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American Zionist Emergency Council, embargo, 1947-1948.

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# PALESTINE

## AND MIDDLE EAST



HERALD OF HISTORY. The "Jewish State", the latest of the refugee ships captured on eve of U.N. Session which may make the Jewish State a reality and the hunting down of "illegals" a memory of the sordid past.

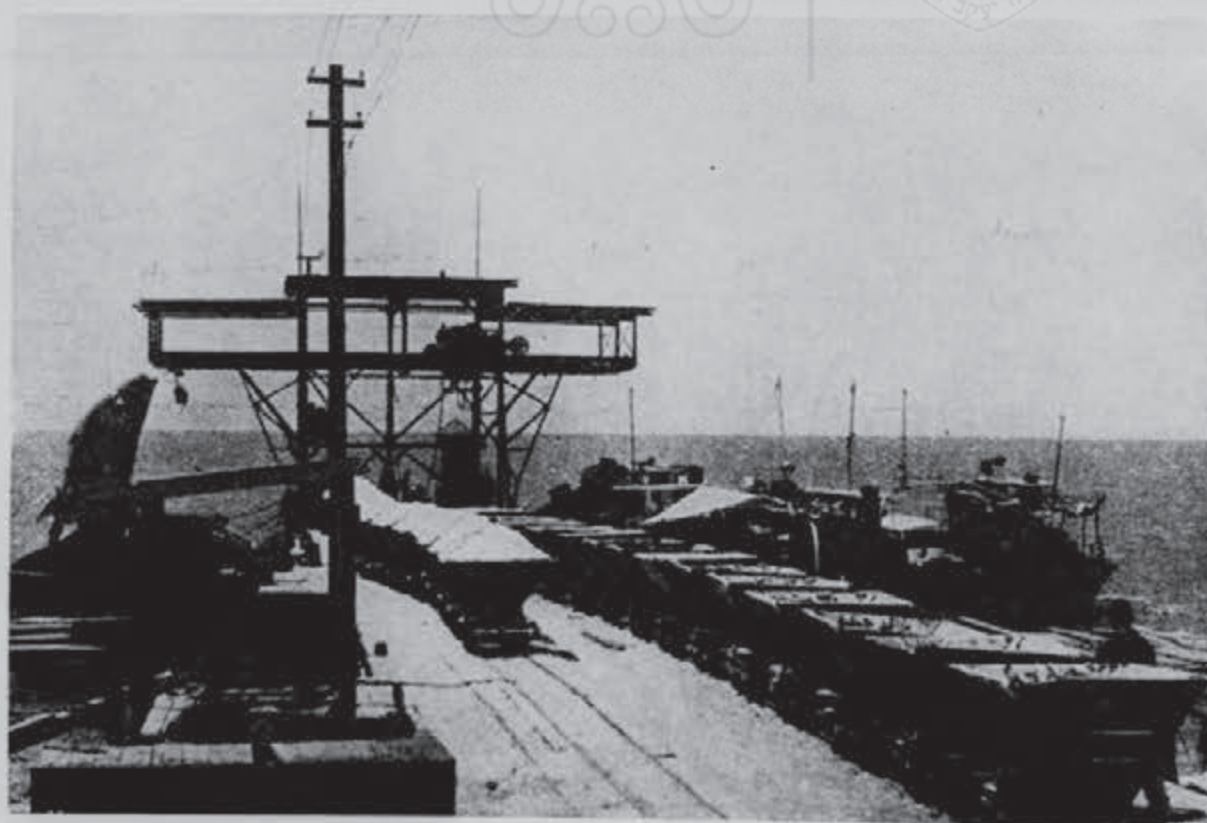
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"PALESTINE AND MIDDLE EAST"

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# PALESTINE AND MIDDLE EAST

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## HISTORY IN THE MAKING

**P**ALESTINE is in the crucible of change. The dramatic developments at the General Assembly of the U. N. have invested the Majority Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine with a reality that could not have been foreseen even by its warmest supporters. Anticipation had been aroused, but until the United States and Soviet Russia had made their declarations the future of the report hung dubiously in the balance. The Arab clique in the Assembly had succeeded in wearying world opinion almost to the point of acquiescence. The silence of the big Powers was beginning to feel ominous. No effective lead was being given to those who definitely favoured the Majority Report. At the same time, a war of nerves was loosed on the Yishuv. The statement of the British Colonial Secretary hinted at the possibility of fearful chaos after the British withdrawal. News of secret decisions of the Arab League meeting in the Lebanon was reinforced by daily reports of Arab troop concentrations beyond the northern frontier. It looked as if a determined effort was being made to break the nerve of the Jews and make them amenable to accept whatever solution might fit in with the Middle Eastern schemes of the pro-Arab school of British policy. The statement of the British Colonial Secretary made it clear that Great Britain was not prepared to carry through any solution unless it commanded the support of both Jews and Arabs, a condition which in present circumstances is incapable of fulfilment. The position could hardly have been more perplexing.

It would be unduly optimistic to believe that all these perplexities have been resolved by the comprehensive and definite statements of the American and Russian spokesmen, but there can be no doubt that their fundamental agreement has made an early solution likely. It is obvious that the UNSCOP Report is capable of improvement in more than one respect, and that the appointment of a commission to work out details of the

frontiers and transitional arrangements may be inevitable. But it is gratifying that a time limit of a few weeks has been set for this additional report, so that once the General Assembly has given its verdict on the basic

*The long and difficult struggle for the Jewish State has not been in vain. Judah will arise anew as an independent state and the Jews will return freely to their land. But our struggle is not over. We have not yet reached our goal and the path before us is beset with pitfalls and obstacles. The British Government's statement about the impending withdrawal of the Mandatory Administration from Palestine has already created a vacuum. Nature abhors a vacuum and this applies to political nature too. That vacuum should now be filled by us. A Provisional Jewish Government should immediately be established in Palestine, which, under the supervision and with the assistance of UN should carry out the policy for the transition period, and in the first place the policy of larger immigration and the repeal of the White Paper.*

*If the hour of parting between us and England has come — and it has — we would wish that parting to be one of honour. We know that there is not only an England of Bevin; there was an England of Balfour, of Wedgwood and of Wingate.*

*History has perhaps dealt harshly with us by creating difficult conditions for our return to our Homeland, but it has also created conditions which, in the long run, will not only enable, but will actually dictate, cooperation between the Arabs and the Jews. These two peoples need each other, and complement each other. The force of inevitability will bring peace.*

DAVID BEN-GURION  
Chairman, Jewish Agency

issues little time need be lost in implementing decisions. Speed is of the essence in the matter. The uncertainties and endless procrastinations in handling the Palestine problem have become a serious impediment to an effective solution. The sullen declaration of the British Government on its intention to withdraw at an early date has introduced a further unsettling element. It is essential that the implications of the new situation should be fully grasped and acted upon by all parties concerned. Mr. Ben-Gurion's several statements indicate a welcome appreciation of immediate needs. The first requirement of the situation is the maintenance of public security; the second is the smooth transfer of power from the old order to the new; the third is the attainment of whatever measure of agreement and cooperation is practicable between Jews and Arabs. Essential services must be maintained; any effort to sabotage the transition to the new regime must be effectively countered. The ordinary citizen, Arab or Jew, must be protected against insecurity and economic disorder.

A particularly heavy responsibility falls upon those who have hitherto held the reins of government in this country. The events of the past few years have engendered bitterness and resentment on both sides, and some memories may not easily be erased. Yet there must be a growing awareness that the situation which is now taking shape calls for a new approach. The problems involved in the transfer and the setting-up of new political regimes should be handled in a constructive and generous spirit. Good will and courage may smooth out many of the difficulties which may now seem insuperable. A juster appreciation of past difficulties and achievements may pave the way for constructive cooperation during the period of transition and for friendly relations in the years to come. The noble experiment which was started in this country three decades ago should be led to its ultimate fruition in dignity and goodwill.



# Lake Success Diary

*Lake Success, 2nd October*

**L**AKE Success, if we are to believe the maps, is only about five thousand miles from Jerusalem, and experience shows that one can fly here from Lydda in just over thirty hours. But one might be on a different planet, so remote does Palestine seem as one sits in a U.N. committee room and listens to the discussions. The delegates might be speaking about some quite abstract subject, such as atomic energy or flying to the moon. All the time one has to pinch oneself to make sure one is not dreaming — to remind oneself that human lives and human happiness are at stake, that what they are really talking about is the future of Hanita and the fate of our displaced persons, that all the procedural solemnities are not merely so many words, and that, for better or for worse, decisions are being taken that will affect one's family, one's friends and oneself. The proceedings are leisurely in the extreme. The first week's sitting covered less than three hours' actual business; in other words, the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, as it is officially called, has met for an average of about twenty-five minutes daily. At this rate it is quite impossible to foretell how long it will take before the committee is in a position to make recommendations to the General Assembly. Nobody believes it will take less than six weeks; gloomier, but perhaps more realistic, forecasts speak of three or four months. And all this time living human beings are waiting upon the outcome in Palestine, difficult though this is to imagine as one sits at one's ease in Conference Room No. 2.

■ ■ ■

The delegates themselves are relatively inconspicuous in their positions round the central table. One's attention is drawn much more towards the interpreters and the radio broadcasters who are encased behind large windows that extend round half of the room. By putting on headphones and turning a knob, one can listen to the proceedings in English, French, Spanish, Russian or Chinese. The Chinese transmission continues even if there happens to be no Chinese representative in the room. The Jewish representatives present never seem to put on their headphones: no speech has yet been made in Chinese, and they can apparently understand all the other languages without trouble. There are plenty of familiar faces in the room — not only faces like Trygve Lie's, which are familiar from photographs in the press, but the faces of UNSCOP members which one remembers so well from Palestine. Members of the Australian, Dutch, Persian, Czech, Yugoslav, Guatemalan and Uruguayan delegations on UNSCOP represent their countries on the Ad Hoc Committee. Judge

Sandstrom is a familiar figure in the corridors of the vast U.N. headquarters, which were built originally during the war to house a gyroscope factory. To-day these corridors, which but a few years ago were thronged with overalled workers, resound to all the tongues of the globe. Neatly dressed men carrying brief-cases hurry from one committee to another — it is Palestine here, the U.N. budget there, and Security Council elections somewhere else. They are undoubtedly serious-minded — in fact, the most remarkable thing about U.N. is that in spite of the deadlock between America and Russia, and in spite of the scepticism which seems general among the peoples of the World, everyone at Lake Success takes it very seriously. If the General Assembly failed to come to an effective decision on Palestine, this would be regarded here not only as bad for Palestine but as a blow to U.N. itself. This seriousness of purpose constitutes the best guarantee of a satisfactory settlement.

■ ■ ■

*Lake Success, 5th October*

So far we have not got beyond the opening skirmishes. There have been no fireworks yet. In fact, anything in the nature of flamboyant oratory is made extremely difficult by the custom which compels speakers to remain seated. It is not easy to raise one's voice or make impressive gestures when one is sitting behind a table, wedged in between other delegates.

At the time of writing most delegations have been so far careful not to commit themselves on the Palestine issue. Almost the only exceptions have been Pakistan and Yemen, whose representatives, immediately after their election to the United Nations, informed correspondents that they backed the Arabs. They had clearly not yet learned the reticence which comes from long practice. One or two countries have so far not put in an appearance at all on the Palestine Committee; their seats have remained empty. A Saudian prince has been prominent in his desert robes, but these no longer have the romantic effect they had when they were an exotic novelty; everyone now takes them as much for granted as a lounge suit. One senses a slight incongruity in the fact that the chairman, vice-chairman and rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Committee come from Australia, Siam and Iceland respectively; but this is common form at U.N., where everything is everyone else's business. In fact, this is the principle upon which the whole work of the United Nations rests — the collective responsibility of all countries for the pacific settlement of disputes; but it takes some getting used to all the same. One still tends to be surprised when one finds that the first resolution on the Palestine issue is that

proposed by El Salvador — but perhaps the day will come when the Jewish State takes the initiative on some dispute in the South Seas. That should be the logical outcome of the proceedings we are now witnessing at Lake Success.

■ ■ ■

*14th October (BY CABLE)*

The discussion has now reached a more dynamic stage. The United States and Russia have set the ball rolling, and Mr. Evatt, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, is determined to head it into goal. Several of the delegations have tabled proposals, all of which assume that a final decision can be reached during the present session of the Assembly. Such a decision can probably be reached. It is rumoured that much of the credit for this is due to Judge Sandstrom's unwearied advocacy of the recommendations of the majority report issued by UNSCOP.

The American delegation has expressed great satisfaction at this development which is generally welcomed, not merely in connection with Palestine but as an indication that the Big Two, America and Russia, can agree and that the United Nations can be an effective instrument for solving international conflicts.

A great number of speeches still remain to be delivered: the debate had been dragging somewhat while the attitude of the main powers was still uncertain, but the forthright declaration of American and Russian policy has loosened the tongues of the delegates. It is likely that at the end of the debate the Ad Hoc Committee will nominate at least one sub-committee to report on details of the partition scheme, including perhaps questions of boundaries and the economic union as well as problems of implementation. More than two or three weeks after this the whole matter should be nearly ripe for reference to the Assembly. Most of the delegations, apart from the Arabs, are keen on settling the matter during the present session of the Assembly; they feel that an adjournment can only make the position in Palestine worse and a solution more difficult than ever. Pakistan's suggestion that the matter be referred to the international Court of Justice is considered as a delaying tactic on behalf of the Arabs and is unlikely to receive support. While the present situation at Lake Success is regarded as encouraging, Jewish circles remember past disappointments, and they know that there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip. But they are fortified by the constructive spirit which most of the delegations have shown to hope that this time the cup will be held firmly and that the draught will be deep and sweet.

TELEMACHUS

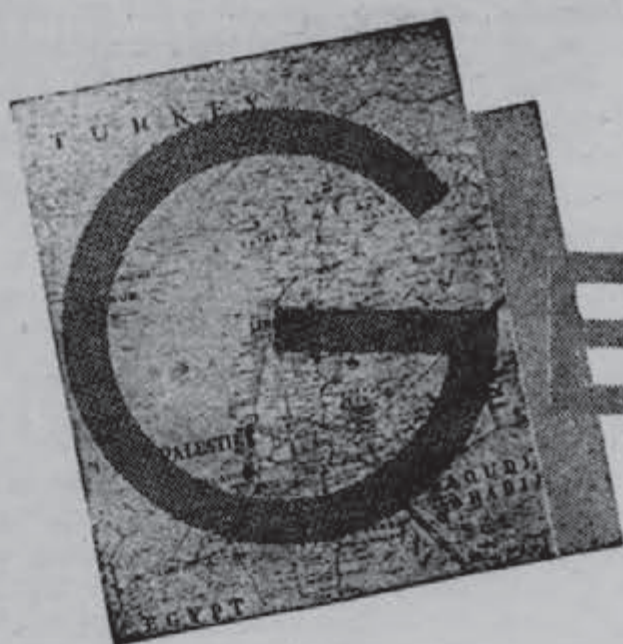


WITH THE EDITOR'S COMPLIMENTS



**PALESTINE AND MIDDLE EAST, TEL-AVIV**





# GENERAL

## REBIRTH OF THE JEWISH STATE

JEWISH AGENCY'S STATEMENT BEFORE U. N. • FULL TEXT

BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

MEMBER OF JEWISH AGENCY EXECUTIVE

WRHS

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THE Jewish Agency for Palestine has been greatly impressed with the earnest and conscientious labours which the eleven members of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine devoted to their task and which are reflected in their comprehensive and impressive report. It was good to have a committee of neutrals examine the Palestine problem afresh in an effort to arrive at a solution which would be morally justifiable and politically sound. We share entirely the view expressed in the Report that the "opinions of members of an international committee who represent various civilizations and schools of thought, and have approached the question from different angles, may be of some value." The Jewish Agency availed itself of the invitation extended to it by the Special Committee, to present its case. We were happy to make available to the Committee whatever information it desired of us, to answer any question, and frankly to share our thinking with it. We regarded it as an inescapable obligation to cooperate to the fullest extent with the United Nations which had this grave international problem presented to it and which assumed the responsibility for formulating a decision on the future government of Palestine.

### REPLY TO ARAB ARGUMENT

In this connection we find it necessary to point to a circumstance to which the Report itself draws special attention, namely, the failure of the Arab Higher Committee to cooperate with the Committee. The Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee, during the hearings in Jerusalem, made an appeal by radio for the full cooperation of all parties. The Special Committee also addressed a letter directly to the Arab Higher Committee regretting the decision of the latter not to cooperate and repeating the Special Committee's invitation for full cooperation. In reply Mr. Jamal Husseini, vice-chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, wrote that the Committee found no reason to reverse the previous decision to abstain from collaboration. One is at a loss to understand why the Arab Higher Committee was unwilling to present its case to the Special Committee of the United Nations. The Jewish Agency likewise had been subjected to the strains and disappoint-

ments of the numerous Palestine inquiries which preceded it. Having repeatedly refused the invitation to present its case, why does the Arab Higher Committee come now to ask "justice and equity" at the hands of the United Nations whose authority it had flouted and whose competence to define the form of the future government of Palestine the Arab spokesman categorically denied? The same spokesman treated us to an historic improvisation on the origin of the Jewish people and on the history of Palestine. History may not be an exact science but it certainly is not a story out of the Arabian nights. There are certain facts which do not yield to wishful thinking. Thus the canard that the Jews of western Europe are descendant not from Israel of old, but from a tribe of Khazars in Russia, is a relatively recent invention and was popularized in the racial mythologies of our day whose political motivations are clearly transparent. One would assume that the Arabs of Palestine would be among the last people on earth to wish to engage in genealogical research.

When the Allies liberated Palestine in 1947 along with other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, Palestine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no politically or culturally distinct or distinguishable Arab nation in that province. There never had been. The Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century of the common era held sway over that country which contained a very mixed and heterogeneous population for 437 years between 634 and 1071 A. D. — 437 years out of more than 3,000 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071 the country was conquered by various non-Arab peoples such as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Crusaders, the Egyptian Mamelukes and finally, by the Ottoman Turks. By the time the Arabs conquered Palestine in 634 A. D. the Jewish people had already completed nearly 2,000 years of national history in that country, during which time they created a civilisation which decidedly influenced the course of mankind, gave rise both to Judaism and Christianity, produced the Bible and brought forth prophets, saints and spiritual leaders who are venerated not only by Judaism, but by Christianity and Islam as well. "In the 12 centuries or more that have passed since the Arab conquest," reads the Report of the Royal Commission of 1937,





U. N. Session on Palestine. Dr. Silver addressing Ad Hoc Committee

"Palestine has virtually dropped out of history... In economics and in politics Palestine lay outside the main stream of the world's life. In the realm of thought, in science or in letters it made no contribution to modern civilization."

The very identity of Palestine as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jewish history. The country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion and only resumed a specific role in history when the Palestine Mandate was ratified. The Mandate acknowledged this history by setting Palestine in a distinct and separate context in relation to the Arab world. "I am persuaded," declared President Wilson on March 3, 1919, "that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth." Speaking in the House of Lords on June 27, 1923, Lord Milner, who called himself "a strong supporter of the pro-Arab policy", stated: "Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the same footing as the other Arab countries. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter... and the future of Palestine cannot possibly be left to be determined by the temporary impressions and feelings of the Arab majority in the country in the present day." When the Palestine Mandate therefore recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" it was only stating a fact that was universally acknowledged through the ages. And when it gave international recognition to the grounds for reconstituting the Jewish national home in that country — an act which Field Marshal Smuts, member of the War Cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration, called "one of the greatest acts of history" — it was only reaffirming the fact that the Jewish people had never surrendered the hope of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For to the Jews, Palestine was not merely a place of sacred shrines as to Christians and Moslems, but the home of their exiled people, the land of their national destiny, and throughout the dark centuries of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

Concerning the Arab economic grievances we wish only to refer to the Report of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them, as well as to the relevant chapters in the Royal Commission Report of 1937, to show how utterly groundless they are. These Reports, as well as the memorandum of the Palestine Government which was submitted to the Special Committee of the United Nations — a document which can hardly be charged with pro-Jewish bias — conclusively prove that the Palestine Arabs benefitted considerably and directly from Jewish

development in the economic, financial and social spheres. We must take note, too, of the interesting contrast which the Arab spokesman attempted to draw between the terroristic acts of the Arabs of Palestine in 1936—39 — acts which were never condemned or repudiated by any responsible Arab spokesman — and the regrettable acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today which the official bodies of Palestine Jewry have most severely condemned. "It has been officially admitted that in their several uprisings against the British in Palestine," stated the Arab spokesman, "the Arabs ordinarily fought face to face as noble men." As illustrative of this nobility, permit me to quote the statement of Sir John Chancellor, the High Commissioner of Palestine, on the Arab riots there in 1929: "I have learned with horror of the atrocious acts committed by bodies of ruthless and blood-thirsty evildoers, of savage murder perpetrated upon defenceless members of the Jewish population regardless of age or sex, accompanied as at Hebron by acts of unspeakable savagery, of the burning of farms and houses in town and country, and of the looting and destruction of property. These crimes have brought upon their authors the execration of all civilized peoples throughout the world." In commenting upon the riots of 1936, the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission has this to say: "There were similar assaults upon the persons and property of the Jews, conducted with the same reckless ferocity (as in 1929). Women and children were not spared."

#### BRITAIN'S ATTITUDE

Before making our observation on the Report itself, may we be permitted to comment on the statement which was made by Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones on behalf of His Majesty's Government? It was the United Kingdom Government which requested that the question of Palestine be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. It was His Majesty's Government which asked the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter for the future government of Palestine. In making these far-reaching requests, with which the United Nations complied, the United Kingdom surely must have had in mind not the thought of ultimately imposing its own solution on the United Nations, but the hope that this great international body, approaching the problem anew and without bias, might find a solution which, while not fully acceptable to everyone, would nevertheless represent the collective wisdom and judgment of the nations of the world and would have behind it such weight of authority that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accept it and to cooperate in its implementation. Surely such loyal cooperation on the part of member nations is presupposed when any international problem is considered by the United Nations. Otherwise His Majesty's Government might just as well have announced six months ago what it declared the other day. Why were six critical months lost, during which time the situation in Palestine was permitted to deteriorate most gravely? And why was all the apparatus of the United Nations invoked to investigate and to recommend a settlement of the problem if there was no intention to accept and to participate in the implementation of such a settlement?

Sir Alexander Cadogan, at the 52nd meeting of the first committee of the General Assembly, stated: "All we say — and I made this reservation the other day — is that we shall not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which is not accepted by both parties and which we cannot reconcile with our conscience." But we observe that His Majesty's Government is not being asked to accept a sole responsibility. The Report of the Special Committee clearly recommends that if so desired, one or more members of the United Nations shall be invited to assist in the administering of the country along with the present Mandatory Power. The statement of Mr. Creech-Jones seems to go beyond that of Sir Alexander Cadogan's and implies that His Majesty's Government not only does not wish to assume sole responsibility for implementing the Report, but reserves to itself the right of refusing any cooperation in implementing the final decision of the United Nations if, in its judgment, it does not comply with its own criteria of justice and with its own preferred technique of implementation. One



questions whether in taking such a position — if we have understood the position correctly — the United Kingdom is helping to solve this difficult problem and whether its course will enhance the authority and prestige of the United Nations which has assumed responsibility over the Palestine question. It is clear to everyone that the solution of this problem represents a vital challenge to the United Nations and a crucial test of its future effectiveness.

In view of His Majesty's Government's reluctance to impose a policy by force of arms — a policy which would have behind it the sanction of the community of nations — one may be pardoned for inquiring why His Majesty's Government has not hesitated to employ in recent years a military force of 100,000 men, along with its navy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Palestine which no international body has approved, which is contrary to the purposes and provisions of the Mandate, and which has been thrice disapproved by international bodies. It would have been more helpful if the statement of His Majesty's Government had been more revealing. Surely it must be clear to everyone that no settlement of the Palestine problem is possible without some enforcement. The Palestine problem is not at all unique in this regard. The Report of the Special Committee correctly states: "Taking into account the fact that devising a solution which will be fully acceptable to both Jew and Arabs seems to be utterly impossible, the prospect of imposing a solution on them would be the basic condition of any recommended proposal." It was the realization that such an Arab-Jewish agreement was impossible that prompted Mr. Bevin to turn the problem over to the United Nations. Mr. Creech-Jones' declaration, therefore, that "the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews" is very singular indeed and does not advance the solution at all. It may be pertinent to recall that the principle of partition on which the Majority Report of the Committee is based was first projected by the all-British Royal Commission in 1937. At that time the British Government accepted that recommendation in principle and declared: "In supporting a solution of the Palestine problem by means of partition, His Majesty's Government are much impressed by the advantages which it offers to the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs would obtain their national independence, and thus be enabled to cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of neighbouring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress. They would be finally delivered from all fear of Jewish domination... On the other hand, partition would secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and relieve it from any possibility of its being subjected in the future to Arab rule. It would convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State with full control over immigration... Above all, fear and suspicion would be replaced by a sense of confidence and security, and both peoples would obtain, in the words of the Commission, the inestimable boon of peace."

Confronted as we now are by the latest expression of His Majesty's Government, we cannot help but reflect upon the course which has been followed by successive British Governments during the past decade. In 1937 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the Palestine problem, which, after an exhaustive study, recommended partition as a solution. After an initial approval of the plan, the British Government wound up by rejecting it and promulgated in its stead the White Paper policy of 1939 which was in complete contradiction to the basic recommendation of the Royal Commission. In 1945 the British Government invited the American Government to join a two-nation inquiry into the Palestine problem with a view to its solution. This Committee submitted unanimous recommendations proposing not partition, but a unitary state. It called for the abrogation of the White Paper policy, including its racial land law, the early admission of 100,000 Jews, continued Jewish immigration thereafter, and the faithful implementation of the provisions of the Mandate. The British Government rejected the recommendations of this Committee also and wound up by putting forward the Morrison and Bevin proposals which were diametrically opposed in substance and in spirit to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee. Finally, in 1947 the British Government proposed another examination



Symbol of Jewish Tragedy. "Exodus" refugees back on Nazi soil

of the Palestine problem, this time by the United Nations. As a result, a commission was appointed consisting of the representatives of 11 nations. This Committee has now submitted a Report which recommends a plan of partition coupled with economic union. But this Report seems no more acceptable to His Majesty's Government than the two earlier Reports. It has indicated no support of this latest Report and offers in its stead — nothing. The failure, however, of the United Kingdom Government to give the United Nations a measure of guidance and support, and its announced intention of an early withdrawal from Palestine which we welcome, makes it more imperative than ever that the General Assembly should proceed with the work before it with utmost dispatch. As early as last April it was realized in the special session of the Assembly that there was great urgency to the matter. Certainly that urgency for action and decision has been intensified by all that has transpired since.

#### UNSCOP RECOMMENDATIONS

The Jewish Agency, in making this preliminary comment on the Report itself, wishes to indicate at the outset its full approval of all but one of the eleven unanimous recommendations made by the Committee. On the sixth recommendation, of which it does not disapprove, it would like to make this observation. The sixth recommendation calls upon the General Assembly "to undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem." It will be recalled that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry likewise recommended that efforts be made immediately to find new homes for these displaced persons. In making this recommendation the Anglo-American Committee stated: "We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe". The position in this respect has remained completely unchanged. The recommendation has remained a dead letter. Our unfortunate refugees are still languishing in the displaced persons' camps facing a third winter after the termination of the war. The Report of the Special Committee refers to the "intense urge" of these distressed persons to be allowed to go to Palestine. The "intense urge" of the Jewish displaced persons to proceed to Palestine and the refusal of most of them to go anywhere else springs not only from their realization that the prospects of their admission to other countries are slight in the extreme, and even then only of a very limited scope. It springs pre-eminently from the fact that Palestine offers to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else; the chance





Testimony of the "Exodus". The Odyssey of the "Exodus" refugees forcibly returned to D.P. Camps was a dramatic prelude to U.N. deliberations

a real home, the prospect of a life in congenial surroundings, the insurance of permanency. All the longing of these uprooted people for a life of peace and dignity, for a normal and secure existence finds expression in this "intense urge" to go to Palestine. What more overwhelming and tragic evidence of this urge is required than the persistent and desperate attempts of these men, women and children to reach the shores of the Jewish National Home from where they are forcibly turned back — in the case of the "Exodus 1947", back to Germany! And if it be countered that mere desire does not create a right, a complete answer is that that desire was the basis for the creation of the right by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate. That desire was recognized as morally so compelling that it led the victorious Allies in the First World War to establish solemn international commitments guaranteeing the legal right of Jews to go to Palestine.

The Jewish Agency strongly hopes that the nations of the world will welcome those among the displaced persons who wish to emigrate to other lands. The Jewish Agency never contemplated that any displaced person should be forced to go to Palestine. But surely, to compel those Jewish refugees, many of whom have close family ties with Palestine, to go against their will to other lands and to deny them the right to go to the Jewish National Home would be most unjust and unkind and would be bitterly resented. The 12th recommendation of the Committee reads: "It is recommended that in the appraisal of the Palestine question, it be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general."

We are at a loss to understand the meaning of this recommendation — actually not a recommendation but a mere postulate. The "Jewish problem in general" is not a problem of Jewish immigration or of refugees. It is the age-old problem of Jewish national homelessness. There is but one solution to this problem, a national home. This was the basic Jewish problem which was faced by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and to which the proper solution was given — the reconstitution of the national home of the Jewish people in Palestine.

Without attempting at this stage a detailed analysis of the solution recommended by the minority of three members of the Special Committee, we must state at once that we find it wholly unacceptable, even as a basis for discussion. It proposes the establishment of an independent Federal State of Palestine, consisting of what are described as an Arab and a Jewish 'State', though they are, in fact, little more than semi-autonomous cantons or provinces. It is obvious that under the constitutional provisions envisaged in this recommendation, Palestine would become in effect an Arab State with two Jewish enclaves, in which the Jews would be frozen in the position of a permanent minority of the population of the Federal State. Under the proposed constitution the Jewish province would not have control over immigration even within the narrow confines of its own borders. Nor would it have control over its own fiscal policies. Not only with regard to the crucial question of immigration, but also with regard to many other matters of fundamental importance, the ultimate power of decision will rest with the Arab majority of the proposed Federal State. The proposal is a variant of the Federal scheme put forward last year by His Majesty's Government, generally known as the Morrison Plan, which was rejected at the time both by Jews and Arabs, as well as by the Government of the United States. The plan entails for the Jews all the disadvantages of partition — and a very bad partition geographically — without the compensating advantages of a real partition: statehood, independence and free immigration.

#### PARTITION PLAN

As regards the Majority proposals we wish to make the following observations. These proposals are those of the Committee. Needless to say they are not the proposals of the Jewish Agency which, in fact, were ruled out by the Committee. They do not represent satisfaction of the rights of the Jewish people. They are a serious attenuation of these rights. At the hearings of the Committee we fully defined these rights and their justification. Partition clearly was never contemplated by the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate. It was intended that Palestine, the whole of Palestine, shall ultimately become a Jewish State. This is the clear testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, who was the British Prime Minister at the time of the issuance of the Declaration. The land referred to as Palestine in the Declaration included what is now Trans-Jordan. The Royal Commission of 1937 declared that "the field in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine". That area has already been partitioned. The first partitioning of Palestine took place in 1922 when Trans-Jordan, representing  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the original area of Palestine, was cut off and has since been set up by the British as an Arab kingdom. Thus, one Arab state has already been carved out of the area assigned to the Jewish National Home. It is now proposed to carve a second Arab state out of the remainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish National Home is now to be confined to less than  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the territory originally set aside for it. This is a sacrifice which the Jewish people should not be asked to make. The legitimate national aspirations of the Arab peoples have been fully satisfied. President Truman, in his letter of October 28, 1946, to the king of Saudi-Arabia, calls attention to this fact: "I am happy to note", he writes, "that most of the liberated peoples (of the Near East) are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish National Home, however, has not yet been fully developed". The Arabs possess today independent monarchies in Saudi-Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and independent republics in Syria and Lebanon. A population of 17



millions in Arab Asia occupies an area of 1,290,000 square miles, enormously rich in resources and potentialities. This area, which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and which, together with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied Nations, includes all the centres which are primarily associated in history with Arab and Moslem traditions. Palestine, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the nations of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish National Home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only 10,000 square miles in extent, and it is now proposed, in the Majority Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish National Home by almost one-half.

It is not our intention at this time to enter into a detailed discussion of the many territorial provisions in the proposals of the Majority Report. But we feel constrained to point out at least two features which are open to most serious objections. The Majority Report eliminates western Galilee — that is, most of Galilee — from the Jewish State. The Peel Commission included western Galilee in the Jewish State. We regard the proposed exclusion of western Galilee as an unjustified and a particularly grievous handicap to the development of the Jewish State. Under the terms of the Majority proposal, the city of Jerusalem is set up as a separate government unit. We would not question the propriety of placing the old city of Jerusalem, which contains the holy places, as well as the holy shrines, which may be outside the walls of the old city, in the custody of an international trustee. But outside the old city a modern new city has grown up which contains a compact Jewish section of approximately 90,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central national, religious and educational institutions of the Jewish people of Palestine. Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a particularly severe blow. Jerusalem holds a unique place in Jewish life and religious traditions. It is the ancient capital of the Jewish nation and the symbol throughout the ages of Jewish nationhood. The undefeated resolve of our people to be reconstituted as a nation in the land of Israel was epitomized in the solemn vow of the Psalmist and the exiled people throughout the ages: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning". We strongly urge that the Jewish section of modern Jerusalem, outside the walls, be included in the Jewish State. There are other modifications which we will take up at a later stage of these discussions.

## HEAVY SACRIFICE

To return to the basic solution of partition proposed by the Special Committee; it entails, as we have said, a very heavy sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. But if such a sacrifice is made the inexorable condition of an immediate and final solution, we would be prepared to assume the responsibility for recommending acquiescence to the supreme organs of our movement, subject, of course, to further discussion of the constitution and territorial provisions which we assume will take place in the course of these sessions. We would be prepared to do so because the proposal makes possible the immediate re-establishment of the Jewish State, an ideal for which our people ceaselessly strove through the centuries, and because it ensures immediate and continuing Jewish immigration which, as events have demonstrated, is possible only under a Jewish State. We would do so also as our contribution to the solution of a grave international problem and as evidence of our willingness to join with the community of nations in an effort to bring peace at last to the troubled land which is precious to the heart of mankind. We are impressed with the recommendation in the Report of an economic union between the two states. We approve of the conclusion reached by the Committee that "in view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, it is essential that, to the extent feasible, and consistent with the creation of two independent states, the economic unity of the country should be preserved". This appears to us to be a progressive and statesmanlike conception of great promise. The Jewish Agency is prepared to accept this proposal of an economic union. It should, however, be understood that this economic union — while it would bestow some benefits on the Jewish State — would also impose grave sacrifices. The acceptable limit of these sacrifices is, in principle, clear: the Jewish State must have in its own hands



Victim of Peace Crime. Survivor of Nazi persecution from the "Exodus" forced back by the Mandatory Government to D. P. camps in Germany.

those instruments of financing and economic control that are necessary to carry out large-scale Jewish immigration and the related economic development. The Jewish State must have independent access to those world sources of capital and supplies that are indispensable for the accomplishment of these purposes. The Majority Report provides, in effect, for a large subsidy from the Jewish to the Arab State, through equal sharing by the two States of the net revenues from customs and joint services. This subsidy would be a very heavy one in relation to the national income. The Jewish Agency would, however, be prepared to assume this burden as one of its sacrifices designed to find a way out of the present intolerable impasse.

## GOOD NEIGHBOURS

We mean to be good neighbours, not only to the Arab state of Palestine, but to the Arab states throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbours. Neighbourliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations we bring the offer of





Waiting for Liberation. One of the Cyprus camps where over 15,000 refugees from captured immigrant ships are detained. (Photo: H. Pinn)

peace and friendship. If it is met with the same spirit, rich and abundant blessing will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances — defend our rights to the utmost. We have built a nation in Palestine. That nation now demands its independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make an enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond it we cannot, we will not go.

The Report recommends that "during the transitional period the authority entrusted with the task of administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations". In view of the statement of His Majesty's Government it is not clear now which will be this authority. We favour an international authority under the United Nations to supervise and insure the implementation of its decisions. Above all, we urge that the transitional period be as brief as possible. A period of two years is, in our judgment, considerably longer than is necessary or desirable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the powers and functions of administration to the two peoples in their respective states would not take place at the end of the transitional period, but would be inaugurated immediately and consummated as rapidly as possible. The Jewish people in Palestine stands ready to assume immediately all responsibilities which the establishment of the Jewish State will involve.

We agree with the Report that "whatever the solution, enforcement measures on an extensive scale may be necessary for some time". The Jewish Agency hopes that the transition from the present status of the country to the new status of two independent states, will be attended by a minimum of friction and conflict. Once the boundaries are defined and the states established by the United Nations they will be entitled to have their territorial integrity and sovereign rights respected and protected as fully as all other nations which are covenanted to peaceful relations under the Charter. All members of the United Nations, whether in the neighbourhood of Palestine or elsewhere, who are bound by the principles of the Charter, will be expected to respect the rights of these new states, under pain of being condemned as aggressors

and subjected to international sanctions. Moreover, we assume that in the constitution of whatever military or police force may be required during the transitional period, full use will be made of the trained manpower available in Palestine which will be prepared to offer its services to the United Nations to maintain law and order.

The Jewish State, when it is established, will respect the sovereignty of its neighbour states as fully as it will defend its own. The Jewish people in Palestine is prepared to defend itself. It is not impressed by idle threats. A people that has survived the accumulated fury of the centuries, faced powerful empires in a bitter battle for survival, and during the last war saw hundreds of thousands of its sons fighting for freedom in all the liberating armies of the Allied nations — while the head of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee was broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Berlin and congratulating Hitler on his African victories over the Allies — such a people will not be intimidated. Nor, we are confident, will this great international body which is earnestly wrestling with this tremendously difficult problem and which is seeking a just and equitable solution, be terrorised into surrendering its high mandate. We recall with satisfaction that similar threats uttered by the same parties during the first Special Session did not influence the resolution of the Assembly. Nor was the Special Committee impressed by these threats during its hearings. We hope that these same threats will not influence this great deliberative body which must be guided by principles of truth and justice — the underlying principles of its Charter. The Jewish people in Palestine will be prepared to defend itself. It will welcome, of course, whatever support can properly be given to it by the United Nations or its members, pursuant to the decisions of the United Nations. In this connection we must take note of the announcement made by the representative of the United Kingdom that its forces may not be available to the United Nations during the transitional period, and may be subject to early withdrawal from Palestine. In that event, in order to avoid the creation of a dangerous vacuum which might affect public security, the Jewish people of Palestine will provide without delay the necessary effectives to maintain public security within their country.

#### CROSSROADS OF HISTORY

With this United Nations Report we have reached one of the important crossroads of history. The course which will be followed will be fraught with destiny for all, the Jews, the Arabs and the United Nations. We hope that it will be a course of wisdom, justice and courage. The Jewish people hopefully awaits the decision of this body. Twenty-five years ago a similar international organization recognized the historic claims of the Jewish people, sanctioned our programme and set us firmly on the road of realization. We were not then regarded as intruders or invaders — not even by the foremost leaders and spokesmen of the Arab world — but as a people returning home after a long sad exile. The world approved and acclaimed the return of Israel to its ancient homeland. The statesmen of the world faced the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and they set about to solve it. The Jewish people was confirmed in its right to rebuild its national life in its historic home. It eagerly seized the long hoped-for opportunity and proceeded to rebuild that ancient land of Israel in a manner which evoked the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness blossom as the rose. Surely this great international body, surveying this faithful and fruitful work, will wish to see that work continued, that undertaking advanced, that hope of the centuries consummated. It will be a noble achievement which will redound to the everlasting glory of this world organization. It will be a supreme act of international justice.

