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American Zionist Emergency Council, local emergency committee
reports, 1945-1946.

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date August 20, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

At his press conference at the White House on Thursday, August 16, 1945, President Truman commented on the Palestine question and his statement has attracted widespread attention.

You may not have read a full account of the President's statement. We are therefore submitting for your information a detailed report of what took place at the press conference.

The President was asked whether anything about "the Jewish National State" was discussed at Potsdam. He answered that he had discussed the matter with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee and that they are still discussing it.

The next question was whether the matter had also been taken up with Generalissimo Stalin. The President answered in the negative, and added that there was nothing that Stalin could do about it.

The third and final question was: What was the American view on Palestine put forth at the Berlin conference? The President answered that the American view on Palestine is that we want as many Jews as possible to be let into that country; that then the matter will have to be worked out diplomatically with the British and the Arabs so that if a State can be set up in Palestine, they may be able to set it up on a peaceful basis. The President added that he has no desire to send 500,000 American soldiers to make peace in Palestine.

The Zionist reaction to the views expressed by President Truman is contained in a statement issued by the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London, where Zionist leaders from all parts of the world had just concluded the World Zionist Conference.

The full text of the Jewish Agency's statement issued on August 17, 1945 follows:

"The Jewish Agency for Palestine is gratified to learn that the proposal to establish Palestine as a Jewish State is under active consideration. Jews everywhere appreciate the recognition by the American Government of the justice of the Jewish desire to bring to Palestine as many Jews as possible and re-establish a national state.

"The Agency must point out that the Palestine issue primarily concerns the Jewish people, the Arabs of Palestine and the Great Powers. Arabs of states neighboring Palestine have no other status in Palestine than all other members of the United Nations.

"The question of Palestine is one of the many international problems whose solution must be conceived in justice and equity, and carried out with determination. The notion that large military forces would specially be required in the case of Palestine, has, in the conviction of the Jewish Agency, no relation to the realities of the situation.

"If the future of Palestine is now under consideration by the Great Powers, the Jewish Agency representing the Jewish people in matters Palestinian, must claim to be a party to all discussions and negotiations on equal footing with any national government."

You will be receiving additional information from us on this important matter. A round-up of press opinion on President Truman's statement will be sent to you after all the necessary material has been gathered. In the meantime, please be guided by the above information in attempting to evaluate the significance of the President's utterance.

HLS:MMH



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date August 20, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

The next six or seven months may be a most significant period in the history of our movement. Decisions may be made during this time which may determine the future political configuration of Palestine. It will be necessary that the political work of our movement be coordinated as never before and that the central group, the American Zionist Emergency Council, have the full cooperation of every local committee throughout the nation. The degree of our effectiveness will greatly influence the expected decisions in our favor.

In order that the Emergency Council may be helpful in furthering this cooperation it has been decided to revise our administrative plan by expanding the Department of Community Contacts, and Mr. J. M. Alkow has been selected to direct the program of this department. Under his direction, representatives of the Department may be sent to certain communities in order that they may bring necessary confidential information to the committees and be helpful in advising on procedures and activities.

I am certain that you will give Mr. Alkow the cooperation of your committee at all times. In the past Local Emergency Committees have done a splendid job and I hope that this excellent record may be maintained in the coming critical days.

Regards.

HLS:MH

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date August 21, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

It is extremely important that there be a correct appraisal of President Truman's statement with regard to Palestine in the press throughout the country. You will be rendering our cause a great service if you now make every effort to obtain editorial comment in your local newspapers along the lines indicated in this memorandum. Do not submit the memorandum to your editors. Give them typewritten copies of the outline only.

OUTLINE OF EDITORIAL

1. Believers in justice everywhere are deeply gratified by President Truman's announcement that the proposal to establish Palestine as a Jewish State is being given active consideration. This pressing human problem, the solution of which is a matter of life and death for the Jewish people, cannot be side-stepped, and President Truman's expressed desire to deal with the question without delay gives new hope to the shattered remnants of European Jewry who look to Palestine as their only salvation.
2. In declaring that the American Government desires to let into Palestine as many Jews as possible and re-establish a national state there, President Truman has reaffirmed the traditional American position on Palestine. Our historic policy of support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine has been repeatedly expressed by every American president since Woodrow Wilson, by a Joint Resolution of both Houses of Congress, and by forthright declarations in the 1944 platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties. In recent years, as the staggering blows to the Jewish people increased in intensity, the American people have insistently demanded that justice must at long last be done to the Jews, and that the historic pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration and in the Palestine Mandate be fulfilled.
3. Those who are well acquainted with Middle Eastern affairs are puzzled by President Truman's assertion that he has no desire to send a half million American soldiers to keep order in Palestine. Experts on the Arab world have time and again pointed out that no active Arab resistance would follow a United Nations declaration in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth. Any impression which may have been created that a decision on Palestine favorable to the Jews would require the intervention of the American and British military is the result of political propaganda spread by those responsible for the infamous policy of the White Paper of 1939, which prohibits Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Is it reasonable to suppose that the Arab countries will oppose by force a decision taken by the Great Powers? In this connection it is well to point out that no more than two British battalions were required to put down the Iraq revolt of 1941; that during the disturbances of 1936-1939 in Palestine, when terrorists were receiving aid and support from Hitler and Mussolini, order was re-established by only one British division aided by Jewish settlement police.

The Arab states, relying as they are on American economic assistance and friendship, without which their existence would become highly problematical, cannot seriously contemplate the use of armed force against us. Even if Arab leaders considered embarking on such a suicidal project, they could muster very few troops with little training and equipment and no desire to fight.

Arab leaders -- the same individuals who actively supported the Axis in this war and who proclaimed their allegiance to the United Nations only after the Germans were beaten beyond recovery -- intent upon halting the wave of progress which would inevitably follow the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State, and promoted by those forces responsible for the White Paper policy, are now engaged in an all-out effort to terrorize the democratic world into denying the just claims of the Jewish people. It is to be hoped that the rantings and idle threats of a few feudal chieftans will not be taken seriously by those charged with the responsibility of creating a new and better world wherein all men may be given the opportunity to live in freedom and security.

HLS:MBP

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date September 10, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

The following round-up of Jewish press comment on President Truman's recent statement with regard to Palestine will supplement the information on this subject already sent to you.

The initial reaction of the Jewish press was to hail the fact that the President had "kept his word" and had placed the Palestine question on the agenda of the international conferences. The statement was generally regarded as a declaration by the American Government favorable to Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

Later comment was more reserved, however, and Jewish editorial writers and columnists found a great deal that was objectionable in the statement.

On August 19, the Jewish Morning Journal declared: "When the President emphasizes that he is opposed to sending an army to keep peace in Palestine, he hints that he sees danger ahead... This alone can have an adverse effect. If the Arabs should be made to feel that the world is afraid of them... they will continue their efforts to frighten Britain and America... Vis-a-vis the Arabs, evidence of power and a clear-cut decision are undoubtedly necessary, inasmuch as they have been incited and encouraged to opposition... The Jewish State must not be placed under a question mark. It should become a 'must,' an obligation on the part of Britain and America, a matter of historic justice to a people which for thousands of years was maligned and robbed of its due."

The Jewish Day of August 19 declared: "The British Government never consulted the Arab states about Palestine until 1939, when it resolved to introduce the White Paper policy... Britain needed support for its action, and from whom could it obtain that support if not from the Arabs? Thus was born the Arab-Jewish Conference of 1939, to which were invited not only the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine, who are directly concerned with the economic and political future of that country, but also neighboring Arab princes who have no stake in Palestine." The editorial expressed disappointment over the fact that President Roosevelt followed this pattern and dealt with Ibn Saud, and that now President Truman seems to place great emphasis on the Arabs of the neighboring countries.

Jacob Fishman, in his column in the Jewish Morning Journal on August 21, said that the Arabs will "talk business" only when they know that the Big Three do not fear Ibn Saud's threats. "President Truman should be made aware of this," said Mr. Fishman. "I believe that his feeling

towards us is one of good will, but his false illusion (about the need for sending American soldiers to keep peace in Palestine) will not produce good results."

SCATTERED COMMENT IN THE GENERAL PRESS

The New York Herald-Tribune of August 18, carried an editorial interpreting President Truman's statement as a declaration calling for "the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration's promise of a Jewish national state," and added that "the President's stand...is the only one which Americans, in all conscience, could approve."

"The consensus here is, we believe, that the White Paper was wrong, was an expedient of appeasement, and should now be corrected. This is the time to correct it. This nation, moreover, is directly concerned because of its adherence to the Balfour Declaration embodied in the mandate granted to Great Britain by the League of Nations in 1917, an adherence specifically backed by Congressional resolution. The fact that its fulfillment has been delayed and, in the turmoil of the last few years, jeopardized has dismayed men of good will here as elsewhere," the Herald Tribune said. (This editorial has been widely reprinted by other newspapers throughout the country.)

The Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator on August 17, 1945 discussed the question of relations with the Arabs raised by President Truman's statement, and concluded:

"Now that the war is ended, the British do not have to be so careful of Arab feelings. And Victor Bienstock, European editor of the Overseas News Agency and an expert on the Middle East, wrote recently that the Arabs 'will accept any settlement of the Palestine problem which they feel the British are determined to impose, especially if that solution has the approval of the United States and the Soviet Union.'"

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date September 11, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

We are calling on you to carry out one of the most important tasks ever assigned to our Emergency Committees and are confident that you will spare neither time nor energy to insure its successful execution. It is no exaggeration to state that the manner in which you do this work will affect the future of our over-all effort.

There are strong indications that an important decision on Palestine may soon be taken in London. The question is now under discussion there and, needless to say, the hostile elements in the British Government and other opponents of our cause are bending every effort to influence the decision against us. The same is true about our enemies in this country, who have intensified their activities in Washington, where they are making repeated attempts to confuse the issue and to counteract the strong pro-Zionist sentiment which has been created mainly through your untiring efforts over the past few years. That these elements have met with a measure of success is clear from President Truman's recent statement, which reflected the new "line" being sponsored by the British Colonial Office and the Arab rulers: that a decision on Palestine favorable to our cause will result in Arab uprisings and the sending of 500,000 American soldiers to make peace in Palestine.

It is imperative that official Washington, more especially the President of the United States, be told in clear and unmistakable terms what the feeling of the Jewish people of America is on the question of Palestine. The deep disappointment shared by all of us over the negative character of our Government's attitude on Palestine must be communicated to Washington immediately. The Jewish people feel let down and demand nothing less than the fulfillment of the pledges made repeatedly by the leaders of our Government during the past two years. These pledges endorsed Zionism's just demands: unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the reconstitution of that country as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Our leaders in Washington must know and understand that we are insisting on our full program and will not be content with any new "gesture," such as the admission of a limited number of Jewish refugees into Palestine. We are insisting on a permanent solution of our problem and do not mean to relax our demands for a Jewish State!

The above sentiments should be communicated immediately to the President through your elected representatives in Washington. Have leading personalities in your community, both Jews and non-Jews, wire and write your Congressmen and Senators without delay that, in view of reports of an imminent decision on Palestine, they now exert their influence on the President in behalf of our cause. They should be asked to convey to the White House the sentiments expressed in your letters and telegrams. Urge them to inform President Truman that the Jews of this country are calling for the fulfillment of the pledge of a Jewish Commonwealth made by both the Democratic and the Republican Parties and by the late President Roosevelt, and not merely for a new immigration quota.

We are sure that you will appreciate the importance of the task outlined in this memorandum and that you will lose no time in taking the steps indicated by us. Use the information contained herein and the facts included in the other memoranda which we have sent you recently (especially those dealing with President Truman's recent statement) in the preparation of your letters and wires.

Please keep us posted on any steps taken in your community. We know that you will not fail us.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date September 18, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

By the time this memorandum reaches you, you may have read Jewish press reports that President Truman has written a letter to Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, suggesting that the British Government issue 100,000 immigration certificates into Palestine for European Jews; and also the statement issued by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise as joint chairmen of our Council.

The text of the statement by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise follows:

"The Zionist movement in America, together with all Americans of good will, welcomes with great satisfaction the news that President Truman has written a letter to Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, requesting that immigration certificates in the amount of 100,000 be issued to Europe's uprooted and homeless Jews. If this official suggestion of the President is followed by the British Government, it will be the first great humanitarian act in many years on behalf of suffering Jewry, and we shall be proud to know that it came about through American initiative.

"The demand for an immediate issue of 100,000 certificates was presented many months ago by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to the Churchill Government in London. Recently, as a result of the London Zionist Conference, it was again submitted to the new Labor Government. Here, the American Zionist Emergency Council requested the support of the United States Government for this demand. It is credibly reported that Mr. Earl G. Harrison, American representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, was dispatched by the Government on an official mission to Europe, and upon his return he stated that at least 100,000 Jews in Europe must be provided with an immediate haven, and that Palestine offers the best haven possible.

"In conclusion, let us sound a word of caution. This measure, even if consummated, is no solution of the Jewish problem. The problem still remains to be solved by political decisions, re-establishing Palestine as a Jewish State, which is the unalterable goal of the World Zionist Organization."

THE STORY BEHIND PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S LETTER

The unorthodox manner in which the report of President Truman's letter to Mr. Attlee was made public surely did not escape your notice. A great deal of indignation has been aroused by the fact that it was Mr. Guy M. Gillette, on behalf of one of the Bergson-sponsored paper organizations, the American League For A Free Palestine, who released the news. Indeed, as you will see from the following account of the developments, this act of the Bergson group was not

only cheap sensationalism, but might prejudice the successful consummation of the negotiations on this vital matter. It is clear, of course, that by this maneuver the Bergson group sought to create the impression that it is bringing about Governmental action on behalf of uprooted European Jewry and that it is responsible for any favorable steps that may be taken. This is another in the series of unscrupulous acts perpetrated by a small group of opportunistic adventurers.

In their statement to the press Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver refrained from dealing with this aspect of the matter. They had to be guided, above all, by considerations of Zionist policy.

Here, however, we can tell you the story as it occurred. As mentioned in our statement in the press, the demand for 100,000 certificates was submitted by the Jewish Agency to the Churchill Government in a memorandum of June, 1945, and later to the Attlee Government. A fortnight ago, the Colonial Office offered the Jewish Agency 1500 certificates as the balance of the White Paper quota. The Jewish Agency refused to accept those certificates, informing the British Government that it could not consider this since an application for 100,000 certificates had been in the new Government's hands for two months. The Jewish Agency also stated that "in general, the war now being over, the Jewish Agency cannot possibly be party to, or enter into discussion of any arrangements based on the White Paper of 1939."

The American Zionist Emergency Council has made various approaches to the White House and on Capitol Hill in order to gain the support of the President and of the Government for the demand that 100,000 immigration certificates be issued. The figure demanded by the Jewish Agency tallied with the figure recommended by Earl G. Harrison, who went to Europe on a mission of inquiry on behalf of the Government. Thanks to Mr. Harrison's report and Zionist urging, President Truman, to our great satisfaction, decided to intervene officially with the British Government. We were informed of the developments, but we had to avoid giving the whole matter premature publicity. Furthermore, we have learned from an unimpeachable source that the President himself had no intention of making public his letter to Mr. Attlee at this juncture. President Truman evidently meant to publicize it in the usual manner at a White House press conference when he felt that the time was ripe for this--as soon as he was assured that his request was granted. We have learned that certain White House circles were greatly disturbed and resentful over the premature and unauthorized statement of Mr. Gillette.

This may give you an idea of some of the difficulties we face in our work. It is not enough that we must plan daily to win the sympathy and understanding of American public opinion and the circles which shape Government policies. There is always the danger that some sensationalist group will "jump the gun" and, for the sake of a newspaper scoop, run the risk of antagonizing those very circles on whose support our entire enterprise may depend.

The reported letter by President Truman to Prime Minister Attlee was primarily a humanitarian gesture on behalf of the homeless Jewish refugees of Europe. It may be, of course, that an effort will be made to implement this, not merely as an emergency measure quite apart from the definitive solution of the Palestine question, but to treat it as a final settlement or "solution." It is even conceivable, though we hope not likely, that the grant of certificates at this time may be coupled with other measures detrimental in character to "offset" it. We must, therefore, be on guard against an over-enthusiastic reaction to any announcement that may be made along the lines indicated by President Truman's

letter; for much will depend on the reception we accord such a step. If it is received exuberantly, the Governments concerned may feel that we are satisfied with this action and may be inclined to let it go at that, with, perhaps, the addition of another limited quota of Jewish immigrants. If, on the other hand, our reaction to such an announcement is reserved, and indicates to the British and American Governments that while we are grateful for such emergency allocation of certificates we have, nevertheless, not been diverted from our major Zionist objectives, then the inclination of the British and American Governments to deal more fully and quickly with our political demands will be increased.

We will continue to insist on our full Zionist program. And it is our unqualified demand for a Jewish State that must be repeatedly, even constantly, called to the attention of our Government. We hope that the facts contained in this memorandum will make you fully aware of the significance of the request we made of you in our communication of September 11th. President Truman must know that we are calling for the fulfillment of the pledge of a Jewish Commonwealth, and not merely for a new immigration quota, however large. We urge you, therefore, to bend every effort to carry out the task outlined in our earlier memorandum.

HLS:MBP



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* October 12, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is a copy of a letter sent by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the delegates who attended the National Emergency Zionist Conference held at Washington, D. C. on October 4, 1945.

Please have your committee inspire a number of letters to one or more of the twelve Senators who aided our cause in recent days (see page 2 of letter). This would be very helpful in encouraging their future assistance to our movement.

At the present time many communities are conducting mass protest meetings. If your community has not yet conducted such an activity, may I urge that you do this immediately. The results of these demonstrations are most effective in developing a broad, favorable public opinion for our movement, and also may influence the future actions of the Executive branches of our Government.

Attached also is a copy of the resolution which was approved at the Washington Conference.

HLS:Nf
Encs.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
M U r r a y H i l l 2 - 1 1 6 0

October 10, 1945

(C O P Y)

I am taking this opportunity to express, on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council our gratitude for your fine efforts in connection with the National Emergency Zionist Conference held in Washington last Thursday, October 4th. To journey to the nation's capital on short notice, especially in these times, is a personal sacrifice; we were, therefore, heartened by the magnificent turn-out and by the spirit of the gathering. I think you will agree that the results of your trip compensate for whatever inconvenience was involved.

During the few days that have elapsed since our Conference, we have attempted to appraise the results of that meeting and to determine its significance in relation to the activities now being carried forward by the Zionist movement in this country.

