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American Zionist Emergency Council, local emergency
committees, 1946-1947.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date July 23, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem yesterday has shocked us all. Today the Haganah, the Resistance Movement of Palestine, disclaimed any responsibility for this outrage; and at the same time, the small Irgun Zvai Leumi announced that it accepts responsibility for the bombing.

The Jewish Agency issued the following statement on the incident yesterday:

"The executive of the Jewish Agency and of the Jewish National Council express their horror at the dastardly crime perpetrated by a gang of desperadoes who today attacked government offices in Jerusalem and shed the innocent blood of government officers and other citizens, British, Jewish and Arab.

"They extend their deepest sympathy to the relatives of those who have been murdered and those who have been injured. The Yishuv (Jewish community in Palestine) is called upon to rise up against these abominable outrages."

We join the Jewish Agency in expressing our condemnation of this dastardly act. At the same time, I want to call your attention to the fact that the British failed to express the same sense of grief and outrage over the crimes perpetrated by their troops in Palestine and over the murder of peaceful Jewish settlers in Nazi-like attacks by the British Army.

I am attaching an editorial on the subject which appeared in today's New York Post.

HLS:MRW
Enc.

EDITORIAL REPRINTED FROM NEW YORK POST

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1946

TERROR IN PALESTINE

The Post has always deplored terrorism in Palestine. The throwing of a bomb, the burst of gunfire from a passing car, solves no problems. The extermination of a few men leaves the real source of the evil policy they execute, untouched. It goes on, using new men and new instruments, and the fight becomes even more relentless, brutal and difficult of sensible settlement.

When Lord Moyne, one of the principal executors of the infamous White Paper of 1939 fell victim to Jewish terrorist bullets, we said, "The conduct of political affairs by murder is as reprehensible when practiced by two young idealistic Hebrews as when it is practiced by British officials who turn Jews back from Palestine's doors to Hitler's Gestapo."

We repeat that sentiment. Over 90 people were killed yesterday when Jerusalem's King David Hotel which houses the headquarters of the British Army and the Secretariat of the Palestine Government was blown up.

That was a typical terrorist act. And like all large-scale terrorist acts it struck indiscriminately, at friend as well as foe. It cut down one of our correspondents, Richard Mowrer, who had been doing a splendid, objective job of reporting the Palestine story and its background.

A Friend Lies Wounded

Without sympathizing with the Jewish terrorists, Mowrer had written intelligently and understandingly of the causes of their outburst. Now he lies wounded. The terrorists did not intend this. It is another illustration, however, of the blindness of their methods.

Yet while we neither excuse nor condone terrorism, it is important that the atmosphere which prompts such hysterical acts be understood.

It is a fact that when you leave no other course open, you get precisely such acts as the bombing of the King David Hotel as the result. As Mowrer put it in a recent dispatch, as doubtless he would repeat even now, were he able, "terrorism in Palestine is a symbol of despair." It is the fruit of British policy in the mandate.

A Mowrer dispatch from Jerusalem on July 9th explained it brilliantly: "Fascist-minded Arab leaders are permitted to return from Germany and from exile, but Jewish survivors of Hitler's gas chambers are still in barbed-wire camps in Germany . . . There is no habeas corpus in Palestine. Any policeman, any British soldier . . . can arrest you on mere suspicion . . . if you give shelter to your own mother knowing she is an illegal immigrant, you are liable to eight years' imprisonment . . ."

Is it any wonder that in their rage and despair, betrayed and embittered men strike out blindly?

It Happened in Ireland

A quarter-century ago, another people in another part of the world, facing very much the same problem, resorted to the same sort of terrorism. Petitions and recitals of broken pledges having failed, the people of Ireland finally enlisted in the Sinn Fein and for the next few years the green isle was drenched in blood and shattered by explosions. The acts of terrorism were equally deplorable then -- Ireland might well have secured her freedom without Sinn Fein outbreaks -- but they were equally inevitable.

For Britain in 1920-21 gave the Irish no other course. As today she leaves the Jews of Palestine little alternative to similar blind acts of despair.

The vicious cycle must be broken at some point. For just as the hopes and aspirations of men will not be quenched by British repression, so Jewish terrorists will not prevail through bombs.

We return again to what The Post said editorially on the occasion of the Moyne assassination. "There never would have been a terrorist band in the first place if the British had not deliberately abandoned the democratic process in their dealings with Palestine."

For the real criminal that blew up the King David Hotel yesterday is a policy that has left the Jews of Palestine with no hope and no faith in the ordinary, normal ways of gaining justice. That policy must be changed.



American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

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

July 30, 1946

WE ARE TAKING THE LIBERTY OF CALLING YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING BRIEF MEMORANDUM ON THE PROPOSED "FEDERALIZATION" PLAN FOR PALESTINE AND TRUST THAT THIS INFORMATION WILL PROVE USEFUL TO YOU AS BACKGROUND MATERIAL.

Though the exact text of the proposal regarding the future of Palestine made by the British representatives and reported to have been recommended for acceptance by the American negotiators has not yet been revealed, enough is known about it to make clear its general purpose.

The proposal does not provide for the immediate transference of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, but makes such transference dependent on the outcome of further consultations with Arab States and on the acceptance of a general plan concerning the political status of Palestine. In doing this, the proposal clearly violates the repeatedly announced policy of the President to have the 100,000 Jews transferred to Palestine immediately and without waiting for the settlement of Palestine's future status.

As for the reported plan to "federalize" Palestine, it is difficult to see how either the American Government or its representatives in London could have been hood-winked by so obvious a hoax. The purport of the plan is to restrict permanently the Jewish National Home to its present scope. Neither further Jewish immigration into the country nor the settlement of Jews outside of the tiny ghetto assigned to the Jews under that plan could take place unless British authorities and Arab leaders favor it, and past experience has shown how unlikely it is to expect British or Arab concurrence in this regard.

Closer scrutiny of the "self government" to be given to the Jews in their tiny area reveals that this too is nothing but a mockery: the rulers would be appointed by the British; all major questions would be reserved to the British; and the far-reaching veto powers claimed by Britain would reduce the "self governing" bodies to the role of insignificant puppets. It would introduce in Palestine the regime typical of British Crown Colonies where native chieftains selected by a British administrator and removable by him preside over "districts" or "provinces" which are nominally "self governing."

The plan amounts, therefore, to a continuation of the present unlawful regime of the 1939 White Paper, violates the Palestine Mandate and the Anglo-American Palestine Treaty of 1924, and is utterly inconsistent both with American policy on Palestine as formulated in the Congressional Resolutions of December 1945 and with the will of the American people as expressed by both major political parties in their National Conventions in 1944.

It is difficult to understand how any representatives of the American Government could have recommended such a project, however tentatively, and nothing less than a clear rejection of this project by the President of the United States could be reconciled with his own stand and with traditional American policy.

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date July 31, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Once again the devotion and labors of the Zionists of America have borne fruit. The President of the United States today issued the following statement:

"The President has been considering certain recommendations of the alternates of the Cabinet Committee with regard to Palestine and has decided in view of the complexity of the matter, to request Ambassador Henry S. Grady, and his associates to return to Washington to discuss the whole matter with him in detail. The President hopes that further discussions will result in decisions which will alleviate the situation of the persecuted Jews in Europe and in the same time contribute to the ultimate solution of longer term problem of Palestine."

You know from my wire to you of July 25th, that we were in a most precarious situation. The succeeding days brought even more threatening events. As of this morning, prior to the opening of the debate on the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee's plan in the House of Commons, all indications were that not only had the American representatives on the Cabinet Committee approved the pernicious British cantonization plan, but that Secretary of State Byrnes and Prime Minister Attlee were also in agreement and that a joint statement to this effect was to have been issued coincident with the House of Commons debate. Fortunately, this did not come to pass as is indicated by the above statement by the White House. Also, fortunately, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver did not go to Paris for the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency but stationed himself in Washington from which point he unified our forces and our friends in an heroic and successful effort to bring about a change in the situation which confronted us.

Much as we have reason to be grateful for this reprieve, we must under no circumstances permit ourselves to believe that it is anything but a reprieve. We have only succeeded in keeping the question open. We must continue to exert every possible pressure on the President, through telegrams from the masses of people, and through intercession on the part of your local Democratic leaders.

It would be extremely valuable now for you to be in touch with your Congressmen and Senators, requesting that they use the influence which they command, in behalf of our movement. Keep up the good work.

Regards.

HLS:LD

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date August 5, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The attached memorandum has been sent to radio commentators and editorial writers throughout the country to supply background material on British statements that Great Britain will turn the Palestine Mandate over to the United Nations if the United States does not agree to the "Federalization" plan

Will you please make an effort to place copies of this memorandum in the hands of your local newspaper editors and radio commentators.

Regards.

HLS:LD
Enc.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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

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

August 5, 1946

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

MEMORANDUM ON BRITISH STATEMENTS THAT GREAT BRITAIN WILL
TURN THE PALESTINE MANDATE OVER TO THE UNITED NATIONS IF
THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT AGREE TO THE "FEDERALIZATION"
PLAN

In recent days spokesmen of the British Government and various speakers in the British House of Commons have "threatened" that if the United States Government does not agree to the British "Federalization" plan for Palestine, Britain will turn over the Palestine Mandate to the United Nations and withdraw from that country.

It should be said in this connection that the retention of Palestine as a strategic base under the sole control of Britain is notoriously the principal aim of the British Government. By controlling Haifa, Britain also possesses the oil pipe-line outlet to the Mediterranean. For these reasons Britain looks with disfavor on any proposal that would weaken its hold over Palestine or would result in Britain's having to share control with other co-trustees. This is also why the recent British plan of a "federal" Palestine gives Great Britain all really important functions of Government. It is known that southern Palestine is rapidly becoming the principal British base in the Middle East in place of Egypt, and recent reports indicate the forthcoming transfer of British headquarters from Egypt to Palestine. Many millions of pounds are currently being invested by the British in the construction of permanent military, naval and air establishments in Palestine.

In the circumstances, the impression which the statements from London seek to create -- that Britain's control over Palestine is a burden of which she would like to be relieved, rather than an anxiously guarded privilege -- is obviously incorrect. This talk about turning Palestine over to the United Nations is a meaningless bluff. Under the Charter, the future of Palestine will have to be decided by the United Nations in any case. But the provisions of the Charter are such that no decision can be arrived at by the United Nations without the consent of Britain which holds a double veto power -- as the present Mandatory and as one of the Big Five. Pending a decision by the United Nations, Britain can continue to do as she pleases in Palestine, and no decision can ever be reached unless it satisfies Britain. Therefore, the gesture of turning Palestine over to the United Nations, for all its appearance of unselfish withdrawal, merely ensures the continuation of the status quo for an indefinite period.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council Date August 16, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum was sent today to the Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD
Enc.



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

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council Date August 6, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum with attachment was sent yesterday to the
Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD
Enc.



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date August 16, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

ROUND-UP OF NEW YORK PRESS DISPATCHES ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
WITH REGARD TO PALESTINE

August 5 - 16

The turbulent developments on the Zionist political front during the past two weeks have been reported on the front pages of this country's newspapers in dispatches which have often been contradictory. This round-up of news on the Palestine negotiations is designed to give you a clearer picture of the situation by recording the essential facts as reported by the New York metropolitan newspapers.

On August 6th two New York Times headlines read:

"ZIONISTS CONDEMN PLAN ON PALESTINE" and "TRUMAN REJECTION ON PALESTINE SEEN."

The gist of these two stories was that President Truman, acting on the advice of Democratic political leaders, had informed the British Government that his first impression of the Federalization Plan, recommended by the alternates of the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, was unfavorable. The New York Times dispatch, written by its White House correspondent, James Reston, stated that the President had discussed the Federalization Plan with his Cabinet and that "only two Cabinet members were said to have talked in favor of the Federalization Plan."

On August 8th the press first reported that the six American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had been called to Washington by President Truman to meet with Acting Secretary of State Acheson and the alternates of the Cabinet Committee, and to discuss the Federalization Plan. It was noted in the New York Herald-Tribune's dispatch that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had categorically precluded partition as a solution of the Palestine problem. The dispatch said that "members of this group (the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry) privately expressed the opinion that they (the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee) do not carry out the proposals of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee."

On August 9th Felix Belair, Jr., New York Times Washington correspondent, disclosed in an exclusive story that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was unanimous in disavowing the Grady (Cabinet Committee) plan for Federalization.

Mr. Belair reported the substance of the Committee of Inquiry's opinion as follows:

"1. That Mr. Grady's mission violated its mission to work out the implementation of the Anglo-American Committee's report by agreeing to a virtual nullification of that document and supporting in principle the restrictive White Paper issued by Britain in 1939.

"2. On its merits the proposed federation scheme violates the mandate given to Britain over Palestine by the League of Nations in that it provides a system of cantonization and restricts the free movement of people in Palestine."

On the same day an article by Frank Gervasi, appearing in the Washington Post, attacked the Federalization Plan as a "fraud." After carefully considering each separate proposal under the British Plan, Mr. Gervasi refuted each point in turn. He wrote in conclusion:

"What the plan amounts to, in effect, is that, in consideration of the acceptance by the Jews of all the restrictions which will be imposed upon them by the terms of the plan (restrictions which will put them in a much worse position than the position which they hold under the mandate), they are promised the admission of 100,000 Jews. It is, in a way, an exercise in blackmail. Since the British know how anxious the Jews are that 100,000 of them should be admitted to Palestine immediately, they try to get the Jews to sign away all their rights in return for this concession."

On August 10th another Times dispatch by Felix Belair, Jr. indicated a radical shift in the Administration's thinking. The dispatch reported that President Truman was inclined to go along with the British Federalization scheme, recommended by the Grady Committee. Mr. Belair's story read:

"Earlier, Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, was understood to have instructed deputies to the Cabinet Committee on Palestine to draft a cablegram for the President's signature accepting the British federation plan in principle but suggesting a greater degree of autonomy for the proposed Jewish area, more liberal immigration and relaxation of Jewish land acquisition rules.

"News of the instructions by Acting Secretary Acheson to the Cabinet deputies headed by Mr. Grady caused a sensation in Zionist circles, whose spokesman had been advised by sources close to the President that under no circumstances would Mr. Truman consent to the proposed division scheme."

On August 12th the Associated Press reported that Acting Secretary of State Acheson had instructed a committee of experts, working directly under the Grady Committee, to draw up a proposal based upon the principle of partition, but with the following special features:

1. Creation of a Jewish zone of approximately 1,800 square miles, approximately 300 square miles larger than that proposed in the plan originally offered in London and subsequently disapproved by Mr. Truman.
2. A United States contribution of \$300,000,000 to raise the economic-social-educational standards of the Arab states. Of this sum, \$50,000,000 would be ear-marked for the Arabs in Palestine.
3. Wide latitude for Jews to control immigration within their zone.

The dispatch stated:

"When the partition was first completed by a joint Anglo-American committee at London two weeks ago, President Truman apparently was ready to accept it. He received a recommendation from Secretary of State Byrnes that he do so, on the ground that the plan offered a practical solution.

"Then the opposition of Zionist leaders became very great. Byrnes withdrew his endorsement, in evident surprise over the strength of the opposition, and Mr. Truman let the British know, informally, that the plan probably was unacceptable.

"Since that time, however, Acheson is reported to have come to the conclusion that a compromise should at least be seriously considered by Mr. Truman."

(It should be noted that the word "partition" in this dispatch refers to the Grady plan for Federalization.)

On August 14th the press again reported a radical change in the Administration's views. An exclusive story by Felix Belair, Jr. in the New York Times carried the following headline:

"TWO FREE PALESTINE STATES HELD PART OF TRUMAN PLAN."

Mr. Belair disclosed that the Jewish Agency for Palestine had been negotiating with the American Government and had proposed Partition as a solution to the Palestine problem.

Mr. Belair's dispatch carried the following lead:

"Washington, August 13 -- A Jewish Agency for Palestine plan for the partitioning of Palestine by the creation of separate and independent Jewish and Arab States and early termination of the British mandate has had serious consideration by this Government. With modifications, it is understood to be included in President Truman's reply to Great Britain on the Morrison-Grady federation statement."