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# SETTLEMENT



## REVIVING DEAD SOILS

SALTY WASTES • SHIFTING DUNES AND ERODED SLOPES

BY JOSEPH WEITZ

**T**HISTLES instead of wheat, and noisome weeds instead of barley" — this verse from Job (31, 40) aptly describes the agricultural decline of many of Palestine's most fertile lands. The spoliation and neglect of generations have converted the good earth of the Beisan Valley, of the Jericho and Huleh plains, etc., into a wilderness of prickly shrubs. The reclamation of this and other types of Palestine waste lands is discussed in the present article which follows on the description of reclamation practices in the hill country given in the previous issue of this Magazine.

### SCRUB SOILS

When the first Jewish pioneers came to settle in 1936 on the lands acquired by the Jewish National Fund in the Beisan Valley, they found that only a small fraction of the soil was under cultivation of any sort. Much of the land had been allowed to become marshy; as a result of the destruction of the ancient irrigation systems, the blessing of abundant springs had turned into the curse of malarial pools. But it was not alone the swamps (later reclaimed by Jewish settlers) that kept the land in a state of desolation. Another and no less serious scourge was the spread of a dense vegetation of wild shrubs (mostly of *Ziziphus* Sp. variety) which so overran the soil that cultivation was almost impossible. This type of waste land may still be observed in its pristine state in the state domains and Bedouin-owned holdings of the Beisan region, e. g. in the es-Safa area northeast of Tirath Zvi settlement. Some 3,500 dunams of scrub land in this village has been classified by Government surveyors as Grade 16 in the Rural Property Tax scale, i. e. land entirely uncultivable and exempt from all taxation.

The reclamation of these lands requires the complete uprooting of the obnoxious bush growth, as otherwise this soil cannot be restored to agricultural use and placed under proper cultivation. This work demands much arduous and persistent labour. After the deep-rooted prickly shrubs are uprooted, the field is pock-marked by deep holes which must be filled and levelled before sowing or planting can proceed. Nearly all of the twelve Jewish settlements in the Beisan Valley had to invest considerable effort in this type of reclamation work and by the end of 1946 over 12,000 dunams had been reclaimed entailing an outlay of 48,240 units of work (manual labour, draught animals and tractors).

A similar problem had to be faced in the plain east of the Sea of Galilee where the communal settlement of Ein Geb was later established. Only a third of the 3,000 dunams of plain land extend-

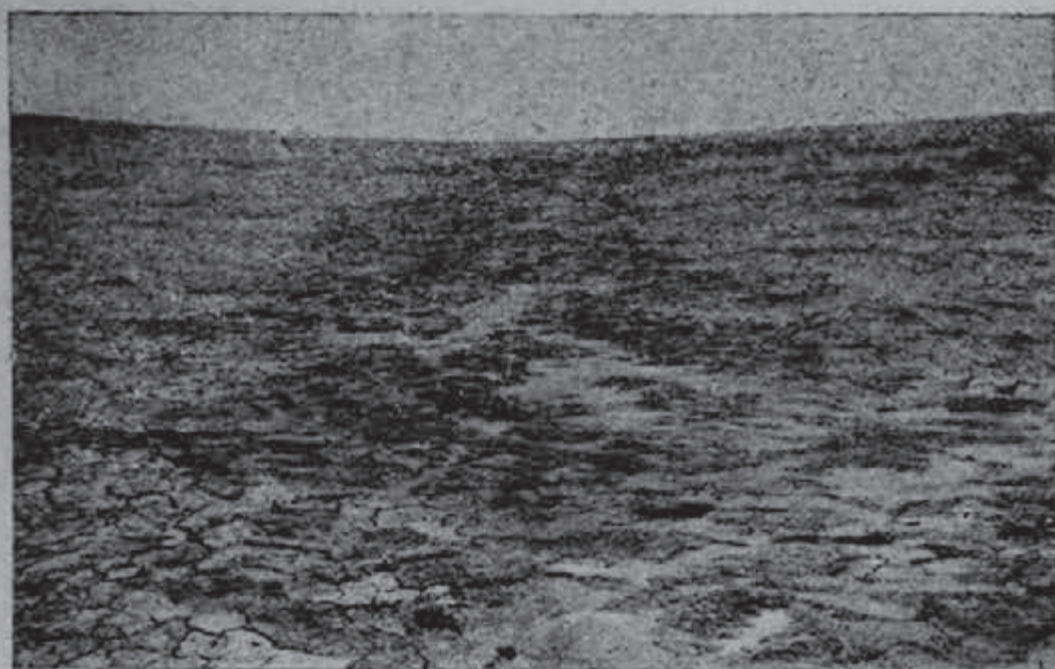
ing from the Sea of Galilee to the foothills was fit for cultivation when the land was first acquired by the "Kedmat Kinnereth" Company. Some 600 dunams were afterwards reclaimed by the Company and later on a further 1,325 dunams were cleared from the shrubs when the holding was taken over by the Jewish National Fund and the communal settlement of Ein Geb was founded. 6,800 units of work were invested in the task by Ein Geb settlers. Parts of the Huleh Plain were also infested with dense shrub growth and when Daphne and Dan — the first settlements of the Mezudath Ussishkin chain — were established, the pioneer settlers had to start with the uprooting of the bushes and clearing of the soil. An area of 3,748 dunams was reclaimed in this way in these settlements and in other parts of the Huleh Valley, requiring an investment of 26,827 units of work.

The total area reclaimed from shrubs in these three plains is 17,073 dunams, in which 81,867 units of work have been invested or an average of 4.67 units of work per dunam. The outlay involved was LP. 0.930 per dunam at prewar prices and LP. 3.750 at present price levels. The reclamation of these areas has released for cultivation formerly useless land which now yields grain, vegetables, fruit; the prickly wilderness has been converted into orchards and fields; wheat grows again instead of thistles and barley instead of noisome weeds. The area on which previously 275 farming family units eked out a miserable existence now supports 675 family units at a much higher standard of living.

### SALINE WASTES

The revival of the dead soils in the salty wilderness near the Dead Sea is one of the most striking of Jewish reclamation achievements in this country. The beginnings of this remarkable venture in soil improvement date back to 1939 when a communal workers' group employed at the Potash Works established their camp on the northern shore of the Dead Sea. Climatic conditions prevailing at this lowest spot on the surface of the earth made their work here one of the most arduous tasks of industrial pioneering in the whole country. But they were inspired by an even more ambitious vision than bringing life to the Dead Sea; they dreamed of resurrecting the dead soils around it. They saw the vast expanses of land which have become as impregnated with salts as the Dead Sea itself and could support no forms of vegetation. A millennial curse seemed to weigh over these lands of Sodom, petrified like Lot's wife. But the youthful pioneers refused to believe that this doom of sterility was immutable and eternal.





Saline Wilderness at Beit-Haarava before Reclamation.



Reclaimed land at Beit-Haarava under Potato Crop

They would not give up hope that some method might be found to break the spell and win back for civilisation the thousands upon thousands of dunams of land which counted for so much for a people regarding the redemption of the wastes as both a virtue and a necessity.

It was the excessive salinity of the soil which brought sterility; if the salts could be removed, fertility might be recovered. Their vision of using the sweet waters of the Jordan for washing away the excessive salts from the soil proved no mere mirage. Pioneering enthusiasm and undaunted patience before long converted the dream into reality. Scientific guidance was provided by the Soil Chemistry Division of the Jewish Agency Agricultural Research Station of Rehovoth, whose head, Dr. S. Ravikovitch, carried out a comprehensive study of the soils, and personally supervised the experiments. The Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod gave the required support to the efforts of the settlers. The scheme prepared for the purging of the soils from excessive salts was rigorously carried into practice and remarkable results were achieved. The parched and deeply fissured land was first ploughed and harrowed and then divided into basins which for six months were repeatedly and continuously flooded with water pumped from the Jordan. Soil analyses have shown that this process of washing the soil reduced salinity from 17% or 12% to 0.6% or 0.2%, and that some 2,000 tons per dunam of salt were removed to a depth of at least 2.3 metres, where it does not interfere with cultivation. After flooding was discontinued, the soil was tilled and placed under irrigated crops.

The first crop was sown in November, 1941, and it was soon apparent that this soil, which is otherwise similar to the white

alkali soils of the U. S. A. and the "solonchak" deserts of Russia, could be cured of its affliction. The arid and sterile wilderness was transformed into fertile soil producing vegetables, fodder, corn, etc. Bananas were also successfully grown. In general high yields were obtained on the reclaimed and irrigated land, namely, 3—9 tons of tomatoes per dunam; 9—12 tons of clover; 4—5 tons of maize. The results of soil analyses made in the course of six years have shown that there is no indication of any re-accumulation of salts and that irrigated crops lead to a further lowering of the soil's salt content. If water is available, this type of reclamation does not require heavy expenditure. The investment of labour per dunam of land is 17.5 man-days, 3 working days of draught animals, 3 hours of work with a tractor for the construction of basins, channels, flooding, etc. A total of 22.2 units of work is required, representing an outlay of LP. 22,500 per dunam. The quantity of water needed for leaching is 2,000—3,000 cubic metres per dunam.

The experiment which has been started on a few dunams has resulted by now in the recovery of over 200 dunams of one of the most desolate and depressing deserts of the world. The temporary workers' camp has become a permanent agricultural settlement known under the name of Beit-Haarava, the House in the Desert. Its settlers have indeed created fields, gardens, flowers, and trees out of the desolation of the desert, the Biblical "arava" referred to in the vision of Isaiah, whose prophecy they have literally achieved: "The wilderness and the parched land shall be glad. And the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose" (Isaiah, 35, 1). So far Beit Haarava is only a small man-made oasis, but it holds a promise and challenge for the regeneration of all the desert lands in the Jordan Valley. With more pioneers like those of Beit Haarava, an additional 200,000 dunams of now sterile land might be reclaimed in the Lower Jordan Valley and transformed into the most productive garden and natural hot-house of Palestine.

#### ERODED AND CRACKED SOIL

Eroded soils criss-crossed by deep crevices and fissures abound in the South of Palestine, but nowhere perhaps are conditions worse than in the Ruhama area which extends for over 80 square kilometers. The structure and composition of the soil facilitated here the process of erosion which swept off the earth from upper slopes and broke the depressions into deep crevices. Wrong methods of cultivation have come to aggravate the handiwork of nature; ploughing along the slopes in a direction parallel to the gullies of erosion instead of along the contour lines in the opposite direction has accelerated and intensified erosion and the danger of the formation of a man-made "dust-bowl".

When the first holdings, some 5600 dunams, were purchased in Ruhama (then known as Jimmama) by a group of Russian Jews in 1918, the first settlers found it "wild, all hills and gorges and crevasses", as one of them described it. But these early farmers, though inspired by an ardent desire to improve the land, did not know much about the control of erosion and they were not aware that the beautiful straight furrows running up and down the slopes instead of in a horizontal direction provided additional easy beds for the eroding torrents of winter rain and in the course of years would add to the pulverisation of the fields.

Ruhama has experienced more vicissitudes and tribulations than many other Jewish settlements; it was destroyed in the outbreaks of 1929, restored in 1932, and again reorganised in 1943, when it was taken over by the Jewish National Fund. When the cultivation of the Ruhama lands was resumed for the second time — in 1932 by Jewish citrus growers, the topographical configuration of the land and the danger of erosion were again disregarded, and the trees planted in the wrong direction. When the land finally came under the auspices of the J. N. F. and the present communal settlement of Ruhama was established, the new settlers had to face the combined consequences of erosion and of wrong methods of cultivation (which produce an even more effective danger of erosion when persistently practiced with the help of modern ploughs than with the native nail plough which only scratches the surface). They found the land so broken up that it was impossible to find a single parcel of ten dunams which would



be in one piece. It was obvious that the first task here was the amelioration of the soil and measures to check further erosion and more damage to the fabric of the soil.

The schemes for soil improvement and erosion control, some of which have already been implemented in Ruhama, include 1) the construction of terraces along horizontal contour lines; 2) earthen blocks in some of the wadis to check the run-off and to help the accumulation of soil so that in the course of time both sides of the wadi may become joined again; 3) the filling in with earth of some of the deep crevices in order to join together disrupted patches of soil 4) the breaking up of steep slopes through horizontal flat ditches (constructed with the aid of angledozers); in this way earthen barriers are created which put a brake on the precipitate flow of rainwater along the slopes and help to return some of the surface run-off. All these practices are calculated to prevent the formation of eroding streams during the winter rainfall, to capture the moisture, reduce the washing away of upper layers of fertile soil, and reverse the process of erosion by promoting the filling in of the crevices, the accumulation of earth in the wadis, etc.

The area so far reclaimed in Ruhama totals some 630 dunams on which today field crops, fodder, vegetables, etc. are grown, as well as fruit plantations. Where hilltops have been ameliorated they were planted with forest trees as their topographical position makes them unsuitable for other agricultural purposes. On the slopes where flat ditches have been drawn along contour lines, field crops can be successfully grown. The terraces and ditches constructed on the hillsides of Ruhama have stood up to many tests of endurance; they have resisted torrential floods, on one particular occasion after a rainfall of 100 millimetres during one night. Heavy machinery — tractors, angledozers, graders, levellers, etc. — was extensively used in reclamation work in Ruhama which so far necessitated an investment of 613 hours of work with the tractor and other implements, as well as 142 man-days of manual labour and 10 days for draught animals.

No final conclusions can as yet be drawn as to the best methods of reclamation of eroded and cracked soils, as this type of soil improvement is only in its first stages in this country. There is no doubt, however, that the restoration to cultivation of many thousands of dunams eroded and now useless land is a practical proposition from both the technical and economic point of view.

Soil improvement work of a similar kind is now being done at the new Negeb settlement of Beiri by the Jewish National Fund with the assistance of the Public Committee of the Soil Conservation Board. It is gratifying that erosion control measures are now being generally adopted in Jewish settlements and that contour



Erosion Control at Ruhama : Terraces and Flat Ditches along contour lines.

ploughing is becoming a common practice. If soil conservation principles are consistently observed, particularly in the settlements of the South and the Negeb, beneficial results of great importance will follow in the course of time.

#### MOVING DUNES

The shifting sand dunes which cover Palestine's coast are today not only a useless waste but also a menace to the fertile soil further inland. The encroaching dunes which gradually overrun the good soil and bury it under a blanket of worthless sand threaten to rob the cultivator of his heritage. The sea which has helped to form the dunes is also responsible for the check placed on their advance in many parts of the coast. The peoples of the Mediterranean lands since remotest antiquity preferred to erect their habitation near the shore where they could enjoy the many advantages and pleasures of the maritime location. In this way large expanses of coastal dunes, from Acre in the North to Gaza in the south, were occupied by cities and villages which immobilised the movement of the dunes. The process has continued in modern times as strikingly evidenced by the rise of Tel Aviv on a waste stretch of coastal dunes and it is certain to continue in the future with the expansion of the existing maritime cities and the establishment of new ones which seems to be likely in the Rishon le Zion — Holon coastal area to the south of Jaffa or in the Falik lands to the south of Nathanya. But whatever urban development is in store for the future, it is clear that a large part of the present dune area of 320,000 dunams will remain useless and dangerous to settled agriculture unless the sands are reclaimed and made productive by appropriate soil improvement practices.

The problem has now acquired added importance in connection with the recent development of a new form of Jewish settlement — the fishermen's villages which may be able to fulfill an important function in the Jewish national economy. This type of settlement cannot, however, be based solely on fishing, etc., and it is the general opinion of experts that maritime occupations must be supplemented by income from auxiliary farming. Whether agriculture should provide a quarter or half of the revenue of the villages may be a point of dispute among settlement planners, but it is their unanimous view that the village must be located not further than half a kilometer from the coast. As the land worked by the villagers must also be situated in the vicinity, it follows that the shore dunes must be used, as no other type of land is to be found anywhere along the coast except at a point north of Gaza at the mouth of the small Hirbieh river. If the development of fishermen's villages is to be promoted, the reclamation of the dunes and their conversion to agricultural use is thus an imperative necessity.



Patching up Eroded Soil. Tractor with angledozzer filling in crevices





Reclamation of Moving Sands. (Right) — Barren dunes of Michmoreth. (Centre) — Reclaimed area under ground nuts and (Right) under Durra.

Water need not be a limiting factor here for the development of intensive agriculture, as abundant underground resources are available under the coastal sands.

A special study of the agricultural problems of fishermen's villages is being made at the coastal settlement of Michmoreth\*) which is located near Kfar Vitkin, in Emek Hefer, north of the Alexander River. The settlement plan for this village provides for the establishment of 70 family units, who are to derive a large part of their livelihood from agriculture in addition to maritime crafts. The area assigned to the village is 600 dunams of which 500 are for agriculture and 100 dunams for the site of the village itself. The lands of Michmoreth which are located on the coast and extend for 2.3 kilometers inland, are so sandy that in their present state they cannot produce any crops unless the soil is improved and made fit for agricultural use. In order to arrive at reliable conclusions as to the best methods to be adopted for large scale application, experimental fields have been laid out in Michmoreth where various systems of dune reclamation are tested on the spot. In accordance with the programme prepared by Dr. S. Ravikovitch, head of the Soil Chemistry Division of the Jewish Agency Agricultural Experimental Station, experiments were started in the summer of 1946 in the growing of forage crops, vegetables, and certain types of plantations. As a means of checking the movement of the dunes, rows of eucalyptus and tamarisk trees have been planted on the borders of the experimental plots aggregating some 30 dunams. Three methods are being tested for the improvement of the properties and fertility of the soil: organic manure, green manure, and an admixture of clay soil. It is too early to draw any definite conclusions from the work of the Michmoreth experimental station as the results of only two seasons are so far available. Nevertheless it may be noted with satisfaction that very gratifying yields have already been obtained with potatoes, cucumbers, clover, etc. Experiments are also in progress with Sudan grass, vetch, durra, ground nuts, tomatoes, etc. The tests at the Station\*\*) must be continued for at least five years for conclusive proofs to emerge of

\*) Other fishermen's villages are Sdot-Yam near Caesarea, Maapilim and Ain ha-Yam near Athlit.

\*\*) Some experience in dune reclamation has been gained from the work of PICA (Caesarea) and of the Government Department of Agriculture (Acre, Gaza), but their schemes have dealt more with the fixation of the dunes, through afforestation, and checking the danger of encroachment on neighbouring lands, rather than with the restoration of the dunes to full agricultural use.

the effectiveness of the various systems of dune reclamation; nevertheless present indications already justify the hope that the object can be attained and that an area of about 200,000 dunams of shifting sands on the coast and of about half a million dunams in the Negeb can be transformed into productive and fertile soil.

A summing up of reclamation activities carried out under the auspices of the Jewish National Fund during the last ten years is provided in the table below:

J. N. F. RECLAMATION WORK

	Area in Dunams	Working Days	Units of Work	Farm Units	
				Before Reclamation	After Reclamation
Stony soil	15,660	169,628	203,699	65	378
Scrub soil	17,073	60,154	81,867	275	675
Saline soil	200	3,500	4,500	—	15
Cracked soil	630	140	765	2	5
	33,563	233,422	290,831	342	1073

As the above table shows, over 33,500 dunams of new productive soil have been created from formerly useless wastes in the course of the past ten years by the J. N. F. which has invested in this work a total sum of about LP. 200,000.

No discussion of reclamation work in Palestine would be complete without some mention of the drainage of swamps. This significant chapter in the history of Jewish settlement and of Palestine's reconstruction, has not been included in the present article because it is devoted to a survey of J. N. F. activities during the last ten years, whereas almost all important drainage work was done prior to that period. The implementing of the only large remaining scheme, that of the draining of the Huleh swamps, for which all plans have been prepared, awaits future political decisions. It may be briefly stated that the drainage of swamps has been one of the most important contributions of Jewish settlement to the progress and prosperity of Palestine.

The progress of reclamation activities along the lines discussed in this and the previous article opens prospects of recovery of vast additional areas which may ultimately add to Palestine another four million dunams of productive land. This will bring immeasurable benefits to the country and ensure ample scope for the prosperity of all its inhabitants and of the additional millions returning from their tragic exile.

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# MIDDLE EAST

## MIDDLE EAST MOSAIC

### CONGLOMERATE OF PEOPLES • MINORITY PROBLEMS

BY Y. SHIMONY

The Middle East's complex pattern of racial, national and religious minorities and linguistic diversities is hardly paralleled anywhere else in the world. These disparities, whose origin goes back thousands of years, have now entered a crucial phase. It may, indeed, be affirmed that the relations between the various national and religious communities in each of the Middle Eastern states and throughout the region, as well as the attitude to them of various national groups living outside the Middle East, but deeply concerned in its fate, constitute one of the major problems of Middle Eastern reconstruction. It is clear, at any rate, that the Middle East, far from forming a uniform and homogeneous block as depicted by pan-Arab propaganda, conforms more to the description given by Lawrence of Arabia in his "Seven Pillars of Wisdom". Referring more particularly to Syria, he defined it as a mosaic of odd races and religions, with its Ansaryas, Ismailiyas, Kurds, Yezidis, Maronites and other Christians, Sunnis, Shia Mohammedans ("surly and fanatical, holding the Sunni as bad as Christians"), Druzes ("disliked by the Moslem Arabs and despising them in return") ... "Any wide attempt after unity", Lawrence wrote, "would make a patched and parcelled thing, ungrateful to a people whose instincts ever returned towards parochial home rule".

#### GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS

It is not possible to trace the various national groups in the Middle East to distinctive racial types. Nor is there much purpose in looking for racial purity. From the most ancient times onwards numerous peoples have conquered the Middle East and ruled over the whole or parts of it — Sumerians, Akkadians and Babylonians, Chaldeans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Hittites, Arameans, Hebrews and Phoenicians, Persians, Greeks, Romans and Byzantine Greeks, Arabs, Mongols and Turks. The traces left by foreign conquerors, such as Greeks, Romans and Persians, in the racial composition of the Middle East population are naturally much less marked than those left by the rulers who themselves hailed from the Middle East. At any rate, the various communities of the Middle East have mixed and have absorbed external elements to such an extent that any attempt to reduce their differences to racial factors in the strictly anthropological sense cannot be other than futile. Nor is there any practical purpose in such an inquiry as racial differences hardly constitute a living factor in the consciousness of the peoples of the Middle East.

Racial origin being thus ruled out as a distinguishing test, group consciousness alone must be regarded as the decisive factor. It is based on four main characteristics: (a) national differences; (b) linguistic differences, (almost identical); (c) religious differences (as for hundreds of years past, from the Byzantine period onwards, the various communities have enjoyed a regime of religious-communal semi-autonomy, each of the several sects has developed into an almost national entity with a distinctive communal consciousness); (d) territorial concentration (communities dispersed in small numbers over wide territories and in different

states will, as a rule, develop less marked communal consciousness than those concentrated in compact blocks).

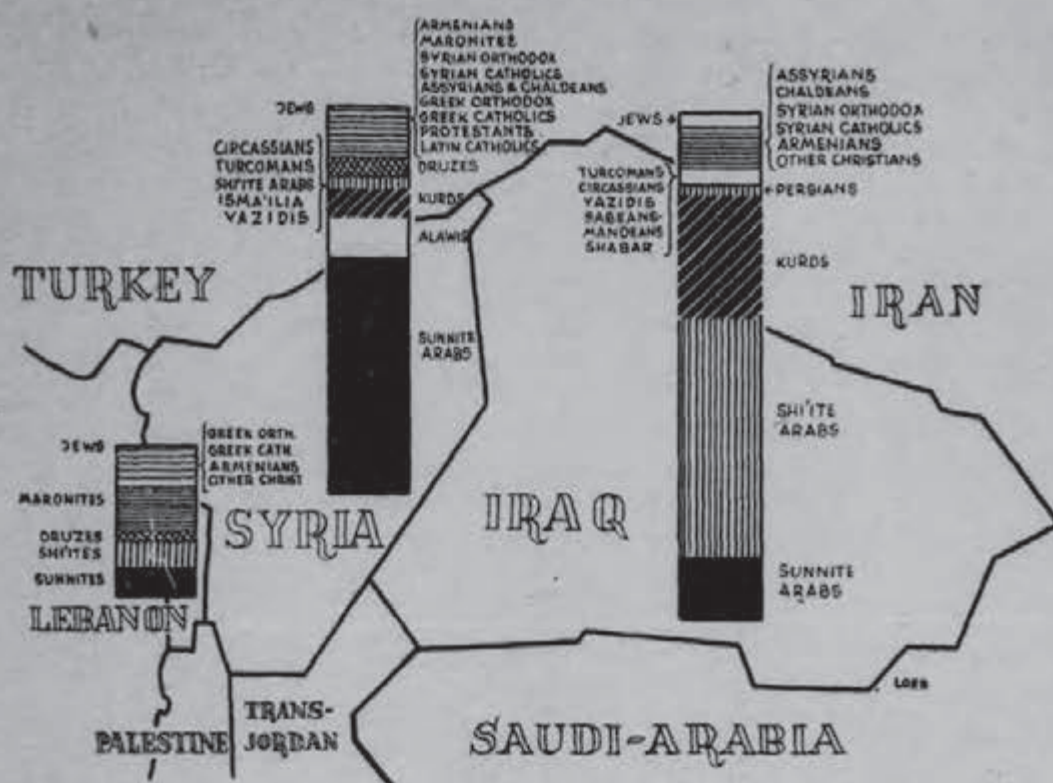
It is evident that such communities as are distinguished by more than one of these four factors will have a stronger group consciousness and will, if in a minority, hardly be absorbed into a state ruled by a majority community. Thus for instance, the Jews of Palestine who differ from the present Arab majority in respect of all the four factors enumerated above — having a distinctive national character, language and religion, and being concentrated in a contiguous area — could never be absorbed in an Arab majority state. The Kurds of Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria have one distinguishing factor less than the Palestinian Jews: they differ from the majority in respect of their national character and language and are concentrated in a more or less compact area, but as they are Sunnite Muslims they have a common religion with the majority in Turkey and Syria and with part of the Arab majority in Iraq. Even so their national movement, which aims at the establishment of an independent Kurdish State, is very strong, as proved by the numerous revolts, especially in Iraq. The Armenians, on the other hand, have a distinctive national character and differ in language and religion from those among whom they live, but are dispersed among the several Middle Eastern States without being concentrated anywhere. In contrast to the Jews and Kurds the Armenians, however, have an independent State of their own in U. S. S. R., a fact which adds to the complexity of the Armenian problem in Turkey whose Armenian population lives near the border of the Armenian Republic of the Soviet Union.

A number of groups constitute border-line cases between national and religious communities. The Assyrians and Chaldeans, for instance, in Syria and Iraq differ from the Arab majority mainly in respect of their religion, their racial and national character being somewhat vague. The use of their ancient Syriac-Aramean language has diminished, and Arabic is taking its place. Nevertheless they have a strong community consciousness. The world became acutely aware of this problem as a result of the Assyrian massacres in Iraq in 1933 and the subsequent efforts to find a refuge for them outside Iraq.

The Druzes, too, are a border-line case between a religious and national community, as are also the Alawis, also called Nusayris or Ansaryas. As the Druzes speak only Arabic and trace their origin to the same components as the Arab majority among whom they live, their main distinguishing characteristic is their secret religion. Their traditions and sufferings, however, and their warlike character have given them an almost national consciousness. They are concentrated in two compact areas: in the Druze Mountains of Syria and in the Lebanon. The Alawis are concentrated along the north-western coast of Syria and its immediate mountainous hinterland.

In some cases even purely religious communities have developed a semi-national consciousness. The Arab Shi'ite Muslims, for instance, form the majority of the population of Iraq.





COMMUNAL MAKE-UP OF LEBANON, SYRIA AND IRAQ

Their relations with the Arab Sunnite Moslems in that country are, however, complicated by the fact that the Shi'ites represent the more backward section of the population—economically, socially and culturally, whereas the Sunnites form the majority of the town-dwellers and occupy the more advanced economic and social positions, including the principal posts in the government and the administration. In Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine, however, where the Shi'ites are a minority (called Mutawalis), they too have developed an almost national consciousness.

As for the Christian communities in the Arab East, which are subdivided into a great number of sects and denominations, it may be said that those of them who are dispersed among the Moslems without forming any compact territorial groups (such as the Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Latin-Catholic, and the various Protestant sects, etc.) have a religious community consciousness and are inspired by an uneasy fear of the Moslem majority, even if this is rarely expressed openly. As, however, they have no prospects of developing any national life or statehood of their own, they are gradually being absorbed into the existing Moslem Arab majority states. On the other hand, those Christian communities which are concentrated in a compact territory of their own—such as the Maronites in the Lebanon, the Assyrians and Chaldeans in Iraq and North-Eastern Syria, the Ancient Syrian Christians (Jacobites) and the Syrian Catholics in the same area—have a definite semi-national consciousness. The last-mentioned sects also continue to use their ancient Syro-Aramean language, although many of them do so only in their church rites.

#### PRINCIPAL COMMUNITIES

The following is a list of the principal communities of the Middle East. No exact statistics are available and the figures must therefore be regarded as estimates only.

**Kurds:** Turkey — 1,500,000; Iraq — 750,000; Iran — 750,000; Syria — 200,000. Total — 2,500,000—3,500,000.

**Alawis:** Syria — 250,000—325,000.

**Jews\*):** Palestine — 625,000; Syria — 20-30,000; Lebanon — 4-6,000; Iraq — 80-120,000; Egypt — 60-65,000; Yemen — about 50,000. Total — 840,000—900,000.

\*) The Jews of Palestine are listed here together with the small Jewish communities of the Arab States only for convenience. Whereas the latter are undoubtedly minority groups, the Jewish Yishuv of Palestine cannot be defined as a minority group, as it has developed into a fully conscious national group, with complete state-consciousness and independent national institutions in all spheres of life which are almost full-fledged state institutions.

**Druzes:** Syria — 80-90,000; Lebanon — 75,000; Palestine — 10-15,000; Emigrants (America, etc.) — 12-30,000. Total — 175,000—210,000.

**Shi'ite Muslims:** Iraq — 1,500,000—2,000,000; Yemen (another Shi'ite denomination, "Zeidites") — about 2,000,000. Shi'ite minorities: Syria — 13,000; Lebanon — 200,000; Palestine — 4,000. Total (Shi'ite minorities) 220,000.

**Isma'ilia:** Syria — 28,000.

**Yazidis:** Syria — 3,000; Iraq — 15,000—40,000.

**Sabeans—Mandeans:** Iraq — 5-10,000.

**Shabak:** Iraq — 12,000.

**Circassians:** Transjordan — 10,000; Iraq — 8,000; Palestine — 1,000; Syria — 15-20,000. Total — 34,000—39,000.

**Turcomans:** Iraq — 65,000; Syria — 30,000; Palestine — 2,000. Total: 100,000.

**Persians:** Iraq — 110,000.

**Armenians:** Turkey — 100,000; Syria — 113,000; Lebanon — 60-80,000; Iraq — 15-30,000; Palestine — 6-12,000; Egypt — 30-35,000. Total — 325,000—370,000.

**Assyrians:** Iraq — 15-25,000; Persia — 10,000; Syria — 10,000; Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt (together with Chaldeans) — about 3,000.

**Chaldeans:** Iraq — 100,000; Syria — 5,000; Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt — see Assyrians.

**Syrian-Orthodox (Jacobites):** Syria — 40,000; Iraq — 12,000; Lebanon — 3,500; Palestine — 1,000. Total: 55-60,000.

**Syrian-Catholics:** Iraq — 25,000; Syria — 16,000; Lebanon — 5,000; Palestine — 300. Total: 45-50,000.

**Copts:** Egypt — 1,000,000.

**Maronites:** Lebanon — 300-330,000; Syria — 13,000; Palestine — 6,000. Total — 320-350,000.

**Greek-Orthodox:** Syria — 137,000; Lebanon — 112,000; Palestine — 45,000; Egypt — 100,000. Total — about 400,000.

**Greek-Catholic:** Syria — 47,000; Lebanon — 65,000; Palestine — 20,000; Egypt — 25,000. Total about 160,000.

**Latin-Catholic:** Syria — 6,000; Lebanon — 3,000; Palestine — 20,000; Egypt — 25,000; Iraq — 1,000. Total about 50,000.

**Protestants:** Syria — 11,000; Lebanon — 10,000; Palestine — 15,000; Egypt — 25,000; Iraq — 8,000. Total — about 60,000.

The following summary indicates the national and religious structure of Iraq, Syria, and the Lebanon.

#### IRAQ

Shi'ite Muslim Arabs — 1,500,000—2,000,000; Shi'ite Muslim Persians — 110,000; Sunnite Muslim Arabs — 400—500,000; Sunnite Muslim Kurds — 750,000—1,000,000; Sunnite Muslim Turcomans and Turks — 65,000; Circassians — 8,000; Yazidis — 15-40,000; Sabeans-Mandeans — 5-10,000; Shabak — 12,000; Christian Assyrians — 15-25,000; Christian Chaldeans — 100,000; Christian Syrian-Orthodox — 12,000; Syrian-Catholics — 25,000; Armenians — 15-30,000; other Christians — about 100,000. Jews — 80-120,000.

Of the  $3\frac{1}{4}$  to  $4\frac{1}{4}$  million inhabitants of Iraq, the Shi'ite Muslim Arabs represent, therefore, some 42—46%. The Sunnite Muslim Arabs, who are the main rulers of the country, represent some 11-13%. The most important national minority, the Kurds, numbering 750,000—1,000,000 and forming a third or a quarter of the population are concentrated in the North-east of the country; they maintain a vigorous separatist movement.

#### SYRIA

Sunnite Muslim Arabs — 1,720,000; Sunnite Muslim Kurds — 200,000; Sunnite Muslim Circassians — 20,000; Sunnite Muslim Turcomans and Turks — 30,000; Shi'ite Muslims — 13,000; Alawis — 325,000; Isma'ilia — 28,000; Yazidis — 3,000; Druzes 80-90,000; Armenians — 113,000; Maronites — 13,000; Syrian-Orthodox — 40,000; Syrian — Catholics — 16,000; Chaldeans and Assyrians — 5,000; Greek-Orthodox — 137,000; Greek Catholics — 47,000; Protestants — 11,000; Latin-Catholics — 6,000; Jews — 20-30,000.

Out of the 2,900,000 inhabitants of Syria, the ruling Sunnite Muslim Arabs represent, therefore, about 59%. Some of the minorities are territorially concentrated, the most important of



them being the Alawis in the North-West and the Druzes in the South-East, both of them representing large majorities in their respective areas. Most of the smaller national minorities are concentrated in North-Eastern Syria, the so-called "All-Jazirah", a fact which has created separatist and autonomous tendencies in this area, too, in addition to the separatist movement of the Druzes and Alawis.

#### LEBANON

Sunni Muslims — 225-235,000; Shi'ite Muslims — 200-210,000; Druzes — 75,000. Total non-Christians (except Jews and "various") — 500,000—520,000; Jews — 5-6,000; Various — 6,000; Maronites — 300—330,000; Greek Orthodox — 110—122,000; Greek-Catholics — 62-65,000; Armenians — 60-80,000; other Christian denominations — 23,000. Total Christians — 550,000—600,000.

The Lebanon may be described as a "state of minorities", as none of its several communities constitutes a majority of the population. The Maronites are the largest single community; the next are the Sunni Muslims and the Shi'ite Muslims. The Christians together form a majority which, however, is by no means very secure. The state is based on a jealously guarded equilibrium between the several communities. Most of the more important Government and administrative posts as well as Parliamentary seats are divided among the several communities according to an established key.

Some of the communities are concentrated in compact areas — such as the Maronites — mainly in the "Mountain of Lebanon", the Shi'ite Muslims in the South and the East (the Valley, "Al Biqa"), the Druzes in the Southern part of the Mountain, etc.

#### MIGRATORY TRENDS

The present-day minorities and communities of the Middle East are, with very few exceptions, not the outcome of migration movements of recent times, but are mostly the remnants of a great variety of ancient peoples, looking back on a history of thousands of years in the same area in which they live today. There are, however, four migration movements in the Middle East which should be mentioned here. Two of them are motivated by fear of persecution — those of the Armenians and of the Assyrians. One arises from a great effort of national reconstruction and homecoming — the return of the Jewish people to Palestine. Finally, there is a trek of labourers and landless peasants from various Arab countries to a country offering well-paid work and higher standards of living — the Arab migration to Palestine.

(a) The Armenians migrated from their home-land in Eastern Anatolia, before, during and after the first World War. Most of them dispersed to countries of the Middle East — Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt. There are today some 325,000—370,000 in those countries and in Turkey. Some of them consider the Socialist Armenian Soviet Republic, (where some 900,000 Armenians live representing 85% of the population) as their centre and homeland. In the last few years a movement for re-immigration to Armenia has begun. So it is estimated that some 20-30,000 have left the Arab Middle East.

(b) The Assyrians, too, left Eastern Anatolia, especially during and after the first World War, for Russia, Persia, and Iraq. The world's attention was called to the fate of the 35,000 Assyrians who had settled in Iraq, when, in 1933, a massacre took place in which the Iraqi Government and Army were involved. Part of them emigrated to Syria. Large-scale schemes prepared by the League of Nations for the resettlement of the Assyrian people as a whole in South America or in Syria, did not materialize.

(c) The Jewish immigration to Palestine arises from four causes: (1) The untenable position of the Jewish people in their dispersed and homeless condition which exposes them to physical persecution and economic oppression and which has resulted in the mass slaughter of 6,000,000 European Jews under the Nazi regime; (2) the progressive disintegration of the spiritual life of the Jewish people and the loss of their distinctive national traditions as a result of their enforced assimilation to their environment; (3) the unbroken attachment of the Jewish people to Palestine, the land of their origin which they have never ceased to regard as their national and spiritual centre and eventual haven of refuge. Since the end of the first World War, about 500,000 Jews have migrated to Palestine and have built up there a new economy and a new civilization. This development has not resulted in any economic suffering or displacement of the Arab population. On the contrary, the economic prosperity resulting from Jewish immigration and development has led to a not inconsiderable Arab influx from neighbouring countries. The continuation of Jewish immigration is vital for the progress of this great effort of reconstruction which, in many respects, may be regarded as an experiment in Middle Eastern reconstruction generally. The economic and social development of the country can continue only if there is an uninterrupted influx of capital, skilled workers, technicians and pioneer workers.

(d) Arab immigration to Palestine. For the last 30 years Arab immigrants have infiltrated into Palestine in ever-increasing numbers, attracted by the higher standard of living, higher wages, abundant employment opportunities, etc., to be found in Palestine — which were all created, directly or indirectly, by the Jewish reconstruction of Palestine. As compared with neighbouring countries, health conditions are much better in Palestine; infant, child and general mortality are much lower, illiteracy much less common, wages and general standards higher. An unskilled Arab worker earned in Palestine, before the war, 20-25 piasters per day as compared with 3-5 in Egypt and Iraq, and 8-10 in Syria. It should be noted that the Arab immigrants — about whose numbers there are no exact statistics, as they enter for the most part as "illegal" immigrants, i. e., without proper permits or registration, but who are considered to number some 80-120,000, i. e., 7-10% of the Arab population of Palestine — do not come from overpopulated territories (as is the case for instance with Indian and Chinese emigrations). Iraq and Syria, are definitely underpopulated and would themselves have room for millions of immigrants, if properly developed. (The percentage of cultivated land out of cultivable areas is: Iraq — 14% and Syria — 20%; the percentage of irrigated out of irrigable lands is: Syria — 21%, Iraq — 14%, in Transjordan — 33.3%).

#### CONCLUSIONS

The Middle East is a conglomeration of numerous peoples, communities, sects and denominations. Uniformity—political, cultural and social — could be forced on this area only by sacrificing the interests, the development or even the very lives of the several communities. A comprehensive solution of all these problems, (of which the Jewish-Arab problem of Palestine is only one instance) can be found only by the adoption of some general scheme of Middle East regional cooperation and development, which would give all the communities and groups scope for developing their national, cultural and social life according to their own ideals and aspirations.

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# PALESTINE NEWS SURVEY

## PALESTINE LOG

### REVIEW OF THE MONTH • REACTIONS TO UNSCOP • GLEAM OF LIGHT

SEPTEMBER, 1947, THE END OF A Jewish Year during which political relations with the Mandatory Power worsened from intolerable strain to almost complete rupture, was marked by one of the blackest moments in the whole history of that relationship — the return of the people of the *EXODUS* 1947 to Germany. And yet September 1947 brought the Jews of Palestine a real renewal of hope, of confidence in themselves and in better days ahead.