I am happy to advise you that the Conference met with complete success. It was an event of great political significance, judging from the reaction of official Washington to your conferences with the membership of both Houses of Congress on that day. Seldom have our country's elected representatives received such a striking indication of public opinion on a particular question, and you are to be commended for the efficient and able manner in which you and the other delegates carried out this important assignment.

We have been successful in our efforts to focus the attention of our Government on the Palestine question as one of the burning issues of the day. Through our historic rally in Madison Square Garden and the other great outpourings of humanity which are taking place throughout the country, we are demonstrating that American public opinion, both Jewish and non-Jewish, is overwhelmingly in favor of the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the re-establishment of that country as a Jewish State. Now that Palestine is high on the list of international problems requiring prompt attention, it is our responsibility to keep alive this nationwide interest. This can be done in a number of ways, and I am including a few suggestions that may prove helpful to you in the immediate future.

Your program of education in relation to the membership of both Houses of Congress must be continued. The contacts you have established over the past years, and on Thursday, must be maintained and developed. To that end, may I suggest that you immediately send letters to your Senators and Representatives expressing thanks for Thursday's interview. Through continued

correspondence with the members of Congress you will be in a position to answer any questions that may arise in the future. You should always keep them informed of expressions of public opinion in your community with regard to Palestine and send them all significant editorial comment that furthers our aspirations. Needless to say, our office will always be happy to supply you with any information that you may require in the preparation of this material. May I urge you, too, to send copies of all such correspondence to our New York Headquarters.

As you know, a number of our country's leading Senators made vigorous speeches on the floor of the Senate last Tuesday, October 2nd, in which they assailed the British Government's policy on Palestine, and demanded the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the fulfillment, without delay, of the pledge of a Jewish Commonwealth. These men, who have espoused our cause with enthusiasm and determination, should be further strengthened with the knowledge that their efforts are gratefully received by the Jews of America.

Will you, therefore, see to it that a substantial number of letters from your community go forward to the following members of the United States Senate who championed our program so admirably on the floor of the Senate and in statements to the press:

- (D) Alben W. Barkley - Kentucky
- (R) Owen Brewster - Maine
- (R) Homer Ferguson - Michigan
- (D) Joseph F. Guffey - Pennsylvania
- (D) Edwin C. Johnson - Colorado
- (D) Brien McMahon - Connecticut
- (D) James M. Mead - New York
- (D) James E. Murray - Montana
- (R) Leverett Saltonstall - Massachusetts
- (R) H. Alexander Smith - New Jersey
- (R) Robert A. Taft - Ohio
- (D) Robert F. Wagner - New York

While we have accomplished much within the past few weeks, our real task is still before us. We are now in the most momentous period in the history of our movement, and every day -- every hour -- is vital. I am confident that you will continue this all-important work with undiminished vigor and that, together, we will meet the historic responsibilities of the hour.

I remain with all good wishes and kindest personal regards,

Very cordially yours,

AHS:SMH

Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman, Executive Committee

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL ZIONIST EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 4, 1945

We, the delegates to the National Zionist Emergency Conference, representing the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Jews of America, assembled here in Washington, D. C. this fourth day of October, 1945, adopt the following resolution:

We condemn the policy of the British Government in excluding the homeless and uprooted Jews of Europe from the Jewish national home, its continued application of the illegal White Paper, and its repudiation of solemn pledges to the Jewish people.

We applaud the forthright action of President Truman in urging upon the British Government the immediate admission to Palestine of 100,000 surviving Jews from the concentration camps of Europe. We respectfully urge him to stand firmly and to insist upon this emergency measure as a first step in the solution of the problem of Jewish national homelessness. We call upon all men of good will throughout the country, Christians and Jews alike, to give their full and articulate support to the President in the stand he has taken and to make public affirmation of their views in favor of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, with full equality of right and status to all inhabitants of the land.

Reports have reached us that the British Government is deploying its military and naval forces against the Jewish refugees struggling desperately to enter the promised land and that it is preparing to crush Jewish national aspirations by armed might. We warn against the inevitable consequences of the course the British Government is pursuing. By its heartless policy, by its repeated failure to honor its international commitments, by its utter disregard of the official attitude of the United States Government and its defiance of American public opinion, it is sacrificing American friendship and good will.

We appeal to the people of England and to the British Labor Party to recall their government to a sense of its international obligations before it is too late.

We pledge ourselves to throw all our resources into the struggle which has been forced upon us. With the help of Almighty God, we shall fight on relentlessly till justice be done.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date October 17, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Yesterday, 17 Representatives spoke on the floor of the House in behalf of a Jewish Palestine. An additional 34 Representatives, who were not given the opportunity to talk because of lack of time, were permitted by the House to have their speeches inserted in the "Congressional Record."

The following is a list of the 51 Congressmen who spoke for our movement:

(R) James C. Auchincloss - New Jersey	(D) Franck R. Havenner - Calif.
(D) H. Streett Baldwin - Maryland	(D) Ned R. Healy - California
(R) George H. Bender - Ohio	(R) Christian A. Herter - Mass.
(D) Overton Brooks - Louisiana	(D) Chet Holifield - California
(R) D. Emmert Brumbaugh - Pennsylvania	(D) Walter B. Huber - Ohio
(D) Emanuel Celler - New York	(D) Ed. V. Izac - California
(R) Ralph E. Church - Illinois	(D) Estes Kefauver - Tennessee
(D) John M. Coffee - Washington	(D) Augustine B. Kelley - Penn.
(R) Paul Cunningham - Iowa	(D) Herman P. Kopplemann - Conn.
(D) Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr. - Maryland	(D) Thomas J. Lane - Mass.
(D) Hugh DeLacy - Washington	(R) Earl R. Lewis - Ohio
(D) John D. Dingell - Michigan	(D) John W. McCormack - Mass.
(R) Everett M. Dirksen - Illinois	(R) Gordon L. McDonough - Calif.
(D) Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas - Illinois	(D) John W. Murphy - Penn.
(D) Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas - California	(D) Donald L. O'Toole - New York
(D) Clyde Doyle - California	(D) Ellis E. Patterson - Calif.
(D) Herman P. Eberharter - Pennsylvania	(D) Philip J. Philbin - Mass.
(D) George H. Fallon - Maryland	(D) Alexander J. Resa - Illinois
(D) Michael A. Feighan - Ohio	(D) John J. Rooney - New York
(D) James P. Geelan - Connecticut	(D) Adolph J. Sabath - Illinois
(R) Angier L. Goodwin - Massachusetts	(D) Lansdale G. Sasscer - Md.
(D) Martin Gorski - Illinois	(R) Joseph E. Talbot - Conn.
(R) Robert A. Grant - Indiana	(D) John H. Tolan - California
(R) Charles A. Halleck - Indiana	(R) Richard J. Welch - Calif.
(R) T. Millet Hand - New Jersey	(D) Samuel A. Weiss - Penn.
	(D) Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse - Connecticut

This activity in the House of Representatives is most likely one of the benefits of the American Emergency Zionist Conference of October 4th, during which Zionist delegations from all parts of the country visited their Representatives and Senators.

In order to maintain the present good-will of these Congressmen it would be helpful to have a substantial number of letters of appreciation sent to them. If your Representative participated, he should certainly receive a word of thanks and encouragement. Those Congressmen who come from neighboring districts would also be glad to have your written approval of their outspoken efforts.

Regards.

HTS:MM

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* October 23, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Because many members of Emergency Committees have not had the opportunity to read the exchange of correspondence between Ibn Saud and President Roosevelt and the statement of the State Department on the occasion of publishing President Roosevelt's letter, we are sending you full texts of each of these.

In addition, there is a statement of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and the text of our Memorandum submitted to the State Department in response to its statement. Please read these documents carefully and preserve them because they will probably be the basis for a possible letter campaign which we may have to carry on shortly.

Dr. Silver's statement and the Emergency Council Memorandum to the State Department speak for themselves.

Regards.

HLS:MH
Encs.

March 10, 1945

His Excellency, Mr. Roosevelt
President of the United States of America

Your Excellency:

This is indeed a happy occasion for us to join with you in rejoicing at the triumph of those principles in defense of which war was declared and to remind those great personalities in whose hands, after God, the fate of the world order rests, of a right which has existed unquestioned since the dawn of history.

This right men now seek to destroy by injustice unparalleled and unequalled in history. Such is the right of the Arabs in Palestine which the spokesmen of Jewish Zionism wish to scorn and abolish by the use of various forms of lying propaganda, invented, concealed and employed by them throughout the world.

They have acted unjustly and are making hostile preparations against the Arabs, some of which are known, although much remains undetected. They are preparing to create a form of Nazi-fascism within sight and hearing of the democracies and in the midst of the Arab countries, as well as in their very heart and in the heart of the East which has proved itself loyal to the Allied cause in these critical times.

All people have the natural right to live in their homeland, a right guaranteed to them by natural law established by the principles of humanity which the Allies have proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter and on numerous other occasions.

The Arabs have a natural right in Palestine which needs no explanation. We have on a separate occasion mentioned to Your Excellency, as we have many times to the British Government, that the Arabs have inhabited Palestine since the beginning of history and that they have throughout the ages been its masters and enjoyed an overwhelming numerical superiority.

We would now make a brief reference to Palestine's history, ancient and modern, up to the present day, to make it clear that Zionist claims in Palestine are not based on historical facts.

The earliest recorded history of Palestine begins in the year 3500 B.C., its first inhabitants being the Canaanites, an Arab tribe which emigrated from the Arab peninsula and had its first abode in the lowlands, hence the name Canaanites. In 2000 B.C. a section of the Jews under the leadership of the Prophet Abraham emigrated from Iraq (Ur of the Chaldees), settled in Palestine and then immigrated because of famine into Egypt where they were delivered into bondage by the Pharaohs.

The Jews remained scattered there until their delivery from exile by the Prophet Moses, who brought them back to the land of Canaan by the southeastern route, either in the time of Rameses II, i. e. 1250 B.C., or his son, Munfitah, 1225 B.C.

If we accept the text of the Bible we find that the conquerer of Palestine was Joshua, the son of Nun, who crossed with his Army and captured the city of Jericho from the Canaanites with great cruelty and barbarity: witness his words to his Army:

"Burn ye all that is in the city and slay with the edge of the sword both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep, and burn the city with fire and all that is therein." Joshua Ch. 7 vs 21-24.

Thereafter the Jews split up into two kingdoms. One, the Kingdom of the Israelites with its capital Samaria (Nablus), lasted 250 years and then fell into the hands of Shalmaneser, King of the Assyrians, in the year 722 B.C., and was led into captivity. The other, the Kingdom of Judah, with its capital Jerusalem, lasted 130 years after the Kingdom of Israel had perished.

It was later destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, who burned down the city and the temple with fire, and led the people into captivity to Babylon in the year 580 B.C.

The captivity in Babylon lasted seventy years, and then the Jews returned to Palestine by order of Cyrus, King of the Persians.

The Greek conquest followed in 332 B.C., under the command of Alexander the Macedonian, their rule continuing in Palestine for a period of 272 years.

The Roman conquest took place next in the year 63 B.C., under the command of Pompey, their rule lasting in Palestine for 700 years.

In the year 637 A.D. the Arabs occupied Palestine, and their rule lasted continuously for 880 years.

The orders of the Caliph to the conqueror were: "You shall not act treacherously, dishonestly, commit any excess or mutilation, kill any child or old man; cut or burn down palms or fruit trees, kill any sheep, cow or camel, and shall leave alone those whom you find devoting themselves to worship in their cells." This was related by Ibn-al-Atheer, the famous historian.

Palestine then passed under the rule of the Turks in A.D. 1517, during the reign of Sultan Saleem the First, and their rule lasted for 400 years. The Arabs were the inhabitants and participated with the Turks in the government and administration of the country. It was then occupied by the British who are still there.

This history of Palestine, an Arab country, shows that the Arabs were its first inhabitants and that they dwelt there for a period of 3,500 years before Christ and have remained there since Christ until the present day.

They ruled it alone or with the Turks for a period of about 1,300 years, whereas the disjointed reign of the Jews did not exceed 380 confused and sporadic

in that country with the original inhabitants, the Arabs.

The Jews were merely aliens who had come to Palestine at intervals and had then been turned out over 2,000 years ago.

The permanent rights of the Arabs in Palestine rest on the following:

- (1) The right to dwell there. This they have done since the year 3500 B.C. without ever leaving the country.
- (2) The natural right of life.
- (3) The existence therein of the Holy Land.
- (4) The Arabs are not aliens in Palestine, and there is no intention to bring any of them from other parts of the world to settle there.

The historical claim of the Jews is, however, a fallacy. As already mentioned, their brief and sporadic rule gives them no right to claim that they own the country, for to occupy a country and then leave it entitles no nation to claim and demand ownership thereof. The history of the world is full of such examples.

The solution of the problem of the persecuted Jews in the world differs from the fictitious problem of Zionism. For to provide homes for the scattered Jews is something in which the whole world can cooperate, and here Palestine has borne more than its full share. But to bring these scattered people, put them in countries already occupied and do away with the original inhabitants is an act unparalleled in human history.

We state frankly and plainly that to help Zionism in Palestine not only means to endanger Palestine but all neighboring countries.

The Zionists have given clear evidence of their intentions in Palestine and in all neighboring countries. They have organized dangerous secret military formations. It would thus be a mistake to say that this was the action of a group of their extremists and that it had met with the disapproval of their assemblies and committees.

We declare that the actions of the Zionists inside and outside Palestine are based on a program agreed upon and approved of by world Jewry.

These people began their vile work by wronging the Government that had treated them kindly and sheltered them, namely, the British Government. Their assemblies declared war on Britain and organized dangerous military formations, which at present hold in Palestine all the arms and military equipment they require.

Their members have carried out various attacks of which the most shocking was the attack on that outstanding figure, so kind and charitable toward all men and with the greatest sympathy for persecuted Jewry, Lord Moyne.

The proof that all Jews aided and abetted their vile deed is to be seen in the demonstrations and efforts made by Jews everywhere, demanding a light sentence for the criminals in order to encourage others to do the same.

This, then, is the way they behave with the Government which has treated them so kindly. What would be the position if they were able to realize their objects and make Palestine entirely their own country, in which and near which they could do as they pleased.

If the matter were left to the Arabs and these aggressors it might perhaps be easy, but they are protected by the British Government, the friends of the Arabs. The Zionists did not respect the sanctity of this protection but plotted mischief, beginning first with Britain and threatening the Arabs after Britain with similar and more dangerous plots.

Thus, if the Allied Governments, whose friendship the Arabs are aware of, wish to see the fires of war break out and bloodshed between Arabs and Jews, their support of the Zionists will surely lead to this result. What we and the Arab countries fear from the Zionists are:

(1) That they will carry out a series of massacres as between themselves and the Arabs.

(2) That the Zionists will be one of the main causes of dissension between the Arabs and the Allies. The latest proof of this is the case of the two Jews who killed Lord Moyne in Egypt. Had the Jews been able to hide the criminals, a dispute would have occurred between the British Government and Egypt.

(3) That the ambitions of the Jews are not confined to Palestine alone. The preparations they have made show that they intend to take hostile action against neighboring Arab countries.

(4) Supposing that the Jews obtain their independence somewhere in Palestine, what is to prevent them from coming to an agreement with any power that may be hostile to the Allies and to the Arabs? As it is, they have begun taking hostile action against Britain while under her protection and mercy.

Such factors should no doubt be taken into consideration in regard to the establishment of peace in the world when the problem of Palestine is discussed. Not only is the gathering of Jews in Palestine based on no historical argument nor any natural right, and is in fact absolutely unjust, but it constitutes at the same time a danger to peace, to the Arabs and to the Middle East.

The crux of the matter is that the formation of a Jewish State in Palestine will be a deadly blow to the Arabs and a constant threat to peace, for disturbed conditions are bound to prevail between the Jews and the Arabs, and if the patience of the latter is one day exhausted and they despair of their future then they will be obliged to defend themselves and future generations against this aggression. No doubt the Allies, who are working to uphold peace and respect for men's rights, are aware of this. We have no doubt that they are dissatisfied with this uneasy situation which threatens peace in the Middle East.

We did not wish to bother Your Excellency or your Ministers with this matter during the present titanic struggle in which you are engaged. Confident that the Allies will treat the Arabs fairly, however, we would have preferred the Arabs to forbear until the end of the war had it not been for the provocative and offensive acts committed by the Zionists who, regardless of war conditions and the pre-occupation of the Allies, seek to bring every form of pressure to bear on them to adopt a policy which is inconsistent with the principles of right and justice which the Allies have proclaimed.

That is why we wished to explain the true rights of the Arabs in Palestine so as to refute the flimsy arguments of the Zionist party, counter their aggressive tactics, and set out the facts in order that the Allies may fully understand the rights of the Arabs in their country, the country of their fathers and forefathers.

The Jews should not be permitted to exploit the forbearance of the Arabs or their desire to avoid any embarrassment to the Allies, to obtain concessions to which they are not entitled.

All we ask is that the Allies should fully realize the rights of the Arabs and for the present prevent the Jews going ahead in any new matter which may be considered a threat to the Arabs and to the future of every Arab nation, in order that they, the Arabs, may be assured of justice and equity in their lands.

With highest respects,

Your friend,

ABDUL AZIZ AL SAUD



TEXT OF STATEMENT OF UNITED STATES STATE DEPARTMENT AND
LETTER OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO KING IBN SAUD

The Department of State has recently received a number of inquiries as to whether it was true that the United States Government had on various occasions expressed the view to Jewish and Arab leaders that they should be consulted before a decision is reached respecting the basic situation in Palestine. In response to these inquiries Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, made the following reply:

"On several occasions this matter has been the subject of oral and written discussions with various Jewish and Arab leaders. The substance of this Government's position has been that this Government would not support a final decision which, in its own opinion, would affect the basic situation in Palestine, without full consultation with both Jews and Arabs.

"At a press conference today President Truman referred to his exploration with Prime Minister Attlee of ways and means of alleviating the situation of the displaced Jews in Europe, including consideration of Palestine as a possible haven for some of these homeless Jews. There is general agreement that it is our duty to take energetic measures to assist these unfortunate victims of Nazi persecution.

"As the President pointed out today, this matter is still under consideration. We shall continue to explore every possible means of relieving the situation of the displaced Jews of Europe.

"Should any proposal emerge, which in our opinion would change the basic situation in Palestine, it would be the policy of this Government not to reach final conclusions without full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders. This policy was stated, for instance, in a letter which President Roosevelt addressed to King Ibn Saud on April 5, 1945, and the text of which I have been authorized to make available."

