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American Zionist Emergency Council, petitions and statements,
1944.

E A Petition S

TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED
BY MEMBERS OF THE
FACULTIES OF AMERICAN
SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING



"Legal right no less than moral obligation"

The arguments in favor of the Christian support of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine seem to me unanswerable. From the many I should like to emphasize three.

The first is the humanitarian. The history of the Passover Scandal gives some conception of the ordeal to which the Jews have been subjected from the early days of the Christian era, an ordeal of horror which seemed incredible in a so-called civilized world. But even that record pales in the light of the experience of today. The atrocities of the Nazi persecutions of the Jews have never been equaled in human history. The "Old Savage" has used every weapon placed in his hand by the "New Civilization" to make more exquisite the tortures inflicted upon the Jewish race with the intent of its complete extermination. That in itself places a responsibility upon all of us who are worthy of the name "Christian," a responsibility which we dare not evade.

Palestine offers a place of refuge, a consideration of the utmost importance if we would stay further massacre of a great race. More than that, it offers a *home*. It is difficult to understand the point of view which ignores the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and the grounds for reconstituting there their National Home. One of the extraordinary facts in history has been the persistence throughout the centuries of this thought of Jerusalem. In no other instance has the life of a people been so closely bound up with that of a city.

The fact that not all Jews could or would be a part of that city has little bearing upon the question. Its chief significance lies in the fact that it is a great sentiment which would be a source of inspiration for the future of the race.

For the second reason why the Christian should support the project of a National Home in Palestine I would stress gratitude. It is curious that the common spiritual heritage of Jew and Christian is so often forgotten. In these days of terror the Christian turns for strength and inspiration to the New Testament and—to the Hebrew Prophet. Words written thousands of years ago are startling in their understanding of modern problems and in the way in which they "speak home to the heart." If there were no further reason for the interest

of the Christian in the Jewish problem and its wise solution, his indebtedness to the Hebrew Prophet would be sufficient.

The third emphasis has to do with the rehabilitation of a distraught world. Among the problems which will face humanity at the close of the war none will be more difficult. Inexcusable as the failure to live up to the Balfour Declaration has been, the Declaration has in part fulfilled its purpose. It has made the plan of the Jewish Commonwealth more than a blueprint. What has been accomplished in Palestine within twenty-five years has proved the practicability and wisdom of this conception of Palestine as the Homeland of the Jewish race.

Furthermore, in this age of world crisis it represents "a fundamental contribution to the social and political progress of the world," possibly of inestimable service in other phases of world rehabilitation.

MARY E. WOOLLEY
President Emeritus
Mount Holyoke College

WRHS
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
With pain one reads that there is need for this Petition of rights and that again the Jew is denied entrance into the Holy Land. The Balfour Declaration sanctioned so universally seemed to be a binding covenant. A half million Jews believed in the pledged word of Great Britain, the guarantee of the League of Nations, and the unanimous Resolution of Congress. They returned to their ancient patrimony. Many thousands would follow if the British White Paper did not quarantine this anti-Axis land.

What power politics has shut the door of this promised land to the chosen people in their terrible martyrdom? What War advantage can there be in keeping the Jews a minority in their ancient home? Must the Arab, who watched disinterestedly when the Nazi blitz rolled into Egypt, be appeased for the wealth of India?

The integrity of the guarantee of the League of Nations must not be impugned. A Resolution of Congress should not appear an idle, political gesture.

Great nations have responsibilities. Majorities can not safely permit minorities to suffer. Small nations cannot protect their own sovereignty. Minorities cannot maintain their own freedom. Yet closed doors, despised minorities, and devastated little nations breed unrest which is contagious beyond insulated frontiers. Peace may die in the congested and oppressed states and among minorities who refuse to suffer more.

Liberal men and God fearing peoples must stand firm for peace with victory over statism, racism, mercantilism, reaction, and bigotry. Men die that other men may live. They do not die for one freedom, but for every freedom. And no freedom is greater than a latch key to a people's home even though it be so small as a token hearth.

And for freedom and covenants arrived at by honest nations, the United States should stand.

RICHARD J. PURCELL
Professor of History
Catholic University of America

It is indeed a privilege to join with so many hundreds of American educators who, commanded by a passionate sense of social justice and social responsibility, direct this appeal to our President on behalf of a Jewish Palestine. This cause has always been close to my heart—just as it has been alive in the thoughts of the Jewish people for the last two thousand years.

I have had the good fortune to travel through Palestine and to observe its amazing agricultural and industrial rejuvenation, brought about by the Zionist movement, a nationalism whose aim is not power but dignity and health. The Hebrew University on Mount Scopus is a real citadel of learning and research; the entire Near East and the forces of the United Nations today draw rich benefits from its work.

The tragic events of the past decade have made only too clear the vital need for rebuilding Palestine as a new center of life for the hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children whom the common foe has hunted from their homes.

By taking its place once more in the vanguard of the struggle for a Jewish Palestine, the American Government will add greatly to its long list of achievements in humanity's eternal strife for justice and equality.

This is the intent and purpose of our Petition.

ALBERT EINSTEIN
Institute of Advanced Studies
Princeton University

A Petition

TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED BY MEMBERS OF THE
FACULTIES OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING



In an hour when the peoples of the United Nations look forward with growing confidence to the early prospect of victory and peace, we, faculty members of American schools of higher learning, respectfully draw attention to a problem of far-reaching human and political implications.

THE Jewish people of Europe was the first target of the Nazi aggressor. Unprotected by a government of its own, this people, which has contributed so much to the progress of our civilization, has undergone a ruthless process of slaughter resulting in the extermination of more than one-third of its number. This gigantic catastrophe has re-emphasized the national homelessness of the Jews and their need for a land to which they may come as of right and not on tolerance.

IN 1922, fifty-two nations endorsed the pledge of Great Britain and the League of Nations "to facilitate the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine." This policy, being the basis of the Mandate for Palestine entrusted to Great Britain by the League of Nations, was unanimously approved by the government of the United States in terms of a joint resolution of Congress, adopted at that time.

IN the intervening decades the progress made by the Jewish National Home has been among the most remarkable achievements of modern times. More than a half million victims of prejudice and intolerance have been enabled, without infringing on the rights of any other people or religious group to remake their lives in dignity and self-reliance on their ancestral soil.

THE British White Paper of May, 1939, condemned by Mr. Winston Churchill as "a plain breach of a solemn obligation," threatens the doom of the Jewish National Home by closing the Holy Land to further Jewish immigration.

WE are convinced that the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth will represent a fundamental contribution to the social and political progress of the world. On the basis of legal right no less than of moral obligation, the government of the United States is entitled and is called upon to intercede on behalf of the Jewish people.

WE respectfully petition you to use the influence and power of your high office to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

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ZIONISM AN AFFIRMATION OF JUDAISM

*A Reply by 757 Orthodox, Conservative and Reform
Rabbis of America to a Statement Issued by Ninety
Members of the Reform Rabbinat Charging That
Zionism Is Incompatible with the Teachings of Judaism*

THE SUBJOINED REPLY was prepared at the initiative of the following Rabbis who submitted it to their colleagues throughout the country for signature: Philip S. Bernstein, Barnett R. Brickner, Israel Goldstein, James G. Heller, Mordecai M. Kaplan, B. L. Levinthal, Israel H. Levinthal, Louis M. Levitsky, Joshua Loth Liebman, Joseph H. Lookstein, Jacob R. Marcus, Abraham A. Neuman, Louis I. Newman, David de Sola Pool, Abba Hillel Silver, Milton Steinberg, and Stephen S. Wise.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED RABBIS of all elements in American Jewish religious life, have noted with concern a statement by ninety of our colleagues in which they repudiate Zionism on the ground that it is inconsistent with Jewish religious and moral doctrine. This statement misrepresents Zionism and misinterprets historic Jewish religious teaching, and we should be derelict in our duty if we did not correct the misapprehensions which it is likely to foster.

We call attention in the first place to the fact that the signatories to this statement, for whom as fellow-Rabbis we have a high regard, represent no more than a very small fraction of the American rabbinat. They constitute a minority even of the rabbinat of

Reform Judaism with which they are associated. The overwhelming majority of American Rabbis regard Zionism not only as fully consistent with Judaism but as a logical expression and implementation of it.

Our colleagues concede the need for Jewish immigration into Palestine as contributing towards a solution of the vast tragedy of Jewish homelessness. They profess themselves ready to encourage such settlement. They are aware of the important achievements, social and spiritual, of the Palestinian Jewish community and they pledge to it their unstinted support. And yet, subscribing to every practical accomplishment of Zionism, they have embarked upon a public criticism of it. In explanation of their opposition they advance the consideration that Zionism is nationalistic and secularistic. On both scores they maintain it is incompatible with the Jewish religion and its universalistic outlook. They protest against the political emphasis which, they say, is now paramount in the Zionist program and which, according to them, tends to confuse both Jews and Christians as to the place and function of the Jewish group in American society. They appeal to the prophets of ancient Israel for substantiation of their views.

TREASURING the doctrines and moral principles of our faith no less than they, devoted equally to America and its democratic processes and spirit, we nonetheless find every one of their contentions totally without foundation.

Zionism is not a secularist movement. It has its origins and roots in the authoritative religious texts of Judaism. Scripture and rabbinical literature alike are replete with the promise of the restoration of Israel to its ancestral home. Anti-Zionism, not Zionism, is a departure from the Jewish religion. Nothing in the entire pronouncement of our colleagues is more painful than their appeal to the prophets of Israel—to those very prophets whose inspired and recorded words of national rebirth and restoration nurtured and sustained the hope of Israel throughout the ages.

Nor is Zionism a denial of the universalistic teachings of Judaism. Universalism is not a contradiction of nationalism. Nationalism as such, whether it be English, French, American or Jewish, is not in itself evil. It is only militaristic and chauvinistic nationalism, that nationalism which shamelessly flouts all mandates of international morality, which is evil. The prophets of Israel looked forward to the time not when all national entities would be obliterated, but when all nations would walk in the light of the Lord, live by His law and learn war no more.

Our colleagues find themselves unable to subscribe to the political emphasis "now paramount in the Zionist program." We fail to perceive what it is to which they object. Is it to the fact that there are a regularly constituted Zionist organization and a Jewish Agency which deal with the mandatory government, the Colonial office, the League of Nations and other recognized political bodies? But obviously, even immigration and colonization are practical matters which require political action. The settlement of a half million Jews in Palestine since the last war was made possible by political action which culminated in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. There can be little hope of opening the doors of Palestine for mass Jewish immigration after the war without effective political action.

Or is it that they object to the ultimate achievement by the Jewish community of Palestine of some form of Jewish statehood? We are not so bold as to predict the nature of the international order which will emerge from the present war. It is altogether likely, and indeed it may be desirable, that all sovereign states shall under the coming peace surrender some of their sovereignty to achieve a just and peaceful world society.

Certainly our colleagues will allow to the Jews of Palestine the same rights that are allowed to all other peoples resident on their own land. If Jews should ultimately come to constitute a majority of the population of Palestine, would our colleagues suggest that all other peoples in the post-war world shall be entitled to political self-determination, whatever form that may take, but the Jewish people in Palestine shall not have such a right? Or do they mean to suggest that the Jews in Palestine shall forever remain a minority in order not to achieve such political self-determination?

