In their impatience the rebels had struck just a bit prematurely. Without large-scale Nazi aid Iraq's army proved no match for two small British columns.

The Kailani coup d'etat was not, as is sometimes thought, the work of a small group of officers and politicians. A collection of documents published in Iraq under the name *Al-Wathba* shows that the leaders had the cooperation of officials, heads of tribes, workers and Beduin. The heads of the Moslem faith in Iraq, Sunnites and Shi'ites alike, called upon the faithful to

\* See below Document IV, *Summons to a Holy War Against Britain*.

<sup>†</sup> "The significance of all this was not, of course, lost on General Smuts. Speaking at Bloemfontein, two years later, of this turning point in the war, when Hitler planned to strike at Russia through Syria and Iraq in 1941, concurrently with his attack from the west, he said, 'Who prevented this? Greece. Those precious six weeks altered the history of the world. They gave us time to get hold of Syria and save Iraq from rebellion.'" (*The Golden Carpet, op. cit.*, p. x)



take part in the rising and destroy the British. Muhammad al-Khatib, Director of the Supreme Moslem Theological Seminary in Karbala, published a *fatwa* on the duty of the Iraqi people to join in the fighting.<sup>8</sup> The Chief Preacher of Baghdad<sup>9</sup> addressed an urgent appeal to the Moslem world for assistance. Many others of the Moslem clergy did the same.<sup>10</sup> The few Iraqi politicians who were opposed to the coup and to the pro-Nazi regime had to flee. Under Rashid Ali, diplomatic and *de facto* relations with Germany were resumed. A treaty was signed giving Germany rights to the oil of Mosul, and the use of the railways and airdromes. In return Germany undertook to provide military help.<sup>11</sup> Haj Amin al-Husseini's letter to Hitler on the preparation of the revolt, dated January 1941, was later found in Germany.

The rising aroused deep enthusiasm in the Arab world. Outstanding personalities openly expressed sympathy and support. King Faruk of Egypt sent a telegram of congratulations to the rebel Iraqi Regent, Sharif Sharaf, appointed by Kailani after the Regent Abdul Illah fled. Thus Egypt's official recognition of the insurgent regime was conveyed. In Syria and the Lebanon which were under Vichy rule, sympathy for the Iraqi rising could be expressed more freely. Hashim Atasi, President of the Syrian Republic from 1936 to 1939 and one of the leaders of the National Bloc, sent congratulations and called upon the Syrians to assist the Iraqis. Messages of encouragement<sup>12</sup> were received from Riad as-Sulh (Lebanese Premier in 1943-44 and member of the Lebanese delegation to U.N. in 1946); from Ihsan al-Jabri, a prominent leader of the National Bloc; from the National Party in Aleppo.

Only the fact that the Kailani regime was short-lived prevented the Arabs of other countries from sending concrete assistance. Such assistance was prepared, and to a slight extent funds and arms were actually sent. In Syrian towns, committees were set up for the collection of funds, medical aid, and the recruiting of volunteers. Students at the American University of Beirut informed the Lebanese Government of their desire to form a fighting unit. Some of the most active workers on behalf of the Iraqi rebels (like Adil Arslan, Nabih al-Azma and others) have recently returned from political exile in Turkey and Germany and are continuing their political activities. The majority have become heads and members of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments: Shukri al-Kuwatli, Riad as-Sulh, Habib abu Shahla, Emile Lahud, Sabri al-Asali, and Farid Zayn ad-Din.

## Palestine and Transjordan

In Palestine there was a marked intensification of the anti-British whispering campaign and distribution of anti-British leaflets among the Arabs. Attempts were also made to recruit active supporters for the Iraqi rebels, but owing to the speedy suppression of the rising and the weariness of the Palestine Arabs after years of terrorism, there was little response. The major contribution which the Palestine Arabs made to the Kailani rising was the

<sup>8</sup> *Al-Bilad* of May 6th, 1941

<sup>9</sup> Shakir al-Badri; see *Al-Bilad* of May 27, 1941

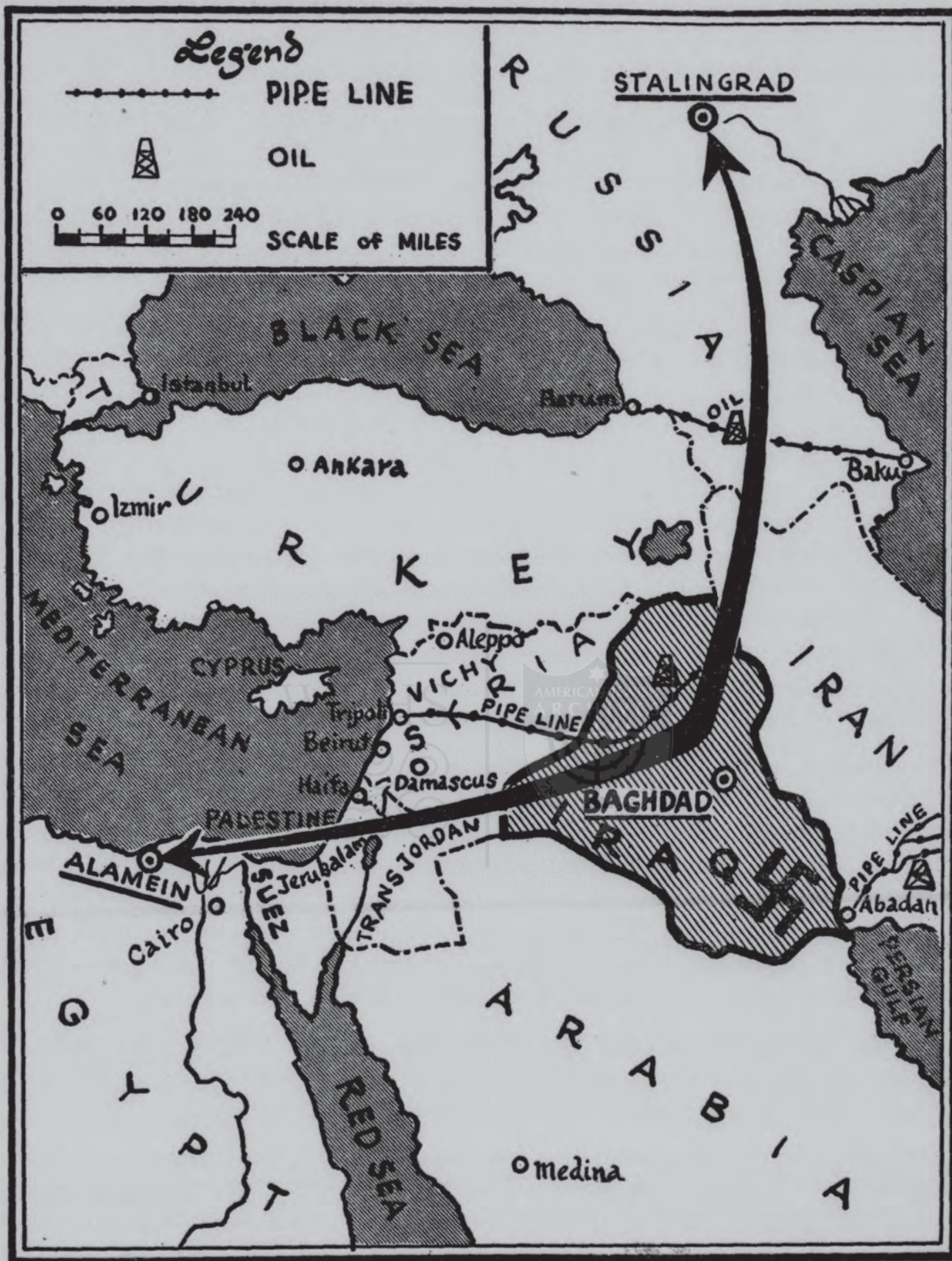
<sup>10</sup> *Al-Bilad* of May 13, 1941

<sup>11</sup> B.B.C. on June 17, 1941. *Al-Itbaghr* (Basra Arab daily) of June 18, 1941

<sup>12</sup> Full details can be found in *Al-Bilad* and other Baghdadi papers of April and May 1941; also in *Al-Watbba*, mentioned above and the Syrian press.



# POTENTIAL RESULTS OF THE IRAQI REVOLT



## WITH IRAQ UNDER AXIS CONTROL:

1. Germany would have controlled the oil of Iraq and Iran.
2. German and Japanese forces would have attempted a junction somewhere in Asia.
3. The British Empire would have been split in two.
4. Alamein and Stalingrad would have been Axis victories.



propaganda and organizational activities of their emigré leaders in Iraq. This is described below, as is the direct aid to Germany in espionage, sabotage and recruiting, given by Arabs under the leadership of Haj Amin el Husseini and his followers, operating from Germany and Italy after the failure of the Iraqi revolt.

In Transjordan intensive propaganda was carried on on behalf of the Iraqis, and mass meetings and demonstrations took place. Here, concrete assistance was also rendered. The Beduin tribes in the desert between Transjordan and Iraq made raids upon workers employed on the oil pipe-lines; the line was cut on several occasions and in a number of places. Attempts were also made to obstruct the movements of British troops dispatched to Iraq to suppress the rising.<sup>13</sup>

During the revolt the Transjordan Frontier Force mutinied against the British. German propaganda and anti-British agitation had been carried on in the Force almost openly for some months before the coup in Iraq. The ring-leaders were Arab officers, under one Shukri al-Amuri, who was serving as Acting Adjutant with the rank of Major. When the Transjordan Frontier Force was dispatched to Iraq to help British forces quell the revolt, the command was in the hands of Shukri Amuri. On reaching the Iraqi frontier (H3 Pumping Station) the Transjordan Frontier Force squadrons mutinied, both officers and men refusing to march further. They were arrested, disarmed, and sent to Zerka, the headquarters of the Force. Berlin Radio gave full details that very evening. As the rebels numbered hundreds it was considered unwise by the British Military Authorities to bring them all before a Court Martial. It was feared that this might have a bad effect on other Arab military units. Accordingly, the rebels were not sentenced but were given the option of leaving the Force without receiving the usual bonuses and gratuities.

One whole squadron, numbering 160 men, resigned from the service, with the exception of five who were Circassians or other non-Arabs. Nearly all the men of the other squadrons did the same; in all, 500 men of the Transjordan Frontier Force either resigned or were discharged. Some officers were detained, while others, Shukri Amuri, Amin Izz-ad-Din, and Dib Rashid Ariqat, were discharged, and instructions were issued that they were not to be accepted in any other military formations. The last mentioned officer was re-admitted a short while later into the British Forces with the rank of captain. Unlike the Transjordan Frontier Force, the Arab Legion did not mutiny, a fact which was given wide publicity.

Desertions from the armed forces of Middle East countries—both by high ranking Arab officers and by soldiers—form a chapter of their own. Desertion was repeatedly urged in Nazi radio and leaflet propaganda and by the Fifth Column in each country.

The Arab leaders in Germany vigorously propagandized against enlistment of Arabs in the British Army. This, as it happened, was hardly necessary. So few Palestine Arabs joined the Army that Syrians, Lebanese and Transjordanians were encouraged to cross into Palestine and enlist as Palestinians, to fill the quota fixed for Palestine Arab units. It will be recalled that Jewish enlistment in parallel Jewish infantry units was held down to the Arab rate—a rather peculiar service to the war effort on the part of the Palestine Administration. It took the steadily worsening military situation in the Middle East and the continued pressure by Jewish volunteers to break down this attempt at "equality." In all, as the Secretary of State for War stated in the

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Bilad* of May 28, 1941



House of Commons on April 2, 1945, 25,714 Palestinian Jews served in the British Forces and 9,041 Arabs.

Many Arab soldiers from Palestine went over to the enemy. The Germans had some success with the help of Arab leaders in mobilizing recruits for their Arab brigades from among Palestinian Arab prisoners of war. In the liberation of Europe Allied forces took prisoner a number of Arabs in German uniform, who had formerly been soldiers in the British Army.

Apart from desertions to the enemy, there were many hundreds of cases of ordinary desertion by Arab soldiers, some of whom left their units with their arms. At least half the Arab soldiers who joined up in Palestine disappeared from the ranks of the British Army through desertion or through discharge on the ground that they were unfit for service.

## Egypt and the War

The declaration of war by Italy was of direct concern to Egypt, which had a common frontier with the Italian North African colonies. The Egyptian Government, however, did not reply with a counter-declaration of war but contented itself with the severance of diplomatic relations. It allowed the Italian diplomatic corps and some thirty-five other Italian nationals to leave Egyptian territory unescorted. The British request to have their documents examined was not acceded to by Ali Maher, then the Egyptian Prime Minister. Numbers of Italians in Egypt were interned, but one suspected spy was granted Egyptian citizenship (he was an official at the Egyptian Royal Court). The pro-Italian tendencies of King Faruk were well-known—it was not without reason that Victor Emmanuel when deposed chose to live in Egypt.