The text of President Roosevelt's letter of April 5 is as follows:

"Great and Good Friend:

"I have received the communication which Your Majesty sent me, under date of March 10, 1945, in which you refer to the question of Palestine and to the continuing interest of the Arabs in current developments affecting that country.

"I am gratified that Your Majesty took this occasion to bring your view on this question to my attention and I have given the most careful attention to these statements which you make in your letter. I am also mindful of the memorable conversation which we had not so long ago and in the course of which I had an opportunity to obtain so vivid an impression of Your Majesty's sentiments on this question.

"Your Majesty will recall that on previous occasions I communicated to you the attitude of the American Government toward Palestine and made clear our desire that no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews.

"Your Majesty will also doubtlessly recall that during our recent conversation I assured you that I would take no action, in my capacity as Chief of the Executive Branch of this Government, which might prove hostile to the Arab people.

"It gives me pleasure to renew to Your Majesty the assurances which you had previously received regarding the attitude of my Government and my own as Chief Executive, with regard to the question of Palestine and to inform you that the policy of this Government in this respect is unchanged.

"I desire also at this time to send you my best wishes for Your Majesty's continued good health and for the welfare of your people.

"Your good friend,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

His Majesty
Abdul Aziz bin Abdur Rahman
al Faisal Al Saud
King of Saudi Arabia
Ryadli."

October 23, 1945.

STATEMENT BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Why are the rulers of the Arab States permitted to meddle in the affairs of Palestine? Why are their ministers in Washington permitted to threaten the security of the Jewish National Home which has been guaranteed by international law and which is being administered under a mandate which does not recognize the right of any Arab State to determine its status or its progress?

These spokesmen of foreign Arab States have been threatening violence and war. The American Government should clearly indicate to them that it does not intend to be intimidated or blackmailed in the carrying out of its own policies. The Arab peoples of the Near East are far more in need of the friendship and help of America than America is in need of theirs. America has become great and prosperous without the aid of these Arab States, while these Arab States are likely to remain backward, impoverished and disease-ridden without the help which friendly America and other free peoples can give them.

They are not making friends for themselves in America by spreading the kind of infamous lies such as King Ibn Saud stated in his letter of April 5th, or by violently resisting the rights of other people to life and liberty which rights were guaranteed them by the nations of the world, and which have been approved by the Congress of the United States, by every President of the United States since Wilson and by the American people as a whole.

President Truman has asked Prime Minister Attlee to make it possible for an immediate migration of one hundred thousand Jews to Palestine. This is in keeping with the terms of the Mandate under which Great Britain undertook to facilitate Jewish immigration to that country. President Truman was dictated by the highest humanitarian interests to help rescue at least that many of the tragic survivors of the Nazi slaughter. Why has Great Britain rejected this

request of the President? Why is the British Labor Party permitting a shocking repudiation of its own commitments made as recently as four months ago? President Truman has indicated that he is not inclined to press his request on Great Britain. Why not? Is the matter of such little importance? Is Palestine a colony of Great Britain, or are six million Jewish dead not enough? Must the remainder of the Jews of Europe perish in order to maintain Great Britain's imperial interest in the Near East?

Who will suffer by the admission of one hundred thousand Jews into Palestine? Not the present Jewish settlers of Palestine. They are prayerfully waiting to receive them. Not the Arabs of Palestine. Their conditions have been bettered and their standard of living has been greatly improved with every influx of Jewish settlers into the country. There is room in Palestine for at least another three million people.

But who will suffer if the President's request is rejected? The hundred thousand innocent men, women and children who have gone through the several hells of Europe in recent years, who are doomed to an inescapable fate if they remain in that war-ravaged and hate-ridden continent, and whose only hope for survival is Palestine.

Is it not time for the conscience of the people of America and Great Britain and of the remaining free peoples of the world to make itself heard?

* * *

Text of Memorandum submitted by the
American Zionist Emergency Council to the
State Department on the occasion of the meeting of
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise
with Secretary James F. Byrnes - October 23, 1945

1. The exchange of correspondence between President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud which has now been made public and the statement by the Secretary of State of October 18 raise issues of fundamental importance in regard to the implementation of American policy on Palestine. Viewed in the light of the unequivocal and firmly established policy of the American Government and people as expressed in a long series of public and authoritative acts and pronouncements, that statement and correspondence, it is submitted, call for immediate clarification.

2. In March 1919 President Wilson, who was directly associated with the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, stated that:

"The Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Every President since that date has given his support to the Jewish National Home objective. Most recently, in statements issued by President Roosevelt on October 15, 1944 and March 16, 1945, that is to say, almost contemporaneously with his correspondence with King Ibn Saud, the late President expressed his support for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. In addition to these pronouncements by the heads of the Executive branch of the Government, the desires of the American people as to the policy to be pursued in Palestine have been repeatedly expressed in the clearest possible fashion. On two occasions, in 1941 and 1945, a majority of the members of both Houses of Congress joined in a declaration favoring the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. A similar declaration was made on July 4, 1945 by the Governors of 40 out of the 48 states of the Union. Further, the legislatures of 33 states, representing

85% of the population of the United States, have recently gone on record in favor of the Zionist objective. In the summer of 1944 the national Conventions of both major political parties adopted declarations favoring the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and, in the words of the Democratic platform, "such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." The late President Roosevelt, as well as President Truman, were elected on that platform. It must be recalled finally that our government's support of the Jewish National Home, is recorded legislatively in two Acts forming part of the supreme law of the land, namely, the Joint Resolution (No. 73) unanimously adopted in 1922 by the 67th Congress of the United States; and the United States-British Convention on Palestine, ratified by the Senate on February 20, 1925 and proclaimed in December of that year.

3. The policy therefore to which our Government and people stand deeply committed is clear and unmistakable. Of this fact, however, neither the letter of President Roosevelt nor the statement of Secretary Byrnes take any cognizance whatever. It is true that in neither instance is the traditional American position in fact repudiated. Nevertheless it is deeply disturbing that it should not have been found necessary to make affirmatively clear that American policy on Palestine has already been established by the public pronouncements of the Presidents of the United States and otherwise - a policy which is predicated upon the right of the Jewish people to rebuild their National Home through free immigration and the close settlement of Jews on the land. That omission can only lead, and has already led, to serious doubts and misunderstandings. It is not conceivable that the law of the land, the will of the American people and the repeated pledges of the heads of our Administration publicly made, should

thus be disregarded in official correspondence. The issues raised by the publication of this correspondence cannot be ignored and places upon our Government the responsibility of indicating in clear and precise terms whether or not it abides by, and proposes to act in accordance with, the policy so long and firmly established.

4. President Roosevelt's letter refers to assurances previously given to King Ibn Saud regarding the attitude of the United States with respect to the question of Palestine. The exact nature of these assurances is not disclosed, but it is respectfully submitted that whatever their tenor, they would not be valid if inconsistent with the publicly stated objectives of American policy or with the terms of the Palestine Mandate.

5. At the same time, it is deeply to be regretted that President Roosevelt's letter, while assuring King Ibn Saud that no action would be taken by our Government that might prove hostile to the Arab people, failed to point out that the policy of the Jewish National Home, envisaging as it does free Jewish immigration into Palestine and the ultimate establishment there of a democratic Commonwealth under the auspices of a Jewish majority, could not be conceived as hostile to the Arab people. The desire of the Jews to live in friendship and good neighborliness with the Arab countries and with the Arab inhabitants of Palestine is well known, and neither Jewish aspirations in Palestine nor the declared policy of this country in support thereof, nor yet the conduct of the Jewish people in Palestine resulting in great good to the Arabs can be construed as hostile to them.

6. The occasion will be taken separately to deal in detail with the contents of King Ibn Saud's letter and with the Arab claim to Palestine, a matter which had been considered fully by the Allied Nations in connection with the territorial settlements made at the end of World War I and the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine. It is doubly regrettable that

the reply sent by President Roosevelt to that communication failed to repudiate its baseless attacks and its vilifications of the Jewish people. It is painful to observe that such calumnies as that the Arabs have reason to fear "a series of massacres" at the hands of the Zionists, that the latter "are preparing to create a form of Nazi-fascism" and that it is the intention to "do away with" the inhabitants of Arab countries, should have been allowed to stand unchallenged by one who knew how false those statements are.

7. It is sufficient to say here with regard to King Ibn Saud's letter that the Arabs have neither legal nor moral title to the sovereignty over Palestine. While they conquered the country over 1,300 years ago, Arab rule ceased as early as 1071. Throughout the centuries the role of the Arabs in Palestine has not been creative but destructive. In the eroded, poverty-stricken and disease-ridden country which within the last few decades the Jewish people set out to reclaim, it was difficult to recognize the land of milk and honey described in the Bible. In the twenty years between the two World Wars the Jews have done much to repair the ravages of the previous 1300. They have conquered deserts and swamps, revived agriculture and industry and established in Palestine a sturdy, self-reliant community. The Pan-Arab claim to Palestine is an attempt to add yet another to the immense, but for the most part thinly populated and undeveloped territories of the independent Arab states. This expansionist appetite has recently manifested itself also in the demands put forward by the Arabs for Eritrea, the Sudan and Cyrenaica. The great mass of the people in the various Arab states are kept down in ignorance and fanaticism, in dirt and wretchedness by a ruling class which shows little or no interest in the improvement of their miserable lot. As regards the ethnic claims, about 75% of the Arabic-speaking people in Palestine today are themselves recent immigrants or the descendants of persons who emigrated to Palestine in comparatively recent times. If Palestine exists as a separate concept, it is

because of its immemorial association with the Jews and Jewish History. At no time was there a Palestine Arab State. It was the Jewish people which produced in Palestine the civilization and religious culture which, along with that of Greece, molded the civilization and the spiritual life of the whole Western world.

8. In general, it is desired to protest against a procedure which seems to accord a right to the various Arab states to be consulted in the affairs of Palestine. The right of our own Government as one of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in the first World War as well as by virtue of the United States-British Convention above mentioned, to participate in the future disposition of Palestine is obvious and unquestioned. The right of the Jewish people to be consulted is likewise clear and undeniable and is legally confirmed by the League of Nations Mandate which, in recognizing the right of the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine, authorized also the recognition of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as representing the interest of all Jews in the establishment of the National Home. The Arab states are in this matter without legal standing of any kind and we submit that their attitude in recent years is certainly far from giving them a moral voice in this issue.

9. We feel constrained, at the same time, to make a frank statement of our views with regard to the course of action pursued by the Executive branch of the Government and the State Department in particular, over a period of years. Despite the unbroken chain of pro-Zionist acts, promises and pronouncements to which we have referred, the policy they express has not been translated into action. On the contrary, numerous acts and omissions have emboldened the Arab leaders to allege that the American Government was, in fact, withholding its support from the Zionist cause, and that the pronouncements made here from time to time were meant for home consumption. We have consistently disregarded these allegations as unwarranted aspersions upon the good faith and political integrity of our Government.

10. We are now compelled to review the situation in the light of the recent correspondence. We must recall that so far as we are aware, the Government took no effective action to protect the interests of the Jewish National Home, at the time of the issuance of the British White Paper in 1939, or to rectify that wrong in the years which followed. The Government did not energetically intervene even when opening the doors of Palestine became an urgent humanitarian necessity because of the wholesale slaughter of the Jews of Europe. It appears further that our Government failed to advise its representatives abroad, particularly in the Near East, that it was definitely committed to the policy of the Jewish National Home and to instruct them to be guided accordingly. The State Department has, on various occasions, appointed to positions of importance in the Near East, persons known as avowed opponents of this policy, and has had to rely in turn, upon reports and advices emanating from them. On two occasions the Executive branch exerted its influence to prevent the adoption by Congress, of a resolution reaffirming the traditional American Policy on this subject. Above all, our Government has failed to utilize the fluid political conditions created by the war and the process of political reorientation and re-organization under way in the Near East, for the purpose of insuring the status of the Jewish National Home in the context of its Near East policies.

11. On the other hand, our country has given generous support to Arab aspirations. It was among the first to recognize the independence of Syria and Lebanon. It has encouraged Arab States to make last-minute declarations of war against Germany on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, assuring them places of honor among the United Nations, irrespective of their war records. Nor has it withheld its support from the Arab League despite the fact that the League has declared its opposition to Jewish aspirations and has proclaimed the liquidation of the Jewish National Home as one of its major objectives.

12. The one gratifying positive act in relation to Palestine has been President Truman's recent request to Prime Minister Attlee, the outcome of which, however, is still uncertain. We take grateful note that the statement of Secretary Byrnes indicates that measures to facilitate immigration into Palestine of substantial numbers of the survivors of European Jewry should, and can be undertaken forthwith, and that such immigration does not affect the "basic situation" in Palestine. The "basic situation," is in fact that established by the Mandate, which calls for the facilitating of the immigration of Jews into Palestine and their close settlement on the land. We therefore earnestly hope that our Government will continue to press for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews from Europe in line with President Truman's request. But the statement of the Secretary is silent regarding the attitude of the Government in relation to the "basic situation." The only light which it sheds on that issue - which is the crux of the whole matter - is the statement that "it would be the policy of this Government not to reach final conclusions without a full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders." This is a point of procedure rather than a definition of policy. Moreover, the statement indicates an intention to wait until "any proposals emerge," rather than to act on its own initiative in conformity with established American policy.

13. The point has now been reached, at which ambiguity and delay are no longer feasible. Millions of American citizens, who have a strong moral and humanitarian interest in this problem, look to the Administration for immediate and forthright action, which will once and for all dispel any possible uncertainty regarding its present position and future intentions. We cannot believe that the menacing words of the spokesmen of countries which did not lift a finger in their own defense during the war and which were, indeed, either actively or passively hostile to the democracies, should be allowed to deflect our country from a just

course of action. The request is made on behalf of masses of suffering humanity who cannot wait. It would be cruel to deny their last hope for individual and national rehabilitation; but it would be the very refinement of cruelty to keep them further in suspense, or to feed them with promises which turn to ashes in their mouth.

* * *



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date November 15, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

We are sending you texts of the following important documents:

1. The statement by British Foreign Secretary Bevin announcing the formation of an Anglo-American Joint Commission of Inquiry on Palestine.
2. The statement on the Commission by President Truman.
3. The President's letter to Prime Minister Attlee in which he requested the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews into Palestine.
4. A press release of the American Zionist Emergency Council which contains our initial reply to the setting up of the Joint Commission.

Today I sent the following wire to the Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees:

IMPERATIVE YOU HAVE THE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER LETTERS AND WIRES FROM BOTH JEWS AND NONJEWS SENT TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN ALONG FOLLOWING LINES BUT REWORDED: QUOTE WE ARE OUTRAGED BY STATEMENT OF BRITISH POLICY ON PALESTINE MADE BY FOREIGN SECRETARY BEVIN AND ARE SHOCKED BY ANNOUNCEMENT THAT OUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE PARTY TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S LATEST DEVICE TO BLOCK JUST AND SPEEDY SOLUTION OF PALESTINE QUESTION. JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY CLIMAXES BRITAIN'S POLICY OF BETRAYAL OF SOLEMN PROMISES TO JEWISH PEOPLE ON PALESTINE AND WE ARE APPALLED THAT OUR GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN MANEUVERED INTO SUPPORTING THIS POLICY. SURELY YOU, MISTER PRESIDENT, WHO HAVE TAKEN POSITIVE STEPS TO OPEN PALESTINE TO EUROPE'S HOMELESS JEWS, DO NOT NOW WISH TO SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR BRITISH POLICY AIMED AT PROCRASTINATION AND AVOIDING FULFILMENT OF OBLIGATIONS. YOUR REQUEST OF PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE THAT ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND UPROOTED EUROPEAN JEWS BE ADMITTED TO PALESTINE IMMEDIATELY WAS MAGNIFICENT FIRST

STEP. BUT BY ACCEPTING LATEST BRITISH SCHEME YOU HAVE RECEDED FROM YOUR ORIGINAL POSITION. WE URGE YOU NOT TO ALLOW THIS MOCKERY TO DIVERT YOU FROM YOUR ORIGINAL HIGH PURPOSE OF OPENING PALESTINE IMMEDIATELY TO EUROPE'S JEWS, MANY OF WHOM CANNOT POSSIBLY SURVIVE THIS WINTER. THE RIGHTS OF JEWISH PEOPLE TO PALESTINE HAVE BEEN INTERNATIONALLY GUARANTEED BY ENTIRE CIVILIZED WORLD INCLUDING OUR GOVERNMENT. WE URGE YOU, MISTER PRESIDENT, TO DEFEND THOSE RIGHTS UNQUOTE FULL TEXT OF BEVIN AND TRUMAN STATEMENTS BEING FORWARDED TO YOU TODAY.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

This telegram and the statement of the Emergency Council will provide you with the official American Zionist reaction to this latest maneuver. Because of this new delaying tactic, it will be necessary for us to carry on a program of militant action on an intensified scale and at an accelerated pace. In addition to flood-the White House with messages of protest as requested in the above telegram, your community must immediately develop a mass demonstration where the feelings of the Jews of your city will be dramatized.

The Yishuv has reacted quickly and correctly to this new step to thwart Jewish aspirations in Palestine, and has called a general strike. We, in America, must do all in our power to back them up! Now it is more essential than ever before that favorable editorials appear in local newspapers and that the people of your city let the President know how they feel.

Within a few days another statement will be issued by the Emergency Council which will be a comprehensive analysis of all that is involved in the setting up of the Joint Commission. With it will come a program of action.

In the meantime, we are certain that you will cooperate by carrying out immediately the requests contained in this memorandum.

HLS:MH
Encs.

TEXT OF FOREIGN SECRETARY BEVIN'S STATEMENT ON PALESTINE

NOVEMBER 13, 1945.

His Majesty's Government have been giving serious and continuous attention to the whole problem of the Jewish community that has arisen as a result of Nazi persecution in Germany and the conditions arising therefrom. It is unfortunately true that until conditions in Europe become stable the future of a large number of persons of many races, who have suffered under this persecution, cannot finally be determined. The plight of the victims of Nazi persecution, among whom were a large number of Jews, is unprecedented in the history of the world. His Majesty's Government are taking every step open to them to try and improve the lot of these unfortunate people.

The Jewish problem is a great human one. We cannot accept the view that the Jews should be driven out of Europe and should not be permitted to live again in these countries without discrimination and contribute their ability and talent toward rebuilding the prosperity of Europe. Even after we have done all we can in this respect it does not provide a solution of the whole problem.