Later in his story Mr. Belair said:

"The Jewish Agency plan was brought to Washington late last week by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, following its Paris meeting at which it adopted a public resolution rejecting the Morrison-Grady scheme of federation. Another resolution, also adopted at the time but not made public, embodied the Agency's acceptance of partitioning but on its own terms.

"The document was shown by Dr. Goldmann to Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder and War Secretary Robert P. Patterson, members of the Cabinet Committee on Palestine, and to the British Ambassador, Lord Inverchapel.

"Members of the Cabinet group with whom Dr. Goldmann conferred separately were particularly interested in the document as offering a practical solution to the present impasse."

On August 15th a New York Times dispatch by Sidney Gruson, London correspondent for that newspaper, carried the headline:

"U. S. SENDS ATTLEE NOTE ON PALESTINE."

In his story Mr. Gruson quoted an "authoritative source" who said that there was not much difference between President Truman's note to Attlee and the new plan of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Mr. Gruson wrote:

"It is believed here, although no hard details of the Agency's plan are yet available, that it would guarantee to the British the availability of bases in Palestine for guarding this country's vital Middle East interests. It will be submitted to Colonial Secretary George Hall by Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, American members of the Agency's executive who arrived here tonight with Berl Locker and Eliezer Kaplan. They conferred until late tonight with Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization.

"It is believed that the President has advocated an increase of 300 square miles to a total of 1,800 for the Zionist province. The British, it is believed, would agree to this if other points of differences could be settled."

The same issue of the New York Times ran the complete text of a statement by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver which assailed the British blockade of Palestine and the deportation of Jewish refugees to Cyprus.

On August 16th the Associated Press carried the following dispatch:

"London, August 15 -- Authoritative Government sources said today that the United States had refused to participate in the plan for partitioning Palestine, thus forcing Britain to seek an alternative scheme for solving the problem. These informants said that the United States had advised Britain that, as the mandatory power for Palestine, she should go ahead with any action that she deemed necessary under the circumstances. Authoritative sources here declared that President Truman's note to Prime Minister Attlee had announced that he could neither accept nor reject the partition plan at this time without "the support of the American people."

(It should be noted that this dispatch from London is far from clear and its accuracy has by no means been established. It should also be pointed out that the "partitioning" referred to in this dispatch is undoubtedly the plan of the Grady Committee.)

The New York Times of August 16th carried a special dispatch from London which said:

"London, August 15 -- The Jewish Agency placed before Colonial Secretary George Hall today three conditions for its participation in the Government's proposed conference to work out a solution for Palestine.

"It is almost certain now that conferences will be held, at the end of August or early next month. The Zionists and the Arabs will meet the Government separately. This is considered one of the most hopeful of recent developments on Palestine and, as an authoritative Zionist source said this afternoon, 'the impasse seems to have been broken.'"

"The Agency's leaders asked the Government first, however, to broaden the basis of the conference discussion from the experts' plan and to allow the possibility of the acceptance of a 'more radical' scheme. Mr. Truman's 'suggestions' and the Agency's own ideas are included in this category. They also asked the Government to release the Zionist leaders still held without trial in Palestine and to permit the Agency to select the Zionist representatives for the conference."

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency carried the following dispatch on Friday, August 16th:

"London, August 15. (JT) -- A delegation of Zionist leaders, led by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, conferred for two hours today with Colonial Secretary George Hall. The delegation consisted of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan and Berl Locker.

"After leaving the meeting, Dr. Weizmann said that arrangements for Jewish representation at the conference on Palestine to be held later this month were discussed, and added that he hoped for a 'satisfactory solution.' He refused to answer a question as to whether President Truman's reply to Prime Minister Attlee had been discussed...

"Reuter's today published a statement by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, member of the Jewish Agency executive, declaring that the Agency is ready to take part in discussion on the 'cantonization' of Palestine if assurances are given that an autonomous Jewish state will be set up 'within reasonable time.'

"Until such assurances are forthcoming, the Jewish Agency would continue to refuse to participate in discussions, he said, adding that, 'the British Government has been informed of this position.' He emphatically rejected the term 'partition' and substituted 'cantonization,' Reuters asserted.

"Dr. Goldmann made his statement after the conference of Zionist leaders with the Colonial Secretary. He said that 'modalities and conditions' for the Jewish Agency's participation in talks on the future of Palestine were discussed."

HLS:MSR

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date September 12, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Our movement is now in the most crucial period of its entire history. It is generally agreed that today Zionism's most effective instrument for the achievement of the Jewish people's legitimate aspirations is that of driving home to our country's National Administration the feeling of indignation and resentment shared by great numbers of American citizens who believe that the present Democratic Administration has failed to implement its oft-repeated pledges on Palestine. It is, therefore, necessary that our movement organize and channelize manifestations of this sentiment in the most effective and dramatic manner.

There is little time left for us to convince the Democratic Administration that we hold it responsible for the carrying out of America's stated policy with regard to Palestine -- that we are no longer content with messages, pre-election speeches, and new promises. We expect that the old promises, which were good ones, be fulfilled.

It is recommended that Zionists throughout the country carry forward the following projects:

1. A group of Zionist leaders in New York are organizing a number of meetings for Sunday, September 22nd, at which the speakers will discuss this problem. The purpose of these meetings will be to give strong utterance to our demands that the Administration take constructive steps to fulfill its pledges. So that you may be brought up to date on the facts in the situation, I am enclosing an outline of "The Record of the Truman Administration" for the guidance of speakers at these meetings. May I urge you to hold such a meeting in your community.

2. Attached is a statement, which is soon to appear in many New York newspapers as a full page advertisement and which will be signed by fifty or sixty prominent leaders. I suggest that you use this material in the preparation of an advertisement for your local newspapers. The "ad" should be signed by your leading rabbis, officers of groups within the Zionist ranks, etc.

We must make every effort to insure that the meetings on the 22nd will be successful. If this is done, the impact of these meetings on Washington may result in positive action by our government.

We are asking no special favors. We ask only that the Administration, which has pledged itself to the re-establishment of a Jewish Palestine, translate its words into action.

It is extremely important that you communicate with me immediately after holding these meetings, so that we may know as many of the details as you are in a position to give us with regard to attendance, spirit, and action.

HLS:MW

Text of Advertisement

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

We note that the New York State Convention of the Democratic Party included in its platform a vigorously-worded plank on Palestine which pledges full support for the aspirations of the Jewish people. We regret that we are unable at this juncture in the tragic history of the Jewish people to hail this renewed expression of support from one of our country's two major political parties.

Full knowledge of the desperate condition of the homeless Jews of Europe, still suffering in concentration camps, and the inhuman policies being imposed upon the Jews of Palestine by Great Britain, prompts us to view renewed expressions of sympathy and support by the party of our National Administration as all but meaningless. The Jewish people has had enough of promises. It wants -- it desperately needs -- action.

At its last national convention, the Democratic Party of the United States declared: "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."

This was the platform on which President Truman was elected. More than two years have passed since this clear and unequivocal pledge was made -- two years of misery and persecution for the Jews of Europe, two years of increased brutality and treachery by Great Britain in Palestine.

No action has been taken by the United States Government to redeem this pledge.

On August 31, 1945 the President of the United States requested British Prime Minister Attlee to admit 100,000 homeless European Jews into Palestine.

More than a year has passed since that request was made and the Jews of Europe are still languishing in detention camps. Surely the United States has sufficient prestige and influence in the world to accomplish this act of elemental humanity.

Under these circumstances we must say to the Democratic Party: new promises, new planks and new pre-election speeches will not suffice. We expect you to fulfill the old ones.

* * *

August 26, 1946

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION'S RECORD ON PALESTINE

Exactly a year ago -- on August 31, 1945 -- President Truman first made his request of Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 homeless European Jews be admitted into Palestine immediately. When the President's request was made public, the Jews of America -- an overwhelming majority of whom subscribe to the Zionist program -- as well as millions of non-Jews who are deeply concerned about the problem of Europe's homeless Jews and Palestine, hailed President Truman as the first leader of the democratic nations to take concrete steps to save the remnants of European Jewry.

Speakers at Jewish rallies and Jewish newspapers pointed out that in all the years of Jewish suffering since the advent of Hitler, the Democratic Administration merely offered its condolence and sympathy to the Jews, but did nothing concrete to rescue them. It was pointed out further that, with the publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence, public opinion was confronted with harsh reality: it became clear that at the very moment when the Administration was making pledges in support of the Zionist program, it was at the same time giving conflicting assurances to the Arab states. Needless to say, the reaction among the Jewish masses was one of shock and let-down.

Following these revelations and the well-established charges that the U. S. State Department was pursuing a pro-British and pro-Arab policy on Palestine, it is understandable that President Truman's letter to Prime Minister Attlee was greeted with great enthusiasm. This action served to give the Jews and their supporters renewed hope that the Administration was not going to forsake them after all.

It was well known that President Truman's letter to Mr. Attlee had been sent after the President had read the harrowing details of Earl Harrison's report on the conditions of the Jews in Europe's Displaced Persons' Camps. The warnings of Mr. Harrison and of other competent observers that only immediate action to transfer these harassed refugees to Palestine will avert a catastrophe, were regarded as clear indications that the required steps would be taken without delay.

But months passed and nothing was done. The British Government and the U. S. State Department employed one delaying device after another -- and the Jews languished in the concentration camps of Europe. People again wondered whether they were not being given another "run-around" by the Administration.

The British Government then countered President's Truman long-standing request with a proposal that an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry be set up to investigate the entire problem of Palestine once again -- this after the facts in the situation had been made all too clear by the Harrison Report and other surveys. The British move was obviously another delaying tactic, but President Truman agreed to this new investigation without taking advantage of the readiness of American Zionist leaders to discuss the entire situation with him, to point out how utterly undesirable this proposal for a new Inquiry was, and to warn him that the British had no intention of taking positive action as a result of the Inquiry, but intended only to procrastinate further.

After four months of time-consuming exploration and investigation, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry issued a Report which recommended what President Truman had requested in the first place -- the immediate emigration of 100,000 homeless Jews to Palestine. However, the Report also contained certain long-range political recommendations which, Zionist leaders pointed out, "can never be accepted by the Jewish people." These latter recommendations, which run counter to American policy on Palestine as stated by Congress, were obviously included in the Report at the insistence of the British, who would not otherwise have agreed to the recommendations favoring the immediate emigration of 100,000 Jews.

By consenting to the British proposal of a joint inquiry, the President had, therefore, allowed the United States to be maneuvered into an untenable position: in order to obtain consent to the immediate emigration of 100,000 Jews -- the United States would be repudiating every international pledge made to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine, and acting in opposition to the will of the American people as expressed by two resolutions of Congress -- one of which was passed during President Truman's administration.

The President now had to reconcile two conflicting positions. Fortunately, he was prevailed upon to take the correct steps under these circumstances, and in making public the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on April 30th of this year, he declared:

"I am very happy that the request which I made for the immediate 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 . . . I am also pleased that the Committee recommends in effect the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939, including existing restrictions on immigration and land acquisitions, to permit the further development of the Jewish national home. It is also gratifying that the report also envisages the carrying out of large-scale economic development projects in Palestine which would facilitate further immigration and be of benefit to the entire population. . . In addition to these immediate objectives, the report deals with many other questions of long-range political policies and questions of international law which require careful study and which I will take under advisement."

This, then, was United States policy as enunciated by the President: the emigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine was a matter for immediate action, and not subject to further consultations; the long-range political questions were to be taken "under advisement."

Weeks, and then months, went by and still nothing was done. The plight of the Jews in the Displaced Persons' Camps had become unendurable, and the frustration of these unfortunates expressed itself in repeated clashes with our own occupation troops in Europe. The Jews of Palestine had also reached the depths of despair, and the British were becoming more brutal in the enforcement of their illegal policy of excluding Jewish refugees from their internationally-guaranteed homeland. Under these conditions, violence was inevitable and Britain's tyrannical act of suppression only served to produce more bloodshed and destruction. Meanwhile, the U. S. State Department was following the procedure of further "consultations" initiated by the British.

The American public could not understand -- and still cannot understand -- how it is possible for the President of the United States to enunciate one policy

publicly while his subordinates in the Administration follow procedures that are diametrically opposed to that policy. Throughout the country people said -- and continue to say -- that the Administration is merely playing a clever game with the Jews; that the Administration has no intention of carrying out its promises to the constituency in behalf of the Jewish people.

Then the Cabinet Committee was appointed. The American people were told that this new Committee was set up to bring about the speedy implementation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's Report. When the Cabinet group was formed, President Truman expressed confidence that his request for the immediate emigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine would be speedily implemented. He had an extremely cordial meeting with leaders of the Zionist movement on July 1st, following which the White House issued a statement which read:

"The President further added that it was his determination that these most recent events should mean no delay in pushing forward with a policy of transferring 100,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine with all dispatch, in accordance with the statement he made upon the receipt of the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The President indicated that the Government of the United States was prepared to assume technical and financial responsibility for the transportation of these immigrants from Europe to Palestine."

After conducting its own "investigation" of the problem, the Cabinet Committee reversed the policy repeatedly stated by the President and produced a British-sponsored plan for the "federalization" of Palestine. This scheme was a complete surrender to British Colonial Office policy. The position taken by the entire American Zionist movement on the plan was stated by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America and chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Dr. Silver said:

"The 'federalization plan,' recommended to the American and British Governments by the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, is a conscienceless act of treachery, dooming the helpless Jewish survivors in Europe to further death and humiliation and driving the Jews of Palestine to further desperation.

"The Cabinet Committee's recommendation that the admission of 100,000 homeless European Jews to Palestine, first urged almost a year ago by President Truman and unanimously recommended as an immediate step by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, be made 'conditional' on the adoption of the 'federalization' proposal, is as revolting as it is immoral. In plain English, this means that 100,000 helpless refugees are to be used as hostages by Britain and the United States in order to extort from the Jewish people acceptance of a political formulation which clearly repudiates every international commitment made to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine -- a formulation which the governments concerned surely know the Jews cannot accept.

"That the lives of oppressed men, women and children, who have already passed the limits of endurance, should thus be used as pawns in Britain's imperialistic maneuvers -- and that the United States should now be a party to this abomination -- does not augur well for the world of peace and justice which, it was hoped, would emerge from the ruins of the greatest of all wars. We respectfully suggest to those who are responsible for shaping government policy on this question that what is required above all in the present situation is simple morality. . . .

"This is a plan for the ghetto-ization of the Jews in their own homeland. Even that small portion of the country remaining for Jewish settlement under the 'plan' would be controlled almost completely by the same British Colonial Administration, whose only right to be in Palestine in the first place is the duty assigned to it by the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate: facilitation of the development of the Jewish National Home."

Americans -- Jews and non-Jews alike -- could not help but ask whether the Administration's earlier statements were sincere in view of the fact that the President's own Cabinet Committee had now repudiated not only Mr. Truman's position, but every official American declaration of support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine, including the plank in the platform of the Democratic Party, which reads:

"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."

Could the President's Cabinet Committee have accepted this abominable "federalization" plan if its members had been convinced that the President wants them to carry out U. S. policy as stated by him? Surely the members of that Committee were astute enough to realize that the British would offer them a series of "plans" and would try to secure U. S. agreement to that formula which is least in the interest of the Jews. But it is clear that Mr. Grady and his fellow Committee members were advised by the State Department to follow the line proposed by the British.

Furthermore, the public was astounded to read accounts in the press which reported the President as having taken a most unfriendly attitude towards those who called on him to repudiate the "federalization" plan. For example, the following dispatch appeared in the New York Times of Wednesday, July 31st:

"TRUMAN 'REBUFFS' PALESTINE PLEA

"New York Congressmen Say That He Hinted At Political Motives In Their Visit

"Washington, July 30 -- Nine New York members of the House called on President Truman today to protest the proposed partitioning of Palestine and insist on the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews, but they came away expressing dissatisfaction with their reception.

"The President was reported to have been sympathetic to the homeless Jews' plight, but only as part of a larger problem of displaced persons generally. Members of the delegation said that he was inattentive to their arguments and had suggested at one point that the reason for their call was political.