A similar attitude was maintained by Egypt towards Vichy France. The Egyptian Government broke off diplomatic relations in 1942, only as a result of British pressure.

Hostility was shown towards political refugees who escaped to Egypt from German-occupied countries. When King George of Greece reached Egypt, the Government submitted to a German ultimatum and forced him to leave, even though such action was not obligatory by international law.

The anti-British and pro-Fascist sympathies of the Egyptian Court were well-known to the public in Egypt and in Arab countries. Anti-British sentiment ran high in the Egyptian press. The Egyptian Parliament also took up an aggressively anti-British attitude. Not infrequently anti-British allegations levelled in the Egyptian Parliament and press were those broadcast the night before by the Arabic radio of Berlin or Rome, Bari or Athens. The British were accused of eating up the supplies of the country and causing starvation among the poor, despite the fact that hundreds of millions of pounds sterling were spent by the British in Egypt (in military construction, etc.) and that thousands of starving fellaheen were employed and paid high wages by the British Army. Some 350,000,000 pounds—almost one and a half billion dollars—were spent by the Allies in Egypt during the war. Yet the British were blamed even for the Egyptian cotton crisis despite the fact that had they not purchased the entire crop—and at a price forced up in the bargaining—not a bale would have been sold. They were held responsible



for the German air bombings of Egyptian cities. These accusations always culminated in the demand that the British Army evacuate Egypt immediately and forever.<sup>14</sup>

The anti-British campaign led to acts of petty obstruction and sabotage. British soldiers were attacked and sometimes killed in the streets of Egyptian towns. The greater part of the Cairo "native quarter" was out of bounds to troops. The man who murdered Amin Osman Pasha in December 1945 confessed that in 1940 he had been connected with the assassination of British troops.

Active sympathy with the Axis was expressed in public demonstrations whenever the German forces approached Egyptian territory. This feeling was largely traceable to organized Fascist and Fifth column activities. The principal center in Egypt was the Fascist Misr al-Fatat organization. Its leaders were detained in 1940, but the young men in its ranks continued to apply the doctrines of their "Fuehrer," Ahmad Husein. Groups of students of Al-Azhar University, too, formed a center of anti-British feeling and some of them were active in the ranks of the Fifth Column.

The most important function of the Fifth Column was the transmission of intelligence to the Germans and Italians. The Arabic broadcasters of the Berlin and Bari radio stations, listened to with great interest and confidence in all Arab countries, were frequently in a position to give political and even military information about events in Palestine, Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon and Iraq, on the evening of the day they occurred, with details which, though grotesquely exaggerated, indicated first-hand knowledge. On several occasions secret wireless transmitters were discovered in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine. In Palestine the police discovered a secret transmitter in an Arab orange grove, the owners and operators of which are still in detention.

UNDER ALI MAHER, the Egyptian Government had pronounced anti-British tendencies. In the summer of 1941, it became known that Salih Harb Pasha, Ali Maher's Minister of Defense, had handed Italian Military Intelligence the secret plans of Egypt's defenses, as well as British military information communicated to the Egyptian Government. Ali Maher himself and the Egyptian Chief of Staff, Aziz Ali al-Masri, were suspected of complicity. This revelation led the British to secure the detention of Ali Maher, Salih Harb and others. They were released in 1944 and 1945.

As for Aziz Ali al-Masri, his dismissal had long been demanded by the British authorities. All that Ali Maher had done was to give him a protracted leave. Al-Masri came into the lime-light again on May 12, 1941, during the anti-British coup in Iraq, when he attempted to reach the Axis lines in an Egyptian military plane. He made a forced landing on Egyptian territory, whereupon he was at last arrested. He was released in 1945, but re-arrested in January 1946 in connection with the assassination of Amin Osman Pasha. Al Masri was not the only one. A military trial was held recently of an officer of the Royal Egyptian Air Force, Salim Radwan, who with his friend Muhamad Abu as-Saud, flew to the Axis camp in an Egyptian airplane on July 7, 1942. Salim was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment; his friend has not yet been traced.

<sup>14</sup> An anecdote springs to mind which reveals worlds about the Egyptian feeling that the war was by no means their war. In *PM* of June 13, 1941, Robert Neville in a dispatch entitled *Egyptians Give British Half Hearted Support* wrote: "Ed Kennedy of the Associated Press was collecting Egyptiana; from a trip to the Suez Canal he brought this one: 'The train that runs from Ismailia and Port Said is equipped with an anti-aircraft gun operated by a British anti-aircraft gunner. The Egyptian State Railways make the gunner buy a ticket for each trip'."



It is common knowledge that in February 1942 the British had to use force to compel the Egyptian court to appoint a Government from which some measure of loyalty to the British cause might be expected.<sup>15</sup> According to a description of the events of that time later published in *Akhbar el Yom*, British tanks with their guns trained, surrounded the Abdin Palace, and thousands of fully armed troops patrolled the neighborhood. One tank forced the palace gate and was followed by the British Ambassador, Lord Killearn, and the Commander of British Troops in Egypt. The Royal Bodyguard was overpowered, and fully armed officers accompanied the Ambassador to the King's study. The palace telephone lines were cut, while police stations and the broadcasting station were surrounded by the British. While the palace was still besieged, the King summoned party leaders and elder statesmen and declared: "You have seen the British tanks. I think you will therefore agree that it is in the country's interest to accept the ultimatum for a change of government." Nahas Pasha was then called to form a new Government. He stated later: "Those who were then in power were convinced of the Axis victory and backed the wrong horse. Relations with the British had become strained in the extreme. There were street demonstrations against England with crowds shouting 'Forward Rommel!'"

Though, like his predecessors, he did not have his country declare war on the Axis, Nahas Pasha succeeded in preventing assaults on British officers and soldiers, and in putting an end to acts of sabotage against lines of communication, but even this he achieved only by arresting and detaining hundreds of Egyptians: politicians, officers, students and officials.

The successive heads of the Egyptian Government—Ali Maher, Hasan Sabri, Husein Sirri and Mustafa Nahas—had all repeatedly announced that they would declare war as soon as any Italian or German military forces set foot on Egyptian territory, but they all refrained from doing so, even when the Axis armies had marched far into Egyptian territory. Instead of responding to the bombardment of Egyptian cities with a declaration of war, the Egyptian Government repeatedly urged the British military authorities to evacuate Cairo and to declare it an open city. When the B.B.C. announced in 1942 that Egypt was about to declare war and contribute half a million men to fight the Axis, Nahas Pasha himself hastened to deny the report; he asked the Spanish Ambassador to inform the Axis Governments of his denial and to assure them that Egypt would preserve its neutrality.

The Egyptian Army was entrusted with certain guard duties in Egypt, but was "relieved" even of these during the critical period of El-Alamein. Nahas Pasha requested that in the event of a German conquest of Alexandria the British should abandon all further defense of strongholds in Egypt, in order to spare the Egyptian people unnecessary suffering. There are grounds for believing that orders to this effect were in fact given to the Commands of the British Eighth and Ninth Armies.

Apart from the regular Egyptian Army, a "Territorial Army" was formed under Abdul Rahman Azzam.<sup>16</sup> Since this leader was known to be connected with Ali Maher, the British military authorities had reason to fear that his "Army," originally intended as an auxiliary to the British forces in Egypt, might become the nucleus of an anti-British force and Fifth Column. They repeatedly demanded its dissolution which took place only after prolonged efforts on their part.

<sup>15</sup> The incident was described in full by Nahas Pasha in a speech reproduced in *Al-Balagh* of November 14, 1945.

<sup>16</sup> Now General Secretary of the Arab League



The only Egyptian statesman who openly and consistently urged that it was Egypt's duty to declare war on Germany was Ahmed Maher Pasha. During his premiership war was finally declared on the eve of the San Francisco conference in February 1945. Immediately after announcing the decision to the Egyptian Chamber, Ahmed Maher, on his way to repeat the announcement in the adjoining Senate, was shot dead by an Egyptian lawyer who, as late as February 1945, still believed that Hitler would win.

## The Levant States

Under the Vichy regime connections with Axis countries and hatred of the British could be expressed without risk in Syria and the Lebanon. There was no need for any hidden Fifth Column, for pro-Axis activity could be conducted in broad daylight. The only political group that seemed sincerely pro-British and anti-Nazi was that of Dr. Abd ur-Rahman Shahbandar. But in 1940 Dr. Shahbandar was assassinated by pro-Nazi Syrians, and after the death of its central personality his group lost influence and finally dissolved. Leaders of the Syrian National Bloc, men who are today at the head of the Syrian State, were openly accused of instigating the murder of their adversary. Three prominent leaders of the National Bloc escaped from Syria the day after Dr. Shahbandar's murder and found refuge in rebel Iraq and later in Saudi Arabia. They were allowed to return home and regain their positions after the British conquest of Syria: through the good offices of Ibn Saud, negotiations for their return were carried on with the British Ambassador to Iraq, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis. (*For an official British analysis of the pro-Nazi character of almost all the political parties in Syria and the Lebanon, see Document I on page 28.*)

During the Vichy regime and the stay in Syria of the German-Italian Armistice Commission, the hotel in Beirut where the Armistice Commission stayed became the center of Syrian political life. Syria served as a link between the Arab States within the British sphere, on the one hand, and insurrectionist Iraq and the Axis States, on the other.

When the British entered Syria, many Arab leaders presented themselves to General Dentz and offered full cooperation in repelling the attack. During the Iraqi Revolt, as has been pointed out, they offered their assistance to the rebels. Those who aided and sympathized with that pro-Axis uprising ranged from extreme nationalists to so-called progressives. They included not only old-style politicians like Shukri Kuwatli, now president of the Syrian Republic, but even Raif el Khoury, considered an outstanding progressive writer and politician. The latter, in a book published in Beirut during the Iraqi revolt, depicted it as an uprising of peasants and laborers against their oppressors.

Pro-Nazi activities in Syria and the Lebanon did not cease with the British occupation. Most of the pro-Nazi leaders fled the country (Nabih al-Azma, Izzat Darwaza, Adil Arslan, etc.) and others were detained (such as Ihsan al-Jabri, brother of the head of the present Syrian Government), but many of those who stayed on and were left at liberty continued their activities underground. It was discovered as late as 1942-43 that espionage on behalf of Germany was being carried on at the American University of Beirut by Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian-Arab students. Some of the students were executed by the British Military.



## Haj Amin al-Husseini and the Other Emigrés

Not only Syrian and Lebanese politicians joined the Axis. A great many Palestinians of the group centered around the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and Iraqis connected with the Kailani revolt of 1941, spent the war in Axis and neutral lands and gave active assistance to Germany, Italy and Japan through espionage and Fifth Column work.

The Palestinians included Hasan Abu Saud, Salim Abd ur-Rahman, Musa Abdullah Husseini, Arif Abd ur-Raziq, Saad ad-Din al-Latif, Rasim al-Khalidi, Is'haq Darwish and many others—all of them politicians who had escaped at the end of the 1936-39 disturbances. Among the Egyptians living in the Axis countries during the war were Prince Mansur Dawud (a relative of the King of Egypt), Mustafa al-Wakil (one of the leaders of the Misr al-Fatat movement), and Dr. Tayib Nasr. Iraqis (most of them leaders of the rising) who went to Germany included Rashid Ali al-Kailani himself, Naji Shawkat, Yunis al-Bahri and Fawzi Qaujji, who had been one of the military leaders of the 1936 rebellion in Palestine.

A group of Arab leaders was concentrated in Turkey, where they conducted espionage activities on behalf of the Germans. Some of these sent to Germany intelligence received from agents in the different Arab countries. Among them were: Izzat Darwaza, Akram Zuaytar, Muin al-Madi, Adil Arslan, Adil al-Azma, Nabih al-Azma and some of the Iraqi rebels.

One group of Arab leaders did not succeed in reaching Germany, but was arrested by the British authorities in Iran and sent to Rhodesia. This group included Dr. Amin al-Ruweih, Dr. Daud al-Husseini, Kamal Hadda, and Jamal al-Husseini, who was permitted to return to Palestine in 1946. Others were arrested by the British in Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt, and by the Iraqi authorities in that country.

Preeminent among all the emigrés was, without doubt, Haj Amin al-Husseini. After failing to secure bases for the Axis in Iraq, he fled at the end of May 1941 to Teheran, where he found refuge in the Japanese Embassy. When the Persian pro-Axis revolt failed and British and Russian columns met in Teheran, Haj Amin escaped again. He was an old hand at escaping: in 1920 when he was condemned to ten years of prison by a British military court for instigating a pogrom in Jerusalem, he fled to Transjordan; in 1937 when he learned of his imminent arrest by the British for the murder of thousands of Arabs, Britons and Jews during the 1936 disturbances, he fled from the Holy Shrine in Jerusalem to the Lebanon. In Rome in 1941 Haj Amin was to boast to a correspondent of the *Völkischer Beobachter* that General Wavell had put a price of 25,000 pounds sterling on his head dead or alive.