There have recently been demands made upon us for large-scale immigration into Palestine. Palestine, while it may be able to make a contribution, does not by itself provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the whole problem. His Majesty's Government are anxious to explore every possibility which will result in giving the Jews a proper opportunity for revival.

The problem of Palestine is itself a very difficult one. The mandate for Palestine required the mandatory to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land, while insuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced thereby. His Majesty's Government have thus a dual obligation, to the Jews on the one side and to the Arabs on the other.

The lack of any clear definition of this dual obligation has been the main cause of the trouble which has been experienced in Palestine during the past twenty-five years. His Majesty's Government have made every effort to devise some arrangement which would enable Arabs and Jews to live together in peace and to cooperate for the welfare of the country, but all such efforts have been unavailing. Any arrangement acceptable to one party has been rejected as unacceptable to the other. The whole history of Palestine since the mandate was granted has been one of continual friction between the two races, culminating at intervals in serious disturbances.

The fact has to be faced that since the introduction of the mandate it has been impossible to find common ground between the Arabs and the Jews. The differences in religion and in language, in cultural and social life, in ways of thought and conduct, are difficult to reconcile. On the other hand, both communities lay claim to Palestine, one on the ground of a millennium of occupation and the other on the ground of historic association coupled with the undertaking given in the first World War to establish a Jewish home. The task that has to be accomplished now is to find means to reconcile these divergencies.

The repercussions of the conflict have spread far beyond the small land in which it has arisen. The Zionist cause has strong supporters in the United States, in Great Britain, in the Dominions and elsewhere; civilization has been appalled by the sufferings which have been inflicted in recent years on the persecuted Jews of Europe.

On the other side of the picture the cause of the Palestinian Arabs has been espoused by the whole Arab world and more lately has become a matter of keen interest to their 90,000,000 co-religionists in India. In Palestine itself, there is always serious risk of disturbance on the part of one community or the other, and such disturbances are bound to find their reflection in a much wider field. Considerations not only of equity and of humanity but also of international amity and world peace are thus involved in any search for a solution.

In dealing with Palestine all parties have entered into commitments. There are the commitments imposed by the mandate itself, and in addition the various statements of policy which have been made by His Majesty's Government in the course of the last twenty-five years. Further, the United States Government themselves have undertaken that no decision should be taken in respect to what, in their opinion, affects the basic situation in Palestine without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. Having regard to the whole situation and the fact that it has caused this world-wide interest which affects both Arabs and Jews, His Majesty's Government decided to invite the Government of the United States to cooperate with them in setting up a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, under a rotating chairmanship, to examine the question of European Jewry and to make a further review of the Palestine problem in the light of that examination. I am glad to be able to inform the House that the Government of the United States have accepted this invitation.

The terms of reference of the Committee of Inquiry will be as follows:

(1) To examine political, economic and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the peoples now living therein.

(2) To examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression and to make estimates of those who wish or will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe.

(3) To hear the views of competent witnesses and to consult representative Arabs and Jews on the problems of Palestine as such problems are affected by conditions subject to examination under paragraphs 1 and 2 above and by other relevant facts and circumstances, and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States for ad interim handling of these problems as well as for their permanent solution.

(4) To make such other recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States as may be necessary to meet the immediate needs arising from conditions subject to examination under paragraph 2 above, by remedial action in the European countries in question or by the provision of facilities for emigration to and settlement in countries outside Europe.

The procedure of the committee will be determined by the committee themselves and it will be open to them, if they think fit, to deal simultaneously through the medium of subcommittees with their various terms of reference.

The committee will be invited to deal with the matters referred to in their terms of reference with the utmost expedition. In complying with the second and fourth paragraphs of their terms of reference the committee will presumably take such steps as they consider necessary in order to inform themselves of the character and magnitude of the problem created by the war. They will also give

consideration to the problem of settlement in Europe and to possible countries of disposal. In the light of their investigations they will make recommendations to the two Governments for dealing with the problem in the interim until such time as a permanent solution can be submitted to the appropriate organ of the United Nations.

The recommendations of a Committee of Inquiry such as will now be set up will also be of immense help in arriving at a solution of the Palestine problem. The committee will, in accordance with the first and third paragraphs of their terms of reference, make an examination on the spot of the political, economic and social conditions which are at present held to restrict immigration into Palestine and, after consulting representative Arabs and Jews, submit proposals for dealing with these problems. It will be necessary for His Majesty's Government both to take action with a view to securing some satisfactory interim arrangement and also to devise a policy for permanent application thereafter.

This inquiry will facilitate the findings of a solution which will in turn facilitate the arrangements for placing Palestine under trusteeship.

So far as Palestine is concerned it will be clear that His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of their duties and responsibilities under the mandate while the mandate continues. They propose, in accordance with their pledges, to deal with the question in three stages:

(1) They will consult the Arabs with a view to an arrangement which will insure that, pending the receipt of the ad interim recommendations which the Committee of Inquiry will make in the matter, there is no interruption of Jewish immigration at the present monthly rate.

(2) After considering the ad interim recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry, they will explore, with the parties concerned, the possibility of devising other temporary arrangements for dealing with the Palestine problem until a permanent solution of it can be reached.

(3) They will prepare a permanent solution for submission to the United Nations and, if possible, an agreed one.

The House will realize that we have inherited, in Palestine, a most difficult legacy and our task is greatly complicated by undertakings, given at various times to various parties, which we feel ourselves bound to honor. Any violent departure without adequate consultation would not only afford ground for a charge of breach of faith against His Majesty's Government but would probably cause serious reactions throughout the Middle East and would arouse widespread anxiety in India.

His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the course which they propose to pursue in the immediate future is not only that which is in accordance with their obligations but is also that which, in the long view, is in the best interests of both parties. It will in no way prejudice either the action to be taken on the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry or the terms of the trusteeship agreement, which will supersede the existing mandate and will therefore control ultimate policy in regard to Palestine.

His Majesty's Government in making this new approach wish to make it clear that the Palestine problem is not one which can be settled by force and that any attempt to do so by any party will be resolutely dealt with. It must be settled by discussion and conciliation, and there can be no question of allowing an issue to be forced by violent conflict.

We have confidence that if this problem is approached in the right spirit by Arabs and Jews, not only will the solution be found to the Palestine question, just to both parties, but a great contribution will be made to stability and peace in the Middle East.

Finally, the initiative taken by His Majesty's Government, and the agreement of the United States Government to cooperate in dealing with the whole problem created by Nazi aggression, is a significant sign of their determination to deal with the problem in a constructive way and a humanitarian spirit. But I must emphasize that the problem is not one which can be dealt with only in relation to Palestine; it will need a united effort by the powers to relieve the miseries of these suffering peoples.

Throughout there has been the closest consultation between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and myself in this matter, which concerns him since the mandatory status of Palestine brings that territory within the responsibility of the Colonial Office. But it is also of deep concern to me since the problem is clearly an international problem.

It is the intention of the Government that the problem shall be continued to be handled in close collaboration between our two departments in order that the particular question of Palestine and the wider international issues which are involved may be harmonized and treated as a whole, as a great human problem.



TEXT OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S STATEMENT ON PALESTINE

NOVEMBER 13, 1945

Following the receipt of information from various sources regarding the distressing situation of Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution in Europe, I wrote to Mr. Attlee on August 31 bringing to his attention the suggestion in a report of Mr. Earl G. Harrison that the granting of an additional 100,000 certificates for the immigration of Jews into Palestine would alleviate the situation. A copy of my letter to Mr. Attlee is being made available to the press. I continue to adhere to the views expressed in that letter.

I was advised by the British Government that because of conditions in Palestine it was not in a position to adopt the policy recommended, but that it was deeply concerned with the situation of the Jews in Europe.

During the course of subsequent discussions between the two Governments, it suggested the establishment of a joint Anglo-American committee of inquiry, under a rotating chairmanship, to examine the whole question and to make a further review of the Palestine problems in the light of that examination and other relevant considerations.

In view of our intense interest in this matter and of our belief that such a committee will be of aid in finding a solution which will be both humane and just, we have acceded to the British suggestion.

The terms of reference this committee has agreed upon between the two Governments are as follows:

1. To examine political, economic and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the peoples now living therein.

2. To examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression and to make estimates of those who wish or who will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe.

3. To hear the views of competent witnesses and to consult representative Arabs and Jews on the problems of Palestine as such problems are affected by conditions subject to examination under Paragraphs 1 and 2 above and by other relevant facts and circumstances and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States for an interim handling of these problems as well as for permanent solution.

4. To make such other recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States as may be necessary to meet the immediate needs arising from conditions subject to examination under Paragraph 2 above, by remedial action in the European countries in question or by the provision of facilities for emigration to and settlement in countries outside Europe.

It will be observed that among the important duties of this committee will be the task of examining conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration.

The establishment of this committee will make possible a prompt review of the unfortunate plight of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been subjected to persecution, and a prompt examination of questions related to the rate of current immigration into Palestine and the absorptive capacity of the country.

The situation faced by displaced Jews during the coming winter allows no delay in this matter. I hope the committee will be able to accomplish its important task with the greatest speed.

* * *



TEXT OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE

AUGUST 31, 1945

My Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Because of the natural interest of this Government in the present condition and future fate of those displaced persons in Germany who may prove to be stateless or non-repatriable, we recently sent Mr. Earl G. Harrison to inquire into the situation.

Mr. Harrison was formerly the United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, and is now the representative of this Government on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. The United Kingdom and the United States, as you know, have taken an active interest in the work of this committee.

Instructions were given to Mr. Harrison to inquire particularly into the problems and needs of the Jewish refugees among the displaced persons.

Mr. Harrison visited not only the American zone in Germany, but spent some time also in the British zone, where he was extended every courtesy by the Twenty-first Army headquarters.

I have now received his report. In view of our conversations at Potsdam I am sure that you will find certain portions of the report interesting. I am, therefore, sending you a copy.

I should like to call your attention to the conclusions and recommendations appearing on Page 8 and the following pages -- especially the references to Palestine. It appears that the available certificates for immigration to Palestine will be exhausted in the near future. It is suggested that the granting of an additional 100,000 of such certificates would contribute greatly to a sound solution for the future of Jews still in Germany and Austria, and for other Jewish refugees who do not wish to remain where they are or who for understandable reasons do not desire to return to their countries of origin.

On the basis of this and other information which has come to me I concur in the belief that no other single matter is so important for those who have known the horrors of concentration camps for over a decade as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine.

The number of such persons who wish immigration to Palestine or who would qualify for admission there is, unfortunately, no longer as large as it was before the Nazis began their extermination program. As I said to you in Potsdam, the American people, as a whole, firmly believe that immigration into Palestine should not be closed and that a reasonable number of Europe's persecuted Jews should, in accordance with their wishes, be permitted to resettle there.

I know you are in agreement on the proposition that future peace in Europe depends in large measure upon our finding sound solutions of problems confronting the displaced and formerly persecuted groups of people. No claim is more meritorious than that of the groups who for so many years have known persecution and enslavement.

The main solution appears to lie in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the non-repatriable Jews, who wish it, to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not be long delayed.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. SILVER AND DR. WISE ASSAIL JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY ON PALESTINE

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U. S. GOVERNMENT HAS FALLEN INTO CAREFULLY PREPARED TRAP, STATEMENT SAYS

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New York -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, joint chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today issued the following comment on the statements on Palestine and on Jewish emigration from Europe made yesterday (Tuesday, November 13th) by British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and by President Truman:

(1) The statement by Foreign Secretary Bevin, yesterday, on Palestine and on Jewish emigration from Europe brings to a climax the self-stultification and the betrayal of pledges which have characterized the policy of the British Labor Government on the Palestine issue since its assumption of office.

(2) As recently as April 1945, the National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party reaffirmed its support for the Jewish National Home in the following terms:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now."

This may be compared with Mr. Bevin's insulting remark when dealing with this issue yesterday:

"If the Jews, with all their sufferings, want to get too much at the head of the queue, you have the danger of another anti-Semitic reaction through it all."

(more)

(3) Instead of carrying out its unequivocal commitments, the Labor Government has sought in every way to procrastinate and to avoid the fulfillment of its pledges.

(4) In this policy of delay it has now succeeded in enlisting the inadvertent support of the President of the United States. By agreeing to the proposal for a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, the United States Government has fallen into a carefully prepared trap.

(5) In his letter to Mr. Attlee of August 31, 1945, the President stated on the basis of the investigation conducted at his direction by Mr. Earl G. Harrison, that the main solution for the non-repatriable Jews of Europe was the quick evacuation of those who wished it, to Palestine. "If it is to be effective," wrote Mr. Truman, "such action should not be long delayed," and he urged the immediate grant of 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine. Instead of acceding to this request, the British Government turned it aside by the proposal for a joint Anglo-American Committee of Investigation. President Truman now states that he continues to adhere to the views expressed in his letter to Mr. Attlee. But his acceptance of the British scheme, with its provision for a paltry fifteen hundred certificates per month until such time as the Committee makes its recommendation, represents a complete recession from his original position.

(6) The possibilities of Jewish emigration to countries other than Palestine were exhaustively considered at international conferences at Bermuda and at Evian in 1937 and 1943 and the results were nil. The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, further, has been in existence for years with a like object and with a like result. The burning desire of the majority of the Jews of Europe to emigrate to Palestine is established not only by the reports of Mr. Harrison, of Judge Rifkind and of Mr. Gibson of the Red Cross, but by every unbiased observer. In these circumstances, the appointment of another Committee of Inquiry is a mockery. Instead of concrete measures in conformity with clearly defined and valid international agreements, the Jews of Europe are again to be

(more)

treated to empty words while, physically and spiritually, they rot and perish. The President has done an ill-service to the cause of saving the Jews of Europe by cooperating in a procedure which will postpone for many months any possibility of a solution of their problems and any decision in regard to the opening of the doors of Palestine.

(7) At no point in Mr. Bevin's statement of policy is there any direct reference to the obligations of His Majesty's Government in regard to the establishment of the Jewish National Home. The British Foreign Secretary has, on the other hand, by implication, accepted the continuance of the infamous policy of the Chamberlain White Paper with its gross discrimination on racial grounds against Jewish purchase of land in Palestine and its limitation of Jewish immigration to a trickle. All this, despite the fact that the Party of which Mr. Bevin is a leader, in 1939 condemned the White Paper policy as a "cynical breach of pledges given to the Jews and the world, including America;" and despite the express statement by Mr. Herbert Morrison, now Lord President of the Council, that that policy would not be automatically binding upon the successors of the Chamberlain Government.

(8) Finally, we must point out that the President of the United States has associated this country with a Committee of Inquiry whose conclusions have already, in important respects, been determined in advance by the British Foreign Secretary. In spite of the unequivocal commitments of our Government and people to the re-establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth; in spite of the statements of President Wilson, of Prime Minister David Lloyd George, of Mr. Winston Churchill, of General Smuts and others at the time of the Balfour Declaration that what was contemplated was the ultimate establishment in Palestine of a Jewish State, the British Foreign Secretary has already declared that the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State is precluded. Mr. Bevin has further prejudged the issue by declaring that Palestine cannot, by itself, "provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the problems" of the surviving Jews of Europe — a conclusion which

(more)

is in diametrical conflict with authoritative investigations, such as those of Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Bevin's statement, further, altogether ignores the fact that as was stated by the British Royal Commission on Palestine "unquestionably the primary purpose of the Palestine Mandate was the establishment of the Jewish National Home."

(9) The closer cooperation of our own country with Great Britain in the settlement of the problem of Jewish national homelessness and of Palestine is warmly to be welcomed, but we deeply deplore the form which this cooperation has taken. It is with the utmost regret that we charge our Government with having allowed itself to be involved in a procedure whose main purpose is delay where action is long overdue. We desire to draw attention further to the fact that the terms of reference of the proposed Joint Committee omit all mention of the basic commitments of the British Government in regard to the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home in accordance with the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. Under no circumstances can this Committee be allowed under the guise of an impartial inquiry to stifle the agonized cries of the surviving Jews of Europe and to undermine and eventually destroy the rights of the Jewish people to Palestine, internationally guaranteed by 52 nations of the world, including the United States of America.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date November 28, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

This memorandum will serve to inform you on some of the recent political developments in our work. Please advise every member of your Committee of the contents of the memorandum, which deals with three items:

1. The Palestine Resolution in Congress.
2. The "first fruits" of the announcement of the proposed Anglo-American Joint Commission of Inquiry on Palestine.
3. The Elmo Roper Poll of United States Jewish opinion on Palestine.

The Palestine Resolution in Congress

On October 26, Senators Taft, Wagner and Walsh introduced a resolution putting on record American policy on Palestine. The resolution stated that "the United States shall use its good offices 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 they may reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights."

This resolution was in line with the Republican and Democratic platforms on Palestine adopted in 1944; and with a resolution which had been introduced last year in Congress but postponed owing to pressure first from the War Department, then from the State Department, and finally, from President Roosevelt.

Before introducing the resolution, Senators Taft and Wagner conferred with President Truman and Secretary Byrnes. Both were asked whether they had any objection to the introduction of the resolution. Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes read the text and assured the two Senators that the Administration would not oppose its introduction and passage. It is understood that, when giving this assurance, the President and the Secretary of State had already agreed in principle to the appointment of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Jewish immigration into Palestine. They were already in receipt of a British proposal and had sent an American counter-proposal. Only details regarding the future Commission remained to be ironed out between the two governments. This was the situation in which Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes gave their agreement to the introduction of the resolution.

It will be noted that this was the time when feeling was running high in this country in connection with the publication on October 18th of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud exchange of letters. A great many people, Jews and non-Jews alike, considered the Roosevelt letter to Ibn Saud and the re-statement of the Administration's

position contained in Secretary Byrnes' statement of October 18th to be a contradiction of the publicly expressed policy of the Administration as proclaimed in President Roosevelt's statements of October 15, 1944 and March 16, 1945, in which he pledged himself to help re-establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. The Administration was accused in many circles of having "double-crossed" the Jews by giving them a public promise of support on the eve of the 1944 presidential election, but giving them no support whatsoever in fact.

When President Truman and Mr. Byrnes promised in October not to interfere with the resolution which Senators Taft, Wagner and Walsh were prepared to introduce, their action was viewed differently in various political circles. Some observers thought that it indicated a changed attitude. Others believed that it was done out of deference to public opinion which was aroused by the publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence, and that the Administration wanted to allow this resentment to cool off. It was also pointed out by various observers that the non-interference promise may have been given last October with an eye to the impending mayoralty election in New York.