"Coincidentally, Senators Robert F. Wagner, Democrat, of New York, and Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, assailed the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee's latest proposals in the Senate. Mr. Wagner called the plan 'a deceitful device to stifle the hopes of a long-suffering people.' Mr. Taft said that it was a 'cynical plan' that would mean the 'complete frustration' of Jews in Palestine and 'deep despair for the million and one-half surviving Jews in Europe.'

"The delegation calling on Mr. Truman was led by Representative Emanuel Celler, who read a prepared statement. Mr. Celler gave a reporter the following digest of it:

'The President should reject the new proposal of the British because admission of 100,000 Jews is conditioned upon its acceptance. Thus the innocent 100,000 Jews are considered as hostages. This is utterly unfair.

'The plan would narrow the Jewish province to 1,500 square miles and prevent any further development economically and culturally after admission of the 100,000. Acceptance would be approval of a ghetto in Palestine. Furthermore, the British know that neither the Arabs nor the Jews would accept the plan. And thus they would be privileged again to delay a decision. The plan is nothing but a stall.'

"Mr. Celler would not describe the President's reaction, but other members of the delegation said that it was 'discouraging.' One of the descriptions of the conference was: 'It was rough.'

"Mr. Truman was said to have shuffled papers on his desk while Mr. Celler read and to have commented, when Mr. Celler started to speak further about a problem 'close to my heart' that he did not have time to listen, that he knew all about the subject anyhow. The President, according to the Representatives' accounts, indicated that he was sympathetic to the Jewish problem, but explained that he was working on a broader question in trying also to get 100,000 displaced persons admitted to South America, 100,000 to British possessions and 100,000 to this country.

"He was reported to have said that he did not blame the Congressmen for coming to the White House, that he realized that they were all up for re-election this fall, but that it was time somebody came to see him about the United States problem for a change. He ended the Conference abruptly, the witnesses said, before the Representatives were ready to leave.

"In addition to Mr. Celler, those attending the Conference were Representatives Walter A. Lynch, Ronald L. O'Toole, John J. Rooney, Charles A. Buckley, Leo F. Rayfiel, and Arthur J. Klein, Democrats; Vito Marcantonio, American Labor Party, and Leonard W. Hall, Republican."

Obviously, the President has failed to understand why the Jews of America and those who support their cause are persisting in approaching him: the fact of the matter is that nothing has yet been done for the Jews, and the 100,000 are still languishing in the detention camps of Germany.

As a result of the nationwide outburst of indignation against the "federalization" plan and the tremendous pressure that was concentrated on the White House, President Truman was prevailed upon not to accept this proposal. Instead, he recalled the Grady Committee to Washington for further consultations. The American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry were also called to Washington to offer their opinion of the plan, and they were unanimous in repudiating it.

The State Department made an effort to keep the Committee of Inquiry's opinion secret, so that it could go ahead with its program of employing the Grady Committee's report as a basis for discussions with the British. Fortunately, other individuals realized the importance of informing the public as to what had transpired in the Washington discussions, and the story appeared in the press. It was only as a result of the most determined pressure that the State Department's efforts to secure Mr. Truman's agreement to the Grady scheme as a basis for negotiations were defeated.

After numerous reports and rumors, many of them contradictory, as to the exact nature of President Truman's communication to the British Government had appeared on the front pages of the country's newspapers, the White House finally issued an announcement on the subject. The text of that statement is as follows:

"Although the President has been exchanging views with Mr. Attlee on the subject, this government has not presented any plan of its own for the solution of the problem of Palestine. It is the sincere hope of the President, however, that as a result of the proposed conversations between the British Government and Jewish and Arab representatives a fair solution of the problem of Palestine can be found and immediate steps can be taken to alleviate the situation of the displaced Jews in Europe.

"It is clear that no settlement of the Palestine problem can be achieved which will be fully satisfactory to all of the parties concerned and that if this problem is to be solved in a manner which will bring peace and prosperity to Palestine, it must be approached in a spirit of conciliation.

"It is also evident that the solution of the Palestine question will not in itself solve the broader problem of the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons in Europe. The President has been giving this problem his special attention and hopes that arrangements can be entered into which will make it possible for various countries, including the United States, to admit many of these persons as permanent residents.

"The President on his part is contemplating seeking the approval of Congress for special legislation authorizing the entry into the United States of a fixed number of these persons, including Jews."

This statement has been interpreted in the press and elsewhere as a declaration by the President that he is "washing his hands" of the entire question. This interpretation has also been advanced in private conversation by leading U. S. officials, including those of the State Department.

This is where the matter stands now. After all the pledges, after all the committees, the investigations and the consultations, the President of the United States announces that "this government has not presented any plan of its own for the solution of the problem of Palestine." Even though the resolutions of Congress and the platform of his own party should be regarded as commitments to a very clearly-defined program of action, the President now decides to retreat from the entire issue -- and at a time when the British are employing the resources of their empire, both political and military, to liquidate the Jewish position.

President Truman did not even publicly reaffirm his earlier statements with regard to the 100,000. The White House's announcement of August 16th, quoted above, can, therefore, be viewed only as a declaration of collapse on Palestine by this Administration. And the American people ask: has not the United States sufficient prestige, influence and authority in the world -- particularly in its relations with the British Government, whose economic future America has underwritten -- to insist that Britain fulfill her pledges and obligations to the Jews?

Nor is Jewish public opinion in this country particularly impressed by the White House's assertion that "the President, on his part, is contemplating seeking the approval of Congress for special legislation authorizing the entry into the United States of a fixed number of these persons, including Jews." Assuming that such efforts can meet with a degree of success, what must be clear to everyone is the fact that weeks, perhaps months, of interminable Congressional debate on the

question would ensue before any action is taken. Neither is American public opinion unmindful of the fact that Congress has adjourned and will not be in session for some months to come.

As for the Jews in the Displaced Persons' Camps, who will shortly be faced with the dread prospect of another bitter winter -- they are evidently expected to remain patient while their one hope for salvation -- United States action -- is removed by no less a personage than the President of the United States himself.

This is the record of the Democratic Administration on Palestine. Let not the Administration believe that merely by issuing further declarations of sympathy and condolence, it will succeed in sugar-coating this bitter pill. Anything short of the oft-promised, but repeatedly delayed concrete action will neither satisfy nor reassure the Jews of America and large numbers of their supporters, who have reached the point when they must say in a loud and clear voice: "We have been betrayed again!"

* * *

MORE



September 12, 1946

At his press conference on September 5th, President Truman said that the Grady Committee's report was still under consideration. According to the Associated Press, the President made this statement in reply to a direct question as to whether the Grady report had been rejected.

This latest statement by President Truman will certainly not serve to reassure public opinion on the Administration's handling of the Palestine question. Coming as it does after the events noted above, this statement is, to say the least, confusing. The President's additional assertion that he is still pushing for the immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine can be considered only in relation to any concrete steps that are taken to implement that requested action. Thus far the public is not aware of the existence of such concrete steps.

* * *



MEMORANDUM

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

From: Harry L. Shapiro

November 2nd is Balfour Day. This historic anniversary comes at a time of unparalleled crisis for the Jewish people. There have been many difficult periods since the Balfour Declaration was issued but this is by far the most critical.

This year Balfour Day should be observed in a manner which will aid the Yishuv and the hundreds of thousands of displaced Jews, who face another terrible winter in the camps of Europe and Cyprus. We ask, therefore, that you make immediate arrangements for mass meetings in your communities for either the evening of Saturday, November 2nd or the afternoon or evening of Sunday, November 3rd. The larger cities should organize several meetings.

The brutality of the British Government is today viewed with dismay and a sense of outrage by all liberty-loving people. However, not only Britain is to be blamed for the present desperate plight of the Jewish survivors. Our own Government has failed to bring its influence to bear on Britain in order to achieve a just solution in keeping with established American pledges. America's pledges have been broken. America's promises remain unfulfilled.

It is necessary that these facts be pointed out at your Balfour Day rally. But this should be done by our own spokesmen. It would be unwise to invite the candidates of either political party to address these rallies. We do not need new pre-election promises. We want the old ones kept.

Balfour Day occurs only a few days before election. All of our activities during the past weeks have been concentrated on driving home to the Democratic Administration a realization of its responsibility for the bitter and justified resentment of our people. This pressure must be continued. All of you are called upon to lend your influence in this direction. This is one of our few remaining opportunities to revive official American intervention to bring about the fulfillment of this country's and Britain's pledges for a Jewish Palestine.

HLS:TRB

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date October 7, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

On Friday, October 4th, President Truman issued a statement declaring among other things, that "in view of the fact that winter will come on before the (London) conference can be resumed, I believe and urge that substantial immigration into Palestine cannot wait a solution to the Palestine problem and that it should begin at once."

This is not the first time that President Truman has spoken out in favor of immediate Jewish immigration into Palestine. More than a year ago he made such a request of Prime Minister Attlee. At that time the President called for the immediate immigration of 100,000 homeless Jews into Palestine -- and the entire civilized world applauded this step. During all the months that followed, however -- months of suffering and bitter disillusionment for the Jewish people -- no action was taken to implement his request.

President Truman's statement (the full text of which is attached) itself demonstrates that thus far no concrete steps have been taken to translate the American Government's expressions of support for the Jewish people into action. The President's review of the United States Government's undertakings with respect to Palestine makes it clear that, instead of insisting with all its authority that Britain fulfill her obligations, our Government has permitted itself to be maneuvered into agreeing to one delaying tactic after another. Furthermore, after each new British device for procrastination into which the American Government was drawn, the Jewish people's historic rights to Palestine were successively whittled down.

In the meantime, the Jews suffering in the Displaced Persons' Camps were asked to wait patiently and the British Government intensified its tyrannical rule in Palestine. The President's latest declaration thus comes at a period rendered more critical by the long months of procrastination which ensued following his first request. Further delay will certainly aggravate the already tense situation. All of us hope, therefore, that President Truman's statement of October 4th will mark the beginning of real action by our Government, and that the United States will at long last bring the full weight of its authority behind the President's request. The coming days will indicate to what extent our National Administration is determined to fulfill its promises on Palestine.

The bitter disillusionments of the past impel us to view all such statements with a large measure of restraint. We recall that following similar pronouncements by the President of the United States, our Department of State proceeded immediately to send conflicting "assurances" to Cairo and elsewhere -- "assurances" which invariably minimized the importance of the statements of our Chief Executive in support of the Jewish people. We trust that such is not now the

case. We hope also that President Truman's declaration will be implemented by the Administration as a matter quite apart from the proximity of the approaching elections.

Again it should be pointed out that President Truman's statement did not "just happen." It came as a direct result of the nation-wide program of activities which all of us, working together, have been carrying forward during the past weeks. This work must be continued with undiminished vigor and steadfastness of purpose.

Yesterday, Sunday, October 6th, Governor Thomas E. Dewey also made a significant statement on Palestine in an address before the United Palestine Appeal Conference, excerpts from which are attached. Governor Dewey declared that "the right of large and immediate Jewish immigration is fundamental to that (Palestine) solution and it must be an immigration of not 100,000, but of several hundreds of thousands."

Within the past few days we have therefore received additional re-affirmations of support from our country's Chief Executive and from the leading spokesman of the Republican Party. We must now bend every effort to bring about the effectuation of such declarations -- and the desperate condition of our brethren in Europe permits of no further delay.

We will view the President's latest statement in relation to the immediate steps that will be taken to bring about its implementation. Will Jews be moving into Palestine by November 5th? That is the test.

HLS:MSR
Encs.

MEMORANDUM

To. Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date December 11, 1946

From Abe Tuvim:

While it is much too early to expect definitive action by the 22nd World Zionist Congress on the major issues which confront our movement today, we feel that it might be helpful to give you some of the highlights appearing in the metropolitan press and in the Jewish press services which probably do not reach all communities in the same measure that they do here.

The first few days of the Congress were devoted to addresses and reports by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Mr. David Ben-Gurion, and others. The speakers dealt thoroughly with the experiences of the years that have passed since the last Congress, but dealt more specifically with the occurrences of the last two years. Thus, the groundwork is being laid for the decisions which the Congress will make with regard to policies to be pursued in the coming months.

The New York Herald Tribune reports today that:

"Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, and David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, expressed themselves in favor of defying Britain, and after Ben-Gurion's speech there was little doubt that the Congress would never permit the Jewish Agency again to discuss the partition of Palestine.

"For Rabbi Silver the occasion had special significance, because his policy of abandoning any hope for Britain's willing cooperation is based on the assumption that the United States Government will force Britain's hand and will take Britain's place as the outstanding champion of Zionism among the world powers.

"In personal terms, a victory for Rabbi Silver's policy at this Congress would make him the dominating personality in world Zionism, since he is the leader of the American General Zionists, the largest single group in the Congress.

"Rabbi Silver began by reciting what the Roosevelt and Truman administrations had done under pressure from American Zionists, and denounced the late President Roosevelt and President Truman for failing to take any 'positive action' to support their 'signed statements.' Then, finding the mood of the Congress with him, he departed from his prepared speech and denounced Weizmann's policies as well.

"He said it was an 'error of judgment' for Weizmann to propose partition of Palestine between Jews and Arabs, and demanded the whole of Palestine for the Jews. He said this was not an 'extremist'

position, and accused those who did not agree with him of being 'defeatists.'"

In this Tribune story which is by John Chabot Smith, Dr. Silver is credited with saying, "The American Zionists believe in resistance to illegal acts." Dr. Silver went on to say:

" - - to the illegal acts of the mandatory regime, and we shall continue to help the forces of resistance. The way to end resistance is not to condemn those who resist, but to open the doors of Palestine."

The Tribune states that the whole audience of nearly 2,000 applauded these sentiments.

The Tribune story relates that the Tuesday evening session on December 10th, was devoted to Mr. Ben-Gurion's speech as follows:

"In a long historical and philosophic analysis of the Zionist movement and the development of the Jewish 'Yishuv,' he declared that since Britain has found it impossible to carry out the provisions of the Mandate calling for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, it is up to the Jews in Palestine to build their own independence.

"Ben-Gurion's repudiation of the Weizmann formula was the more spectacular because he had been expected to defend the policy for which he, as chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, shares the responsibility. But on the issue of whether Palestine should be partitioned, he said: 'That proposal would have to be made to us by those who have it in their power to impose such a compromise (meaning the British Government, which has offered no such proposal). The compromise which we were prepared to consider in 1939 does not exist, at any rate at this moment, and we have no alternative, therefore, but to stand up for our full historical and legal rights.

"Today, with greater emphasis than ever before, we shall present to the entire world, and in any negotiations which we conduct with the British Government, the following three integral demands of the Jewish people: The opening of the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration, control of Jewish immigration and the development of Palestine by the Jewish Agency, and the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State.

"We do not come to England as beggars of mercy. We demand what is rightfully ours. Palestine does not belong to England, nor is it part of the British Empire, and England has no right to do with Palestine as she wishes. Our rights there preceded the Mandate."

"This independence, he said, must be built on four things: 'immigration, security, construction, and refusal to surrender to breach of faith, repression, arbitrary rules and suppression.'"

In The New York Times of December 11th, Julian Meltzer reports:

"Dr. Silver delivered a one-hour address. He strongly criticized by implication what he called the Truman Administration's failure to tackle 'the greatest humanitarian problem in modern history, that of

rescuing millions of men, women and children from mass extermination.'

"He made these additional points: There has been a growing knowledge of Zionism in the Jewish youth of America, many of whom have been stirred by events of recent years, and American Zionists have impressed on their Government the fact that the Palestine issue is not peripheral and cannot be treated lightly but must become a major objective of American foreign policy."

A United Press dispatch of December 10th has the following to say:

"Rabbi Silver said today that American Jews supported the resistance campaign against 'illegal' British rule of Palestine.

"He told cheering, stamping delegates that the Zionist leadership had made an 'error in judgment' in accepting the principle of a partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states.

"He said all Palestine should be turned over to the Jews, and denied that such a demand was extreme.