In October 1941 Haj Amin reached Italy, where he met Mussolini, Ciano and Dino Alfieri and discussed with them the possibilities of Arab-Italian collaboration. From Rome he communicated with the Balkan Moslems under Italian rule in Yugoslavia and Albania.

As soon as it became clear to him that Mussolini was altogether dependent on Hitler, Haj Amin went on to Berlin in December 1941. Here he established his headquarters. He was received by Hitler, and with the aid of such German political and military chiefs as Ribbentrop, Grobba, Weizacker, he planned his future activities. A special office for him called



# Documents Prove Mufti a War Criminal

By ARTHUR HURWICH

Cable Editor of The Post

Documentary evidence that Haj Amin el Husseini, ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, is a war criminal even under the technical definition given by Hector McNeil, British Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, is now in possession of the New York Post.

McNeil told Parliament last Monday: "Technically, the Grand Mufti is not a war criminal since he was not an enemy national and did not serve in the armed forces of the enemy."

One document, portions of which are reproduced in an adjoining column, is a report by a British security officer about enemy activity in Iraq during the war. It tells how four enemy agents, whose names are given, parachuted into Iraq on a sabotage mission under orders of the Grand Mufti. It is signed by Wing Commander H. K. Dawson Shepherd, Defence Security Officer. The date is Dec. 9, 1944.

## Agents Confessed

This and many other documents available to the British government from its own files prove what is common knowledge—that the Grand Mufti not only served in the armed forces of the enemy but actually organized Axis activities in the Middle East. German parachutists and saboteurs captured in Syria, Palestine and Iraq during the war confessed they had been sent by the Mufti. The 1941 Axis revolt in Iraq was engineered by the Mufti and Rashid Ali Keilani.

## Nailing Down the Grand Mufti

### Tel Afar Parachute Expedition

Report No. 1

Defence Security Office,  
C.I.C.I. 'Iraq,  
Baghdad.

S.405/1/1

9th December, 1944.

8. It is clear, however, that the expedition is sponsored by the Mufti and that the parachutists are all members of the Mufti's Arab Legion. That it intended to create disturbances, there is no doubt. In this connection, the ex-Mufti's broadcast on the occasion of the 'Id-ul-Adha' on the 25th November, reproduced at Appendix E, is not without interest.

### Brief description of parachutists.

H K Dawson Shepherd.  
Wing Commander,  
Defence Security Officer.

### Appendices.

- |    |   |                        |
|----|---|------------------------|
| A. | ) |                        |
| B. | ) | Personality notes on   |
| C. | ) | the four parachutists. |
| D. | ) |                        |
| E. | ) | The ex-Mufti's speech. |
| F. | ) | Equipment.             |

THIS BRITISH DOCUMENT, signed by Wing Commander H. K. Dawson Shepherd, tells how Axis agents, sent by the Grand Mufti, parachuted into Iraq during the war.



Buro des Grosmufti<sup>17</sup> was established in Berlin and later in Oybin with branches in other parts of Germany and in Italy. His activities included:

1. Propaganda
2. Fifth Column activities in the Middle East (Sabotage and Parachutist Expeditions)
3. Espionage
4. Organization of Moslems into military units in Axis-occupied countries and in North Africa and Russia
5. Establishment of the Arab Legions and the Arab Brigade

His activities were so ramified that an attempt will be made here to classify them:

**PROPAGANDA.** On many occasions, Haj Amin broadcast personally on the German controlled radio. Several other Axis stations were also at his disposal. These were: Berlin, Zeissen, Bari, Rome, Tokyo,<sup>18</sup> Athens, etc. He called on the Arabs of Palestine and on Moslems all over the world, including those in the United States,<sup>19</sup> to rise against the Allies, join the Fifth Column, commit acts of sabotage, and kill the Jews. Several members of his staff attended to radio activities. Haj Amin's broadcasts to the Middle East had an important effect on Arabs throughout that region during the dark hours of the War in 1941-1942. In addition, Haj Amin sent over to the Middle East propaganda papers and pamphlets in Arabic.

**ESPIONAGE.** From his headquarters in Berlin and Oybin Haj Amin organized a network of espionage. He had a sub-office in Geneva, Switzerland (directed by the notorious Axis agent, Emir Shekib Arslan) which served as a link between Haj Amin and his agents in Egypt and Turkey. He had another sub-office in Istanbul which had branches all along the Syrian Turkish frontier in Mersine, Alexandretta, Antioch, Adana and Diarbekr. These received information directly from Haj Amin's agents in Palestine, Syria and Iraq, and were in close contact with the members of the German Intelligence working in Turkey: Hoffman, German Consul General in Adana, Paula Koch in Alexandretta, Rudolf von Roser, Chapeaurouge in Stamboul, von Hentig, etc.

Through this organization, valuable military information regarding British troop movements were supplied to the Germans. News items about sabotage activities or uprisings like the Transjordan Frontier Force rebellion, although kept under strict censorship throughout the Middle East, were regularly and immediately announced on the Berlin radio. As has already been mentioned, several wireless transmitters, operated by friends of Haj Amin were discovered in the Middle East, and the operators were either executed or condemned to long prison terms.

**FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES.** A huge organization for Fifth Column activities was set up by the ex-Mufti. A Parachutist and Sabotage School for Arabs was established in Athens. For special courses in wireless transmission, high explosives and demolitions Arab students were sent to a school in The Hague.

Haj Amin's agents were infiltrated into the Middle East either by land through Turkey, Syria and Iraq or by parachute. Several parachutist expeditions were discovered by the British and their members, with their equipment (explosives, arms, ammunition, cameras, wireless

<sup>17</sup> See his official stationery on p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> The arrangements to record Haj Amin's broadcasts for Tokyo are described in the letter from the Japanese Embassy in Rome reproduced on p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> See Document No. V, *Address to American Arabs*, broadcast from Rome, March 19, 1943.



transmitters, money in gold), were apprehended. Among these were the Jericho expedition, the Tel Afar expedition<sup>20</sup> (Iraq) and some other expeditions in Northern Syria (Aleppo and Gezira regions and Damascus). One participant in the Jericho expedition of October, 1944, Thuelqifl, was captured, while another, a prominent Palestinian Arab, Hasan Salameh, escaped.

In order to avoid being executed, those parachutists who were caught insisted that they were "soldiers in the Mufti's Legion" and, thus, entitled to the treatment accorded to prisoners of war.

With the help of local Arabs, both parachutists and infiltrated agents on several occasions cut telephone and pipe lines in Transjordan and Palestine, and sabotaged railways and bridges in Iraq. Haj Amin boasted that because of his activities the British were forced to maintain large garrisons throughout the Middle East in order to prevent a general uprising and widespread sabotage. He insisted that only the constant vigilance of thousands of Allied troops prevented larger sabotage activities. Throughout the war every bridge and every weak point had, indeed, to be manned and guarded throughout the Middle East. In carrying out both sabotage and espionage, Haj Amin worked in close collaboration with the German Abwehr.

**ORGANIZATION OF MOSLEM LEGIONS.** One of the accomplishments of Haj Amin, for which he repeatedly claimed credit in his vast correspondence with such dignitaries as Ribbentrop and Himmler, was the organization of Moslem military units to fight for the Axis. In the Balkans Haj Amin rallied more than 15,000 Moslems into the Axis Wehrmacht in the "Black Legion" of Bosnia, etc. On a number of occasions Haj Amin personally inspected the various units and spoke to them. He was in direct contact with various Balkan quislings such as Pavelic, with whom he arranged the organization of these Moslem Wehrmacht Units. With Prof. von de Mende he established a school for politico-religious Moslem army preachers (Imams) in Germany.

Not least in importance were his contacts with the Pro-Axis leaders of the Moslems of North Africa. He submitted to the German Military Command a plan to recruit 500,000 Moroccan, Tunisian and Algerian soldiers. In Germany he opened a special North African Bureau (Maktab el Magreb) whose budget came from the Buro des Grosmufti in Berlin. During the North African Campaign (which shattered his plans for a North African Army), Haj Amin broadcast on numerous occasions to North Africa and urged the Moslems to help the Axis impede the Allies as much as they could.

In Asiatic Russia Haj Amin found hundreds of thousands of followers. He collaborated with various Moslem Russian Quislings and White Russian traitors in the formation of pro-Axis Legions. He communicated with the Crimean Tartars, the Tchechen-Ingush, with Azerbaijan, Turkestan, and other anti-Soviet groups under Russian domination. It will be recalled that because of the treacherous behavior of their population, two Russian Moslem Republics were recently abolished, and their population of 400,000 Moslems transplanted to the Trans-Urals.

Haj Amin did not confine himself to the European struggle but offered his aid to the Japanese Government, accepting their suggestion that he broadcast to the Moslems in the South Pacific and India.<sup>21</sup> Numerous broadcasts of his to India, Indonesia, Java were recorded.

<sup>20</sup> Part of the official British Intelligence reports on the Tel Afar Expedition is given in Document No. VI in the Appendix.

<sup>21</sup> See photostat on p. 23.



**FORMATION OF ARAB LEGIONS AND OF THE ARAB BRIGADE.** In 1942, a few months after his arrival in Germany, Haj Amin started organizing Axis-Arab Legions from among the Arab students in Germany, the Arab Prisoners of War and the emigrés who had followed him to Germany. The legionnaires wore the German uniform and had "Free Arabia" patches on their shoulders.<sup>22</sup>

In 1944, as a reply to Mr. Churchill's recognition of a Jewish Brigade, based on the 26,000 Palestine Jews fighting with the Allies, Haj Amin got Ribbentrop to consent to the formation of an Arab Brigade. Haj Amin in a broadcast on November 2nd, 1944 and in letters called all Arabs in Germany, hailing from Palestine, Iraq, Egypt and Syria, to join this brigade. Still another aspect of Haj Amin's wartime activity in Germany was his direct collaboration with the German Extermination Bureau in the murder of six million European Jews. Documents proving this charge have been published by E. A. Mowrer and others, but need not be discussed here, since they are not directly relevant to the Arab war effort.

## Postwar Appeasement

After Al-Alamein, when it became evident that there was no prospect of Nazi victory, official Arab spokesmen and the Arab press began to protest their devotion to democracy, their hatred of the Nazis and Fascists, their remarkable contribution to the Allied war effort. Even the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem in his statement published in the *New York Times* of October 6, 1946 tries to appear as a champion of democracy, claiming the right to form a "democratically constituted government in Palestine."

The overwhelming majority of the Arab Nazis who were arrested in Syria and the Lebanon by the British and Free French have been released since 1943; many of them have been reinstated in their former positions, some even becoming leaders of their governments.

In Egypt, too, all those who had been arrested during the war as Nazi agents or persons dangerous to public security were set free, and their prospects of attaining power and high office seem no lower than those of others. Some have, of course, already been appointed to high posts.

In Palestine the exiled Arab leaders are all returning. First came those not "directly" implicated in assisting the enemy, such as Dr. Hussein Khalidi, Auni Abd ul-Hadi, Musa Alami,<sup>23</sup> and others. Although most of them had to sign a pledge not to engage in politics, it was not long before they were all restored to their former positions on local political bodies. They are today accepted as the official leaders of the Palestine Arabs. Next came those arrested and deported at the end of the 1936-39 disturbances, including some notorious gang leaders who are credited with a number of assassinations (such as Shakir Abd al-Aziz of Idnibba, Abd ul-Hamid Jaulani of Hebron, Mohammad Taha Najjar of Yibna, Fawzi Jarrar of Jenin). Some of these had been in hiding for two or three years or had left Palestine for a time, and had succeeded on their return in "coming to terms" with the Palestine police. Other Arab leaders have been allowed to come back one by one during the past year: Dr. Mustafa Bushnaq

<sup>22</sup> See below, Document VII.

<sup>23</sup> Musa Alami, ex-representative of Palestine to the Arab League, heads the Arab Office with branches in Jerusalem, Washington and London. For his role in the Iraqi Revolt see Document III, p. 23.



of Nablus (from Egypt), Darwish Maqdadi of Tulkarm (from Iraq), and others. Finally, even those who had openly engaged in anti-British activities during the war and had been caught on their way to Germany and detained in Rhodesia—such as Jamal al-Husseini and his fellows described in the House of Lords by the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Cranborne, as "the really dangerous people"—were allowed to return. They immediately resumed the leadership of their political parties and were recognized by the British as the spokesmen of Palestine's Arabs.