On the basis, then, of the President's and the Secretary of State's promises, the three Senators introduced their resolution. The measure was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee where it was called up ten days later by Senator Wagner. A majority of Senators present were anxious to report out the resolution that day.

In the meantime President Truman and Foreign Secretary Bevin had jointly announced the proposed Commission. When Senators Wagner, and Taft, who although not a member of the Committee had been invited to the meeting, asked for a favorable report, Senator Tom Connally of Texas, Chairman of the Committee, immediately sought to prevent action. He was apparently acting at the request of the Executive Department because, according to reports, he quoted the President as being opposed to the resolution.

A subcommittee was appointed to deal with the question, made up of Senator Green, chairman; Senators Hatch, Tunnell, Austin and Wiley. Note the composition of this subcommittee. It did not include the sponsor of the resolution, Senator Wagner, in accordance with long-time Senatorial courtesy. Nor did it include Senator Barkley, the Senate Majority leader, who is a warm champion of the Wagner-Taft resolution; nor Senator LaFollette, a ranking member of the Committee, who also favors forthright action on Palestine.

Various suggestions were made by certain members of the Senate to water down the resolution by introducing in it ambiguities similar to those which had been used in the past to frustrate Jewish effort. When it became clear that these ambiguities would be regarded by the authors and friends of the resolution as being harmful rather than helpful, a tendency became noticeable to keep on postponing the whole matter. Four meetings of the full Committee and several meetings of the subcommittee dealt with the resolution, but it is still far from being reported out.

The subcommittee and the full committee held conferences with Secretary Byrnes, and it is understood that Mr. Byrnes informed them that the Administration does not wish such a resolution to pass. When confronted with his and President Truman's earlier promise of non-interference, the Secretary had no valid reply. Zionist leaders later were told that "you are again getting the double-cross just as you got it last year." It is understood that the White House is also participating in this game of trying to get the resolution postponed until after the Anglo-American Commission will actually have been appointed.

It is anticipated that when the Commission is so appointed, the White House and the State Department will come out with a further argument stating that, since a Commission has been appointed, one should not try to influence it by a Congressional resolution. -- This at a time when British Foreign Secretary Bevin has issued a statement presenting the British view as to what should be done about Palestine, a statement in which he sharply attacks Zionism and opposes a Jewish state. Diplomatic experts point out that this would mean that the British members of the Commission would be guided by what they know to be the desires of their government, whereas the American members of the Commission would be left without any such guidance.

On last Monday, November 26th, the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee failed to report. Some observers believe that they were instructed not to make a report. Therefore, action on the Resolution was postponed until the next meeting of the full Committee which will be this coming Monday, December 3rd. There is, of course, some possibility that our friends in the Foreign Relations Committee who stand firmly for the Resolution as introduced in spite of the opposition of the Administration. But there is strong likelihood that most of the members of the Foreign Relations Committee will not break with the Administration on this issue.

Politicians point out that there is a moral in this story: the mayoralty election in New York City is over and there is no need for the moment to pay any attention to the claims of the Jews. It is true that another election is coming in November, 1946, but, the politicians say with a smile, there will be plenty of time before then to make another promise to the Jews.....

* * *

THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN JOINT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

Following is the full text of a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch dated November 25, 1945:

British Troops Arrest Jewish Leaders in
Belsen Camp for Protest on Palestine Policy

PARIS, Nov. 25. (JTA) -- Leaders of the Central Jewish Committee in Bergen-Belsen, in the British zone in Germany, have been arrested for protesting against the new British policy on Palestine, it was revealed in a report received here today from the Committee.

The Blue-White Zionist flag was mishandled by British military policemen and thrown onto a heap of garbage, the report said, and a crowd of Jews, including many women, which gathered when a police car arrived to take away those arrested, were beaten by British military police with rubber truncheons.

The arrests were made on November 16, when the protest against the Bevin statement was to have been submitted to the British authorities in Belsen during the distribution of Red Cross parcels scheduled to take place on that day. However the German administrator of the camp, G. Grande, notified the military police of the plan and later appeared with British M.P.'s whom he asked to arrest Marian Lipke, the president of the Jewish Committee.

As soon as they arrived, the military police immediately removed banners bearing inscriptions in English reading: "Open the Gates of Palestine," which had been erected by the displaced Jews. Then, acting on the advice of the German administrator, they arrested not only the president of the Jewish Committee, but a number of other leaders of the committee and several of its personnel. They then took the Blue-White flag from the office of the committee and threw it into a pile of garbage sixty feet from the office.

Jewish Camp Office Raided; Typewriters and Correspondence Seized

Meanwhile, many of the thousands of Jews who are still in the Belsen camp gathered together and voiced their protest against the German administrator. The military police then let loose with their rubber truncheons, striking at random at men and women.

Several hours later, British troops, led by Grande, returned to the camp and arrested another member of the Jewish Committee, two young chalutzim and three Jewish girls, without explanation. They later returned, for a third time, and searched the office of the committee, seizing several typewriters, correspondence files and accounting ledgers.

No information concerning those arrested can be obtained, except it is known that during their interrogation at the headquarters of the military police, one was struck twice by a German policeman in the presence of a British officer.

Yesterday the following cable was sent by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to Secretary of State Byrnes:

"BRITISH TROOPS AND POLICE FORCIBLY ENTERED THREE PEACEFUL JEWISH LABOUR AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS WANTONLY BEAT HUNDREDS MEN AND WOMEN SHOT AND KILLED FOUR PERSONS WOUNDED MANY OTHERS WITHOUT ANY REASON OR PROVOCATION AND ALTHOUGH SETTLERS AND NUMEROUS FRIENDS FROM NEIGHBORHOOD WHO ASSEMBLED THERE WERE ENTIRELY UNARMED stop FORCES ALSO SMASHED FURNITURE AND DAMAGED HUTS stop THIS COMES AFTER SHOOTING IN TELAVIV LAST WEEK OF SIX JEWS DEAD AND WOUNDING FIFTY OTHERS MANY OF THEM CHILDREN UNDER TEN ALTHOUGH NOT SINGLE SHOT FIRED BY JEWS stop IMPRESSION GROWING MANDATORY GOVERNMENT IS INTRODUCING REGIME OF TERROR WITH VIEW INTIMIDATING JEWS OF PALESTINE INTO SUBMISSION TO WHITE PAPER POLICY AND CESSATION JEWISH IMMIGRATION stop RESPECTFULLY REQUEST BRING ABOVE INFORMATION AND OUR SOLEMN PROTEST TO NOTICE UNITED STATES SENATE AND HOUSE REPRESENTATIVES."

If Jews in Europe, despite their sufferings of the last twelve years, dare to express their desire to go to Palestine they are beaten by British military police. If the Yishuv dares to raise its voice in protest, the answer is a campaign of terror by the British military. Thus is launched a campaign of intimidation against Jews who either wish to go to Palestine or want others to come to Palestine. Here are the first indications of what is really intended by the British Government. These are the first fruits of Mr. Bevin's statement announcing the proposed Commission of Inquiry.

* * *

The Elmo Roper Poll of United States Jewish Opinion on Palestine

In his statement Mr. Bevin differentiated between "Jews" and "Zionists". The falsehood that there is a wide area of disagreement among Jews on the question of the Jewish State was exploded by the Elmo Roper Poll on this subject. The results of the survey were published in the New York Herald-Tribune on November 22nd. Herewith is a major portion of Mr. Roper's column:

"One of the knottiest problems facing President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee at their recent conferences was undoubtedly the issue of Palestine and a Jewish state. This is no new issue, but the plight of the Jews, particularly in Europe, has been highlighted and made more acute by Hitler's persecution of them.

"The question has long been regarded as one full of political dynamite in the Near East. It has, from time to time, been the subject of political debate in the United States, and the statement has sometimes been made that even the Jews in the United States were split nearly evenly for and against the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

"In an effort to find out what American Jews actually did think on this subject, a nation-wide survey was recently taken among Jews only. No effort was made to gather opinions as to the merits of the conflicting Arab and Jewish claims. Opinions were asked only on the question of whether such a state would be good or bad for the Jews themselves. The results show an overwhelming majority believing that the establishment of such a state would be good. Respondents were asked:

"Here are two statements. Please tell me with which one you most nearly agree:

1. A Jewish state in Palestine is a good thing for the Jews, and every possible effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish state, or commonwealth, for those who want to settle there.
2. Jews are a religious group only and not a nation, and it would be bad for the Jews to try to set up a Jewish state in Palestine or anywhere else."

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date December 7, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed are offsets of two important recent articles on the Palestine question, which may be ordered in limited quantity:

1. "British Policy Breaks Down" by Freda Kirchwey, an analysis of the demands the United States should make if it is to assume co-responsibility with respect to Palestine.
2. Edgar Ansel Mowrer's column, "Oil for Two Companies - and Death for Jews," which appeared in the New York Post and other newspapers, a searing attack on American and British betrayal of their pledges to the Jews.

HLS:SMH
Encs.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date December 7, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is text of a letter to President Truman from Senators Taft and Wagner with reference to Senate Joint Resolution 112 now being considered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The letter, a most important document, is a full statement of the Zionist position. Please convey its contents to the members of your Committee. It would be very helpful if this letter could appear as an advertisement in your local newspapers.

Regards.

HLS:MH
Enc.

TEXT OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

FROM SENATORS TAFT AND WAGNER

December 6, 1945

Dear Mr. President:

Ever since we introduced Senate Joint Resolution No. 112 on Palestine, a continuous campaign, both open and covert, has been conducted against the bill, and more particularly against its basic proposition -- that the Jews shall have the right of free entry into Palestine so that they may reconstitute it as a democratic commonwealth. Whoever may be behind this opposition and whatever their motives, their campaign has taken the form of a gross misrepresentation of our position and of the intentions of all who support Jewish aspirations in Palestine. The misrepresentation centers in the astounding and baseless charge that it is proposed to establish in Palestine a "theocratic" state or a state based upon religious or racial discrimination. This insidious campaign has now been carried to the White House in an obvious attempt to influence the Administration. We, therefore, find it necessary to make a full statement of our position in order to dispel such fantastic misconceptions so assiduously fostered.

1. In drafting our Resolution we had before us the Palestine planks of the Republican and Democratic platforms adopted by the national conventions of the two parties in Chicago, 1944. The relevant words in the Republican platform are as follows:

"In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth."

The corresponding language in the Democratic platform is as follows:

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

Our Resolution is, therefore, no more than a re-statement of the position taken by both major parties representing, as they do, the great majority of American citizens.

2. The expression, "Jewish Commonwealth," is not novel. It was not recently invented to represent a new idea. It antedates the Palestine Mandate and was used repeatedly by the leading statesmen of Great Britain and the United States in the crucial years preceding and following the Peace Conference at Versailles when the territorial settlements were in the making.

3. That this was the sense in which the British Government had understood its commitment was stated by Mr. David Lloyd George, Prime Minister at the time of the Balfour Declaration, who testified before the British Royal Commission on

Palestine as follows: "It was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth."

General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, on November 3, 1919, spoke of "an increasing stream of Jewish immigration" and of "a great Jewish State rising there once more."

Mr. Winston Churchill spoke in the same vein: "If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial."

The British Royal Commission attested that "Lord Robert Cecil, in 1917, Sir Herbert Samuel, in 1919, and Mr. Winston Churchill, in 1920, spoke or wrote in terms that could only mean that they contemplated the eventual establishment of a Jewish State."

4. The position of the United States in favor of the evolution of Palestine into a Jewish State was equally clear. That this was the understanding of the American Delegation at the Peace Conference appears explicitly from the Outline of Report and Recommendations prepared by the Intelligence Section of that Delegation, in accordance with instructions, for the American Plenipotentiaries. This Report, dated January 21, 1919, summarized the American attitude in the following recommendation: "That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the (Peace) Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish State as soon as it is a Jewish State in fact."

5. In harmony with this position, President Woodrow Wilson on March 3, 1919 declared: "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

6. It cannot be suggested that the statesmen we have quoted, from Lloyd George to Woodrow Wilson, lacked the capacity to express themselves in clear and precise terms. Each of them was a master of the English tongue. Nor would anyone in his senses impute to those enlightened statesmen the advocacy of a "racial state" or a "theocracy" when they used the term "Jewish Commonwealth" so freely. What they obviously intended and stated in so many words was that in Palestine, their ancestral land, the Jews should be free to grow into a majority and not be kept down artificially to the position of a minority in which they find themselves in every other country in the world. This is the core and essence of the proposal.

7. It is clear from the foregoing that our Resolution does no more than give renewed expression to the purposes of the British and American statesmen who framed the policies of the Allied Nations. Their statements are, if anything, more explicit than the terms of our Resolution. The objective remains simple and clear: to ensure that all Jews who desire to settle in Palestine shall be guaranteed the right of entry so that they may develop and re-populate their ancestral land and so that Palestine may become a Jewish State in the sense that

Jews will constitute the majority. Our Resolution adds the proviso that the Commonwealth thus to be created shall be one in which "all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights."

8. This is also the official position of the Zionist movement repeatedly expressed. Time and again, on countless occasions, the Zionist Organization made it crystal clear that it contemplates a democratic state in which complete equality of rights and status shall obtain between all citizens, irrespective of race or faith, and between all religious groups within the state.

Under the circumstances, it should be impossible for any well-informed person to maintain in good faith the fantastic notion that the formula "Jewish Commonwealth" implies any domination of the Jewish religion over the adherence of other faiths.

9. Millions of Jews in the Old World regard themselves and are regarded by their neighbors not merely as a religious denomination, such as Moslems or Baptists, but also as a people with a distinctive culture, characteristics and traditions. By the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, the nations of the world recognized that just as the Czechs, the Greeks, the Magyars, and the Irish, or any other recognized nationality are entitled each to a homeland of its own, so the Jewish people was likewise entitled to its national home. The Mandate, therefore, speaks of the recognition "given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the ground for reconstituting their national home in that country."

10. We are reluctantly driven to the conclusion that the misrepresentations to which we have referred and the false issues raised with regard to the projected Jewish Commonwealth are intended to confuse the public, to deprive the Jewish people of their established rights, and to assist the British Government in evading its obligations under binding international agreements. Neither we, nor other Senators who share our views, nor the American people will be deceived by these tactics.

11. Finally, Mr. President, it is our conviction that the passage of such a Resolution is more urgently required now than ever before, in view of the joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry about to be organized. Our country can only proceed on the assumption that the pledges given to the Jewish people and embodied in international covenants shall be honored. If the joint Committee proceeds on that assumption, its hands will be strengthened by the passage of the Resolution. If the Committee is not instructed to proceed on that assumption, it is the more necessary that the traditional and basic position of the United States with regard to the Palestine question should be re-affirmed so far as it lies in the power of Congress to do so.

We trust, Mr. President, that this statement will contribute to a clarification of this question touching an important aspect of our foreign policy.

Respectfully yours,

Robert F. Wagner

Robert A. Taft

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

British Policy Breaks Down

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IT IS inevitable that Zionists, commenting on Mr. Bevin's Palestine statement, should make what capital they can out of the broken pledges of the British Government throughout the past twenty-five years and of the Labor Party within the past five months. For both are sensational and provide effective moral ammunition. But in the end the Zionist case will stand or fall on more realistic grounds. As long as British foreign policy is based on a determination to preserve the Empire, Palestine will continue to be treated, not as a moral issue, but as a piece in the whole imperial design.

The hope that animated most of us when British Labor took power was quickly extinguished. We did not suppose that the Attlee government would abandon the Empire. But we dreamed briefly of a new policy which would seek for security not through the old by-ways of intrigue and appeasement but along the high road of international cooperation. The San Francisco conference, under British pressure, had made a farce of the trusteeship idea. But the idea was sound and Labor, taking office two months later and faced with urgent post-war problems of colonial readjustment, had a chance to tackle the issue freshly. It could have called a conference of the leading colonial powers, together with Russia and the United States, and undertaken a realistic appraisal of the situation in those parts of the globe where imperial interests clash with one another and with the rights of the people who live there. The chance was lost. The Labor Government chose to continue the old methods, and today we see the results in Palestine—and in Surabaya.

Let no one be confused by the apparent contradiction involved in shooting down Javanese nationalists and supporting Arab nationalists. There is no contradiction; both are expressions of a single strategy: to suppress those elements which threaten the dominance of the ruling groups to whom the Colonial Office looks for cooperation in maintaining British control. The Arab League was not created as an instrument of Arab nationalism; it was invented—and subvented—by Britain to serve British purposes in the Middle East during the war. If the League and Arab political leaders generally are developing ideas of grandeur it is because they have learned that blackmail pays, especially when it is dressed up in high-sounding sentiments. Britain is hedging on its promises to the Jews not because it has been converted to Arab views on Arab rights in Palestine, but because Arab leaders have promised to make trouble if those promises are kept; and Britain wants to avoid new trouble in an area as important and unstable as the Middle East. It is true that the Jews are also beginning to show signs of anger; riots have been suppressed in Tel Aviv and tension is growing. Faced with growing disillusionment, responsible Jewish leaders may be unable to check violence, and the power of the extremist minority is likely to increase. But by and large the Jews are not a major menace: their loyalty, their patience, their civilized procedures, and their basic dependence on British power all tend to weaken their strategic position.

The British are afraid of the Arabs, and with reason. The League is no longer a source of security. It is openly planning the expulsion of British influence and control from the whole Middle East, as it has successfully expelled French influence and control (with the aid of British arms!) from the Levant states. Faced with this threat, what can the For-

eign Office and the Colonial Office do but continue to stall and betray their promises and try more and bigger appeasement? The alternative would be a new approach to the whole problem of Empire defense.

Mr. Bevin's Palestine proposal is proof that the Labor Government is not ready for that. The Committee of Inquiry is little more than a new wrinkle in an old policy. This is not the first time necessary action has been delayed by the launching of an investigation; the device is as old as governments. The new feature introduced by Mr. Bevin is the participation of the United States—and it is an important innovation. For it insures powerful support for conclusions which, ironically, were largely anticipated by the Foreign Secretary in his statement announcing the committee. By accepting the plan on British terms, Mr. Truman has, we fear, walked into a trap, as the Zionists charge.

He can only retrieve the situation and live up to his own and his country's pledges by altering as completely as possible the frame of reference in which the Committee of Inquiry is to operate. He should insist upon his original proposal that 100,000 homeless European Jews be transferred to Palestine. The British turned down the request, but that was before the committee had been agreed upon. They would find it difficult to refuse if Mr. Truman backed his proposal with firm guaranties of American help in handling the transfer and insuring the safety of the refugees. In any case, it is cruel nonsense to leave the Jews in German camps while new investigations are undertaken. We already have the careful reports of Dean Harrison and Judge Rivkind to verify the known fact that most of these persons look to Palestine as the only hope of survival for themselves and their children.