On the 1st of September, the eleven members of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine presented a report unanimously recommending the end of the Mandate, independence for Jews and for Arabs, increased Jewish immigration and greater freedom of land purchase. Once more, a team of adequately impartial enquirers had conceded the substance of the Jewish case. For all the pangs at the prospect of Partition, for all the reserves on points of detail, for all the gap between a report and its translation into reality, the report itself was a reality. It gave an opening for action where there had only been a stone wall. It offered moral encouragement and a moral vindication. It lifted from the Jews the nightmare sense that they were crying their need to a world gone stone deaf and purblind, the feeling that perhaps accounted for the intense insistence with which UNSCOP members had been shown things and told things — the same simple things over and over again. But these things were real and they were told, and eleven adequately impartial men had not been able to deny the evidence.

THE ARAB REACTION WAS WHAT was to be expected. The Palestine Arab leaders set the pace for complete and outraged rejection of the proposals by the spokesmen of all the Arab States. The Palestine Arab Higher Executive made strenuous efforts to close the ranks of all active groups, so that there might be no wavering over such details as whether all Jews at present in the country would be allowed to stay on when Palestine becomes an independent Arab State or only those who were in the country in 1917. The assassination of Sami Taha,

the well-known Arab trade union chief, has removed from the scene a leader who has shown some signs of deviation from the strict official line. The Histadrut bulletin *LABOUR IN PALESTINE*, commented as follows (25th September): "Even to those who know with what ruthlessness and inexorable constancy the Arab Higher Executive and its leader impose their will and their policy on the whole Arab community in Palestine, the murder of Sami eff. Taha came as a shock... This murder signifies that those who are responsible for it are determined ruthlessly to impose their will and their policy upon the entire Arab community of Palestine and are determined to root out any sign of opposition within that community".

THE BRITISH RESPONSE CAME AT the end of the month with the blank negative delivered to the U.N. Assembly at the meeting of its Committee on Palestine on the 26th September: the refusal to use force to implement any policy other than that hitherto pursued, the determination to withdraw from Palestine unless aided in pursuing that policy. That it not exactly what Mr. Creech Jones said, but that is what his statement was judged in Palestine to amount to. This was scarcely a surprise — it was not in order to be told to reverse their policy that H.M.G. had put the issue before the nations. A week later (2nd October), Mr. Ben Gurion announced the Jewish Agency's readiness to form a Provisional Government and to implement the UNSCOP majority report with the aid of the Yishuv's security forces, if the report secured the U.N. blessing.

While Palestine is used to being told that its fate and future are in the balance — permanent uncertainty is also a kind of permanence — there was nevertheless a sharp sense of decisive events impending. There was a ground-swell of elation at the possibility of independence, but it was kept under control, for the hazards ahead were all too clear; this report, this Assembly, this decision, might well end in political frustration, like the others before them. Meanwhile events did not stop, time did not run back, because of debates in Jerusalem, Zurich, London, Washington and

New York. In spite of the UNSCOP recommendations on immigration, British naval and military forces landed the *EXODUS* people at Hamburg on the 7th and 8th September. Naturally that was not the end of the matter, and the Yishuv watched with exasperated indignation the last turns of the screw — the interrogations and the ultimatums.

On the morrow of Hamburg, Mrs. Meyerson, Head of the Jewish Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem, warned Mr. Bevin not to be misled by the fact that the Jews were not reacting violently to his provocative action — the Jewish people were still prepared to break the ban on entry into Palestine. On the 27th September, a small landing craft, Hagana ship *AF AL PI KHEN* (*DESPITE EVERYTHING*), brought 440 immigrants to Palestine — the first ship in two months, to be followed within a week by two more, *REDEMPTION* and *THE JEWISH STATE*, with 3,000 people aboard. One man was killed on the *DESPITE* when the passengers resisted the boarding party. These 3,500 people were sent to join the 15,000 on Cyprus, either because the Governments of the Balkan countries from which the refugees came refused to receive them back, or because the U.N. debate on Palestine did not seem the appropriate moment for a further demonstration of truculence.

ON THE 23rd SEPTEMBER THE Government had completed the transport of 1,000 orphans from Cyprus to Palestine, ahead of quota schedules, in fulfilment of a promise given during the UNSCOP sessions in Palestine. It had stopped supplying transport for the 'normal' monthly quota of 750 from Cyprus, because of earlier Hagana sabotage of deportation ships, and the Jewish Agency brought over the August quota and began bringing in that for September.

If by the end of the month, the gleam of light on the political horizon seemed to many scarcely more than a rift of light in the storm clouds, a rift already obscured, nevertheless the majority of the Yishuv, 'despite everything', faced the New Year in a mood of renewed hope and courage.

DAPHNE TREVOR





# INSIDE PALESTINE



## INDUSTRY

**OUTLOOK.** The industrial position which has been subject to considerable fluctuations has recently taken a distinctly favourable turn with the prospects opened by the production needs connected with the dollar crisis and by the impending political decisions on the constitutional future of Palestine. It is a tribute to the vitality of Palestine industry that despite the spate of unregulated imports, difficulties in securing raw materials, official indifference or hostility, curfews, martial law, etc., there has been no serious dislocation of industrial activities. Although setbacks and reduction in operations have been experienced, the bulk of Palestine industries have held their ground. Neither have the disturbed conditions and political uncertainty succeeded in paralysing new initiative. Whilst some of the new projects have been held up or restricted, on the whole solid advance has been made in the re-equipment of Palestine industry with modern machinery, the construction of modern industrial premises and the development of new lines of manufacture, especially in the textile industry. Figures for imports of machinery show for 1946 an investment of nearly L.P. 3,000,000. During four months of the present year, machinery imports amounted to nearly L.P. 1,500,000 as compared with L.P. 500,000 for the same period last year. Consumption of electricity for industrial power during January-June 1947 increased to 40,700,000 kw as against 36,400,000 during the same months last year. The expansion and reinforcement of Palestine's industrial structure is of great importance from the point of view of the future tasks industry may be called upon to play under the new constitutional arrangements in Palestine.

★  
**OIL.** Drilling operations recently started by the Petroleum Development (Palestine) Ltd., a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Co., in the vicinity of Gaza will test the indications provided by many years of preliminary exploration, pointing to the south of Palestine as the most likely location of the potential oil fields. The Gaza structure which was for long considered as promising was tested before the war by gravimetric methods but operations could not proceed because of the emergency. A year ago crews of American geophysicists equipped with seismographic shooting and recording apparatus completed the re-surveying of the sub-soil structure. As a result a spot was chosen in the village of Huleiqat, ten miles north of Gaza, as the site of the first actual oil drilling operations ever to be undertaken in Palestine with modern highly powered machinery. The huge drill

turning at 100 revolutions per minute bores down into the soil from a pylon 136 feet high. Operations on this spot may continue for a year until either oil is found or a depth of 12,000 feet is reached. It is believed that the first indications of oil may be found at about 2-3,000 feet. Samples of soil are regularly brought up by the apparatus and analysed in the laboratories. Incidentally, a layer of soil has been traversed which contained abundant supplies of non-salty water.

The inauguration of drilling activities in the Gaza area has been attended by an unusual display of publicity, which according to some press comments, may have been inspired by political motives in view of the present U. N. discussions on the future of Palestine. It is reported that another drilling rig is soon to be erected in the heart of the Negeb desert at Kurnub, east of Gaza, where the remains of an ancient city have been found which testify to a former age of Negeb's prosperity.

Exploration rights to a much smaller area in Southern Palestine are also held by the Jordan Exploration Company which is associated through the Palestine Mining Syndicate with the Palestine Potash Ltd. Preliminary prospecting has indicated good prospects in the neighbourhood of the great salt mountain of Jebel Usdum, south of the Dead Sea. Tentative preparations have been made by the company to start drilling operations in Jebel Usdum but were later suspended.

★  
**REFINERIES.** Whilst the Iraq Petroleum's subsidiary has started its search for local oil fields, the company is proceeding with the expansion of the refining facilities in Haifa based on supplies from Iraq and Arabia. A second oil refinery is under construction in Haifa with a capacity of five million tons, which exceeds by one million tons the capacity of the present refinery. Advance is also being made with the laying of the second pipeline from the Kirkuk fields which will double the supplies reaching Haifa.

★  
**BROMINE.** Progress in methods of industrial utilisation of bromine is reported by the Hebrew University. The Dead Sea, in addition to its almost inexhaustible reserves of potash and magnesium, is probably the richest world source of bromine. But so far the extraction of bromine has not played any significant part because of its limited present range of industrial applications. Bromine and bromine salts have found a market mainly in the pharmaceutical, dyestuffs and photographic trade; Great Britain before the war took 75% of its bromine supplies from Palestine. During the war bromine was used in the production of high

octane aviation benzine, for military planes, but this wartime demand has not continued.

Although the production of bromine at the Dead Sea has been expanded from 200 tons in 1941 to some 1,000 tons in the war years, the extraction of bromine cannot be expected to reach any important dimensions until new outlets are found for this chemical. Research by Hebrew University scientists has now indicated additional industrial possibilities. One of the new processes is connected with the manufacture of compounds important in the production of paints, lacquers, resins and certain types of foods. Another process connected with the textile and the paper and rayon industries brings an acceleration of manufacture, saving of fuel and improved quality of products at cheaper cost. Favourable results have been obtained from experiments and patents have been filed in various countries. One of the processes is already being used in the textile industry in Palestine. Further investigation in this field is to be continued under grants extended by the Government Board of Scientific and Industrial Research.

★  
**GLASSWARE.** The first products of Phoenicia's new glassware factory which reached the market last month have met with a favourable demand. In addition to bottles for soda, wine, citrus juices, milk and dairy products, etc., it is intended to start the manufacture of drinking glasses, plates, dishes, etc. The factory, which is the only automatic producer of glassware in the Middle East, was constructed by Phoenicia Ltd., with the cooperation of Koor Industries and Crafts Ltd., at a cost of L.P. 100,000. Most of the machinery for the new plant was obtained from England and from Canada and some was manufactured locally at the Vulcan Engineering works, another enterprise under Koor's auspices.

The existing Phoenicia window glass plant which has successfully continued its operations during the year is the sole local producer of this type of glassware. Plans have been now prepared by Phoenicia for the construction of an up-to-date sheet glass factory which will be in a position to compete with Belgian and other European producers on equal terms. Phoenicia's medical ampoules department was re-equipped last year with automatic machinery and orders were received from Turkey, Greece and other countries. The scientific glass instruments department in Jerusalem, "Phoenicia" Instruments Ltd., has added new lines of manufacture, becoming the leading producer of Neon lights for advertising.

★  
**MARKETS.** As a result of Jewish Palestine's participation at the Plovdiv Fair in Bulgaria, commercial arrangements on a barter basis

have been concluded between the Jewish Agency's representatives and the Bulgarian Government. According to this agreement Palestine will export to Bulgaria textiles, pharmaceutical products, rubber articles, electric appliances, etc., and will buy from Bulgaria in exchange timber, coal, fruit, etc.

Trial orders from Abyssinia, Sudan, Eritrea, Kenya, and Aden totalling L.P. 50,000 are reported by the Foreign Trade Institute which states that special interest was shown in Palestine woollen yarns, men's and ladies' wear, preserved foods, etc. The Government of Abyssinia has placed an order for Palestine's pharmaceutical products. An exhibition of samples of Palestine products was shown in these countries by the representatives of the Institute.

## AGRICULTURE

**RYE.** Favourable experimental results in the growing of rye are reported in the "Hassadeh" agricultural monthly, by Dr. M. Plaut and J. Kostrinsky of the Jewish Agency Agricultural Experimental Station of Rehovot. Experiments have proved that this cereal of northern climes can be grown even in the hottest parts of the country. It is drought resistant; because of its strongly developed root system it succeeds under conditions of aridity which wheat cannot survive and also tolerates a much higher degree of salinity in the soils than other cereal crops. The introduction of this new crop may be of special economic importance for meagre sandy soils in arid parts of the country where neither wheat nor even barley can grow, whilst rye produces satisfactory yields. Good crops have been obtained in various settlements with yields exceeding 100 kgs., and in some instances 200 kg. per dunam. The best results were secured with an Anatolian variety.

There is a keen demand among the Jewish population for bread made from rye at present imported mainly from Turkey. According to the report of the Government Food Control Department the monthly production of rye flour reached 1000 tons by December 1946 and it represented 40% of the total bread production for the Jewish urban markets.

★  
**FRUIT.** The area under fruit plantations in Jewish settlements amounts to 170,000 dunams. Of this 120,000 dunams are under citrus and 51,000 under various fruits, e. g. 24,000 dunams grapes, 13,000 dunams deciduous fruits (apples, etc.); 5,000 dunams bananas, 6,000 dunams olives; 3,000 dunams subtropical fruits. Jewish citrus groves and banana plantations represent nearly half of Palestine's total area under these fruits, apples form a third, and other fruits a much



smaller percentage of the total. There has been considerable development in recent years in fruit growing in Jewish settlements, but there is room for much greater advance both to replace considerable imports of fresh fruit (valued in 1946 at over LP. 800,000, mainly apples) and to develop an export trade of specialised fruit other than citrus. An experimental consignment of early Palestine table grapes and plums which Tnuva sent last year to England points to possibilities in this line of export. Orders for Palestine bananas were received last season from Russia but in view of the Palestine Government's unfavourable attitude negotiations did not lead to conclusive results.

★

**CHEESE.** The expansion of local cheese production is planned by Tnuva, the central marketing organisation of the Labour settlements. There is a good demand for the various types of cheese now produced by Tnuva, e. g. "Emek" — Dutch type cheese; "Galil" — Roquefort; and "Jezreel" — Swiss type. 1,750,000 litres of milk were used in 1946 for the manufacture of these cheeses at Tnuva's Tel Yoseph dairy. The production of cheese from sheep's and goat's milk — Katchkaval, the Turkish sheep cheese and Brinza, the salted type cheese — is to be started in a new plant attached to Tnuva's dairy at Haifa. Flocks of goats and sheep, each with about 250—300 head, are maintained in 78 Jewish settlements which produce over 1,500,000 of milk per year for processing.

★

**NEGEB CROPS.** In all the Negeb settlements preparations are in full swing for the extension of the area of vegetables and other irrigated crops which has now been made possible by "Mekorot" water pipe line. It is reported that the Mekorot water company intends to extend the scheme and to introduce pipes of much wider diameter than have hitherto been used. An order worth LP. 1,000,000 has been placed for these pipes in England.

The growing of sisal is to be developed at the Negeb settlement of Beiri. In connection with this a factory for the manufacture of sisal ropes is planned for the settlement. Auxiliary industries connected with agriculture are also to be established in other Negeb settlements. A plant for tinned poultry and fish preserves is already in operation at the settlement of Revivim.

## LABOUR

**HISTADRUT MEMBERSHIP.** According to figures submitted to the recent conference of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labour, its membership in September, 1947, totalled 172,000. Since the war the Histadrut membership increased by 56,000, and in January 1947 it numbered 163,000. This represented, together with families, a population of over 255,000 or about 44% of the total Jewish community. The workers' settle-

ments accounted for 28,000 or 17% and the colonies for a similar number, so that settlements and colonies represented over a third of the membership. Some 100,000 of Histadrut members were urban workers and employees living in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem. Only 16% of Histadrut members were older than 40, comparing with a ratio of 28% among the general Jewish population.

The total membership fees paid in 1946 aggregated LP. 1,424,000.

## BUILDING

**BUILDING ACTIVITY.** A marked increase in the volume of building activity is noticeable in Tel Aviv and other Palestine cities. The dollar crisis has stimulated interest in property investments and promoted the demand for flats and apartments which are offered for sale in new buildings erected for commercial purposes or as cooperative schemes. High building costs are still a handicap but no longer a deterrent. Mortgage credits are also no longer scarce or difficult to obtain. In view of increased building activities a shortage of cement is being felt again and the local Cement Works have re-introduced the allocation of cement to customers according to previous registration.

In Tel Aviv there is much building activity both in the newly incorporated land on the outskirts and in the more central parts of the city. In addition to extensive housing schemes promoted by the "Shikun" Workers Cooperative Housing Association, Rassco, etc., a number of large commercial buildings, are under construction, some of them representing an investment of LP. 300,000 or more. One of the most important new buildings shortly to be commenced is the new municipal hospital to be constructed at a cost of LP. 1,000,000 on former Sarona lands, which will be 12 storeys high and will have a capacity of 700 beds and include ten operating theatres, a maternity block, etc. In Jerusalem a new shopping centre has been constructed and other large buildings are under way. There is considerable building activity on Mount Scopus for the Hadassah Hospital and Hebrew University. In Haifa and its suburbs, similarly considerable construction work is in progress.

The postwar rise of building activity after the standstill of the war years is illustrated by statistics of floor area of new buildings authorised. This figure for Tel-Aviv increased to over 250,000 square meters in 1946, more than double the 1945 figures; in Haifa to 189,000 square meters, instead of 97,000 square meters in 1945; in Jerusalem — 144,000 in place of 43,000. The latest monthly figure for Tel Aviv was 31,700 square meters in July 1947, as compared with 5000 last year. The main underlying factor in the recovery of building activities is of course the acute shortage of housing accommodation intensified by the wartime interruption of building and the continued growth of

population. The last surveys have shown among the Jewish population an average density of 3.29 persons per room in 1946 and of more than 5 persons per room in one room flats.

★

**GARDEN CITY.** Half way between Haifa and the Emek township of Affuleh a new garden city is coming into existence. This is Tiv'on (formerly known as Beth Shearim Hatzafonit), which is picturesquely situated in the Zebulun hills, at a distance of 18 miles from the port of Haifa and in the vicinity of the workers' suburban settlement of Kirath Amal. Tiv'on is being developed under the auspices of the "Kereth" Housing and Mortgage Corporation on land provided by the Jewish National Fund and in accordance with carefully prepared plans which aim at ensuring urban amenities and services within a healthy and attractive country framework. 187 houses have already been constructed in Tiv'on; and 37 are nearing completion. In addition a housing scheme for ex-servicemen and new immigrants is now being implemented in co-operation with the Jewish Agency. Tiv'on is situated on the site of an ancient Jewish township, and the ruins of a synagogue which existed 1600 years ago were discovered by recent excavations. It is proposed to build a modern replica of this historic synagogue.

The Kereth Corporation which is promoting the establishment of Tiv'on also engages in the extension of mortgage credits for other sound construction schemes; it has accorded mortgage loans to the Municipality of Tel Aviv, to Shikun, etc. The Kereth Corporation which was formed last year is one of the most notable of recent economic ventures promoted by British Jewry. The Kereth's authorised capital is £ 500,000, of which £ 153,000 issued and paid up. Dividends of 4% on preference shares and 5% on ordinary shares were declared by the company.

★

**HADAR HACARMEL.** A new phase in the growth of Hadar Hacarmel, the all-Jewish city on the slopes of the Carmel, may be inaugurated by the impending development of Rashmiya lands. An outlet will thus be provided for the expansion of the city which is at present hemmed in within the confines of a narrow mountain slope. The new land provides a link with the Neve Shanan area and the Ahuzat Herbert Samuel and will open for development a land reserve which is twice as big as Hadar Hacarmel's total area today. Connecting roads have already been constructed and water supply has been provided so that building operations can start in the new area without delay. Under an agreement signed between the land holding company, P.L.D.C. and the Hadar Hacarmel Committee, an area of 44 dunams has been set aside for public purposes.

★

**NEGEB CITY.** Tentative plans are under discussion for the establishment of the first Jewish city in

the Negeb which is to provide the necessary urban services for the Negeb settlements and to serve as a market for their agricultural produce. One of the schemes envisages an inland township of 5,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, whilst other more ambitious plans would provide for a coastal city of some 50,000 inhabitants offering port facilities for the development of the Negeb.

## TRANSPORT

**TEL AVIV PORT.** With the additional equipment due to arrive shortly, the Tel Aviv port will be in a position to handle 200,000 tons of cargo per year. It is expected that 2 million cases of citrus will be loaded at Tel Aviv Port, as compared with 650,000 last year. Most of the equipment of Tel Aviv port was requisitioned by the military authorities during the war when it proved a godsend for ports in the Western Desert and in Libya during the most critical stages of the desert campaign. This equipment has not however been fully replaced by the authorities and considerable efforts were required on the part of the Marine Trust and other Jewish public organisations sponsoring the Tel Aviv port in order to adapt it to its peacetime tasks. The total tonnage of cargo handled by the Tel-Aviv port increased from only 21,000 in 1945 to 108,000 in 1946 and during the first nine months of the present year the figure rose to 112,000 tons; it is estimated that a total of 175,000 tons may be reached in 1947. According to plans prepared for the expansion of the port's present installations its capacity could be raised within a short time to 400,000 tons of general cargo and 5,000,000 cases of citrus exports. But a permanent and satisfactory solution can only be provided by the construction of a full fledged deep sea harbour to replace the limited facilities offered by the present lighterage basin.

★

**MOTOR TRAFFIC.** The number of motor vehicles registered last year was 19,572 (with 15,359 licensed) of which about 6,000 were private cars, 1,300 taxis, 1,500 buses. The total new registrations during 1946 were 5,205, including 1,624 for private cars, 182 for buses and 2,600 for commercial vehicles. The most popular makes were American, which totalled 11,754 registered in 1946, with Fords leading for private cars (1,142), Chevrolet for taxis (417), and Reo for buses (240). British cars registered numbered only 2,938. Small British cars seem to be favoured, especially Austin (468) and Morris (511). Most of the motor cycles registered in Palestine (1,936) originate from Great Britain. Continental makes of motor vehicles registered in Palestine totalled 2,944, of which 1,385 were private cars with Fiat and Opel predominating. In 1925 the total number of registered motor vehicles in this country was less than 2,000 (including 408 private cars, 862 taxis, 318 buses and 236 trucks).



# "KERETH" HOUSING AND MORTGAGE CORPORATION, LTD.

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET AS AT MARCH 31, 1947

OWN CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES				ASSETS	
SHARE CAPITAL		LP. Mils	LP. Mils		LP. Mils LP. Mils
	Authorized	Issued and Paid			
"A" Ordinary Shares of LP.25.000 each	100,000.000	52,950.000		CASH ON HAND AND IN BANKS	6,446.314
"B" Ordinary Shares of LP. 1.000 each	4,000.000	4.000.000		TEMPORARY INVESTMENTS IN LOANS, BILLS DISCOUNTED, etc.—partly secured by Mortgages	139,691.464
"A" 4% Cumulative Preference Shares of LP. 100.000 each	100,000.000	96,100.000		PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSING SCHEMES	12,126.166
"B" 4% Cumulative Redeemable Preference Shares of LP. 100.000 each	300,000.000			SUNDRY DEBTORS AND DEBIT BALANCES	16,989.549
Total	504,000.000	153,050.000		BUILDING UNDER CONSTRUCTION—at Cost	1,108.418
Less—Amounts not yet received		10,715.000	142,335.000	LOANS RECEIVABLE — to be secured by Mortgages:	
PROFIT AND LOSS APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT — Profit carried forward			1,341.520	To Participants in Housing Schemes	50,299.129
			143,676.520	To Others (secured by Bank Guarantee)	16,000.000 66,299.129
SUNDRY CREDITORS AND CREDIT BALANCES:				MOTOR CAR AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT — at Cost less Depreciation	940.000
Accounts Payable		10,770.181		PRELIMINARY EXPENSES — Partly written off	4,000.000
Deposits		13,529.000		PREPAID EXPENSES	116.750
Proposed Dividends		2,919.177			
Provisions (including Provision for Taxes)		2,670.000			
Accrued Expenses, etc. . .		481.021	30,369.379		
RECEIPTS FROM PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSING SCHEMES			27,010.000		
RECEIPTS FROM PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSING SCHEMES:					
On Account of Erection of Buildings		32,272.657			
On Account of Development and Public Works		6,423.886			
On Account of Private Gardens and Sundry Expenses		6,032.859	44,729.402		
INCOME IN ADVANCE			1,934.489		
There are commitments with regard to:					
1. Granting of mortgages, aggregating LP. 56,750.000.					
2. Erection of buildings, aggregating approximately LP. 52,000.000—partly covered by receipts from participants in housing schemes—on account of erection of buildings.					
3. Acquisition of shares in a housing company, aggregating LP. 25,000.000.					
			247,719.790		LP. 247,719.790

(Signed) N. SALOMON } DIRECTORS  
(Signed) ERNST KAHN }

(Signed) H. D. ORGLER, SECRETARY

We have audited the Balance Sheet of "KERETH" HOUSING AND MORTGAGE CORPORATION, LTD. as at March 31, 1947, at their office in Haifa, we have examined the vouchers, we have obtained the information and explanations required, and we hereby certify that the above GENERAL BALANCE SHEET as at March 31, 1947, is in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs, according to the best of our information and explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Corporation.

(Signed) KESSELMAN & KESSELMAN,  
Certified Accountants, Auditors

Jerusalem, August 11, 1947.

PROFIT AND LOSS APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT AS AT MARCH 31, 1947				CR.
	LP. Mils			LP. Mils
To Proposed Dividends for 1946/47—5% on Ordinary Shares and 4% on Preference Shares on paid up amounts, pro rata temporis of the Shareholding	2,919.177	By profit for the Period from July 24, 1946 (Commencement of Business) to March 31, 1947		8,516.962
To Preliminary Expenses—Part written off	1,586.265			
To Balance—Profit carried over to Balance Sheet	1,341.520			
	LP. 8,516.962			LP. 8,516.962



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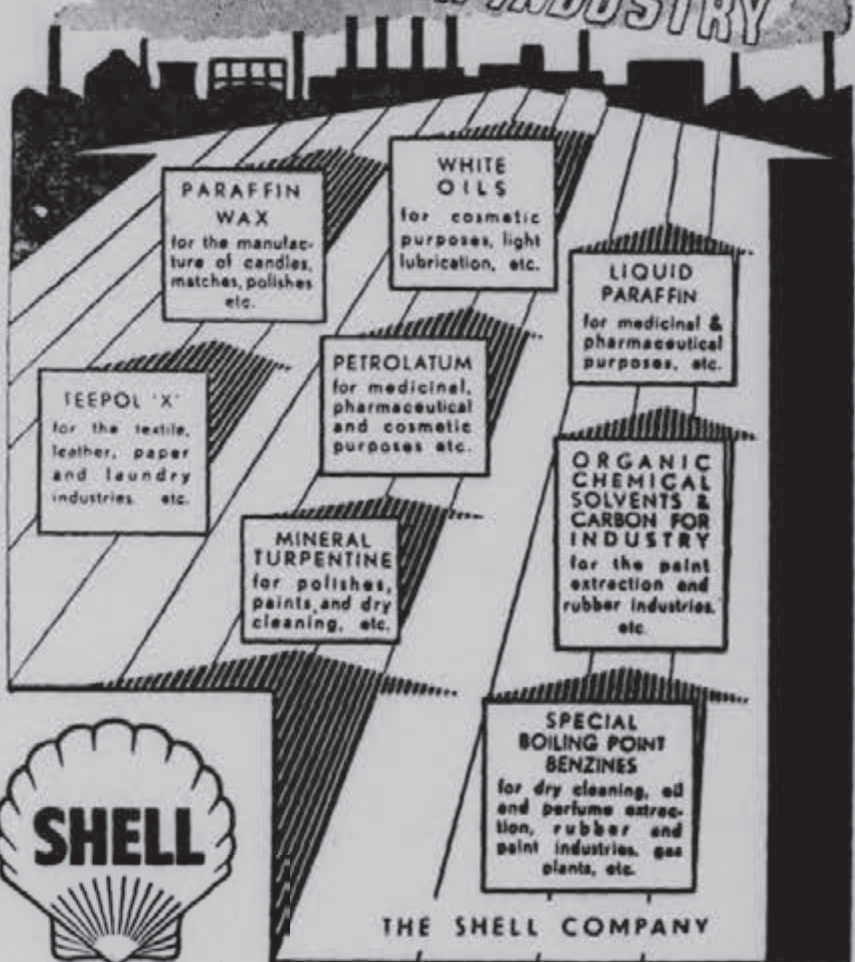


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WRHS



**Ante Las Naciones Unidas**

**OCTUBRE DE 1947**



*En octubre de 1947, cuando la Comisión Ad Hoc de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas para Palestina consideraba el informe de la Comisión Especial de las Naciones Unidas para Palestina, representantes de la Agencia Judía para Palestina plantearon la posición judía. Hicieron declaraciones el 2 de octubre el Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, presidente de la Sección Americana de la Agencia Judía para Palestina; el 17 de octubre Moshé Shertok, presidente del Departamento Político de la Agencia Judía; y el 18 de octubre el Dr. Jaim Weizmann, expresidente de la Agencia Judía. A continuación va el texto de dichas declaraciones.*

Copies of this pamphlet have been filed with U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., where the registration of the American office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as an agent of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem, is available for public inspection. The fact of registration should not be considered as approval by the United States Government of the contents of this pamphlet.



## *Dr. Abba Hillel Silver:*

**S** EÑOR PRESIDENTE y miembros del Comité:

La Agencia Judía para Palestina, que me honro en representar, tiene en alto aprecio el privilegio, que este Comité de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas le ha concedido, de estar representada en sus deliberaciones y de expresar sus opiniones acerca del Informe que ha sometido la Comisión Especial de las Naciones Unidas sobre Palestina.

Hemos leído el Informe con el más profundo interés y la más detenida atención, y estamos preparados para formular nuestras observaciones acerca del mismo. Estamos grandemente impresionados por la seria y consciente dedicación que los once miembros de la Comisión Especial han consagrado a su tarea y que se refleja en el comprensivo y relevante documento que se halla ante nosotros.

Ha sido plausible que una comisión de neutrales examinara nuevamente el problema de Palestina en un esfuerzo por arribar a una solución que fuera moralmente justificable y políticamente justa. Compartimos enteramente el concepto expresado en el Informe de que las "opiniones de miembros de una comisión internacional que representan diversas civilizaciones y escuelas de pensamiento y que se han acercado a la cuestión desde ángulos diferentes pueden tener algún valor."

La Agencia Judía accedió a la invitación de presentar su caso que le fué formulada por la Comisión Especial. Nos sentimos felices de poder poner a disposición de la Comisión cualquier información requerida, contestar toda cuestión y hacerla partícipe francamente de nuestro pensamiento. Consideramos como una obligación ineludible el cooperar en la máxima medida con las Naciones Unidas, a las cuales había sido presentado este grave problema internacional y que habían asumido la responsabilidad de formular una decisión acerca del futuro gobierno de Palestina.

A este respecto consideramos necesario señalar una circunstancia que el propio informe destaca especialmente, a saber, la negativa del Alto Comité Árabe a cooperar con la Comisión. El Presidente de la Comisión Especial de las Naciones Unidas hizo por radio, durante las audiencias celebradas en Jerusalén, un llamamiento a la más completa

cooperación de todas las partes. La Comisión Especial envió asimismo directamente al Alto Comité Árabe una carta en que deploraba su decisión de no cooperar y reiteraba su invitación de cooperar ampliamente. En respuesta, Mr. Jamal Husseini, vice-presidente del Alto Comité Árabe, escribió que el Comité no hallaba razón alguna para revocar su anterior decisión de abstenerse de colaborar.

Cuesta comprender por qué el Alto Comité Árabe se negó a presentar su caso ante la Comisión Especial de las Naciones Unidas. La Agencia Judía ha estado también sometida a las aprensiones y contrariedades de las numerosas investigaciones sobre Palestina que la habían precedido. Después de haber rechazado repetidamente la invitación de presentar su caso, ¿por qué el Alto Comité Árabe viene ahora a pedir "justicia y equidad" de manos de las Naciones Unidas, de cuya autoridad se ha mofado y cuya competencia para determinar la forma del futuro gobierno de Palestina ha negado categóricamente el lunes el vocero árabe?

El mismo vocero nos ha obsequiado con una improvisación histórica sobre el origen del pueblo judío y sobre la historia de Palestina. La Historia puede no ser una ciencia exacta, pero, por cierto no es una leyenda salida de las "Mil y Una Noches" árabes. Hay ciertos hechos que no consienten juicios antojadizos. Así la patraña de que los judíos de la Europa occidental descienden, no del antiguo Israel, sino de una tribu de cazares rusos, es una invención relativamente reciente y ha sido popularizada mediante las mitologías raciales de nuestros días por personas cuyos móviles políticos son francamente transparentes. Cabría decir sonriendo que los árabes de Palestina serían los últimos de la tierra deseosos de comprometerse en investigaciones genealógicas.

En 1917, cuando los Aliados liberaron Palestina y a la vez otras partes del antiguo Imperio Otomano, Palestina era un segmento de una provincia turca. No había en esta provincia ninguna nación árabe política o culturalmente distinta o distinguible. Nunca la hubo. Los árabes que conquistaron Palestina en el siglo VII de la era común, dominaron este país, de población muy diversa y heterogénea, durante 437 años, desde el 634 hasta el 1071 d. de C.,



durante 437 de los más de 3000 años de historia registrada de Palestina. Después de 1071, el país fue conquistado por varios pueblos no árabes, tales como los seljúcidas, los kurdos, los Cruzados, los mamelucos egipcios y finalmente los turcos otomanos.

Cuando los árabes conquistaron Palestina (634 d. de C.), el pueblo judío ya había completado en aquel país cerca de 2000 años de historia nacional, durante los cuales había creado una civilización que ha influido decisivamente en el curso de la humanidad, había dado origen al Judaísmo y el Cristianismo, había producido la Biblia y engendrado profetas, santos y conductores espirituales que son venerados no solamente por el Judaísmo, sino también por la Cristiandad y el Islam.

"En los doce siglos o más que han pasado desde la conquista árabe reza el Informe de la Comisión Real de 1937, Palestina ha salido virtualmente de la historia . . . En economía y en política Palestina yace fuera de la corriente principal de la vida del mundo. En el orden del pensamiento, de la ciencia o de las letras, no ha hecho ninguna contribución a la civilización moderna."

La misma identidad de Palestina como unidad social humana es un producto de la historia judía. El país perdió su carácter distintivo por efecto de la dispersión judía y solamente reanudó un papel específico en la historia cuando el Mandato de Palestina fue ratificado. El Mandato reconoció esta historia al establecer Palestina como ente distinto y separado en relación con el mundo árabe. "Estoy persuadido", declaró el presidente Wilson el 3 de marzo de 1919, "de que las Naciones Aliadas, con el más amplio concurso de nuestro propio Gobierno y pueblo, concuerdan en que en Palestina sean puestos los fundamentos de un Commonwealth Judío."

Hablando en la Cámara de los Lores el 27 de junio de 1923, Lord Milner, que se calificó a sí mismo de "firme sostenedor de la política pro-árabe", declaró: "Palestina no puede considerarse en modo alguno como un país en el mismo pie de igualdad que los otros países árabes. No se puede ignorar toda la historia y la tradición al respecto . . . y no es posible librar la determinación del futuro de Palestina a las impresiones y sentimientos temporarios de la actual mayoría árabe del país."

En consecuencia, cuando el Mandato de Palestina reconoció "la conexión histórica del pueblo judío con Palestina", solamente estableció un hecho que estaba universalmente reconocido a través de las edades. Y cuando dió reconocimiento internacional a las bases para el restablecimiento del Hogar Nacional Judío en aquel país—acto que el mariscal de campo Smuts, miembro del Gabinete de Guerra que hizo la Declaración Balfour, calificó de "uno de los más grandes actos de la historia"—solamente re-

afirmó el hecho de que el pueblo judío no había abandonado nunca la esperanza de restauración nacional en su patria inmemorial. Para los judíos Palestina no ha sido meramente un lugar de santos sepulcros, como para los cristianos y los musulmanes, sino el hogar de su pueblo exilado, la tierra de su destino nacional, y a través de las tenebrosas centurias de persecución y peregrinaje, hubo continuos esfuerzos de retornar a ella.

Con respecto a los perjuicios económicos de los árabes, que han sido ventilados aquí el otro día, solamente deseamos referirnos al Informe de la Comisión Especial de las Naciones Unidas que los examinó a todos, así como también a los capítulos sobresalientes del Informe de la Comisión Real de 1937, para mostrar hasta dónde son completamente infundados. Estos Informes, así como el memorandum del Gobierno de Palestina que fue sometido a la Comisión Especial de las Naciones Unidas—documento que difícilmente puede tildarse de pro-judío—, prueban concluyentemente que los árabes palestinos se han beneficiado considerable y directamente con el desarrollo judío en las esferas económica, financiera y social.

También debemos tomar nota del interesante contraste que el portavoz árabe ha intentado señalar entre los actos terroristas de los árabes de Palestina en 1936-39—actos que nunca fueron condenados o repudiados por ningún portavoz árabe responsable—y los lamentables actos de ahora de algunos grupos disidentes judíos de Palestina, que han sido condenados en la forma más severa por los organismos oficiales del judaísmo de Palestina.

"Se ha admitido oficialmente que en sus distintos levantamientos contra los británicos de Palestina", manifestó el portavoz árabe, "los árabes han luchado generalmente cara a cara, como hombres nobles." Como ilustración de esta nobleza, permítaseme citar la declaración de Sir John Chancellor, Alto Comisionado de Palestina, acerca de aquellos disturbios árabes de 1929: "Me he enterado con horror de los atroces actos cometidos por grupos de despiadados y sanguinarios malhechores, de salvajes matanzas perpetradas contra indefensos miembros de la población judía, sin consideraciones de edad ni de sexo, acompañadas, como en el caso de Hebrón, de actos de indecible salvajismo, del incendio de granjas y casas en el campo y en la ciudad y del robo y destrucción de la propiedad. Estos crímenes han acarreado a sus autores la abominación de todos los pueblos civilizados del mundo."

Comentando los disturbios de 1936, el Informe de la Comisión Real para Palestina dice lo siguiente: "Hubo ataques similares a las personas y a la propiedad de los judíos que fueron tratados con la misma despiadada ferocidad (que en 1929). Ni las mujeres ni los niños fueron perdonados."



Antes de hacer nuestras observaciones al Informe mismo, séanos permitido referirnos a la declaración hecha al comienzo de vuestras deliberaciones por Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones en nombre del Gobierno de Su Majestad.

El Gobierno del Reino Unido fué quien solicitó que la cuestión de Palestina fuera colocada en la orden del día de la Asamblea General. El Gobierno de su Majestad fué quien pidió a la Asamblea que hiciera recomendaciones según el artículo 10 de la Carta para el futuro gobierno de Palestina.

Al hacer estas solicitudes de largo alcance, a las cuales las Naciones Unidas han accedido, el Reino Unido no debe haber pensado de seguro en imponer finalmente su propia solución a las Naciones Unidas, sino que debe haber abrigado la esperanza de que este gran organismo internacional, abordando el problema de nuevo y sin prejuicios, podría hallar una solución que, si bien no totalmente aceptable para todos, representaría sin embargo la sabiduría colectiva y el juicio de las naciones del mundo y tendría en su favor tal autoridad que el Gobierno de Su Majestad estaría preparado para aceptarla y cooperar en su aplicación.

Sin duda una tal leal cooperación por parte de naciones miembros se presupone cuando cualquier problema internacional es considerado por las Naciones Unidas. De otra manera, el Gobierno de Su Majestad podría igualmente haber anunciado hace seis meses lo que declaró el otro día. ¿Por qué se han perdido seis meses críticos, durante los cuales se ha permitido que la situación de Palestina empeorase más gravemente? ¿Y por qué se ha movilizado todo el mecanismo de las Naciones Unidas para investigar y recomendar una solución del problema, si no ha habido intención de aceptar tal solución y de participar en su aplicación?

Sir Alexander Cadogan, en la 52a. reunión de la Primera Comisión de la Asamblea General, declaró: "Todo lo que decimos—y ya he hecho esta reserva el otro día—es que no tendremos la exclusiva responsabilidad de imponer una solución que no acepten ambas partes y que no podamos ajustar a nuestra conciencia." Pero observamos que al Gobierno de Su Majestad no se le pide que acepte una responsabilidad exclusiva. El Informe de la Comisión Especial recomienda claramente que, si así fuere deseado, uno o más miembros de las Naciones Unidas sean invitados a colaborar en la administración del país conjuntamente con la actual potencia mandataria.