The only member of this group who has not so far been officially pardoned is Haj Amin al-Husseini, whose trial as a war criminal was demanded by the Yugoslav Government in 1945; whom Anthony Eden, Noel Baker, Churchill and Oliver Stanley have on various occasions called an outspoken enemy of the Allied cause. At the end of the war the ex-Mufti was arrested by French troops in their zone of occupation and taken to Paris, where he lived in a sumptuous villa until June 1946. He then "passed" on to Egypt (one can not say he escaped). Today the Palestinian Arab leaders and the Arab League are doing their utmost to obtain his return to Palestine and his recognition as the spiritual and political leader of the Arabs of that country.

It should not be forgotten either that while the Arab States were scarcely affected by military operations, they benefited materially from the war. The Allies spent vast sums in the Arab States which accumulated Sterling balances, the exact extent of which is unknown but is approximately as follows: Egypt—350-400 millions pound sterling; Iraq—50-75 millions; Syria and the Lebanon—50-100 millions. Egypt's budgetary reserve rose from 28 millions in 1938-39 to 60 millions in 1941. The Allies provided the Arab countries with foodstuffs and commodities at a time when the nations of Europe, including the British, were suffering severe restrictions. They arranged for the purchase of the products and resources of the Arab States, such as Egyptian cotton, even when they had no immediate use for it. They provided employment for tens of thousands of Arab workers at unprecedentedly high wages. They contributed to the development of the Arab countries by the construction of roads, airfields and railway lines, as well as through extensive building activity. All this put fantastic wealth into the pockets of profiteers, but it also benefited workers and shopkeepers, and even, to a certain extent, the fellaheen. In addition to these profits, there were various direct subsidies, which reached huge proportions by 1943-44. To give a minor example, the Government of Saudi Arabia was indemnified by the British for financial loss suffered through the suspension of Moslem pilgrimages. And yet, throughout, the sympathies of the mass of the Arabs continued to be with the enemy. The Allies had from the Arabs only such assistance as their force could compel or their money could buy.

This is an ironic picture, but no less ironic than the entire story of the Arab "war effort" and the ill-deserved rewards it has reaped for the Arab States. It is true that, with the exception of Iraq, the Arab countries did not actually fight *for* the Axis. The reason was clearly not their lack of sympathy with Fascism and the Fascist powers. It was rather their fundamental incapacity to wage modern war—their lack of modern armies, trained technicians, skilled workers to run the industries without which modern war is impossible. That they were willing enough to be used by an Axis power ready to supply funds, airplanes and military aid of all sorts, the case of the Iraqi revolt proves. It proves, too, their utter lack of concern for freedom and democracy, their complete readiness to open the way to the downfall of both the Western democracies and Russia. Appeasement had not justified itself. But appeasement is still the British policy throughout the strategic Middle East. One may well ask how secure a foundation it can be for a new and peaceful world order.



# HAJ AMIN AND THE JAPANESE

المكتب العربي  
الحق الأكبر

Das Arabische Büro  
Der Großmufti

Telefon: Berlin 66 45 66  
66 50 51

AMBASSADE DU JAPON  
ROME

Rome, 17 février 1942.

Eminence,

Ce fut un grand plaisir pour moi que d'avoir eu l'occasion de faire Votre connaissance.

Le prompt consentement de Son Eminence à prononcer quelques discours destinés aux Musulmans du Sud du Pacifique et des Indes a été communiqué au Gouvernement Japonais qui, d'avance, en remercie Votre Eminence.

Lorsque Votre Eminence sera prête à parler, je La prie de bien vouloir m'avertir car je demanderai au Ministère italien compétent d'envoyer les techniciens chargés d'enregistrer sur disques la parole de Votre Eminence et, d'accord avec ce Ministère, nous prendrons les dispositions nécessaires afin que ses discours soient radiodiffusés à Tokio.

Je serais également heureux si Votre Eminence voulait bien me communiquer la traduction, anglaise ou française, de ses discours car l'intention du Gouvernement Japonais est de faire suivre chaque discours de sa traduction soit en anglais, soit en japonais.

En renouvelant à Votre Eminence mes remerciements, je La prie de bien vouloir agréer les assurances de ma considération la plus respectueusement dévouée.

A Son Eminence  
Le Grand Mufti de Jérusalem  
Villa Colonna.

Y. Ando  
Yoshiro ANDO  
Conseiller de l'Ambassade

الى اخواننا المسلمين . في اليابان خاصة و  
القدم اخلص التمازي بفق العالم الكبير  
المسلمة المقيي جد الرشيد ابراهيم البدي  
وان العالم الاسلامي ليقيم بالعز والاسى  
استثمر في جميع الاقطار الاسلامية منذ زمن قدم  
الاسلام والمسلمة المسلمين التي كرس لها صره الط  
وفي منذ 1924 بمساعدة الحكومة اليابانية الصديقة  
في طوكيو كرمز للصدقة الاسلامية اليابانية . وقد  
الطفي جد الرشيد ابراهيم دافعا التعاون الجدى المخلص  
وحل في سبيل هذه الغاية باخلاص واستمرار .  
واني حين اقدم اخلص التمازي بوفاء فهدنا الجليل .  
المهد الاسلامي في طوكيو ومن زحاه المسلمين جميعا في  
ينجبوا على خطته القويمة وان يملوا جهدهم في سبيل غاية  
المخلص المستر بين المسلمين واليابانيين لمسلمة الفريقين المش  
الاحد . المشتركين بشجاعة وعناد واستمرار .

Haj Amin writes:

"To Our Moslem Brothers in Japan, and to the Moslems of East Africa, on the death of the Mufti of Japan:

"My request of those heading the Moslem Institute in Tokyo and of all Moslem leaders in the Far East is that they continue to go in the noble way of the late Mufti, the way of complete and constant cooperation between the Moslems and the Japanese for the benefit of both, and that they continue to struggle heroically against the common enemies of Japan and the Moslems."

The Counsellor of the Japanese Embassy in Rome in a note of February 17, 1942 conveys to Haj Amin the gratitude of the Japanese Government to him for having readily agreed to prepare several radio talks addressed to Moslems of the South Pacific and India. Arrangements will be made with the Italian Government to have Haj Amin record his talks which will then be broadcast from Tokyo.



# ARAB-AXIS COOPERATION



The Fuehrer of the German people and Haj Amin, during their meeting in Berlin (December 1941)

Haj Amin and Rashid Ali el Gailani of Iraq, together in Berlin



A unit of the Arab Legion in Germany





# ATION: A Pictorial Record

Haj Amin reviews Bosnian Moslem troops (cover of the *Wiener Illustrierte Zeitung*).



Haj Amin, "spiritual leader of Moslems," lovingly fingers the gun of a Moslem volunteer.



Haj Amin reviews Bosnian Moslem troops (from the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*).





# HAJ AMIN'S PAYROLL — PHOTOSTATIC EVIDENCE

دست‌خطی  
عراقی

د صلی من سماحه الحاج امیه احق الحسین الملقب ابرو اعلو دزد و ع  
تو دینا را عراقی دزدت ابرو بیت ۱۹۳۹-۱۹۴۰ دلیلیا  
د صلی ابغاً مبلغ اربعه عشر دینا را دزدت ابرو ابیت ابغاً لغو  
سهر دابووح زیاده علی ان الحذووت اعزله علامه

1. Receipt from Jamal Hussein for support in Iraq, reading:  
Iraqi Dinars: 65  
Received from his Excellence Haj Amin el Hussein the sum mentioned above, sixty-five Dinars, for rent of house 1939-1940. In witness thereof I append my signature.

Signed: Jamal Hussein  
December 2, 1939  
Received also fourteen Dinars for the rent of the house for an additional period of one month and one week above the above-mentioned year.  
Signed: Jamal el Hussein

(Raum für Vermerke des Absenders)

Einlieferungsschein  
— Sorgfältig aufbewahren —

Empfänger: **Yunis Bahri**  
**bei Schmidt**  
**Berlin**  
**Rankestr. 32**

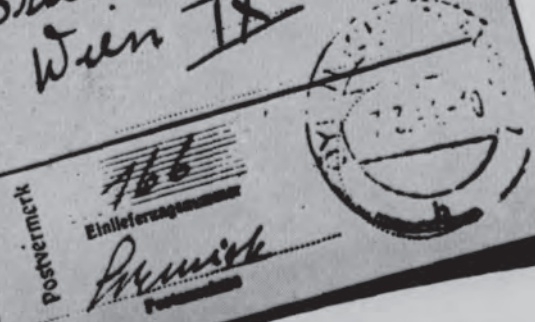


2. German Money Order to Yunis Bahri, chief Arab broadcaster of Radio Berlin, participant in the Iraqi revolt, called the Arab Lord Haw-Haw

وصالی من الصدوق العام مبلغ ۷۰۰ مارک  
نقط سبب نامه در  
فخصات شهر گاندره نامه  
وللیان حرد فی  
فرام  
۱۹۴۴

Einlieferungsschein  
— Sorgfältig aufbewahren —

Empfänger: **General Ibrahim**  
**el-Rawi**  
**Brünnbadgasse**  
**Wien IX**



3. Form Receipt signed by Yunis Bahri, reading: Received from the Common Fund the sum of 700 marks (seven hundred marks), salary for the month of January 1944, received January 21.  
Signed: Yunis el Bahri  
Serial Number 18/3/1/44

4. German Money Order to General Ibrahim el Rawi, also of Iraqi origin

These documents were discovered in the financial file in Haj Amin's office in Germany.



# DOCUMENTS

WRHS  
AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES  
SELECTED FROM OFFICIAL BRITISH,  
GERMAN, ITALIAN AND ARAB SOURCES



## MILITARY HANDBOOK

G.S.I.  
(General Service of Intelligence)

GHQ M. E. June 1941

### Syrian Political Parties\*

PARTY ARAB NAME	AUTHORIZED ENGLISH TRANSLATION	POLITICAL AIMS	REMARKS
1. Hai'at-Ash-Sha'biya ash-Shahbandariyeh	The People's Party	Favour a loose federation of Arab States under the aegis of Great Britain, i.e., Syria, Palestine and Transjordan.	Anti-German. They have lost influence since the murder of Dr. Shahbandar and favour the Amir Abdullah as head of the Federation.
2. El-Qutla el-Wataniya	The National Bloc	Opposed to Syrian Popular Party and all foreign interference in Syria.	The Party is divided into two main groups. The larger group follows Jamil Mardam and the smaller, comprising the Istiqlal, follows Shukri Kuwatli.** The larger Party is again divided into Southern Area under the leadership of Jamil Mardam and Northern Area under Jamil el-Ibrahim, Pasha of Aleppo, and Dr. Kayyali. Jamil Mardam is said to favour a Federation of Syria with Iraq. The Party is <i>pro-German</i> .
3. Hizb-el-Istiqlal	Istiqlal Group of the National Bloc	Working for complete independence and a union of Syria and Palestine under Ibn Saud.	They have GERMAN connections. Pro-Nazi. A part of the National Bloc. In very close touch with Ibn Saud.
4. Usbat-el-Amal-el-Qaumi	League of National Action	Anxious for freedom from foreign control.	Directed from Iraq. Now said to be cooperating with the National Bloc.

\* This material was prepared by British Middle East Headquarters for the use of troops invading Syria in 1941. The last two columns make clear the pro-Nazi character of the overwhelming majority of Syrian and Lebanese political parties and their close connections with the Germans.

\*\* President of Syrian Republic



PARTY ARAB NAME	AUTHORIZED ENGLISH TRANSLATION	POLITICAL AIMS	REMARKS
5. Hizb-el-Qaumi as-Suri	Syrian Popular Party	Favouring independence and complete Pan-Arab federation, with strong Nazi-Fascist tendencies.	Membership reported to be 20,300/30,000 with branches in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. Leaders paid by Nazis.
6. Hizb-el-Amal as-Suri	National Labour Party	Affiliated to Syrian Popular Party.	
7. Hizb-el-Dasturi	Constitutional Party		Lebanese. Mainly Maronite. Pro-British. Opposed by Emile Iddeh and Khair Ed-Din Ef. Ahdab.
8. Hizb-esh-Shii' as-Suri	Syrian Communist Party	Communist revolution.	They claim 40,000 members of whom 40% are Armenian.
9. Nadi-el-Arab	The Arab Club		Affiliated to Syrian Popular Party. Pro-German. Raised by Shami Pir.
10. Nadi-el-Ittihad el-Arabi	The Arab Unity Club		
11. Nadi-el-Ayubi	The Ayubi Club		
12. Hizb-el-Mustakil	Independent Party		
13. Haras el-Arab	The Arab Guard	Pan-Arab and pro-Nazi.	Under the direction of Von Hentig.