The President should also make sure that the inquiry into the problem of Palestine is unhampered by Mr. Bevin's ready-made prejudgments. If the United States is to accept responsibility for helping to solve that problem it must not go in with its hands tied. The only obligation it can afford to assume is the obligation to see to it that the terms of the Balfour Declaration, as elaborated in the British Mandate, and officially recognized by acts of Congress in 1922 and 1925, is duly carried out. In other words, the establishment of a Jewish National Home and the encouragement of Jewish immigration should be assumed, as a starting point. From there on, the inquiry should take the form of a brand-new examination of the place of Palestine in the intricate design of Middle Eastern relationships. It should consider, without prejudice, what kind of control can best be applied in a region where the interests of great powers, strategic and material, make external control of some sort inevitable. In view of America's own growing interests in the Middle East and its new international obligations, such an inquiry should be pursued without too much regard for existing colonial practices. We have an opportunity to do what Britain, tied to its burdensome past, has failed to do; we can make a new start.

Obviously British policy has broken down, whether the Labor Government will admit it or not. The old tactic of buying protection from greedy ruling cliques has sensationally failed. Perhaps the Middle East as a whole should be put under international control; perhaps the Levant states and Palestine might be joined in a federation under United Nations trusteeship. Perhaps a different solution altogether would emerge from a fresh study of the problem. But it is certain that the results of imperialist intrigue—now bloodily visible in Palestine—can be eliminated only if the powers are able to cooperate in new methods of regulation which will provide security for their legitimate interests and at the same time encourage the frail beginning of social progress, popular enlightenment, and self-government.

Mowrer On World Affairs

Oil for 2 Companies —And Death for Jews

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Oil, imperialism and Arabs have just won a new victory over justice and Jews—with President Truman's consent.

Arab feudalists will gloat, European Jews will die, other Jews will protest.

Who cares? Not the British rulers who engineered the Jewish defeat. Jews have next-to-no political influence in Britain.

Perhaps the American President? Before next November he will have plenty of time to shed a tear and express his "deep concern" over the unfortunate demise of those European Jews whom it is, alas, too late to save. Not the American politicians who for twenty-five years have uninterruptedly duped the American Jews with their double-talk. Meanwhile the American State Dept. can (possibly) save King Ibn Saud's tottering throne by further "subsidies" (your money and mine!) And the faces of decent men and women can grow deeper red with shame.

The "Irresistible" Case

Less than six months ago, the British Labor Party (leaders: Attlee, Bevin and Morrison) passed a resolution:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority . . . There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe."

Irresistible case, what? So irresistible that now, when winter is upon them and the remnant of European Jews are dying, Brit-

ain and America are going to set up a useless Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to "make recommendations" that will "be of immense help in arriving at a solution of the Palestine problem some months from now—maybe."

Led Into Betrayal

Who says this? Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, one of the British Labor Party leaders who less than six months ago found the Jewish case "irresistible." The same great humanitarian who recently harangued the House of Commons over the plight of the "poor Germans." Well, a famous Englishman once boasted that Britain has "no permanent enemies, merely permanent interests." Obviously it has no permanent principles. Yet I must confess, I thought Ernie Bevin was different.

President Truman has been led into a betrayal. In January, 1919, the American Delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference recommended:

"1. That there be established a separate state of Palestine; . . . 3. that the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there . . . being assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact."

Less than two months later President Wilson declared:

"I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

This was the American policy. Since then, every American President up to Truman and both political parties have regularly voiced their belief that Pal-

estine should be given to the Jews.

Does President Truman know this? Can he ignore that in accepting the Bevin plan for an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, while Jews are dying, he is embracing the infamous British White Paper of 1931? Does he not realize that this is another British stall to gain time and perhaps to foment more Arab "riots" (at so much a "rioter"?) designed to convince Americans that a Jewish Palestine would mean wholesale bloodshed?

Is the President willing to be the dupe of two oil companies?

Mr. Truman dislikes diplomats in striped pants. There are no more fatuous "striped pants" in the American foreign service than George Wadsworth and S. Pinckney Tuck, our diplomatic representatives in Beirut and Cairo.

Are these men—is the State Dept.—telling the President the full story? Does President Truman know that, according to Abd-el Rahman Azzam, Egyptian Minister of Arabian Affairs, British anti-Semitism in Palestine hides an attempt to eliminate American and Soviet influence from the Middle East? Or that British intelligence chief in Cairo, Brigadier General Clayton, urged London (Oct. 15, 1945) to secure the return to Jerusalem of the arch-traitor, the Grand Mufti? Has the President read the Mufti's letter to Adolf Hitler (July 4, 1942) promising his "Fuehrer" that the Arab peoples would "continue to fight" on his side?

Now, if ever, is the time for the American people to speak up and tell their President that we refuse to be involved in this shameful betrayal.

(Press Alliance, Inc.)

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date December 10, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

This week's issue of Life (December 10, 1945) carries an editorial on Palestine entitled "A Dream" which distorts the Zionist purpose with a callous disregard for the truth.

This damaging editorial must be dealt with immediately. The editors of Life must be made to understand that vast numbers of Americans are outraged by the misleading statements and the sly insinuations contained in the piece. (You will recall that a similar article in the Reader's Digest was the target of a letter campaign last year, and that the publisher was forced to carry a second article on Palestine which presented the true facts in the situation.) It is imperative that Life be flooded with letters of protest which refute the flagrant distortions contained in the editorial.

The comment contained in this memorandum should be used by you and your friends in the preparation of your letters to Life. However, we cannot emphasize too strongly that these letters must be in your own words.

Letters should be sent to

The Editors
Life Magazine
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, N. Y.

Please act on this immediately.

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1. The editorial gets off to a bad start by making the following statement;

"many, perhaps most, of these Jews (Jews left after the Hitler massacres in Europe) do not want to go to Palestine; indeed, the Zionists are advertising in Britain and America for enough immigrants to complete their current quotas."

The charge that Zionists are advertising in Great Britain and America for immigrants to make up a quota cannot be characterized as anything but a lie. The only possible grounds for this distortion are some recent appeals made by some Zionist leaders for a contingent of American youth to go to Palestine. This appeal was made, not because there are not enough immigrants to go to Palestine, but because the leaders regard the American youth as a valuable element in the upbuilding of Palestine and would like

to see Americans as well as others participate in the Jewish renaissance. This has absolutely nothing to do with the question of displaced Jews in Europe.

As to the situation in Europe, all reports throughout the period of the war made by Jews or non-Jews, Zionists or non-Zionists, prove the very opposite of the statement made in Life's editorial, namely, they all emphasize that while some of the Jews are ready to go to the United States or any other democratic country, most of them prefer to go to Palestine.

These opinions were confirmed by the thorough-going report to President Truman on the plight of the displaced Jews in Europe which was delivered toward the end of August, 1945 by Earl G. Harrison, American member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. In this report he declared in the strongest terms that the Jews in Germany and Austria must be evacuated; that while every effort should be made to repatriate those who wish to return to their former countries, and that while the doors of the United States and Great Britain should be opened to a reasonable number, Palestine must be regarded as the chief haven. The report stated that for a great part of European Jewry, Palestine was the only "acceptable, or even decent, solution for their future." He came to this conclusion "on a purely humanitarian basis" without reference to the ideological or political aspects of Zionism. In closing his report he again emphasized the urgency of taking immediate action:

"In conclusion, I wish to repeat that the main solution, in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all non-repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria, who wish it, to Palestine. In order to be effective, this plan must not be long delayed. The urgency of the situation should be recognized. It is inhuman to ask people to continue to live for any length of time under their present conditions. The evacuation of the Jews of Germany and Austria to Palestine will solve the problem of the individuals involved and will also remove a problem from the military authorities who have had to deal with it."

The essence of this view had been corroborated by the testimony of the following leading responsible persons who have made statements during the last half-year:

Harvey D. Gibson, President of the Manufacturers Trust Company. As representative of the Red Cross, he made a survey of displaced persons in Germany at the request of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. On October 26th he made a public statement to the effect that of the displaced Jews he had seen "at least 95 percent" wanted to go to Palestine. (New York Times, October 26, 1945).

Judge Simon Rifkind, advisor to General Eisenhower on Jewish matters. On November 2nd, after a visit to a camp for displaced Jews, he said: "Without Palestine the problem of displaced persons in Europe is insoluble. The preponderance of the desire to emigrate to Palestine is overwhelming; no one desires to remain in Germany. If Palestine were opened at once they would forget all their sufferings and privations." (New York Herald Tribune, November 3, 1945).

Rabbi Leo Baeck, Chief Rabbi of Berlin. Rabbi Baeck, a non-Zionist, who had been interned in the Theresienstadt Camp, declared in London on July 5, 1945 that none of the Jews in that camp wanted to return to Germany; all wished to go to Palestine.

Harry Greenstein, former Deputy Director of the Welfare Division of UNRRA.

On June 8, 1945 Greenstein declared: "The Jews of Europe have been liberated, but they have no sense of freedom and no sense of security. They want to go to Palestine because it is the one country where they can find a new life."

Many statements on the part of the displaced Jews themselves could be quoted. They explain their desire to go to Palestine for permanent settlement for the following reasons: Some already have relatives there who will make their adjustment easier and more secure. Others are dominated by the idea of bringing up their children in a friendly atmosphere as self-respecting persons released from the strains, abnormalities and persecutions which they themselves have experienced as members of a minority. Some wish to go to Palestine because there is no other place immediately prepared to receive them and because they doubt whether they will live long enough to learn about the choices which might possibly be offered to them through new investigations.

II. The following statement by Life of the Zionist position constitutes a distortion of the character and aims of the Zionist movement:

"... The Zionists have redoubled their zeal and become more implacably nationalistic than ever. Instead of a refuge and a 'homeland' they now demand a full-fledged state, with an army, a foreign policy and all the other accoutrements of nationhood."

Zionists have not changed their position. It is the British who have violated international commitments. Zionists are demanding the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate entrusted by the League of Nations to Great Britain which, in accordance with the terms of the Mandate, was to "be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home." Leading British statesmen during the period of the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference unequivocally declared that the ultimate purpose of the Mandate was the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth or state. A most authoritative statement came from Lloyd George who was Prime Minister at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued. His declaration was as follows:

"There has been a good deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine. I have already quoted the words actually used by Mr. Balfour when he submitted the Declaration to the Cabinet for its approval. They were not challenged at the time by any member present, and there could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

There is incontrovertible evidence that the American Government, which participated in the formulation of the Balfour Declaration, also understood it to mean the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State. This is indicated in President Wilson's well-known pronouncement, made on March 2, 1919: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth." This statement reflected the view of the body of American experts, known as the Commission of Inquiry, at the Peace Conference, which two months before, in January 1919, made a comprehensive recommendation for the settlement of Near East problems. Full provision was made for Arab aspirations for independence in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia. As to Palestine, the recommendation read:

"That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact."

Zionists are not demanding a whit more than this. They are demanding a reiteration of the right for free entry into Palestine, and full opportunity for colonization and economic development so that they may re-establish Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth in which all inhabitants of the country without distinction of race, religion or nationality, will enjoy equal civil and religious rights.

Zionists are bitterly opposed to the 1939 White Paper, not only because it repudiates the idea of the ultimate establishment of a Jewish state, but because it prohibits further Jewish immigration, limits the right to purchase land to an area comprising only five percent of the total land area of Palestine, and surrounds their residence in other parts of Palestine with restrictive discriminatory regulations. It reduces their status to that of a permanent minority in the country and proposes in the near future to set up a Palestine State which would in effect be an Arab State in the light of the fact that, according to the White Paper, the Arabs are to remain a majority.

A great part of the Jewish population in Palestine have kin in Europe. Their struggle is not merely for an abstract idea of nationalism, but to secure for their uprooted brethren the homeland which has been promised to them. The Jews of Palestine have been witness to deportations carried out by the British Government with unrestrained cruelty. It should be borne in mind that while hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe must emigrate or be doomed, the British Government is no longer issuing any certificates.

The editorial recommends that a "generous gesture" be made to relieve the tension of the situation, and suggests that this "gesture" would be the internationalization of Palestine. We submit that this would be an empty gesture. It would offer no relief to the Jews in Europe, no immediate help; this is simply another way of postponing action. Obviously it would take a long time to consider the suggestion and the probabilities are that it would in the end be rejected. No one who is acquainted with the situation believes that Great Britain has any intention of altruistically relinquishing control over Palestine, and there is no indication that the United States is ready to challenge Britain's control of Palestine.

It would seem that Life expects the Jewish people to be the "magnanimous" party

in the situation. After six million of their number have been annihilated, and with the doors of their internationally guaranteed Homeland closed to their pitiful remnants, the Jews -- according to Life -- are now to give up their just aspirations in Palestine... This suggestion is a new low in cynicism.

III. The editorial suggests that Palestine be made an international center of life. The fact is that under the Mandate it is already an international center in a cultural sense. English, Hebrew and Arabic are all official languages, an unlimited degree of cultural and religious autonomy is permitted, and the Christian communities in Palestine have every right to organize communities and to conduct educational and philanthropic work. The program of the Zionists insures the continuance of this liberal attitude toward cultural and religious diversity. Zionists are ready to accept international controls which would guarantee this, as well as complete equality of civil rights. It might be mentioned that the Jewish municipality of Tel-Aviv already includes an Arab section where it provides schooling in Arabic, with Arabic teachers, on the same basis that it does for Jewish districts.

The editorial, though expanding on the work of the nearby American University of Beirut, fails to mention the splendid achievements of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, which has become an important factor for the development of science and culture in the Middle East. It may also be noted that one of the first departments in the Hebrew University was its Oriental Department, devoted to Arab and Islamic Culture, and the Hebrew University Library has one of the largest collections of Islamica and Arabica in the world. Besides offering courses to the students in various aspects of Arabic life and literature, it also has done considerable extension work in spreading knowledge of Arabic and Arab life among the people at large.

IV. In indicating the benefits of its proposal to internationalize Palestine, the editorial says: "The Arabs will resent this new intrusion; but they would no longer fear Jewish dominance and their dismal standard of life would be raised."

This way of stating the matter insinuates that the "dismal standard of life" of the Arab peasant in Palestine is somehow due to the presence of the Jews. The opposite is the case. All reports indicate beyond any shadow of doubt that the standard of life of the Arab masses in Palestine is far higher than it is in neighboring Arab countries, and that, furthermore, improvement of the Arab standard of life in Palestine is due mainly to the Jewish development there.

Moreover, the sentence repeats the oft-quoted allegation that the main reason for Arab opposition to Zionism is fear of Jewish predominance. But the present political leaders of the Arabs have consistently stated that they are opposed to any further Jewish immigration on any ground whatsoever. The Arab leaders have taken the position that "Palestine is an Arab country and must remain so." They have declared that they are the "owners" of Palestine and that this alleged "ownership" gives them the absolute right to rule. In 1923, when the British offered an Arab Agency analogous to the Jewish Agency, the Arab representatives curtly refused, asserting: "The Arab owners of the country cannot see their way to accept a proposal which tends to place them on an equal footing with the alien Jews." In 1936, in testimony before the Royal Commission, Auni Bey again stated that: "We do not accept the formula laid down by the Jews that there should be no domination by Jews over Arabs or by Arabs over Jews." It was his position that the Arabs had the right to dominate Palestine and could make no concessions.

In sum, the editorial in Life is, like the appointment of the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission, another way of delaying any real solution of the problem. It offers no immediate, concrete help for the displaced Jews of Europe and makes a proposal which is bound to be opposed by the British and the Arabs even more strongly than by the Jews. It is hardly likely that it will receive any support on the part of Americans. It is not only "a dream"; it is a will-of-the-wisp fantasy. It cannot possibly do any good; but it obviously can do much harm in delaying a practical solution.

HLS:MLD



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

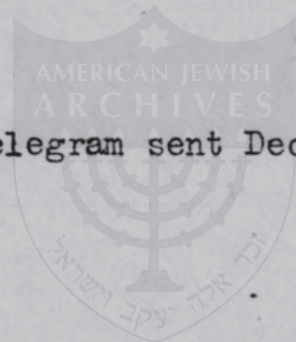
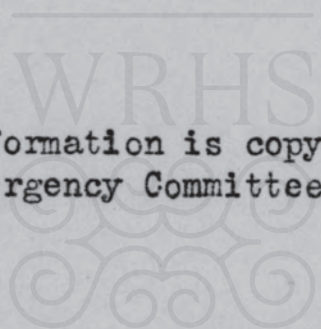
MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** December 13, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed for your information is copy of telegram sent December 12 to
Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:SS
Enc.



COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO
CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

DECEMBER 12, 1945

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE TODAY APPROVED WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE. THIS IMPORTANT AND HEARTENING ACTION COMES AT MOMENT WHEN IT IS MOST NEEDED. IT HAS BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BY INDEFATIGABLE EFFORTS OF RESOLUTION'S SPONSORS, THE LEADERS OF OUR MOVEMENT AND EMERGENCY COMMITTEE LEADERS LIKE YOURSELF. NOW IT REMAINS FOR THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO ACT ON THE BILL. MUCH WORK REMAINS AHEAD OF US. AFTER THIS GREAT STRIDE FORWARD TOWARD VICTORY WE KNOW THAT YOU WILL OUTMATCH ALL EARLIER ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE WEEKS THAT LIE AHEAD. YOU WILL SOON RECEIVE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OUR NEXT STEPS. REGARDS.

HARRY SHAPIRO
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Dr. Sidney Marks
TO: All ZOA Regional and District
SUBJECT: Presidents and Secretaries

DATE: December 13, 1945

We urgently direct your immediate attention to the attached confidential memorandum mailed to the Chairmen of all Local Emergency Committees by Harry L. Shapiro, Executive Director of the American Zionist Emergency Council, with reference to an editorial on Palestine published in the December 10th issue of Life magazine.

As indicated in the memorandum, the misleading and false charges made in the Life editorial must be repudiated in a barrage of protests from all parts of the country.

Your District, as an integral part of American Zionism, should take the initiative in enlisting the cooperation of all friends of our movement in your community in this direction. We cannot stand by at this tragic period for our people and see the noble ideals and true aims of our cause so violently distorted.

My kindest personal regards.

SM:dh
encl.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date December 10, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

This week's issue of Life (December 10, 1945) carries an editorial on Palestine entitled "A Dream" which distorts the Zionist purpose with a callous disregard for the truth.