PROTESTING their sympathy both for the homeless Jews of the world and for their brethren in Palestine, our colleagues have by their pronouncement done all these a grave disservice. It may well be that to the degree to which their efforts are at all effective, Jews who might otherwise have found a haven in Palestine will be denied one. The enemies of the Jewish homeland will be strengthened in their propaganda as a result of the aid which these Rabbis have given them. To the Jews of Palestine, facing the gravest danger in their history and fighting hard to maintain morale and hope in the teeth of the totalitarian menace, this pronouncement comes as a cruel blow.

We do not mean to imply that our colleagues intended it as such. We have no doubt that they are earnest about their finespun theoretical objections to Zionism. We hold, however, that these objections have no merit, and further that voicing them at this time has been unwise and unkind.

We have not the least fear that our fellow Americans will be led to misconstrue the attitudes of American Jews to America because of their interest in Zionism. Every fair-minded American knows that American Jews have only one political allegiance—and that is to America. There is nothing in Zionism to impair this loyalty. Zionism has been endorsed in our generation by every President from Woodrow Wilson to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and has been approved by the Congress of the United States. The noblest spirits in American life, statesmen, scholars, writers, ministers and leaders of labor and industry, have lent their sympathy and encouragement to the movement.

Jews, and all non-Jews who are sympathetically interested in the plight of Jewry, should bear in mind that the defeat of Hitler will not of itself normalize Jewish life in Europe. An Allied peace which will not frankly face the problem of the national homelessness of the Jewish people will leave the age-old tragic status of European Jewry unchanged. The Jewish people is in danger of emerging from this war not only more torn and broken than any other people, but also without any prospects of a better and more secure future and without the hope that such tragedies will not recur again and again. Following an Allied victory, the Jews of Europe, we are confident, will be restored to their political rights and to equality of citizenship. But they possessed these rights after the last war and yet the past twenty-five years have witnessed a rapid and appalling

deterioration in their position. In any case, even after peace is restored Europe will be so ravaged and war-torn that large masses of Jews will elect migration to Palestine as a solution of their personal problems. Indeed, for most of these there may be no other substantial hope of economic, social and spiritual rehabilitation.

THE freedom which, we have faith, will come to all men and nations after this war, must come not only to Jews as individuals wherever they live, permitting them to share freedom on a plane of equality with all other men, but also to the Jewish people, as such, restored in its homeland, where at long last it will be a free people within a world federation of free peoples.

Of the 757 Rabbis listed below, 214 are members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform); 247 are members of the Rabbinical Assembly of America (Conservative); and the rest are affiliated with the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox) or the Union of Orthodox Rabbis. The total represents the largest number of rabbis whose signatures are attached to a public pronouncement in all Jewish history.

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41 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK

1942

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The Facts about

PALESTINE

By ARTHUR LOURIE



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Issued by

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

THE FACTS ABOUT PALESTINE

America and the Palestine Mandate

On November 2, 1917, the British Government, in a statement known as the Balfour Declaration, pledged itself to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. Before the Declaration was made, Great Britain sought and secured the approval of the United States of America.¹ Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill, General Smuts and others have testified that the intention of those who framed the Declaration was to afford the Jews the opportunity to establish in Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth.² In 1919 President Wilson confirmed this interpretation and also American interest in its fulfilment when he said that "the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of

¹ Mr. Lloyd George, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Nov. 17, 1930; Vol. 245, No. 15, p. 78.

Baker, "Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement"; Vol. 7, pp. 256 and 305.

² Great Britain: Palestine Royal Commission, p. 24.

our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.”³

At San Remo, on April 25, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council allotted the Mandate for Palestine to Great Britain, for the express purpose of putting the Balfour Declaration into effect.⁴ In correspondence subsequently between Secretary of State Colby and the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the United States Government claimed, and was accorded, the right to pass on the terms of the Mandate.⁵ The draft of the Palestine Mandate was submitted to the United States Government, and, at its request, minor alterations were made in it. At the same time, in the interests of the Jewish National Home, the United States expressly gave up certain economic rights which it had in Palestine. On June 30, 1922, Congress adopted a Joint Resolution which was signed by President Harding on September 21, 1922, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. Finally, in 1924, the terms of the Palestine Mandate were

³ *London Times*, March 4, 1919.

⁴ Resolution adopted by the principal Allied Powers at the Conference of Supreme Council of the Allied Nations at San Remo.

⁵ Department of State, “Mandate for Palestine,” Washington, 1931, p. 39.

ratified by the treaty of December 3, between Great Britain and the United States. That treaty cites the terms of the Mandate in full. Article I states that "subject to the provisions of the present Convention, the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty pursuant to the Mandate recited above." It is also provided that "nothing in the treaty shall be affected by any modifications which may later be made in the terms of the Mandate unless such modifications shall have first been assented to by the United States."⁶ The Mandatory further was placed under obligation to furnish to the United States a duplicate of the Annual Report to be made by the Mandatory to the Council of the League of Nations.

It is clear that the assent of America as one of the Allied and Associated Powers was regarded as necessary for the validity of the administration of Palestine by Great Britain, and that America, for her part, had not relinquished the right to a voice in the disposition of Palestine to which as an Associated Power she was entitled.

Continued American interest in the Palestine Mandate and in the development of the Jewish National Home has at different times been expressed in public

⁶ See also letter from Mr. Hughes to Lord Balfour, January 1922, "Mandate for Palestine," loc. cit. p. 60-61.

statements by every President, from President Wilson to President Roosevelt. Beyond the general American interest, however, is the special interest of the five million Jews of America—the largest Jewish population of any country in the world—in the future of the Jewish National Home. Article IV of the Mandate made special provision for the recognition of a Jewish Agency as representative of the entire Jewish people. American Jewry is largely represented in that Agency. It has in the course of the past twenty-five years sent large sums to Palestine by way of gifts, and has made large investments there. That the overwhelming majority of America's Jews are wholeheartedly in favor of Zionist aspirations was conclusively shown at the (September, 1943) American Jewish Conference, at which 480 out of 502 delegates, representing all Jewish communities throughout the country as well as the leading Jewish national organizations, voted in support of a program for the reestablishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

The Palestine White Paper

Palestine, which had become waste and neglected under the Turks, made rapid progress under the Mandate. The Jewish population increased from about 80,000 to over half a million, and with the growth of the Jewish National Home great advances were

made in industry and agriculture. Improved hygienic conditions and an expanding economy, directly attributable to Jewish immigration and development, resulted also in a remarkable increase of the Arab population (largely by excess of births over deaths, though also by immigration) from about 600,000 to over a million. To quote the statement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald) in the House of Commons in 1938: ⁷

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today would still have been round about the 600,000 figure (instead of over 1,000,000, as at present), at which it had been stable under the Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

Despite the economic benefits enjoyed by the Arab population, political agitation, fomented from Axis sources and led by the pro-Nazi Mufti of Jerusalem, resulted in 1936 in a period of tension and disturbance. In May, 1939, the British Government issued the Palestine White Paper. Essentially it was a capit-

⁷ Great Britain: Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Nov. 24, 1938; Vol. 341, No. 13, p. 1994.

ulation to Arab demands to put an end to the Jewish National Home. It provided for (1) total stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 1944; (2) rigorous restrictions on land purchase by Jews; (3) the ultimate establishment of an independent Palestine State, in which Jews should constitute not more than one-third of the population.

The Permanent Mandates Commission, at its last meeting before the war, held the White Paper to be inconsistent with Britain's obligations under the Mandate. In Parliament, Mr. Winston Churchill, supported by Mr. Amery, Sir Archibald Sinclair, and Mr. Herbert Morrison, all of them members now of the British Government, denounced the White Paper as "a breach and a repudiation" of Britain's pledges, and prophesied that it could not stand.

The main reason for the White Paper was clearly indicated immediately prior to its issuance at a conference held at St. James' Palace between representatives of the British Government and of the Jews and Arabs. War with the Axis powers was impending; as between Hitler and the Allies, the Jews could have no choice, and Britain knew that Jewish support could be assumed; the Arabs, on the other hand, were at least a doubtful factor, and it was hoped by abandoning the policy of the Jewish National Home to gain their good-will. The White Paper was thus

another aspect of the pre-war policy of which Munich is the classic instance.

In the result, the White Paper did not, in fact, operate to win the Arabs for the Allied cause. In Iraq, at a most critical period in the war, the Prime Minister, Rashid Ali el-Gailani, headed an Axis-inspired revolt. Egypt at no time moved a finger in the defense of her own soil. Syria and Palestine seethed with pro-Axis sentiment as long as the Nazi cause was in the ascendant. The Mufti of Jerusalem, the former Prime Minister of Iraq, and a prominent member of the Egyptian Royal family are even today conducting pro-Nazi propaganda from Berlin.

Whatever the original justification of the Palestine White Paper as a policy of expediency, the situation today is fundamentally different from that when it was issued. Our major lines of communication no longer run through the Arab territories, and the Arab threat (which, to judge by the ease with which the Rashid Ali coup was suppressed, appears in any case to have been much exaggerated) has certainly greatly diminished. Even if appeasement was justifiable in May 1939, the need for further appeasement no longer exists. On moral grounds, the Arabs have no claim upon the United Nations. They did less than nothing to make possible the victories in Syria, North Africa and Ethiopia, and the United Nations owe

them nothing. In each of these lands, on the other hand, lie scattered the dead of Jewish units from Palestine. Approximately 30,000 Palestine Jews have enlisted in the armed forces of the United Nations—a number equivalent to an enlistment of eight millions in this country.

Jewish Post-war Immigration to Palestine

It is uncertain how many of the seven to eight million Jews living in Europe at the beginning of the war are likely to survive. We can only assume that the numbers will still be considerable. That this Jewry will be uprooted and destitute is certain. Socially and economically it will have lost its position in the European body politic. The Europe that will emerge from the war will be a bitter, scarred and poverty-stricken one, and very many of Europe's Jews, particularly among the younger generation, will assuredly wish to begin a new life for themselves elsewhere—for the most part undoubtedly among their own people in Palestine.

For years the possibilities for Jewish immigration in lands other than Palestine have been canvassed. These hopes have been frustrated by political obstacles in lands with a developed economy and by the fact that in countries with a primitive economy there is, in addition, need for a lengthy process of development

before any large-scale immigration can be undertaken. In Palestine there is a large Jewish community anxious to receive immigrants; there is long colonizing experience; and there is a well-developed economy within which the newcomers may readily be integrated. Practical considerations, no less than those of morality and of sentiment, lead to the conclusion that the solution of the problem lies along the lines of the full implementation of the provisions of the Balfour Declaration.

Palestine, west of the Jordan, comprises an area of 10,000 square miles. Its population at the end of the last war was about 650,000, its population today is 1,500,000. Belgium, Holland, and Sicily (the last named mountainous and without important industries), are all comparable in area with Palestine, but each has a population several times that of Palestine. It is clear that area is only one element in determining the absorptive capacity of a country. Account must be taken of many factors, including not only the material resources of the area in question but the energy and creative ability of its inhabitants.

The possibilities of Palestine's further *agricultural development* have been investigated by experts on a number of occasions. These include the late Dr. Elwood Mead, Commissioner of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior; Dr. Walter C. Lowder-

milk, Assistant Chief of the United States Soil Conservation Service; Dr. Julius Fohs, and others. At present less than $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the total area of the country (350,000 metric dunams⁸ out of 26,300,000) is irrigated. For lack of water, the entire southern half of Palestine is almost unpopulated. The reports of the above experts indicate that it would be possible to increase the irrigated area tenfold, that is to say, to between three and four million metric dunams. This would make possible an increase in the farm population alone from its present total of about 800,000 to at least 2,000,000.