Defence Security Office  
C.I.C.I. 'Iraq  
Baghdad  
S. 410/1  
11 April 1945

## A SHORT HISTORY OF ENEMY SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY IN 'IRAQ 1935-1941\*

### *Introduction*

History so often repeats itself that much can be learnt from the study of the past. Between the years 1933 and 1939, but six in all, Hitler built up Germany into a first class power, equipped her with the most formidable machinery of warfare and set out to conquer the world. In the meantime, as all the world knows, Great Britain found herself unprepared to meet the greatest onslaught of all time.

A brief review of German subversive activity in 'Iraq between the years of 1935 and 1941 illustrates clearly what might well recur should in the future Great Britain refrain from continuing to maintain a close and objective surveillance on the machinations of foreign powers and thus fail to follow the maxim: "eternal vigilance is the price of peace."

When Herr Hitler turned his mind to activities of a subversive nature in the Middle East, he must have counted himself fortunate in having in 'Iraq the German Minister, Dr. Grobba, who had an extensive knowledge of the Orient and was consequently the right instrument for the work in hand.

In 1935, acting on instructions from Berlin, Dr. Grobba allowed himself and his Legation to be used as a medium for the dissemination of German propaganda and the operation of subversive organisations. The propaganda he set about to spread can be classified under three main headings — commercial, cultural and political. To further this purpose, a local Nazi party was formed under the leadership of a Dr. Jordan, the German archaeologist, its members being recruited from German nationals resident in the country.

In the commercial field, the Germans were active. With the accession to power of Hitler, German export trade came under government control and a drive was made to secure world markets for her commodities and thus to obtain either foreign exchange or bartered products . . .

At the same time that this rapid trade expansion took place, Germany carefully exploited her 'Iraqi commercial contacts to spread the Nazi creed and to disseminate propaganda to the effect that she desired to assist Arab countries in their development. Every facility was given to 'Iraqi business men for visiting Germany and numerous visitors from Germany toured 'Iraqi towns and villages and visited

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\* This exhaustive British Intelligence report is, for reasons of space and pertinence, published here only in part. All sections reproduced are unabridged.



tribes in the guise of commercial representatives. With all merchandise delivered to 'Iraq, well prepared propaganda material was enclosed. As trade increased, more Germans came to 'Iraq and the Legation ensured that they were good Nazis and that they would actively engage in pro-Nazi propaganda. Between the years of 1935 and 1938, the volume of German trade in 'Iraq practically doubled itself.

On the cultural side, every effort was made to promote the teaching of the German language and civilisation and, in particular, to stimulate an emotional interest in the National Socialist form of Government. A kindergarten school was instituted in Baghdad, the headmistress of which was Fraulein Grampp, and this was attended by German and 'Iraqi children between the ages of five and ten.

German teachers were introduced into the secondary school. Carefully chosen and extremely active, they spent much of their leisure in teaching German, often free of charge, to private pupils. These teachers, as did other Germans taking up foreign appointments abroad, were obliged before leaving Germany to attend a course at the Deutsche Akademie in Munich which specialised in Nazi educational measures under the directorship of a retired General named Karl Haushofer. 'Iraqi students, who succeeded in reaching a certain standard of proficiency in the German language, were afforded the opportunity of free educational facilities in Germany. Not long after the inception of this cultural propaganda, the German language having ousted French, became the third in importance in the schools.

In 1937, Dr. Fadhil al Jamali,\* at that time Director-General of Education, visited Germany where he was accorded an official welcome and was lavishly entertained. On his return, Dr. Jamali was prevailed upon by the Germans to send an 'Iraqi delegation to the Nuremberg Rally of 1938. This was headed by Al Aqid (Colonel) Mahmoud Fadhil al Janabi, who was personally introduced to the Fuhrer. The effect of this meeting, together with the impressive marshal atmosphere of the Rally may, in some measure, account for the enthusiasm with which Janabi, on his return to 'Iraq, reorganised the Futuwa (the 'Iraqi Youth Movement) on lines similar to those of the Hitler Jugend. The uniform especially designed and worn by the members of the delegation on the occasion of the Rally was later adopted by the Futuwa.

At this time, there may have been in the minds of educationalists such as Dr. Fadhil al Jamali, Dr. Sami Shawkat and others responsible for the influence the Germans succeeded in gaining in the Ministry of Education, merely a desire to inculcate into the youth of 'Iraq a spirit of healthy nationalism. They had doubtless observed the magic effect that German and Italian methods had had on the youth of those countries and how fanatically patriotic they had become as a result. Surely then such methods could be applied with profit to Iraq, whose youth did not yet know the meaning of "patriotism." They may well have argued, and not without some reason, that the only way to develop an embryo nation is to instil into its people a deep sense of national pride. Be that as it may, it transpired later that the Ministry of Education and the majority of those who were in it worked actively on behalf of the Germans against the British and consequently against the interests of their own country.

Those of the medical profession were also wooed by the Germans. Doctors, who had received their training in Germany, were prevailed upon to spread Nazi ideals among the medical students. The Principal of the Royal Hospital and Dean of the 'Iraqi Medical Faculty, Dr. Saib Shawak, a founder of the ill-famed Muthana Club and later, when it became a tool in the hands of the Germans, its president, visited the Reich in 1937 where he was officially received and presented with a full-dress Nazi uniform.

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\* Now 'Iraqi Foreign Minister



In the political field, the Germans were no less active. Spending large sums of money, they set themselves to the dissemination of pro-Nazi, Pan-Arab, anti-British and anti-Semitic propaganda. Dr. Grobba's personal charm, his vitality coupled with his knowledge of the Arabic language and his deep understanding of the Oriental mind won for him the personal friendship of a large circle of influential 'Iraqis. He waived diplomatic precedent aside and himself visited ministers and directors in their own departments. He threw frequent and sumptuous receptions at the German Legation to which he invited the "high and the low." Through the medium of small parties, he lavishly entertained carefully selected 'Iraqis likely to prove useful to the peculiar work of his Legation.

In the 'Iraqi Army, Nazi propagandists were faced rather with a problem of exploitation than of conversion. For they had here an organised body of men strongly Pan-Arab and antipathetic towards the British. Stirred by the manner in which the Arabs were fighting in Palestine and believing, with the personal encouragement of King Ghazi, that the army was a strong and effective instrument, they were eager for action. This action took the shape of interference in affairs of state and, as soon as this came about, the 'Iraqi Army developed into a powerful political weapon.

At the same time no inconsiderable effort was made by the Germans to indoctrinate the army with Nazi principles as they had done in other sections of the community. By their educational policy, the Germans ensured that, as the youth of the country reached maturity, the army would be supplied with a steady flow of young officers with a grounding in the Nazi regime, while, in addition to their network of propaganda cells throughout the country, the German Legation took care to show generous hospitality to army officers and employed attractive young German girls to lend the feminine touch to their parties. The principal focus of German activity remained, however, that of encouraging and subsidising the intrigue and subversive projects of highly placed army officers.

There is little doubt that as early as 1936, the coup d'etat engineered by General Bekr Sidqi, Chief of the General Staff, who was shortly afterwards to marry a German woman, received moral and probably financial assistance from Germany, which he had visited before the coup d'etat took place. The coup d'etat of 1936 brought the army into the field of politics in which it has played a part ever since to the detriment of good government. Bekr Sidqi's action created a precedent, full use of which was to be made five years later by the 'Iraqi Quisling, Rashid Ali . . .

In April 1939, an incident occurred which serves to illustrate the ill-feeling which then obtained against the British due largely to the effectiveness of insidious German propaganda. On April 3rd, King Ghazi, the late King of 'Iraq, was killed in a motor accident not far from his palace to which he was believed to have been proceeding. Immediately after the news of his death had been received in Mosul, an incensed and fury stricken mob, which had been led to believe by the agents of Dr. Hatchek, a German eye specialist in the town, that the British Government were responsible for the King's death, besieged the British Consulate. The British Consul, Mr. Monk Mason, came out of his house unarmed to appease the crowd. He was attacked from the rear by a fanatic armed with an axe, struck down and murdered. The rumour that the British had been responsible for the death of the King became widespread throughout 'Iraq and it was not until arrangements had been made for the public to visit the scene of the accident where the shattered car had been left unmoved that 'Iraqi suspicions were dispelled.

When, therefore, war broke out on September 3, 1939, bringing with it the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany and the internment of her nationals, the virus of Nazism had already been effectively introduced into the body politic of 'Iraq. For nearly five years the enemy had worked incessantly and objectively with little obstructions by way of counter-propaganda from the British . . .



Enemy influence, far from diminishing after the departure of the Germans and internment of those who, for one reason or another, were unable to return to the Vaterland, increased considerably. The Germans merely transferred the greater part of the direction of their subversive activities to the Italians. Full use was made of the Italian diplomatic bag and cypher facilities which provided a swift and secure means of communication with Europe.

Judging by the number of well-known suspects who now began frequently to visit the Persian Legation, there is but little doubt that a link through that Mission was also maintained between those working on behalf of the enemy in 'Iraq and the highly developed Nazi organisation in Persia.

In October 1939, Axis activity received fresh impetus from the arrival of the notorious ex-Mufti carrying in his wake a large number of Palestinian and Syrian followers, most of them political refugees. He was admitted to 'Iraq on a promise that he would not indulge in undesirable activities, but he did not keep his word for long.\*

In November 1939, the Japanese set up a Legation in Baghdad with the primary object of developing a greater volume of trade with 'Iraq. It was not long, however, before this Legation also became a centre for Axis subversive activity.

Towards the end of 1940, a host of Syrian and Palestinian teachers, many of them fanatically Pan-Arab and anti-British, arrived in 'Iraq to take up educational appointments. It was about that time that the ex-Mufti formed a miniature government of his own, consisting of Pan-Arab elements. Baghdad could now be described as having become a hub of the Pan-Arab world and consequently the centre of anti-British intrigue. The ex-Mufti, who had the backing of Berlin, was careful not to overstep the mark and did not at first allow himself to be in the public eye. He kept well in the background and did not come into the open until Nuri Pasha's Cabinet fell at the end of March 1940, and was replaced by that of Rashid Ali on his first coming to power.

From then on the ex-Mufti associated himself more and more with the Italian Legation, maintaining direct communication, through the medium of that Mission, with the German and Italian Foreign Offices.

With the stimulus that the ex-Mufti exerted and with the German armies sweeping victoriously over the Continent of Europe, the Muthana Club, Moslem Guidance Society, the Palestine Defense Society, the Tajaddad Club, and the Arab Rover Society, to quote the names of but a few bodies and societies, intensified their pro-Nazi subversive activities in the hopes that by so doing they would eventually, through enemy assistance, realize their Pan-Arab aspirations . . .

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Axis powers were able to exert so great an influence over the internal affairs of the country as to convert it from an ally of Great Britain into an enemy. In May 1941, when the 'Iraqi Army invested the R.A.F. base at Habbaniya and hostilities broke out between Great Britain and 'Iraq, the British were hard pressed everywhere. They were also in the process of evacuating Greece. German mechanised forces had advanced to the Egyptian frontier, the enemy had also occupied the Greek Island of Lemnos off the Turkish coast and it was only to be a few weeks later that they were to land parachute troops in Crete whence, but eleven days later, the British were to evacuate some 15,000 survivors.

\* Cf. Mr. Bevin's statement in Commons on October 23, 1946, revealing that the British Ambassador to Egypt has complained to that country's Government about Haj Amin's failure to keep his promise to refrain from political activity while in Egypt. Another case of history repeating itself.



The German military star was well in the ascendant. Many were convinced that the British Empire had had its day and was already beginning to crumble. The 'Iraqis, who had been saturated with Nazi propaganda, chose this moment to turn on their old Ally knowing full well that little immediate assistance could be dispatched to strengthen her garrisons. It was not until after the battle of Habbaniya had been fought and miraculously won that any real effort was made by the British to break the grip in which the Axis powers had held 'Iraq so long. Had that machinery which was then installed to combat Axis subversive activities been set in motion long before the outbreak of war, it is believed that hostilities would not have broken out in 'Iraq.

What the Axis powers have done in the past, other foreign powers with hostile intentions can do in the future unless the British continually watch and combat their subversive activity.

P. REX MARRIOTT, Major  
for Wing Commander  
Defence Security Officer

Defence Security Office,  
C.I.C.I., 'Iraq,  
(Baghdad)

& 410/1.

11th April 1945.

A short History of Enemy Subversive Activity  
in 'Iraq 1933 - 1941

Introduction

History so often repeats itself that much can be learnt from the study of the past. Between the years 1933 and 1939, but six in all, Hitler built up Germany into a first class power, equipped her with the most formidable machinery of warfare and set out to conquer the world. In the meantime, as all the world knows, Great Britain found herself unprepared to meet the greatest onslaught of all time.