This damaging editorial must be dealt with immediately. The editors of Life must be made to understand that vast numbers of Americans are outraged by the misleading statements and the sly insinuations contained in the piece. (You will recall that a similar article in the Reader's Digest was the target of a letter campaign last year, and that the publisher was forced to carry a second article on Palestine which presented the true facts in the situation.) It is imperative that Life be flooded with letters of protest which refute the flagrant distortions contained in the editorial.

The comment contained in this memorandum should be used by you and your friends in the preparation of your letters to Life. However, we cannot emphasize too strongly that these letters must be in your own words.

Letters should be sent to

The Editors
Life Magazine
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, N. Y.

Please act on this immediately.

-
1. The editorial gets off to a bad start by making the following statement;

"many, perhaps most, of these Jews (Jews left after the Hitler massacres in Europe) do not want to go to Palestine; indeed, the Zionists are advertising in Britain and America for enough immigrants to complete their current quotas."

The charge that Zionists are advertising in Great Britain and America for immigrants to make up a quota cannot be characterized as anything but a lie. The only possible grounds for this distortion are some recent appeals made by some Zionist leaders for a contingent of American youth to go to Palestine. This appeal was made, not because there are not enough immigrants to go to Palestine, but because the leaders regard the American youth as a valuable element in the upbuilding of Palestine and would like

to see Americans as well as others participate in the Jewish renaissance. This has absolutely nothing to do with the question of displaced Jews in Europe.

As to the situation in Europe, all reports throughout the period of the war made by Jews or non-Jews, Zionists or non-Zionists, prove the very opposite of the statement made in Life's editorial, namely, they all emphasize that while some of the Jews are ready to go to the United States or any other democratic country, most of them prefer to go to Palestine.

These opinions were confirmed by the thorough-going report to President Truman on the plight of the displaced Jews in Europe which was delivered toward the end of August, 1945 by Earl G. Harrison, American member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. In this report he declared in the strongest terms that the Jews in Germany and Austria must be evacuated; that while every effort should be made to repatriate those who wish to return to their former countries, and that while the doors of the United States and Great Britain should be opened to a reasonable number, Palestine must be regarded as the chief haven. The report stated that for a great part of European Jewry, Palestine was the only "acceptable, or even decent, solution for their future." He came to this conclusion "on a purely humanitarian basis" without reference to the ideological or political aspects of Zionism. In closing his report he again emphasized the urgency of taking immediate action:

"In conclusion, I wish to repeat that the main solution, in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all non-repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria, who wish it, to Palestine. In order to be effective, this plan must not be long delayed. The urgency of the situation should be recognized. It is inhuman to ask people to continue to live for any length of time under their present conditions. The evacuation of the Jews of Germany and Austria to Palestine will solve the problem of the individuals involved and will also remove a problem from the military authorities who have had to deal with it."

The essence of this view had been corroborated by the testimony of the following leading responsible persons who have made statements during the last half-year:

Harvey D. Gibson, President of the Manufacturers Trust Company. As representative of the Red Cross, he made a survey of displaced persons in Germany at the request of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. On October 26th he made a public statement to the effect that of the displaced Jews he had seen "at least 95 percent" wanted to go to Palestine. (New York Times, October 26, 1945).

Judge Simon Rifkind, advisor to General Eisenhower on Jewish matters. On November 2nd, after a visit to a camp for displaced Jews, he said: "Without Palestine the problem of displaced persons in Europe is insoluble. The preponderance of the desire to emigrate to Palestine is overwhelming; no one desires to remain in Germany. If Palestine were opened at once they would forget all their sufferings and privations." (New York Herald Tribune, November 3, 1945).

Rabbi Leo Baeck, Chief Rabbi of Berlin. Rabbi Baeck, a non-Zionist, who had been interned in the Theresienstadt Camp, declared in London on July 5, 1945 that none of the Jews in that camp wanted to return to Germany; all wished to go to Palestine.

Harry Greenstein, former Deputy Director of the Welfare Division of UNRRA.

On June 8, 1945 Greenstein declared: "The Jews of Europe have been liberated, but they have no sense of freedom and no sense of security. They want to go to Palestine because it is the one country where they can find a new life."

Many statements on the part of the displaced Jews themselves could be quoted. They explain their desire to go to Palestine for permanent settlement for the following reasons: Some already have relatives there who will make their adjustment easier and more secure. Others are dominated by the idea of bringing up their children in a friendly atmosphere as self-respecting persons released from the strains, abnormalities and persecutions which they themselves have experienced as members of a minority. Some wish to go to Palestine because there is no other place immediately prepared to receive them and because they doubt whether they will live long enough to learn about the choices which might possibly be offered to them through new investigations.

II. The following statement by Life of the Zionist position constitutes a distortion of the character and aims of the Zionist movement:

"... The Zionists have redoubled their zeal and become more implacably nationalistic than ever. Instead of a refuge and a 'homeland' they now demand a full-fledged state, with an army, a foreign policy and all the other accoutrements of nationhood."

Zionists have not changed their position. It is the British who have violated international commitments. Zionists are demanding the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate entrusted by the League of Nations to Great Britain which, in accordance with the terms of the Mandate, was to "be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home." Leading British statesmen during the period of the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference unequivocally declared that the ultimate purpose of the Mandate was the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth or state. A most authoritative statement came from Lloyd George who was Prime Minister at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued. His declaration was as follows:

"There has been a good deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine. I have already quoted the words actually used by Mr. Balfour when he submitted the Declaration to the Cabinet for its approval. They were not challenged at the time by any member present, and there could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

There is incontrovertible evidence that the American Government, which participated in the formulation of the Balfour Declaration, also understood it to mean the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State. This is indicated in President Wilson's well-known pronouncement, made on March 2, 1919: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth." This statement reflected the view of the body of American experts, known as the Commission of Inquiry, at the Peace Conference, which two months before, in January 1919, made a comprehensive recommendation for the settlement of Near East problems. Full provision was made for Arab aspirations for independence in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia. As to Palestine, the recommendation read:

"That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact."

Zionists are not demanding a whit more than this. They are demanding a reiteration of the right for free entry into Palestine, and full opportunity for colonization and economic development so that they may re-establish Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth in which all inhabitants of the country without distinction of race, religion or nationality, will enjoy equal civil and religious rights.

Zionists are bitterly opposed to the 1939 White Paper, not only because it repudiates the idea of the ultimate establishment of a Jewish state, but because it prohibits further Jewish immigration, limits the right to purchase land to an area comprising only five percent of the total land area of Palestine, and surrounds their residence in other parts of Palestine with restrictive discriminatory regulations. It reduces their status to that of a permanent minority in the country and proposes in the near future to set up a Palestine State which would in effect be an Arab State in the light of the fact that, according to the White Paper, the Arabs are to remain a majority.

A great part of the Jewish population in Palestine have kin in Europe. Their struggle is not merely for an abstract idea of nationalism, but to secure for their uprooted brethren the homeland which has been promised to them. The Jews of Palestine have been witness to deportations carried out by the British Government with unrestrained cruelty. It should be borne in mind that while hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe must emigrate or be doomed, the British Government is no longer issuing any certificates.

The editorial recommends that a "generous gesture" be made to relieve the tension of the situation, and suggests that this "gesture" would be the internationalization of Palestine. We submit that this would be an empty gesture. It would offer no relief to the Jews in Europe, no immediate help; this is simply another way of postponing action. Obviously it would take a long time to consider the suggestion and the probabilities are that it would in the end be rejected. No one who is acquainted with the situation believes that Great Britain has any intention of altruistically relinquishing control over Palestine, and there is no indication that the United States is ready to challenge Britain's control of Palestine.

It would seem that Life expects the Jewish people to be the "magnanimous" party

in the situation. After six million of their number have been annihilated, and with the doors of their internationally guaranteed Homeland closed to their pitiful remnants, the Jews -- according to Life -- are now to give up their just aspirations in Palestine... This suggestion is a new low in cynicism.

III. The editorial suggests that Palestine be made an international center of life. The fact is that under the Mandate it is already an international center in a cultural sense. English, Hebrew and Arabic are all official languages, an unlimited degree of cultural and religious autonomy is permitted, and the Christian communities in Palestine have every right to organize communities and to conduct educational and philanthropic work. The program of the Zionists insures the continuance of this liberal attitude toward cultural and religious diversity. Zionists are ready to accept international controls which would guarantee this, as well as complete equality of civil rights. It might be mentioned that the Jewish municipality of Tel-Aviv already includes an Arab section where it provides schooling in Arabic, with Arabic teachers, on the same basis that it does for Jewish districts.

The editorial, though expanding on the work of the nearby American University of Beirut, fails to mention the splendid achievements of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, which has become an important factor for the development of science and culture in the Middle East. It may also be noted that one of the first departments in the Hebrew University was its Oriental Department, devoted to Arab and Islamic Culture, and the Hebrew University Library has one of the largest collections of Islamica and Arabica in the world. Besides offering courses to the students in various aspects of Arabic life and literature, it also has done considerable extension work in spreading knowledge of Arabic and Arab life among the people at large.

IV. In indicating the benefits of its proposal to internationalize Palestine, the editorial says: "The Arabs will resent this new intrusion; but they would no longer fear Jewish dominance and their dismal standard of life would be raised."

This way of stating the matter insinuates that the "dismal standard of life" of the Arab peasant in Palestine is somehow due to the presence of the Jews. The opposite is the case. All reports indicate beyond any shadow of doubt that the standard of life of the Arab masses in Palestine is far higher than it is in neighboring Arab countries, and that, furthermore, improvement of the Arab standard of life in Palestine is due mainly to the Jewish development there.

Moreover, the sentence repeats the oft-quoted allegation that the main reason for Arab opposition to Zionism is fear of Jewish predominance. But the present political leaders of the Arabs have consistently stated that they are opposed to any further Jewish immigration on any ground whatsoever. The Arab leaders have taken the position that "Palestine is an Arab country and must remain so." They have declared that they are the "owners" of Palestine and that this alleged "ownership" gives them the absolute right to rule. In 1923, when the British offered an Arab Agency analogous to the Jewish Agency, the Arab representatives curtly refused, asserting: "The Arab owners of the country cannot see their way to accept a proposal which tends to place them on an equal footing with the alien Jews." In 1936, in testimony before the Royal Commission, Auni Bey again stated that: "We do not accept the formula laid down by the Jews that there should be no domination by Jews over Arabs or by Arabs over Jews." It was his position that the Arabs had the right to dominate Palestine and could make no concessions.

In sum, the editorial in Life is, like the appointment of the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission, another way of delaying any real solution of the problem. It offers no immediate, concrete help for the displaced Jews of Europe and makes a proposal which is bound to be opposed by the British and the Arabs even more strongly than by the Jews. It is hardly likely that it will receive any support on the part of Americans. It is not only "a dream"; it is a will-of-the-wisp fantasy. It cannot possibly do any good; but it obviously can do much harm in delaying a practical solution.

HLS:MLD



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

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** December 14, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed for your information is copy of telegram sent December 13 to
Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:SS
Enc.

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO
CHAIRMAN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

DECEMBER 13, 1945

TAFT-WAGNER RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE, HAVING PASSED SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS
COMMITTEE, NOW KNOWN AS CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NUMBER FORTY-FOUR, WILL
PROBABLY BE BROUGHT TO SENATE FLOOR THIS MONDAY. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF
YOU COULD BE INSTRUMENTAL IN HAVING NUMBER OF WIRES SENT TO YOUR SENATORS
URGING THEIR SUPPORT OF RESOLUTION. REGARDS.

HARRY SHAPIRO

Cleveland Zionist Emergency Council

DIVISION OF

American Zionist Emergency Council

540 GUARDIAN BUILDING

AFFILIATES:

HADASSAH
MIZRACHI
POALE ZION
VERBAND
PIONEER WOMEN
CLEVELAND ZIONIST SOCIETY
CLEVELAND ZIONIST DISTRICT
HEIGHTS TEMPLE
ZIONIST DISTRICT
ZIONIST YOUTH COUNCIL

December 17, 1945

TO THE PRESIDENTS:

The Cleveland Zionist Emergency Council is calling Cleveland Jewry to a mass meeting on Sunday evening, December 23, 8:00 p.m., at the Public Music Hall, East 6th and St. Clair Avenue.

We are called upon at this time to show our solidarity with Palestine Jewry's fight for freedom.

We are called upon to voice our indignation at the abandonment of moral principle by the British Government.

We are called upon to support our own Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which is sponsoring the Palestine Resolution in Congress. (It passed in Committee on December 12, by a vote of 17 to 1.)

Chairman of the evening will be Henry Miller Busch, Chairman of the American Palestine Committee, Cleveland Division. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, who has just returned from Palestine, will be the principal speaker. Leaders in the State and local community will also address the meeting.

As President of your organization we are counting on you to inform each of your members and urge their attendance.

Sincerely yours,
CLEVELAND ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Saul Danaceau

Saul Danaceau, Chairman

No Admission Charge
No Solicitation of Funds

SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 23, 1945, 8:00 P.M., MUSIC HALL

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO
CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

DECEMBER 18, 1945

FOLLOWING PASSAGE OF PALESTINE RESOLUTION BY SENATE LAST NIGHT, WITH ONLY ONE
DISSENTING VOTE, CONNALLY OF TEXAS, HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE THIS MORNING
UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION. SUGGEST NUMBER OF WIRES BE SENT YOUR CONGRESSMAN
OR CONGRESSMEN URGING THEIR SUPPORT RESOLUTION AND DOING THEIR UTMOST TO BRING
ABOUT ITS QUICK CONSIDERATION ON FLOOR OF HOUSE. STOP. ALSO HAVE NUMBER OF
LETTERS OF APPRECIATION GO FORWARD IMMEDIATELY TO YOUR SENATORS THANKING THEM
FOR THEIR ACTION. REGARDS.

HARRY SHAPIRO
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date December 20, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Both Houses of the Congress of the United States have adopted the Palestine Resolution by overwhelming votes.

This historic action climaxes more than two years of intensive, often heart-breaking, effort by all of us. That our campaign has been crowned with success is due in large measure to the magnificent program of activities carried forward by the local Emergency Committees over the past few years. It is, therefore, fitting that, on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, I congratulate you and your committee for a job well done. Without your cooperation the Palestine Resolution could not have been adopted.

The Resolution, sponsored in the Senate by Senator Robert F. Wagner (D., N.Y.), Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) and Senator David I. Walsh (D., Mass.), and in the House of Representatives by Representative Daniel J. Flood (D., Pa.) and Representative Herman P. Eberharter (D., Pa.), reads as follows:

WHEREAS the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected;" and

WHEREAS the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

WHEREAS these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of one hundred thousand additional Jewish refugees; and

WHEREAS the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic, and general economic conditions; and

WHEREAS the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a "Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry" to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within one hundred and twenty days: THEREFORE BE IT

RESOLVED by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

We have thus reached a milestone in American Zionist political work. But let it not be supposed that our task is over, or that we can relax our efforts even for a moment. Quite the contrary, we must now mobilize all our strength to make the Executive Branch of our Government understand that it is the will of the American people that it pursue a Palestine policy in accord with the Resolution just adopted by Congress. We must demand that the State Department implement the clear line of policy laid down by Congress. In this work, too, we will need your cooperation, and we are confident that you will not fail us in the days ahead.

The passage of the Palestine Resolution is significant from many points of view. We need not review here the details of our struggle of the past few years -- you know about the obstacles which were placed in our way at every turn. But what is overwhelmingly significant is the fact that the Congress of the United States insisted on going forward with the Resolution despite the open and vigorous objections of the Executive. We had presented our case. That case was irrefutable. And all maneuvers aimed at forestalling action through the use of delaying tactics failed dismally.

As you undoubtedly know, a last minute effort to defeat the Resolution was made by the enemy from within. Lessing J. Rosenwald, president of the American Council for Judaism, insisted on testifying against the measure in the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Mr. Rosenwald made his poisonous presentation before the Committee on Monday, December 17, and, in the opinion of observers, reached a new low in misrepresenting our position and in miserable self-abasement. Fortunately, the Zionist case, delivered by Emanuel Neumann, was presented most effectively in an executive session of the Committee held on Tuesday morning, December 18. Immediately following Mr. Neumann's testimony, the Committee deliberated for a short while and then decided unanimously to report favorably on the Resolution. Mr. Rosenwald and his group were thus given the strongest possible rebuke by one of the highest deliberative bodies of the American Congress.

The Palestine Resolution will undoubtedly loom large in all future undertakings of our Government with regard to Palestine. The significance of this Resolution will certainly not be lost on the members of the Joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, the American members of which now have the benefit of a clear statement of American policy. The British members of the Committee, whose Government's policy in opposition to Jewish rights in Palestine was made unmistakably evident by Foreign Secretary Bevin, must now discuss the question with United States spokesmen who are aware that this nation, speaking through Congress, gives unqualified support to Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

The deep understanding of our problem and the determination to act shown by Congress on this issue are most heartening. I am sure that you will lose no

time in letting your Congressmen and Senators know how deeply gratified you and the other members of your community are over their action. It is important, too, that the sponsors of the Resolution, listed above, receive congratulatory messages from the country at large. Needless to say, this suggestion does not apply to those who openly opposed the bill -- Senators Tom Connally (D., Texas), and Thomas Hart (R., Conn.); Representatives James W. Wadsworth (R., N.Y.), Victor Wickersham (D., Okla.) and A. L. Miller (R., Nebr.).

Let us now move forward to the next task. With united ranks, with determination to fight relentlessly until the day of final, complete victory, and with this new important political weapon -- the Palestine Resolution -- to strengthen us, let us go forward together toward our common goal -- the Jewish State.