"The present British rule in Palestine is not in accord with the terms of the League of Nations mandate and hence is illegal, Dr. Silver said. 'We have the right to resist this rule and I pledge the support of American Jewry to this resistance.'"

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency of Wednesday, December 11th credits Dr. Silver with the following remarks with reference to the American scene:

"President Truman has not committed the United States to the proposal of the Jewish Agency for the partitioning of Palestine into Jewish and Arab States, but has merely said that the United States Government will support a compromise between this proposal and the British 'federalization plan,' Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, told the World Zionist Congress today.

"It is too early to say how firm and persistent Secretary of State Byrnes will be in pressing for Jewish rights in Palestine and for a just and early solution of the Palestine problem,' he declared. The Secretary of State, however, now understands 'the full gravity and urgency' of the Palestine question, Dr. Silver added. He praised Truman for dealing forthrightly 'for the first time' with the 'unwarranted intervention' of King Ibn Saud in the Palestine issue.

"The leader of the American Zionist movement blamed American Jewish organizations for their failure to convince the American Government of the necessity of removing Jews from Europe immediately after the war. Simultaneously, he criticized the inadequate efforts of the United States Government in solving 'the greatest humanitarian problem in modern history'. The United States, he said, could admit 250,000 Nazi and Fascist war prisoners, but not its Jewish allies.

"The cooperation of all Zionist groups in the American Zionist Emergency Council was lauded by Dr. Silver. He also praised the work of the American Jewish Conference saying that it triumphed 'over the vestigial oligarchy of self-appointed Haus-Juden.'"

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

MEMORANDUM

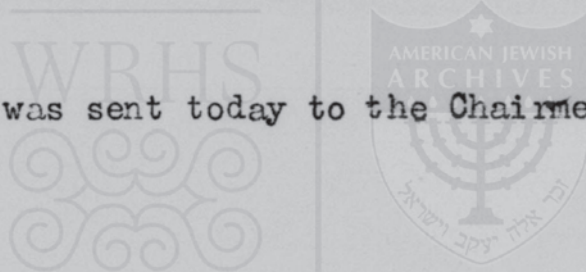
To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** February 5, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum was sent today to the Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD

Enc.



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* February 5, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

Under separate cover we have sent you a release which was just issued by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, clearly stating the position of our movement on the ultimatum issued by the British Colonial Government to the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi.

You will note that the release also indicates that an extraordinary session of our community leaders will be held in Washington on the morning of February 17th, at the Hotel Statler. A telegram announcing this meeting and urging your participation was sent to you yesterday. In this telegram you were asked to wire your Congressman and Senators for appointments on the afternoon of our meeting day. It becomes increasingly urgent that you do so and I hope that you have already taken steps in this direction.

We are at a point now where it is of the greatest moment to mobilize our energy, power and influence behind the determination of the Yishuv not to yield to the drastic measures which the British seek to impose upon our people. Both the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi have spoken. Their position is clear and righteous. The American section of the Jewish Agency, of which Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is the chairman, today cabled the Yishuv pledging all-out support in the struggle for freedom.

You, and we, and all of us, are not only the symbols but the source of that support. To make it effective, we must create a united and determined front in this country, representing the largest Jewish community in the world. It is our sincere hope that you and other leaders of your community will join with us in the all important Washington meeting.

Because of the difficult hotel situation in Washington, the Conference will be a one-day affair. A full report of all of the steps taken by the Zionist movement during the hectic weeks just passed will be given. A program of action for the future will be outlined.

If you desire hotel accommodations, please contact the hotel direct. We are unable to secure room reservations in Washington. Please let me know at your very earliest convenience who will represent your community at the emergency meeting.

Regards.

HLS:RB

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

MEMORANDUM

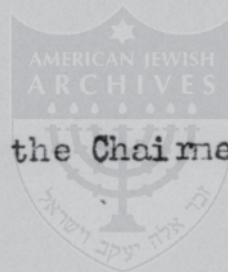
To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** February 7, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum was sent today to the Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD
Enc.

WRHS



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 7, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

WASHINGTON EMERGENCY MEETING

Within the past few days you have received the memorandum in which your community was urged to have representation at the extraordinary national Emergency Conference to be held at the Hotel Statler in Washington, D. C. at 10:00 A.M., on Monday, February 17th. Because this meeting comes at a most critical juncture in our affairs, it is impossible to over-emphasize the necessity of having attendance from every city in the United States at the meeting. It is essential that you and your co-workers should know how the Yishuv feels about the present situation. I am taking the privilege of sending to you the sentiment of the leadership of the Yishuv at the present moment. The following has been conveyed to us by cable and other means:

The Yishuv considers the ultimatum of the British Government as a veiled declaration of war. It is pointed out that it was not even the intent or the hope of the British Government to elicit a positive reply to its ultimatum. The very fact that the ultimatum was given the widest possible publicity indicates that. It is the evident intention of the military to utilize what they consider a favorable situation created by "terrorist" activities as the excuse to destroy the Jewish Agency, to install a military regime and crush the Yishuv. Some of our spokesmen feel that the British are doing this with a view to making Palestine a military base and the evacuation of British women and children is a propaganda smoke-screen to cover this purpose. The Government's letter demanding Jewish cooperation and setting a time limit of seven days ignores the fact that during periods of national struggle neither the Irish nor the Scotch informed against their own people in behalf of the British. This procedure and policy can have no legal or moral force. It is an attempt to ruthlessly punish a whole community for the misdeeds of small groups and represents a relapse into primitive methods. Our leaders in Palestine point out that the Jewish Agency is using its own means against the terror with increasing vigor, and some results, but that the Jews will refuse to act as spies and informers in service of a government which has consistently broken pledges and just as consistently committed acts, the effect of which has been to destroy the loyalty of the people.

You can see from the foregoing that the Yishuv has a clear conception of what it is facing and that it is determined to stand by its rights, its interests and its integrity. We surely can do no less. We can manifest this by making

the meetings in Washington on February 17th the most imposing demonstration of our unity with the Yishuv. A great many cities have already indicated that they are sending representatives, but a great many have not as yet acted. If you are among the latter, you must take steps immediately to be represented at the Conference and to inform us of that fact, please let us hear from you as quickly as possible.

EDITORIAL CAMPAIGN

There is another matter of importance to which I desire to call to your attention. Some days ago I wrote to you about the need for inspiring favorable editorial comment in your newspapers and submitted to you an analysis of the London Conference to be used as groundwork for this editorial. Some fine results have already been achieved. But there are still great numbers of newspapers which have not been approached. It is most vital that this be done without delay. If no efforts have been made to inspire favorable editorial comment in your publications, please do this at once. Surely there are some people in your community who either have or can create the necessary contacts. As soon as these editorials appear please dispatch them to me, in order that they may be sent to London.

Regards.

HLS:RB



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

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date**

March 13, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum with attachment was sent today to the Chairmen
of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD
Enc .



MEMORANDUM

To : Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 13, 1947

From : Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum -- which sets down suggestions for American governmental action on Palestine in connection with the present international situation -- has been submitted to certain key figures in the United States Government. We are sending it to you for your guidance and as a basis for the dissemination of information in your community.

This analysis of recent developments affecting the future of Palestine should give you the background material necessary to provide an interpretation of the latest events. You will notice that the memorandum discusses the proposed United States loans to Greece and Turkey, but that no stand is taken either for or against such loans. What is urged is that, if the United States is to undertake serious commitments in the Near East at the behest of Britain, it should insist -- as a part of the general scheme -- that there be a just solution of the Palestine problem.

You are urgently requested to communicate at once with members of Congress, your local newspaper editors and columnists, your radio commentators -- and moulders of public opinion generally -- along the lines of the enclosed memorandum. If, during Congressional debate and public discussion of the proposed loans to Greece and Turkey, we succeed in driving home to the American Government and people that the Palestine question must be dealt with as part of our general policy in the Near and Middle East -- and not as an isolated matter -- we shall have performed a valuable service for our cause.

In view of the urgency of the present situation it is hoped that you will find it possible to carry out these suggestions without delay.

Regards.

HLS:RB
Enc.

M E M O R A N D U M

CONFIDENTIAL

It would seem that the failure of the U. S. Government to make any progress on the Palestine issue stems largely from the habit of treating this issue as an isolated problem, wholly apart from the rest of the Anglo-American relations and of Near-Eastern problems. The British Government is naturally aware of this tendency and therefore proceeds on the assumption that British intransigence in the matter of Palestine will have no serious repercussions and will in no wise affect its position vis-a-vis the United States in any of the many issues in which they seek American assistance or support. This, more than anything else, explains British obstinacy.

It appears likely that American efforts in the matter of Palestine will remain ineffective and fruitless unless and until the Department of State decides to include this matter as one of its objectives in the give-and-take negotiations which it conducts with Britain and other countries. This is a natural and normal procedure in international relations.

Countless opportunities of this nature have been neglected in the past. To mention but three: important concessions might have been obtained from Arab States, quite amicably, on a quid pro quo basis at the time when these States were trying to get on the band-wagon of the Western Allies, in the last year of the war. Concessions from the British Government might have been obtained on a quid pro quo basis when Britain desired American acquiescence, in the United Nations and otherwise, in the "independence" of Transjordan. And British agreement to open Palestine for the immigration of the displaced Jews of Europe might again have been obtained at the time when Britain was anxious for an American loan to help her in her own rehabilitation. No advantage was taken of these opportunities, or of any similar opportunities in the past.

A new opportunity for such a give-and-take approach has arisen now in view of the effort of the British Government to get the United States to shoulder foreign commitments in the Near East, hitherto borne by the British Empire. These requests are based on the idea that such American action is necessary to assure international stability in the general as well as in the American interest. Assuming this to be the case, it is nevertheless true that the American action requested would in the first place serve to lighten Britain's burdens while safeguarding Britain's interests. Furthermore, the economic support to be granted by the United States to those countries would, through the trade and currency arrangements existing between those countries and Great Britain, become an important source of dollar exchange for Great Britain and thus directly contribute to the economic rehabilitation of Britain. The contemplated American subsidies (the term "loan" can hardly be seriously applied to these transactions) would, in effect, amount to a further indirect loan to Britain, which, for obvious reasons, the British Government is now reluctant to request directly.

In view of this, it seems entirely appropriate that the United States Government link the Palestine question with these current negotiations. This is the more appropriate since the commitments which America is asked to undertake relate to the Near East. As has been pointed out in the press, by Walter Lippman and others, the problems of the Near East are very intimately interrelated, and the American Government should not be content to deal with them piece-meal. It is not reasonable to ask our Government to take a decisive hand in stabilizing the situation in one part of that area while at the same time being compelled to

tolerate in another part of the same area a state of affairs which it regards as deeply unsatisfactory.

If America is to become active in the Near East, it should do so on its own terms and in accordance with its own policies and not merely as an adjunct of British policies. And if such a course is to involve the United States in Greece or Turkey, it certainly should include a satisfactory solution of the question of Palestine, a country in which the United States Government has an interest of long standing.

Viewed in this light, it is simply unthinkable that at a time when America is asked to contribute materially to international stabilization, Britain should continue to interpose obstacles to a just solution of the Palestine problem. It is remarkable, also, that in her appeal to America Britain should plead poverty and the Burden involved in maintaining 10,000 troops in Greece, while spending \$160,000,000 annually to keep 100,000 men mobilized in Palestine for the purpose of enforcing a policy in defiance of international law. In view of the growing dependence of Great Britain on American financial aid, it is no exaggeration to say that America is helping to finance the vast military establishment in Palestine and the military repression of its population.

Should the United States Government raise the Palestine issue in this context — and in view of the new commitments we are expected to make, — it is reasonable to believe that the British Government will prove far more amenable than heretofore.

The recent British gesture in referring the Palestine question to the United Nations does not affect the validity of this argument. It is no more than a gesture for the moment. The British decision is so vague, unaccompanied by any concrete proposals, and so carefully avoids committing Britain to abide by any decisions of the United Nations, that it amounts hardly to more than another delaying maneuver -- a repetition of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on a wider international scale. In the circumstances, our Government refused to become party to any United Nations inquiry pending clarification of the British position. Essentially, the issue remains one which has to be cleared with Britain directly, and in doing this the approach suggested above may prove effective.

3/13/47

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

MEMORANDUM

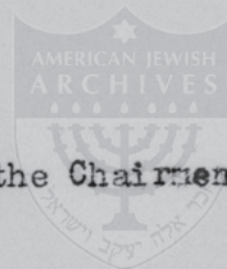
To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** March 28, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum was sent today to the Chairmen of Local
Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD
Enc.

WRHS



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* March 28, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

I wish to inform you that the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council has unanimously decided to invite the United Zionists-Revisionists of America to participate in the American Zionist Emergency Council and its Executive Committee. In keeping with the numerical proportion of the various Zionist groups represented on the Council, the United Zionists-Revisionists have been allotted one place on the Executive Committee and two places on the Council.

Accordingly, it is now in order for the local Emergency Councils to invite the Chapters of the United Zionists-Revisionists, wherever such Chapters exist, to participate in the meetings of the local Councils and of their various bodies. The representation to be accorded to the Zionists-Revisionists in the local Councils is to be determined by said Councils on the basis of the relative strength of the local Revisionist Chapters as compared to the strength of the other Zionist groups.

HLS:ALM

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 14, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE WEEK: MAY 4th-11th

In my memorandum to you of April 10th suggesting a program for "ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE WEEK", I promised to send you background material for speakers, editors, commentators, etc. Attached is a comprehensive memorandum covering the present situation. It may be used as the basis for any number of articles, editorials and addresses dealing with various aspects of the Palestine issue. Please feel free to reproduce it in part or as a whole for wide circulation among the molders of public opinion in your community.

Also attached are two drafts of resolutions which may be used as a basis for action by groups in your city.

If there are any meetings of national organizations scheduled in your community for the next three or four weeks, will you please advise us without delay.

Regards.

HLS:RB
Encs.



April, 1947

MEMORANDUM

1. With the publication of the British note to the United Nations of April 2nd, the Palestine issue entered a new phase. The text of the note follows:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom request the Secretary General of the United Nations to place the question of Palestine on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next regular annual session. They will submit to the Assembly an account of their administration of the League of Nations mandate and will ask the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter, concerning the future government of Palestine.

"In making this request, His Majesty's Government draw the attention of the Secretary General to the desirability of an early settlement in Palestine and to the risk that the General Assembly might not be able to decide upon its recommendations at its next regular annual session unless some preliminary study of the question had previously been made under the auspices of the United Nations. They therefore request the Secretary General to summon, as soon as possible, a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of constituting and instructing a special committee to prepare for the consideration, at the regular session of the Assembly, of the question referred to in the preceding paragraph."

2. Unfortunately, this new phase is not as decisive as appears on the surface. Careful reading of the note shows that Britain does not put its mandate for Palestine (a mandate which she holds from the League of Nations) at the disposal of the United Nations; nor does she offer to withdraw from Palestine; nor does she submit to the judgment of the United Nations regarding the legality of the regime now in force in that country; nor does she even commit herself to abide by whatever decisions the United Nations may reach regarding the future of Palestine. She merely asks for "recommendations"; without giving the slightest indication that she would consider herself bound by them.
3. This impression, which one gathers from the text of the British note, is further corroborated by well-authenticated newspaper reports. It will suffice to quote from two such reports:

"LONDON, April 2 -- The British have definitely decided not to relinquish their mandate in Palestine to the United Nations when the General Assembly meets to consider the Palestinian problem, it was learned in an authoritative quarter today.

"In fact, the British seem determined to reserve their position all along the line and, while they do not say that they would reject any United Nations' recommendations that they surrender their mandate, they point out that the General Assembly can make only recommendations, not decisions.

"Hence, any decision must, in the final analysis, be made by the British Government and not by the United Nations. This

means that the British, in effect, have given up nothing so far as Palestine is concerned. Moreover, it was made clear that they consider the present situation as 'frozen' until the United Nations makes its recommendations, if any . . . "

(N.Y. Times, April 3, 1947)

"LAKE SUCCESS, L. I., April 3 -- Great Britain has reserved her right to reject any United Nations decision on the future of Palestine, it was made clear today.