Palestine's *industry* in the last twenty-five years has developed from nothing but a few handicrafts to the production of an astonishing range of articles, including textiles, leatherware, chemicals, electrical equipment, metalware, glassware, cement, and many specialized products. Though Palestine lacks coal, unlimited fuel is available in the form of the oil pumped from Iraq to Haifa. In addition, the remarkable rift formation of the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea gives scope for a great hydroelectric power development, already realized on a small scale in the Rutenberg works. Furthermore, Palestine is rapidly becoming a principal commercial center for the entire Near East. Its geographical location is such that, in the

⁸ A dunam is equivalent to one-fourth of an acre.

words of Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, it has "a position in the twentieth century world . . . not incomparable to the position of Great Britain as an entrepot between Europe and the Americas." Haifa has become the third largest harbor in the Mediterranean, and in Tel Aviv a Jewish port city with a population of 200,000 has sprung up where thirty years ago there were merely sand dunes.

On the basis of the increased agricultural population already suggested, there is no reason why Palestine should not maintain a total population of four or five millions. As long ago as 1930, when development was far less than it is today, Lord Samuel, on the basis of five years' experience as High Commissioner of Palestine, said: "I am confident that with proper agricultural and industrial development Palestine could . . . support a population of three millions." This is twice the present number, and is clearly a conservative estimate. It is the view of Dr. Lowdermilk, on the basis of a careful investigation of Palestine made during a government sponsored study of land use in the Mediterranean countries, that, granted a full utilization of the Jordan Valley Depression for reclamation and power, at least another four million persons could be absorbed, in addition to the 1,800,000 Arabs and Jews already in Palestine and Transjordan.

The question is sometimes put as to whether Palestine can ever become self-supporting in view of its negative trade balance. Coincident with the growth of Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine, the country's trade figures have consistently shown a considerable excess of imports over exports. In the normal course of events, dependence upon such heavy imports of capital would be dangerous as involving a large addition to the external debt and problems of future repayment. But the case of Palestine is unique in that the great bulk of the capital imported is being provided by the immigrants themselves or by Zionist funds from abroad. As the Palestine Royal Commission pointed out:

"The most singular feature in the economy of Palestine is the vast amount of capital which has been invested in the country, for which no remittances for interest and sinking fund are required. This feature sharply differentiates the Jewish National Home from other communities which have been created by a process of colonization and are burdened by charges on the capital obtained from overseas for their development."

On the basis of this capital influx, assets of a permanent and constructive character in the shape of new farms and factories have been and are being created which, as they come into production, will serve increasingly to establish a self-supporting society capable of maintaining itself by its own exertions.

Between 1933 and 1942 Jewish industrial production in Palestine has increased in value from \$20,000,000 to \$80,000,000. So far as agriculture is concerned, in the past twenty-five years over three hundred Jewish settlements have been established throughout the country. Most of these were founded with the help of Zionist funds. Their production has increased greatly as compared with only a few years ago.

Output of Jewish Agricultural Settlements, 1937-1940

	1937	1940	% Rise Over 1937
Eggs	36,401,713	59,259,287	62.8
Potatoes (kgs.)	2,038,554	7,581,448	271.9
Tomatoes (kgs.)	2,938,717	5,586,822	190.1

Very significant, too, is the fact that the settlements have begun to make repayments out of income on the monies borrowed from the Zionist funds. During the years 1922 to 1928 the sum total of these repayments averaged only about \$2,000 a year. But for the single year ending September 1939 these repayments reached the sum of nearly \$400,000.

The Arab Question

Palestine is one—and it is among the smallest—of the various countries inhabited by the Arab people. The Arab lands of the Near East, exclu-

sive of Egypt—Transjordan, Iraq, Syria, and Saudi Arabia—cover an area of approximately one million square miles—a hundred times that of Palestine. They are undeveloped and much underpopulated, and the Arabs have there a task of development and civilization which may well occupy them for a century to come. The Jews, on the other hand, have only Palestine which they may claim as their own. They have come there to stay, and they have come not only for the purpose of creating a home for themselves but in the faith that they will be followed by others.

The restrictive policy of the White Paper will do nothing to eliminate friction in Palestine—on the contrary, as that policy begins to make itself felt, the prospects of friction will materially increase. Neither the Jews in Palestine nor the Jews abroad will accept a situation in which the former will be left, as were the Assyrians in Iraq, a minority in an Arab state. The solution lies in the increase of the Jewish community in Palestine with all possible speed to a point where it will be able to fend for itself. As long as Jewish immigration continues, there will be Arab resistance. But the creation of established facts will lead in due course to the strengthening of the forces making for peaceful collaboration. The example of South Africa, where, a generation ago, Briton and Boer were engaged in a bitter struggle, and where today, despite

difficulties and setbacks, the forces making for unity are clearly beginning to prevail, is not without relevance. As was seen after the last war by the late King Feisal, the Jews in Palestine can serve as a creative and civilizing influence in the whole of the Near East. In that development lies the best hope for the future. But it can be premised only on a strong, firmly rooted Jewish national entity in Palestine.

The world is now entering upon a time of ultimate decisions, when the fate of peoples will be decided for generations to come. The Jewish tragedy emerges today starker and more acute than at any time in Jewish history. Despite expressions of goodwill on the part of the United Nations, little has been done to save European Jewry. The answer has been given that the circumstances of war make it difficult or impossible to do more. But as the prospects of victory for the democratic peoples become brighter and post-war issues more insistent, the fate of the Jewish people, the first of Hitler's victims, can no longer be ignored. The time has surely come for a clear reaffirmation of the right of the Jewish people to reconstitute the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine in accordance with their historic needs and in conformity with the underlying intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate.

EDGAR MOWRER ON WORLD AFFAIRS



Reprinted from
THE NEW YORK POST
Thursday, January 13, 1944



Edgar Mowrer On World Affairs

London vs. Zion

— By Edgar Ansel Mowrer —

The quarrel between the British Government and the Zionist Jews of the world will burst into flaming crisis on Apr. 1. Occasion: the formal ending of further Jewish settlement of Palestine (save for 30,000 residual permits from past years) under a clause of the MacDonald White Paper issued in 1939 by the British Government.

The Jews dispute not only the ethics of the White Paper but its legality. According to them Great Britain as a Mandatory Power had no right to limit Jewish immigration without the permission of the League of Nations and of the American Government, the two other parties to the mandate.

The complications of the question can perhaps be brought out by an imaginary discussion around seven salient points between (non-Jewish) Pierre Van Paassen (for the Jews), Aubrey Morgan of the British Information Services, and this writer (uninvolved). Van Paassen's points are "digested" out of his recent book, "The Forgotten Ally." Morgan's specific answers are from an authorized letter.

* * *

1. Van Paassen — The United Nations are passively permitting the extermination of the European Jews when they could be saving a large number of them.

Morgan — The British and American Governments are doing all in their power to put a stop to this massacre and to assist in the escape of its victims.

The Tragedy of the Struma

E. A. M.—How come? Nothing prevented the British and Amer-

ican Governments from throwing their own countries open temporarily to all Jewish refugees who could get there, as Sweden did to the Danish Jews. This goes for "forbidden" Palestine. Instead, British authorities turned the Struma back to Nazi-dominated Roumania and the 765 refugees on board were drowned.

* * *

2. V. P.—The Jews' natural (perhaps only) haven of refuge, Palestine, was deliberately cut off by the British White Paper of 1939.

Morgan—The door of Palestine is not closed to Jewish refugees. Even now there are more immigration certificates available than there are Jews able to take them up, and for this reason the period of validity of the certificates has just had to be extended.

E. A. M.—Yet these certificates were not used for the 765 refugees of the Struma; for those of the S. S. Patria, which sank in Haifa harbor while taking on Jews whom the British were deporting from Palestine; for the 1,500 Jews who were deported from Palestine to Mauritius Island, and for several thousands more who might have escaped from Nazi-dominated Europe had they been sure of a welcome.

3. V. P.—Palestine, including Trans-Jordania, was promised only to the Jews, and the Arabs so understood it.

Morgan — Palestine was not promised to the Arabs because they already had it. The Balfour Declaration lays down that "nothing shall be done that may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine"

Whence Came the Right

E. A. M.—What gave the Mandatory Power the right to exclude the Jews from the major part of the promised territory as a gesture of appeasement to the Arabs?

* * *

4. V. P.—Hostility between the Jew and the Arab is not inherent.

Morgan — Many harassed officials in Jerusalem and Whitehall must have wished that this were true and many a British soldier has lost his life because it is not.

E. A. M.—But Freya Stark, one of the great British authorities on the Arab world, agrees with Van Paassen, only is inclined to lay on the Jews more of the blame for lack of cooperation. The real question is, were the British in Palestine to act as "umpire" between Arabs and Jews or to help establish a Jewish Commonwealth, as Winston Churchill once stated?

* * *

5. V. P.—British Colonial officials in the '20s deliberately fomented native uprisings in Syria and Lebanon against the French.

Morgan—This piece of highly dubious ancient history is incapable of proof and appears inconsistent both with the assertion that the British Government now opposes Syrian independence and with the alleged British opposition to independence for Palestine.

E. A. M.—Evidence of the charge was submitted to American newspapermen in Paris by the French Government of the

time. It looked pretty conclusive.

* * *

6. V. P.—The Jewish contributions to the war effort were "the best kept secret of the war."

Morgan—There have been frequent references by British commanders and British statesmen to the magnificent contributions to the war made by the Jews of Palestine. An official paper entitled "Britain, the Refugees and Palestine," gives account of the Jewish war effort almost as detailed as that given by Van Paassen.

Not Widely Circulated

E. A. M.—The paper in question seems to have had small circulation in this country. British official documents habitually refer to "Palestinians" rather than to "Jews" (although Arab help had been negligible) and the Palestine Administration has sought to prevent Jewish fighting units from flying the Jewish flag along with the Union Jack.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

* * *

7. V. P.—The reason for the British "strange policy of delay, obstructionism and, yes, cruelty" toward the Jews lies in British Imperial plans for the future.

Morgan — This again enters the realm of speculation. But the facts refute it. The assumption that Britain is opposed to the industrialization of Palestine is in conflict with the admitted fact that industrialization has taken place and with British Colonial policy generally.

E. A. M.—Many people believe that Britain's objective is the establishment of an Arab Federation under British auspices, that the Jews in Palestine are a complicating factor and that this, together with the expediency policy of 1939, led to the White Paper limitation of further Jewish settlement in Palestine.

* * *

The controversy involves the U. S. A. legally and emotionally. Watch it lest it become explosive.

The **WRIGHT-COMPTON RESOLUTION** in the House of Representatives (HR 418-419) and the **WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION** in the Senate (SR 247) call on the United States to "use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

URGE YOUR CONGRESSMAN AND SENATOR TO SUPPORT THESE RESOLUTIONS.



**American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.**

A Cruel Hoax on the American Public

By Pierre Van Paassen

*Reprinted from the
April issue of THE PROTESTANT*

**A LETTER TO
THE EDITOR OF
THE PROTESTANT**

Dear Kenneth Leslie:

Those letters, of which you sent me copies, wherein you are asked why THE PROTESTANT does not support the endeavors of the so-called "Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe," which calls itself a non-partisan, non-sectarian body, are of a similar content and tenor as a number of inquiries I have been receiving myself lately.

I generally reply to my correspondents that I know both the political motives and the personnel of that Committee rather intimately since they are both identical with those of the now defunct "Committee for a Jewish Army" with which, as you will recall, I was associated for a short time in the capacity of National Chairman.