La declaración de Mr. Creech-Jones parece ir más allá de la de Sir Alexander Cadogan e implica que el Gobierno de Su Majestad no solamente no desea asumir la exclusiva responsabilidad de aplicar el Informe, sino que se reserva el derecho de rehusar cualquier cooperación en aplicar la decisión final de las Naciones Unidas si, a su juicio, ella

no condice con su propio criterio de justicia y con su propia técnica preferida de aplicación.

Cabe preguntar si al adoptar esta posición—supuesto que la hayamos entendido correctamente—el Reino Unido contribuye a resolver este difícil problema y si de este modo aumentará la autoridad y el prestigio de las Naciones Unidas, que han asumido responsabilidad por la cuestión de Palestina. Está claro para todos que la solución de este problema representa para las Naciones Unidas un desafío vital y una prueba crucial de su futura efectividad.

En vista de la resistencia del Gobierno de Su Majestad a imponer una política por la fuerza de las armas—una política que tendría detrás de sí la sanción de la comunidad de naciones—uno puede ser perdonado por preguntarse por qué el Gobierno de su Majestad no ha vacilado en emplear en años recientes una fuerza militar de 100.000 hombres, junto con su marina y su fuerza aérea, para imponer por fuerza en Palestina una política que ningún organismo internacional ha aprobado, que es contraria a los propósitos y previsiones del Mandato y que ha sido desaprobada por tres veces por organismos internacionales.

Habría sido más útil la declaración del Gobierno de Su Majestad si hubiera sido más clara. Sin duda ha de ser evidente para todos que ninguna solución del problema de Palestina es posible sin cierta coacción.

El problema de Palestina no es de ningún modo único a este respecto. El Informe de vuestra Comisión Especial declara correctamente: "Tomando en consideración el hecho de que idear una solución que sea totalmente aceptable tanto para judíos como para árabes parece completamente imposible, la perspectiva de imponerles una solución sería la condición básica de cualquier propuesta de recomendación."

La idea de que tal acuerdo árabe-judío era imposible fué lo que decidió a Mr. Bevin a entregar el problema a las Naciones Unidas. Por consiguiente, la declaración de Mr. Creech-Jones, en el sentido de que "el Gobierno del Reino Unido está dispuesto a asumir la responsabilidad de poner en efecto cualquier plan sobre el cual se logre un acuerdo entre los árabes y los judíos" es por cierto muy singular y no favorece la solución de ningún modo.

Puede ser pertinente recordar que el principio de partición sobre el cual esta basado el Informe de la Mayoría fué primeramente proyectado, en 1937, por la enteramente británica Comisión Real. En aquel entonces el gobierno británico aceptó aquella recomendación en principio y declaró: "Al apoyar una solución del problema de Palestina por medio de una partición, el Gobierno de Su Majestad se halla vivamente impresionado por las ventajas que aquélla ofrece a los árabes y a los judíos. Los árabes ob-



tendrían su independencia nacional y así podrían cooperar, en un pie de igualdad con los árabes de los países vecinos, en la causa de la unidad y del progreso árabes. Quedarían finalmente liberados de todo temor a una dominación judía... Por otro lado, la partición aseguraría el establecimiento del Hogar Nacional Judío y lo relevaría de toda posibilidad de ser dominado en el futuro por un gobierno árabe. Convertiría al Hogar Nacional Judío en un Estado Judío con completo "control" sobre la inmigración. . . . Por encima de todo, el miedo y la sospecha serían reemplazados por una sensación de confianza y de seguridad, y ambos pueblos obtendrían, según las palabras de la Comisión, 'la inestimable bendición de la paz'."

Confrontados, como lo estamos ahora, con la última expresión del Gobierno de Su Majestad, no podemos sino reflexionar acerca del curso que los sucesivos gobiernos británicos han seguido durante la década pasada.

En 1937 el gobierno británico nombró para estudiar el problema palestino una Comisión Real que, después de acabado estudio, recomendó como solución la partición. Después de una aprobación inicial del plan, el gobierno británico acabó rechazándolo y promulgando en su lugar la política del Libro Blanco de 1939, que estaba en completa contradicción con la recomendación básica de la Comisión Real.

En 1945 el gobierno británico invitó al gobierno de los EE.UU a unírsele en una investigación binacional del problema palestino, con vistas a su solución. Esta Comisión sometió recomendaciones unánimes que proponían a su vez no la partición, sino un Estado unitario. Recomendó la abrogación de la política del Libro Blanco, incluso de su racial ley de tierras, la pronta admisión de 100.000 judíos, una continua inmigración judía posterior y la fiel aplicación de las previsiones del Mandato. El gobierno británico rechazó también las recomendaciones de esta Comisión y acabó llevando adelante las propuestas de Morrison y de Bevin, que eran diametralmente opuestas en substancia y en espíritu al Informe de la Comisión Anglo-Americana.

Finalmente, en 1947 el gobierno británico propuso otro examen del problema de Palestina, esta vez por las Naciones Unidas. Como resultado se nombró una comisión integrada por los representantes de once naciones. Esta Comisión ha sometido ahora un Informe que recomienda un plan de partición aparejado de unión económica. Pero este Informe no le parece más aceptable al Gobierno de Su Majestad que los dos Informes anteriores. Ha manifestado que no apoya este último Informe y ofrece en cambio . . . nada.

Sin embargo, la remisión del gobierno del Reino Unido en dar a las Naciones Unidas alguna orientación y algún

apoyo, así como su anunciada intención de un pronto retiro de Palestina, al que damos la bienvenida, hacen más imperativo que nunca el que la Asamblea General prosiga sus tareas con la mayor urgencia. Ya en abril último se comprendió en la sesión especial de la Asamblea que el asunto era de gran urgencia. Por cierto que esta urgencia de acción y de decisión ha sido intensificada por todo lo que ha ocurrido desde entonces.

La Agencia Judía, al hacer este comentario preliminar sobre el Informe en sí, desea indicar desde el comienzo su plena aprobación de las once recomendaciones unánimes hechas por la comisión, menos una. Acerca de la sexta recomendación, la cual no desaprueba, ella desearía hacer la siguiente observación. La sexta recomendación propone que la Asamblea General "emprenda inmediatamente la iniciación y ejecución de un arreglo internacional por el cual el problema de los desdichados judíos europeos, de los cuales aproximadamente 250.000 están en puntos de concentración, sea encarado como una cuestión de extrema urgencia para el alivio de sus penurias y del problema palestino."

Se recordará que la Comisión Anglo-Americana de Investigación recomendaba también que se hicieran inmediatamente esfuerzos por hallar nuevos hogares para esas personas desplazadas. Al hacer esta recomendación, la Comisión Anglo-Americana manifestó: "Tenemos que dar cuenta de que la información que hemos recibido acerca de otros países que Palestina, no nos han dado esperanza alguna de ayuda substancial en la obtención de hogares para los judíos deseosos o necesitados de abandonar Europa."

La situación a este respecto sigue siendo completamente la misma. La recomendación de la Comisión Anglo-Americana sigue siendo letra muerta. Nuestros desdichados refugiados languidecen aún en los campos de personas desplazadas, afrontando el tercer invierno posterior a la terminación de la guerra. El Informe de vuestra Comisión Especial se refiere a la "urgente necesidad" de que se permita a estas desventuradas personas ir a Palestina.

La "urgente necesidad" de las personas judías desplazadas de dirigirse a Palestina y la negativa de la mayoría de ellas de ir a cualquier otra parte no obedecen sólo a su convencimiento de que sus perspectivas de admisión en otros países son mínimas en extremo y por añadidura, en su caso, muy limitadas. Obedecen primordialmente al hecho de que Palestina les ofrece aquello que más necesitan y que no pueden encontrar en ninguna otra parte: la posibilidad de un hogar verdadero, la perspectiva de una vida en un ambiente apropiado, la seguridad de la permanencia.

Toda la nostalgia de una vida de paz y de dignidad, de existencia normal y segura, sentida por estas gentes desarraigadas, halla expresión en esa "urgente necesidad" de ir



a Palestina. ¿Qué prueba más sobrecogedora y trágica de esta urgencia se necesita que los persistentes y desesperados intentos llevados a cabo por esos hombres, mujeres y niños para alcanzar las orillas del Hogar Nacional Judío, desde las cuales—como en el caso del EXODUS 1947—son devueltos de viva fuerza a Alemania? Y si se arguyese que el mero deseo no engendra derecho, será respuesta completa que ese deseo fué la base de la creación del derecho obrada por la Declaración Balfour y por el Mandato de la Liga de las Naciones.

Ese deseo fué reconocido como dotado de fuerza moral compulsiva, tanto que determinó a los victoriosos Aliados de la Primera Guerra Mundial a establecer en solemnes compromisos internacionales las garantías del derecho legal de los judíos de ir a Palestina.

La Agencia Judía abriga firmes esperanzas de que las naciones del mundo acogerán a aquellas personas desplazadas que quieren emigrar a otros países. La Agencia Judía no ha considerado jamás que toda persona desplazada pueda ser obligada a ir a Palestina. Pero, evidentemente, obligar a esos refugiados judíos, muchos de los cuales tienen estrechos lazos familiares con Palestina, a ir contra su voluntad a otros países, y negarles el derecho de ir al Hogar Nacional Judío, sería sobremanera injusto y desconsiderado y provocaría amargos resentimientos.

La XII Recomendación de la Comisión, que no ha sido unánimemente adoptada por la misma, expresa: "Se recomienda que en la apreciación del caso de Palestina se acepte como incontrovertible que ninguna solución acerca de Palestina puede considerarse como una solución del problema judío en general." No alcanzamos a comprender el significado de esta recomendación que en realidad no es una recomendación, sino un simple postulado. El "problema judío en general" no es un problema de inmigración judía o de refugiados. Es el viejo problema de la falta de hogar nacional de los judíos.

No existe sino una sola solución para este problema: un hogar nacional. Éste fué el problema judío básico encarado por la Declaración Balfour y por el Mandato y al que se dió la solución adecuada: la restauración del hogar nacional del pueblo judío en Palestina.

Sin entrar por ahora en el análisis detenido de la solución recomendada por la minoría de tres miembros de la Comisión Especial, debemos declarar de una vez que la encontramos totalmente inaceptable, incluso como base de discusión. El informe de la minoría propone el establecimiento de un Estado federal independiente de Palestina, consistente en lo que se describe como un "Estado" árabe y judío, aunque se trata, de hecho, de un poco más que de cantones o provincias semiautónomas.

Es obvio que bajo las disposiciones constitucionales pre-

vistas en esta recomendación, Palestina se convertiría, en efecto, en un Estado Árabe con dos cuñas judías en que los judíos quedarían congelados en la situación de minoría permanente de la población del Estado federal. Bajo la Constitución propuesta, la provincia judía no tendría el "control" de la inmigración, ni siquiera dentro de los estrechos confines de sus propias fronteras. Tampoco tendría el "control" de su propio sistema fiscal. No sólo en lo que se refiere al problema crucial de la inmigración, sino también en lo que se refiere a tantas otras materias de importancia fundamental, la facultad de decidir en última instancia seguiría en manos de la mayoría árabe del Estado federal propuesto.

La propuesta es una variante del esquema federal presentado el año pasado por el gobierno de Su Majestad y generalmente conocido como Plan Morrison, el cual fué rechazado al par por los judíos y por los árabes, así como también por el gobierno de los EE. UU. Dicho plan entraña para los judíos todas las desventajas de una partición y de una partición geográficamente muy mala sin las compensadoras ventajas de una verdadera partición: estadalidad, independencia y libre inmigración.

En lo referente al informe de la mayoría, deseamos hacer las observaciones siguientes. Estas propuestas son las de la Comisión. Es innecesario decir que éstas no son las propuestas de la Agencia Judía, las cuales han sido descartadas, de hecho, por la Comisión. Dichas propuestas no representan una satisfacción para los derechos del pueblo judío. Constituyen una seria atenuación de tales derechos. En las audiencias de vuestro Comité, hemos definido plenamente estos derechos y su justificación. No volveré sobre el particular ante vosotros.

Es evidente que ni la Declaración Balfour ni el Mandato contemplaron jamás una partición. Se entendió que Palestina, toda Palestina, se convertiría finalmente en un Estado judío. Tal es el claro testimonio de Mr. Lloyd George, que era Primer Ministro Británico al tiempo de hacerse pública la Declaración. El país llamado Palestina en la Declaración, incluía lo que ahora es Transjordania. La Real Comisión de 1937 declaró que "al tiempo de la Declaración Balfour se entendió que el territorio en que iba a establecerse el hogar nacional judío era el total de la Palestina histórica." Esta superficie ha sido ya objeto de partición.

La primera partición de Palestina tuvo lugar en 1922 cuando Transjordania, que abarca tres cuartas partes de la superficie original de Palestina, fué segregada y convertida por los ingleses desde entonces en un reino árabe. Así pues, ya se ha extraído un Estado árabe de la superficie asignada al hogar nacional judío. Se propone ahora extraer un segundo Estado árabe del remanente del país. En



otras palabras, el hogar nacional judío está por ser confinado ahora a menos de un octavo del territorio originariamente apartado para él.

Este es un sacrificio que no debería pedirse al pueblo judío. Las legítimas aspiraciones nacionales de los pueblos árabes se han satisfecho plenamente. El Presidente Truman, en su carta del 28 de octubre de 1946 dirigida al rey de Arabia Saudita, llama la atención sobre este hecho: "Tengo la satisfacción de observar, escribe, que la mayoría de los hombres liberados (del Cercano Oriente) son ahora ciudadanos de países independientes. El hogar nacional judío, en cambio, aún no se ha desarrollado en su plenitud."

Los árabes poseen hoy monarquías independientes en Arabia Saudita, Yemen, Egipto, Irak y Transjordania y repúblicas independientes en Siria y el Líbano. Una población de 17.000.000 ocupa en el Asia árabe una superficie de 1.290.000 millas cuadradas, enormemente rica en recursos y potencialidades. Esta superficie, que anteriormente perteneció al Imperio Otomano y que, conjuntamente, con el Egipto, fué liberada por las Naciones Aliadas, abarca todos aquellos centros que están fundamentalmente vinculados en la historia a las tradiciones árabes y musulmanas. Palestina, el hogar histórico del pueblo judío, que las naciones del mundo declararon, después de la guerra anterior, que sería el hogar nacional judío, tiene, después de la pérdida de Transjordania, sólo 10.000 millas cuadradas de extensión, y ahora se propone, en el Informe de la Mayoría, reducir en la mitad la superficie restante del hogar nacional judío.

No es nuestra intención en este momento entrar en una detenida discusión de las muchas cláusulas territoriales contenidas en las propuestas del Informe de la Mayoría. Nos sentimos, sin embargo, obligados a señalar por lo menos dos aspectos pasibles de las más serias objeciones. El Informe de la Mayoría elimina del Estado Judío la Galilea occidental, esto es, la mayor parte de Galilea. La Comisión Peel incluyó la Galilea Occidental en el Estado Judío. Por razones que procuraremos explicar más ampliamente en oportunidad posterior, consideramos la propuesta exclusión de la Galilea Occidental como un obstáculo injustificado y particularmente perjudicial opuesto al desarrollo del Estado judío.

Según los términos de la propuesta de la Mayoría, la ciudad de Jerusalén se erige en unidad gubernamental aparte. No cuestionamos la conveniencia de poner a la vieja ciudad de Jerusalén, que contiene los Lugares Santos, así como los Santos Sepulcros que se hallen fuera de los muros de la vieja ciudad, bajo la custodia de un fideicomiso internacional. Pero fuera de la ciudad vieja ha surgido una nueva ciudad moderna que contiene una compacta sección judía, aproximadamente de 90.000 habitantes.

Esta ciudad nueva incluye las instituciones nacionales, religiosas y educacionales del pueblo judío de Palestina.

Excluir toda Jerusalén del Estado Judío sería un golpe excepcionalmente grave. Jerusalén ocupa un lugar único en la vida y en las tradiciones religiosas judías. Es la antigua capital de la nación judía y el símbolo de la nacionalidad judía a través de las edades. La inquebrantable resolución de nuestro pueblo de ser restablecido como nación en la tierra de Israel está compendiada en el solemne juramento del Salmista y del pueblo exilado a través de las edades: "Si te olvido, Jerusalén, que mi diestra olvide su oficio." Exhortamos vehementemente a que la sección judía de la Jerusalén moderna, que queda fuera de las murallas, sea incluida en el Estado judío.

En una fase más avanzada de estas discusiones presentaremos otras modificaciones.

Vuelvo a la solución básica de la partición propuesta por la Comisión Especial. Ella entraña, como hemos dicho antes, un penoso sacrificio para el pueblo judío. Pero si de tal sacrificio se hace la condición inexorable de una solución inmediata definitiva, estaríamos preparados para asumir la responsabilidad de recomendar la aquiescencia a los órganos supremos de nuestro movimiento, sin perjuicio, desde luego, de la ulterior discusión de la Constitución y de las cláusulas territoriales, que presumimos que tendrá lugar en el curso de estas sesiones.

Estaríamos preparados para hacerlo porque la propuesta posibilita el inmediato restablecimiento del Estado Judío, ideal por el que nuestro pueblo ha luchado incesantemente a lo largo de los siglos, y porque asegura una inmediata y continuada inmigración judía, que, como lo han demostrado los acontecimientos, sólo es posible bajo un Estado judío. Lo haríamos también como contribución por nuestra parte a la solución de un grave problema internacional y como prueba de nuestra voluntad de unirnos a la comunidad de las naciones en un esfuerzo por llevar al fin la paz al agitado país que es tan precioso para los sentimientos de la humanidad.

Nos preocupa la recomendación del Informe concerniente a una unión económica entre los dos Estados. Aprobamos la conclusión establecida por la Comisión de que, "en vista de lo limitado de la superficie y de los recursos de Palestina, es esencial que en la medida de lo posible, y en lo compatible con la creación de los Estados independientes, se mantenga la unidad económica del país."

Se nos ocurre que esto constituye una concepción digna de estadistas y sumamente promisorio. La Agencia Judía está preparada para aceptar esta propuesta de unión económica. Debe comprenderse, sin embargo, que esta unión económica, si bien otorgaría algunos beneficios al Estado Judío, le impondría también graves sacrificios. El límite



aceptable de estos sacrificios, es, en principio, claro: el Estado Judío debe tener en sus propias manos cuantos instrumentos de "control" financiero y económico sean necesarios para lograr una inmigración judía en gran escala y el desarrollo económico consiguiente. El Estado Judío debe tener acceso independiente a cuantas fuentes mundiales de capital y de recursos sean indispensables para la consecución de estos propósitos.

El Informe de la Mayoría provee, en efecto, un extenso subsidio del Estado judío al árabe, mediante una participación igual de los dos Estados en los ingresos netos procedentes de las aduanas y de los servicios conjuntos. Este subsidio sería muy oneroso en relación con las rentas nacionales. La Agencia Judía estaría preparada, sin embargo, para asumir esta carga como uno de los sacrificios a su cargo encaminados a encontrar una salida al intolerable atolladero actual.

Pensamos ser buenos vecinos, no sólo del Estado árabe de Palestina, sino de todos los Estados árabes del Cercano Oriente. Y pensamos por cierto respetar escrupulosamente la igualdad de derechos de la población árabe del Estado judío libre y democrático. Con la desaparición de la fricción y del encono políticos, que esperamos que resultará eventualmente del establecimiento de estos dos Estados independientes, y con cada pueblo dueño de su propio hogar, será posible entrar en una era de progreso y de regeneración que será una bendición para todos los pueblos de esta importante parte del mundo. Lo que el pueblo judío ha conseguido ya en Palestina en corto tiempo y haciendo frente a enormes obstáculos es revelador de lo que espera hacer en el futuro, al unísono y con la plena cooperación de todos sus vecinos.

Sin embargo, la buena vecindad es un negocio bilateral. Sinceramente y sin reservas traemos un ofrecimiento de paz y de amistad. Si es correspondido con el mismo espíritu, ricas y abundantes bendiciones redundarán para todos. Si no, nos veremos forzados a hacer lo que todo pueblo hace en tales circunstancias: defenderemos nuestros derechos hasta el máximo. Hemos construido una nación en Palestina. Esta nación reclama ahora su independencia. No será desalojada. Su *status* nacional no será denegado. Se nos pide que hagamos un sacrificio enorme para obtener aquello que, de no haber mediado interferencia, habríamos obtenido hace mucho. Con pesar y con suma contrariedad, estamos dispuestos a hacer este sacrificio. Más allá no podemos ir, no iremos.

El Informe recomienda que "durante el período de transición la autoridad a que se confíe la tarea de administrar Palestina y prepararla para la independencia sea responsable ante las Naciones Unidas." En vista de la declaración del gobierno de Su Majestad no está claro

ahora quién será esta autoridad. Somos partidarios de una autoridad internacional dependiente de las Naciones Unidas que fiscalice y asegure el cumplimiento de sus decisiones.

Exhortamos por sobre todo a que ese período de transición sea lo más breve posible. Un período de dos años es, a juicio nuestro, considerablemente más largo que lo necesario o deseable. Cabe presumir que la transmisión de poderes y funciones administrativas a los dos pueblos en sus respectivos Estados no tendrá lugar al final del período de transición, sino que se iniciará inmediatamente y se consumará lo más rápido posible. El pueblo judío de Palestina está listo para asumir inmediatamente todas las responsabilidades que implica el establecimiento del Estado judío.

Estamos de acuerdo con el Informe en que, "cualquiera sea la solución, pueden ser necesarias, durante algún tiempo, medidas coactivas en gran escala." La Agencia Judía espera que la transición del presente *status* del país al nuevo *status* de dos Estados independientes se conseguirá con un mínimo de fricción y de conflicto. Una vez que se definan las fronteras y se establezcan los Estados por las Naciones Unidas, éstos estarán facultados para hacer respetar y proteger su integridad territorial y sus derechos soberanos tan plenamente como todas las demás naciones comprometidas por la Carta a mantener relaciones pacíficas.

Es de esperar que todos los miembros de las Naciones Unidas, vecinos o no de Palestina, que están ligados por los principios de la Carta, respetarán los derechos de estos nuevos Estados, so pena de ser condenados como agresores y sujetos a sanciones internacionales. Más aún, creemos que en la organización de cualquier fuerza militar o policial que pudiera requerirse durante el período de transición, se hará pleno uso de los efectivos humanos entrenados que pueden conseguirse en Palestina, los cuales estarán listos para ofrecer sus servicios a las Naciones Unidas en el mantenimiento de la ley y el orden.

El Estado Judío, una vez establecido, respetará la soberanía de los Estados vecinos tan plenamente como defenderá la propia. El pueblo judío de Palestina está preparado para defenderse. No le causan impresión vanas amenazas. Un pueblo que ha sobrevivido a la furia acumulada de los siglos, que se ha enfrentado con imperios poderosos en una enconada batalla por la supervivencia y que durante la última guerra ha visto a cientos de miles de sus hijos luchando por la libertad en todos los ejércitos libertadores de las Naciones Aliadas—en tanto que el jefe del Alto Comité Árabe de Palestina radiodifundía propaganda nazi desde Berlín y felicitaba a Hitler por sus victorias en África sobre los Aliados,—un pueblo así no se intimidará. También confiamos en que este gran organismo internacional, que está debatiendo seriamente este problema



tremendamente difícil y que está buscando una solución justa y equitativa no se dejará aterrorizar hasta el punto de renunciar a su alto mandato.

Recordamos con satisfacción que amenazas análogas utilizadas por las mismas partes durante la primera Sesión Especial no influyeron sobre la resolución de la Asamblea. Tampoco se ha impresionado por estas amenazas la Comisión Especial durante sus audiencias. Esperamos que estas mismas amenazas no influirán sobre este gran organismo deliberativo que tiene que guiarse por principios de verdad y de justicia, por los principios fundamentales de su Carta.

El pueblo judío de Palestina, repito, estará listo para defenderse a sí mismo. Acogerá, desde luego, con beneplácito cualquier apoyo que las Naciones Unidas o sus miembros, ateniéndose a las decisiones de las Naciones Unidas, puedan prestarle apropiadamente.

A este respecto tenemos que tomar nota del anuncio, hecho por el representante del Reino Unido, de que sus fuerzas podrían no estar disponibles para las Naciones Unidas durante el periodo de transición y podrían estar obligados a una pronta retirada de Palestina. En tal caso, y con el objeto de evitar la creación de un vacío peligroso que podría afectar la seguridad pública, el pueblo judío de Palestina proveerá sin tardanza los efectivos necesarios para mantener la seguridad pública dentro de su país.

Señor Presidente y miembros de esta Comisión: Con este Informe de las Naciones Unidas hemos llegado a una

de las encrucijadas importantes de la Historia. El rumbo que se siga estará repleto de destino para todos: los judíos, los árabes y las Naciones Unidas. Esperamos que sea un rumbo de cordura, de justicia y de valor. El pueblo judío aguarda esperanzado la decisión de este organismo.

Hace 25 años, una organización internacional semejante reconoció las demandas históricas del pueblo judío, sancionó nuestro programa y nos puso firmemente en el camino de la realización. No fuimos considerados entonces como intrusos o invasores—ni siquiera por los más conspicuos líderes y portavoces del mundo árabe—, sino como un pueblo que regresaba al hogar después de un largo y triste exilio. El mundo aprobó y aclamó el retorno de Israel a su antigua patria. Los estadistas del mundo hicieron frente al trágico problema de la falta de hogar nacional judío y pusieron manos a la obra para resolverlo.

El pueblo judío fué confirmado en su derecho a reconstruir su vida nacional en su hogar histórico. Anhelantemente aprovechó la tan largamente esperada oportunidad y procedió a reconstruir esa antigua tierra de Israel de tal modo que despertó la admiración de todo el mundo. Ha hecho florecer como una rosa la tierra yerma. Seguramente este gran organismo internacional, teniendo en cuenta esta leal y fructífera labor, deseará que ella continúe, que la tarea progrese, que la esperanza de los siglos sea consumada. Será una noble hazaña que redundará en gloria perdurable para esta organización mundial. Será un acto supremo de justicia internacional.



CONCISE SUMMARY OF THE DISTURBANCES IN THE JERUSALEM DISTRICT  
December 2, 1947 - January 8, 1948.

- 2.12. The Jewish Commercial Centre in the vicinity of the Old City and the British Army H.Q. Palestine was attacked by an Arab mob and set on fire. Police arrested a large number of Jews in possession of arms while the looting was in progress. Looting continued over several weeks without Police interference. On 22.12. Jewish shopkeepers in the area were advised by the Administration to submit plans for a withdrawal from this area.
- 6.12. Extensive damage was caused to the Jewish Cemetery on the Mount of Olives and graves were reported to have been defiled.
- 12.12. A Jewish convoy was ambushed near Kilometre 15 on the Hebron Road, outside Bethlehem. Fighting against superior Arab attacking forces lasted for over an hour in the course of which Army and Police vehicles passed on the scene of the outrage without interfering in any way. A party sent out to summon help from Bethlehem Police Station was stalled there until the fighting was over. Ten Jews were brutally massacred after being injured by the firing and four others were gravely injured.
- 13.12. Dissident groups threw a bomb in retaliation near Damascus Gate, killing at least ten Arabs and injuring 40 more.
- 15.12. A Jewish funeral party had to return when their convoy was ambushed on the way to the Cemetery.
- 17.12. An Arab attack on the Hadassah Hospital was foiled by Haganah guards. Among the arms captured from the attackers were firearms shortly before confiscated by British Police from Jewish defence forces.
- 18.12. A Jewish shop inside Security Zone A was set on fire.
- 21.12. Further desecrations of the Jewish Cemetery were reported.
- 23.12. A Jewish convoy consisting of buses and private cars came under heavy fire near the entrance to the Jerusalem area. Troops escorting the High Commissioner in the opposite direction dispersed the marauders.
- A Jewish funeral was heavily fired on inside the precincts of the Cemetery.
- 24.12. Mr. J. Keegan, T.W.A. District Manager, protesting against the decision of Government to withhold the airport near Jerusalem from civil airlines though passengers had been killed or injured on their way to Lydda Airport, said, "If airline passengers and travellers in general were afforded the protection which some individuals have from their homes to their offices, such attacks might not happen."
- 25.12. A Jewish bus was ambushed and nine passengers were injured.
- 26.12. In attacks on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem convoy near the entrance of the Jerusalem area and beyond seven Jews were killed and five injured. Among the dead was Mr. H. Bayth, head of the Jewish Agency Youth Immigration Bureau.
- A Jewish children's home in the Katamon Quarter was heavily fired at. Fire came from the Semiramis Hotel grounds.
- 28.12. Five Jews were assassinated in different spots in Jerusalem, one of them was shot by British Police. Among them was Dr. H. Lehrs, head of the Government Hospital for Contagious Diseases near Jerusalem who was brutally shot dead in full view of his Arab colleagues.



- 29.12. At least 20 Arabs were killed or succumbed to injuries and some 50 were injured when Jewish dissident groups attacked the Arab vicinity of Damascus Gate with a bomb thrown from a taxi. The Military Commander prohibited the use of Jewish taxis, the order being revoked five days later when Jewish taxi companies took the matter to court.
- Jewish funerals again came under heavy fire and had to turn back.
- Jewish officials of Government, Municipality and Barclays Bank were ambushed on their way to work; one of them was killed and three others injured.
- 30.12. Five Jewish surgeons were ambushed on the road to Hadassah Hospital and had a narrow escape.
- A Jewish funeral at which the victims of the late disturbances were to be laid to rest after lying in mortuaries for days, was attacked inside the Cemetery. One Jewish member of the Burial Society was killed whilst performing the last rites, and one British policeman was also killed.
- 15 Jews were injured in concentrated attacks on buses going to the Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital.
- 31.12. Buses going to the University were ambushed. One Jewess was killed and six passengers injured.
- Dr.R.Simon, a Jewish physician, was assassinated in the Katamon Quarter. The assassins were seen to retreat into Semiramis Hotel.
- 1.1. No contact could be established with the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. Arabs manned road blocks and opened fire on police vehicles which disobeyed their order to stop.
- As on previous occasions ambulances going to the rescue of injured people came under heavy fire.
- 3.1. Arabs attacked the Jewish Quarters in the north-east of the town. Fire was directed at Jewish houses without interruption. Police intervened and arrested 15 Jewish defenders while the firing was still in progress. The houses thus evacuated were subsequently set on fire by Arabs.
- The bodies of 26 Jews were at last given burial. Most of them were victims of the disturbances and had lain in mortuaries for over a week. The funeral was made possible by troops stationed along the road to the Cemetery.
- 4.1. Jewish buses on the way to Hadassah Hospital came again under heavy fire and a Jewish nurse was killed.
- The Jewish Quarter in the Old City was heavily attacked and troops had to be called in to restore order.
- 5.1. Haganah blew up the Semiramis Hotel, previously reported to have been the centre of Arab gangs operating in the Katamon region. 20 persons were killed, among them the Acting Spanish Consul.
- 6.1. Jewish Quarters in the south of the city were heavily attacked. The attacks were repulsed and an unknown number of casualties inflicted on the assailants.
- Government voiced its indignation at the Semiramis Hotel attack.
- 7.1. 25 Arabs were killed and 35 injured when Jewish dissident groups threw a bomb near Jaffa Gate. Three of the attackers were subsequently killed by British Police. The avowed aim of the attack was to break the stranglehold on the Jewish Old City Quarter.



8.1. Arab attacks on outlying Jewish quarters of the town continued unabated. At least three Arab snipers, among them the cousin of the Ex-Mufti were reported to have been killed by Jewish defenders.

A Jew was assassinated inside Security Zone A.

Number of Casualties till January 8, 1948.

<u>Jews</u>			<u>Arabs ***</u>		<u>Britons</u>		<u>O thers</u>	
<u>Killed</u>	<u>Injured</u>	<u>Arrested</u>	<u>Killed</u>	<u>Injured</u>	<u>Killed</u>	<u>Injured</u>	<u>Killed</u>	<u>Injured</u>
53 *	129**	106	81	187	8****	19*****	4*****	3*****

\*7 Jews were killed by Police

\*\*10 Jews were injured by Police

\*\*\*~~Figures~~ Figures are subject to revision because the number of casualties in attacks on Jewish quarters is not disclosed and rumours given prominence in the press mention much larger casualty figures.

\*\*\*\*4 Britons were killed by Arabs and 4 by Jews

\*\*\*\*\*16 Britons were injured by Arabs and 3 by Jews

\*\*\*\*\*Among those killed were 3 Nazis who had acted as informers for Arab gangs and were executed by Jews.

\*\*\*\*\*3 persons were injured in Arab attacks.





ה ע צ ה

בקשר עם סצב הבטחון החסור מאד בירושלים הריני להביא את ההצעה הבאה

(א) ראשית כל אני קובע כמה הנחות הנראות לי כמקובלות ובלתי מוטרכות ואלו הן

(1) סצב הבטחון בירושלים הוא פרוע יותר מאשר בכל מקום אחר בארץ ישראל, ביחוד אם נביא בחשבון את מספר האוכלוסין היהודים הנפגעים ע"י סצב זה. הולכים אנחנו ונרחקים משכונה אחרי שכונה, ישובנו בעיר העתיקה נמצא במצור וכמה משכונותינו (תלפיות ועוד) מנותקות כמעט כליל ממרכז העיר. קדשינו ובכסי התרבות שלנו המרכזיים הם מנותקים ובסכנה גדולה, אין לנו גישה אליהם (הכותל המערבי, העיר העתיקה בכלל, האוניברסיטה ובית הספרים הלאומי). בית החולים המרכזי "הרסה" מנותק ו-700 החולים על הרופאים והאחיות הנמצאים שם הם בסכנה. אפילו גישתנו לבית העלמין שעל הר הזיתים הנה כמעט בלתי אפשרית (28 מתים היו מונחים בלי קבורה במשך שבוע שלם). שרותי האדמיניסטרציה העירונית והממשלתית בחלקם הגדול נפסקו.

(2) מבחינה פוליטית עמדתנו בירושלים היא חשובה ורגישה מאד.

(3) לו היו סכויים לכך ולולא חששנו שמא דרישה זו עלולה לערער תחת ההבטחה של החלטת האו"ם על דבר הקמת המדינה היהודית בחלק מארץ ישראל, כי אז היינו דורשים בכל תוקף משלוח של צבא בין-לאומי על מנת לשמור כאן על הסדר ועל השלום ובכדי לבצע את ההחלטות של עצרת האו"ם.

בעצרת האו"ם לא עמדנו על הדרישה הזאת והצהרנו כי אנו בכוחות עצמנו נבצע את החלטת האו"ם לכשתתקבל, רק מפני שידענו כי משלוח האומות המאוחדות נכונות לשלוח צבא משלהן לשם ביצוע החלטתן ואם איפוא דבר זה יועמד כתנאי למעשה, הרי המעשה יהיה בטל.

בסצב והאידנא הרי ה' מ. שרתוק יכול היה להודיע רק כי נדרוש עזרה צבאית בין-לאומית לביצוע ההחלטה, לכל הפחות ע"י מתן נשק.

(4) כל דרישה שהיא בדבר עזרה צבאית של האו"ם לביצוע ההחלטה של עצרת האו"ם טעונה קבלת החלטה מתאימה שמועצת הבטחון של האו"ם. ואמנם עצרת או"ם הסליצה על כך שמועצת הבטחון תנקוט באמצעים הדרושים לשם ביצוע ההחלטה על חלוקת ארץ ישראל ושהיא תכיר בכל נסיון לשנות בכח את הסדור הכלול בהחלטה זו כאיום לשלום, הפרת השלום או מעשה תוקפנות" בהתאם לעיף 39 של סגלת האו"ם - אבל הוסיפה כי מועצת הבטחון מתבקשת בתקופת המעבר לנקוט נגד האיום נגד השלום כנ"ל באמצעים במסגרת המעיפים 39 ו-41, ז.א. באמצעים שאינם דורשים כח מזויין.

(5) אמנם כל עזרה שהיא מצד מועצת הבטחון, אפילו לא בצורה של כח מזויין, היא מאד מפורקת בתנאים הנוכחיים לרגלי ההרכב של המועצה שמבין אחד עשר חבריה רק ששה (ארבע, ברית המועצות, צרפת, בלגיה, אוקראינה וקנדה) הצביעו בעד ההחלטה של עצרת האו"ם סיום 29 לנובמבר 1947, ואילו יותר החמשה (סוריה, ארגנטינה, קולומביה, סין ואנגליה) או שנמנעו מהשתתפות בהצבעה או שהצביעו נגד (סוריה). לפי סעיף 27 של סגלת האו"ם הרי החלטה של מועצת הבטחון יכולה להתקבל רק ברוב של 7 קולות. אפשרי הוא שעל איזו מן המדינות יהיה להסנע מהצבעה בעקב הסעיף 27, ס"ק 33 הקובע כי על מדינה הנוגעת בענין הסכסוך להסנע מהצבעה, אבל אין זה בעצם משנה את המצב, שהרי רוב של שבעה קולות הוא המינימום לקבלת כל החלטה חיונית. נוסף על כך קיימת השאלה המשפטית אם החלטות של עצרת האו"ם מחייבות את מועצת הבטחון, או שהחלטה זו יש לה רק כח של הסלצה לפני מועצת הבטחון.



(ב) אכן יש ויש לנו הזכות והאפשרות לדרוש כח צבאי בין-לאומי למחוז ירושלים. בענין זה יש החלטות ברורות של עצרת האו"ם. אין איפוא שום חששות פוליטיים כרוכים בעמידה בכל החוקף על דרישה זו. נוסף על כך נתון בצו ההחלטה בענין זה בידי "מועצת הנאמנות". החלטות במועצת הנאמנות מתקבלות ברוב פשוט (סעיף 89). מועצת הנאמנות זהו מוסד של עצרת האו"ם, והחלטות או"ם מחייבות את המועצה הזאת (סעיפים 85 ו-87). לפי ההחלטה של עצרת האו"ם על מועצת הנאמנות במשך 5 חודשים מיום החלטתה לעבד ולאשר את התקנון המפורט של "ירושלים העיר" (חלק I), למנות את נציב העיר ירושלים (חלק II). לנציב ישנה הרשות לנקוט באמצעים הדרושים כדי להבטיח את פעולתה הסדירה של האדמיניסטרציה (חלק III). וכמו כן לארגן כח מתאים של משטרה, שהזיה יבואו מחוץ לגבולות ארץ ישראל, כדי לשמור על הסדר הפנימי ובמיוחד כדי ~~לשמור על הסדר הפנימי~~ להגן על המקומות הקדושים (חלק IV(c)).

(ג) נראה לי כי בהתאם להנ"ל עלינו לפנות תיכף ומיד אל מועצת הנאמנות בתזכיר מפורט על המצב בירושלים והמחוז, להדגיש את אי-פעילותה של ממשלת המנדט למען השלמת הסדר ~~הממשל~~ והשלום ואת הסבלנות של המשטרה לפורעים ולדרוש את החשת מנוי הנציב ואת גיוס כח המשטרה הבין-לאומית, ואילו עד לסדור זה על סמך סעיף 87, ט"ק של מגלת האו"ם לשלוח ועדה מיוחדת לשם בקור וקביעת המצב במקום.

(ד) הייתי טבור כמו כן, כי מכיון והנהלת הסוכנות היהודית כל מעיניה נתונים בהכרח בעיקר לבעיות הקשורות בהקמת המדינה היהודית, חרי מוטב שהתזכיר והפניה הנ"ל, כמובן בהסכמת הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית, יימסרו למועצת הנאמנות ע"י הנהלת הוועד הלאומי - אולי באמצעות המשלחת המורכבת מהח' ד"ר עליאש ואוסטר הנמצאים בניו יורק בעניני ירושלים.

כ"ג טבת תש"ח  
(5.1.48)



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# THE ATLANTIC REPORT

## *on the World today*

### The Middle East

THE United Nations' handling of the Palestine question was one of the most heartening international developments since the war. The Special Committee, an impartially appointed instrument of world opinion, removed the most important aspects of the problem from the realm of controversy. Unanimously it recommended termination of the British Mandate and independence for Palestine. By a majority of seven to three it presented a plan for partition far removed in spirit and in detail from the "federation" scheme advanced last year by the British Cabinet. It also recommended that during the transition period the Mandatory Power be responsible for the admission of 150,000 immigrants into the proposed Jewish state and abolish the restrictions on land sales to Jews in that area.