"The British request for General Assembly consideration of the Holy Land does not automatically commit London to acceptance of whatever the Assembly decides. At the same time, officials of the British delegation explained this afternoon, Great Britain is ready to give thorough consideration to any Assembly recommendation . . . "

(N.Y. Herald Tribune, April 4, 1947)

4. In the light of the above, the British action in referring the Palestine question to the United Nations, instead of being a genuine appeal to the international organization for a solution, assumes the character of a further play for time. By putting in motion international machinery of investigation and deliberation, the British government again hopes to evade demands that she modify her Palestine policy; she seeks to continue her present lawless regime pending the deliberations; and -- once "recommendations" are formulated -- she retains the freedom to disregard them.

This is not the first time that the British government has dealt in this manner with the Palestine problem. On the contrary, this has become the established pattern both for unilateral British inquiries and for international inquiries into the Palestine issue initiated by Britain:

A British Royal Commission (Peel Commission) in 1937 inquired into the British administration of Palestine, severely criticized that administration as unjust to the Jews, and recommended the partition of the country into Jewish and Arab States. This conclusion did not find favor with the British government. It thereupon appointed another Commission (Woodhead Commission) which reported in 1938 that the partition of the country was impracticable, and Britain could look forward to a further indefinite period of rule over Palestine.

To give herself an alibi further to curtail Jewish development in Palestine, Britain convoked a so-called "Round-Table Conference" on Palestine in the spring of 1939. None of the members of the League of Nations were invited. But Britain did invite the Arab States, which did not form part of the League and which have as little right to determine Palestine's destiny as Palestine has to determine their future.

When the Conference ended in failure -- as was universally expected -- the British Government made this an excuse to publish the "White Paper of 1939", a

document under which only 75,000 more Jews were to be admitted to Palestine and all further Jewish immigration into the Jewish National Home was to be subject to Arab consent; the Jewish population was to remain forever a minority; and severe discriminatory measures were to be enacted forbidding Jews to acquire property and to settle in 95% of the territory of Palestine.

In the same year, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations -- not a trumped-up especially-composed-and-selected gathering, but the competent international authority entrusted by the League with the task of supervising the administration of all mandatory regimes -- decided that the White Paper was contrary to the Mandate for Palestine. But since this finding of the international authority was unwelcome to the British Government, it was blithely ignored, and Palestine is governed to this very day under the terms of the White Paper, in flagrant violation of the Mandate.

When, with the end of the war, the plight of the uprooted Jews of Europe made the opening of Palestine a matter of extreme urgency, and the President of the United States requested that at least 100,000 of these uprooted Jews be admitted to Palestine immediately, the British Government, seeking to avoid action, proposed the appointment of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. This Committee, in April 1946, formulated a series of long-term proposals and a few recommendations for immediate action, viz., the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews and the abrogation of the discriminatory measures enacted under the White Paper.

These recommendations did not please the British Government. Therefore, they were ignored. Instead, the British proposed a further "study" of the Palestine problem by the United States and Great Britain. This "study" culminated in the so-called Morrison Plan, under which Palestine was to remain under British authority for an indefinite period, though an ostensible self-government scheme was to be offered to Arabs and Jews, respectively, in some parts of the country; in fact, however, these rights of self-government were nullified by provisions for British supervision and veto. Provided that Arabs and Jews both agreed to such perpetuation of British rule, 100,000 Jews were to be allowed to enter Palestine at the rate of 4,000 a month, but further Jewish immigration into most of Palestine was to be made impossible and their immigration into the so-called "Jewish province" was to be subject to British veto.

When this all-too-transparent proposal was rejected by the President of the United States, and the British Government once more faced pressure for immediate action, it resorted again to the device of a "round-table conference" with Jews, Palestine Arabs, and representatives of the Arab States. Again the British posed as selfless mediators attempting to bring together two "unreasonable" parties.

But the device was used once too often and no longer deceived anyone. Faced with mounting criticism, at home and abroad, of its handling of the Palestine problem, the British Government had to try something new. It referred the Palestine issue to the United Nations. For a few weeks, while the precise terms under which the United Nations would deal with this problem were not yet known, sections of public opinion had thought that this time the British Government was indeed inviting the judgment and decision of an impartial international body. But now that the note to the United Nations has been published and commented upon by British officials, it is plain that again we have nothing more than a procrastinating device on the part of the British Government which is as determined as ever to pursue a policy universally recognized as iniquitous and lawless.

6. It is now almost generally understood that British policy in Palestine springs from utterly selfish motives. Growing recognition is given to the fact that this policy is even more specifically determined by the personal and group interests of a small clique of British Colonial officials unwilling to abdicate their present position. Nevertheless, British official documents and unofficial comments continue to insist that Britain's interest in Palestine is unselfish, detached, motivated by humanitarian considerations alone, and that her difficulties there are not of her own making but are the tragic result of the attempt of the fair-minded British rulers to do equal justice to two antagonists. To make this picture more plausible, British politicians went out of their way to encourage and stimulate Arab opposition to Jews. Having done so, they point to this same Arab opposition as a reason for evading their responsibilities.

7. Though few illusions remain regarding British intentions in "submitting" the Palestine issue to the United Nations, the very fact that this issue has been placed on the agenda of the international organization offers a challenge and an opportunity: even if Great Britain means to ignore those recommendations of the United Nations which she finds annoying, this does not free the members of that great body from their responsibility to offer such recommendations as are warranted by the facts. All international progress is based upon the idea that some day individual governments, however defiant of the enlightened opinion of civilized mankind and however brazen in their violation of international law, will come to the point of respecting the judgment of humanity. This is also the ultimate hope which may be held out in connection with Palestine, and one should expect, therefore, that the individual governments of which the United Nations is composed will not make themselves accomplices in the crime committed by Great Britain, but will give their judgment as their conscience bids them.

8. Specifically, the governments composing the United Nations will have to guard watchfully against being drawn in by Great Britain into any expression of approval or appreciation of the record of the British administration in Palestine, however vague or innocuous its wording might be. It should be realized that, even though the British may disregard the positive recommendations of the United Nations regarding the future of Palestine, they will interpret the least expression of approval of their past record as a sanction by the international body to continue their arbitrary regime. If the United Nations go into the record of the British Administration at all, they should pass true judgment on it in the light of the international Mandate which that Administration was sworn to uphold. If they are not prepared to do that, the least one may expect of them is not to abet the continuation of past iniquities for the sake of international courtesy.

9. As a matter of fact, it would be highly desirable if the United Nations, before addressing themselves to the question of Palestine's future, should take up the issue of the consistency of Palestine's present regime with existing international agreements. After all, the United Nations is the guardian of international law, and is dedicated to the proposition that valid treaties should be observed. The violation of the League of Nations Mandate is so clear that it is wholly within the jurisdiction of the United Nations Assembly to express itself on this question. United Nations bodies have already been asked to take a stand on several issues which involved questions of international law: the dispute between the U.S.S.R. and Iran, the dispute between South Africa and India, and the dispute between Great Britain and Albania; and in two out of these three cases, the United Nations did take a stand. On the other hand, the United Nations may prefer to refer the question of the legality of the present regime in Palestine under international law to the International Court of Justice set up under Chapter XIV of the United Nations

Charter. This procedure would be more time-consuming but equally proper. Whichever of these two procedures is adopted, it is to be devoutly hoped that, in one way or another, a truly impartial judgment on the legality of British rule in Palestine will be rendered.

10. Before agreeing to take any action on the British request, it would be highly proper for the United Nations Assembly to request and obtain assurances from British authorities that its findings will be observed by them. The Government of the United States has just given a statesmanlike proof of its attitude toward the United Nations by agreeing to modify a most important part of current American foreign policy (our assistance to Greece and Turkey) at the request of a simple majority of the United Nations Security Council. It is, therefore, quite in order to suggest that Britain should agree to submit to the findings of a majority of the United Nations Assembly (to which body, rather than to the United Nations Security Council, the British had chosen to bring the Palestine problem) without reserving to itself the right to refuse compliance with these findings. Anything less would make the United Nations appear ridiculous.

11. It has been pointed out by British spokesmen that Britain cannot commit herself to accept findings of the United Nations which would require her, as the Power in control of Palestine, to carry on a policy which she is not prepared to undertake. This may, at most, be a reason for relieving Britain of her present position of responsibility for and authority over Palestine. But in all fairness, this cannot be considered a valid argument against making recommendations which are called for by the facts of the situation.

12. In formulating substantive recommendations regarding Palestine's future, the member-governments of the United Nations should keep in mind the need to distinguish between the immediate future and a long-range solution. If no such distinction is made, it would be easy for the British to keep staving off a long-range solution, thus making it possible for themselves to continue the present brutal regime in Palestine for an indefinite period. It would be highly appropriate, therefore, to pass a preliminary set of interim recommendations designed to bring present British administration in Palestine into line with existing international law, and to pass to the consideration of long-range recommendations only if and when the British government will have agreed to abide by the interim recommendations. The minimum interim policy upon which every fair-minded person may insist should be the abolition of the discriminatory racial measures now in force in Palestine and the re-opening of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration in accordance with the Mandate.

13. It is hoped that when the United Nations approach the task of formulating a long-range solution for Palestine they will keep in mind that the social, economic, and political reasons which prompted the League of Nations a generation ago to sanction the idea of a Jewish National Home that would develop in time into a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, have not become less compelling. On the contrary, if the need for a Jewish National Home was clear to the statesmen of a generation ago, it should be even more obvious to their successors of today. Nor have any other attendant circumstances changed so as to militate against the continuation of the Jewish National Home policy. Economically, the history of Jewish colonization in the intervening decades has dispelled any doubts as to whether a Jewish Commonwealth is feasible. Politically, the setting-aside of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people was part of a general settlement under which about one million square miles were established as territories of the future Arab States; these States have now all come into being and have assumed their places as members of the family of nations, leaving unfulfilled only that part of the settlement which concerns the development of Palestine as the Jewish National Home. Finally, the Jewish rights to Palestine confirmed in a series of valid documents (the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the Resolution of the Principal Allied Powers at San Remo in 1920, the League of Nations Mandate of 1922, the United States-British Palestine Convention of 1924) of which the Jewish people is the beneficiary, have created a position in which Jewish rights to Palestine have been recognized and may no longer be denied without Jewish consent. Legally as well as morally, the future status of Palestine must, therefore, be based on the right of the Jewish people to re-establish Palestine as the territory destined to become the Jewish State.

14. The above considerations apply to each and every member of the United Nations. They apply particularly to the Government of the United States. Our Government has assumed a position of moral leadership in world affairs. It has acted on this assumption in the Near East and within the United Nations. When it comes to the problem of Palestine, it stands particularly committed by a long series of official acts and pronouncements beginning with President Wilson's endorsement of the Balfour Declaration; a Joint Resolution of Congress in favor of the Jewish National Home policy, adopted under President Harding; a treaty ratified by President Coolidge; and ending with a current Resolution of the U.S. Congress in December 1945 and official pronouncements by the President of the United States in October 1946.

15. All these documents are too lengthy to quote in this memorandum, but it may be useful to recall the most recent resolution of Congress on this subject:

"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."

16. It is hoped, therefore, that now that the Government of the United States is called upon to deal with the Palestine question not only in its individual capacity but also as a leading member of the United Nations, it will take a clear and unequivocal stand in support of the policy to which it is so clearly committed, and the righteousness and wisdom of which the leaders of the American people have so often and clearly affirmed. It should be realized that many of the smaller governments of the United Nations will follow the lead of the Government of the United States in this matter, as in many other matters. Any sign of weakness, hesitation or compromise with principle on the part of the mighty United States will induce many other governments within the United Nations to deal with the problem in a similar manner. In that case, the resolutions of the United Nations will be vague, opportunistic, and ineffective. Justice will be the loser, nor will the name of the United States be enhanced. If, on the other hand, the President of the United States instructs the American delegation to the United Nations to uphold forthrightly the cause of justice in this matter, we may feel certain that most countries of the world will rally around our Government. Whatever the subsequent attitude of Great Britain, the United Nations, under the leadership of our own country, will then have done its duty.



DRAFT OF RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the British Government's action in submitting the Palestine question to the General Assembly of the United Nations has been revealed as an empty gesture since, by its own admission, the British Government will not be bound to execute recommendations that may be forthcoming from that body; and

WHEREAS, the British Government has repeatedly violated its obligations as the Mandatory of Palestine by repudiating the solemn pledges expressed in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate with regard to the facilitation of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the continued development of the Jewish National Home; and

WHEREAS, the British Government has imposed totalitarian measures of repression on the entire Jewish Community of Palestine; and

WHEREAS, the plight of the Jewish survivors in Europe is steadily worsening, making it imperative that they leave that hostile continent at the earliest moment; and

WHEREAS, the seizure and mass deportation to Cyprus of so-called "illegal" Jewish immigrants constitute a brutal campaign against helpless men, women and children, completely inconsistent with the principles of the Atlantic Charter; and

WHEREAS, such immigrants embark for the Holy Land as of their legal right, since the White Paper of 1939, which bars their entry, was repudiated by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as inconsistent with the Palestine Mandate -- thus making illegal the policy pursued by the British Administration; and

WHEREAS, the Government of the United States of America, through the passage of resolutions in both Houses of Congress, and through planks in the platforms of both major political parties, is pledged to free Jewish immigration into the Holy Land and the establishment in Palestine of a free and democratic

Jewish Commonwealth;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we respectfully call upon the Government of the United States to take the initiative during the forthcoming special meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in vigorously championing the program for Palestine which it has repeatedly reaffirmed, thereby defeating the British Government's attempt to employ the United Nations session as a maneuver to retain its present Palestine policy;

AND, be it further resolved that pending a final settlement of this question by the United Nations the great weight of the United States Government should be brought to bear on the Mandatory Government to the end that an interim policy based upon the existing Mandate be set into motion at once providing for immediate large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine and the removal forthwith of the discriminatory land restrictions in the Jewish National Home.

* * * *

DRAFT OF RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the motives of the British Government in submitting the Palestine issue to the United Nations have been laid open to question by the public admission of British official spokesmen that Great Britain will not be bound to accept the United Nations' recommendations on Palestine; and

WHEREAS, by its refusal to implement the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's unanimous recommendation that 100,000 homeless Jews be admitted into Palestine immediately -- despite the assurance of British Foreign Secretary Bevin that unanimous recommendations would be acted upon without delay -- the British Government has demonstrated that it will accept the decisions of international bodies only when such decisions harmonize with Britain's present illegal policy on Palestine; and

WHEREAS, the British Government's action in referring the question of Palestine to the United Nations is, therefore, the latest in a long series of delaying tactics, designed to evade Great Britain's clear obligations under the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine; and

WHEREAS, the British Government is today enforcing the 1939 White Paper policy, declared illegal by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and condemned by men of good will in every land; and

WHEREAS, that policy has produced indescribable suffering and hardship for the homeless Jewish victims of Nazi persecution who still wait for deliverance in the Displaced Persons' Camps of Europe, and has also converted the Jewish National Home into an armed camp where the British Administration imposes totalitarian measures of repression against the entire Jewish community; and

WHEREAS, the mass deportation to Cyprus of homeless Jews seeking to reach their internationally-guaranteed Homeland is a flagrant violation of every moral concept of the democratic world; and

WHEREAS, the Government and people of the United States of America, through

the passage of Resolutions in both Houses of Congress, through planks in the platforms of both major political parties, and through declarations of the Presidents of the United States, are committed to the policy laid down by the framers of the Palestine Mandate: free Jewish immigration into Palestine so that the Jewish people may reconstitute that country as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth; and

WHEREAS, the Jewish people throughout the world, together with millions of American citizens of all races and creeds, now look to the United States to demonstrate that it is resolved to uphold the Palestine policy which it has pledged to support, and thus bring justice to a long-suffering and tragically persecuted people; and

WHEREAS, such a stand by the United States would nullify the British Government's current attempt to employ the United Nations as a delaying device and to seek international sanction for its present illegal policy on Palestine;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we respectfully call upon the President of the United States to take all necessary steps to insure that during the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations the delegate of the United States shall advocate the program for Palestine which our country has reaffirmed time and again; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we call upon the President of the United States to bring the great weight of the United States Government to bear on the Mandatory Government to the end that pending a final settlement of the Palestine issue by the United Nations, an interim policy based upon the terms of the existing Mandate for Palestine be set into motion at once -- a policy providing for immediate large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine and the removal forthwith of the discriminatory land restrictions in the Jewish National Home; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this Resolution go forward to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State, the American Delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and members of both Houses of the Congress of the United States.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** April 16, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed are three important items.