The actual directors of both these Committees, and of two others now in process of formation, viz. the "National Jewish Council"—and the "American League for A Free Palestine" are the self-same individuals—four or five young men who were sent to the United States as a "Palestine Delegation" by a small political group in the Holy Land known as the Irgun Zevai Leumi, or, in English: the "Nationalist Military Organization." This numerically insignificant group in Palestine is modelled, structurally and ideologically, upon the erstwhile Social Revolutionary Party of Czarist Russia, or, if you wish for a nearer and closer prototype: the Macedonian Comitadjis. The Irgun is proscribed in Palestine because of its fascistic methods and its advocacy and employment of terror as a political weapon against Jews, Arabs and Britons alike . . .

In a dispatch from Jerusalem, dated February 25 of this year, the *New York Times* reported an increase in terroristic outrages in Palestine. The dispatch attributed the rise of violence to a renewed activity on the part of the Irgun. I say "renewed" because during the tragic period of disturbances in the Holy Land, back in 1936-1939, the Irgun made its very name obnoxious and infamous to all sincere friends of Palestine by subtracting itself from national Jewish discipline. In those years the Jewish Community of Palestine with one common accord decided not to retaliate, not to kill Arabs in retaliation for the almost daily murder of Jews and the destruction of Jewish property by Arabs acting under the inspiration of Axis agents. The Irgun alone abstained from this noble and truly Christian resolution. It is common knowledge that the Irgun did kill and did commit acts of violence. There were even rumors that certain members of the Irgun made attempts to establish contact with the Nazis in Germany with a view to bring about concerted action against the British in the Near East. These rumors were denied by the Irgun itself.

The aforementioned dispatch to the *New York Times* ran as follows:

"Jerusalem, Feb. 15—Political terrorist activity has been showing a marked recrudescence lately in various parts of Palestine, probably in the mistaken notion that it will bring about pressure on British authorities to change her present policy drastically in favor of extremist Jewish nationalist demands.

"The authors of these outrages—of which the latest was the explosion of two time bombs placed inside British police vehicles at Haifa yesterday—belong to a tiny fanatical group calling itself Irgun Zevai Leumi (Nationalist Military Organization) whose anarchist acts have been condemned by the remainder of the Jewish population as harmful to the Jewish cause. Twenty dissident revolutionaries recently escaped from a detention camp near Jerusalem and are believed to have joined their associates belonging to an even more extremist faction, whose leader, Abraham Stern, was shot dead during a police encounter in February, 1942.

"Arab papers have joined the Jewish press in demanding the apprehension and dire punishment of these lawless elements."

I resigned from the "Committee for a Jewish Army," which was set up by the Irgunist delegation, not because of outside pressure or because I was dissatisfied with the salary, as has been alleged (for there was no salary or any other kind of remuneration involved at any time). I resigned, I say, because I came to the painful realization that the Committee's directors, the four or five Palestinian Irgunists had not mended and showed no intention to mend their ways in this country, as I had at first hoped they would and as they had promised me faithfully and repeatedly. I had accepted the National Chairmanship in the first place because I believed it but right that the Jews of Palestine, who were fighting so gloriously in the British Armies in the Near East should have a military force of their own, should fight and die under their own flag and in their own name, as it were, and not as unknown soldiers.

I still believe this should be so when I consider that at least a quarter of General Montgomery's forces at the height of the campaign in Lybia were Palestinian Jews and that at present no less than sixty Palestinian Jewish units are fighting in Italy. When Iraq, the country which called in Hitler's Luftwaffe to stab Britain in the back, is made a member of the United Nations, and when Egypt whose armies did not lift one finger to resist the German invader and

whose Chief of Staff was arrested at a moment when he was on the verge of flying over to Rommel with Montgomery's secret campaign plans in his pocket, is treated as a loyal Ally, I think the Palestinian Jewry should at least be given recognition of its valor and the country of Palestine recognition of its immense industrial and agricultural contribution to the common victory by being permitted to call its army its own.

Moreover, the constitution of an army made up of Palestinian Jews, would, I think, go a long way towards spiking those Goebbels-inspired whispering campaigns in this country of America according to which the Jews leave the fighting, the suffering and the dying to others. The world would know that Jews do fight and have fought magnificently in this war.

On the strength of the promise of the Irgunists that they would not inject the methods and tactics of their Palestine society into American affairs, I accepted the Chairmanship of the "Committee for a Jewish Army." I was to be deeply disillusioned and I was placed in a most embarrassing position vis a vis of many friends and eminent personalities who had sought to persuade me to disassociate myself from the Irgunist Committee.

In spite of earnest and repeated remonstrances and protests on my part, the directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" insisted on bringing into that organization a number of persons notorious for their reactionary past in American public life. They also refused to collaborate with established Jewish and non-Jewish bodies and organizations of a progressive, reputable and democratic character. Like the Irgun in Palestine, the Irgunist directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" wanted to play and did play a lone hand.

The real reasons for my resignation were always carefully hidden or totally misrepresented by the directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" so that many people till this day are and remain under the false impression that I am still an active supporter of the Committee or of one or more of its various offshoots and prolongations. This illusion was furthered a good deal by the reproduction in the Irgunist periodical *The Answer* of articles and statements from my pen which had appeared elsewhere but which were presented in that publication as original material.

I never had any connection with *The Answer* and I stopped the sale of my recent book by its editors.

With the "Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe" which is one of the offshoots of the Army Committee I had not relationship whatever either.

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It is so easy to make a noise and create a fuss and gather a few followers, as the Irgunist directors of these leagues, committees and councils are doing here in America, so easy when one has neither responsibility nor standing. By what they do here in America they hope to make an impression in Palestine and to persuade Palestinians that at least in the U. S. A. the Irgun is constructively active and has public support. At present the Irgunists take credit and proclaim from the housetops that they are responsible for President Roosevelt's appointment of a Committee on Refugees. This is, as Ludwig Lewisohn aptly remarked, like Chantecler in Rostand's play crowing from the dunghheap that he has made the sun rise.

The "Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe" has been abandoned by many liberals and is today almost homogenously made up of reactionaries on the one hand and on the other hand of well-meaning persons who are distressed over the woes of Israel, but who do not know the backgrounds, the origin, the ambitions and the real objectives of the Committee's parent-body and its ultimate objectives.

I commiserate the more with these charitably-minded persons since I was once a victim myself, and I deeply regret that some have entered the ranks of the Irgunist organizations in America in a belief that I was to be one of their fellow-members. The explanation of the commendation which certain prominent men have given to the Committee's work is simply this, that the Committee has managed to attract their attention by the noise it makes with its vulgar, high-pressure tactics of publicity. If people knew what was really involved they would have kept the Committee at a considerable distance.

In the Jewish field, the Committee goes counter to and combats the internationally-legally established "Jewish Agency for Palestine" which is the body that represents the national interests of the Jewish people in the community of civilized nations. All the Irgunist Committees: the Committee to Save the Jews, the League for a Free Palestine, etc., seek to disrupt established Jewish organizations, such as the Zionist Organization of America by means of typically facile, fascist charges and accusations of "bureaucratic inefficiency," "ruling cliques," "grand moguls," etc. It is so easy! . . .

You are perfectly right in your decision not to have anything to do with the "Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe" or with the Irgun's next item: the "League for a Free Palestine." They are both sponsored by the same Palestinian body through its delegation here in America: the fascist, terrorist Irgun. The Jewish people in this hour of their supreme anguish when three million Jews have been killed by Hitler and when the doors of Palestine remain closed to the refugees, undoubtedly need our sympathy and our help. But that help cannot be given by supporting the deliberate confusionists of the Irgun either here or in the Holy Land.

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

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Issued by

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue

New York 17, N. Y.

" A CRUEL HOAX
ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC "



By

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Irgunist Hoax

Dear Kenneth Leslie:

Those letters, of which you sent me copies, wherein you are asked why THE PROTESTANT does not support the endeavors of the so-called "Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe," which calls itself a non-partisan, non-sectarian body, are of a similar content and tenor as a number of inquiries I have been receiving myself lately.

I generally reply to my correspondents that I know both the political motives and the personnel of that Committee rather intimately since they are both identical with those of the now defunct "Committee for a Jewish Army" with which, as you will recall, I was associated for a short time in the capacity of National Chairman.

The actual directors of both these Committees, and of two others now in process of formation, viz. the "National Jewish Council" and the "American League for A Free Palestine" are the self-same individuals—four or five young men who were sent to the United States as a "Palestine Delegation" by a small political group in the Holy Land known as the Irgun Zevai Leumi, or, in English: the "Nationalist Military Organization." This numerically insignificant group in Palestine is modelled, structurally and ideologically, upon the erstwhile Social Revolutionary Party of Czarist Russia, or, if you wish for a nearer and closer prototype: the Macedonian Comitadjis. The Irgun is proscribed in Palestine because of its fascistic methods and its advocacy and employment of terror as a political weapon against Jews, Arabs and Britons alike. It is no exaggeration to say that ninety-five and three-quarters per cent of the Jewish population in Palestine have no truck or trade with the Irgun.

In a dispatch from Jerusalem, dated February 25 of this year, the *New York Times* reported an increase in terroristic outrages in Palestine. The dispatch attributed the rise of violence to a renewed activity on the part of the Irgun. I say "renewed" because during the tragic period of disturbances in the Holy Land, back in 1936-1939, the Irgun made its very name obnoxious and infamous to all sincere friends of Palestine by subtracting itself from national Jewish discipline. In those years the Jewish Community of Palestine with one common accord decided not to retaliate, not to kill Arabs in retaliation for the almost daily murder of Jews and the destruction of Jewish property by Arabs acting under the inspiration of Axis agents. The Irgun alone abstained from this noble and truly Christian resolution. It is common knowledge that the Irgun did kill and did commit acts of violence. There were even rumors that certain members of the Irgun made attempts to establish contact with the Nazis in Germany with a view to bring about concerted action against the British in the Near East. These rumors were denied by the Irgun itself.

The aforementioned dispatch to the *New York Times* ran as follows:

"Jerusalem, Feb. 15—Political terrorist activity has been showing a marked recrudescence lately in various parts of Palestine, probably in the mistaken notion that it will bring about pressure on British authorities to change her present policy drastically in favor of extremist Jewish nationalist demands.

"The authors of these outrages—of which the latest was the explosion of two time bombs placed inside British police vehicles at Haifa yesterday—belong to a tiny fanatical group calling itself Irgun Zevai Leumi (Nationalist Military Organization) whose anarchist acts have been condemned by the remainder of the Jewish population as harmful to the Jewish cause. Twenty dissident revolutionaries recently escaped from a detention camp near Jerusalem and are believed to have joined their associates belonging to an even more extremist faction, whose leader, Abraham Stern, was shot dead during a police encounter in February, 1942.

"Arab papers have joined the Jewish press in demanding the apprehension and dire punishment of these lawless elements."

I resigned from the "Committee for a Jewish Army," which was set up by the Irgunist delegation, not because of outside pressure or because I was dissatisfied with the salary, as has been alleged (for there was no salary or any other kind of remuneration involved at any time). I resigned, I say, because I came to the painful realization that the Committee's directors, the four or five Palestinian Irgunists had not mended and showed no intention to mend their ways in this country, as I had at first hoped they would and as they had promised me faithfully and repeatedly. I had accepted the National Chairmanship in the first place because I believed it but right that the Jews of Palestine, who were fighting so gloriously in the British Armies in the Near East should have a military force of their own, should fight and die under their own flag and in their own name, as it were, and not as unknown soldiers.