Attempts to delay the UN Assembly's vote on the partition plan were frustrated by U.S.-Russian insistence on a decision, and the plan was carried thirty-three to thirteen, with ten abstentions. The only non-Moslem countries which voted against partition were Greece and Cuba.

The UN plan found the United States and Soviet Russia substantially in agreement for the first time on a major issue — an electrifying development that gave a sorely needed lift to the world organization. Furthermore, Gromyko's and Tsarapkin's surprise declarations in support of a Jewish state — made in the face of Arab threats to the West of a bolt into the Soviet camp — undercut the Arab League game of playing the powers off against each other and placed the whole Middle East situation in a more realistic perspective.

The outstanding stumbling block to a solution was Britain's refusal, despite its decision to evacu-

ate Palestine, to coöperate in a settlement not acceptable to Arabs and Jews alike. This attitude came strangely from a government which had submitted the problem to the UN on the very ground that all possibilities of Arab-Jewish agreement had been exhausted; and which, furthermore, had shown no compunction about using force to impose the pro-Arab White Paper at great cost to itself in lives and money.

The United States and Russia achieved a compromise which asked no more of the Mandatory than to maintain order until evacuation and give to Arabs and Jews an equal opportunity to prepare for safeguarding their independence.

#### **Will the Arabs go to war?**

That there will be violence in Palestine is certain. But how much? Arab reluctance to make sacrifices to combat Zionism is a matter of record. Despite the tempest of speechmaking that greeted the 1936 Palestine riots, little was done to assist the insurgents, who at no time numbered more than 3000. The current Arab boycott of Zionist products has been so flagrantly violated that not long ago the Iraqi premier declared that only in Iraq was the boycott effective. It is no secret in the Middle East capitals that the Arab League meeting in Beirut, summoned in October to plan warfare against a Jewish state, degenerated into a contest between the Mufti and King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan for control of Palestine.

The long-standing feud between the Mufti and Abdullah — referred to as "Rabbi Abdullah" in the Mufti's Berlin broadcasts — is characteristic of the fissures within the Arab League. Abdullah for his part nurses a long-standing quarrel with Ibn





## The Atlantic Report on the Middle East



Saud, who expelled Abdullah's father, King Husain, from the Hejaz in 1924.

Trans-Jordan and Iraq form a close partnership within the League by reason of family ties: the boy king of Iraq is Abdullah's grandnephew and the regent is his nephew. The two Hashemite (of the family of Husain) countries, while retaining separate rulers, plan to abolish customs barriers and to adopt a common currency and passport system as first steps toward a more ambitious program of federation — the so-called Greater Syria plan, one of the most explosive issues within the Arab world.

The plan is vehemently opposed by most Syrian politicians, who see their jobs endangered, and by the Christian majority in the Lebanon, which is fearful of being engulfed in a Moslem confederation. The latter have never forgotten the massacre of Assyrian Christians in Iraq after the First World War, and feel that their security is linked with that of the other large non-Moslem minority in the Arab world.

King Farouk of Egypt is a staunch upholder of the status quo, under which his country is the richest, the most populous, and the most highly industrialized of the Arab states. He and Ibn Saud heartily agree that Hashemite ambitions must be held in check, but their own relations are strained. In the eyes of Ibn Saud, leader of the Wahabites, the puritans of Islam, Farouk is a westernized young upstart who has the presumption to challenge his claim to Arab leadership.

The intensity of Arab rivalries makes it improbable that the Arab leaders will succeed in forging a military coalition. It is still less probable, should they go to war, that they could overcome the Hagana or Jewish Defense Force. Even as an illegal formation, the Hagana — estimated to be 70,000 to 80,000 strong — is a well-trained, well-equipped fighting force, officered by men who fought in the British Army, some with the Commandos. As the army of an independent Jewish state, its manpower could be appreciably enlarged and its equipment fortified by Palestine industry, which turned out considerable quantities of war material for the British.

### Second-rate Arab Army

All the Arab armies together total approximately 135,000 men, a high proportion of whom must be kept at home to maintain order among the discontented masses and — in the case of Syria and Iraq — to cope with mutinous tribesmen. And this figure cannot be greatly strengthened by conscrip-

tion. Eighty per cent of Egyptian recruits are rejected as physically unfit, and the health of the masses is, if anything, lower elsewhere.

The only first-class fighting units in the Arab world are the Trans-Jordan Arab Legion and the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, both of which obey British orders; their involvement would be tantamount to British intervention. The Iraqi Army, strongest of the purely Arab forces, demonstrated its ineptitude both in Rashid Ali's pro-Axis revolt and in its incapacity to subdue Kurdish rebellions without British assistance. It was Lawrence of Arabia who said of the Arabs' fighting prowess in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*: "One company of Turks firmly entrenched in open country could have defied the entire army of them."

So it would be today. Testifying before the Anglo-American Committee, General D'Arcy, then Commander-in-Chief in Palestine, declared that the Hagana could hold the country against all the Arab states for years. One reservation is necessary. Britain is at present helping to train and equip most of the Arab armies. Were such assistance allowed to continue after the Arabs went to war, the Hagana would be placed at a hopeless disadvantage.

### Misery for the poor

A Palestine settlement will in the long run compel the Arab rulers to devote more attention to the plight of the barefoot Arab. Poverty and disease make the life of the Arab peasant or worker a condition little removed from walking death. A random sampling of social statistics tells an appalling story. In Egypt and other parts of the Middle East, nearly 90 per cent of the peasantry are wasting away from bilharzia. Malaria kills 50,000 annually in Iraq. The incidence of pellagra and trachoma is staggeringly high. Limbs are everywhere disfigured by what a perverted nationalism variously terms the Nile boil, the Bagdad boil, and the Aleppo Button.

Life expectancy in Iraq is 27 years; one child in two dies before the age of five. In Egypt, the most advanced of the Arab states, the death rate is higher than in India; in rural areas there is but one doctor to every 10,000 inhabitants. In the whole of Trans-Jordan, three times the size of Palestine, there are twenty-four physicians and five dentists. Everywhere dirt, ignorance, and official apathy and corruption invite epidemic disease; Egypt's cholera epidemic, now in its fourth month, is still spreading. During a previous anti-plague campaign it cost the Egyptian government \$50 to kill a rat.





## The Atlantic Report on the Middle East



One half of one per cent of the population owns one third of the land. Under an antiquated system of land tenure, the Arab peasantry is chronically in debt to usurers and absentee landlords; interest rates frequently range from 50 to 200 per cent. The average annual income of an Iraqi peasant family before the war was \$35. Children six years old are employed in the cotton-gin plant of the Banque Misr of Egypt for a daily wage of fifteen cents. The Syrian agricultural worker is paid even less. Iraq, once the seat of a flowering civilization, now cultivates only 20 per cent of its arable land; Syria only 35 per cent. Slavery is recognized by law in Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, which was recently admitted to the UN.

Nothing remotely resembling democratic political conditions obtains in any of the Arab countries. Arab politics is an affair of personalities and family loyalties. When a former Egyptian premier was accused of packing the administration with his near relatives, he replied: "How can I run a government unless I have men I can trust in the key positions?"

Censorship powers enable the Arab governments to suspend or suppress by ministerial fiat newspapers critical of the administration. The Syrian Ministry of the Interior may dissolve any political party, group, or club that appears to act contrary to "the basic principles of the republican constitution."

### **Subsidies for the rich**

In the past decade, hundreds of millions of dollars have poured into the Arab world — in the form of British subsidies, interest-free loans, oil royalties and expenditures by the oil companies, and war-time payments for goods and services purchased at highly inflated prices. Most of this wealth has been dissipated in regal display and the enrichment of the moneyed classes. Some of it now goes to support the Arab League, which can afford to vote the Mufti an allowance of \$400,000.

These resources, if devoted to education, irrigation projects, and social services, could have transformed the face of the Arab world. The agricultural research section of the American Near East Foundation — a fine example of disinterested endeavor among the Arabs — offers impressive evidence of how much can be accomplished with how little: an expenditure of \$600 on experiments to combat tomato disease in the Lebanon saved a crop worth two millions.

One of the great barriers to progress in the Arab world has been the relative absence of a socially

conscious middle class. In the Lebanon, where French and American educators have long been active, 70 per cent of the population are literate, but elsewhere illiteracy ranges from 70 per cent in Syria to 90 per cent in Iraq, and more than that in the Arabian quadrilateral. There is no university in Iraq and only one newspaper in the Yemen, a country the size of Kansas with 3½ million people.

### **Rising clamor for reform**

Thus between the ruling Arab oligarchy and the inarticulate masses there exists only a thin layer of struggling professional men, underpaid white-collar workers (most of them in the bureaucracy), and excitable students. Many of the members of this group, proud of being effendis (gentlemen) and conscious of their dependence on patronage for advancement, have in the past identified their interests with those of the pashas, and so have failed to constitute a progressive force in politics. Since the war, however, there has been a growing change in the outlook of the Arab middle-class intelligentsia — the most significant development in the Arab world since the time of Lawrence.

The young effendis in Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, and Bagdad are beginning to translate volatile clamor for reform into insistent pressure. Despite the repressive policies now in force under the guise of combating Communism, leftist journals and reform movements are sprouting faster than they can be suppressed.

The unanimity and vigor with which rival opposition parties protested the Lebanese and Iraqi elections are symptoms of a new temper among articulate Arabs. They cannot be swindled much longer with artificial excuses for postponing improvement of social conditions and obstructing the march of civilization. The proposed Jewish state will have the effect of quickening the civilizing process. In the course of time, it is bound to stimulate progressive Arabs with the example of an advanced technology, democratic institutions, and a sense of the dignity of human life unknown to the Arab oligarchy.

The Arab's greatest champion, T. E. Lawrence, once wrote: "I am decidedly in favor of Zionism. Indeed, I look on the Jews as the natural importers of that Western leaven which is so necessary for the countries of the Near East. . . . The success of their scheme will involve inevitably the raising of the present Arab population to their own material level, only a little after themselves in point of time, and the consequences might be of the highest importance for the future of the Arab world."



MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      **Date** January 2, 1948

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

Under separate cover we have sent you a number of speeches made at the recent dinner in tribute to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on the eve of his departure for Palestine.

Please study the significant address of Dr. Silver carefully as it contains the basic elements of our present policy. Also convey its contents to the members of your committee so that they may be provided with an appraisal of the current situation.

- - - - -

Yesterday the New York Times published a story from London, which is the beginning of a new smear campaign by the officials of the British Foreign Office against Zionism. The purpose of the Times story was to give the impression that Communist agents are arriving in Palestine on Jewish refugee ships coming from Eastern ports of debarkation. Attached is a statement issued by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Acting Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Should any item appear in your local press which is similar to the Times dispatch described above, please utilize the attached as an answer. We will very shortly send you a memorandum which will analyze this new British propaganda campaign. It is essential that we keep on the alert to expose any new move which the British, the Arabs, or some subordinate officials of our State Department may make to sabotage the implementation of the UN decision on Palestine.

- - - - -

I am departing on a leave of absence of several months. Mr. Abe Tuvim will occupy my position during this interval. I sincerely hope that you will give him the same splendid cooperation that you have accorded me.

Kindest regards.

HLS:RB  
Enc.



STATEMENT BY DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL  
JANUARY 1, 1948

The dispatch in this morning's New York Times quoting un-named British sources as charging that homeless Jews, now en route to Palestine aboard the refugee ships Pan York and Pan Crescent, are Communist "fifth column" agents is the latest example of the British smear campaign against Jewish refugees and the Zionist movement. It is a matter of deep regret that a great American newspaper like the New York Times should thus lend itself to the circulation and prominent display of deliberate fabrications emanating from British propagandists whose designs are all too transparent. No doubt the authors of this latest canard -- Mr. Bevin's associates in the British Foreign Office -- hope to frighten public opinion by linking the Zionist movement with Communism. This new variation on an ancient and discordant theme is strange, indeed, coming as it does from individuals who, only a few weeks ago, were threatening that aid to the Jewish cause will drive the Arabs into Russia's arms. Now that this line has been discredited by the United Nations decision on Palestine, which was the result of the harmonious cooperation of the United States and the Soviet Union, these same mischief-makers have set out to insinuate that Jewish refugees desperately seeking to enter their homeland -- and still barred by British armed force -- are serving Communist interests. I am confident that these latest British propaganda maneuvers against Zionism will fail as miserably as did the earlier ones, and that public opinion will not be influenced by such planted stories, which are as heartless as they are false.

Zionism, needless to say, serves as the agent of no foreign power. It is nothing more or less than the Jewish people's agent for auto-emancipation. This cause has furthermore won the support of American opinion generally, and the roster of devoted and unequivocal Christian friends of Zionism includes the names of the foremost -- leaders of our country -- Republicans and Democrats alike. We are, of course, happy that both the East and the West could come together in evolving a joint solution to the Palestine question. This is cause for general gratification and was hailed by leaders of the U. S. Government as one of the few happy auguries for the future of the United Nations. Now British agents are seeking to destroy the UN decision on Palestine by throwing the entire issue into the arena of big power strife and antagonism. Once again I am confident that they will not succeed.

As for the miserable men, women and children aboard those two refugee ships -- their only "political" affiliation is their membership in the various Zionist parties and organizations, none of which is Communist or remotely associated with the Soviet Union. It should be added, in passing, that the aforementioned dispatch distorts also the matter of the recently-announced resignation of Moshe Shoh from the Jewish Agency Executive -- a development which had nothing whatever to do with the selection of Jewish refugees for emigration to Palestine, as was alleged.



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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

**Date** January 5, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

Enclosed is a copy of a reprint from the Congressional Record of December 1, 1947, of the speeches hailing the Jewish State, made by a number of senators after the UN decision.

The reprint may be ordered from this office.

Regards.

AT:SBR

Enc.



# The United States Senate Hails The Jewish State

*A Reprint from the Congressional Record of December 1, 1947*

## THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, inasmuch as I am compelled to leave the Chamber in order to fulfill an engagement, I wish to make a very brief observation on a matter wholly dissociated from the interim European-aid bill, which has been under consideration most of the day, and was passed a few minutes ago.

For a long time the people of the United States and the people of the world have been interested in a fair and equitable settlement of the problems which face Palestine. The United Nations appointed a subcommittee to consider the settlement of the Palestine problem. After long hearings and very earnest efforts on the part of that subcommittee, it reported to the United Nations a recommendation that Palestine be partitioned so as to establish a separate independent Jewish nation in that part of Palestine between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.

After long debate in the United Nations Assembly, just before it adjourned on last Saturday, by a vote of 33 to 13, the report of the subcommittee was adopted by the United Nations, 33 to 13 being a vote of almost 3 to 1 in the Assembly.

While in the declaration of that result, Mr. President, neither side received completely all that it had desired in the way of the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine, yet the result was a culmination of many years of study, thought, and agitation not only on the part of the United Nations, but on the part of the nations of the world and the people of the world.

There are many in this body who have been interested in a proper solution of the Palestinian question. I am one of those. We have felt for a long time that the peace of the world would be promoted by a settlement of this kind, by an adjudication, as it may be called, of the United Nations or of some international tribunal, even before the United Nations was created, which would give to the Jews, not only of Palestine but of the world, a reasonable degree of satisfaction in the consummation of this great ideal which they have for many years and generations held, that there would be established not only in Palestine a homeland for the Jews, but an independent nation. It has now come about, insofar as the judgment of the United Nations is concerned, by the vote providing for the partition of Palestine.

In my judgment, it is the best solution that could have been made of this troublesome, ticklish problem. In my judgment, if accepted in good faith by all the nations of the world, and especially by the nations in the Mediterranean basin, it will contribute much to the peace of the world by the elimination of a sore spot, of a condition which

has troubled not only the region in which it is involved, but all the nations of the world, great and small, more than anything that has happened in many years.

Therefore, I feel that those who have been working for the promotion of this ideal are to be congratulated. As to those who have opposed it, I feel that in the interest of world peace, security, and satisfaction ultimately all over the Mediterranean region, among the Jews and the Arabs alike, the acceptance of this decision will make a contribution toward world peace, world satisfaction, and the realization of an age-old ambition and ideal on the part of the Jews especially, and will do no substantial harm to those who opposed it in the United Nations.

I hope the decision will be accepted. I hope it will be received with that resignation on the part of those who opposed it which comes about through the necessity that if peace is to prevail in the world there should be concession, there must be acceptance of the verdicts of mankind, and a realization that the vote in the United Nations must be considered a verdict of mankind with respect to the solution of the Palestinian question.

The vote of the United Nations is only the beginning. A government must be set up. It will require time not only for it to be set up, but to adjust itself into the new world situation and with its neighbors on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea.

I urge upon all those who have been interested in this question and in its solution, no matter what attitude they assume, to accept the verdict of the United Nations and to cooperate in good faith in an effort honestly to carry out the judgment of the United Nations. I hope that ultimately Jew and Arab may live together in peace and harmony in the same region where the destiny of men has placed them. I think they can do that if they find themselves willing to accept this verdict as the verdict of mankind with respect to this particular problem, which has been, I think, so happily settled in the United Nations within the last few days.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I am in hearty accord with the remarks of the distinguished minority leader. I am one of those—and I doubt not that all my colleagues feel the same way—who has great admiration for the very consistent way in which he has carried out his convictions in this particular cause, which has now culminated in the vote to which he has referred.

I point out to him, and I doubt not it has occurred to him in his own heart, the lines of Spenser:

But Justice, though her dome she does prolong,  
Yet at the last she will her own cause right.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator. Just this one word in conclusion. I feel that the leaders of the great Jewish people who have undertaken to bring about the consummation of an independent nation in Palestine are to be congratulated upon the fact that while they did not get all they originally hoped to get, they have accepted the decision as the solution to which they are committed, and which they will undertake to carry out in good faith, and in the faith that stirs their hearts now, and has stirred them throughout all the years in which they have sought this consummation.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I rose to ask the senior Senator from Kentucky to yield for a moment, when he was speaking on the Palestine situation. He did not see me, and so I rise now in my own time, just to commend him for what he has said.

As one who has worked at public and private meetings on the subject of Palestine over a period of years, I certainly pray and hope that the present settlement will be one which will lead to greater peace, greater satisfaction, and greater comfort for many persons throughout the world today. I commend the Senator for his statement. I join with him in what he said.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate for a brief time only. As one of the Senators from Illinois, I wish to associate myself with what the able senior Senator from Kentucky, our distinguished minority leader, said a few moments ago about the partitioning of Palestine. I know of no man in America who has done more in the dissemination of information upon the partitioning of Palestine than has the able Senator from Kentucky. Along with him, and, I think, with all other Senators, I was happy to know that the Assembly of the United Nations had, by a vote of 33 to 13, agreed upon what seemed to them, and what seems to the people of the country, to be the proper and adequate solution of one of the most troublesome problems the Assembly will probably ever be compelled to solve. Like other speakers, I am certain that if those people in the Mediterranean area who are vitally affected by the partitioning of Palestine will face the issue in the true spirit that was exhibited by those who voted in the affirmative, it will go a long way toward eliminating one of the real trouble spots of the world, and will help bring about the thing that every American is truly interested in, which is an everlasting and enduring peace.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I wish to join with other Senators in rejoicing on the action taken by the United Nations in its vote concerning Palestine. However, there is nothing strange about that whatever. Irrespective of the vote



and irrespective of how different countries voted, the important and significant thing is that a historical fact has finally been recognized by civilized governments. That is as it should be. The situation is as it was from the time of Abraham, from the time of the coming of the Persians into Palestine, from the plowing of Palestine by Egypt, from the coming of Alexander of Greece and the Romans and the Crusaders. Think what happened even under England. The significant thing in my opinion is that civilized society, as organized at the moment, has finally recognized that the Jewish people have a place in the earth, something which history has always proved. The other significant thing is that the United Nations has said that foreign military must get out of Palestine, and they will get out of Palestine.

If, now, the United Nations will only carry the matter further and tell France to get out of Indochina, and the Dutch to get out of Java, then we shall really have something for which to be thankful. We shall then actually believe that civilization is making progress.

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, I wish to join the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the other Senators here this afternoon in expressing my great satisfaction and happiness at the favorable decision reached with regard to the partition of Palestine by the United Nations General Assembly on Saturday.

We in the Senate have a justifiable right in feeling that the solution of the Palestine problem was in no small way due to the efforts in behalf of the Zionist cause by many Members of this body throughout the past two decades. One of the leaders of this great cause was the very able and distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER].

I know of no better way of expressing my feelings about this fruition of the dreams of millions of our fellow citizens and the Jewish people throughout the world than to associate myself with the sentiments and remarks of the Senator from New York hailing the partition of Palestine.

I only want to add to his statement, which I ask unanimous consent to include in the body of the RECORD following my remarks, the thought that the solution of this grave and difficult international problem holds out the hope and the promise that what has been demonstrated as possible in the solution of this problem can and should happen with respect to other great issues facing the world.

I join the Senator from New York in saluting Jewish Palestine.

May God grant both the Jews and Arabs the wisdom, the patience, and the good will to see the partition through in that same spirit of cooperation and good will that motivated the nations of the world in working out and voting for the partition of Palestine.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. WAGNER HAILING THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

I hail the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to establish the Jewish

state in part of Palestine. This act by the United Nations is in accord with the highest dictates of humanity and the loftiest principles of justice. If the resolution for the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine is immediately implemented, I feel certain that the present tension and difficulties in Palestine will disappear and peace again will reign in the Holy Land.

The American people have for many years taken a close interest in the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. I was particularly pleased with the leading and vigorous role which the United States under leadership of President Truman, Secretary of State George Marshall and our delegation to the United Nations played at the sessions of the General Assembly in implementing the traditional policy of our Government in support of the establishment of the Jewish state. This policy can only further and strengthen the ideals and charter of the United Nations. I am sure that world public opinion will support the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine.

After an exile of more than 2,000 years from the Holy Land the Jewish people in their new state—their own state will start a new and glorious chapter in which hundreds of thousands of Jews can end their miserable wanderings and become rooted in the land of their fathers, the homeland of their prayers and the land of their dreams. Once given the opportunity and the initial economic aid the Jews of Palestine will develop a civilization worthy of their prayers and their aspirations for the future.

As one of the co-sponsors of the current resolution on Palestine adopted by the Congress of the United States and as one of the founders of the American Christian Palestine Committee, and because of my life-long interest and association with the Zionist cause, I am personally very thrilled to see in my lifetime the dream of a Jewish state converted into a reality. This has brought me much happiness.

I salute the Jewish state of Palestine!

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I wish to address myself briefly to the matter which engaged the attention of the Senator from Kentucky, in connection with Palestine. I ask permission that there shall be inserted in the RECORD at this point excerpts of publications of the last 2 days, commenting upon this subject, particularly an editorial from the Herald Tribune of this morning, an editorial from the New York Times of this morning, and a most penetrating analysis of the problems ahead in connection with Palestine, from the publication PM. I ask that these be printed at this point, because I think they furnish a most interesting and valuable historical record. I also ask permission to insert in the RECORD at this point a news article from the New York Times of this morning, on the significance of this occasion and what the future portends.

There being no objection, the excerpts of publications and the news article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 1, 1947]

#### THE ASSEMBLY ACTS

The final vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations approving the partition of Palestine by a little better than the requisite two-thirds vote represents one of the few great acts of courageous collective statesmanship which our shattered postwar world has been able to achieve. For the first time in some 30 years of anguished history it opens a real hope that a stable settlement of the Palestine issue can be reached. For the first

time in the far briefer but hardly less troubled history of the United Nations it reveals that organization acting as it was intended to act in precisely the kind of situation which it was created to meet, with a careful deliberation, but at the same time with an ultimate decisiveness, which are the best possible omens for the future of this second great attempt to bring order into the international world.

The partition plan, dealing as it was forced to do with an irreconcilable tangle of violently conflicting rights, represents only a very rough justice at best. Unable to rely for enforcement on anything more than the existing jumble of national policies, national interests, and available popular forces, it includes no detailed program for its own administration and there is no certainty of its practical success. Zionism, whose path has never been easy or safe, is presented with new perils in this proposed solution. It is clearly not in itself a final answer. But there are not infrequently moments in the affairs of men and peoples when some firm answer, however imperfect or even perilous it may be, is better than none.

It is quite clear from the shifting attitudes of the various delegations and from the composition of the final vote that the partition plan was adopted basically because there was no alternative. The most exhaustive investigation, the most patient hearing of all parties at issue, the most careful calculation of the actual political and human forces involved, yielded no solution which would have been more just, more practicable, or more certain in its operation than this one. What the United Nations did was to ascertain that fact, to have the courage to make the decision which the fact implied, even though it carried no sure guaranty for the future, and thus to establish as firm a foundation as has yet existed on which an ultimate settlement of the Palestine problem may one day be erected.

Whether or not such a settlement will be erected obviously depends upon many things. It depends upon the sincerity with which both the United States and the Soviet Union meet the implications of a policy on which they have been in rare and fortunate agreement. It depends very directly upon the willingness of the British to effect their evacuation as fully as possible in accordance with the spirit of this international directive, which they invited for their own relief. It depends immediately, of course, upon the Arab states and, perhaps upon the statesmanship which the Zionist community can bring to the problem in its new form. These variables are many, and the difficulties ahead may be grave. But whatever they bring, the two-thirds vote in the United Nations, recording a considered judgment upon the facts of the world as it is, will be a powerful aid and support for reasonable courses. The General Assembly has had the will to speak. That in itself is a new factor, and it leaves us with a new hope.

[From the New York Times of December 1, 1947]

#### THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

History was written at Lake Success when the General Assembly of the United Nations approved, without major change, the plan recommended by its special committee for the partition of Palestine. Under this plan two independent states, one Arab and the other Jewish, linked together in an economic union, will be established after the termination of the British mandate. Jerusalem will be placed under a United Nations trusteeship. Provision is made for democratic rights and processes, for the protection of minorities, for the safeguarding of the holy places of three great religions and for the preservation of existing languages and cultures.



The decision in favor of partition has been made on the basis of an extremely close vote, but we do not believe that this result necessarily measures accurately the judgment of the Assembly on the merits of partition as such. It has been obvious throughout the long debate that a practical question of procedure was involved; namely, the question of how this decision for partition is to be enforced if there is resistance to it. Britain, the present mandatory power, has refused to accept this responsibility; the United Nations has as yet established no international police force which could be used for this purpose, and the General Assembly itself has created no enforcement machinery for a contingency of this kind. It seems probable, therefore, that the failure to make adequate provision for enforcement explains not only some of the negative votes but some of the abstentions when yesterday's poll was taken.

Many of us have long had doubts on another score: doubts concerning the wisdom of erecting a political state on a basis of religious faith. But these doubts must now yield to the fact of a decision made by the necessary two-thirds majority of the voting nations, after a thorough investigation and a full and fair debate. It has been clear for many months that the present precarious deadlock in Palestine required some new solution. It has been equally clear that the most appropriate forum in which to find such a solution was the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Assembly has now made its choice, and its decision should command the acquiescence, the respect, and the loyal support of all nations and all peoples. The award does not go so far, in territorial terms, as most Zionists had hoped. It will grievously disappoint the Arabs. But it is the decision of the United Nations; it is the best decision which that great agency of world opinion was able to discover, and we trust that it will have the willing compliance of the two peoples whose future it involves. Failing that, the Security Council must be courageous enough and resolute enough to supply the necessary means of enforcement. Let us hope that with this decision a solution has at last been found for the Holy Land's tragic and heartbreaking problems.

[From PM of December 1, 1947]

#### WHAT'S AHEAD FOR THE NEW JEWISH STATE

(The following articles were written by PM's two experts on Palestine. As the post-war fight for a Jewish homeland unfolded, I. F. Stone made three trips to Palestine. One trip was via the European underground of Jewish DP's attempting to reach their promised land. Victor Bernstein accompanied the UN special committee (UNSCOP) to the Holy Land and reported first-hand its findings and recommendations. Here they give their reactions to the fight for partition and how the birth of two nations will come about.)

#### THE END OF A 2,000-YEAR JOURNEY FOR THE JEWS

(By I. F. Stone)

The decision taken at Flushing Meadow on Saturday gave international approval to the reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Almost two millennia, more than 18 centuries, have passed since the last Jewish state in Palestine fell. It was in A. D. 70 after a struggle whose fury still lives for us in the pages of Tacitus, that Jerusalem was taken by the Romans and the second temple destroyed, all but that fragment of wall at which Jewish pilgrims have long prayed and wept.

Much has been paid for the reestablishment, and much more will be paid before it is firmly realized. It was made possible first of all by those who in the latter half of the

last century began to return, not to pray and weep but to build and sow. Except for the empty desert spaces of the Negev, which new settlements have just begun to penetrate, the land granted the Jews by the UN are those acres of Galilee, the Emek, and the coastal plain which these settlers and those who followed them wrested from desert sands, malarial marsh, and stony hills.

Many names are associated with the return: the Viennese journalist, Herzl, who helped inspire it; Weizmann, the chemist with a poet's vision, who played the crucial role in winning the first international recognition of a Jewish national home; the British philosopher and statesman, Lord Balfour, to whose declaration Woodrow Wilson lent his support. Another American President, Harry S. Truman, has made possible the completion of the work to which they set their hands.

#### Hitler helped to spell out the validity of Jewish claims

One other name, a strange one in this list, must be added, that of Adolf Hitler. No more terrible instrument of Providence could be envisaged. The main payment for what happened in the UN Assembly was the payment of 6,000,000 Jewish lives taken by the Nazi terror. This it was which spelled out in blood and fire a message the most unwilling among Jews as well as non-Jews could not escape: the validity and the necessity of Jewish national aspiration.

The doubts and hesitations, the hypocrisy and reluctance, the intrigue and the power politics of the prolonged UN inquiry and debate, will dwindle into the distance as time passes. And what will loom larger on the horizon of history is the fact that the world did make recompense to this new Attila's foremost victims; that justice and good will and Christian conscience did triumph after all.

#### A need for understanding between Arab and Jew

The circumstances under which this new nation makes its debut are the circumstances on which its future, like the future of every small country and of the world depends. The United States of America, the British Dominions without exception (only the mother country abstaining), and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with its new east European bloc (only Yugoslavia abstaining) joined to make Saturday's two-thirds vote possible. Everywhere it is hoped that such agreements on other, wider, problems can again be achieved.

Next to this overwhelming need for world peace is the new nation's need for understanding with its Arab citizens and its Arab neighbors. What the Jews have been given is what they had already made theirs by their own sweat and courage; the UN merely set its seal on an accomplished fact. What the Jews can achieve in their area will depend, as it would depend even if they had all Palestine, on joint economic development and trade with the Arab sections of Palestine, with Trans-Jordan, and with the Middle East as a whole. Under such circumstances, the new Judea, like Denmark and Switzerland, can provide a home for several million people.

#### The courage and the will to do a good job

Those who have been to Palestine and felt the dynamic and confident spirit of the Yishuv will have no doubt that this little community will do an astounding job. Those who have seen the courage and the will to live that throbs in the Jewish DP camps in central Europe and in the detention camps on Cyprus will have no doubts about these folk, on whom the impact of the UN decision is beyond the imagination of those who possess comfort and country.

To these scattered remnants the news on Saturday must have seemed the fulfillment of that prophecy which Jeremiah spoke: "I will set mine eyes upon them for good, and

I will bring them again to this land; and I will build them, and not pull them down; and I will plant them, and not pluck them up." On this joyous occasion we greet them and the Yishuv, and wish them in the ancient formula, peace and serenity, "Shalom v'shalvah."

#### PROPHECY: ARAB ARMIES WON'T MARCH INTO JEWISH PALESTINE

(By Victor H. Bernstein)

"Judge us by the results," a member of the United States delegation pleaded a few weeks ago. The results came Saturday: 33 votes for the partition of Palestine, 13 against, and 10 abstentions. The victory for partition was put through despite last-minute parliamentary maneuvers by the Arabs and their supporters aimed at delay and diversion. But the founding of the Jewish state could be no longer delayed nor any longer diverted.

The day was one of triumph not for Jews alone. The UN, ending its session on a singularly constructive note, disproved the plaints of its critics that it was already a moribund organization. It was a day which also told the world that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics could work in close harmony for justice and human rights.

How much luster would be added to November 29 if it should prove not only freedom day for Palestine and resurrection day for Judea, but also the birthday of future United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics collaboration.

The architects of this freedom day are many. One cannot hope to name them all. The delegates of the UN Special Committee on Palestine laid the foundation. Among those who built upon it were men like Granados, of Guatemala; Fabregat, of Uruguay; Pruszyński, of Poland; Pearson, of Canada; Tsarapkin, of the Soviet Union; Zolaga, of Venezuela.

#### Hats off to United States delegation and to President Truman

I leave for special mention Johnson and Hildring, of the United States of America, because of the special role they played as representatives of the most influential of all UN members. The United States delegation blew alternately hot and cold during the long and tortuous weeks which came to a climax on Saturday. But in the final and crucial hours they blew hot. "Judge us by the results," America is grateful, President Truman.

I have been here speaking of the architects of freedom. But architects are only designers, not builders. The builders of freedom were the 600,000 and the 6,000,000—the 6,000,000 who died nameless in Europe that the 600,000 in Palestine, and thousands more to follow might live in peace on land that they can call their own.

I have spoken of November 29 as a day of freedom. In cold analysis it is merely a day of opportunity.

I think that, of the thousands who crowded the Assembly hall on that date and tensely counted the ballots, some of the greatest realists sat in that block under the south gallery reserved for Moshe Shertok and his colleagues of the Jewish Agency.

Those partisans of partition who saw the desert blooming anew with each affirmative vote were not realists.

The Saudi Arabian, the Yemenite, the other Arabs who made great show of repudiating the UN decision, and talked of reserving their freedom of action as against the majority of the civilized nations of the world, were not realists either.

#### The truth about the Arab threats at Flushing

I should like, first, to discuss briefly the phony fervor with which the Arabs insisted on their unity against the Jewish state and against the United Nations.

The Arabs know, and I hope they realize that the world knows, that however they



may appear to be at Flushing and Lake Success, walls of conflicting ambitions tower high between Aman and Damascus, Cairo, and Bagdad. The saber rattling the world heard a few weeks ago emanating from the Arab League Conference in the Lebanese Mountains above Beyrouth turned out to be the tinny sound of pennies rattling in a beggar's cup.

The world should know now the truth of what happened at that conference. The truth was that Saudi Arabia refused even to threaten termination of her oil contracts as a weapon against the United States. The truth was that Egypt declared herself powerless to do anything while her demand that Britain evacuate the Sudan was before the Security Council. The truth was that Syria, with camels instead of tanks, feared the military machine of Iraq on the one hand and of Transjordan on the other. The truth was that Abdullah, ruler of Transjordan, hopeful of swallowing the Arab state which would evolve out of the partition of Palestine, had no desire to burn his fingers before the prize was available.

If you will look at your newspapers of a few weeks ago, you will see in bold headlines the only practical results achieved by the vaunted unity of the Arab League states in their meeting at Lebanon. "Troops menace Palestine along Syrian and Egyptian borders," read the headlines. No one knows how many troops there were on these borders nor how well they were armed. What we do know is that a single Associated Press reporter, flying in an unarmed plane over the reported areas, seems effectually to have dispersed them.

#### *Some prophecies as to the future*

The truth was that the Arab League members failed to agree on maneuvering their troops anywhere except across newspaper headlines, where operating costs, presumably, could be kept at a minimum.

I should like, at this point, to make a prophecy that is not based entirely on speculation. If any Arab army crosses into Palestine en masse in the near future, it will be the Transjordan Legion into Arab Palestine. I venture to add that not a single legion soldier will march across any boundary into the Jewish state. And I prophecy, thirdly, that if this does happen, the last pretense of Arab unity will dissolve and the hot winds of the Arab world will be filled with imprecation called out upon the head of Abdullah by enraged politicians in Beyrouth and Damascus, Cairo and Bagdad.

One notes that neither the delegate of Egypt nor of Lebanon associated himself with their fellow Arabs in their explicit repudiation Saturday of the Assembly's adoption of the partition plan.

But if the Arab chauvinists are not realists, neither are those Jews who feel that the UN has guaranteed the Jewish state for them by a stroke of the pen.

*What has been created is an opportunity, not a state*

The loud-talking Arab politicians at UN may be phony in their arguments on unity, but the mufti and his gang of cutthroats are not. Neither is there anything phony in the simple Arabs throughout the Middle East whose passions have been aroused by years of propaganda against the Jew and the Jewish state. One should not be surprised if riots do occur in all the cities of the Middle East, where Jews are settled in large numbers, nor should one be surprised if before the Jewish desert blooms it will be moistened not only by the sweat of pioneers but by the blood of the defenders.

Above all, there is nothing phony in the oft-repeated statement of the Jewish agency that the Jewish state will be a tiny oasis in an Arab sea whose only hope for survival will be ultimate understanding and cooperation with the Arab world.

I repeat: the partition plan does not create a state; it creates only an opportunity. The plan is merely a skeleton, a frame, upon which the Jews must build with flesh and blood.

No one, least of all the UN Commission which is to go to Palestine, can make the plan work unless the Jews themselves are prepared to pay the price in statesmanship and, if need be, in lives. Those of us who have watched the evolution of the plan through the UN have come to realize and to appreciate the misgivings with which it was finally adopted. At crucial points it was saved by only a handful of votes. Some of its staunchest supporters recognized in it grievous weaknesses which only superhuman efforts can overcome.

I would like to say in passing that the Commission membership chosen by the Assembly on Saturday does not seem, at first glance, an entirely satisfactory substitute for the original list approved by the Palestine Committee. Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama, and the Philippines have been chosen to substitute for Poland, Uruguay, Guatemala, Norway, and Ireland. It is evident that the change, sponsored by the United States, was made as a last-minute gesture of appeasement toward the Arabs. As such, it may have some value if the Arabs accept it as a conciliatory gesture. But it is particularly to be regretted that Guatemala, which fought so valiantly from the outset for the partition plan should not have been retained as a counterweight to the Philippines, whose propartition stand is of rather extraordinary recent origin.

In the end, the plan can only succeed if (a) the United Kingdom fulfills with good will and with sincerity its Saturday pledge to the UN that it will cooperate; and (b) if the Jews of Palestine are granted the arms with which their militia must be made ready to secure law and order as and when the British evacuate their territory.

The actions of the United Kingdom will be watched from here on in with all the cynicism which its past performances in Palestine have given rise. As to the arming of the Jewish militia, that duty will rest primarily on the United States, which can once more perform as the arsenal of democracy.

[From the New York Times of November 30, 1947]

**PALESTINE IS HELD UN TURNING POINT—RISE IN PRESTIGE SEEN IF PLAN WORKS, PERIL TO WORLD BODY AND TO PEACE IF IT FAILS—MAJOR POINTS APPRAISED—PRECEDENTS, TROOPS, ADEQUACY OF SOLUTION, RESPONSIBILITY AMONG FACTORS AT ISSUE**

(By Thomas J. Hamilton)

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., November 30.—The decision by the General Assembly to partition Palestine is generally recognized as a turning point in the history of the United Nations. If the Assembly's resolution brings about a workable solution, the prestige of the United Nations will be greatly increased. If it fails, not only will Palestine become a potential breeding ground for war, but the future of the United Nations itself will be imperiled.

The following questions and answers are intended to clear up some of the principal points involved:

1. Is there any precedent for such a decision by an international organization to divide up a disputed area?

Students of history agree with Herschel V. Johnson, the United States representative on the Assembly's Palestine Committee, that there is no direct precedent. Next to Palestine, the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein provoked the most intense dispute known in modern history. They were annexed to Prussia, and subsequently became a part of Germany, not by the decision of an international organization, but as a result of the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck.

He promoted the Austro-Prussian War with Denmark in 1864 and 2 years later fought Austria to get undivided control of the spoils. Part of the Duchy of Schleswig was restored to Denmark under the Treaty of Versailles.