HLS:MLD



COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

MAY 9, 1946

NEW SITUATION FOLLOWING REPORT ANGLO AMERICAN COMMITTEE NECESSITATES CONVENING NATIONAL MEETING LOCAL EMERGENCY COUNCIL CHAIRMEN. IMPERATIVE WE REVIEW ACTIVITIES TO DATE AND TAKE COUNSEL TOGETHER ON FUTURE PROGRAM. IMPOSSIBILITY OF SECURING HOTEL ROOM RESERVATIONS LIMITS US TO FULL DAY CONFERENCE BEGINNING TEN A.M. THURSDAY MAY TWENTY-THIRD AT STATLER HOTEL WASHINGTON. URGENTLY REQUEST THAT YOU OR REPRESENTATIVE OF YOUR COMMUNITY ATTEND THIS IMPORTANT SESSION. PRIOR TO COMING TO WASHINGTON IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF YOU SECURED APPOINTMENTS WITH YOUR CONGRESSMAN AND SENATORS. ADVISE US QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE WHETHER YOU WILL BE PRESENT. PLEASE ACT ON ANOTHER IMPORTANT MATTER: BECAUSE OF BRITISH TACTICS DESIGNED TO DELAY INDEFINITELY MOVING OF HUNDRED THOUSAND TO PALESTINE IT IS MOST URGENT YOU HAVE NUMBER OF TELEGRAMS AND LETTERS SENT TO THE PRESIDENT URGING HIM USE POWERS OF HIS OFFICE TO INSURE THERE IS NO DELAY IN CARRYING OUT HIS ORIGINAL PRAISEWORTHY SUGGESTION OF TRANSFER OF HUNDRED THOUSAND, AS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE, IMMEDIATELY. PLEASE ADVISE US ON STEPS YOU TAKE IN THIS REGARD.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER STEPHEN S. WISE
342 MADISON AVENUE

HLS:MH

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date May 23, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The national conference of local emergency committee chairmen, held in Washington yesterday, arrived at far-reaching decisions, which will determine the nature of our work for the coming critical weeks. As Dr. Abba Hillel Silver pointed out at the conference, the next month will be one of the most crucial ever faced by our people -- for the future of 100,000 displaced European Jews will be decided by what takes place within that period.

The British Government and our own State Department are employing delaying tactics to frustrate President Truman's request that these 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine immediately. The technique of further "consultations" is being used, not only by the British, but also by the State Department, despite the fact that President Truman's statement of April 30, 1946 made it clear that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's recommendation with regard to 100,000 Jews was not a subject for further study, but should be acted upon at once. ARCHIVES

The difficult task facing us now can be simply stated: we must force the State Department to follow the line of policy laid down by the President -- and not by paying lip service to the President's statement; we must also move President Truman to direct all Departments of the United States Government to implement the action he requested.

The attached press release on yesterday's meeting includes the declaration issued by the conference, which should govern our activities of the next four or five weeks. Please read that declaration carefully and see to it that the members of your committee are informed of its contents.

To carry out the line of action indicated above and by the conference's declaration, all of us must now join in an unprecedented program of mass activity. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the activities launched by the American Zionist Emergency Council during the coming weeks must be duplicated in the local Jewish communities of America.

Following are a number of suggestions for a program of action which we urge your committee to initiate immediately:

1. On June 12th, there will be a mass demonstration at Madison Square Garden, New York City, to demand that the 100,000 displaced Jews be moved to Palestine immediately. We urge you to organize similar rallies in your own community during the week of June 10th, or as close to that period as possible. You will understand, of course, that this office is in no position to supply every community with speakers. However, we will assist you in every way possible. We recommend that your spokesmen at these meetings be prominent local Christian and Jewish leaders.

2. A steady stream of letters and telegrams must pour in on the President and the Department of State. Please mobilize your entire community for this effort.

Letters to the President should urge that he stand firm on his call for the immediate transfer of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, and insist that his policy be carried out by the State Department. The President should also be told that the Near East Division of the State Department is following a line of action which nullifies his humanitarian stand. It should be pointed out that, on the basis of past performance, we have every reason to fear that the Near East Division -- particularly its head, Loy Henderson -- is sabotaging the President's request.

Letters to Secretary of State Byrnes should also include this latter point. The Secretary of State should be asked to insist that his Department carry out the President's policy at once. It should be stressed that further procrastination cannot be tolerated, that the situation of the Jews in the DP camps is such that additional delay may produce a catastrophe.

3. Local leaders of both the Democratic and Republican Parties should be urged to bring this pressing problem to the attention of their State and National Chairmen, and to request the latter to take action in the present situation in conformity with the pledges made by both political parties at their last national conventions.

4. Every effort must be made to obtain the cooperation of your local newspapers and radio stations during the coming weeks, so that the citizens of your city may be made aware of all the facts. By receiving complete information they will be prepared to join in the demand that Jews who still languish in concentration camps be given the immediate opportunity to rebuild their lives in Palestine.

5. Both Christian ministers and rabbis should be urged to preach on this subject repeatedly.

6. You will shortly receive from us copy for an advertisement. As soon as you receive this material, please take steps to obtain the signatures of leading Christians of your community and then insert the text, together with the signatures, in your local newspaper as a paid advertisement.

7. Please try to secure as many resolutions as possible on this subject. All types of organizations should be approached -- labor groups, church organizations, service clubs, etc. All should be asked to send copies of their resolutions to the President and to the State Department.

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We urge you to keep us fully informed of all steps taken in your community to carry out the above program.

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At yesterday's meeting in Washington, there were a number of calls for comment on Prime Minister Attlee's request for American military aid as

a pre-requisite to the fulfillment of the Joint Committee's recommendation with regard to the 100,000 displaced Jews. Many of those present in Washington pointed out that members of Congress and others had been seeking information on this matter. We are, therefore, attaching a brief analysis of Prime Minister Attlee's statement, which we trust you will find helpful in supplying molders of public opinion with information.

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Please remember that the very lives of thousands of Jews depend on our willingness to work tirelessly during the coming weeks along the lines indicated above. The task before us is enormous and the obstacles numerous, but let it not be said that there were things we might have done that we did not do.

Regards.



HLS:HK

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrachi • Poale-Zion

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ZIONIST LEADERS DECLARES THAT STATE DEPARTMENT,
WHILE ACCEPTING PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S POSITION ON IMMEDIATE
ADMISSION OF 100,000 JEWS TO PALESTINE, CONTINUES TO
DELAY ACTION THROUGH "CONSULTATION" PROCEDURE

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Washington, D.C. -- A national emergency conference of Zionist leaders, called by the American Zionist Emergency Council, today (Thursday, May 23, 1946) declared that while the statement on Palestine issued yesterday by the State Department made it clear that President Truman's position favoring the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine "is now the fixed policy of our Government," the State Department is "nevertheless continuing in practice a procedure of 'consultations' which may delay indefinitely" the attainment of that objective.

Participants in the conference, which was held at the Hotel Statler, represented approximately 400 communities throughout the United States. They reviewed recent developments with regard to Palestine and heard reports on the current situation by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and president of the Zionist Organization of America, and Emanuel Neumann, vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Silver stressed the need of mobilizing American public opinion in support of the demand that 100,000 Jews be transferred to Palestine immediately. Emphasizing that the coming weeks will be crucial, he called for an unprecedented demonstration of public indignation against the delaying tactics of Great Britain

(more)

and the State Department.

The conference also adopted a resolution stating that Zionists "cannot and will not accept these long-range recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry which deny Jewish historic rights to Palestine," and pledging ceaseless effort "until the Jewish State of Palestine takes its place among the democratic and progressive nations of the world."

The declaration issued by the conference follows:

The Zionists of America, representing the overwhelming sentiments of American Jewry, are outraged by the announcements that the immediate admission of 100,000 homeless European Jews into Palestine, recommended unanimously by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and requested by the President of the United States, is to be delayed while another time-consuming series of consultations is launched by the British Government and our own Department of State.

In the meantime, these 100,000 harassed men, women and children -- a fraction of the European Jews who must emigrate to Palestine or be doomed -- are consigned to further misery and mental torture.

As recently as April 30, 1946, upon making public the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, President Truman declared:

"I am very happy that the request which I made for the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine has been unanimously endorsed by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The transference of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished with the greatest dispatch." The President went on to draw a clear distinction between the Committee's recommendations for action upon the immediate objectives of the report, which he heartily approved, and the recommendations concerning long-range political policies, about which he said that they "require careful study" and will be taken "under advisement."

In view of this forthright declaration of American policy, we are confused by the statements issued by the Department of State, which seemed to indicate a sharp divergence from the President's position. The State Department seemed to have adopted the delaying tactics of British Prime Minister Attlee with regard to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's recommendation concerning 100,000 displaced Jews.

We were accordingly pleased by that part of the statement issued yesterday, May 22, 1946, by the Department of State, which made it clear that the President's statement is "controlling upon all the Departments of Government," and therefore the President's position on the immediate transfer of 100,000 Jews to Palestine is now the fixed policy of our Government.

However, while accepting this position, the Department of State is nevertheless continuing in practice a procedure of "consultations," which may delay indefinitely the attainment of the immediate objective to which our Government is already fully committed.

(more)

Four months of exploration and investigation by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry produced the identical recommendation for immediate action made by President Truman long before the Committee was established -- that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine at once.

But instead of moving forward with even this limited action, which was unanimously approved by its own representatives on the Joint Committee, the British Government is placing new obstacles in the way of implementation. Prime Minister Attlee imposes "conditions" which he knows beforehand were discussed and rejected by the Committee of Inquiry. He attaches those "conditions" though the British Foreign Secretary had himself assured the Committee that all unanimous recommendations would be acted upon immediately.

It was clear from the beginning that Great Britain's motives in launching the Committee of Inquiry lacked sincerity -- that the Committee itself was meant to be a device to delay action. But when our Department of State becomes an accomplice in Britain's procrastination, it becomes our solemn obligation to bring these facts to the attention of the American public.

Because we are convinced that the request of the British Government and the Department of State for comment by Arabs and Jews on the Committee of Inquiry's report, is merely another technique of evasion, we suggest to the American Zionist Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency for Palestine the advisability of refusing to become involved in procedures which will spell further unconscionable delay in carrying out the most urgent recommendation to rescue 100,000 Jews. The Zionist movement cannot be involved in activity which can only increase the agony of the helpless Jewish survivors in Europe.

We respectfully call upon the President to stand firm on the position which he took in his statement of April 30, 1946, and to direct the Departments of our Government to move with the "greatest dispatch" in the implementation of what is now the accepted policy of the United States.

PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE'S DEMAND FOR
AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY IN PALESTINE

A Brief Analysis

Great Britain's initial reaction to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, as stated by Prime Minister Attlee, took the form of a demand addressed to the United States that this country share responsibility for the implementation of the Report, especially its provision for the immediate issuance of 100,000 immigration certificates to the Jewish DP's in Europe.

If the intention of the British Cabinet was to confuse the issues and to sabotage the deliverance of the long-suffering Jewish survivors in Europe, no better device could have been found. For America's reluctance to become involved in commitments and responsibilities in foreign lands is well known. However, one is entitled to ask, what basis -- moral, political, legal, or any other -- is there for this demand of Britain on the United States. Is this a sincere suggestion on the part of Britain? Does Britain really need American co-responsibility in Palestine, and if so, in what spheres and to what extent? Or is this a device, pure and simple, to preclude the materialization of the positive recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry?

Following is a brief analysis of the questions involved:

1. If all Britain wants is that America should share in the moral and political responsibilities in Palestine, she obviously demands something that has already been granted. When President Truman took the initiative in asking Prime Minister Attlee to admit 100,000 Jews into Palestine immediately, he, as our Chief Executive, accepted moral and political co-responsibility on behalf of the United States. When President Truman agreed to America's participation in the Joint Committee of Inquiry, he endorsed United States acceptance of moral and political co-responsibility. When President Truman, in his statement accompanying the Report of the Anglo-American Committee, hailed the recommendation regarding the 100,000 certificates, he reaffirmed America's acceptance of moral and political responsibility.

It is well known, moreover, that in all his above statements and actions, President Truman went only a small part of the way which the American people is willing to go in support of Jewish rights and aspirations with regard to Palestine. American public opinion has expressed itself through the concurrent Palestine Resolution which was passed almost unanimously by both Houses of Congress. There is, therefore, not the slightest doubt that both the Legislative and Executive branches of the United States Government committed themselves to a full share of moral and political responsibility in Palestine.

2. If Prime Minister Attlee meant financial help and responsibility, there is little doubt that the United States -- which contributed so generously to the war effort, which dispensed and is still dispensing lend-lease in great abundance, which opened its purse wide for all the inter-

national financial and relief organizations, supported UNRRA, sent and is still sending its food to the starving world -- would not withhold material help for the salvation of the unfortunate remnants of European Jewry. In fact, American generals, speaking for the American Military Government in Europe, stated before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry that the Army was ready to extend all help possible for the speedy transportation of the Jewish DP's to Palestine. It may be stated with all certainty that if further financial help would be needed, America would not be found wanting.

3. One is, therefore, driven to the conclusion that what Britain is asking for is that America should accept a share in the military responsibilities. In this connection, it is only fair to point out that Palestine is still governed by Britain under a Mandate of the League of Nations, and that Britain is the sole Mandatory in charge of Palestine. America has no legal standing in Palestine as a partner of Britain in administering the Mandate. It should be apparent that any dispatch of American military forces to Palestine would provoke great resentment on the part of other great Powers -- specifically Russia -- especially in the light of the recent controversy in the United Nations Security Council over the question of Russia's military forces in Iran.

4. As long as the British have full control of Palestine, in their capacity as sole Mandatory, they should bear the sole responsibility for maintaining peace. What they are trying to get from us is our agreement to share responsibility without sharing the authority, which is, of course, an indefensible request.

5. The position might differ should the British ever consent to a joint trusteeship or a direct United Nations trusteeship over Palestine. If so, the responsibility for maintaining peace would be shared by all those Powers or international agencies which would have authority over the country.

However, it is only right to point out that thus far Britain has shown no inclination whatsoever to share its hold over Palestine with any other Power, America included. Indeed, at the liquidation session of the League of Nations in Geneva, in April of this year, Britain proclaimed its willingness to hand over to the United Nations her Mandates in Africa (Tanganyika, the Camaroons and Togoland) but not the Palestine Mandate. Furthermore, in recent weeks Britain has embarked on an enlarged program of building military installations in Palestine at the cost of many millions of dollars. Britain's garrison in Palestine is being constantly strengthened. Judging by all indications, Palestine is being transformed into the main military and naval base of Great Britain in the Eastern Mediterranean. The forthcoming withdrawal of Britain's forces from Egypt, which will be dictated by the new British-Egyptian treaty now under negotiation, should be borne in mind in this connection.

6. The insincerity of Britain's demand that America share military responsibilities in Palestine is amply illustrated by the following further considerations: If Britain is perturbed over the possibility of large-scale Arab unrest in Palestine, it is up to her to reduce the likelihood of such unrest by ceasing to favor the resumption of political

activities and the immunity from past acts of treason of such figures as Jamal el Husseini and the former Mufti of Jerusalem. As long as Britain encourages the activities of these elements, it cannot reasonably ask America to assist militarily in the suppression of an unrest which Britain's own policy is helping to encourage.

7. As far as hostile action of Arabs in Palestine and in the surrounding countries is concerned, an analysis of their military impotence and lack of logistic opportunities would prove beyond doubt that no serious threat of this kind exists. Furthermore, the British would have at their disposal over 100,000 British troops now in Palestine and a few hundred thousand more in the Middle East. If it were really a question of meeting the violence of Arab terrorists directed against a just policy, the British could surely count on the ability of the Jews of Palestine to handle the situation.

In view of the fact that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry obtained ample evidence that American military force would not be required to implement a policy favorable to the Jewish people, and that the Jewish community of Palestine is quite capable of protecting itself against extremely doubtful Arab attacks -- it is clear that, in asking for American military assistance, Prime Minister Attlee means only to involve this country into backing Britain's Middle-Eastern policy.

8. While we are dealing with Mr. Attlee's statement, we may use this opportunity to analyze the second "condition" put forward by the Prime Minister, namely the disarmament of the Jewish "illegal armies" in Palestine. Was this a sincere demand, or another device to prevent action on the immediate recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee?

Let us emphasize, first of all, that the Anglo-American Committee considered and rejected this "condition". It is Mr. Attlee's, all his own. Second, Mr. Attlee himself cannot possibly believe that Palestine Jewry would agree to give up the "Haganah" (Jewish Self-Defense), which represents the only means of protection it has. No one knows better than the British that the Jews had to build Palestine, not only without adequate protection on the part of the British administration, but against its constant hinderance and opposition, at the same time facing riots and attacks by Arab cliques. Mr. Attlee cannot, therefore, expect Palestine Jewry to give up the Haganah and be left at the mercy of a hostile administration and backward Arab chieftains. That is why he made the immigration of the 100,000 Jews conditional on that impossible "pre-requisite".

It should be recalled to Mr. Attlee and his colleagues that, at a dire moment in the history of England and the Empire, it was the Haganah to which they turned for help and cooperation. We refer to the very close collaboration between the British High Command in the Middle East and the Haganah headquarters in Palestine in the days of El Alamein. There is no reason on earth why the Haganah, representing as it does the best spirit of Palestine Jewry, should be trusted any less today than at the time of Rommel's successes in North Africa. That is, if Britain were planning a just and progressive solution for the Palestine and Middle Eastern problems.

* * *

May 24, 1946

MEMORANDUM

To: Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date: June 3, 1946

From: Harry L. Shapiro

Our fight against the State Department's delaying tactics with regard to the recommendation that 100,000 Jews be admitted into Palestine immediately is now under way. We are confident that we can depend upon you to carry out the suggestions contained in this memorandum, and subsequent communications, quickly and effectively.

As you have already been informed, the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs of our State Department -- whose experts supply the leaders of our Government with "information" about the Palestine situation -- follows the British line closely, and is currently attempting to delay action on the matter of the 100,000 displaced Jews by employing the technique of further "consultations."

If we join in a really vigorous effort, we may be able to bring about drastic changes in the Near Eastern Office. In any case we must make it clear to the President that implementation of the action he called for is being blocked by men in his own State Department -- and we must also indicate that the State Department's maneuvers are known and understood by large numbers of Americans.

Will you, therefore, lose no time in having postcards addressed to the President printed, distributed, and signed by citizens of your community, both Jews and non-Jews. Try to have as many of these postcards as possible sent to the White House quickly. Use the attached copy as the text of the message to the President which will appear on the postcards.

Regards.

HLS:MMH
Enc.

POSTCARD TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Address (on face of card)

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Message (on reverse side)

Dear Mr. President:

I am one of countless numbers of Americans who urge that 100,000 displaced European Jews be admitted into Palestine immediately, as you requested and as the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry recommended. I am shocked by the behavior of the U. S. Department of State, which is employing the delaying tactics of the British Government.

It would seem that the present Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs of our State Department has sought to frustrate every effort to open the doors of Palestine to the suffering Jewish people. It has acted in opposition to the wishes of the American people, as expressed in two resolutions of the Congress of the United States.

I urge you, Mr. President, to end this lamentable situation by taking all the necessary steps to insure that the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs of the State Department will hereafter carry out the policy on Palestine enunciated by you and by Congress.

Respectfully yours,

Name.....Address.....