I still believe this should be so when I consider that at least a quarter of General Montgomery's forces at the height of the campaign in Lybia were Palestinian Jews and that at present no less than sixty Palestinian Jewish units are fighting in Italy. When Irak, the country which called in Hitler's Luftwaffe to stab Britain in the back, is made a member of the United Nations, and when Egypt whose armies did not lift one finger to resist the German invader and whose Chief of Staff was arrested at a moment when he was on the verge of flying over to Rommel with Montgomery's secret campaign plans in his pocket, is treated as a loyal Ally, I think the Palestinian Jewry should at least be given recognition of its valor and the country of Palestine recognition of its immense industrial and agricultural contribution to the common victory by being permitted to call its army its own.

Moreover, the constitution of an army made up of Palestinian Jews, would, I think, go a long way towards spiking those Goebbels-inspired whispering campaigns in this country of America according to which the Jews leave the fighting, the suffering and the dying to others. The world would know that Jews do fight and have fought magnificently in this war.

On the strength of the promise of the Irgunists that they would not inject the methods and tactics of their Palestine society into American affairs, I accepted the Chairmanship of the "Committee for a Jewish Army." I was to be deeply disillusioned and I was placed in a most embarrassing position vis a vis of many friends and eminent personalities who had sought to persuade me to disassociate myself from the Irgunist Committee.

In spite of earnest and repeated remonstrances and protests on my part, the directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" insisted on bringing into that organization a number of persons notorious for their reactionary past in American public life. They also refused to collaborate with established Jewish and non-Jewish bodies and organizations of a progressive, reputable and democratic character. Like the Irgun in Palestine, the Irgunist directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" wanted to play and did play a lone hand.

The real reasons for my resignation were always carefully hidden or totally misrepresented by the directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" so that many people till this day are and remain under the false impression that I am still an active supporter of the Committee or of one or more of its various offshoots and prolongations. This illusion was furthered a good deal by the reproduction in the Irgunist periodical *The Answer* of articles and statements from my pen which had appeared elsewhere but which were presented in that publication as original material.

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PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

reprinted by

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N.Y.



AMERICAN RABBIS REPLY

A rejoinder to the non-Zionists prepared at the initiative of the undersigned Rabbis and being submitted to their colleagues throughout the country for their signatures.

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN
BARNETT R. BRICKNER
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
JAMES G. HELLER
MORDECAI M. KAPLAN
B. L. LEVINTHAL
ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
LOUIS M. LEVITSKY
JOSHUA LOTH LIEBMAN
JOSEPH H. LOOKSTEIN
JACOB R. MARCUS
ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN
LOUIS I. NEWMAN
DAVID DE SOLA POOL
ABBA HILLEL SILVER
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STEPHEN S. WISE



Additional copies may be obtained at
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

41 East 42nd Street

New York, N. Y.

We, the undersigned Rabbis of all elements in American Jewish religious life, have noted with concern a statement by ninety of our colleagues in which they repudiate Zionism on the ground that it is inconsistent with Jewish religious and moral doctrine. This statement misrepresents Zionism and misinterprets historic Jewish religious teaching, and we should be derelict in our duty if we did not correct the misapprehensions which it is likely to foster.

We call attention in the first place to the fact that the signatories to this statement for whom as fellow-Rabbis we have a high regard, represent no more than a very small fraction of the American rabbinate. They constitute a minority even of the rabbinate of Reform Judaism with which they are associated. The overwhelming majority of American Rabbis regard Zionism not only as fully consistent with Judaism but as a logical expression and implementation of it.

Our colleagues concede the need for Jewish immigration into Palestine as contributing towards a solution of the vast tragedy of Jewish homelessness. They profess themselves ready to encourage such settlement. They are aware of the important achievements, social and spiritual, of the Palestinian Jewish community and they pledge to it their unstinted support. And yet, subscribing to every practical accomplishment of Zionism, they have embarked upon a public criticism of it. In explanation of their opposition they advance the consideration that Zionism is nationalistic and secularistic. On both scores they maintain it is incompatible with the Jewish religion and its universalistic outlook. They protest against the political emphasis which, they say, is now paramount in the Zionist program and which, according to them, tends to confuse both Jews and Christians as to the place and function of the Jewish group in American society. They appeal to the prophets of ancient Israel for substantiation of their views.

Treasuring the doctrines and moral principles of our faith no less than they, devoted equally to America and

its democratic processes and spirit, we nonetheless find every one of their contentions totally without foundation.

Zionism is not a secularist movement. It has its origins and roots in the authoritative religious texts of Judaism. Scripture and rabbinical literature alike are replete with the promise of the restoration of Israel to its ancestral home. Anti-Zionism, not Zionism, is a departure from the Jewish religion. Nothing in the entire pronouncement of our colleagues is more painful than their appeal to the prophets of Israel—to those very prophets whose inspired and recorded words of national rebirth and restoration nurtured and sustained the hope of Israel throughout the ages.

Nor is Zionism a denial of the universalistic teachings of Judaism. Universalism is not a contradiction of nationalism. Nationalism as such, whether it be English, French, American or Jewish, is not in itself evil. It is only militaristic and chauvinistic nationalism, that nationalism which shamelessly flouts all mandates of international morality which is evil. The prophets of Israel looked forward to the time when all national entities would be obliterated, but when all nations would walk in the light of the Lord, live by His law and learn war no more.

Our colleagues find themselves unable to subscribe to the political emphasis "now paramount in the Zionist program." We fail to perceive what it is to which they object. Is it to the fact that there is a regularly constituted Zionist organization and a Jewish Agency which deal with the mandatory government, the Colonial office, the League of Nations and other recognized political bodies? But obviously, even immigration and colonization are practical matters which require political action. The settlement of a half million Jews in Palestine since the last war was made possible by political action which culminated in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. There can be little hope of

opening the doors of Palestine for mass Jewish immigration after the war without effective political action.

Or is it that they object to the ultimate achievement by the Jewish community of Palestine of some form of Jewish statehood? We are not so bold as to predict the nature of the international order which will emerge from the present war. It is altogether likely, and indeed it may be desirable, that all sovereign states shall under the coming peace surrender some of their sovereignty to achieve a just and peaceful world society.

Certainly our colleagues will allow to the Jews of Palestine the same rights that are allowed to all other peoples resident on their own land. If Jews should ultimately come to constitute a majority of the population of Palestine, would our colleagues suggest that all other peoples in the post-war world shall be entitled to political self-determination, whatever form that may take, but the Jewish people in Palestine shall not have such a right? Or do they mean to suggest that the Jews in Palestine shall forever remain a minority in order not to achieve such political self-determination?

Protesting their sympathy both for the homeless Jews of the world and for their brethren in Palestine, our colleagues have by their pronouncement done all these a grave disservice. It may well be that to the degree to which their efforts are at all effective, Jews who might otherwise have found a haven in Palestine will be denied one. The enemies of the Jewish homeland will be strengthened in their propaganda as a result of the aid which these Rabbis have given them. To the Jews of Palestine, facing the gravest danger in their history and fighting hard to maintain morale and hope in the teeth of the totalitarian menace, this pronouncement comes as a cruel blow.

We do not mean to imply that our colleagues intended it as such. We have no doubt that they are earnest about their finespun theoretical objections to Zionism. We hold, however, that these objections have no merit, and further that voicing them at this time has been unwise and unkind.

We have not the least fear that our fellow Americans will be led to misconstrue the attitudes of American Jews to America because of their interest in Zionism. Every fair-minded American knows that American Jews have only one political allegiance—and that is to America. There is nothing in Zionism to impair this loyalty. Zionism has been endorsed in our generation by every President from Woodrow Wilson to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and has been approved by the Congress of the United States. The noblest spirits in American life, statesmen, scholars, writers, ministers and leaders of labor and industry, have lent their sympathy and encouragement to the movement.

Jews, and all non-Jews who are sympathetically interested in the plight of Jewry, should bear in mind that the defeat of Hitler will not of itself normalize Jewish life in Europe. An Allied peace which will not frankly face the problem of the national homelessness of the Jewish people will leave the age-old tragic status of European Jewry unchanged. The Jewish people is in danger of emerging from this war not only more torn and broken than any other people, but also without any prospects of a better and more secure future and without the hope that such tragedies will not recur again and again. Following an Allied victory, the Jews of Europe, we are confident, will be restored to their political rights and to equality of citizenship. But they possessed these rights after the last war and yet the past twenty-five years have witnessed a rapid and appalling deterioration in their position. In any case, even after peace is restored Europe will be so ravaged and war-torn that large masses of Jews will elect migration to Palestine as a solution of their personal problems. Indeed, for most of these there may be no other substantial hope of economic, social and spiritual rehabilitation.

The freedom which, we have faith, will come to all men and nations after this war, must come not only to Jews as individuals wherever they live, permitting them to share freedom on a plane of equality with all other men, but also to the Jewish people, as such, restored in its homeland, where at long last it will be a free people within a world federation of free peoples.

50 FACTS about the MIDDLE EAST



THE MIDDLE EAST

	Area (square miles)	Population (estimates)	Population (per square mile)
Egypt	363,200	16,000,000	44
Iran	630,000	15,000,000	23
Iraq	116,000	5,000,000	30
Saudi Arabia	927,000	6,500,000	7
Yemen	74,000	3,500,000	48
Aden and Protectorate	112,000	648,000	6
Persian Gulf Territories	92,200	810,000	9
Syria and Lebanon	60,000	2,537,500	42
Palestine	10,400	1,500,000	142
Transjordan	30,000	300,000	10
Total Middle East	2,414,800	51,795,000	21

For Comparison

Turkey	285,246	14,932,941	52
United Kingdom	93,997	47,000,000	500
Europe	2,085,000	400,000,000	190
United States	3,026,789	135,604,000	44

Published June, 1944, by British Information Services (*an Agency of the British Government*), 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

PICTURE CREDITS: British Official Photos — pgs. 11, 14, 23, 26, 30; Chas. E. Brown — pg. 7; Press Association — pg. 5; United Palestine Appeal — pg. 20.

50 FACTS about the MIDDLE EAST

THE BACKGROUND

The Middle East—stretching from the Mediterranean Sea almost to India—is a vast region with a population of more than 50,000,000 covering an area of 2,414,800 square miles, more than two-thirds the area of the United States. **1.**

Eighty-eight per cent of the Middle East region consists of four large independent states—Egypt, Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. Nine per cent consists of small independent territories closely connected with Britain for many years, and three per cent consists of British and former French mandated territories—Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon—with a small British colony, Aden. **2.**

3. **For countless centuries**, the Middle East has had a profound spiritual influence on history. Modern civilization owes much to the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria and Palestine. One of the main keys to the migration of peoples is the "fertile crescent" of the Middle East. From this region came three religions of mankind—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.
4. **The Middle East** is the center of the Moslem faith which imposes a distinctive way of life on its followers. Through the Moslem tradition, the peoples of the Middle East are connected westward with the 14,000,000 Moslems of North Africa and eastward with the 105,000,000 Moslems of Afghanistan and India.
5. **The Moslem faith** was spread by the conquering Arabs who, from the eighth century onwards, carried their faith and their empire through the Middle East and North Africa into Spain, Italy, other parts of Europe, and eastward towards India. The Arabic language and traditions are

important cultural and political links throughout the whole of the Middle East today.

6. Since Biblical times, the Middle East has been the crossroads of the strategy and commerce of the world, as well as being an important center for the diffusion of learning. In modern times, the region has assumed new importance for sea, land, and air traffic, and for the development of natural resources.