#### **WHY THE ASSEMBLY ACTED**

2. Why did the General Assembly have to assume responsibility for the fate of Palestine?

Great Britain placed the responsibility on the Assembly for recommendations regarding its future government. The British, who had held Palestine under a mandate from the League of Nations, decided to give it up because they could not find a solution acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. Since the League of Nations had been liquidated, the British turned to the United Nations.

3. What right did the United Nations, and specifically the General Assembly, have to order the partition of Palestine?

There are no specific provisions in the Charter, but the Assembly has the right to make recommendations to member governments and also to the Security Council regarding the maintenance of peace and security. However, since its recommendations are not legally binding, the Assembly in its resolution asked the Security Council to assume the responsibility if a threat to the peace should develop—that is, if the Palestinian Arabs or the neighboring Arab states should carry out their threats to fight rather than agree to partition. Internal disturbances are to be handled by armed militia recruited by the provisional councils of government of the two nascent states.

4. Are these arrangements adequate for keeping peace?

The sponsors of partition, and particularly the United States Government, hope so; but no one knows how much of a fight the Arabs inside or outside Palestine will put up. However, the supporters of partition think the crucial period will come after, not before, the independence of the two states is proclaimed. In that case, serious fighting would be a matter for the Security Council anyway.

The British, however, think the severest test will come between now and the termination of the mandate and the evacuation of British troops—for which the deadline is next August 1—and particularly in the 2-month interregnum between that time and the proclamation of the two states as independent—which is to be not later than October 1. The majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended partition, said it thought force would be necessary to enforce it.

#### **THE PROBLEM OF TROOPS**

5. Why did not the Assembly provide outside military force to be on the safe side?

Some members, including apparently the United States, kept thinking until the last that the British would back down on their announcement that they would not allow British troops to be used to enforce any solution unless it was satisfactory to both Jews and Arabs—in which case, of course, no armed force would have been necessary anyway.

The Security Council is supposed to have standing arrangements for an international force to deal with such contingencies, but never has been able to agree on the size of the respective contingents.

The trouble about recruiting an international force from scratch was that the small powers did not have the forces available, and were not willing to send them anyway; and if the great powers sent troops, that might give the Soviet Union a chance to establish itself in a strategic center of the strategic Near East. Besides, the United States State Department did not think that Congress would agree to the sending of United States troops.



The result was that the United States at first proposed the formation of an international constabulary force recruited on an individual basis. This obviously was unworkable, and the United States along with the other supporters of partition then decided to depend on the armed militia in the respective states for keeping internal order.

6. Where will the militia get the necessary guns and other equipment?

Presumably, these will come from the United States and other supporters of partition, although the Assembly resolution says nothing on that subject.

#### IMMIGRATION CURB SEEN RETAINED

7. What happens about Jewish immigration, and the British laws restricting the purchase of land by Jews, between now and the proclamation of independence?

Presumably the British will keep in force the land laws and the present immigration quota of 1,500 a month until they give up the mandate. However, the Assembly resolution says that the respective councils of governments, under the supervision of the United Nations commission, will have responsibility for such questions during the transition period.

This is one of the many points that have to be worked out with the British. It is supposed that the Jewish state will provide virtually unlimited immigration permits once it gets going.

8. What are some of the other questions to be settled with the British?

For one thing, the British say that although, of course, they will have to evacuate their troops gradually, they will give up authority all at once except for the gradually diminishing area occupied by their troops as they are withdrawn, where the British would govern by military law alone.

On the other hand, the Assembly resolution provides for the progressive transfer of authority; that is, the British would hand over authority as they withdrew their troops, but would continue the civil administration until the last in whatever areas they occupied. In view of this unsettled dispute, it is not clear who would be responsible for restoring order if there were a serious clash between Jews and Arabs after the termination of the mandate.

Much as they dislike it, the British apparently are responsible until they end the mandate, which is one of the reasons why many delegates think this will come sooner, rather than later.

#### AN ARAB COUNCIL HELD UNLIKELY

9. What are the prospects that the Arabs will form a council of government in the part of Palestine assigned to them, and in general cooperate in carrying out the Assembly resolution?

Such a prospect is regarded as remote.

10. How will this affect the Jewish state? That state can and no doubt will be established anyway. However, Arab noncooperation would make it impossible to carry out the complicated business of taking over the liabilities and assets of the British administration, arranging for an economic union and a common currency, agreeing on the administration of telegraph and railroad facilities, and so forth.

11. What will become of the area assigned to the Arab state if there is no cooperation?

The Security Council is supposed to do something if provisional councils of government have been established in both states by next April. Some delegates expect the Arabs in the intended Arab state to take over after the British withdraw. As King Abdullah of Transjordan is strongly opposed to partition, his actions may determine whether it can be carried out with relatively little bloodshed.

12. Since the Jewish state will have almost as many Arabs as Jews (397,000 to 538,000), why was there no provision for the exchange of minorities?

Each state is required to write into its constitution guarantees of the rights of the respective minorities. In addition, any Arab who desires to do so may opt for citizenship in the Arab state within 1 year, and vice versa.

No exchange of minorities is authorized because the partition plan is based on the belief that, once a final decision is reached, Arabs and Jews will accept it and live together without fighting, and eventually may even find it possible to forget their present enmity.

#### POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES APPRAISED

13. What United Nations agencies are involved in the partition plan?

All the important ones have some role. The Assembly adopted the partition plan, named the commission to help carry it out, and will get the commission's final report.

The Security Council is responsible, if either side refuses to cooperate, to the extent of naming a provisional government, and if there is outside intervention or serious fighting from any direction.

The Trusteeship Council is responsible for administering the city of Jerusalem and outlying towns. The Economic and Social Council is to name three representatives who will hold the balance of power on the commission that is to carry out economic union.

14. Were there any alternatives?

There were, but none apparently could have received a two-thirds majority in the Assembly—certainly not the earlier Arab demand for a single Palestinian state, where the present Arab majority would have had permanent control. A federal state would have had a good chance if the Arabs had accepted it before the eleventh hour.

15. Will partition work?

The answer depends primarily upon the Arabs of Palestine and the neighboring states. If they accept the Assembly decision, it will work. However, their statements at the closing session of the Assembly indicate that they will not. In that case, the answer depends upon the degree of cooperation of Britain in surrendering her authority over Palestine, and in keeping order until the transfer takes place; and, also, the ability of the United States and the Soviet Union to work together in the Security Council in handling the difficult problem of providing military force, if that should become necessary.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I want to speak briefly on this subject, because, while we are witnessing one of the significant events of history in the birth of a nation by a new process, through the action of the United Nations, and with the refusal of Great Britain, who hitherto has been responsible for Palestine, to accept responsibility in the future, it means the United Nations has not only given birth to this nation, but must see to it that the infant shall be properly nourished and developed. So that while we pause for a moment here appropriately to congratulate both the new nation and its parents, and all those who have been concerned in the past half century with bringing this great dream of Zion to pass, we should also remind ourselves that the United States Government, as one of the chief sponsoring powers for this solution in bringing to pass the vote by which it was given birth, 33 to 15, has assumed a considerable measure of responsibility.

This is no time for international or political recrimination. There is glory enough for all if the fond hopes of those who have sponsored this project shall be realized. But we may go far back to see

the great vision of Chaim Weizmann, who originally had the vision of recapturing Palestine as a homeland for what seemed to be otherwise a homeless people except as they had found lodgment in other parts of the globe—a vision that, after 2,000 years of wandering the Jews should come to what might be for them appropriately considered the homeland that was promised to them by the so-called Balfour Declaration—Palestine as a homeland for the Jews.

I have said that there is glory enough for all, and what has now occurred is another evidence of the significance of bipartisan achievement in our foreign policy, because it is interesting to note that the first steps for United States participation in this great achievement were taken under the direction of a Republican administration, and its final consummation has been under a Democratic Executive.

After Mr. Balfour's Declaration, the United States, not being a member of the League of Nations, which issued the mandate for Palestine, became a party to the mandate by its treaty, the so-called Coolidge convention with Great Britain in 1924, under the leadership of the late Henry Cabot Lodge, the distinguished predecessor as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the one who has so successfully advanced the measure we have considered here today.

Under his leadership, as well as under the leadership of Charles E. Hughes as Secretary of State and Calvin Coolidge as President, the United States became a party to the British pledge of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

It is not here appropriate to go into the history of the past 20 years, and all of the somewhat equivocal attitude that developed in the mandatory power as a result of the tragic incidents of the last decade, when the Arabs protested vigorously, and there came on the incidents which have more and more occasioned the world to consider that here was the possibility of a disturbance of the peace. But we have come down through to the episodes of the last year, when finally, after some 25 commissions and committees of various kinds had studied the situation, the United Nations were convened this last spring in special session at the request of Great Britain and asked to recommend a solution, which they have now done, with only two dissenting votes outside of the countries which had certain very strong prejudices regarding the appropriate solution, as the result of racial and religious views. So that, as the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] said, the giving of this mandate for the partition of Palestine may be considered the consensus of the opinion of mankind, although two-thirds of Palestine has been removed as the result of the creation of Transjordan.

In the past year the cause has been greatly served by the leadership of the world leader of Zionism, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, and it is under his leadership and wise statesmanship that this successful result has finally been brought to pass.

It is no time to speak of a certain schizophrenia that has apparently affected our State Department during the



various considerations of this question. It is enough that finally the goal desired has been achieved. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that while both great political parties in this country, in their last political platforms, adopted resolutions endorsing the Palestine solution, and while members of both political parties, including Senators on both sides of the aisle, have in repeated public utterances supported their own resolutions, it was not until Russia, to the amazement of everyone, a few short weeks ago became also a co-champion of the partition, that the result was finally achieved.

We were told during the past 2 or 3 years that the reason we must consider the solution of Palestine as a Jewish homeland was because the Russians were going to take advantage of Arab intransigence and would use the action of Britain or the United States regarding Palestine to the prejudice of world peace by stimulating Arab aggression. So it was to the amazement of everyone that Russia in the United Nations a few short weeks ago championed the partition solution. I shall not enter into a discussion of what may or may not have been her motives, whether she was primarily concerned with what seemed to be a just solution, or whether there were some more devious reasons, but at any rate her action destroyed for all time the idea that she was seeking to cultivate Arab national aspirations for the sake of securing interests in our oil concessions in these Arabian lands. I think it is well to bear that in mind as we go forward into consideration of this matter, realizing that this is the beginning, and not the end; that while we are here giving birth to what we trust will be a nation, its continuation will be achieved not only by the continued sacrifice and possibly suffering of those immediately concerned, but that the United Nations themselves, and the commission which they have created for the purpose, have now the tremendous responsibility of seeing that this infant nation shall have its proper nurture during the undoubtedly difficult days that so obviously lie ahead.

I think all the speeches here have appropriately pointed out that it is to be hoped that whatever may be the irresponsible acts of individuals or certain small collective groups in seeking to challenge this solution, that those responsible for the administration of the affairs of the nations which oppose this solution, some of them very old governments, and others comparatively new, that have been born within recent decades and admitted to the United Nations, shall demonstrate their recognition of world order and world democracy by yielding to the overwhelming opinion of mankind, and joining in the suppression of aggressive acts calculated to challenge a solution which has had so long, so sympathetic, and so conclusive a decision.

In that respect I think our own country has now to consider its course. We proposed originally that there should be created an international police force under the direction of the United Nations, although that was not contemplated within the terms of any of the discus-

sions of the Charter, but that rather individual nations should contribute quotas to care for whatever responsibilities should arise. In the suggestion I now call to the attention of the Senate, I do not wish to imply any anticipation that there will be armed revolt on any major scale. It is my hope, my belief, that those concerned will respect this overwhelming decision, and that the two new nations which have now been born will be given their proper opportunity for becoming contributing members of the family of nations. But if such a distressing situation should arise, with the absolute refusal of Great Britain to assume responsibility further and its withdrawal of all its forces, the United States must realize that neither we, nor Russia, as the parties which have championed this solution, can avoid the responsibility that is appropriately ours, and I speak to this because, as the weeks and months pass by, if we shall be faced with a crisis in this situation we must be prepared then to act.

For that reason I call attention to what in my judgment should be the next question considered by the administration in the obvious challenge it may face, the question of whether or not we in America shall be prepared to contribute the indispensable elements essential to the preservation of the peace.

On that score it is a curious anomaly that those who have been most inhospitable to the Jew have been also most opposed to the idea of a homeland for the Jew in Palestine. Meanwhile, whether or not we shall have in the world the force necessary to implement the decision of the United Nations may be determined in no small measure by the action the United States shall take. The United Nations has taken this action, but unless it is supported by appropriate power to compel the acceptance of its decision, then the United Nations will demonstrate its absolute futility, and the United Nations will fall into innocuous desuetude like the League of Nations. I was privileged last week to hold sessions in the vast mausoleum costing \$60,000,000 on the shores of Lake Geneva standing as a solitary monument to the vain hopes of all mankind.

So I trust that we in this country will realize that we have set out hand to the plow. If the difficulty comes—and God forbid that it should—it seems to me that it is none too early for the United States to consider the action it shall take. I do not believe that the opinion of America would support the sending of our armed forces to Palestine to preserve order except on the basis which I shall now suggest, and that is that no man shall go there who is not a volunteer. I suggest that serious consideration be given without delay to the organization of a volunteer force not solely for this purpose but for any purpose for which it shall be required under the action of our Government and under the proper direction and request of the United Nations Security Council, to implement and preserve, in collaboration with other countries which shall be ready to take their share of responsibility, the action which we may be called upon to take.

To that end I ask that there be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a letter sent to the Secretary of State, Hon. George C. Marshall, by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America on August 8, 1947, in which, among other things, recommending action on Palestine, they make this proposal:

Recognizing the practical administrative and manpower obstacles which the United Nations might face in placing and maintaining an adequate police force in Palestine at this time, the Jewish war veterans of the United States suggest that such a force be recruited from among trained veterans of all faiths and all nations who would volunteer to comprise such a United Nations police force. The Jewish war veterans of the United States offers its total resources to aid in the efforts to obtain such a force.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
New York, N. Y., August 8, 1947.

Gen. GEORGE C. MARSHALL,

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL MARSHALL: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States, representing 600,000 American Jewish veterans who were proud to fight under your command in World War II, and the over 200,000 who fought in the American armies of World War I, respectfully recommend a course of action to alleviate the present intolerable situation in the Holy Land.

It is obvious that if forthright steps are not taken immediately, violence in Palestine will continue to mount until the rising tide of reprisals by the contending parties will have reached a volume that will gravely menace any attempt at peacemaking.

Under your able leadership our Government has already pointed out an avenue of solution for the problem through the action recently taken with respect to a state of war between the Netherlands and Indonesia. The successful action of the United States delegate to the United Nations Security Council in pressing a resolution that led to a suspension of armed conflict in Indonesia establishes a precedent which may well prove effective in the Palestine crisis.

We, therefore, fervently recommend that our Government pursue that precedent to the following extent:

1. That our delegate to the United Nations be instructed to have placed upon the agenda of the United Nations Security Council, for immediate action, a resolution requesting the United Nations to assume authority in the Holy Land dispute.

2. That the United Nations order the immediate withdrawal from Palestine of all British troops and police and substitute therefor United Nations personnel. Great Britain has not only proven herself unable to maintain the peace in Palestine, but her actions have incited continuing turmoil and bloodshed.

We are convinced that these two simple steps will facilitate the immediate cessation of hostilities and will serve as a logical preface to the definite and final solution of the entire problem by the United Nations.

Recognizing the practical administrative and manpower obstacles which the United Nations might face in placing and maintaining an adequate police force in Palestine at this time, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States suggest that such a force be recruited from among trained veterans of all faiths and all nations who would volunteer to comprise such a United Nations police force. The Jewish War Veterans of the



United States offers its total resources to aid in the efforts to obtain such a force.

Said police force would be under the jurisdiction and direction of the United Nations. Participation of American veterans would, of course, be subject to the approval of our own Government and on the basis of existing laws.

We feel that the presence of a police force responsible only to the United Nations, instead of troops now answerable only to Great Britain—one of the disputant parties—suggests a course of action that can put an effective halt to further unnecessary killings on both sides.

The principles of the four freedoms, borrowed from the institutions upon which American democracy is founded, have been incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations. Historical precedent, as well as the basic precepts of human decency, require that the United States now take through the United Nations with respect to Palestine the action that has already been initiated in Indonesia—action that will bring peace to a distracted world. The Palestine problem is a challenge to the necessity for, and the effectiveness of, the United Nations. For the benefit of all freedom-loving peoples and the peace of the world, we appeal for your approval and immediate action on this proposal.

Respectfully yours,

MILTON H. RICHMAN,  
National Commander.

Mr. BREWSTER. That proposal was the result of the proposal by the United States in the United Nations Assembly that an international police force should be recruited. There was no provision for it in the Charter and apparently little is likely to come of it.

That has been followed by a resolution adopted in St. Paul at the fifty-second annual encampment of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States under the leadership of Col. Julius Klein, a veteran of the last war with a distinguished war record in the Pacific under General MacArthur, proposing again that the Jewish War Veterans of the United States were prepared themselves very actively to promote the organization of such a group in whatever way might be found feasible. It seems to me, as we realize the responsibilities which are ours, that we may appropriately consider their action, representing 800,000 veterans who have offered their lives on many fields, and their belief that there would be ample resources from which to recruit such a force to be available in the event of need.

In this resolution, adopted at St. Paul at the fifty-second annual encampment, October 15 to 19 of this year, it is recited:

If it will prove to be necessary to establish a United Nations constabulary during the period between the United Nations' acceptance of the said report and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, we hereby place the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, its facilities and membership, at the disposal of our Government and of the United Nations, and assure our Government of the readiness of our members to stand prepared to the end that the UNSCOP majority report shall be implemented without delay.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the *Record* at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

#### PALESTINE

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, assembled together for its

fifty-second annual encampment in St. Paul, Minn., October 15-19, 1947, as representatives of 800,000 veterans of the Jewish faith who fought in the wars of the United States, recognizing that we stand on the threshold of the realization of the aims, aspirations, dreams, and hopes of the Jewish people for the past 2,000 years of reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine;

And expressing in this conclave our solidarity with our brethren in Europe whose one hope for a new and stable existence is emigration to Palestine and with our brethren in Palestine whose efforts have resulted in the development of that country to the point where it is now ready for complete independence and statehood, and recognizing that our efforts can aid in the realization of the establishment of such a Jewish state, hereby direct our national executive committee to take such steps and make such representations to the appropriate authorities as will make most effective the following policies and principles which this convention now approves and for which it stands:

1. We urge the approval of the UNSCOP majority report, with such modifications as will insure viability of the Jewish state as a minimum measure of justice to those who have suffered the most.

2. We urge the immediate implementation of the said report and believe that such implementation demands the immediate withdrawal of all British troops and police forces from Palestine.

3. We approve wholeheartedly the action of the United States Government in endorsing the majority report of the UNSCOP and in offering assistance in the economic and financial problems which will arise in the implementation thereof.

4. If it will prove to be necessary to establish a United Nations constabulary during the period between the United Nations acceptance of the said report and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, we hereby place the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, its facilities and membership, at the disposal of our Government and of the United Nations, and assure our Government of the readiness of our members to stand prepared to the end that the UNSCOP majority report shall be implemented without delay.

5. We condemn the current Arab threats of war and economic sanctions as reminiscent of Nazi tactics and as a direct violation and affront to the Charter of the United Nations, and we voice our confidence that the United Nations will withstand such intimidation and that the people of the world will realize these threats to be hollow and baseless.

6. In the interest of preserving order during the initial period of the establishment of such separate states in Palestine, we urge immediate recognition by the United Nations of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as the interim governing body of the Jewish state.

7. We urge the United States to announce immediately that upon a definite decision by the United Nations in support of the said majority report, that it, the United States, will assume its full share of responsibility for such economic, political, material and other aid as may be necessary under the circumstances.

8. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and the members of the United States delegation to the United Nations.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, my reason for calling attention to this is that I share the high hopes of all that whatever difficulties may arise will be of an incidental, fragmentary character, that there will be no action by any of

the countries in this area which have opposed the adoption of this report, and that they will not precipitate any collective incidents. I do not believe they will. I believe that calmer and cooler heads will prevail. But we cannot blind ourselves to the responsibility which has been assumed. I point out to the Senate and to the country that if such a situation arises and the United States is not prepared to act, then the only alternative is the prospect and probability that our fellow nation which has joined us in sponsoring this proposal may be prepared to act, and that the United States might find itself in a very unfortunate and very humble position if in the suppression of difficulties of any character we are obliged to allow the Soviet Nation to take over responsibility for the preservation of law and order in this entire area.

I am calling attention to this subject so that 1 month or 2 month or 4 months from today we may not be faced with another crisis proposal because there is difficulty in the Middle East and some action must be taken, requiring, perhaps, that American armed forces be sent there, when it is obvious that a volunteer force prepared for this purpose should be recruited now. In my judgment it can be done well within the law, so that the existing administration could have such a force ready. No man would be called upon to offer up his life in defense of this situation unless he had properly and voluntarily made an offer of that kind.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. At this late hour I do not wish to press a discussion with the distinguished Senator from Maine on this subject, because I think it could better wait for another day. However, the Senator is leaving me in doubt as to just what he is proposing as a means for enforcing the Palestine partition decision. Let me say incidentally that I am very much in favor of the decision which has been reached by the United Nations in regard to the partition of Palestine. The Senator leaves me in doubt as to whether or not he is suggesting that, if it becomes necessary to enforce that decision, it should be done by an armed force other than a United Nations police force. Am I to understand that the Senator is suggesting that there be raised a volunteer army in this country, of Americans, to be used in enforcing that decision? If so, under what flag would it fight?

Mr. BREWSTER. I do not know that the Senator has been present during all the time I have been speaking.

Mr. MORSE. I have been present every moment of the time the Senator has been speaking.

Mr. BREWSTER. Then evidently I did not make myself sufficiently clear.

As I pointed out, the original proposal of the United States was for the recruitment of an international police force under the Security Council.

Mr. MORSE. That proposal has not been adopted.

Mr. BREWSTER. No; it was dropped, because whether or not there was legal



authority for it within the Charter, there was certainly no contemplation of it. The entire contemplation of the Charter was that whatever force was used would be composed of quotas from various countries which would be contributed to operate as a united whole under the Security Council. It has been impossible to implement that proposal because of the apparent reluctance of Russia to agree upon the composition of the force.

Everyone says that he is in favor of the decision; but, if we favor the decision without being prepared to support it, we are doing a very vain thing. I do not believe that we could justify our action in giving birth to a child whom we immediately throw to the dogs.

I have not gone further than to say that if difficulty arises—which God forbid—the Commission and the Security Council must maintain order. It would be most unfortunate if the United States were to find itself in the position of not being able to assume whatever might be its proper share of the burden, because then we certainly could not challenge the action of Russia or any other eastern power in moving in. Therefore, we should give serious consideration to the question of how we can implement our action. For that purpose, I propose that a portion of our armed forces—not solely for this purpose, but for any purpose for which there might be a legitimate call by the United Nations—should be recruited on a volunteer basis, either from men now in the service or men who might later volunteer for such service. The analogy I suggest is that of the French Foreign Legion. It should be understood that such a volunteer force should be available for whatever purpose the President of the United States should find it proper and necessary to use it. To what extent there should be further legislative authorization, I am not clear. I do not speak on that point.

But, certainly, we should begin to give consideration to how we are to assume our share of responsibility.

Mr. MORSE. If the Senator will permit me, I think I now understand his point of view. I think he illustrates very clearly, at least to my satisfaction, the importance of this country's making clear to the members of the United Nations that there should be established at

the earliest possible date a police force of the United Nations, because unless that is done I think there is grave danger that we shall be maneuvered into a position in which American boys under the American flag will be called upon to enforce some decision of the United Nations.

I do not agree with the Senator, if I understand him correctly, that I put myself into an indefensible position if I take the position, as I would take the position, that the American Army should not be used to enforce a decision of the United Nations except as a part of a United Nations police force. I think the nation members of that organization must be called upon to enforce the decisions of the organization. I do not think we should ever permit ourselves to be placed in a position in which, because a difficulty arose in Palestine, for example, the American Army would be used to enforce a United Nations decision. A volunteer force raised in this country, as I understood the suggestion of the Senator from Maine, would lead us into grave difficulties unless it were raised as a part of a yet to be agreed upon United Nations police force. A volunteer force of Americans fighting in Palestine, for example, under the American flag would necessarily carry with it the complete backing of the military might of the United States the moment the first shot was fired against our flag. Hence I urge extreme caution in this situation. I am for the enforcement of the decisions of the United Nations but by the joint action of a United Nations police force.

Mr. BREWSTER. The Senator has not understood my statement. I should like to make my position crystal clear. It is not my concept that an American Army, as the Senator terms it, ever could or ever should enter into this situation. I have repeatedly stated that it would be a question of the Security Council of the United Nations calling upon the Associated Powers for the creation of the force which was contemplated in the Charter. At that point, unless we have a force in being that we could appropriately contribute to that quota under proper arrangements, the problem would be a very difficult one. I am not prepared to take any of our boys who may have been secured either under the draft

or, at the present time, under the volunteer system, and order them to such a service. It is my thought that there should be a particular force recruited, understanding that at some time they might be called upon for service of this character if the situation should demand and the Congress and the President, under their proper exercise of power, should so determine. The average man joining the American Army today or at any future time should not be faced with the possibility that he might be sent to such a foreign field. That is the point I am making, and for that purpose it seems to me to avoid exactly what the Senator from Oregon suggests. If 3 months from today we are confronted with a crisis, as we were in Greece, and suddenly the President says, "Russia is endeavoring to take over the whole Middle East. I must send a force there," we shall have to order American boys who have not been recruited or prepared for such service. That is my point.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator, because I think he is making a valuable contribution to the discussion of the Palestine issue, particularly in pointing out, as I think he has, the need of developing a police force within the United Nations so that it can enforce its own decisions.

Mr. BREWSTER. That is exactly the point I wished to make.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I appreciate the reference that was made earlier to the part which my late grandfather played in connection with a homeland for the Jews. This furnishes a personal reason for my satisfaction at the development which has taken place in setting aside a place in Palestine which the Jews can think of as their own.

Another memory which gives this event special significance for me lies in the recollection which I have of the Jewish units which fought in Libya in 1942, in the desert, against the common enemy.

I desire to express my congratulation to Rabbi Silver, who has shown real statesmanship in leading this very complicated and arduous problem to such a successful outcome. I hope that it means that the Promised Land has been reached at last, and that it is the beginning of new happiness and more auspicious events for the Jewish people.



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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** January 7, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

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

AT:LD  
Encs.



MEMORANDUM

*To* Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* January 7, 1948

*From* Abe Tuvim

The attached is the first of a series of memoranda designed to orient you and your constituency with subjects which are in the news and on the radio as an outgrowth of the situation in Palestine.

This first memorandum deals with attempts which are being made by Arab and British sources, abetted by anti-Zionist elements in our own State Department, to create and spread a Russian "bogey" with relation to the Palestine problem.

Items have already appeared in the newspapers, notably the New York Times, quoting so-called authoritative British sources as charging that great numbers of displaced persons from eastern Europe seeking to enter Palestine are "Red fifth columnists."

We can expect more of these distortions to appear in the press and to be heard on the radio and from the lecture platform.

The memorandum will arm you with an effective rebuttal. It should be used as source material in interviews with editors, letters to the newspapers, and should be made available to the radio commentators in your city.

We are dealing with foes who, in their desperate attempt to do away with the UN decision to partition Palestine and create a Jewish State, seemingly will stop at nothing to impugn the motives of the Zionist cause.

We must be on the alert if we are to render ineffective these machinations.

Please keep us informed.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB  
Enc.



## MEMORANDUM

### BRITISH-ARAB INSINUATIONS ON JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM EASTERN EUROPE

#### The Old Anti-Semitic Trick

The Jewish immigrants aboard the two ships "Pan Crescent" and "Pan York" have been accused of being "Fifth Columnists" of Soviet Russia. Anti-Semites, political as well as social, have never been too discriminating in the accusations they level against Jews. It is an old trick to accuse Jews at one and the same time of being international financiers seeking capitalistic domination of the world and international Bolsheviks striving to destroy the capitalistic world.

It is most regrettable that the Labor Government of Britain, in its determination to obstruct the decision on Palestine has descended to the use of these tactics. Only a year ago, some British members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine described the Jews in Palestine and in the D.P. camps of Europe as being excessively nationalist almost to the point of fascism. Now, British "spokesmen" want us to believe that the Jews intend to become the spearhead of Communism in the Middle East.

#### The Communist Threat: First Version Goes Bankrupt

Only a few months ago assiduous circulation was being given to the story that if the U.N. approved the partition of Palestine, the Arab States would ally themselves with the Soviet Union. Despite the absurdity of the idea that the feudal potentates of the Middle East would under any circumstances forego the economic advantage of an alliance with America and would welcome Soviet influence in their lands, this tale found credence in very respectable political circles. British as well as Arab propaganda circles played this card for all it was worth up to the very moment when Soviet Russia announced its support of the UNSCOP majority plan. The ground then disappeared from under their feet. Not even the most naive could any longer believe in the possibility of an Arab-Soviet alliance. A quick switch-over to a new line of propaganda was urgently required, and the new version of the Communist threat was born.

#### The Communist Threat: New Version

Not much time was lost before this new version was launched. While the U.N. Assembly was still in session, on November 28, 1947, Dr. Fadhil Jamali,



the Iraqi representative, incorporated in his speech the following clear hint of the new line: "...The immigrants coming into Palestine - the origins of many of whom are not known - carry the seeds of many a subversive movement to the Near East."

Mr. Camille Chamoun, the Lebanese representative, was not satisfied with a mere hint. He stated in the U.N. that "many of the Jewish immigrants now assembling in Black Sea ports for transit to Palestine were Communist agents bent on stirring up Near East trouble for the benefit of the Russians." (N.Y. Times, November 25, 1947)

Immediately after the United Nations Assembly passed the Partition Plan, pro-Arab circles in Washington improved on Mr. Janali and Mr. Chamoun by spreading a variant of the story. According to them, disorders in the Middle East, as a result of Arab resistance to the implementation of Palestine partition, will provide the Kremlin with the long-awaited opportunity to move the Red Army into the Middle East.

Newspaper items began appearing, quoting unnamed officials, which gave further currency to the two variants. According to some press items, Communists were to infiltrate Palestine under the guise of Jewish refugees; according to others, the Soviet hope lay mainly in sending Russian troops to Palestine following a prolonged period of disorders. Even individual members of Congress began repeating this tale.

Then came what, up to the time of writing, constitutes the climax of this carefully worked-out propaganda campaign. In its issue of January 1st, 1948, the New York Times published an unsigned front-page dispatch from London under the title "Red 'Fifth Column' for Palestine Feared as Ships Near Holy Land," in which an unnamed British "authoritative source" is quoted as stating that the two Jewish immigrant ships, Pan Crescent and Pan York, "are full of potential 'Fifth Columnists'". And next day, the New York Times reported the Washington echo to the London insinuations. "Washington Officials Concerned" was the title of a report that "Government officials are perturbed by London fears that many of the persons on board the Pan Crescent and Pan York are actual and potential fifth columnists." Another day followed, and Parker La Moore writing under a Paris dateline on the authority of anonymous "foreign diplomats", spread the same story on the pages of the Scripps-Howard press.

The picture is now complete. The Arab League in Cairo, the Foreign Office in London and the anti-Zionist circles in Washington are solidly united in their efforts to sabotage the United Nations decision on Palestine. Having failed to achieve their aims in a direct way, they now employ smear tactics and insinuations in order to influence public opinion.

A factual analysis of the two main versions which are now making the rounds would establish beyond doubt that they have as little substance as the previous threat of an Arab-Communist tie-up.



### Is There a Danger of Soviet Invasion of Palestine?

The partition of Palestine is a United Nations decision and responsibility. If disorders spread in Palestine, it will be up to the United Nations to evolve the methods for securing there peace and order. Only an army or a militia organized or approved by the U.N. could move into Palestine without causing a world conflict. As long as the United Nations does not shirk its responsibilities, there is no need to fear that any single Power would intervene in Palestine. The alarmists ring, therefore, the wrong bell when they visualize a Soviet occupation of Palestine because of present disorders. It is not the Soviets who have caused these disorders. The responsibility for them has been openly assumed by the Arab Higher Committee under the leadership of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem; they are publicly abetted by the governments of the Arab States; and they are being clearly encouraged by certain elements in the British government and officialdom which still hope to have the United Nations decision set aside.

### Fifth Columnists or Zionist Immigrants?

Eastern Europe is undergoing a transformation which brings it nearer to forms of life characteristic of the Soviet Union. It is against this background that one has to see the position of the remnants of the Jews in Rumania, Poland, and other Eastern European countries who have survived the Hitler extermination. The countries of Eastern Europe which now lie in the Soviet orbit or have become incorporated in the Soviet State - Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania - were the main centers of the Zionist mass movement before the war. The indescribable sufferings inflicted on East European Jewry during the war could have only intensified their Zionist beliefs and feelings. Those Jews remaining in these countries who wish to live under the new regimes are content to remain there. But most of the Jews surviving in Eastern Europe, just as those in the D.P. camps of Central Europe, look forward to escape to Palestine where they would live in a national state of their own.

To describe these confirmed Zionists as "Fifth Columnists" of Communism or of any other world force is utter nonsense.

### The One True Interpretation

Despite the fantastic character of the charges, there is nothing surprising about them. Those circles which spread the story of the Jewish immigrants now entering Palestine being Communist agents, propagate the even more obvious fairy-tale that the entire Jewish community in Palestine is communist. Quite recently, Dr. Charles Malik, the Lebanese Minister to the United States, stated in a debate on the radio that there are 600,000 communists in Palestine, meaning almost the entire Jewish population of Palestine.

Even if one makes allowances for Dr. Malik's bitter partisanship and oriental imagination, one is struck by the brazenness of this statement. The Communist Party in Palestine is of infinitesimal size. It has no power and no



influence either in the political or in the economic life of the country. Both in the Jewish Agency, representing the World Zionist Organization, and in the Vaad Leumi, the elected representation of Palestine Jewry, the Communists do not have even one seat. Anyone even slightly acquainted with Palestine realities knows that if a Jewish State were today in existence, its Government would be either predominantly Labor (patterned along the lines of the British Labor Party), or a coalition of Labor, General Zionists (representing the capitalist and middle classes in Jewry) and Mizrachi (the religious wing in Zionism) - the same coalition which governs today the World Zionist Organization. The spirit of Palestine Jewry is, moreover, one of constructive effort in the field of economic and social upbuilding and not one of political revolution.

Immigration of more and more and more Jews into Palestine is the one aim which unites the Jews in Palestine and in Europe. This is the only true interpretation of the "Pan Crescent" and "Pan York", as of the many ships carrying Jews to their land that preceded these two and of the many more ships which will follow in their wake in the coming months and years.

#### The Refugees Aboard Pan Crescent and Pan York

Direct reports from Bucharest describe the plight of the Pan Crescent and Pan York immigrants prior to their sailing. Most of these immigrants belonged to the middle class, to whom the Sovietization of Rumania means the end of their familiar system of private enterprise. Consequently, if these middle class Jews previously wanted to go to Palestine, they have now become frantic in their efforts to leave Rumania in good time, when they can still liquidate their possessions and take with them some of their worldly goods. In addition, the Jews of Rumania are aware of the tendency in Soviet-controlled territory to prohibit any and all emigration. They fear the extension of this ban to themselves and are anxious to leave before this has taken place. Incidentally, the twelve thousand Jews that sailed on the two ships and regarding whom the hue and cry of "Fifth Columnists" has been raised, were selected by the local Zionist groups among the hundreds of thousands awaiting their turn, and those were chosen whose devotion to the Zionist cause or whose personal hardship entitled them to go first. It is really shameful that the American press, which justly prides itself on its truthfulness and thoroughness, instead of sending representatives to verify for themselves the character of Jewish immigrants to Palestine repeats a slanderous whispering campaign initiated by parties with clearly hostile intentions.

January, 1948



## PRESS RELEASE from AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

*Associated Organizations*

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi Organization of America • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion  
United Zionists-Revisionists of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion (United Labor Zionist Party)

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

### AMERICAN ZIONIST LEADER ACCUSES BRITISH OF MAINTAINING "QUASI NEUTRALITY" IN PALESTINE

- - - - -

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN CHARGES THAT "BRITISH ACTUALLY ABET  
TERRORIST ATTACKS OF ARAB BANDS" WHILE  
"DISARMING AND IMPRISONING JEWISH DEFENSE FORCES"

- - - - -

New York, January 7 -- In a wire of protest to Lord Inverchapel, British Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Israel Goldstein, acting chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council which speaks for all Zionist bodies in the United States, today charged that Great Britain "has adopted a stand of quasi neutrality towards riots and disorders now taking place in Palestine."

"We say 'quasi neutrality' because we are in possession of telling facts regarding cases where British military and police, while suppressing, disarming, and imprisoning Jewish defense forces, tolerate and actually abet terrorist attacks of Arab bands," Dr. Goldstein charged.

The Zionist leader cited many instances where the British mandatory "prevented the besieged Jewish population from effectively and openly defending itself." He pointed out that various sectors of Palestine, including whole towns and villages, were under "blockade of Arab bands unmolested by British police."

Dr. Goldstein also charged that "arms which have been confiscated from Jewish defenders by British forces have been subsequently found in possession of Arab aggressors."

(more)



The full text of Dr. Goldstein's wire follows:

HIS EXCELLENCY BRITISH AMBASSADOR  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE ZIONIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, WE FEEL CONSTRAINED TO EXPRESS OUR PROFOUND SHOCK AT THE BEHAVIOR OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN PALESTINE. HAVING INSISTED ON SOLE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF THE HOLY LAND AND ON RETENTION OF SOLE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LAW AND ORDER UNTIL THE TERMINATION OF THE MANDATE, GREAT BRITAIN HAS ADOPTED A STAND OF QUASI NEUTRALITY TOWARDS RIOTS AND DISORDERS NOW TAKING PLACE. WE SAY "QUASI NEUTRALITY" BECAUSE WE ARE IN POSSESSION OF TELLING FACTS REGARDING CASES WHERE BRITISH MILITARY AND POLICE, WHILE SUPPRESSING, DISARMING, AND IMPRISONING JEWISH DEFENCE FORCES, TOLERATE AND ACTUALLY ABET TERRORIST ATTACKS OF ARAB BANDS. ARMS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONFISCATED FROM JEWISH DEFENDERS BY BRITISH FORCES HAVE BEEN SUBSEQUENTLY FOUND IN POSSESSION OF ARAB AGGRESSORS. HUNDREDTHOUSAND TROOPS ARE ALLEGEDLY INCAPABLE OF KEEPING FREE THE FORTY MILE HIGHWAY BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND THE COAST. THE JEWISH QUARTER OF THE CITY OF SAFAD IS UNDER BLOCKADE OF ARAB BANDS UNMOLESTED BY BRITISH POLICE. WHILE HUNTING FOR JEWISH REFUGEES WHOSE ENTRY BRITAIN BARRED NOTWITHSTANDING THE UNITED NATIONS RECOMMENDATION, ARMED ARAB BANDITS FROM SYRIA ARE PERMITTED TO ENTER PALESTINE. BLOCKADE OF SHORT ROAD CONNECTING THE CENTER OF JERUSALEM WITH THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY AND HADASSAH HOSPITAL IS PERMITTED, THUS ISOLATING PRINCIPAL CULTURAL AND MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PALESTINE. MOST SHOCKING, THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM WITH HOLY PLACES OF THREE RELIGIONS HAS BEEN YIELDED BY GOVERNMENT FORCES TO ARABS BLOCKADING THE AREA AND THREATENING THE MASSACRE OF 1800 JEWS LIVING THERE. THIS IS NOT EVEN ABDICATION OF GOVERNMENTAL POWERS FOR, WHILE REMAINING INACTIVE IN THE FACE OF ARAB AGGRESSION, LARGE BRITISH FORCES BUSILY PREVENT THE BESIEGED JEWISH POPULATION FROM EFFECTIVELY AND OPENLY DEFENDING ITSELF.