1. A reprint from the April Atlantic Monthly of Eliahu Ben-Horin's splendid reply to W. T. Stace's anti-Zionist "Zionist Illusion" which appeared in the February issue of the Atlantic Monthly.

You will find Mr. Ben-Horin's reply a useful analysis of the frequently heard argument that a Zionist solution for Palestine negates the democratic right of self-determination. The article may be obtained in limited quantity from this office.

2. A statement issued yesterday by the Jewish Agency which deals with the coming special session of the United Nations.

3. A release issued today by the American Christian Palestine Committee on the occasion of one of its Regional Conferences in Memphis, Tennessee. Similar action can be duplicated in every local community in accordance with the lines of policy which have already been communicated to you.

Regards.

HLS:RB
Encs.

STATEMENT OF JEWISH AGENCY -- APRIL 15, 1947

After two years of delay, the future of the Jewish people in Palestine is at last on the international agenda. In a previous international decision, the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their national homeland there were recognized by the League of Nations, when in 1922 it approved the Palestine Mandate. One of the last acts of that body was the rejection, by its Permanent Mandates Commission, as inconsistent with the Mandate, of the restrictions imposed by the Palestine White Paper, just before the outbreak of war in 1939. Great Britain's violation of the Mandate was allowed to continue without authoritative international challenge only because the League ceased to function and there was no international forum to which the Jewish people could turn for redress.

Most of the nations now in the UN, as members of the League, were parties to the covenant with the Jewish people. The Jewish people look to the UN, as trustee of the world's conscience, to maintain the integrity of that undertaking.

Events of the last 25 years, and in particular the experience of the last war, have proved the justice and the urgent necessity of fulfilling the high purpose of the Mandate. The growth of the Jewish National Home has vindicated the vision of 1922. The tragic fate of the Jews of Europe, 6,000,000 of whom were destroyed by Hitler savagery, has accentuated the urgency of action to enable the destitute and dispossessed survivors to rebuild their lives in the land of their choice.

It is almost two years since the war ended in Europe. It was hoped that long before this, the Jews would have been helped back to a normal life. But every obstacle has been placed in their way. The reopening of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration has been cruelly and indefensibly delayed. In makeshift camps in Germany and Austria, in internment camps in Cyprus, behind barbed wire in Palestine itself, the Jews count off wasted days, waiting for liberation and reconstruction.

These people are on the brink of despair. Further delay may mean a new catastrophe for a people that suffered as no other in the war. It is imperative that the General Assembly act quickly and firmly. Pending an inquiry into the problem of a long-term solution of the Palestine question, the General Assembly could well exercise its great moral and political authority to invalidate the illegal provisions of the White Paper. The General Assembly should call upon the Mandatory Power to conform in the interim period to the plain letter of the Palestine Mandate, to reopen Palestine to Jewish immigration on a scale commensurate with present needs and to remove the existing measures of racial discrimination which restrict Jewish settlement on the land and which are repugnant to the principles of the UN Charter.

PRESS RELEASE

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

• MURRAY HILL 2-4917 •

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE URGES PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO INSTRUCT

U. S. DELEGATES TO U.N. TO SUPPORT

"ESTABLISHED AMERICAN POLICY ON PALESTINE" AT SPECIAL SESSION

- - - - -

MEMPHIS GROUP ALSO CALLS FOR INTERIM POLICY THAT WILL INSURE IMMEDIATE

LARGE-SCALE JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE

- - - - -

Memphis, Tenn., April 15 -- Christian leaders of this city today wired President Truman and Acting Secretary of State Acheson to direct U. S. Delegates to the April 28th Special Palestine Session of the U.N. General Assembly to act in accordance with "established American policy on Palestine."

The prominent spokesmen, meeting in a Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee, defined American policy on Palestine as that "expressed by Congressional Resolutions, in the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, by endorsements of all Presidents since Woodrow Wilson, in the platforms of both political parties and by American acceptance of the recommendations for immediate action of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry."

The Memphis leaders, headed by former U. S. Representative Walter Chandler and Rev. Marshall Wingfield, also urged that the American delegation to the U.N. "press for the implementation of an interim policy to insure the entry into Palestine of at least 100,000 unfortunate refugees, who are part of a much larger number now living in detention camps and displaced persons' centers in Europe and on Cyprus."

(more)

The Conference called the President's attention to the fact that the terms under which Great Britain referred the Palestine question to the United Nations gave "no assurance that the decisions of the United Nations will be accepted by the Mandatory power."

"Under these circumstances, it would appear that the displaced persons can look forward to nothing but indefinite delay in the response of the world to their plea and those basic human rights which have been so long denied them. It is, therefore, evident that our Government must uphold an interim policy of expanded immigration into Palestine," the Conference declared.

The full text of the telegram follows:

"A GROUP OF REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTIAN CITIZENS MEETING THIS 15th DAY OF APRIL IN THE CITY OF MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE MEMPHIS CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE RESPECTFULLY ASKS THAT THE AMERICAN DELEGATES ATTENDING THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY OPENING ON APRIL 28th BE INSTRUCTED TO SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHED AMERICAN POLICY ON PALESTINE, AS EXPRESSED BY CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS, IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1924, BY ENDORSEMENTS OF ALL PRESIDENTS SINCE WOODROW WILSON, IN THE PLATFORMS OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES AND BY AMERICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

"WE ASK FURTHER THAT THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AT THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY ON APRIL 28th PRESS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AN INTERIM POLICY TO INSURE THE ENTRY INTO PALESTINE OF AT LEAST 100,000 UNFORTUNATE REFUGEES WHO ARE PART OF A MUCH LARGER NUMBER NOW LIVING IN DETENTION CAMPS AND DISPLACED PERSONS' CENTERS IN EUROPE AND ON CYPRUS. BOTH YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND UNDERSECRETARY DEAN ACHESON HAVE USED YOUR GOOD OFFICES ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS TO BRING ABOUT THE MOVEMENT OF THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE TO THE ONLY PLACE ON EARTH TO WHICH THEY DESIRE TO GO AND WHERE THEY MAY ESTABLISH FOR THEMSELVES A NEW LIFE. DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE UNANIMOUS RECOMMENDATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN

(more)

COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY, THE DOORS TO PALESTINE REMAIN CLOSED TO THESE HELPLESS PEOPLE.

"NOW ANOTHER COMMITTEE IS ABOUT TO BE FORMED AND PRECIOUS TIME WILL BE LOST IN THE STUDY OF A SITUATION WHICH HAS BEEN STUDIED SO OFTEN BEFORE. MORE TIME WILL THEN ELAPSE WHILE THE UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERS THE REPORT OF THIS COMMITTEE. EVEN THEN THERE ARE NO ASSURANCES THAT THE DECISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL BE ACCEPTED BY THE MANDATORY POWER.

"UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE DISPLACED PERSONS CAN LOOK FORWARD TO NOTHING BUT INDEFINITE DELAY IN THE RESPONSE OF THE WORLD TO THEIR PLEA AND THOSE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH HAVE BEEN SO LONG DENIED THEM.

"IT IS THEREFORE EVIDENT THAT OUR GOVERNMENT MUST UPHOLD AN INTERIM POLICY OF EXPANDED IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE. RECOGNIZING THIS, WE AGAIN RESPECTFULLY URGE THAT OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UNITED NATIONS DELEGATION RECEIVE FROM YOU DEFINITE DIRECTIVES TO FULFILL THE PLEDGES MADE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE TRUST THAT THE STATED AMERICAN POLICY ON PALESTINE WILL BE IMPLEMENTED THROUGH ITS SPOKESMEN AT THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY."

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W104 - 4/16/47

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 23, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

Many splendid reports have been received from communities as to the progress of action which they are initiating during the ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE WEEK: MAY 4th-11th. If you have not sent in your report as yet, please do so at your very earliest convenience.

Attached are a number of items which may be of use to your committee during the program on which you have embarked:

1. A sample editorial - Palestine Before the UN.
2. A series of radio spot announcements.
3. A sample resolution, which should replace those sent to you last week.

Attached are two items of information:

1. A letter from the American section of the Jewish Agency to the United Nations.
2. A press release of the Jewish Agency dealing with Egypt's request for an immediate Arab solution.

Regards.

HLS:RB
Encs.

PALESTINE BEFORE THE UN

In submitting the Palestine question to the United Nations, Great Britain has apparently not risked relinquishing her present control over the Holy Land. It is now rather clear that the gentlemen of the Foreign Office are granting themselves a "referee's time-out" in their game of Middle East power politics.

Here is an almost unbelievable phenomenon. Great Britain will participate in the judgment of a case in the triple role of judge, jury and Supreme Court, whereas, in point of fact, her part should be that of the defendant. Britain will reserve the prerogative of either accepting or rejecting the recommendations of the UN, depending on whether they harmonize with Mr. Bevin's anti-Zionist policy on Palestine.

When the British Government first announced its intention of submitting the Palestine problem to the General Assembly of the United Nations, it was believed by some that this was an honest effort to settle a long drawn-out political muddle. But no sooner was the question formally presented than Great Britain indicated her real motives in taking this step. British official spokesmen emphasized that the General Assembly is empowered to make only recommendations and not decisions, and that recommendations handed down by the United Nations, would not automatically be binding upon the British Government. Thus, if the Assembly makes recommendations which prove to be at odds with present British policy these will be given "due consideration" -- which means that they will be ignored. If, on the other hand, the UN should permit itself to be used as an instrument of the British Foreign Office and underwrite the present British attempts to liquidate the Jewish National Home, His Majesty's Government will lose no time in putting such UN recommendations into effect.

This tragic farce can be averted only if the United States brings all of its prestige and a sense of justice to the meetings at Lake Success. If the United States acts in accordance with its commitments on Palestine and takes the initiative in championing the Jewish cause, only then will the United Nations become an instrument of decision and justice. However, if the United States evades its responsibilities, then Great Britain will be able to utilize fifty-five nations to further her present illegal policies.

* * *

RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT NUMBER ONE

This is ACTION FOR PALESTINE week. This is the crucial moment, when the fate of the Jewish people is about to be decided. Every American with a sense of fair play should today raise his voice on the side of justice.

Only recently President Truman stated: QUOTE, It is only natural that this Government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there, but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, UNQUOTE.

President Truman spoke for America. Those words must now be backed up by decisive American action within the United Nations. Write today to President Truman. Urge that our Government take its stand in the United Nations now in accordance with our pledges to the Jewish people.

This is the time to prove that America means what it says.

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT NUMBER TWO

This is a call to action: Action to put an end to the suffering of the homeless Jewish refugees in Europe. Action to remove a blot from the conscience of the civilized world. Action to fulfill America's pledges to the Jewish people.

The United States has always supported the Jewish National Home in Palestine and is committed to a policy of free Jewish immigration into Palestine. The Congress of the United States has adopted resolutions favoring this policy. Every president of the United States -- from Woodrow Wilson to Harry S. Truman -- has voiced his support of this policy.

The crucial moment is now! This is ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE week. Write to President Truman today and urge that our country take the initiative in the United Nations to do justice to the Jewish people.

RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT NUMBER THREE

In 1919 President Woodrow Wilson said: QUOTE, 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 foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth, UNQUOTE.

That has been America's position down to the present day. The time has now come to re-state that position in clear and definite terms in the United Nations.

This is ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE week, when every American who wants to do justice to the long-suffering Jewish people and who wants his country's pledges honored, should raise his voice for American action in the United Nations.

Write to President Truman today and ask that our delegate to the United Nations speak out for the American policy on Palestine.

Let's prove that America intends to honor its pledges.

RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT NUMBER FOUR

Attention, Americans! If you believe that resolutions of the Congress of the United States should be honored -- if you want the official statements of our Government respected, then this is the time for you to speak up.

The Congress of the United States has said that the American people want free Jewish immigration into Palestine. American policy in favor of the Jewish National Home has been stated by President Woodrow Wilson, President Warren G. Harding, President Calvin Coolidge, President Herbert Hoover, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Harry S. Truman.

That policy should now be stated by America in the United Nations. Write to President Truman today and insist that American pledges shall be kept, that America shall take the initiative in the United Nations to redeem our promises to those suffering men, women and children who look to Palestine for salvation.

DRAFT OF RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the British Government's action in submitting the Palestine question to the General Assembly of the United Nations has been revealed as an empty gesture since, by its own admission, the British Government will not be bound to execute recommendations that may be forthcoming from that body; and

WHEREAS, the British Government has repeatedly violated its obligations as the Mandatory of Palestine by repudiating the solemn pledges expressed in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate with regard to the facilitation of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the continued development of the Jewish National Home; and

WHEREAS, the British Government has imposed totalitarian measures of repression on the entire Jewish Community of Palestine; and

WHEREAS, the plight of the Jewish survivors in Europe is steadily worsening, making it imperative that they leave that hostile continent at the earliest moment; and

WHEREAS, the seizure and mass deportation to Cyprus of so-called "illegal" Jewish immigrants constitute a brutal campaign against helpless men, women and children, completely inconsistent with the principles of the Atlantic Charter; and

WHEREAS, such immigrants embark for the Holy Land as of their legal right, since the White Paper of 1939, which bars their entry, was repudiated by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as inconsistent with the Palestine Mandate -- thus making illegal the policy pursued by the British Administration; and

WHEREAS, the Government of the United States of America, through the passage of resolutions in both Houses of Congress, and through planks in the platforms of both major political parties, is pledged to free Jewish immigration into the Holy Land and the establishment in Palestine of a free and democratic

Jewish Commonwealth;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we respectfully call upon the Government of the United States to take the initiative during the forthcoming special meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in vigorously championing the program for Palestine which it has repeatedly reaffirmed, thereby defeating the British Government's attempt to employ the United Nations session as a maneuver to retain its present Palestine policy;

AND, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we call upon the Government of the United States to insist that the Jewish people, as the party most directly concerned, be accorded full representation in all deliberations regarding Palestine within the United Nations through the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the internationally recognized body authorized to speak for the Jewish people;

AND, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that pending a final settlement of this question by the United Nations the great weight of the United States Government should be brought to bear on the Mandatory Government to the end that an interim policy based upon the existing Mandate be set into motion at once providing for immediate large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine and the removal forthwith of the discriminatory land restrictions in the Jewish National Home.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this Resolution go forward to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State, the American Delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and members of both Houses of the Congress of the United States.

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THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
16 East 66 Street, New York 21, N. Y.

April 22, 1947

The Honorable
Trygve Lie
Secretary-General of the United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Sir:

I have the honor, on behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, to make the following submissions with reference to the forthcoming special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which is to deal with the matter of Palestine.

2. A grave question arises in connection with this meeting, owing to the non-representation in the General Assembly of the Jewish people which is so vitally and immediately concerned with the outcome of the Assembly's deliberations. By contrast, five states, members of the Arab League, who have completely identified themselves with the interests of another party directly involved, the Arabs of Palestine, will be in a position to participate in all discussions and to vote on the issues to come before the Assembly. Great Britain, whose record as Mandatory Power will be submitted to the judgment of the General Assembly, will also be entitled to speak and vote on questions concerning her own conduct.

3. By the terms of Article 21 of the Charter of the United Nations the General Assembly has complete authority over its own procedure. The existing "Provisional Rules of Procedure for the General Assembly" are, as their title implies, still in the process of development and are undergoing constant change. A ruling can easily be effected to authorize the attendance of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, as a body representing under the Palestine Mandate the Jewish people, at the meetings of the special session and its participation in the discussion. In this connection, it may be recalled that the Charter of the United Nations, in Article 80, safeguards the rights established by existing international instruments of peoples as distinguished from states. The Palestine Mandate of the League of Nations, as one of these international instruments, acknowledges the existence of the Jewish people and, pursuant to that Mandate, the Jewish Agency for Palestine has been recognized as the authorized representative of the Jewish people in relation to Palestine.