7. The Middle East countries have vast desert areas with fertile



Minaret of Haider Khana Mosque in Bagdad.

strips intensively cultivated. In the countries there are sharp differences in outlook between settled townsmen and Bedouin nomads. Not until the nineteenth century did a "modern" ruler—Mohammed Ali in Egypt—impose centralized control in a whole territory.

8. Externally, the countries of the Middle East have put aside political differences for a growing unity of purpose. Iran and Iraq concluded a four-power pact with Afghanistan and Turkey in 1937. Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Yemen are signatories to a treaty of "Arab brotherhood." Federation of some of the territories has been discussed. All territories have concluded alliances or treaties with Britain, some of very long standing.

9 Britain's modern interest in the Middle East goes back to the days of her early trade with India in the eighteenth century. With the development of Australia and New Zealand and of commercial interests in the Far East during the



*British planes
over the Suez
Canal.*

WRHS
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nineteenth century, it became vital to Britain to defend the Middle East as a lifeline of supply and communication.

The strategic importance to Britain of the Middle East lies in four main factors: The Suez Canal, which shortens sea routes by thousands of miles; the military—especially naval and air—bases in the area; the oil supplies; and the airports which British companies built there be-

10.

fore the war in developing air routes to India, South Africa, and Australia.

- 11.** **Commercially**, the importance of the Middle East lies in its oil reserves, in the chemical products of the Dead Sea, and in Egyptian cotton growing. In some cases these products have been developed or purchased by British companies, in other cases by non-British companies, or on a joint basis. In peacetime, the oil is exported to many countries of the world, on a free market.

WRH EGYPT

- 12.** **Egypt**, a key country of the Middle East, is three times as large as New Mexico in total area, but consists of a narrow strip of irrigated land along the 960-mile course of the Nile River, surrounded by desert. During Britain's connection with Egypt, the irrigated area was greatly increased by the construction on the Nile of some of the greatest dams in the world, and the population of Egypt increased from 8,000,000 to 16,000,000.

13.

Commercially, Egypt is important because of her fine cotton growing, and minerals and oil have also been developed. Strategically, Egypt has a dominant position on the Suez Canal. Britain first "occupied" Egypt in 1882 to protect the Canal and trade at a period of great instability. In the years which followed, Britain helped build up Egypt through the successful regulation of the Nile, and through western methods of education, government, and administration.

14.

Britain recognized Egypt as a sovereign independent state in 1922. In 1936, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance gave Britain twenty years to terminate her maintenance of military forces in Egypt, and kept the Sudan (south of Egypt) under joint control. With Egypt as headquarters for all the crucial Middle East campaigns, these military clauses proved of decisive value to the United Nations, not only in the military struggle but in dealing with problems of the civilian populations of the Middle East.

ARABIA

- 15.** **East of Egypt** is the vast and largely undeveloped Arabian Peninsula, half as large as all Europe, and with a population of about 11,500,000. A great part of the peninsula is ruled by King Ibn Saud, who has unified the four territories of the Nejd, the Hejaz, Asir, and El Hasa under his patriarchal rule, and asserted his authority over the desert tribes. Britain reaffirmed her recognition of Ibn Saud's independence in the Treaty of 1927.
- 16.** **Ibn Saud's prestige** extends beyond his vast territories because of his control over the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, to which millions of Moslem pilgrims flock regularly.
- 17.** **The oil reserves** of Ibn Saud's territories in Arabia are thought by experts to be vast, though estimates vary. A United States company holds concession rights for all areas believed to have oil prospects, and areas of considerable value have already been proved.



King Ibn Saud of Arabia.

Apart from the independent state of Yemen, the small coastal areas of Arabia not under Ibn Saud are either under British protection or in similar close connection with Britain. They include the British colony of Aden, at the entrance to the Red Sea, and the Aden Protectorate; the narrow strip adjacent, the Hadramaut, and the small sultanates and sheikhdoms along the western shores of the Persian Gulf.

18.

- 19.** In **protecting** the small independent Arab territories of the Persian Gulf, Britain is continuing a policy going back a hundred and forty years, during which time she has patrolled the Persian Gulf to abolish pirates, slave trading, and gun running, and has made these waters safe for navigation and trade. Her special position in the Gulf is recognized by treaty with Ibn Saud.
- 20.**

The Persian Gulf territories have considerable strategic and commercial importance. The British naval base at Bahrein and the airports, developed before the war by Imperial Airways, have been invaluable in the Middle East campaigns in supplying Russia and in the struggle against Japan. Bahrein and Kuwait have considerable oil reserves, the former developed exclusively by American companies, the latter developed jointly, with American companies holding a half share.

IRAN

East of the Persian Gulf, Iran—formerly known as Persia—is a sovereign state almost two and a half times as large as Texas and with a population of about 15,000,000. Riza Shah Pahlavi, who ruled Iran from 1925 to 1941, instituted many far-reaching progressive changes on lines similar to those introduced by Kemal into Turkey. Iran and her neighbors, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Turkey (allied in a four-power pact), constitute an unbroken land mass stretching from Europe almost to India.

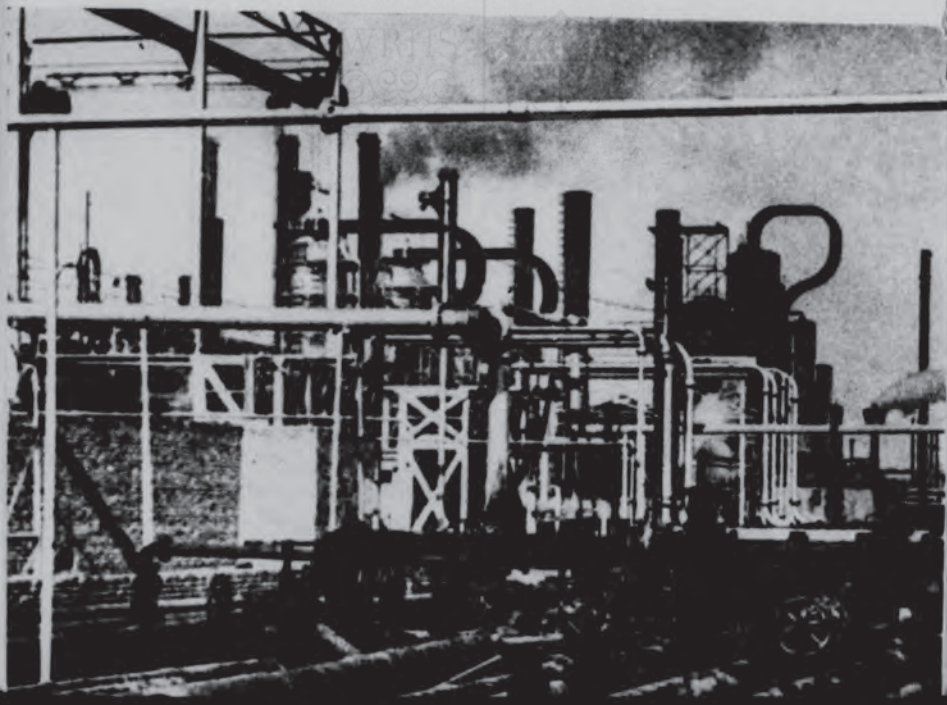
21.

Iran, famous in earlier days for its fine carpets and artistic products, relies today for considerable revenue on its oil reserves, developed by a British company in which the British Government has a large interest. With a production of more than 10,000,000 metric tons of crude petroleum in 1939, Iran ranked fourth among world oil producers, though producing only one-seventeenth as much as the leading country, the United States.

22.

- 23.** **Axis activity** in Teheran, capital of Iran, in the early part of the war made it necessary for Britain and Russia to send armed forces into the country in the summer of 1941 when the whole Middle East was in danger. The present Government of Iran cooperates with the United Nations, and at the Teheran Conference in December, 1943, between the United States, Russian and British leaders, an assurance of

Oil refinery at Abadan, Iran.



complete independence for Iran was reaffirmed.

IRAQ

Iraq, west of Iran and north of Arabia, is almost as large as California and has a population of about 5,000,000. Formerly part of the Turkish Empire, Iraq was liberated by British forces during the last war and later put under British mandate. Britain developed Iraqi education, industry, social welfare, and self-governing institutions, and granted full independence to Iraq in 1930.

24.

When the stage for independence was reached, Britain and Iraq concluded a treaty of alliance "on terms of complete freedom, equality, and independence." Britain, pledged to defend Iraq from attack, was allowed to maintain her "essential communications" and to establish air bases in Iraq and naval access for strategic purposes—factors of paramount value to the cause of the United Nations during the present war.

25.





- 26.** **Apart from the short struggle** in 1941, when German officers reached Baghdad and tried to organize a revolt there which failed, Iraq has cooperated in the fight against the Axis, and is today a member of the United Nations playing her full part. Her oil resources at Kirkuk are worked by an internationally-owned company in which four major oil groups, one being American, hold twenty-three and three-quarters percent each. The oil is carried in pipelines to Tripoli and Haifa on the Mediterranean coast, and in 1938 totalled about 4,000,000 metric tons.

WBHS AMERICAN ARABIAN ARCHIVES
**TRANSJORDAN, SYRIA,
LEBANON, AND PALESTINE**

- 27.** **The four territories**, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, form a geographic group stretching from the fertile coastal strip of the Eastern Mediterranean to Iraq and the Arabian Desert. Formerly under Turkish rule, they were constituted mandated territories in 1922, Transjordan and Palestine being mandated to Britain, Syria and Lebanon to France.

Transjordan, roughly equal in area to Indiana and with a population—largely nomad—of about 300,000, was established as an independent Arab state in 1922, with an elected legislative assembly. Its constitution provides for a British resident adviser, and the country has made good progress, especially in health and education. The small frontier force, officered largely by British, has seen service during the war.

28.

Syria and Lebanon, under French mandate since 1922, were on their way to receiving independence when war broke out. Following the 1941 campaign in which British and Free French forces rid Syria of Axis sympathizers, the French authorities, with British support, proclaimed the independence of the Syrian and Lebanon Republics, and elections were held there in 1943.

29.

Palestine, smaller than Maryland in area, has a unique place in the history of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Under the Balfour Declaration, made in 1917 while Britain was liberating

30.

Palestine from Turkish rule, Britain stated that it favored the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Home, while respecting the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish inhabitants. This Home was established, and the development of Palestine has been valuable in the Middle East war effort.

31. The Mandate for Palestine, given in 1922, called on Britain to facilitate Jewish settlement and to develop self-governing institutions. In the

A Jewish settlement in the Valley of Jezreel.



twenty years which followed, the Jewish population of Palestine rose (mainly by immigration) from about 84,000 to 482,000; the non-Jewish (mainly Arab) from 668,000 to 1,132,000. As a percentage of the total, Jewish population rose from eleven percent to twenty-nine percent. The many riots in this period were connected basically with the claim of the Arabs of Palestine, that, at this rate, they would ultimately become a minority in their native country.

In 1937, the British Government attempted to meet the problem by proposing the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab States, with a British enclave. The details of putting such a plan into effect proved insuperably difficult at the time, and a subsequent round-table conference, called in London after further sustained riots, failed to yield any agreement between the parties concerned. In 1939, therefore, the British Government put forward a plan for a self-governing Palestine, setting 75,000 as the limit for further Jewish immigration without Arab consent, and proposing that Arab and Jewish Palestinians be given

32.

increasing responsibility in controlling government departments, with a view to full independence being achieved within ten years.

- 33.** **The Jewish upbuilding** of Palestine has been remarkably successful: desert land has been made to bloom, industry has been developed, health and education have gone forward, Hebrew has been revived and a Hebrew University established. At the same time, the Arab population of Palestine and surrounding territories has made great progress. There have been discussions of the possibilities of federation of the four contiguous areas—Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan.