HAVING DECLARED ITS ACCEPTANCE OF UNITED NATIONS VERDICT, BRITAIN NOW HELPS THOSE WHO ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE THIS VERDICT, WHO WERE FIRST TO ATTACK, AND

(more)



AGAINST WHOM JEWS MUST DEFEND THEMSELVES. WE WISH TO REGISTER OUR EMPHATIC PROTEST AGAINST THIS ATTITUDE AND OUR CONVICTION THAT IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES GREAT BRITAIN IS RESPONSIBLE FOR CONTINUING DISORDERS IN THE HOLY LAND AND FOR ANY LOSS OF LIFE OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM AND THE REST OF PALESTINE BETWEEN THE PRESENT TIME AND THE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES NOT ONLY TO GIVE EVERY ASSISTANCE TO PALESTINE JEWRY, BUT ALSO TO FIGHT BRITISH CONNIVANCE WITH ARAB AGGRESSORS IN PALESTINE. IN ALL JUSTICE YOUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD EITHER LEAVE PALESTINE FORTHWITH OR DECENTLY FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN,  
ACTING CHAIRMAN



--30--

#302 - 1/7/48



The Statement made by Dr Abba Hillel SILVER at the  
Press Conference held at the Jewish Agency for  
Palestine in Paris on January the  
8th, 1948.

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It is more than a month since the historic decision was made by the United Nations to establish two states in Palestine - one Jewish and one Arab.

The difficult problems of implementation are now before us.

The UN set up the machinery and fixed the time schedule for the implementation. It was completely aware of all the difficulties which were involved and it was forewarned by spokesmen and delegates of Arab States of their intention to thwart by violence the decision of the UN.

Despite these threats the UN acted because it was convinced that there was no other way out and that a final solution could not any longer be postponed.

If the UN were now to be deterred from its course by planned violence it would not only suffer an irreparable loss of prestige and authority, but all its future effectiveness, as the Agency to adjust by peaceful means any international dispute or situation which might lead to a breach of the peace would be disastrously undermined.

We are confident that the UN will not permit itself to become a victim of intimidation. We are also confident that the Security Council of the UN, which must act as the guide of the Commission which was appointed by the Assembly to implement its decision, will give this Commission a very measure of support and encouragement.

Should the situation in Palestine come to constitute a threat to peace, the Security Council, we believe, will act with decision and dispatch.

We wish peace with the Arabs in Palestine.

The decision of the UN makes possible the realization of the National aspirations of both peoples within the framework of an economic union. Together the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine may develop that country to mutual advantage and may contribute to the progress and development of the entire Near East.

./..



But it is clear that the Jewish people of Palestine if confronted with violence and attempts to alter by force the settlement which was approved by the Nations of the World - will defend themselves to the utmost.

Great Britain announced that it would hold itself responsible for law and order in Palestine as long as it remained in that country.

It is clear to everyone that it is not doing this.

Many have come to feel that it is actually interfering with the efforts of self-defence which are being made by Jews in Palestine. If one hundred thousand soldiers and police cannot ensure security in that small country or even patrol properly one main artery of travel in Palestine - say the 40 miles road between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem - one is forced to question the sincerity of the Mandatory Government's declaration.

It will be highly desirable that an international force should accompany the Commission of the UN when it arrives in Palestine. It need not be large but it should know what it is there for. The present military force in Palestine is the blunted instrument of the blundering policy of Mr. Bevin which amounts to this: His Majesty's Government "loyally accepts the Assembly resolution" but it will do nothing to implement it. It will maintain law and order as long as there are no disturbances. It will remain neutral when clashes occur between the Jews - who have accepted the decision of the UN and who seek peace - and the Arabs - who are violently resisting it and provoke war. But whether an international force is dispatched to Palestine or not, it is most urgent that the Jewish people of Palestine should be enabled immediately to defend themselves. They have the manpower. They need arms.

Surely these states which voted to create a Jewish state must feel honour-bound to see to it that the citizens of that new state, now in the making, shall be properly protected against the murderous assaults of those who have resolved to defy the will and the conscience of the Nations of the World.

We are grateful for the great support which France gave towards bringing about the decision of the UN.

The example of this freedom-loving people was an inspiration to many others.

./...



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a







It was also highly gratifying that on this issue of Palestine the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union were able to agree and to work in complete harmony.

Those who are despondent over the turn of affairs in international relations and the seemingly irreparable rift which has developed between the East and the West, may well take heart in contemplating the full and ready cooperation which did exist between the USA and the Soviet Union on the issue of Palestine.

Needless to say that the Sionist Movement has no orientation either to the East nor to the West. It is definitely and unmistakably oriented to the United Nations.

We are happy that our problem received a solution by an international agreement in which the East and the West cooperated. We hope that it will remain so in the future.









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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*    January 8, 1948

*From* Abe Tuvim

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

AT:LD  
Encs.

WRHS





## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      **Date** January 8, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

The attached release is the second in our series of subjects aimed to bring you up to date on our public relations campaign to clarify numerous issues which have arisen as a result of the Palestine situation.

This one deals with British acts in Palestine since the decision by the United Nations to establish a Jewish State in part of that country.

The actions of the British military and civil governments have been clearly malicious. There is no doubt that every effort is being made to place obstacles in the path of not only the UN Commission, but of the Yishuv itself in its attempts to defend our people and their future.

It is a vital necessity that the material contained in the release is made available to editors and newsmen of your press and radio commentators. All of the charges are substantiated by eye-witnesses and by responsible leaders of the Yishuv.

Both the British and Arab propaganda offices have spread stories seeking to blame the Jewish community and Haganah for what is happening in Palestine today. Every effort should be made in our communities not only to counteract this propaganda but also to lay a foundation for a friendly and helpful approach to our problem by those who make public opinion.

Please keep us informed.

Regards.

AT:RB  
Enc.



1565

9 JAN

NLT DR ABBAHILLEL SILVER HOTEL

MEURICE PARIS

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Télégramme Via RADIO-FRANCE

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FOR SAME SHEKALIM SOLD BEST REGARDS

JACQUEX TORCZYNER



GENERAL COUNCIL (VAAD LEUMI) OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF PALESTINE

January 11th, 1948

The Trusteeship Council,  
United Nations Organisation,  
Lake Success, N.Y.

Gentlemen,

With reference to the Resolution on the Partition of Palestine, passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation on November 29th, 1947, and the establishment thereby of the City of Jerusalem with its surrounding towns and villages as "corpus separatum", to be placed under the administration and supervision of the U.N. Trusteeship Council, we have the honour to apprise you of the situation prevalent in the City of Jerusalem ever since the said Resolution was adopted by the U.N. General Assembly.

1. Jerusalem, the Holy City for the three great monotheistic faiths, has become the scene of internecine strife, studiously fomented by Arab politicians who hope to futilise the Resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly by staging attacks in the capital of Palestine, the seat of the Central Administration. Sniping attacks on Jewish quarters in the outlying parts of the city have become a daily occurrence, and certain sections of the town in which a numerically weak Jewish minority faces the surrounding Arab population have been cut off from supplies and succour to be provided by the rest of the Jewish community. Assassination has been rife and has inevitably entailed reaction by Jewish defence forces. Up till January 11th, a total of 150 persons are officially reported to have been killed and at least 350 persons are known to have sustained injuries.
2. The immunity of medical personnel from attack has been totally disregarded by Arab gangs. Ambulances on their errands of mercy have come under heavy fire, doctors going to visit patients have been killed or injured, a well-known Jewish physician in a Government Hospital for Contagious Diseases treating mainly Arab patients was brutally shot dead in full view of his Arab colleagues within the hospital grounds. The road to the Hadassah Hospital, with a complement of 700 beds, has been rendered too unsafe to use, nurses have been killed or maimed whilst on their way to work. On the other hand, Government Hospitals are totally unable to cope with the increased flow of appeals for their help as their staff is depleted through the absence of Jewish doctors and nurses who are faced with death while going on their duty inside the hospital grounds.
3. In keeping with its special character Jerusalem houses within its confines a large number of educational institutions, centres of Jewish religious learning and the Hebrew University. Many of these have become inaccessible through persistent attacks on vehicles going there when students lost their lives or sustained grave injuries. Rabbinical colleges are subject to incessant sniping from neighbouring Arab houses, a Jewish children's home has been taken under concentrated fire, and even children coming home from school have had to take shelter under a hail of bullets directed against them, while attacks on Jewish hospitals and the Jewish Home for the Aged had to be repulsed by Jewish defence forces.
4. The unique religious importance of Jerusalem for three great religions is gravely jeopardised by the actions of Arab gangs. Shrines held in universal veneration by Jews the world over, such as the Western (Wailing) Wall and Rachel's Tomb have become inaccessible. The conclusions of the Commission set up by the Council of the League of Nations on January 14th, 1930, which were enacted in the form of the Palestine (Western or Wailing Wall) Order in Council 1931, to wit:  
"To guarantee to the Jews free access to the Western Wall  
"for the purpose of devotions at all times;  
have been grossly violated. Jews have no opportunity whatsoever of approaching this shrine for the purposes of devotion by holding services before it. No attempt has been made by Government to ensure free access for Jews to the Western Wall nor have any persons blocking this access been brought to account.



Arab snipers went so far as to make the Haram-elSharif (Temple Area) a centre of their activities and fired on Jewish guards near the Western Wall, knowing well as they did that Jews would not respond to this provocation out of respect for the sanctity of the site.

The ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives has repeatedly been desecrated in the vilest manner. Funerals have come under heavy fire on numerous occasions and members of the Jewish Burial Society performing the last rites have lost their lives. The road to the cemetery is so densely lined with Arab sniping nests that the bodies of Jews killed in the disturbances could not be laid to rest until after considerable delay. On two separate occasions 26 and 27 Jews respectively, mostly victims of Arab assassination, lay in the mortuaries without burial for a week.

The Jewish community in the Old City of Jerusalem has been practically marooned after armed Arabs have taken up positions at all entrances to this sector of Jerusalem. Food can only be sent at great hazards as army escorts are very sparingly provided. 1500 Jewish inhabitants of the Old City are under threat of starvation. 2000 more Jews who are residents of the Old City are unable to return to their homes because their places of work are outside the Old City precincts. Government has unofficially suggested to those besieged inside to move out.

5. One of the salient features of the present situation in Jerusalem is the attitude of the British security forces, which may be described as "benevolent neutrality in favour of the Arabs". At the outset of the disturbances, when the riots of Arab gangs could easily have been brought under control, police and troops claimed that they had been given strict orders not to shoot. These orders seem to preclude every form of effective intervention on the part of the security forces, even when faced with murderous mobs. On the other hand mass arrests of members of the Jewish defence organisation have been going on all the time. Over 100 Jews have been taken into "safe custody" in the Jerusalem district and there are reports of instances where Police forced Jews to leave their defensive positions under the concentrated fire of Arab snipers.

6. Besides failing to discharge the elementary duty of providing security, the Administration in Jerusalem is virtually in a state of disintegration. The General Post Office has ceased functioning, postal and telephone services are severely curtailed, and many other Government offices have stopped serving the public. Arab constables detailed to guard these offices desert with their arms. Government has even shown itself unable to protect its Jewish employees, some of whom have been murdered while on their way to work. Though officially threatened with instant dismissal for absence from work, Jewish officials had no choice left but to stay away from their offices in order to prevail upon Government to open some offices inside Jewish zones. Supplies to Jerusalem are insufficient and there is an increasingly acute food and fuel shortage in the town, caused by the appalling insecurity on the roads that lead to the Capital.

7. In these circumstances we feel entitled to call your attention to the situation at present prevailing in the Jerusalem area and to ask for your early intervention.

It would appear that the Jerusalem area is already now subject to your supervision by virtue of Articles 75, 77, 79, 82 and 85 of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation. The said Articles stipulate that such territories as are being held now under Mandate are to come under the Trusteeship system by means of individual agreements between the Mandatory Power and the United Nations as approved by the U.N. General Assembly.

In the present case the Mandatory Power has already waived its right to exert influence on the terms of the Trusteeship by virtue of the statement to the U.N. made by the Representative of Great Britain, the Mandatory Power, on November 13th, 1947. Consequently the Resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on November 29th, 1947 is, within the meaning of Article 85 of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation, adequate authority for the Trusteeship of the Jerusalem area.



In its statement of November 13th, 1947, the Mandatory Power declared that it was planning for the complete withdrawal from Palestine by August 1st, 1948, and this statement was subsequently modified by the declaration in Parliament of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in H.M. Government on December 11th, 1947, that the Mandate would be relinquished some time in advance of the complete withdrawal, the date envisaged being May 15th, 1948. The Jerusalem area is included within the area of the Mandate which H.M. Government proposes to surrender by that date. It would therefore appear that in pursuance of the passing of the said Resolution by the U.N. General Assembly on November 29th, 1947, the Trusteeship area has already come under the moral and political supervision of the U.N. Trusteeship Council. The delay in the complete evacuation of the said territory is a merely technical obstacle in the way of the assumption of the Trusteeship administration on the part of the U.N. Trusteeship Council.

8. The said Resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on November 29th, 1947, has placed upon the U.N. Trusteeship Council the responsibility for the elaboration and approval within five months of the detailed Statute of the City of Jerusalem and for the appointment of the Governor of the City of Jerusalem who is to be responsible to the U.N. Trusteeship Council. The Governor shall organize a special police force of adequate strength to prevent the obstruction of the administration of the City of Jerusalem through non-cooperation or interference of a section of the population.

9. It would appear to us that in view of the strained situation, particularly in Jerusalem, the speedy appointment of the Governor of the City of Jerusalem and the establishment of the special police force provided in the said Resolution of the U.N. General Assembly of November 29th, 1947, is imperative. The said police force should be ready to take over its functions upon the withdrawal of the forces of the Mandatory Power. In those areas which have been allotted to the Jewish and Arab States respectively, security forces constituted of members of the local population are to take over the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in their regions, and some of these areas have already been handed over through the evacuation of the British Police or Army to the security forces organized by the inhabitants of these areas. On the other hand it is not the local population but the U.N. Trusteeship Council that has to take over the administration and the responsibility for security in the Jerusalem area. It is therefore submitted that the U.N. Trusteeship Council should speed up the preparations for the establishment of the forces for the City of Jerusalem.

Moreover we submit that in view of the great importance which this area has for the three great monotheistic faiths the early intervention of the U.N. Trusteeship Council for the sake of maintenance of law and order in the Jerusalem area is required.

May we therefore suggest that the U.N. Trusteeship Council should delegate, by virtue of Article 87(0) of the Charter of the United Nations, a Commission to proceed forthwith to Jerusalem in order to study the existing situation on the spot and to establish to what extent the international security forces provided in the Statute of the City of Jerusalem should be set up already now in order to be capable of coping with the situation which is being created in this City which is dear to all men of good will.

Yours faithfully.



**סיכום הידיעות על הכנסות המגבית המיוחדת ליום 30.1.48  
(במזומנים והתחייבויות עד סוף פברואר 1948)**

<u>שם הארץ</u>	<u>מי המודיע ומאיזה תאריך</u>	<u>הסכום</u>	<u>מזה הגיע כבר לארץ</u>
1. אפריקה הדרומית	(מברק מ-28/1 מאת יואל פלגי)	600.000 לא"י	225.000 לא"י
2. אנגליה	(דו"ח של ה' אגרונוסקי מ-29/1)	500.000 לא"י	125.000 לא"י
3. אורוגוויי	(דו"ח מאורי וחביב מ-11/1) שהן 250.000 דולר	1.000.000 פזות - 250.000 דולר	
4. ארגנטינה	(מברק מאת מבשן מ-28/1) שהן 750.000 דולר	3.000.000 פזות 750.000 דולר	נשלח במזומן לגנף 250.000 דולר
5. ברזיל	(מברק מרוח קליגר)	120.000 דולר נשלח במזומן לגנף	120.000 דולר
6. צ'כיה	(לפי הודעה גב' פולאק)	12.000.000 כתר צ'כי	

מלבד ארצות אלה מתנהלת מגבית מיוחדת בצרפת, בלגיה, שוודיה, איטליה  
והונגריה. טרם הגיעו ידיעות על הסכומים שנאספו.



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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** January 13, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

Enclosed is a pamphlet containing Dr. Silver's recent address which should prove useful in clarifying the present situation. Additional copies are available upon request.

Kindest regards.

AT:FB  
Enc.



ההסתדרות הציונית בצרפת

הועד המרכזי

# Organisation Sioniste de France

COMITÉ CENTRAL

47, RUE DE CHABROL, 47

PARIS (X<sup>e</sup>)

Paris, le 14 Janvier 1948.

V. RÉF. :

N. RÉF.

Docteur Abba Hilel SILVER  
Président de l'Agence  
Juive à Paris.

Cher Président,

C'est avec un sentiment profond que je vous exprime au nom du Comité Central de notre Organisation, ainsi qu'au nom de tous les Haverim, les meilleurs remerciements pour la foi que vous nous avez insufflée pendant votre visite à Paris.

Cette visite est une plaque tournante pour notre mouvement en France. Les Sionistes Généraux savent maintenant qu'ils sont dirigés par une grande personnalité qui les mènera vers une victoire qui sera la victoire de la justice basée sur des idées d'humanité et de la tradition juive.

Nos meilleurs souhaits vous accompagnent sur le chemin vers la Palestine; que vous réussissiez à diriger la lutte du Peuple Juif et du Yichouv, pour un Etat en Palestine libre et juste, jusqu'à une victoire finale.

Veuillez agréer l'assurance du dévouement de toute notre Organisation en France pour vous et la lutte que vous menez pour l'avenir de notre peuple.

Cordial Chalom.

J. WEINBERG.

Secrétaire Général:





## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** January 15, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

There is one extremely important phase of our public relations work to which we wish to call your attention and ask your cooperation in carrying out a plan to meet the needs of the day.

The propaganda activities of both the British and the Arabs are becoming increasingly evident from day to day. At the present time there are any number of spokesmen for these enemies of Zion who are touring the country and who plant their distortions in the American public mind. Most of the time we have no way of knowing about these lectures and interviews until they are over. Quite often it is too late then to effectively combat the insidious influence which has been spread.

There is a growing need for each community to couple their direct political activities with maintaining constant alertness to what is taking place on non-Jewish platforms. Each community must realize that only by being watchful in advance can we hope to counteract hostile propaganda. It is imperative that news of any anti-Zionist speaker be reported to us as far in advance as possible.

We therefore urge you to appoint (if you have not already done so) a committee of capable Zionists, charged with the following tasks:

1. Reception for Zionist speakers, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and make arrangements to exploit their presence through the local press, radio, etc.
2. Maintain a constant check on lecture notices in churches, colleges and civic groups, and report to us any visiting speaker who may be anti-Zionist.
3. Promote an active liaison with non-Jewish groups with a view to providing new engagements for speakers to present the Zionist case.
4. Utilize the speakers under the direction of the Club Program Service of the American Christian Palestine Committee (41 East 42nd Street, New York) or other non-Jewish speakers known to be friendly to us, thus making additional openings available.
5. Maintain a constant contact with the national office in the carrying out of the above program.

Please let me hear from you. Regards.

AT:RB



# העולם הזה













# THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 166

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 17, 1948

NUMBER 3

## *Plots and Counterplots*

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

TO UNDERSTAND what is going on in Palestine one should review one's "Alice Through the Looking Glass" and follow it with a refresher course in *Realpolitik*. Perhaps then the sinister fantasy would begin to make sense.

Here, in short space, are a few of the ingredients on which the imagination must work. First, the British. In the General Assembly, the British said they alone would keep order in Palestine until they laid down the mandate. No U. N. forces. No U. N. Commission or overlapping authority. . . . Today, Palestine is a shambles. Order has dissolved into communal fighting all over the country. Troops have crossed the border from Syria. The Arab rebellion against partition is well armed, backed by several of the Arab states, directed by the Mufti and his Arab Higher Committee. The British intervene here and there, primarily to protect their own property and troops, but they make no pretense of putting down the rebellion. When a correspondent asked, the other day, what was being done to relieve the Jewish community besieged in the Old City in Jerusalem, a British official replied blandly: "What can be done? The Arabs are holding all the gates." No other nation seems to have inquired what 80,000 or more British troops are doing while terrorists rule Palestine. No one bothers to point out that the British police, to which the chief responsibility for "keeping order" has been assigned, is made up mostly of Arabs, who openly turn over their arms to their fellow Arabs.

The High Commissioner, Sir Alan G. Cunningham, it is true, "protested" to the Syrian government when the Lebanese-Syrian troops invaded northern Palestine. But Syria sits as a member of the Security Council which any day now will be called upon to decide how to end the rebellion. And the Arab states, Syria included, buy arms freely in all the markets of a world overflowing with surplus munitions. And the Mufti's Arab Higher Committee, which is directly responsible for the whole armed attack on the authority of the United Nations, is invited by the newly organized U. N. Palestine Commission to speak for the Arabs of Palestine in the partition proceedings. The fact that the Higher Committee has contemptuously declined does not diminish the oddity of continuing to try to cooperate officially with people who, if the occasion presented itself, would undoubtedly take pleasure in assassinating the commission, man by man.

But these are not all the ingredients of the Palestine dream-world. There is the great TNT mystery, now being ferreted out by the FBI. Already, the man-in-the-subway must believe, as he reads the headlines, that certain Jewish Fu-Manchus are carrying on an evil and criminal conspiracy to smuggle high explosives to Palestine. The sinister atmosphere surrounding the plot has been only slightly lightened by the revelation that other consignments of explosives, discovered in an Asbury Park warehouse and on a remote Jersey farm, were presumably purchased legally and when discovered were being held pending government release for shipment to Palestine.

Without question, if either transaction is illegal, the government has a right to take whatever action the law requires. But has it any decent, unpolitical reason for allowing the incident to be treated as a major scandal, reflecting on the honor of the Zionist movement? While Arab munitions pour into Palestine across every border, the Jewish Agency is prohibited from the legal purchase of arms for the defense of the Jewish people. Yet under the U. N. decision, each community was to create a militia to maintain order in its own territory, and in the debate the arming of Haganah was discussed as an urgent and early necessity. Would any self-reliant people,

blocked from buying arms legally because its status as a nation had not been officially established, refrain from getting weapons where and how it could? If the Jewish Agency has stayed within the letter of the law, as it firmly claims to have done, its restraint is astounding. If it, or any Zionist group, has connived at arms smuggling, the misdeed should be looked upon by the American authorities as an excusable, if illegal, act of self-defense.

DOES the United States government want the Palestine decision to be enforced? Its lukewarm support of partition in the Assembly raised many doubts. Its easy-going attitude during the bloody days which have followed has raised still more. Technically, it is committed to the limit. But who can say what effect growing Arab resistance may have had, especially when considered along with the worsening situation in Greece? The dispatch to the Mediterranean of Marines with full battle equipment may signify a possible change of policy toward Palestine. Who can say how much attention has been paid to British charges that the Jewish refugee ships from Bulgaria carried Communist agents prepared to undermine Western control in the Middle East?

This much is certain. The United States can still make or ruin partition: We can insist in the Security Council that Syria be dealt with as an aggressor. (No border watch is needed to verify that invasion.) We can insist that a U. N. force be sent to Palestine immediately to restore order and specifically to protect the commission and enforce its directives. We can urge that the commission, under proper guaranties, also proceed to Palestine without delay to begin implementation of the U. N. decision. We can insist that as long as the mandate remains in effect, whether or not a U. N. force is sent, the British shall use all their available armed strength to end the Arab rebellion and protect the commission from attacks. It no longer needs to be proved, I should think, that when the United States firmly demands action, it can get it.

But this is far from our whole duty. Having made clear a position which has become increasingly foggy, we must take on the direct responsibilities our support of the U. N. decision entails. If it is necessary to blame the British for failing, perhaps wilfully, to maintain order in Palestine, it is insufferable to do so unless we are ready to back in the Security Council whatever sort of U. N. police force may seem most practicable. We have made no secret of our objection to a big-power force, which would bring Soviet troops into the Middle East. On the other hand, it is a question whether the disinterested smaller powers will want to assume the risks and burdens of policing Palestine without big-power help. One suggestion likely to come before the Council is that a mixed force be sent, made up of contingents from the Big Five—or Four, if Britain declines to join—and from several middle-sized states such as Canada, Brazil, and Mexico. Advocates of this plan argue that the inclusion of the great powers will so enhance the prestige of the force that mere token contingents from each will be enough to dissuade the Arabs from their resistance. But if the United States rejects a mixed force including the Russians, and if the small powers refuse to act by themselves, what alternative remains? Would this country then be prepared to police Palestine alone or share control with the British? Neither proposal would, I imagine, be acceptable to Moscow, nor would it have any intrinsic merit beyond satisfying America's desire to keep out the Russians.

The test of the government's good faith will come when the Security Council takes up the issue of a U. N. force. Meanwhile, it will be instructive to watch the unfolding of the TNT mystery: the dénouement of that plot will reveal a great deal about the American attitude toward Palestine.



LOCAL COUNCIL

RAMAT-GAN

Phone 7105



מועצה מקומית

רמת-גן

טלפון 7105

Ramat Gan, the

P. O. B. 5

ז' בשבט תש"ח

18.1.48

רמת-גן, יום

ת.ד. 5

מס 32/א/2728

לכבוד

הד"ר אבא הלל סילבר,  
תל - אביב.

מכובדי!

בשם תושבי רמת-גן ובשמי אני שא את  
ברכת ברוך הבא!

באת אלינו בשעה גורלית, בימי מאבק  
ומלחמה לחרות, לעצמאות ולמדינה העברית המחודשת.

בקורך אצלנו בזמן זה מעורר ומחזק את  
רוחנו. אנו משוכנעים כי תצליח בכחך האישי ובכחה  
של יהדות אמריקה ללכוד את כל הכחות הבונים והלוחמים  
לחטיבה אחת, שתעמד איתן בקרב איתנים זה שאסרו  
עלינו - על העם היושב בציון.

חזק ואמץ בפעולתך למען אחדותנו וגאולתנו  
ותהא הברכה שורה בכל מעשי ידיך.

ובהזדמנות זו אנו מתכבדים להזמין אותך  
לבקור מיוחד בעירנו, אשר העניקה לך אזרחות כבוד.

אנו נשמח מאד לראותך בתוכנו ולשמע את

דברך.

בכבוד רב,  
ובהוקרה,

א. קרני, נשיא המועצה המקומית.



ס/ס



# העובד הציוני

הועד הפועל

תל-אביב

טלפון 4768

ת.ד. 1935

יום ז' שבט תש"ח

18. 1. 48

מספר דש/18/37

לכבוד

ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר

מלון גת-רימון

כאן

ד"ר סילבר הנכבד,

היינו רוצים מאד לנצל את ביקור כבודו  
בארץ לשם פגישה, כדי לברר בעיות אקטואליות  
כציונות ובציונות הכללית.

נהיה מאד אסירי תודה, אם כבודו יסכים  
להשתתף בישיבה מיוחדת של הועד הפועל שלנו,  
שיתכנס למטרה זאת.

נבקש, איפוא, מאת כבודו לקבוע לנו מועד  
לישיבה זאת.

בתודה מראש ובכבוד רב

ד. א. וואלז



# חבר המועצות המקומיות

## LEAGUE OF THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Central Office  
TEL-AVIV, 108, Allenby Road

המרכז:  
תל-אביב, רחוב אלנבי 108

בתשובה נא להזכיר

No. 51/247 מס.

ז' שבט, תש"ח  
18.1.1948

לכבוד  
ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר  
מלון "גת-רמון"  
תל - אביב

א.נ.א.

הנני מתכבד לקדם בזה בברכה, בשם חבר המועצות המקומיות, את בואו לארצנו והיותו יחד איתנו בשעת מצוקה זו.

הנחלת החבר מלאה את ידי לבקשו להסכים למסור מקירה על הנעשה ביהדות אמריקה, בקשר עם בעיותינו השונות, ועל הסכויים לעזרתם לישוב היהודי במערכת הנוכחית, בישיבה מלאה של חבר המועצות המקומיות, אשר בה ישתתפו ראשי המועצות וגם נבחרים אחרים של המועצות.

כידוע אולי לכב', חבר המועצות המקומיות מקיף את כל המועצות המקומיות העבריות, כולל את עיריית פתח-תקוה, בכל מושבות הארץ ומכיל בחוכו נציגי מועצות מכל החוגים והזרמים.

מאד נודה לו, אפוא, אם יוכל השבוע, או בחלה השבוע הבא, להקדיש זמן לפגישה כזו עם נציגות הרשויות המוניציפליות היהודיות בארץ.

במקרה שברצונו להחקר בטלפון, יוכל להקשר עם הח"מ עפ"י מספר 3267, או בביתו עפ"י מספר 2780.

בכבוד רב,  
ח. אריאב  
מנהל

חא/צח



# HA'ARETZ

DAILY NEWSPAPER / PUBLISHERS: 'HOTZAAT ITON HA'ARETZ' LTD. TEL AVIV  
56, MAZE ST., HA'ARETZ HOUSE / 'PHONE 6331-4 / P.O.B. 233 / TELEGR.: HA'ARETZ

הארץ עתון יומי / המדור: הוצאת עתון הארץ בע"מ / תל אביב. רחוב מוא"ה 56 / בית הארץ / מלפון 6331-4 / חבת דאר 233

Tel-Aviv, January 19, 1948

Dr. A. H. Silver,  
Hotel Gat-Rimon,  
Tel-Aviv.

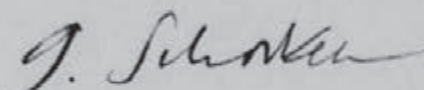
Dear Dr. Silver,

I was very sorry not to be able to be present at the press-conference last Friday, as I had a committee-meeting at the Municipality. I should have welcomed very much the opportunity to make your personal acquaintance.

I would be very much obliged to you, if you could give me the opportunity to see you. I should like to discuss with you a number of questions concerning the contact between the American Jewry and the Yishuv, as I should like to utilize Haaretz as best as I can to further such contacts.

Thanking you in advance

Yours sincerely,



G. Schocken



LOCAL COUNCIL

RAMAT-GAN

Phone 7105



מועצה מקומית

רמת-גן

טלפון 7105

Ramat-Gan, the  
P. O. B. 5

ח' שבט תש"ח  
19.1.48

רמת-גן, יום  
ת.ד. 5

מס' 2747/א/31

לכבוד

הד"ר אבא הלל סילבר,

בעת חל-אביב

ד"ר סילבר הנכבד,

הנני מתכבד להזמין בשם המועצה המקומית רבשם ילדי  
רמת גן לחגיגת הנטיעות המסורתית שלנו בסוף שבט (26.1.48).  
באמפיחיאטרון, שראית אותו בבקורך אצלנו, יתאספו באותו היום  
כאלף ושיש מאות חלמידים מכל כהי הספר למעמד חגיגי ולנטיעה  
עצים. ילדי רמת גן יהיו מאושרים אם אזרח הכבוד שלנו ימע גם  
הוא עץ כחג האילנות באדמת עירנו.

ההלוכה הילדים למקום הטכס מתחילה בשעה 9 בבקר, הטכס  
בשעה 9.30 בבקר.

ביחד עם זאת אודה לך מאד אם תאכה לקבוע לנו מועד בשוכך  
לחל - אביב, בו נוכל לבוא אליך ולברכך בשם רמת-גן עירך.

ברגשי כבוד ויקר,

המועצה המקומית רמת-גן

LOCAL COUNCIL RAMAT-GAN

א. קריניצי

נשיא המועצה



## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      **Date** January 19, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

The attached statement was sent to 180 leading newspaper editors in the United States as another step in our campaign to clarify, and to stimulate sympathy for, our cause.

The material embodied in the statement appeared also as full page advertisements in the NEW YORK TIMES, TRIBUNE, POST, PM, and the WASHINGTON POST.

We urge most strongly that wherever possible this statement and the important signatures which are appended be placed by Zionist communities as an advertisement in daily newspapers. The statement may be used also in such orientation work as may be going on among radio commentators, etc.

If any newspapers in your city use the material, whether sent by us or placed by you, we would be grateful for tear sheets.

Kindest regards.

AT:GH  
Encs.



TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Since the United Nations General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine on November 29, 1947, a shameful situation has arisen to which public opinion cannot remain indifferent.

Openly defying the United Nations, the governments of the Arab States, themselves members of the UN, are deliberately encouraging aggression against the Jews of Palestine. They are using Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Iraq as bases for these operations. They are providing funds, ammunition and military training, and have already launched attacks in force from Syria and Lebanon against Palestinian Jews. In Palestine itself this state of affairs has resulted in unbridled violence by armed Arab bands organized by Haj Amin el Husseini, the same Arab leader who, during the war, immeasurably aided Hitler in broadcasts from Berlin urging the Moslems of the Middle East to revolt against the Allies.

This campaign of violence has no moral justification. It is directed against a decision of the United Nations made only after nearly twenty committees of inquiry investigated the problem over a period of more than 25 years. This decision was, finally, a compromise which granted national states in Palestine to both Jews and Arabs.

The campaign of violence we now witness does not spring from a spontaneous uprising by the majority of Palestine's Arabs. On the contrary, they wish to live in peace with their Jewish neighbors. But they are terrorized by the Mufti's bands assisted by his confederates in Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut and Damascus. Significantly, Arab violence is largely directed against Jerusalem which, according to the UN decision, is to be an international territory because of its sacred character to the Christian world.



The campaign of Arab aggression, led by a group of former Nazi allies and aided by accomplices across the frontiers, is therefore directed not only against the Jews, not only against the peaceful majority of the country's Arabs, but against the authority of the United Nations itself.

This is a bold attempt to blackmail the United Nations into submission. It is an attempt by violence to render impotent the first great decision of the United Nations. If this campaign succeeds, it will reduce the United Nations to a debating society. In a moment when world peace is the hope of all men of good will, it will smash the effectiveness of the only instrument of international peace we possess. It will disillusion those millions who had hopes that at last some way other than the holocaust of war could be found to settle international problems.

If the United Nations cannot make its Palestine decision stick, if a handful of willful men can prevent a UN decision from being carried out because they do not like that decision, then no future action of the UN will have more worth than the paper upon which it is written.

For this state of affairs not only the Mufti and his cohorts are responsible. Other powers are not wholly free of responsibility. The British Government, which insisted that it retain sole control over the country and sole responsibility for law and order until the termination of the Palestine Mandate, seems either unwilling or unable to maintain law and order. We do not attempt to judge whether it is a matter of unwillingness or of inability. But the fact remains that the security situation in Palestine is steadily deteriorating.

One thing is certain: while Arab bands attack Jewish settlements, blockade wide areas, and waylay traffic on the highways, British officials and forces have



repeatedly interfered with Jewish defense and counterattack, repeatedly arrested and disarmed the defenders, and repeatedly confiscated their armaments.

The United Nations has not yet taken action against these overt acts of its Arab member-governments, which constitute an open defiance of the Resolution of the General Assembly and of the Charter itself. Nor has the United Nations reacted as yet to the fact that the Mufti's bands and the attitude of the British Administration are a clear challenge and threat to the authority of this international body.

If only the safety of the 700,000 Jews of Palestine were at stake, this alone should have evoked the concern of American public opinion. Our Government was largely instrumental in bringing about the United Nations decision on partition. What had we in mind when we encouraged the aspirations of the Jewish people to nationhood in Palestine? Was it our intention to leave them there defenseless?

Much more is at stake than our moral responsibility toward the Jews. We repeat, the very future of the United Nations is in jeopardy. This open defiance of a United Nations decision comes from a group of Middle Eastern states, which depend upon the UN and the Western world for their sovereignty and international recognition, for their political and military protection as well as economic development. If we permit such conduct on the part of the Arab States, then the authority of the United Nations will suffer a staggering blow which can result in incalculable harm to men everywhere.

Let us make no mistake about the dangers involved in this situation. The conflict may widen and assume world-wide dimensions, or this aggression of the Arab States can be restrained, thus making the Palestine solution a potent



factor for peace and stability in the world. America must help to determine whether the effectiveness of the UN shall be destroyed or strengthened.

The United States wants peace in the world. It is to its vital interests to uphold the Palestine decision of the United Nations. Our Government should therefore actively support the following measures:

1. A stern warning to the Arab States calling for an end to the sabotage of the UN decision.
2. An unmistakably clear declaration to Great Britain that as long as she remains in Palestine, her armed forces can be neither neutral nor quasi-neutral, but must align themselves in defense of public law and the UN decision.
3. Immediate use of the proper UN agencies to provide international military protection for Palestine Jewry and make immediately available the necessary military force to implement the United Nations decision on Palestine.
4. Immediate equipment of the Haganah, under United Nations auspices, to enable this Jewish constabulary defense force to carry out police powers within Jewish territory in Palestine.

Only in this manner can the United States and the United Nations prevent the threatened conflagration. The delay in implementing the UN decision has encouraged the Arab League and the Mufti in their defiance of the UN, and have forced the Jewish people to resort to desperate means to provide themselves with arms for their defense and the maintenance of the UN decision.

THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson  
Senator Owen Brewster  
Frank Buxton  
Bartley C. Crum  
Samuel Guy Inman  
Senator Edwin C. Johnson

Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk  
Senator James E. Murray  
Prof. Harry A. Overstreet  
Dr. Daniel A. Poling  
Dr. Ralph W. Sockman  
Senator Charles W. Tobey  
Senator Robert F. Wagner



AT

January 19, 1948

To the members of the American Section  
of the Jewish Agency for Palestine  
16 East 66th Street  
New York 21, New York.

Gentlemen:

Having been asked to undertake the acting chairmanship of the American Zionist Emergency Council in the absence of Dr. Silver, I am placed in the disagreeable position of having to inform you of the mounting dissatisfaction in the ranks of American Zionism with what is felt to be an inadequate reaction by Zionist authority here to the menacing situation in Palestine. Letters and inquiries pouring into the offices of the Emergency Council from its constituent bodies all over the country urgently express this dissatisfaction. At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council several of its members spoke in a similar vein.

As you know, the activities of the Emergency Council are motivated by the need for full coordination with and guidance by your body. We have to accept your judgment as to the current situation and your directives as to the actions required on the American scene to cope with it.

During recent weeks, our office staff has had the impression that representatives of the Jewish Agency wanted the Emergency Council to refrain from any popular or political action which would seek to induce the White House to press upon the Department of State a more favorable attitude toward our need in Palestine.

I think I speak for most of the Zionists in America when I express the fear that a policy of restraint at this time vis-a-vis our government would be a mistake. It seems to many of us that the combined efforts of the British Government and the Governments of the Arab States have brought about a serious danger that the United Nations will slow down the implementation and eventually go back on the decision of the United Nations Assembly; that responsible officials in the State Department who are once more in full control of the Palestine issue as far as the American Government is concerned, are in agreement with this trend; and that, as long as this condition prevails, neither representations made to the United Nations nor direct negotiations with the Department of State are likely to bring tangible results. There is a strong suspicion among the Zionists of America, shared by many of the members of the Emergency Council including myself, that the equivocal formulae sporadically projected in government quarters regarding the eventual formation of an international force for Palestine or the



January 19, 1948

eventual lifting of the embargo or the eventual procurement of American military equipment for Haganah, are clothed in deliberate vagueness in order to keep us from taking determined action until the situation has further deteriorated.

It is the conviction of a great many Zionist leaders in the Emergency Council and throughout the country that your negotiations would not succeed in reversing the present trend unless and until the President is once more induced to take over control over American policies regarding Palestine, as he did on several occasions before and during the meetings of the United Nations Assembly. In order to bring this about, the mass pressure of public opinion, in our judgment, is required without delay.

Repeated insistence of our constituents that such action be taken, and our own desire to proceed along these lines, have been curbed by our desire to await your directives.

Precious time is going by. I urge that this matter be placed upon your agenda at tomorrow's meeting as the first order of business.

Sincerely yours,

Israel Goldstein  
Acting Chairman,

American Zionist Emergency Council.

IG: ALB





זכרון יעקב

Committee of the Colony Zikhron-Yaaqov  
PALESTINE

P. O. B. 10

TEL. 12



ועד המושבה זכרון-יעקב  
ארץ-ישראל

טלפון 12

ח.ד. 10

בתשובה נא להזכיר:  
in reply please quote:

מס' 22/054

זכרון-יעקב, 20.1.48  
ס' בשבת התש"ח

לכבוד

הא' הרב אבא הלל סילבר  
י ר ו ש ל י מ .