4. In these special circumstances, and having regard to the far-reaching import of the points at issue for the future of the Jewish people, the grant of the Jewish Agency's request appears to be a matter of simple justice. Decisions are vitally affected by the methods by which they are reached and contain the characteristics of their genesis. Just decisions are not likely to result from unjust procedures and it would offend the most elementary notions of fair play if one party to a controversy should be represented in its adjudication, while the other party should be excluded. Nor would inequitable procedures be consonant with the ideals and principles of the United Nations whose Charter, both in its Preamble and Article I, recognizes justice and respect for international law as basic canons of conduct. There

is, moreover, precedent for the representations before the United Nations of interested parties who are not members of the United Nations. Thus, it will be recalled that discussion before the Security Council of the British-Albanian dispute concerning the mining of the Corfu waters was delayed for weeks until the arrival of the Albanian representative. Not only was Albania not a member of the United Nations, but its Government had not received general international recognition.

5. It is, accordingly, in conformity with equity, international law and the precedents of the United Nations that the Jewish people, through the Jewish Agency for Palestine, be afforded an opportunity to participate, even though without vote, in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the Palestine question, subject only to the powers vested in the President of the General Assembly.

6. The Jewish Agency would greatly appreciate the transmission of a copy of this note to the President of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly and to the heads of the Delegations to this session with the object of enabling its representatives to attend the session and to take part in its discussions.

Sincerely yours,

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman

American Section
Jewish Agency for Palestine

AHS:LNF



PRESS RELEASE

C
O
P
Y

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
16 East 66 Street, New York 21, N. Y.

For Immediate Release

New York, N. Y., April 22, 1947

The following statement was made by a spokesman for the Jewish Agency for Palestine today:

The Egyptian proposal calling on the United Nations to terminate the Palestine Mandate and declare Palestine an independent state would violate the international covenant to assist the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine.

Thus a nation which did not lift a finger to fight the Axis in the war, aims a blow at a people which fought in all the Allied armies of the world and lost 6,000,000 men, women and children in Europe. The world has not forgotten that Jewish soldiers from Palestine fought to repel Axis troops from Egyptian soil, while the Egyptians themselves remained aloof from the conflict until February 1945, when it was virtually over.

In the forthcoming sessions of the UN, the Jewish Agency for Palestine will ask for the fulfillment of the Palestine Mandate, whose primary purpose was to insure the establishment of the Jewish National Home. If the agenda of the special session can be broadened to include items other than the appointment of a commission, the one urgent question demanding priority of consideration is the immediate relaxation of existing restrictions, which, in violation of the Mandate, bar homeless Jews from entry into their rightful home and subject the Jewish citizens of Palestine to an intolerable racial disability as regards freedom of settlement in their country.

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date May 8, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached are two reprints:

1. "Palestine is the Test", an editorial which appeared in the New York Post on the day of the opening of the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

2. A recent article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer.

Both of these reprints are available in limited quantities.

Also attached are a group of excerpts from the New York press during the past few days which refer to the attitude of the U. S. Government in this special meeting of the General Assembly.

Since the UN has granted a hearing to the Jewish Agency, we have received a number of inquiries with reference to continuing community action during the period in which the UN will complete its preliminary work. The answer to these inquiries is that we should continue to press our Government with every means at our command to take the initiative in the UN in accordance with the publicly declared policies of our Government on Palestine. We should also insist that our Government use its good offices that, pending the decision of the UN, Jewish immigration in substantial numbers be permitted into Palestine.

IMPORTANT!! In my memorandum to you of April 10th, I requested that each local committee try to secure the passage of a resolution by your City Council or Board of Aldermen. To date, a number of communities have reported such action but not enough progress has been made in this direction. If you have not attempted this type of action, will you proceed immediately to secure such a resolution. I should like to hear from you as to the result of your effort.

The response by communities on Action-For-Palestine Week has been splendid and has had its effect in Washington. We must not stop now! We must continue the pressure. I am very hopeful that through this pressure we may move our Government to aid us during this critical moment.

Regards.

HLS:RB
Encs.

THE U. S. ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS
SPECIAL SESSION ON PALESTINE

Excerpts From New York Press Dispatches Reporting
The Attitude Of The U. S. Delegation On The Question Of
Jewish Agency Participation

March 4, 1947 - Herald Tribune - by John G. Rogers

As the debate ground on through a busy day, with the final result certain to confirm Friday's decisions by the Assembly's powerful General Committee, the United States once again led in asserting that while the Jewish Agency should be heard before the Assembly's Political Committee it has no rightful place in the parliament of sovereign governments.

Mr. Austin said, in summary, that the Charter indicates clearly that only sovereign governments shall sit in the Assembly - "probably the greatest parliamentary body in the world."

No legislature, he said, ever admits outsiders to its sessions proper, but the cause of outsiders is not neglected because legislative committees are the traditional forum for the taking of outside testimony.

Because yesterday's agenda before the full Assembly was limited to the item of merely referring applications for a Jewish voice to the Political Committee, Mr. Austin did not digress to the point of coming out sharply to say again just how the United States would stand when the Political Committee takes up the debate on that point.

May 4, 1947 - PM - by Victor H. Bernstein

Most observers agree that of all victories achieved here by the U.S.A in the past, this one was least savored by the victors. For in getting across a plan for Jewish representation before a UN committee, Austin had to oppose vigorously Polish-Soviet-Czech support for the Agency's own demand: representation before the General Assembly itself.

The vote on the Czech-Polish proposition to invite the Agency to appear before the Assembly was eight to three, with three abstentions. Canada, France, China, the U.S.A., Britain, India, Egypt and Sweden voted against; Russia, Czechoslovakia and Poland voted for it; Brazil, Honduras and Ecuador abstained.

Indeed, from the very beginning of this special session, the U.S.A. has found itself supporting only half-heartedly, and at times opposing vigorously, the steps favored by Zionists whose aspirations this country has supported repeatedly through decades.

The tactical moves he has had to make to fulfill Washington policy must, at times, have galled Austin, who has long been known as a sympathizer of the

Jewish cause in Palestine. Nevertheless, Jewish observers here agree, he has been forced to drop the ball - only to see it picked up by Poland, with the Czechs and the Russians running valiant interference.

The fact is that, had not pressure outside and inside the UN forced the U.S.A. to change its line, this special session would have chosen a Palestine inquiry commission in cut-and-dried fashion, with the votes and voices of five Arab states having played a part in the deliberations but with the Jews reduced to corridor handouts and press room monologues.

May 5, 1947 - Post - by John Hohenberg

The U.S. suddenly agreed today to accept a compromise which would give the Jewish Agency a hearing before the political committee of the U.N. General Assembly, but there were indications an attempt would be made to restrict the Jewish role.

May 5, 1947 - Sun - by Harold Brown

In one of the most significant behind-the-scenes moves of the morning session at Flushing Meadows Park, the United States decided to go along with a compromise move that would have the Assembly inviting the Jewish Agency for Palestine to testify before its political committee.

The assembly had before it a United States resolution calling on the assembly to refer requests for hearings by the Jewish Agency and other groups to the political committee for decision. It also had before it a Czecho-Slovakian proposal for the assembly to invite the Agency to appear before it in full session.

It was to reconcile these two viewpoints that the five compromise proposals were showered upon the world body today.

During the morning the United States position was subject to several shifts, but finally wound up as favoring one of the compromises.

May 5, 1947 - Journal American

The United States yielded today to Slav-Latin American pressure to accord Jewish representatives limited voice at the United Nations special sessions on Palestine.

A softening of the American attitude, however, was not completely ruled out when a U.S. spokesman said the U.S. delegation would be guided by developments on the Assembly floor today.

May 5, 1947 - World Telegram - by Robert Manning

The United States under strong pressure from other members did a policy flip-flop. The first resolution before the Assembly was the U.S. proposal which would let the Political Committee decide whether to hear the Jews. The other five resolutions, offered as compromises, would direct the Political Committee to invite Jewish Agency spokesmen to appear.

May 5, 1947 - Times - by Thomas J. Hamilton

There seems to be general agreement that there should be Jewish representation in the committee and that the choice should be the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

This seemed to be the position taken by Warren R. Austin, the United States representative, in the closing debates last week. Mr. Austin's resolution, however, provided merely that the Assembly should refer the question of Jewish representation to the committee. Delegations expert on parliamentary procedure criticized Mr. Austin's procedure because it meant three debates instead of two, or possibly one.

These experts said that, assuming the United States wanted the Jewish Agency recognized by the committee, it would have saved much time if Mr. Austin had introduced a resolution to this effect in the General Committee.

Mr. Austin contended that the General Committee was not qualified to make a recommendation on a political question, but it was observed that its resolution against placing the independence proposal on the agenda was highly political, in fact the most crucial issue with which the Assembly session has yet been confronted.

United Nations experts were at a loss to understand the emphasis Mr. Austin placed on keeping Jewish representatives outside the General Assembly but admitting them to a committee. The term General Assembly, it was said, embraces not only plenary sessions but all committees.

May 5, 1947 - Daily Mirror - by Adrian Spies

Whatever the outcome of the vote on Jewish representation, it was clear yesterday that Russia had taken advantage of the situation to win a propaganda victory. For while the U.S. and Britain were fumbling over the question, the Russians assumed the role of fighting for the underdog - in this case, the voiceless Zionists.

May 6, 1947 - Daily Mirror - by Adrian Spies

The American switch in position came after it was apparent that most of the nations favored the compromise. As late as yesterday morning, the U.S. was arguing that the Assembly had no authority to grant representation to a 'stateless' people and that the Political Committee would have to make its own decision on the matter. By midday, however, the American delegation, after a hasty conference with the British, announced its support of the resolution.

May 6, 1947 - Times - by Thomas J. Hamilton

The United Nations General Assembly, holding its last full session at Flushing Meadow for the time being, instructed its Political and Security Committee yesterday to give the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the British proposal to establish a committee of inquiry into the Palestine question.

The vote was 44 to 7, with three abstentions. The Latin American and Slav countries led the revolt against the attempt of the United States and Great Britain to leave the entire question up to the Political and Security Committee itself.

Prof. Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat, the Uruguayan delegate, in introducing his resolution, said he had studied the Charter to determine whether "by any kind of casuistry" the Jewish Agency was barred from a hearing in the full Assembly. He held that it was not, but submitted his resolution as a compromise to avoid continuing the debate.

The Argentine and White Russian delegates did not speak, but the feeling of the Assembly against referring the question to the Political and Security Committee was obvious. The United States delegation, which at 11:30 A.M. was firmly committed to the resolution introduced by Mr. Austin last week, at noon let it be known that it would support the compromise resolution.

May 7, 1947 - Herald Tribune - by John G. Rogers

In a tough five-hour session that began with the threat of an Arab boycott, the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly overrode American and British objections today and virtually decided to abolish limits on the extent of its debate of the Palestine problem.

With this action, at the close of a day that heard 168 speeches ranging from five seconds to fifteen minutes in length, the committee rejected by a vote of 23 to 19 a set of American-proposed safeguards to restrict debate tightly to the point of setting up a Palestine investigating commission.

During the debate it was Humberto Palza, of Bolivia, who best crystallized the feelings of those who opposed the restrictive safeguards proposed for future debate by the United States.

Restricting the Jewish Agency to comment on pure procedural matters relating to the investigating commission "is like inviting a person to walk in without using his feet," Mr. Palza said. "What are the Jews going to talk about if it is not their problem?"

In the face of mounting opposition, Warren R. Austin, and Herschel V. Johnson, of the United States, stuck to their guns to the last.

It was their contention that in the Political Committee all debate and discussion should be limited to matters germane to setting up and instructing the investigation commission which is to bring back recommendations in September for a permanent Palestine solution.

Also, they argued, the proper time for full and exhaustive expression of views by both Jews and Arabs is during the summer, and the proper place is before the special investigating Commission.

However the current of argument ran steadily against the Americans and against the restrictive clauses in the resolution, which the delegates

freely described as an American-Argentine 'cocktail' because it represented combined ideas of those two countries.

Then, after Mr. Gromyko had hammered away damagingly at the restrictive clauses, the final blow to the Americans came just before the vote when even their collaborator, Dr. Arce, of Argentina, suddenly announced a switch of mind and said he couldn't support the item, either.

May 7, 1947 - Herald Tribune - by Sumner Welles

If our government has as yet decided upon a Palestine policy, this has not been disclosed. Its backing and filling when responsible representatives of the Jewish people asked that their voices be heard at this session of the Assembly was not an exhilarating spectacle. It may be hoped that enlightened American leadership will still be undertaken before it is too late.

If the American government is chiefly guided in this controversy over Palestine by what are alleged to be strategic considerations, and refrains from standing four-square for the principles of human liberty and of justice that are involved, it will lose a great opportunity to enhance its own moral prestige and to increase popular confidence in the authority of the United Nations.

May 7, 1947 - PM - by Victor H. Bernstein

By a vote of 23 to 19, the UN Political Committee - a committee of the whole - last night defeated week-long efforts by the U.S.A. to put the Palestine debate at this session into a procedural straight jacket.

The significance of the U.S. defeat was accentuated by the fact that many Latin American countries normally considered within its fold broke away to oppose any limitation of debate.

The vote came after a day of parliamentary acrobatics in which sponsors of motions disowned their own motions and during which the United Kingdom supported, for representation before the number one committee an Arab organization replete with personalities whom the British army had been hounding all through the war as Axis spies and sympathizers.

May 7, 1947 - Post - by John Hohenberg

There is little doubt the Jewish Agency will participate, particularly after yesterday's partial victory over a U.S. attempt to sharply restrict its testimony. All that is awaited now is word from Jerusalem on the makeup of the Palestine delegation that will join Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's American group here. The invitation went to Jerusalem as a formality, and an answer may be in today.

May 7, 1947 - Palcor News Agency

UN APOLOGIZES FOR "SLIGHTING" MUFTI'S ARAB HIGHER COMMITTEE

United States Said To Have Been Behind Maneuver. - Haiti Delegate
Denounces Appeasement after Vote Had Been Taken. - Gromyko Abstained.
"This Is The Beginning of A New Munich," Observers Say

The Political Committee today voted to recommend to the General Assembly that it instruct the Political Committee to adopt a resolution granting a hearing to the Arab Higher Committee, which hearing has already been granted by a Political Committee decision yesterday. This circuitous procedure was taken by member states of the UN, by a vote of 28 to 5, the other 22 abstaining, in order to appease a non-government body headed by the Mufti of Jerusalem.

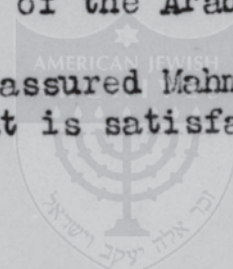
Your correspondent is reliably informed that members of the American delegation were responsible for this move. Earlier in the morning they approached the Colombian delegate with a suggestion that he propose such a resolution. The Colombian said that not only will he not propose it, but he would vote against it.

May 8, 1947 - Times - by Thomas J. Hamilton

"BID TO ARABS VOTED BY U.N. ASSEMBLY IN APPEASING MOVE"

.....The principal difficulty today was the danger that the Latin American and Slav countries, which had already revolted against United States and British efforts to avoid giving the Jewish Agency an opportunity to be heard, would vote down the special recognition of the Arab Higher Committee.....

.....It was understood that Mr. Austin assured Mahmoud Hassan Pasha, the Egyptian Ambassador, that "anything that is satisfactory to the Egyptian delegate is satisfactory to me."



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date May 15, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

THE SPECIAL SESSION ENDS

Mr. Gromyko's Address

Yesterday's address by Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, is unquestionably the most significant development of the entire Special Session on Palestine. In what is described by today's press as "a sensational address which ripped away the veil that has surrounded Soviet policy on Palestine," Mr. Gromyko expressed himself in favor of a solution that would partition Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states, provided that it is found that the two peoples cannot be reconciled on the basis of an independent bi-national state. Mr. Gromyko also acknowledged the right of the Jewish people to aspire towards the creation of a state of its own "in view of the ugly fact that not a single country in western Europe did anything between the two world wars to protect the Jews from Nazi oppression."