STRATEGY OF VICTORY

- 34.** In 1940, when her own position was precarious, Britain threw her resources into the defense of the Middle East, striking a blow at the Axis which has been decisive for the outcome of the war.

In defending the Middle East from falling into enemy hands, British and Empire forces fought, from 1940 on, in Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somaliland, Greece, Crete, Malta, Iraq, Iran, and Syria.

35.

The threat to the Middle East countries came from the Italian Empire in Africa, an area twelve and a half times as large as Britain, held in 1940 by 1,000,000 Italian troops later reinforced by eight more Italian divisions and five German divisions. In capturing Tripoli, the last strong-

36.

British tanks ready to strike at El Alamein.



hold of the Italian Empire, British and Empire forces of the Eighth Army advanced nearly 1,400 miles in less than three months.

- 37.** **When France fell** in 1940, the British and Empire forces which were left to defend the Middle East appeared insignificant. In his first campaign in Libya, General Wavell's striking force never exceeded 30,000 men. In eight weeks he had taken 130,000 prisoners.
- 38.** **The small British and Empire forces** which liberated Eritrea, Somaliland, and Ethiopia from Italian rule destroyed an army of 300,000 men. Part of the victorious force advanced 1,725 miles in fifty-three days to take Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia.
- 39.** **In 1942**, with Japan surging forward from the East and Germany from the West, the stand of British and Empire forces at El Alamein was a major factor in preventing any possible joining of Axis forces across the Middle East area. From

the first day of the Eighth Army's break-through on October 23, 1942, the Middle East ceased to be an area for defense and became the base for attack and supply to the West, the North, and the East.

A keypoint in the defense of the Middle East during the present war was the tiny island of Malta—a British colony—which held out for three years with the enemy only fifty-eight miles away and the nearest British base a thousand miles across the sea. Malta had more than 3,500 air alerts and 1,200 actual raids. It took the offensive itself as an air base during the North African campaign, and became General Eisenhower's headquarters for the liberation of Sicily.

40.

TRIUMPH OF SUPPLY

Vast supplies from Britain and the United States had to be brought to the Middle East over hazardous sea routes. With the Mediterranean closed until 1943, the sea route from Britain was

41.

a journey of 11,000 miles. Up to April, 1942, more than 3,000,000 tons of military supplies were landed in Egyptian ports alone by this route.

- 42.** For urgent Middle East supplies, Britain pioneered an air route across Africa. Adding to pre-war British airports, new construction under difficult conditions was undertaken, developed later on a large scale by the Americans. These

Vital Allied supplies to Russia via Iran.



airfields are also vital routes to India and China for the war against Japan.

Through the defense of the Middle East, a most important supply route for Russia was made possible across Iran. British engineers, joined later by Americans, quickly increased the traffic capacity of the railroad. Locomotives and specially built freight cars were sent from Britain in 1941. The road system was modernized. A new factory for assembling trucks was turning out two hundred a month as early as the end of March, 1942.

43.

In contrast with Nazi methods of plundering occupied territories, Britain organized the Middle East Supply Center in April, 1941, to stimulate local production and satisfy civilian needs in the Middle East and beyond. This agency, controlled jointly by Britain and the United States since the summer of 1942, has had to cover an area larger than continental United States with a population of 83,000,000. New methods that have been introduced will be of permanent value to the whole region.

44.

- 45.** To increase food production, the Middle East Supply Center has arranged for extensive surveys and the importation of agricultural machinery. The area under cereal crops has been increased by more than 2,000,000 acres. In addition, the Food Supplies Section has been handling bulk cargoes of foodstuffs, since 1942, at the rate of 1,000,000 tons and to a value of \$96,000,000 a year.
- 46.** To combat locust plagues in the Middle East, an organization was set up under the general direction of the Anti-Locust Research Center of London to send tried poisons to all Middle East countries and to conduct new experiments. British, Russian, Indian, and Iranian entomologists concerted plans in Iran. Aircraft tracked down locust swarms and sprayed poison dust. From Ethiopia to Iran the program has been highly successful.
- 47.** The Middle East has been stimulated to new industrial developments. Processes perfected in Egypt produce chemicals in Iran for dyeing and

tanning. Lignite mining has been developed in Syria and Eritrea to provide a substitute for coal. Fertilizers are produced from by-products of oil refining. Pharmaceutical products have come from Palestine where industries, largely developed by Jewish refugees, have greatly increased during the war period.

Throughout the war and most particularly since the opening of the Mediterranean in 1943, oil from the Middle East has been supplied in increasingly large quantities for the armies, navies, and air forces of the United Nations. All oil from British sources is supplied under British "Reverse Lend-Lease" or Mutual Aid.

48.

In supplying the Middle East with civilian goods, commercial trade is the normal method, with most cash imports coming now from the United States. This has changed the pre-war commercial balance, for in 1938 United States exports to the Red Sea area were only \$24,000,000 as compared with \$65,000,000 worth from Britain.

49.

- 50.** The **economic development** of the Middle East, and its increased trade with many countries of the world, will help to raise its standard of living after the war, and to secure, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, "improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security for all."

British mobile clinic tours Syrian villages.



Production of Crude Oil and Natural Gasoline in the Middle East and in the Rest of the World in 1938

Middle East	<i>Metric Tons</i>	Total World Production	<i>Metric Tons</i>
Iran	10,358,000	United States	170,432,000
Iraq	4,368,000	Russia (incl. Sakhalin)	30,112,000
Bahrein	1,135,000	Venezuela	28,107,000
Egypt	226,000	Netherlands Indies	7,394,000
Saudi Arabia	67,000	Rest (incl. M. East)	44,231,000
Total	16,154,000	Total	280,276,000

The Suez Canal

1. SEA DISTANCES FROM BRITAIN VIA SUEZ CANAL & CAPE

	<i>Via Suez</i>	<i>Via Cape</i>
Plymouth to Bombay	6,200 (Miles)	10,500 (Miles)
Plymouth to Sydney	11,200	12,300
Plymouth to Hong Kong	9,500	12,800
Plymouth to Singapore	8,100	11,400

2. SHIPS PASSING THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL IN 1938

Nationality	No. of Vessels	Net Tons	Tonnage Percentage
British	3,028	17,357,743	50
Italian	984	4,625,818	13
German	499	3,134,597	12
Netherlands	476	3,028,324	9
French	260	1,747,825	5
Other countries	924	4,523,880	11
Total	6,171	34,418,187	100



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BRITAIN VERSUS JAPAN

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND
EMPIRE

A PICTURE OF BRITAIN

Information Papers

BRITAIN'S MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

BRITAIN'S PART IN LEND-LEASE AND
MUTUAL AID

ZIONIST MANUAL

of Special Interest to New Members

What is Zionism?

Zionism is the expression of the Jewish people's desire to live its own life again through the creation of a publicly secured, legally assured home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

What does the Zionist movement imply?

Zionism seeks to remove the fundamental disability under which the Jews live, as compared with other nations, through the realization of its program to create a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine.

Why should the Jewish people insist upon building their National Home in Palestine and not elsewhere?

The history of the Jewish people is inextricably interwoven with Palestine. It was in Palestine that Abraham proclaimed to the world the unity of God. It was in Palestine that the great Jewish prophets preached the ethical concept of brotherhood and human relationship, accepted by the entire civilized world today. Palestine is the only country which is capable of awakening Jewish enthusiasm, Jewish inspiration, and the Jewish will to create.

The right of the Jews to Palestine has been sanctioned by 52 nations of the world that were signatories to the Palestine mandate, which recognizes the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine. The Mandate also embodies the Balfour Declaration, pledging Great Britain to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. This Declaration received the approval of both Houses of the United States Congress in a joint resolution adopted on June 30, 1922.

To what extent is the American public and Government interested in the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland?

Every President of the United States, since President Wilson—Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Roosevelt—has voiced approval of the establishment of the Jewish

Homeland in Palestine. They have publicly expressed themselves to this effect.

As recently as May, 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote:

"Jewish achievement in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration vindicates the high hope which lay behind the sponsorship of the Homeland. The Jewish development in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration is not only a tribute to the creative powers of the Jewish people, but by bringing great advancement into the sacred land has promoted the well-being of all the inhabitants thereof. 'I shall personally watch with deep sympathy the progress of Palestine.'"

In addition to the joint resolution passed by both Houses of the United States Congress, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, America has a special interest in the Palestine Mandate through the American-British Palestine Mandate Convention of 1924. The provisions of the Mandate were not the exclusive product of the League of Nations, the Government of the United States participating in drafting it.

How many Jews can Palestine absorb?

According to estimates approved by expert authorities, Palestine is capable of accommodating approximately five million Jews. This figure would be increased to eight million were Palestine to include, as it did originally, the territory on both sides of the Jordan.

Belgium, for example, with a territory not much larger than that of Palestine west of the Jordan, supports a population of over 8,000,000.

How would the National Jewish Homeland solve the Jewish problem?

Consideration must be given to the fact that there is sufficient area of land to be acquired in Palestine to make possible the settlement of additional millions of Jews. In other words, if the Zionist movement accomplishes nothing else but saves the lives of upward of four million Jews, now hounded and persecuted, this alone would be sufficient incentive for American Jews to give their support to the Zionist movement.

Does Zionism propose the emigration of all Jews to Palestine?

No. The Zionist Organization has never claimed that Palestine will absorb all the seventeen million Jews throughout the world. Zionism is a voluntary movement, seeking to solve the Jewish question through the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, which will command the respect of all the nations. The Jews who live in the United States of America, where they enjoy the blessings of freedom and equal rights, can best help in the realization of Zionism by contributing the necessary financial means for the upbuilding of Palestine and supporting the efforts of the Zionist Organization of America to keep the doors of Palestine open for large masses of Jewish immigrants. This support can best be manifested through enrollment as a member of the Zionist Organization of America.

In America, Zionism aims at the regeneration of the Jews through a campaign of education and national Jewish achievement.

Sokolow, in his History of Zionism, prophetically sums up the aims of Zionism in the following words:

"Jews are not anxious to acquire military power; they reject and condemn the idea of subjugating any other people. On the other hand, they have grown tired of their role of a homeless Chosen People, and would prefer to be a self-supporting 'small nation,' with a quiet spot of earth for themselves. They want to be united in an organic community, to feel entirely at home, with their institutions, national language, literature and press.



Theodor Herzl

In an address before the 5th Zionist Congress

"Zionism is the only humane and at the same time the only practical end to solve the immigration problem.

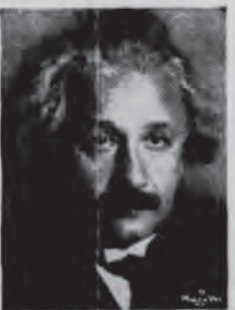
Participation in the Zionist movement means nothing which is not in the clearest and highest form in unison with the patriotism of a true American. How quickly or slowly the schemes we have prepared will enter into operation we cannot say . . . we can lay the installation but we cannot apply the power. The power must be supplied by the Jewish people."



Dr. Weizmann

Cabled in connection with the membership effort of the ZOA

Deeply grateful to American Jewry for effective political work in behalf of Palestine. Urgent that Zionist Organization of America continue stand guard and exert great efforts our peoples cause. Urge all American Jews enroll as members Zionist Organization and rally to our aid and struggle for maintaining our rights in Palestine solemnly guaranteed by nations of world.