In 1937, Dr. Fadhil al Jamali, at that time Director-General of Education, visited Germany where he was accorded an official welcome and was lavishly entertained. On his return, Dr. Jamali was prevailed upon by the Germans to send an 'Iraqi delegation to the Nuremberg Rally of 1938. This was headed by Al Aqid (Colonel) Mahmoud Fadhil al Janabi, who was personally introduced to the Fuhrer. The effect of this meeting, together with the impressive marshal atmosphere of the Rally may, in some measure, account for the enthusiasm with which Janabi, on his return to 'Iraq, re-organised the 'Futuwa' (the 'Iraqi Youth Movement) on lines similar to those of the Hitler 'Jugend'. The uniform especially designed and worn by the members of the delegation on the occasion of the Rally was later adopted by the 'Futuwa'.

What the Axis powers have done in the past other foreign powers with hostile intentions can do in the future unless the British continually watch and combat their subversive activity.

HKD&JPB/H.

*P. Rex Marriott* Major.  
for Wing Commander,  
Defence Security Officer.  
(P. Rex Marriott)



## THE EX-MUFTI'S ROLE IN THE 'IRAQI REVOLT

G.S.I.

(General Service of Intelligence)

1 / 12 / 41

The Ex-Mufti fled from Syria and arrived in 'Iraq in October 1939. As soon as he arrived he was generally acclaimed as an Arab national hero and parties were given in his honor by every leading personality in the Capital, from the Prime Minister downwards, as well as by all Nationalist Clubs and Societies. To these parties were invited other well known Syrian and Palestinian political refugees as well as 'Iraq's own reactionary politicians and they became veritable demonstrations of Arab nationalist feeling and unity.

As the British were the cause of the "martyrdom" of Palestine, these parties allowed much ventilation of anti-British propaganda and the ex-Mufti and his partisans indulged freely in expressing not only their anti-British sentiments but in the spreading of deliberate and scandalous lies about the British and the Jews and about British and Zionist actions and policy in Palestine. The 'Iraqis, ready to believe anything anti-British and dreaming of 'Iraq as the nucleus round which a United Arabia was to form, swallowed the propaganda as though it were a wholesome diet and these receptions and parties greatly increased the ex-Mufti's prestige with the 'Iraqis, and although the Prime Minister, Nuri Pasha, promised the ex-Mufti had given an undertaking not to indulge in politics while in refuge in 'Iraq and that he would be closely watched by the Government, the ex-Mufti commenced his political activities without check from the first day of his arrival in the country. In these activities he was encouraged by the reception he was accorded on all sides, including parties given by responsible Ministers and Nuri Pasha, the Prime Minister himself, which have already been referred to above.

The ex-Mufti soon had his old Palestine "Headquarters" established and modified to suit the new conditions under which he was working. Jamal al Husaini was his Chief of Staff. Shaikh Hassan abu Saud was the Islamic religious adviser and expert. Musa bey al 'Alami was the legal adviser and critic on occidental affairs and, with the authority of his background, he spoke convincingly to responsible and willing listeners on the "British injustices." Fawzi al Qaoukji was the militant member and contacted the 'Iraqi Army, raising from this source arms and ammunition and the facilities to train men for guerilla warfare. Salim Abdur Rahman was Press Officer and publicist. Ishaq, Munif, Musa and Towfiq Saleh al Husaini, Emil Ghor, Izzat Darwaza, Ibrahim Darwish, Izzuddin ash Shawa and others formed the Foreign relations committee who were responsible for propaganda, intrigue and subversive activities inside and outside 'Iraq.

The ex-Mufti held the money bags and paid these, as well as many other refugees, their allowances as most had no other livelihood but what they were paid from this source. The ex-Mufti's funds for this purpose were considerable, and it is known that he was voted ID. 18,000\*\* by the 'Iraqi Parliament,

\*\* Iraqi Dinar=Pound Sterling.



was paid ID. 1,000 a month from 'Iraqi secret service funds, was paid 2% of the salary of every 'Iraqi government official, including the Military and Police (all stopped at source), considerable sums raised by the Palestine Defence Society, by the Red Crescent Society and through public collections. In addition authoritative sources now claim he was paid ID. 60,000 by the Germans and ID. 40,000 by the Italians, he also raised other monies from outside 'Iraq—including generous gifts from Ibn Saud and Egypt. This money enabled him, his followers and even Syrian political reactionaries to live in affluence, many owning cars and keeping up reasonable establishments. Several were beyond doubt also getting additional allowances from Axis sources.

These were unfortunately not all the implements at the command of the ex-Mufti in 'Iraq. He had another valuable method of obtaining influence within the government and also money for those working for him. These he commanded by furnishing the 'Iraqi Government with Palestinian and Syrian nominees to fill essential government positions that 'Iraq's illiteracy prevents her from providing for herself. These include education experts, schoolmasters, doctors, dentists, etc., and were largely enlisted from political undesirables found in Syria and Palestine. Most of them would have obtained no livelihood in the countries of their origin. The ex-Mufti in 'Iraq could get these appointed, dismissed or promoted at will through his influence in Government Departments (many of these have complained to the writer of these notes that an adverse report from the ex-Mufti could either have their contract terminated or not renewed on its expiration). These officials were spread throughout the length and breadth of 'Iraq and nearly all were used, willy-nilly, as "cells" for the ex-Mufti's propaganda campaign. Among the most active and influential of these may be mentioned Akram Zu'aitir, Darwish Maqdadi, Daoud al Husaini, Abdul Qadir al Husaini, Sati' al Hasri and Mustafa Wakil, the Egyptian.

These elements by no means cover the picture of the ex-Mufti's activities and he quickly won to his cause certain Nationalist organisations which were willing victims of his intrigues and some of which had already benefited by German support and money. The most important of these are the Muthana Club, the Moslem Guidance Society, the Rover's Society, the Teachers Club and the Olympic Club. Through his influence in these quarters he and his followers contacted many of the 'Iraqi officials and Army personalities on whom his gang soon were able to exercise their will. They concentrated most on the following classes of official—Police, Army, Schoolmasters, Doctors, and those of the legal professions. The ex-Mufti was completely successful in his efforts in this direction and was soon making each Government Department carry out his benefits, e.g.—passports were issued at his request, refugees from Palestine were not allowed to remain in 'Iraq unless he agreed they were genuine "nationalists," refugees cars were admitted duty free and paid no taxes, the Press and Propaganda Department did not interfere with his papers—especially the *Istiqlal* paper whose Editor, Osman Qassim, had been Editor of his paper *Al Liwa* in Palestine (this paper was subsidised by both Germany and the 'Iraqi Government and was consistently pro-German, anti-British and Pan-Arab in complexion).

During the whole period of his stay in 'Iraq, up to the rebellion of April and May, the ex-Mufti was always made a special guest at State or public functions. He and his followers were, on such occasions, given special places of honour equal to those of Ministers of State and seldom were the feelings of British officials attending such functions considered in allowing the ex-Mufti such considerate treatment.

There can be no doubt that the ex-Mufti was assisted in bluffing and insinuating himself on the



official class and the common people by the respect and esteem in which he was held by the highest authorities in the land; each wished to become the Arab hero who solved the Arab problem in Palestine and in consequence all basked in the sunshine of his grace full of hopefulness and expectancy. It was felt by these that England at war, and threatened, would be ready to strike a bargain over Palestine in order to ensure Arab friendship—each hoped to enhance his own prestige by negotiating this bargain. If they were unable to achieve their object, their small minds only concluded that by increasing the intensity of the ex-Mufti's campaign and the outcry of the public, the potentialities of the threat to Great Britain would be sufficient to make her cave in and accept Arab demands. In the hopes of achieving success the Government of Nuri Pasha allowed the Mufti and the press to carry on their anti-British campaign and their extreme nationalist demands for both Syria and Palestine and the future of these two countries became more than ever in the eyes of the 'Iraqis a national concern.

Above it has been shown in outline how the ex-Mufti was enabled to set up his organisation in 'Iraq and win his way into the hearts of the 'Iraqi people but so far no mention has been made of his contacts and influence with 'Iraqi political leaders, the Axis and the Army leaders. It was his contacts with these that enabled him to use his organisation successfully and to make the rebellion in 'Iraq, and, because in 'Iraq itself there were absolutely no grounds or pretext for stirring up that anti-British feeling necessary to create a rebellion, the feeling had of necessity to be worked up over the recent happenings in Palestine. To make the sequence of events clear certain old events have to be related and these are mostly connected with Taha Pasha al Hashimi, who undoubtedly did more than any other 'Iraq politician to further both the German and the ex-Mufti's plans in 'Iraq.

Before Taha Pasha became Minister of Defence in December, 1938, he had been President of the 'Iraqi Palestine Defence Society. This Society had been responsible for making the Mufti's propaganda in 'Iraq, they issued their own paper, they wrote articles and fabricated news items for other papers, and prepared Arabic broadcasts for the German Minister to cable to Germany for broadcasting in the Berlin Arabic broadcasts. This work threw Taha Pasha into close touch with the German Legation staff who naturally were highly desirous of making contacts with this anti-British body. This was not Taha Pasha's only contact with the Germans and Palestinians and perhaps his most important contact was his close friendship for Dr. Amin Ruwaiha—Germany's No. 1 Arab Agent. Dr. Amin's wife's sister became Taha Pasha's mistress and a close friendship was established between these two. Amin Ruwaiha had been closely connected with Fawzi al Qaoukji and had assisted him to get arms and to get his gang to Palestine in the summer of 1936. He was also very much on the inside of the Mufti's intrigues at this time, and was, until his detention by us in Palestine after the outbreak of war, a close collaborator with the ex-Mufti in all his schemes and was largely responsible for bringing the Mufti into the German orbit.

At the same time as Taha Pasha was working for the Palestinians and being nursed by the Germans he was intriguing with those officers in the 'Iraq Army who were to be known later as the "Golden Square" and who were largely responsible for the rebellion in April and May, 1941. He was trying to get these to make a coup d'Etat and oust the Jamil Madfa'i Cabinet and force the King to bring him and his supporters to power. He succeeded in this scheme towards the end of December, 1938, and Nuri Pasha became Prime Minister and Taha Pasha the Minister of Defence. Rashid 'Ali was rewarded for his part in the plot by being made Head of the Royal Diwan and having the guardianship of the Gailani Waqfs returned to him. Taha Pasha, after becoming a Cabinet Minister, resigned from the Palestine Defence Society but continued his connections with the Germans and his Palestine friends. As Minister of Defence he supported his Army friends of the "Golden Square" and helped



to further their schemes to obtain for themselves the key positions in the Army. These officers had been the leaders of the anti-Bekr Sidqi group in the Army, and their ambitious aspirations had long been clear to even casual observers. Their anti-Bekr Sidqi sentiments had endeared them to Nuri Pasha, their Minister of Defence favored them and the Chief of the General Staff was weak and could almost be classified a "time server." Salah Uddin their leader, and by far the cleverest of them, was at this time Director of Operations in the Ministry of Defence. He controlled the 'Iraqi Army Intelligence Branch and exerted his influence on the Chief of the General Staff. In reality he was now the most influential, if not the most powerful, officer in the Army. In consequence his following among the Army officers increased. He soon became a frequent visitor of the German Minister, whom he met at Taha Pasha's house and through Amin ar Ruwaiha. It is believed that money was given from German sources to both Taha Pasha and Salah Uddin at this time. (Taha Pasha's greed and love of money was a byword in the country.)

Nuri Pasha was apparently aware that something of this picture was going on and in the summer of 1939 told the writer of this report that Amin ar Ruwaiha was dangerous and was intriguing hard for Germany. He also mentioned he was suspicious of Salah Uddin and Amin al 'Umari (then Commanding the 1st Division and now C.G.S.). He said he was watching them and intended to get rid of them as soon as a convenient opportunity arose. The writer told Nuri that Taha Pasha was more implicated than any of the three he had mentioned but Nuri Pasha insisted on treating Taha as "stupid" and of "no consequence." Nuri had, however, more enemies than friends in 'Iraq and his position, his livelihood and his very life depended on the support of Taha Pasha and his military following. Nuri even told the Ambassador in August, 1939, that he could not for the moment shut down the "Istiqlal" paper for its anti-British and pro-Axis writings as its proprietor, Abdul Ghafur Badri, was "stupid" Taha's man and he did not want to fall out with Taha at the moment. His reason for this statement was clear, and Nuri knew as well as we knew and the Germans knew that the Army was all powerful in 'Iraq and chose the Government they wanted to be in power. When war came with Germany, Nuri Pasha—opposed by his Minister of Defence—broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. Immediately Nuri was labelled a tool of the British and Army opinion accused him of having endangered the safety of 'Iraq by this action. Nuri's unpopularity increased in the country and he feared to take strong action to kill the seeds of disaffection and forcibly uphold it as the essential duty of 'Iraq to uphold the Anglo-'Iraqi Alliance of Friendship. He feared the Army and feared the reputation he had acquired of being pro-British and merely their instrument. He took refuge in showing himself as being Pan-Arab and the champion of this movement. In October of that year he welcomed the ex-Mufti to 'Iraq as a refugee from Syria. He hoped to use the ex-Mufti and his group to popularise himself and offset his reputation of being pro-British. Nuri's fears and consequent weakness at this critical juncture allowed the pro-German group to exploit to the fullest measure the arrival of the Mufti and his followers in the country and the consequent intensification of anti-British feelings it had endangered among the 'Iraqis.