Mr. Gromyko's address has tremendous political significance, quite apart from the fact that it constitutes a reversal of Russian policy on the Jewish question. As is generally known, the principle argument employed by the British Government and by officials of our own State Department to block a pro-Jewish stand by the American Government has been that such action would inevitably drive the Arab states into Russia's arms and also provide Russia with an effective propaganda weapon which she could use in wooing the Arabs. Mr. Gromyko yesterday knocked the props out from under this argument. The views expressed in his address run counter to everything the Arab rulers and politicians stand for with respect to Palestine. According to today's newspapers, the Soviet declaration has already provoked the anger and resentment of Arab spokesmen. Thus, the most significant result of Mr. Gromyko's speech seems to be the obliteration of the primary excuse for inaction on the plight of European Jewry and for hostility to Zionism advanced by the British Government and our State Department. It is no longer possible for Mr. Bevin and his associates, and members of the State Department's Middle Eastern Division, to conjure up the Russian bogey in order to frighten public opinion which is clamoring for action.

What of the American Government reaction? How did our country's delegation to the United Nations feel about Mr. Gromyko's address? According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency's correspondent, "rueful members of the U. S. delegation told the JTA that Gromyko had 'stolen a march' on the United States on the ultimate solution of the Palestine problem . . . Gromyko's statement today minimizes the importance of any declaration which may be made later by the United States or by any other delegation. 'We shall not reveal our formal stand until the September Assembly,' a spokesman for the American delegation told the JTA. 'However, we will have plenty to say then.'"

We see, then, that America's groundless fears concerning Russian support of the Arabs created a golden opportunity for the Soviet Union to take the initiative, whereas the American Government was inhibited by the "threat" that Russia would do the direct opposite of what she actually did do, and tried to muddle through the Special Session. The American Government has thus further embarrassed itself, and the Soviet Union has made a favorable impression on public opinion.

The Action Now Before Us

We must lose no time in making the American Government aware of the feeling of deep chagrin shared by millions of citizens over our delegations sorry performance in the United Nations. Letters and telegrams to the President, the Secretary of State and Ambassador Austin -- editorials and letters to editors -- public addresses -- all should now emphasize that America's failure at the Special Session was brought about by our Government's hesitancy and vacillation. It should also be stressed that there can no longer be an excuse for appeasing the Arabs, in view of Mr. Gromyko's declaration. Above all, we must demand that America now take the stand which it should have taken from the very beginning of the Special Session, and we must declare that only such action by our Government will restore its prestige.

I am sure that you can be counted upon to act on this vital matter without delay.

The United Nations Fact Finding Committee

The composition of the United Nations Committee of Inquiry is already provoking discussion, guesswork and comment -- much of it wholly unwarranted and damaging. Today's New York Herald Tribune, carries a dispatch from Jerusalem reporting "Jewish leaders" as pleased with the composition of the Committee and as "confident of five states and hopeful of two others." Furthermore, the aforementioned "Jewish leaders" are reported as describing states which, in their opinion, will favor partition as the "pro-Jewish" ones.

We must condemn the reported views of these "Jewish leaders" as wholly irresponsible and without any foundation in fact. To begin with, the Jewish case as presented in the United Nations by the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was not a request for partition. The full Zionist program was presented with great effectiveness, and made a deep impression upon a large number of the delegates. If there are those who are once again repeating the blunders of the past by describing the Jewish case as a demand for partition, we can only repudiate such views as wholly unrepresentative of the wishes of our movement as expressed at the Zionist Congress in Basle, and subsequently at the meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem.

As for the aforementioned attempts to represent the United Nations Committee of Inquiry as leaning towards the Jews -- such attempts are not only premature, but definitely harmful. It would seem to us that the composition of the Committee need not inspire jubilation on the part of the Jewish people. It is far from "neutral." While the Arab countries do not sit on it, two of their friends are there. Although Britain is not directly represented, two loyal British dominions are there. Even if we assume that the other governments represented on the Committee are more or less neutral, we must remember that we do not possess such "friends" as the Arabs and the British have.

This does not mean that the Committee may not prepare an objective report or that its composition might not have been considerably worse from our point of view. But we do not find any basis for the sanguine attitude reported in the aforementioned press dispatches. (The nations composing the Committee and its Terms of Inquiry are attached.)

A Job Well Done

We must, at this point, pay tribute to the magnificent work now being done by the Local Emergency Committees throughout the country. All reliable surveys of public opinion report overwhelming support of our cause throughout America. This is primarily due to your efforts and those of your committee.

The American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine has thus far performed its tremendous task with great credit to itself and to the Jewish people which it represents. Under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, our case was presented with vigor and dignity. Following Dr. Silver's initial statement before the United Nations, which evoked widespread acclaim, equally fine declarations were made by Moshe Shertok and David Ben-Gurion. The other members of the American Section have worked tirelessly and effectively at Lake Success and Flushing Meadows, and their efforts merit the commendation of our entire movement.

We began our work in connection with the Special Session in a mood of deep pessimism. The picture is now a bit brighter, which is all the more reason for continuing to work unrelentingly.

HLS:MSR

TERMS OF U. N. INQUIRY

Whereas the General Assembly of the United Nations has been called into special session for the purpose of constituting and instructing a special committee to prepare, for the consideration at the next regular session of the Assembly, a report on the question of Palestine.

The General Assembly resolves that:

(1) A Special Committee be created for the above-mentioned purpose consisting of the representatives of Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

(2) The Special Committee shall have the widest powers to ascertain and record facts, and to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine.

(3) The Special Committee shall determine its own procedure.

(4) The Special Committee shall conduct investigations in Palestine, and wherever it may deem useful, receive and examine written or oral testimony, whichever it may consider appropriate in each case, from the mandatory power, from representatives of the population of Palestine, from governments and from such organizations and individuals as it may deem necessary.

(5) The Special Committee shall give most careful consideration to the religious interests in Palestine of Islam, Judaism and Christianity.

(6) The Special Committee shall prepare a report to the General Assembly and shall submit such proposals as it may consider appropriate for the solution of the problem of Palestine.

(7) The Special Committee's report shall be communicated to the Secretary General not later than 1 September 1947, in order that it may be circulated to the members of the United Nations in time for consideration by the second regular session of the General Assembly.

The committee decided without a vote to add the following paragraphs to its report to the General Assembly:

The General Assembly requests the Secretary General to enter into suitable arrangements with the proper authorities of any state in whose territory the commission may wish to sit or to travel, to provide necessary facilities, and to assign appropriate staff to the commission;

Authorizes the Secretary General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of a representative and an alternate representative from each government represented on the commission on such basis and in such form as he may determine most appropriate in the circumstances.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date June 2, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

You have undoubtedly read of the British Government's attempts to obtain the collaboration of other governments in barring the way of European Jewish refugees seeking to gain entry into Palestine. Special efforts have been made by the British to induce the French and Italian Governments to prevent the passage of visaless Jewish emigrants through their countries. For example, today's Jewish Telegraphic Agency reports that French authorities are now refusing to permit Jews to cross from the American zone of Austria through the French zone.

Your Committee can now perform an important service to our cause by informing the French and Italian Governments of American feelings in this matter. We urge you to approach a few leading members of your community with the request that they communicate with the French and Italian Ambassadors in Washington, and express deep concern over the aforementioned reports. A mass letter-writing campaign is not called for in this case. Only important personalities, both Jewish and non-Jewish, preferably those who are able to speak for organizations and civic bodies, should be asked to write such letters.

In addition to expressing concern over the recent press reports, the letters should respectfully call the attention of the Ambassadors to the feeling of an overwhelming majority of the American people that British policy regarding Jewish immigration into Palestine is both unjust and illegal. The letters should also express the conviction that the displaced Jews of Europe are fully entitled to enter Palestine. They should include appreciation of the understanding and helpful attitude displayed in this matter by the French (or Italian) Government in the past and

- (a) in the case of the French -- voice disappointment that the French Government should now give way to British pressure and join those who seek to place additional hardships in the way of the unfortunate survivors of Nazism;
- and (b) in the case of the Italians -- express hope that the Italian Government will not submit to such pressure.

If there are French and Italian Consulates in your community, it would be wise to have similar letters addressed to the Consuls of the respective governments. Your Committee should also organize a delegation, composed of community leaders, to call on the French and Italian Consuls.

Letters to the French and Italian Ambassadors (M. Henri Bonnet and Signor Alberto Parchiani) should be addressed, as follows:

His Excellency
The Ambassador of Italy
Italian Embassy
Washington, D. C.

His Excellency
The Ambassador of France
French Embassy
Washington, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** June 5, 1947

From Abe Tuvim

We are sending you herewith the following:

1. Program of the Third Annual Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee; together with a summary of the meeting and a copy of the resolution adopted there.
2. Program of the Conference on "The Middle East in the Post-War World" at the School of Education of New York University.

From all indications, the Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee marked a new high both as to content and effect. The Christian leaders who were sent to Highland Park by 68 Zionist communities made a careful study of the Palestine question and covered almost every aspect of Zionism. If your community was among those which sent a representative, you have by this time received a report on what transpired at the Seminar and undoubtedly feel proud of the work that was done there. If, for some reason, you failed to send a representative, I am sure that you will gather from the enclosures that your community missed a unique opportunity to prepare a leading Christian for Zionist service.

It is our sincere hope, and we are sure that it is yours as well, that a real effort will be made to have a more complete representation at the next annual Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee.

AT:RB
Encs.

SUMMARY OF THIRD ANNUAL NATIONAL SEMINAR

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

MAY 29-31, 1947

The third annual National Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee brought together at Highland Park, Illinois, from May 29 through May 31, some seventy representative men and women - clergymen, lawyers, judges businessmen, teachers, social workers - from sixty-eight cities in twenty-seven states. Like its predecessors, this Seminar proved to be a unique and profoundly encouraging venture in Zionist education for non-Jewish Americans. Its carefully constructed, economically timed program provided both factual information; political insight; presentation in film and word of the actuality of Jewish Palestine; discussion and planning for future communal and national action.

Living and thinking together as a small community for three days intensified the pro-Zionist sympathies the participants had brought with them. The one minute self-introductions with which the Seminar began introduced its members to each other and made clear their almost unanimous desire for more facts, knowledge, clarification. No one could have given them those better than Edgar Ansel Mowrer - himself a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee - who analyzed the present political situation brilliantly and passionately in his talk dealing with "Palestine on the Agenda of the United Nations." Tracing Palestine's political history from the time of the Balfour Declaration to the corridors of Lake Success, Mr. Mowrer elaborated his conviction that - our State Department to the contrary notwithstanding - it was a vital democratic interest to allow full Zionist development in the Middle East. The complement to his political talk came in Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk's moving address next day, describing the significance to a hungry world of Jewish Palestine's agricultural efforts and social forms and explaining the potentialities of the irrigation and power scheme he has advocated - the Jordan Valley Authority.

The Jewish speakers present gave an aspect of Zionism which the political stratagems and emergency needs of the present too often obscure and which the participants were extremely grateful and eager to learn. That aspect might be described as the spiritual-cultural, and it was most tellingly presented by Rabbi Leon Feuer in a talk on "Prophetic Backgrounds of Zionism." (The converse of this came later in Mrs. Walter Lowdermilk's beautiful declaration of the faith of a Christian Zionist.) The full scope of the Zionist program - its humane, religious, cultural as well as political sides - was covered by Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld, and the special Jewish feeling of being at home in Palestine and of creating a noble civilization in Palestine, moved the audience deeply, as it was conveyed to them by Alisa Klausner Eskol and Norman Lourie, the former a native-born young Palestinian, the latter a South African Jew who has deliberately uprooted himself and settled in the Land. The points made by the two Palestinians came alive in the films - genuinely Christian in sentiment and color as they are - taken and presented by Col. Edwin H. Cooper and Dr. Theodore R. Jackman.

Frank and full discussion characterized the entire Seminar, as well as the special panels on work among women and youth and on local committee plans. Discussion was stimulated by an extremely interesting "Fact and Opinion Test" on Palestine administered to the group by its originator, Dr. Howard M. LeSourd, director of the American Christian Palestine Committee. When the final session adopted the strong resolution, sent as a telegram to the President, the Secretary of State and other shapers of our foreign policy, it was done with full understanding and profound conviction. No observer could fail to be touched by the utter sincerity and earnestness of those men and women who have made the cause of a Jewish Palestine their own, the test - as one of them said - of all their hopes and aspirations for a better world.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THIRD ANNUAL NATIONAL SEMINAR

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS, MAY 29-31, 1947

The National Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee, constituted by clergymen, educators, business and professional leaders of the Christian faith, representing sixty-eight cities in twenty-seven states at its third annual meeting, held at Highland Park, Illinois, May 29 through May 31, has unanimously resolved to petition our government to take affirmative action to implement its publicly declared policy in favor of unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine.

The failure of our government to fulfill its public commitments to the Jewish people would be a mockery of the solemn pledges we have made to them in our political party platforms and in a long line of Congressional resolutions and presidential declarations, beginning with the administration of President Woodrow Wilson.

The claims of the Jewish people for the dignity and security of statehood and for a haven for the hundreds of thousands of displaced European Jews is grounded in morality and justice as well as international commitments. The conscience of the American people support these just claims and we expect our government to support them in keeping with its promises and in accordance with the highest traditions of our country.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** June 10, 1947

From Abe Tuvim

The attached petition to the President has been prepared by the American Christian Palestine Committee and is currently being distributed throughout America in the hope that large numbers of Christian ministers will affix their signatures to it.

Two copies of this petition have been sent to every minister who is a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee by direct mail with a request that the signatures of other clergymen be obtained at Ministerial Associations, Meetings, etc. However, the real job of carrying out this project must fall on the local Zionist communities through the activities of the Local Emergency Committees.

We must make every effort to cooperate effectively with our Christian friends in this important project. It is vital that we obtain as many signatures of Christian ministers as possible, and we know that you will undoubtedly realize the importance of this undertaking.

We therefore ask that you promptly organize a committee and instruct its members to divide your territory in such a way as to permit thorough coverage of all the churches and ministers in your city.

Please let us know how many petition forms you will require. There are 14 lines for signatures on each petition.

All signed petitions must be returned to the office of the American Christian Palestine Committee, 41 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y. They should not be sent to Washington.

Regards.

AT:RB
Enc.

PETITION

**The White House
Washington, D. C.**

WE, CHRISTIAN MINISTERS OF AMERICA, speaking out of a sense of duty and an obligation to our own consciences, turn to you, Mr. President, in this historic hour when the United Nations has before it the question of Palestine.

WE SPEAK TO YOU in behalf of the Jewish people to whom both Nazism in defeat and Democracy in triumph have alike brought the same tragic helplessness and the same growing despair.

LET IT BE SAID that we have confidence in the United Nations. We hold that it has a rendezvous with moral destiny. But we feel, too, that this is a historic hour for our country, testing the moral strength and leadership of the greatest free people on earth. To that end we say, let our government take a firm stand within the United Nations in accordance with its oft-repeated expressions of support for Jewish immigration into Palestine and the continued development of the Jewish National Home.

WE CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION, Mr. President, that a long interval of time must elapse pending a final solution of the issues now before the Inquiry Commission of the United Nations. Time, as well as men, can compound injustice, and there is, therefore, an imperative call for immediate action.

WE ASK YOU, THEREFORE, to take such steps as will make possible without further delay the entry of 100,000 Jewish displaced persons into the Jewish National Home and their settlement on the land, in accordance with the Mandate for Palestine, which is the only valid basis for the administration of Palestine during this interim period.

WHILE WE REALIZE that only a Palestine open to the entry of Jews who wish and need to go there can permanently solve the problem of the rehabilitation of the tortured Jews of Europe and Cyprus, we the undersigned also ask, in the name of common decency and humanity, that the legislation now before Congress calling for the entry of displaced persons in our own country be passed.

[illegible]

CITY _____ STATE _____

Please fill in City and State and return to AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE, 41 E. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.