Prof. Albert Einstein

"The rebuilding of Palestine is for us Jews not a mere matter of charity or immigration: it is a problem of paramount importance for the Jewish people. Palestine is first and foremost not a refuge for East European Jews but the incarnation of national solidarity."

That, neither more nor less, is what Zionists look to as the goal of their efforts."

Is Zionism inconsistent with patriotism—in other words, does membership in the Zionist Organization by an American citizen imply any inconsistency or disloyalty to the United States?

This question can best be answered by quoting the words of Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandeis: "Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. Every Irish-American who contributed toward advancing home rule was a better man and a better American for the sacrifice he made. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better American for doing so. . . . There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry. . . . America's fundamental law seeks to make real the brotherhood of man. That brotherhood became the Jewish fundamental law more than twenty-five hundred years ago. America's insistent demand in the twentieth century is for social justice. That also has been the Jews' striving for ages. Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist, for only through the ennobling effect of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give to this country the full benefit of our great inheritance."

How has Jewish settlement in Palestine affected the welfare of the Arabs?

Opposition to the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland has been raised by certain elements of Palestinian Arabs who claimed that the pledge by the British Government to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland conflicts with promises which the Government allegedly has given to the Arabs during the war. These promises are supposed to have been contained in a letter which Sir Henry McMahon, the then British High Commissioner for Egypt, wrote in 1915 to Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca. The full text of this letter published by the British Government proves that Palestine was specifically excluded from the territories promised to the Arabs. Sir Henry McMahon himself, in a letter dated as recently as July 23, 1937, in the London Times, emphatically declared that the promise to King Hussein for independence did not include Palestine.

The official Arab attitude towards the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine was made known during the Peace Conference in 1919, when Emir Feisal, head of the Arab Delegation, wrote to Professor Frankfurter under date of March, 1919, as follows:

"The Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, insofar as we are concerned, to help in their attainment; we will offer the Jews a hearty welcome home."

Of significance is also the pact of friendship which was concluded between Emir Feisal and Dr. Chaim Weizmann. The well-known Lawrence of Arabia was a co-signatory to that treaty.

The Arab population in Palestine has benefited in numerous ways from Jewish settlement in Palestine. As a result of Jewish efforts the Arabs enjoy the lowest mortality rate of the entire Near East.

The rate of wages paid to Arab laborers in Palestine is the highest as compared with any other country in the Near East.

What interest have American Jews in the upbuilding of Palestine?

This question was effectively answered in a Memorandum submitted to the recent Palestine Royal Commission by American Zionist leaders:

American Jewry has a special stake in the Jewish National Home. It has been called upon to take the lead in the movement of Jewish national reconstruction, and to assume heavy responsibilities in connection therewith. The Jews of America have been eager to do their share in the fulfillment of the centuries' old Jewish ideal, and they have sought at the same time to lighten the unbearable suffering of Eastern European and German Jews by making it possible for many of them to settle in a reconstructed, economically rehabilitated Palestine.

After the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, the traditional attachment of the Jews to Palestine found practical expression in many ways. Palestine was in a state of general desolation resulting from centuries of neglect. Vast areas had to be reclaimed, swamps had to be drained and malaria, trachoma and other diseases had to be conquered. For these tasks large sums of money and much human sacrifice were required. American Jewry, through many organizations and groups, principally the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) and the Jewish National Fund, contributed heavily to Palestine upbuilding.

Since 1921, contributions to the Keren Hayesod, which is the financial instrument of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, by Jews throughout the world, aggregate the sum of close to \$33,000,000. This money has been expended in Palestine for colonization, urban and rural development, immigration, education, sanitation, health and social and cultural activities. More than 250 Jewish colonies and agricultural settlements were established or aided through their initial stages by the Keren Hayesod, 50 new settlements having been established in 40 months since April, 1936. An additional 15 settlements have been established since then.

What is the Jewish National Fund?

The Jewish National Fund, or Keren Kayemeth L'Israel, was founded for the express purpose of purchasing land in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people. Such land is taken off the market and can never be resold.

What has the Jewish National Fund accomplished?

Sums aggregating \$30,000,000 have been contributed by Jews from every part of the world since 1902, when the Jewish National Fund began its operations. The Jewish National Fund has acquired approximately 500,000 dunams of land in Palestine. Much of this land was swampy and disease-breeding and was made hospitable by drainage and other amelioration works. More than 240 agricultural settlements have been established on the land of the Jewish National Fund, housing an agricultural population of more than 95,000.

Why should every Jew be a member of the Zionist Organization?

American Zionism must prepare for the eventuality when it will be called to present the Jewish case before the forthcoming peace conference.

Joining the Zionist Organization of America represents the identification of the Jew with the destiny of his people. It brings him into a position where he may join in solving the Jewish problems of the day. The Zionist Organization is the association of those Jews in every community throughout the land who, by cultural equipment and Jewish training, are best fitted to provide leadership to Jewish life today.

Membership in the Zionist Organization of America means participation in the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home and the promotion of Jewish progress.

PALESTINE AND THE ARAB WORLD

FACTS AND FIGURES ON THE AREAS INVOLVED

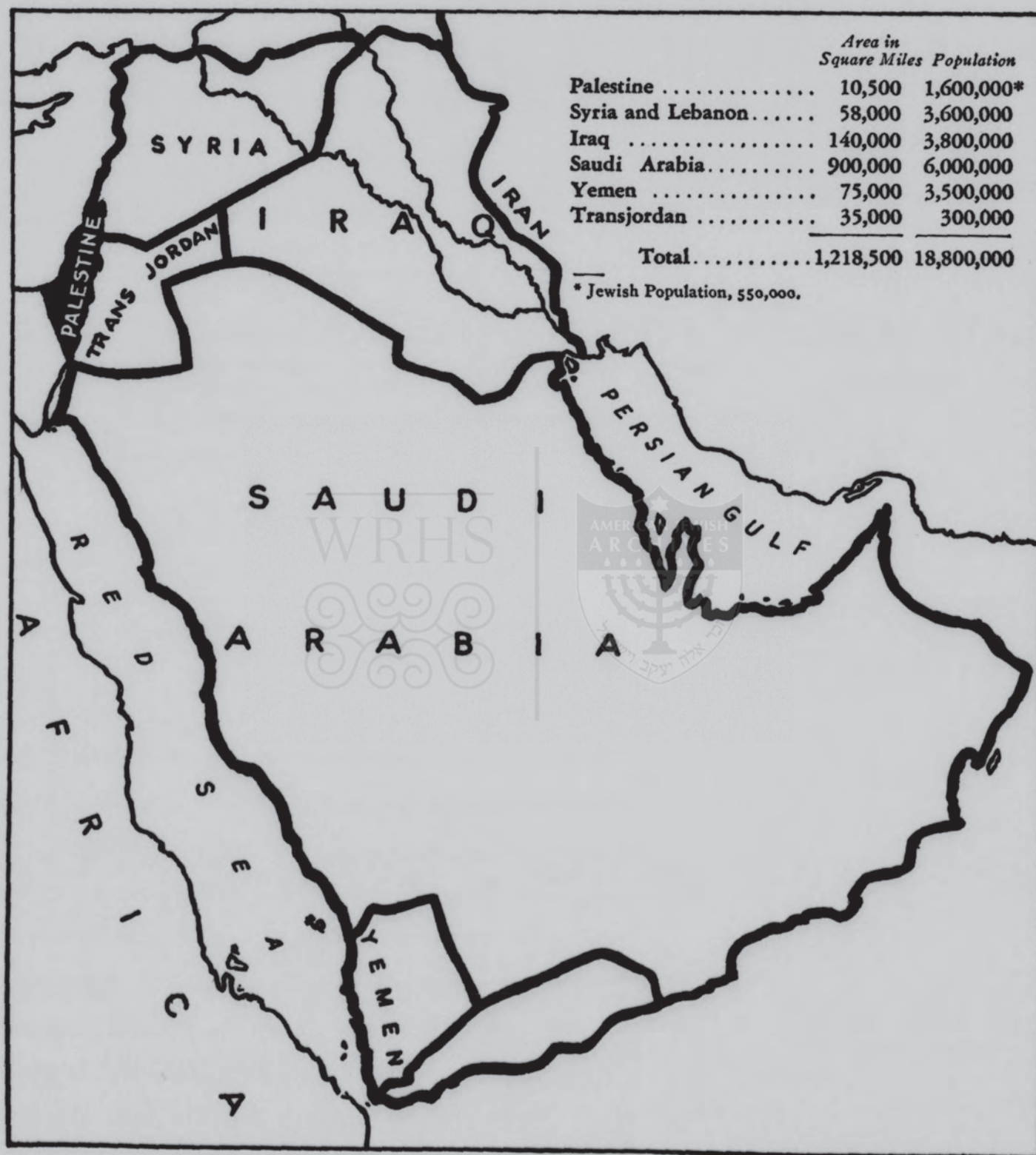


"No race has done better out of the fidelity with which the Allies redeemed their promises to the oppressed races than the Arabs. Owing to the tremendous sacrifices of the Allied nations, and more particularly of Britain and her empire, the Arabs have already won independence for Iraq, Arabia, and Transjordan, although most of the Arab races fought throughout the war for their Turkish oppressors. Arabia was the only exception in that respect. The Palestinian Arabs fought for the Turkish rule."

David Lloyd George, "Memoirs of the Peace Conference,"
Volume 1, p. 723.

PALESTINE AND THE ARAB LANDS

This area was freed from Turkey in the last war.
Palestine constitutes less than 1% of the total territory.



PALESTINE

is only 20% larger than Massachusetts. Because of intensive industrial development, the population of Massachusetts is 4,316,000, over 2½ times that of Palestine.

SAUDI ARABIA

is over three times the area of the immense State of Texas. Texas, which is generally recognized as underpopulated, has a population of close to 6,500,000.

AS A RESULT OF THE ALLIED VICTORY IN WORLD WAR I
THE ARABS RECEIVED SOVEREIGNTY OVER MORE THAN

1,200,000 Square Miles

This territory is more than 1/3 the area of the continental United States.

It includes six large Arab states:

SAUDI ARABIA, the huge oil-rich territory that is the ancestral home of the Arabs.

YEMEN, the most fertile part of the Arabian peninsula.

IRAQ, site of the Mosul oil fields, a large, well-watered land which in ancient days was the seat of the empires of Assyria and Babylon, supporting a population believed to have been between 17,000,000 and 25,000,000.

TRANSJORDAN, three times the size of Western Palestine, with far better soil and water resources.

SYRIA and LEBANON, temperate in climate, in Hellenic and Roman times the home of a large and highly civilized population.

THE JEWS RECEIVED ONLY *a Promise*

It involved PALESTINE, their never-forgotten historic homeland.

Its small area of 10,500 square miles west of the Jordan can be the salvation of the Jewish people. Jewish achievements in Palestine during the last two decades have proved this.

At the beginning of the Christian era Palestine had a population of 4,000,000. With the aid of modern technology it can support far larger numbers.

Dr. Walter Lowdermilk, the noted American agricultural expert, in his recent book "Palestine, Land of Promise," proves that in the Jordan Valley alone room can be made for at least 4,000,000 new immigrants, without in any way disturbing Palestine's present total population of 1,600,000.

THIS WAS THE PROMISE TO THE JEWS

Issued by the British War Cabinet with the approval of President Wilson

Incorporated in the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine

Confirmed by the joint resolution of the Sixty-Seventh Congress of the United States

November 2, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievements of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours Sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

To Make the Promise Come True

The Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 must be made null and void.

The doors of Palestine must be opened for free immigration of Jews.

There must be full opportunity for land purchase, colonization and industrial development so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

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