After his arrival the ex-Mufti quickly realized the political situation prevailing in the country and in starting his organisation worked in closely with Taha Pasha and the Army leaders—one of the "Golden Square," Mahmoud Salman, who then commanded the Cavalry but later became O.C. I.R.A.F., had been an old friend and admirer of the ex-Mufti since the last War. Meetings were soon being held unostentatiously between the ex-Mufti and Army officers in the house of Mahmoud Salman or in the house of Hassan Abu Sa'ud as the ex-Mufti did not want attention drawn to himself by having officers visit him in his own house. The Army was soon affected and the anti-British feeling which had



been smouldering some time under the surface became much more pronounced. The general belief grew that Germany was bound to win the war and German propaganda began to make headway apace. Nuri's action in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany was considered not only a mistake but to have endangered 'Iraq's safety. Public opinion was aroused through propaganda and rumours being circulated to the effect that Nuri Pasha was to give Britain 'Iraqi soldiers to fight their battles. In spreading all this propaganda and rumours of a subversive and alarming nature the Palestinians and Syrians played a leading part from the commencement.

Rashid 'Ali was himself well in the swim with both Taha Pasha and his military clique and in addition Rashid 'Ali was now beginning to hold secret meetings with the Italian Minister and other members of the Italian Legation staff. While these activities were in progress, Generals Husain Fawzi and Amin al Umari, the Chief of the General Staff and the Commander of the 1st Division respectively, became alarmed at the growing influence of "The Golden Square" through Taha's favours and Nuri's weakness. They saw their own influence in the Army being taken from them by this group of officers whose comparative youth and extreme nationalism popularised them with the younger officers. Early in 1940 Amin al 'Umari and Husain Fawzi planned a coup d'etat to get rid of Nuri Pasha's Cabinet and re-instate Jamil Madfa'i as Prime Minister, but owing to the quick counter measures taken within the Army by the "Golden Square" this attempt failed after a night of considerable tension when it looked as though a pitched battle might be fought between the rival Army factions. The result of this failure was that Husain Fawzi and Amin al 'Umari were placed on pension and the whole control of the Army passed on to the "Golden Square" with a weak and foolish officer, in the person of Amin Zakki, as C.G.S. The "Golden Square" were now situated as follows:

O.C. 1st Division.....	Kamil Shabib
O.C. 3rd Division.....	Salah Uddin Sabbagh
O.C. R.I.A.F.....	Mahmoud Salman
O.C. Mechanised Force.....	Mohammad Fahmi Sa'id.

From this time these officers began quite openly to interfere in the politics of the country and their anti-British and pro-Axis sentiments were patent to everybody. Their views were soon the views of the majority of the Army officers and official military opinion held that a German victory was inevitable. They feared that Nuri Pasha's pro-British sympathies would lead to 'Iraq having irrevocably compromised herself with Great Britain by the time the Axis were victorious. They sought a Premier who would once again place 'Iraq on the side of the Axis. Nuri Pasha was a tired man and quite unequal to continuing the struggle. In January, 1940, he had been considerably upset by the assassination of his old colleague and Finance Minister, Rustam Haidar, and his prestige had further suffered through his unsuccessful efforts to fix the responsibility for this assassination on certain of Jamil Madfa'i's leading supporters. Unpopular with the masses and attacked on all sides it was decided that he should resign and his place be taken by Rashid Ali. The Army would only accept Rashid Ali as Premier, and further demanded that he would retain Taha Pasha as Minister of Defence. On March 21st, 1940, Nuri Pasha tendered his resignation with an acrimonious covering letter showing his reasons for resigning as being due to the intrigues and plots that were being woven against the interests of the country. This letter he made public and when Rashid Ali was nominated his successor, he refused to take office in view of the above mentioned letter which had clearly indicated the future policy of the succeeding Government. This compelled Nuri Pasha to continue in office until Rashid Ali could be placated and persuaded to take office. This he agreed to do on March 31st, 1940, but only



after a good deal of negotiations and meetings with the Army leaders, Taha Pasha, Naji Shawkat and the ex-Mufti. The important part played by the ex-Mufti in making these arrangements was well known and caused some surprise in Baghdad and it was at this juncture that it was first realised what an important part the ex-Mufti was already playing in 'Iraq's domestic affairs.

All this happened when Nuri Pasha was on the eve of visiting King Ibn Sa'ud to clear up some outstanding difficulties which had arisen over the Sa'udi-'Iraqi Treaty of Friendship. The writer was to be in Ibn Sa'ud's Camp during Nuri Pasha's visit and was somewhat surprised on the morning of his departure to be sent for urgently by Nuri Pasha to be told that Nuri feared the Germans might use his enemies to assassinate him whilst he was in Sa'udi Arabia. He wished me to stick close by him while he was there and to warn Ibn Sa'ud of his fears and ask him to take special precautions for his, Nuri's, safety. Nuri Pasha seemed at this time to have special information about what was taking place but would reveal nothing beyond he "hoped we were watching the Mufti's activities."

As well as Taha Pasha, Rashid Ali's Cabinet contained another well known pro-German in Naji Shawkat. He was Minister of Justice and was used by Rashid Ali throughout the summer of 1940 to establish touch with von Papen in Turkey with a view to making secret negotiations with Germany to undo any of the harm Nuri Pasha has done to 'Iraq's future relations with the Axis through his "obliging" Britain by breaking 'Iraq's diplomatic relations with Germany after the declaration of War.

With Rashid Ali's succession to office the part played in politics by the Army and the ex-Mufti became more and more pronounced. In May, 1940, the Director of Press and Propaganda was replaced by a military officer (Abdul Majid al Hashimi) who was the nominee of Taha Pasha and the "Golden Square." He in turn introduced into the Department in important posts two officials who were leading lights in the Moslem Guidance Society, which had now come completely under the ex-Mufti's influence. This change was soon felt and the Press and Propaganda Department began to follow Rashid Ali's policy of "'Iraq's strict Neutrality." The better known agitators of the Moslem Guidance Society, including the ex-Mufti's religious "Advisor" Shaikh Hassan abu Saud, were given opportunities to broadcast talks on Islam. The 'Iraqi Army leaders also gave talks on military matters and a general campaign was made to lionise the 'Iraqi Army and Air Force in the eyes of the people and all the time in the background was the sinister figure of the ex-Mufti using his own propaganda organisation to make anti-British and pro-German propaganda of a more subversive nature.

Italy's entry into the war did not occasion much comment, as the Arabs hate Italy, but the 'Iraqis saw the war getting nearer to them. Rashid Ali refused to break off diplomatic relations with Italy. The collapse of France occasioned almost universal Arab rejoicing, especially from the Palestinians and the Syrians. These elements and the Army "Napoleons" were convinced that Britain could not possibly hold out alone against both Germany and Italy. They thought that without French assistance Britain would not be able to prevent Italy conquering Egypt and that Britain herself would be in German hands by the end of the summer.



## SUMMONS TO A HOLY WAR AGAINST BRITAIN

*A "Fatwa" Issued by Haj Amin al-Husseini, May, 1941\**

In the name of Merciful and Almighty God.

I invite all my Moslem brothers throughout the whole world to join in the Holy War for God, for the defense of Islam and her lands against her enemy. O Faithful, obey and respond to my call.

O Moslems!

Proud 'Iraq has placed herself in the vanguard of this Holy Struggle, and has thrown herself against the strongest enemy of Islam certain that God will grant her Victory.

The English have tried to seize this Arab-Moslem land, but she has risen, full of dignity and pride to defend her safety, to fight for her honor and to safeguard her integrity. 'Iraq fights the tyranny which has always had as its aim the destruction of Islam in every land. It is the duty of all Moslems to aid 'Iraq in her struggle and to seek every means to fight the enemy, the traditional traitor in every age and every situation.

Whoever knows the history of the East has everywhere seen the hand of the English working to destroy the Ottoman Empire and to divide the Arab countries. British politics toward the Arab people is masked under a veil of Hypocrisy. The minute she sees her chance, England squeezes the prostrate country in her Imperialist grasp, adding futile justifications. She creates discord and division within a country and while feeding it in secret openly she assumes the role of advisor and trusted friend. The time when England could deceive the peoples of the East is passed. The Arab Nation and the Moslem people have awakened to fight British domination. The English have overthrown the Ottoman Empire, have destroyed Moslem rule in India, inciting one community against another; they stifled the Egyptian awakening, the dream of Mohammed Ali, colonizing Egypt for half a century. They took advantage of the weakening of the Ottoman Empire to stretch out their hands and use every sort of trick to take possession of many Arab countries as happened to Aden, the 9 Districts, the Hadramut, Oman, Masqat and the Emirates of the Persian Gulf and Transjordan. The vivid proof of the imperialistic designs of the British is to be found in Moslem Palestine which, although promised by England to Sheriff Hussein has had to submit to the outrageous infiltration of Jews, shameful politics designed to divide Arab-Moslem countries of Asia from those of Africa. In Palestine the English have committed unheard of barbarisms; among others, they have profaned the el-Aqsa Mosque and have declared the most unyielding war against Islam, both in deed and in word. The Prime Minister at that time told Parliament that the world would never see peace as long as the Koran existed. What hatred against Islam is stronger than that which publicly declares the Sacred Koran an enemy of human kind? Should such sacrilege go unpunished? After the dissolution of the Moslem Empire in India and of

\* Translated from:—"Oriente Moderno," 1941, pp. 552-553; broadcast over the 'Iraqi and Axis radios



the Ottoman Caliphate, England, adhering to the policy of Gladstone, pursued her work of destruction to Islam depriving many Islamic States both in the East and in the West of their freedom and independence. The number of Moslems who today live under the rule of England and invoke liberation from their terrible yoke exceeds 220,000,000.

Therefore I invite you, O Brothers, to join in the War for God to preserve Islam, your independence and your lands from English aggression. I invite you to bring all your weight to bear in helping 'Iraq that she may throw off the shame that torments her.

O Heroic 'Iraq, God is with Thee, the Arab Nation and the Moslem World are solidly with Thee in Thy Holy Struggle!

## ~~~~~ DOCUMENT V ~~~~~

### ADDRESS TO AMERICAN ARABS

*Excerpts from a Radio Speech by Haj Amin al-Husseini  
March 19, 1943, in Rome*

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

If those Allies win this war the Jewish influence will be the arbiter in the world resources and one can thus imagine the future of the Arabs and Moslems, and the dangers which they are exposed to in their fatherlands and beliefs if the Jews and their Allies dominate them and spread the latent hatred on to them.

Then the world will become Hell—God forbid: But Allah is too just and merciful to grant such murderous violators any victory. We are sure that victory will be ours and that of our friends. We have not the slightest doubt about that, we shall not slacken our struggle nor will we be deterred or quietened. Do not be deceived by the allegations of your enemies, because you know full well about their intrigues, and be sure that the nation which fights, sacrifices and awaits will be the victorious one in the end.



Defence Security Office  
C.I.C.I. 'Iraq,  
Baghdad.  
S. 405-1-1  
9 December 1944

## TEL AFAR PARACHUTE EXPEDITION\*

### Report 1

The information contained in this report is derived chiefly from the preliminary interrogations of Khalil Rassool and Ahmed Humaid Fellah, the two parachutists captured at Tel Afar on the 28th November 1944. Some valuable information, however, had already been recorded in this office about the four parachutists before they arrived and has consequently helped us in making up the histories as Appendices A, B, C, and D.

2. These interrogations have not been carried out under ideal conditions largely due to the fact that there is not only one but two Security Services interested in the expedition—the British and the 'Iraqi. Each Security Service has its own methods of interrogation, equally effective when it comes to extracting information from most Orientals but each Service requires information of a somewhat different nature. While the interrogations have, for the most part, been held jointly, the stage has not yet been reached when the British themselves can question the prisoners alone for many consecutive hours.

3. In gauging the accuracy of our information, it should be borne in mind that we are not yet satisfied that the two parachutists are telling the absolute truth. Furthermore, it has become obvious that the leader of the expedition, Karradi, unfortunately still at large, is the only person who has been fully briefed and that he has withheld much of the information we require from his other three colleagues.

4. We feel, however, that we have now acquired sufficient pieces of this intricate jigsaw puzzle to make up at least part of the general picture. Much of the information contained in this paper will doubtless be subject to revision as further details reach the office.

5. The longer interrogations proceed, the less clear becomes the purpose of this expedition. At first it seemed that the intention of the parachutists was to create irregular armed bands, gradually developing these and expanding them into a rebel movement against the Government of 'Iraq and the British in Palestine. On reaching a certain stage of preparedness, they were to receive assistance in the form of arms and trained Arabs from Germany. Their headquarters were to be somewhere in the Wadi al Qassab area (Long. 43 deg. East. Lat. 36 deg. North).

6. Later as a result of further interrogation, it appears that the expedition was not intended for 'Iraq at all, but for causing trouble in Palestine. The expedition on arrival in 'Iraq was to make its way into Palestine.

7. We feel that we can rely little on this information and the discrepancy between the two alleged

\* Only the most relevant portions of this lengthy British Intelligence Report are here reproduced.



intentions leads us to believe that the two captured parachutists have very little information on the subject and that the only person who can clarify the position is Karradi, the leader of the expedition.

8. It is clear, however, that the expedition is sponsored by the Mufti and that the parachutists are all members of the Mufti's Arab Legion. That it intended to create disturbances, there is no doubt. In this connection, the ex-Mufti's broadcast on the occasion of the 'Id-ul-Adha' on the 25th November, reproduced at Appendix E, is not without interest.

9. The names of the four parachutists chosen for the expedition are:

- (i) Jassim Hussein Karradi (Iraqi)
- (ii) Abdul Hasan Tahir Jifani (Palestinian)
- (iii) Khalil Rassool (Iraqi)
- (iv) Ahmed Humaid Fellah (Iraqi)

10. All four of these men left 'Iraq on the collapse of the 'Iraq rebellion in May 1941 for Turkey where they were interned by the Turks. When they were being expelled from Turkey, the Italians recruited them and they left for Italy in January-February 1943. They joined the Mufti's army, were trained in Italy, in Germany (Berlin), in Holland and again in Berlin. Karradi and Rassool were trained in the handling of automatic weapons and W-T while Jifani was trained in sabotage. Fellah received a general training. Fuller information on the four parachutists is contained in the Appendices under their respective names. . . .

32. The money handed by the ex-Mufti to Karradi amounted to 3,000 gold pieces, made up of French Gold 20 Fr. Pieces (present day value approximately £3.6.0.), Belgian Gold 20 Fr. Pieces (present value £3.0.0), English sovereigns (present day value £5.1.0.). The correct proportion of the three kinds is unknown but taking the average value of them to be £3.16.0 the total is £11,400 approximately. In addition to this Karradi gave Fellah ID.522 in notes (52 ten dinar notes and 2 one dinar notes). As Karradi is said to have had a large quantity of other notes, the grand total for the expedition must be above £12,000.

33. The following information has been derived from the two captured parachutists during preliminary investigations:

- (a) Rais Awal (Major) Ismail Fattah and Naji Abbas al Tai are now in Berlin.
- (b) Yunis Bahri has left Rashid Ali's party and joined that of the ex-Mufti. The latter has now dispensed with his services and his present activities are unknown to the two parachutists although they believe that he may be employed in the German Foreign Office. All four members of the parachute expedition saw him on the 25th of November, the day before they set out for Iraq. He has a German wife and a child of 4.
- (c) Rashid Ali and the ex-Mufti were still at loggerheads when the present expedition left Germany.
- (d) Since the attempt on Hitler's life, neither Hitler nor any of the big Nazi party leaders except Goebbels have been seen in public. The woman with whom Fellah lived informed them that Hitler had been wounded in the face.
- (e) A. A. guns were installed on the thick concrete tops of the air-raid shelters in Berlin. The guns are remotely controlled and are aimed by sighting through a periscope optical system from inside the shelters. Each shelter holds about 5,000 people.
- (f) Air raid warnings generally occur 15 minutes before Allied aircraft are over Berlin.

(signed) H. K. DAWSON SHEPHERD  
Wing Commander, Defence Security Officer



Defence Security Office,  
C.I.C.I. 'Iraq,  
Baghdad.  
S.405/1/2  
19th December, 1944.

## TEL AFAR PARACHUTE EXPEDITION

### Report 2

As was anticipated in the preamble of Report No. 1 on the Tel Afar Parachute Expedition, some of the information obtained directly after the landing has, as a result of further interrogations, become subject to correction, amplification or qualification. These amendments are contained in the body of the present report.\*

3. The points of main interest in this report are the discovery of yet another W/T set and information on other interesting personalities in Europe connected with the expedition.

11. Interrogation of Khalil Rassoul produced the following facts:—

Among Rassoul's fellow refugees in Turkey, in addition to the three parachutists, were Naji Abbas el Tai and Ali Hussein Timini. Karradi was the leader of this group and it was he who arranged for them to become Italian protected subjects and to leave for Italy via Bulgaria and Greece. In Italy they became members of the ex-Mufti's army and, with the exception of Karradi, lived in a military camp and were trained under Italian instructors. On the collapse of Italy, the camp came under the stricter control of the Germans . . .

12. In Holland courses were given in W/T, M/T, use of weapons, sabotage and explosives. The instructors were German and Dutch and their training period was six months. Karradi and Rassoul specialised in W/T and Jifani and Fellah in sabotage. The W/T students were taught conventional code calls and cypher and learnt how to use a cryptograph and how to improvise one in case of need from pieces of cardboard. During their stay in Holland, Fellah was laid up in hospital for about three weeks with a broken collar bone as a result of a motor cycle accident, this being after he had completed his sabotage course.

13. Attending the course with Rassoul were two Englishmen who had been in Holland when the Germans entered. Their descriptions are as follows: . . .

14. On completion of their training in Holland, the four parachutists returned to Germany where they lived in separate apartments as civilians in Berlin. Apart from Karradi, who seemed to be specially favoured, they were not particularly well treated and were poorly clothed. In Berlin Rassoul met a number of Arabs of whom the majority were followers of the ex-Mufti. Most of them had had either W/T or sabotage training but their morale was not high—for the most part they wished for nothing better than to return peacefully to their own countries. Rassoul thought it unlikely that any of these Arabs would be dropped by parachute in the Middle East since Karradi had been charged with his mission solely because he personally enjoyed the confidence of the ex-Mufti, while Karradi's companions were chosen by him on account of his long association with them and not merely for their

\* Of the 43 paragraphs of this long report (15 pages) only those of special interest are published.



technical abilities. As far as Rassoul knew, the only other Arab closely associated with the ex-Mufti was the Egyptian Dr. Wakil, who said goodbye to them at Karradi's flat on the morning of November 26 . . .

17. Although living as civilians and enjoying the company of German women, the party of four did not have an entirely frivolous time on their return from Holland. Practice with W/T was continued and transmissions to Berlin were made from the Lehnitz W/T school and from Oybin 20 and 225 kms. respectively from Berlin. Karradi went away on a special W/T course in September 1944. (N.B. This confirms the "Chacun" Party report that an Iraqi named Abu Saleh had arrived at Rhodes from Kalamaki on the morning of 15th September. Karradi made tests with three W/T sets and returned three days later to Athens.) . . .

(signed) H. K. DAWSON SHEPHERD  
Wing Commander  
Defence Security Officer

APPENDICES.

- A. Personalities
- B. List of Arabs in E.O.T.
- C. Dr. Mustafa Wakil

DISTRIBUTION.

As for D.S.O., C.I.C.I. 'Iraq (Baghdad), Security  
Intelligence Summary, with the addition of:  
P.A., Northern Area.  
Commander, North 'Iraq Area.

APPENDIX C: DR. MUSTAFA WAKIL (EGYPTIAN)

Born Suwaif 1913. Educated at London University and was Vice-President of the Egyptian Green Shirt Movement and of the National Islamic Party. Delivered at least one strongly anti-British speech to the N.I.P. Was reported to have had firearms hidden in his house and to have taken part in a N.I.P. discussion on a rebellion against the British in Egypt. He was detailed for the job of murdering the new Prime Minister of Egypt.

Wakil arrived in 'Iraq in 13/10/40. Passport No. 61785 of 21.9.40 with visa No. 710 of 2.10.40 (free) issued by 'Iraqi Legation in Cairo. He first stayed at the "Babylon Hotel" in Baghdad and later moved to the "Maude Hotel." He later lived with Ramiz Suleiman at Sheena's Drug Store, Baghdad.

He came to 'Iraq to fill an appointment as a Physics teacher in the Teacher's Training College, Baghdad. He was receiving ID. 60 per month from the 'Iraq Government. It was reported that his main objects in coming to 'Iraq were:

- (a) To work on the initiation of a rising in 'Iraq.
  - (b) To commence propaganda on the principles of the N.I.P.
  - (c) To provide the N.I.P. in Egypt with political news of 'Iraq.
  - (d) To act as a link between the ex-Mufti and Ahmed Hussein, leader and founder of the N.I.P.
- Ahmed Hussein is extremely anti-British and was also the leader of the Egyptian Green Shirt Movement.

The question as to whether he would be allowed to leave Egypt or not was carefully discussed and, while it was fully realised that he was a dangerous agitator, it was considered that he would probably do less harm in 'Iraq than he would do in Egypt. Arrangements were made to keep Wakil under observation and to intercept his correspondence. There had to be considered the likelihood that he would use the diplomatic bag through the influence of Azzam Bey\* to avoid censorship.

\* Abdul Rahman Azzam Bey, now general secretary of the Arab League



Following his arrival in 'Iraq, Wakil persistently pushed himself forward as a Nationalist and mixed with extreme Arab-Nationalists, especially the ex-Mufti's group. He was an extremely anti-British talker and expressed pro-German sentiments. In early 1941, the 'Iraqi Government was making arrangements for Wakil's return to Egypt.

There is a record of a letter written by Wakil on November, 1940, to Ahmed Hussein in which Wakil states that he was being well looked after in 'Iraq and had been presented to the Emir Abdul Ilah, the Prime Minister Rashid Ali al Gailani and other dignitaries. He stated that he was in touch with Palestinian personages and named Akram Zu'aitir (Pal/2), another rabid Arab Nationalist and extreme anti-British agitator who was in German and Italian pay and being "kept on the ice" for future use in rebellion in Palestine with Axis backing. Wakil wrote anti-British articles in the 'Iraqi newspapers during the May 1941 rebellion and made a wireless speech in support of Rashid Ali. Wakil was stated to be the intermediary through whom Raphael Butti was paid a subsidy of ID. 400 from Axis funds for the purpose of carrying out pro-Axis propaganda.

Wakil passed through Ankara by Taurus Express on his way to Turkey on 10.7.41. He was using the address in Istanbul of the Egyptian Consulate in October 1941 and it was in this month that he left for Bulgaria, it was presumed for Germany. There is a report to the effect that Wakil had been in Rome in August 1941, and he was again reported to be in Rome in October 1942. The Zantut interrogation revealed that Wakil was working at the Arab Bureau in Rome in November, 1942, and he was stated to be the ex-Mufti's Adviser on Egyptian affairs.

The interrogation of Abdul Latif Thulkifi, the Palestinian parachutist (para. 30), states that Dr. Wakil, who generally resided in Berlin, was living with the ex-Mufti at Oyben from April 1944 to September 1944....

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES  
DOCUMENT VII

News Digest No. 1322\*  
December 21, 1943

## MOSLEMS IN THE GERMAN ARMY

A20. Transocean (for Far East), 18.12.43. Moslems of South Eastern Europe are fighting in the Waffen-SS defending Europe against the Anglo-American attacks. Except for the red fez with the German emblem and swastika, these Moslems wear the same uniform as all other SS units. On their collars, instead of German emblems, they wear the insignia of a scimitar held in a Moslem's fist flanked by swastikas. These volunteers receive a thorough military training in the use of the most modern weapons of the German Armed Forces.\*\*

A21. DNB, 17.12.43. The first pictures of the weekly newsreel presented an unusual scene, showing the Grand Mufti's visit to Moslem troops in the German Armed Forces. From the expression and features of these men we can tell that they know how to wear the field-gray uniform. Enthusiasm and discipline are visible in every one of their movements.\*\*

\* British official monitoring. DNB: Deutsche Nachrichten Buro—German Office of Information. TRANSOCEAN: German News Agency.

\*\* The *Munchster Neuste Nachrichten* of December 23, 1943 reports on the activities of the Arab Wehrmacht Legion and states that they wear the regular German Army uniform with a patch on their sleeves reading "Free Arabia."



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\*For reasons of space, a great many names mentioned in this publication have had to be omitted from the Index. In certain cases, variations in the transcription of proper names will be noted in the Documents, which have been reproduced from the original texts without any changes. These variations are due to differences in pronunciation and transcription in the various Arab countries. The abbreviations used in the Index are as follows: Eg.—Egypt, Ir.—Iraq, Syr.—Syria, Pal.—Palestine, Leb.—Lebanon, T.J.—Transjordan, Min.—Minister, Def.—Defense.