א. מ. נ.

אנו מתכבדים בזה להזמין את כב' לבקר במושב-תנו, בהזדמנות בקורו הנוכחי בארצנו, בתקווה שכב' יקבל ספוק וענין ממושב-הרים ותיקה, שהפריחה במסך שני דורות הרי סלעים וטרשים לגנים נאים ויקרים.

נשמח מאד אם כב' יתן לנו אפשרות לסייר עמו במושב-תנו ושהות מספיקה, במקרה שלא יוכל להשאר ללון, לסעוד צהרים עם באי-כח מוסדות מושב-תנו.

בתקווה לקבל את תשובת כב' החיובית אנו מודים ומעריכים כראוי את יחסו, מראש.

בכבוד רב

ועד המושבה זכרון-יעקב

היושב ראש

המזכיר



TELEGRAM

1948 Jan 21

Why are you silent over the outrageous imposition by this Administration of an arms' embargo by the United States to Palestine while the British are openly arming all of Arabia in their determination to finish in Palestine the job of extermination Hitler so nearly completed? Why are you silent over the failure of this Administration to make enforcement of the United Nations Partition Plan possible by our indifference to the need for force? I believe you can promptly and effectively resolve this issue in the name of justice and honor by raising the question now publicly, not in the name of partisanship, but in support of the traditional American policy of action to support our pledged word.

T. O. Thackrey, Editor, New York Post.





## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

**Date** January 21, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

Enclosed you will find the following:

1. Copy of a telegram sent to President Truman by the "Committee to Arm the Jewish State" which is self-explanatory and which may be useful to you in the work which you are carrying on. This was featured widely by the press and radio.
2. Reprint of the advertisement of the American Christian Palestine Committee from the Herald Tribune of New York. We hope that you have made some headway in placing this material as an advertisement in your local press. It was sent to you several days ago in multigraphed form, but we are sending the printed layout as well.

In connection with this, it is subject to your own determination as to whether such advertisements as you place in your newspapers are signed by the people whose names appear at the bottom of the advertisement or are signed by local leading Christians and Jews, or both.

We will appreciate very much receiving copies of any advertisements you may place.

Regards.

AT:RBH  
Encs.



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WESTERN UNION

January 17, 1948

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

The Arab attack upon the Jewish people inspired by the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and former collaborators of Adolph Hitler is also an attack upon the authority of the United Nations and the prestige of the United States.

The decision of the United Nations to partition Palestine was the first great definitive judgment of that body on an important international dispute. Should that decision be nullified by deliberate sabotage on the part of Arab states, which profess adherence to the United Nations Charter, the usefulness of that body would be irreparably impaired and its future jeopardized.

In view of the unlikelihood that an international police force can be organized in time to avert disaster, we respectfully call upon you to take immediate action to modify the arms embargo to the Middle East so as to permit lend-lease and shipment of military equipment to those states that support the United Nations decision to partition Palestine. There is no other alternative at the present time; and time is of the essence.

We are mindful, Mr. President, of your many exertions to fulfill our nation's pledges to the Jewish people. It was the resolute action of our government at Flushing Meadows which brought forth the decision to partition Palestine.

It is indefensible to exert our initiative to create a Jewish State on paper, and then simultaneously declare an arms embargo, the only effect of which is to enable Arabs to massacre defenseless Jews and prevent the fulfillment of the objective we so ardently sought. We would do simple justice to the Jewish people, while serving the cause of peace, to assist them in their heroic effort to resist aggression perpetrated in violation of international law.

THE COMMITTEE TO ARM THE JEWISH STATE representing American business, civic and professional leaders of all religious faiths appeals to you, Mr. President, to take prompt action to enable the Jewish people to defend themselves and to defend at the same time the authority of the United Nations and the prestige of the United States.

COMMITTEE TO ARM THE JEWISH STATE  
Robert F. Wagner, Honorary Chairman  
Dean Alfange, Chairman  
9 East 40 Street  
New York, N. Y.



## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

**Date** January 23, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

We have begun an intensive campaign on local, county and state political levels to urge upon our Government active support of those four points stressed in the advertisement of the American Christian Palestine Committee sent you a few days ago. Those points included: warning the Arab States to end their sabotage of the U.N.; making it clear to Great Britain that her forces in Palestine must act in defense of the U.N. decision; immediate use of the proper U.N. agencies to make available the military force necessary for the implementation of partition; and immediate equipment of the Haganah under U.N. auspices.

In a recent press interview, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Acting Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, said, "America's moral credentials in the Palestine question will depend not merely on what it said, but on what it does. We look to President Truman to prevent this issue from becoming a quagmire of intrigue and inertia."

Dr. Goldstein demanded arms for the Jewish defenders of Palestine, emphasizing that "here the United States has a direct responsibility." He also demanded that an international armed force be placed at the disposal of the U.N. Implementation Commission and that the Tel Aviv port be opened for Jewish immigration on February 1st.

This effectively sums up our situation. We have every right to expect our Administration to stand by established American policy on Palestine and to use its great influence to implement the U.N. decision. Without American leadership in this direction, the condition will become aggravated to the further detriment of our cause. It is therefore most urgent that you contact political leaders in your community who may be in a position to transmit to the Democratic National Committee the present state of mind of American Jews, resulting from the failure of the Administration to take steps which will make the U.N. decision workable.

We urge you, also, to organize a public meeting to be held within the next ten days, to highlight the policies listed above. It will be very helpful to enlist the public goodwill of our Christian friends. It would also be well to ask our Christian friends to write to their Congressmen, Senators and to the President urging that speedy action be taken.

Please let us know what activities you will be able to undertake at this crucial time. Kindest regards.

AT:SBR

**N.B. - IN A FEW DAYS YOU WILL RECEIVE A CALL FOR PUBLIC ACTION.  
BE PREPARED!**



2250 13  
COPY OF TELEGRAM

HKS 0322 21/1/48

TAMT194 GBW826 NEWYORK 52 20 1207 = NLT = GRUNBAUM  
BERNSTEIN KOLODNY JEVAGENCY JERUSALEM =

OUR EXECUTIVE MEETING PARTICIPATION HARTMAN AUSTER ELIAS  
EPSTEIN GRATIFIED BY HARTMAN INFORMATION RENEGOTIATIONS  
UNIFICATION GENERALZIONIST GROUPS PALESTINE STOP DEEM IT DESIRA-  
BLE URGENT CONSOLIDATE GENERAZIONIST FORCES ESPECIALLY AT THIS  
TIME STOP EXPECT INFORMATION DETAILS PROGRESS NEGOTIATION HAIVED  
HAZIONI ALIYAH CHADASCHA STOP PLEASE INFORM SILVER REGARDS =

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN



C.

P.T. 6A.

No. 502

Pref SS 1 471 NEWYORK 45 24 1210 IMP =

תעליט אדארית  
הוראות משרדיות

Orig. no.

Handed in at

Words

Recd. from

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Sent to

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LC DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER HOTEL EDEN JERUSALEM =

to

POLITICAL SITUATION HERE CONFUSED MOSHE BUNGLING UP JOB STOP CHAIN ON HIS WAY  
 BACK TO AMERICA VIEW SITUATION STOP FEEL YOUR ABSENCE THIS TIME VERY HARMFUL  
 OUR WHOLE MOVEMENT YOUR COURAGEOUS FEARLESS LEADERSHIP NEEDED REGARDS=

JACQUES JOE=



WRHS



Mrs. Berman - *Friedland*  
3261 - *Anti-Tat League*

Kate R. Baskin  
8 Reshba Road Rehovot  
Jerusalem Palestine



## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

**Date** January 26, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

The following telegram was sent to you on Saturday night, January 24:

CRITICAL SITUATION MAKES NECESSARY IMMEDIATE DISPATCH OF UNPRECEDENTED NUMBER OF LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT PROTESTING FAILURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO HELP MAKE ARMS AVAILABLE TO YISHUV FOR DEFENSE AGAINST ARAB AGGRESSION AND ITS RELUCTANCE TO TAKE LEAD IN OBTAINING VIGOROUS UN ACTION TO IMPLEMENT PALESTINE DECISION BY INTERNATIONAL FORCE. ALSO CONTACT YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES INFORMING THEM OF COMMUNITY'S VITAL CONCERN AND ASKING THEIR HELP.

Coming after the firm and effective support which the American Government gave at the United Nations Assembly to the decision creating the Jewish State, our Government's present attitude in the face of unfavorable developments is the gravest single factor we face today. The arms embargo announced by the State Department without any attempt to distinguish between the aggressors and the defenders, between those who defy the United Nations by brute force and those who fight to uphold the verdict of the international organization, is still in force. The widely publicized measures undertaken by the State Department regarding the withdrawal of American passports from American volunteers joining the Haganah are calculated to show the displeasure of the Department with such activities. They serve to discredit the Jewish fighters in the eyes of the American public, and further to encourage our enemies. The renewed propaganda voiced by some people very close to our Government, purporting to indicate that the United Nations decision is impracticable and detrimental to the interests of the United States, and should therefore be revised, is a further sign of the dangerous turn which events have taken.

It would serve no useful purpose to dissipate our energies by voicing our just indignation against the doings of the Mufti bands, of the Arab States, or of the British Government. As long as the Government of the United States tolerates their activities, there is little to be gained from protests along these lines. Nor can much be achieved by addressing ourselves directly to the United Nations. Unless the Government of the United States -- the leading member of the international organization -- takes the lead in bringing about vigorous action by the United Nations, as it has done in the cases of India, Indonesia, Korea, Greece and Iran, the international body is unlikely to take any effective action.

Our efforts must be concentrated on getting the Government of the United States to follow through on its pledges and to see to it that the decision to which it has given such valuable support should become a reality in fact.

The foreign policy of the United States is the responsibility of the President of the United States. In this task he is supported by the chosen representatives



of the American people in the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is therefore to the President that citizens of this country should address their just grievances and from him that they are entitled to ask redress. And as far as possible, the Senators and Representatives from the different States and Congressional Districts ought to be made aware of the views of their constituents, in the hope that they will support these views in direct representations to the President.

We have asked you accordingly to give voice to the shock and the protest which you feel at the equivocal part played by our Government in the Palestine tragedy. Despite previous indications from many parts of the country of a growing desire for this sort of campaign, we had hoped that it would prove unnecessary; now, however, it is clear that no further time can be lost. We hope that all Zionist groups, members of the Jewish community, and Christian friends of Zionism, will make known their views by letters and wires to the President and by contact with their local Senators and Congressmen.

In your letters and telegrams you should stress, in words of your own choosing: (1) your shock at seeing the American Government, which took so glorious a part in the UN decision, endanger it by its passive toleration of current efforts to undo that decision; (2) your inability to comprehend this change in attitude; and (3) your hope that the Government will adopt speedy measures for the supply of arms to enable the Yishuv to defend itself as well as the UN decision and to speed up the dispatch to Palestine of an international force.

AT:ASR





T E L E G R A M

YXV417/FAQ979 NEWYORK 59 30 1651

NLT RAPPAFORT BERNSTEIN GENERALZIONISTS 27 MONTEFIORE TELAVI

RECEIVED CABLE FROM HERMAN TOMKIEWICZ INFORMING THAT  
ALIYAHCHADASHA HAOVEDHAZONI DECIDED UNIFICATION GENERALZIONIST PARTY  
ONLY STOP UNDERSTAND YOUR DECISION NEGOTIATE ALSO ICHUDEZRA  
CIRCLES MAKES IMPOSSIBLE AGREEMENT WITH HAOVEDALIYAH WISH  
INFORM YOU MY OPINION CONCENSUS AMERICAN EXECUTIVE THAT  
IF ICHUDEZRACHI IN THE WAY OF UNIFICATION WITH HAOVEDALIYAH  
WE FAVOR HAOVEDALIYAH WITHOUT ~~\$\$\$~~ ICHUDEZRACHI

~~\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$~~ DR GOLDSTEIN



## CABLE &amp; WIRELESS LTD

(INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND)

VIA IMPERIAL

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The first line of this Telegram contains the following particulars in the order named: Prefix Letters and Number of Message, Office of Origin, Number of Words, Date, Time handed in and Official Instructions—if any.

CIRCUIT

CLERK'S NAME

TIME RECEIVED



TAXV130 WUL401 NEWYORK 42 26 =

NLT HAROLD MANSON HOTEL GAT RIMON TELAVIV =  
 OVER MY OBJECTION REGARDING CHAIM AMERICAN  
 SECTION TONIGHT DECIDED INVITE HIM BUT ALSO TO  
 URGE WILLIAMS RETURN STOP CHAIM UNDOABTEDLY  
 COMING I ADVISE WILLIAMS EARLY APPEARANCE HERE  
 EXTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION DEFINITELY DISTURBING

WARM REGARDS = EMANUEL ✱

Enquiry respecting this telegram should be accompanied by this form and may be made at any of the Company's offices



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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      **Date** January 28, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

Enclosed are reprints of recently published important material on Palestine which may prove useful to you in working with your community:

1. The January Atlantic Monthly's editorial, "Report on the Middle East," which is excellent general background material.
2. Freda Kirchwey's "Plots and Counterplots" from the Nation of January 17.
3. A selection of recent editorials urging American action with regard to Palestine.

These may be ordered in quantity from this office.

AT:SBR



## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date January 28, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

I am sure you will be interested in the attached copy of a telegram which was sent yesterday to the Mayor of your city by Mayor Israel Rokach of Tel Aviv. Similar telegrams were sent to the Mayors of several hundred cities in the expectation that they would give public expression to the need for a sympathetic and helpful approach to the Palestine problem.

I am aware of the intensive program of activity which undoubtedly has been undertaken in your community as a result of our recent directives. I feel, however, that if it is at all possible, some effort should be made to assist your Mayor in formulating his public response to the appeal from Mayor Rokach, and in directing this response to the proper channels, i.e., press, radio and, where advisable, the Washington scene.

Kindest regards.

AR:RB  
Enc.





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W E S T E R N U N I O N

NIGHT LETTER

JANUARY 27, 1948

C  
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AS MAYOR OF ONE CITY TO THE MAYOR OF ANOTHER, I APPEAL TO YOU WHILE ON MY TEMPORARY VISIT TO YOUR COUNTRY FOR YOUR UNDERSTANDING, SYMPATHY AND MORAL SUPPORT. THE CITY OF TELAVIV, PALESTINE, OVER WHICH I PRESIDE, WITH ITS TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND INHABITANTS, HAS ONLY ONE SACRED AIM: TO DEVELOP AND GROW FOR THE GOOD OF ITS PEOPLE, AND THE GLORY OF THE HOLY LAND. I AM PROUD TO SAY THAT IN ONE GENERATION, TELAVIV HAS GROWN FROM A LITTLE SUBURB TO THE LARGEST CITY IN PALESTINE AND THE MOST MODERN, PROGRESSIVE CITY IN THE ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST.

MY CITY, AND OTHER TOWNS AND SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE ARE NOW THE TARGETS OF ARAB ARMED BANDS. IN DEFIANCE OF UNITED NATIONS DECISION, HITLER'S WARTIME ARAB AGENTS ARE CONDUCTING A CAMPAIGN OF TERROR IN PALESTINE WHICH ENDANGERS THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF ONE OF THE FINEST CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS IN HISTORY.

THERE IS ONLY ONE AUTHORITY WHICH CAN STOP ARAB VIOLENCE IN PALESTINE. THAT IS THE UNITED NATIONS. THERE IS ONLY ONE POWER WHICH COULD MAKE THE UNITED NATIONS ACT VIGOROUSLY AND IN GOOD TIME. THAT IS THE UNITED STATES. IN THE NAME OF TELAVIV, YOUR SISTER-CITY ON THE SHORES OF THE BLUE MEDITERRANEAN, AND IN THE NAME OF PEACE AND HUMANITY, I APPEAL TO YOU, MR. MAYOR, TO RAISE YOUR POWERFUL VOICE FOR THE SPEEDY SUPPLY OF MEANS OF DEFENSE TO THE ATTACKED JEWRY OF PALESTINE, AND FOR THE DETERMINED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECISION ON PALESTINE.

WITH MY FRATERNAL WISHES FOR YOUR AND YOUR CITY'S SUCCESS IN YOUR PEACEFUL ENDEAVORS.

ISRAEL ROKACH, MAYOR OF TELAVIV  
41 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK



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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

**Date** January 29, 1948

**From** Abe Tuvim

I am sure that you will be interested in the attached excerpts from letters written by Harold P. Manson from Tel-Aviv, together with an analysis of British strategy sent from Jerusalem.

Mr. Manson is Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council. He is now on leave of absence and is a correspondent for the Overseas News Agency.

Regards.

AT:RB  
Encs.



## LETTERS FROM THE FRONT

by

Harold Manson

Tel-Aviv, January 11, 1948. Today I saw The Land for the first time, and it was beautiful. I can thank the Arabs for that first thrilling glimpse of Tel-Aviv and its environs from the air: because they have made motor travel on the roads unsafe, I was prevailed upon to fly into Tel-Aviv via "Aviron" -- a two-seater cub, efficiently piloted by a stalwart member of the future Jewish Air Force. We came down on a landing strip, laid out along the seacoast just outside the city, which Tel-Avivians already refer to as "the airport" (and judging by the activity I saw there, it will be precisely that before very long.)

The initial (and somewhat misleading) impression of Tel-Aviv today is that of a superbly normal city, going about its business with both efficiency and charm, and bursting with creative energy. War -- the dirty business of killing, bombing and sniping -- seems very remote from this lovely, almost idyllic, sea-side community with its gleaming white buildings; its thoroughfares, boulevards and promenades teeming with pleasant, relaxed faces; its crowded cafes and shops; its strong children running about in the bright Mediterranean sun. But in the midst of one's happy contemplation of this warm scene, one suddenly hears rifle shots or the sound of an explosion, and then one sees the real Tel-Aviv: a city at war, whose sense of security comes from the knowledge that many brave young men and women risk (and sometimes lose) their lives daily to insure that the "cousins" over in Jaffa don't dare to penetrate the all-Jewish city.

Tel-Aviv, January 12, 1948. I think I'm beginning to get the "feel" of the place -- both its wartime aspects and its far more important permanent features. To begin with, this is one of the friendliest spots on earth. Invitations to dinner, tea and just plain visits come bewilderingly fast, and one is hard put to organize one's daily schedule in such a way as to avoid converting one's stay here to a prolonged social occasion. While everybody seems to be working hard, there is a relaxed attitude which, I suppose, is a direct result of the general sense of "belonging" and a feeling of security. But here, too, one must look beneath the surface to see the real thing. One suddenly remembers that the charming couple discussing modern art in Palestine have an eighteen-year old boy who is, in all likelihood, roaming the hills somewhere to guarantee his people's security -- and boys like that die every day in Palestine.

My journalist friends tell me that I'm in luck. I was privileged to be an eye-witness of a unique bit of "action" on my second day here. A bit after noon, as I was returning to the Gat Rimmon Hotel from the Jewish Agency office, I passed Barclay's Bank on Allenby Road just as a small truck zoomed away, careened around a corner and disappeared. There was suddenly much excitement, with police cars speeding to the scene and armed troops taking up stations around the bank. A group of white-faced men and women were herded out of the building into official cars -- and that was all. Gradually the crowd, which had gathered on the opposite side of the street, dispersed, clearly annoyed that details as to what had transpired were not available. Later I learned that eight Jewish boys had held up the place (for the umpteenth time) and had made off with approximately 15,000 Pounds. There were no casualties.

The Arabs over Jaffa way have been rather active today. It seems that the sons of Allah are using the minaret of a mosque for sniping purposes. They seldom hit anybody, but it's damned irritating to know that Haganah retaliation would be



denounced as an attack on a holy place and could precipitate "holy warfare."

Tel-Aviv, January 14, 1948. Much of the beauty of the place was charmingly pointed out to me today by Reuben Rubin, the painter, at whose house I met many people from all walks of life who make this country tick: industrialists, businessmen, professional men, artists -- all singularly intelligent individuals who are currently harnessing their energies and talents to the country's present needs. Reuben and his lovely wife, Esther, certainly make life here more pleasant for many people. Following our promenade (the high point of which was a visit to the Dizengoff Park for Children, where hundreds of beautiful kids testified to Eretz Israel's bright future) Reuben took me with him to the Habimah, where a new Anski piece "Yom Valaila", is in rehearsal. While Reuben supervised set installations and costume fittings (all designed by him) I watched the play take form on the stage.

Arab attacks and British "neutrality" be damned! The artistic and cultural activity of the Yishuv was going forward without interruption, and these men and women in the dark auditorium were also fighters.

On my way back to the hotel I came "under fire" for the first time. I had decided to walk home along the seashore, but started my promenade at the lower end of Hayarkon Street, not too far from Jaffa. Suddenly bullets began to fly (one of our friends in the minaret again) and the few people on the street took cover, then calmly turned the corner and went about their business. There was no sign of panic or even excitement. Quite a people, these Jews.

Dr. and Mrs. Silver are due here soon. There is a great deal of excitement in the Yishuv about his coming. The trip will clearly be valuable in terms of "morale". I do hope that the Silvers won't be swamped with meetings and interviews when they get here, as the moments of relaxation were few and far between in Paris, where Silver had to attend one reception after another -- at all of which there was great warmth and enthusiasm, but also much speech-making. (Incidentally, Dr. Silver's address in the Palais de Chaillot was masterful, even for him -- and in Yiddish, too.) My hunch is that the pattern will repeat itself here, as I am constantly being queried as to the date of his arrival (about which I maintain total ignorance -- for obvious reasons.)

Tel-Aviv, January 15, 1948. The Silvers are here. They landed in Lydda last night, slept a few hours (under Haganah guard) and arrived in Tel-Aviv this morning via "Aviron." The "siege" has already begun, and the men behind the desk at the Gat Rimmon are being driven to distraction by the scores of would-be visitors. There has been a steady procession of local dignitaries up to his room and both Mrs. Silver and I are planning to snatch him away and out into the open.

At lunchtime we met Ben-Gurion and Mrs. B.-G. in the dining room. Cordial greetings were exchanged and we were invited to tea on Shabat. We managed to get away for a stroll later in the day. Dr. Silver was greatly impressed by the sense of security and confidence everywhere.

Tel-Aviv, January 16, 1948. More interviews and visitors all morning. I'm beginning to realize that there is a method to all this and that Silver isn't deliberately inflicting gab-fests upon himself. He is actually sizing up the entire situation here. Now that I think of it, I believe he is the only man I know who can sit in a room and listen to people, representing various viewpoints, and a day or two later emerge with a full grasp of a problem, including all its nuances and subtleties.



In the afternoon, Dr. Silver met with the Hebrew editors and newspapermen at the local press club. The conference was a great success from every point of view.

In the evening, to the home of Harry and Ida Davidovitz, where we were much impressed by Dr. Davidovitz' Hebrew translations of Shakespeare.

Tel-Aviv, January 17, 1948. There was a great deal of shooting last night, and two big explosions. This morning we learned that the British had blown up two houses in the Jaffa -- Tel-Aviv area, one Arab and one Jewish, which had been used by snipers. How terribly fair and "neutral" to punish both the attackers and the attacked...I was treated to something special this morning. About 8:30 A.M., while I was getting a breath of morning air on my terrace, there was a terrific explosion to the left and I saw fragments of a house go up in the air and a cloud of dust and smoke settle over the "border area." Later I learned that our boys had destroyed another Arab snipers' hangout.

In the afternoon we went to the Ben-Gurions' for tea. Goldie Meyerson came in after a bit; and the current situation, with emphasis on the Yishuv's present needs, was gone into at some length. In the midst of the conversation, men came in with a report on the 35 lads who had been sent to reinforce Kfar Ezion. You know, of course, what the report was -- but you should have seen Silver's face at that moment. We left soon afterwards with very heavy hearts, not at all anxious to attend the concert of the Palestine Orchestra, which we were scheduled to go to in the evening.

As it turned out, all of us were glad that we went. They played the Ninth, Molinari conducting, and performed it beautifully. Schiller's "Ode to Joy" had a deep personal meaning for every person in the Ohel Shem on Saturday evening, January 17, 1948. There was electricity in the air. And Beethoven was a Zionist, singing out his message of hope -- this time to the Jewish people. He sang of the glory of our cause and he assured us of its triumph. It was definitely not an ordinary musical evening.

Incidentally, I was informed that the male section of the chorus was smaller than usual....

As we were leaving, the entire audience congregated in the entrance and outside the auditorium, and when Dr. Silver appeared on the stairs there was a tremendous ovation, following which all present sang Hatikvah. (I have never heard it sung that way before.) The crowd lined the streets and applauded as Dr. Silver's car pulled away. I have seen many demonstrations of popular esteem and affection for Dr. Silver back home, but this topped them all.

We returned to the hotel, cheered and refreshed by the events of the evening. We all needed such an evening, for at day-break tomorrow we leave for Jerusalem -- under rather unusual conditions.



By Harold Manson

Jerusalem, January 23 (ONA) -- Behind the smoke of the dirty war which is being waged in Palestine, the pattern of current British policy in the Holy Land is slowly becoming discernible. British "neutrality" in the Palestine conflict, which does not differentiate between attackers (Arabs) and attacked (Jews), and which often takes the form of depriving the attacked of the means to defend themselves, is part and parcel of an over-all British plan for Palestine designed to demonstrate that partition is not implementable and aimed at the reintroduction of the British Foreign Secretary's pet scheme for the federalization of the Holy Land.

British strategy seems to run along the following lines: Weaken the Jews as much as possible during the interim period so that they will be under a serious disadvantage in their struggle against the Arabs after the Mandate is terminated in April or May. The Jews then will presumably realize the hopelessness of their situation and beg the British to stay on in the Holy Land in order to maintain law and order. This could easily be arranged in view of the fact that British troops will still be here, concentrated in the Haifa enclave -- their evacuation center. The British Government's price for maintaining peace would be abandonment of the partition solution, substituting instead something along the lines of the old Morrison-Grady plan.

The British evidently anticipate that the morale of the Jews will crack during the forthcoming months. They apparently reason as follows: After the Arabs strike their strongest blows against the Jewish community (which will have become weakened by British arms searches and the American arms embargo) they will then hope for a re-emergence of that type of Jewish leadership which British spokesmen characterize as "moderate" and with whom deals might be made on the basis of a revived Morrison plan.

With regard to the United Nations, British strategy is clearly designed to place a long series of obstacles in the way of the implementation of the November 29 decision favoring partition. Repeated efforts will be made to delay the arrival of the UN Commission in Palestine. The effect of these efforts on the question of an international force should discourage the UN in its task and create a general feeling of defeatism. In the end the international body itself might be compelled to urge the British to stay on to preserve law and order. The British will then be prepared to accept this task only on the condition that the UN decision is revised to meet Bevin's views on Palestine.

This correspondent also learned that the British have, on various occasions, suggested that the Jews evacuate certain areas of Palestine for reasons of "military exigency." Significantly enough, abandonment of these areas would reduce the proposed Jewish state to an approximation of the boundary lines of the Morrison-Grady federalization plan. Thus, on December 6, the British suggested that the Jews abandon their settlements in the Negev; on January 8, they advised the Jews to evacuate the tip of Northern Galilee; on January 14, they asked Jews to leave Etzion region. Such requests serve to disclose exactly what constitute the British Government's intentions for the Holy Land.



# EDEN HOTEL



Jerusalem.....

P. O. Box 454

TELEGR. ADDRESS: EDENOTEL, JERUSALEM  
PHONE 4494-4495

1/29  
Weizmann arriving Mary Monday stop  
Must Have Silver Date for  
~~Flushing~~ Flushing press conference  
Regards Tuvim

Marshall said yesterday State Dept. 1/29  
not considering changing embargo  
stop Truman even more specific  
To Thackrey and others stop Tell  
Silver hopefulness these directions  
press reports understandable but  
not warranted stop ~~H~~ HOLTZMANN  
AND NEUMANN SAW TAFT stop  
Neumann Goldstein saw Treasurer  
McGrath Sullivan others and met  
with 40 lower, ten upper Houses.  
Floor shows planned + committees to  
Truman, Marshall stop Advise me Silver Dates  
REGARD TUVIM



## MEMORANDUM

To CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES Date January 30, 1948

From ABE TUVIM

A SPECIAL EMERGENCY MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVE COMMUNITIES OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL WILL BE HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15TH AND MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16TH, AT THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER, 16TH AND Q STREETS NORTHWEST. The Sunday session will begin at 11:00 A.M. KOSHER LUNCHEON WILL BE SERVED. There will be a mass meeting Sunday night at which Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is expected to report on his visit to Palestine and to review the critical political situation which prompts the calling of this meeting. IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT YOUR COMMUNITY BE REPRESENTED. An effort will be made to provide hotel facilities for those who cannot do so directly. We urge, however, that you make your own reservation, if at all possible. We will try to devote most of Monday, February 16th for visits to Congressmen and Senators. IT MIGHT BE WELL FOR YOUR REPRESENTATIVE TO BEGIN MAKING APPOINTMENTS NOW. LET US KNOW BY WIRE WHO WILL REPRESENT YOUR COMMUNITY AND WHETHER YOU ARE MAKING YOUR OWN HOTEL RESERVATIONS.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our situation has not improved sufficiently to warrant any let-up in our present campaign to bring to the attention of the President of the United States and the Secretary of State the deep misgivings we feel because of their failure to take steps to implement the decision of the UN by the creation of an international force, or to provide arms for the heroic Jews of the Yishuv.

We call upon you to accelerate your efforts. Every avenue for political contacts and for messages and telegrams to the President and the Secretary of State should be explored and followed through. All friendly organizations should be called upon to help. Christians - ministers and other leaders in public life - should be enrolled in this effort. Every Jewish family in your community should be represented by at least two telegrams. These activities are most vital to our cause. Nothing should stand in the way of carrying them out.

AT:RB



THE FOLLOWING WASHINGTON HOTELS, IN THE ORDER  
LISTED, ARE NEAR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER

HOTEL ROOSEVELT  
HOTEL MAYFLOWER  
HOTEL STATLER  
HOTEL CARLTON  
HOTEL LAFAYETTE  
HOTEL HAY-ADAMS  
HOTEL AMBASSADOR  
HOTEL HAMILTON  
HOTEL WILLARD  
HOTEL WASHINGTON

NOTE: When asking for reservations, please inform the hotel  
of the time of your arrival, accommodations desired, and length  
of stay.



A.GOLUB, Dipl.Jur.  
52, Sokolow Str.  
Tel-Aviv.Palestine.

Tel-Aviv January 30th, 1948.

To Hon. Dr.A.H.SILVER  
President of The Jewish Agency for Palestine in U.S.A  
Tel-Aviv, Hotel Gat-Rymon.

Dear and Honourable Dr.Silver,

With regard to our conference in Paris last August, I am taking the liberty of approaching You with the following memorandum:

1.Fano Project. The "Rishona", a boat constructed by the members of the Fano Hachshara themselves ~~has~~ been launched, as You might have heard, last September. Ever since the construction of a second boat began and a new group entered the classes of captainery, marine engineering, ship constructing, fishing, net-making-and-repairing, fish-conserving etc. of a.m. Fano Project.

It was and it is the sincere wish of our Fano Group and of our movement in Italy as a whole that the Fano Project become an undertaking of The Z.O.A. under Your guidance and Patronship, dear Dr.Silver. I was under the impression after our a.m. conference that You considered the Fano Project as a European matter of our movement <sup>AMERICAN JEWISH</sup> worthy Your intention and help.

Although I am 3 months away from Italy and have made Palestine my residence - my brave chawerim at Fano keep me still responsible for this Project since I had the honour of inaugurating the same Hachshara and are reffering all matters concerning Fano as all other matters of our movement in Italy - to me. They asked me to contact the Z.O.A. and You personally in order to achieve a final settlement of their problem which I consider - o u r problem.

And although being aware of Your being engaged in a great National Task- to reestablish The Statehood of our People and your responsibilities connected with this Great Task as our Great Leader and Fighter, I dare to approach You on behalf of our Fano Group and our Movement in Italy to advice the Z.O.A. to <sup>take</sup> care ~~for~~ of The Fano Project as one of the projects of The Z.O.A. under Your Guidance and Patronship.

2.Buereau in Palestine. Great refugee-masses in camps and on crossroads in Europe are unshakable and confident in Your ideological and Poltical line, as I had the honor to confirm at the a.m. conference in Europe. The same can be said to great parts of the Jishuw. This could and should be accordingly utilized and could serve as a powerful instrument in fullfilling Your great national tasks. Those, who to my opinion are obliged to do so failed to do it, and so the feelings of symphaty appreciation and confidence in Your brilliant leadership was not emphesized



enough, and as an excellent example for this negligence could serve the way the reaction of the Jishuv <sup>after the UN decision</sup> was pictured in the local and foreign press. Second-hand leaders were pushed ~~to~~ the front while those who all know as the Man of deed, who accomplished the hystorical Fight and made it an immortable Victory for generations- they were not mentioned <sup>enough</sup> in the official statements, reports and congratulations. This has to be changed and the sooner the better.

In view of the present situation of our movement in Palestine / and I don't know and don't see any basical changes in the near future, I may propose to establish an independent Z.O.A. Bueraeau in Palestine for political, social and economical Information and Contact.

Details would have to be worked out after and if the proposal would be accepted in principle.

3. Diasphora. The hundreds of thousands of refugees who are awaiting now their alia to Palestine will no doubt make considerable changes ~~in~~ not only numerally in the Jishuv but will no doubt serve a powerful instrument to change the situation in the Jishuv ideologically and socially, if accordingly prepared to and organised.

As one of those masses, who made with them the long and horrible way for 8 years from Ghettoes under nazi slavery and bolsheviks' repression via Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungaria, Rumania, Austria, Germany and Italy - to Palestine, after being engaged in sionist and jewish national tasks in the Ghetto underground, before and after it, as former pre-war member of The Sionists' Central Committee of Lithuania, /and in Ghetto/, chairman of Gen.Sionists in Italy and secretary General of The Jewish Agency for Palestine Delegation in Italy for 2 years I dare to emphasize the vital neccessity to keep on and deepen the contact between <sup>AMERICAN SIONIST LEADERS AND</sup> those refugee-masses in Europe and Cyprus especially now before their alyja, and before the establishment of our Jewish State and in view of the forthcoming World Sionist Congress, to renew the contact with the leaders of those refugees through personal meetings, correspondence, mutual information and help on the basis for instance as such projects like Fano and on other ways in order to gain this masses for us, for your ideological line and political argumentation, to strengthen their hope by such a contact and achieve unity and peace in our new Jewish State not for one of some classes of our people but for all of them.

As an old and excited follower of Yours, dear Dr.Silver, I may assure You that You may count on my full cooperation and that I'll be to Your Disposal if and when it might seem necessary to You.

Sincerele and respectfully Yours

*Abraham*



February 1948

## PALESTINE PARTITION AND UNITED STATES SECURITY

In the two months which have passed since the adoption of the Partition Plan for Palestine by the United Nations General Assembly, a series of arguments has been advanced with a view to undermining the Plan. Many of those arguments have long since been disproved by actual developments. Nevertheless, they are put forth again and again, until by dint of sheer repetition some of them take hold of people's minds.

The two original arguments advanced against partition still figure prominently in the discussion. They are as follows:

1. United States support for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine would lead the Arab States to align themselves with Soviet Russia.
2. King Ibn Saud would cancel the American oil concessions in his territory.

The facts of the case are that the United States did officially support the Palestine Partition Plan, and that the United Nations voted approval of that Plan -- yet the Arab States did not align themselves with the Kremlin. Nor has King Ibn Saud cancelled American oil concessions.

All those really acquainted with the situation in the Middle East knew even at the time that those two developments were impossible. They knew perfectly well that any increase of Soviet influence in the Arab countries would spell the doom of their present regimes, and therefore would be strenuously resisted by the Arab rulers. It was equally well known to experts, whether in the Government or in the oil companies, that, with almost the entire budget of Saudi Arabia dependent on oil royalties, and with King Ibn Saud's complete dependence on American economic and political help, cancellation of the American oil concessions was out of the question. In the light of this knowledge, an unpleasant question is inevitably raised and should be faced squarely: why, knowing full well that the threatened consequences would not come about, did experts in the Government and in the oil companies allow the impression to grow in governmental circles that a pro-Zionist stand would involve those consequences?

Now that events have made it difficult even for the credulous to put implicit faith in the first two stories, new arguments are assiduously put into circulation. Underlying them all is the notion that the Partition Plan is a threat to American security in this period of dangerous international friction. It is contended that the unrest caused by the Partition Plan may have an adverse effect on the flow of Middle Eastern oil; may lose America the friendship of Arabs and Moslems everywhere; may provide the Soviet Union with a foothold in the Middle East; and may make the establishment of a Jewish State so difficult that it had better be scrapped altogether.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT OIL

Middle East oil, described as vital to our security, particularly in case of war, figures very prominently in all these discussions. The validity of the oil argument depends on the answers to the following questions:



(a) Is Middle East oil required to satisfy the domestic requirements of the United States in peacetime?

(b) What is the relation of Middle East oil to the Marshall Plan?

(c) What part would Middle East oil play in a new world war?

(d) Can the oil-producing countries in the Middle East afford to let their oil stay under ground, undeveloped, unproduced and unmarketed? Can they dispose of it through some alternative to the present American-British concessions?

(e) Is there complete identity between the business interests of the big oil companies with holdings in the Middle East and the national interests of the United States?

#### DOES THE AMERICAN HOME MARKET NEED MIDDLE EAST OIL?

Many authorities can be quoted to the effect that the United States possesses enough domestic oil resources and has access to enough oil deposits in geographically close areas to supply all our peacetime requirements for a long time to come. Mr. Joseph E. Pogue, Vice-President of the Chase National Bank of New York, and member of the National Petroleum Council, addressing the Economic Club of Detroit on November 17, 1947, stated:

"...The United States will face a shortage of oil only if we create it out of a shortage of understanding and imagination... The current short supply of oil is linked to our rapid industrial expansion, but there is more smoke than fire in any interpretation of this as an indication of rapid failure of oil resources.

"...Estimates of proved underground oil reserves for the entire world now stand at 73 billion barrels, distributed as follows: In the United States, 24 billion; Caribbean Basin, 9 billion; Russia, 8 billion; Middle East, 30 billion; and the rest of the world, 2 billion.

"The oil of the Middle East is not primarily required in the United States, and no large quantities of it in the foreseeable future need come here... Most of that oil will be consumed in the Eastern hemisphere, gradually relieving the dependence of that area upon the oil of the United States and the Caribbean and increasing the availability of the latter for consumption in this country."

A similar view was taken in a letter published in the New York Times of February 4, 1948, by Eugene Holman, President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, one of the partners in ARAMCO and in the Iraq concession.

#### MIDDLE EAST OIL AND ERP

Mr. James Forrestal, the Secretary of Defense, when recently testifying before a Senate Committee, correctly stated that Middle East oil is indispensable to the success of the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe. Since the petroleum reserves of Europe are comparatively small and are now for the most part under Soviet control, and since domestic and Caribbean resources are largely required for use in this hemisphere, the logical source of oil for Europe is the Middle East.

It is claimed that though Ibn Saud has not cancelled the American Oil concession, or Iraq the British-America-French-Dutch concession, the partition



decision has already slowed down the flow of oil from these concessions. It is also claimed that developments regarding Palestine have brought about a slow-down in the construction of the Trans-Arabian pipeline to the Mediterranean which incidentally, is not scheduled to get into full operation until 1950. These claims are contrary to the facts. The Arab countries are as anxious as ever to obtain a maximum income from oil, which income would be materially curtailed if the amount of oil produced or piped were reduced for any reason. As a matter of fact, production of oil in Saudi Arabia, Bahrein, Iraq and Egypt goes on unimpeded. The story about the Trans-Arabian pipeline now going the rounds in Washington indicates the lengths to which the opponents of the Palestine Partition Plan are willing to go. The refusal of the Syrian Government to ratify its agreement with regard to the Trans-Arabian pipeline is attributed to Syrian opposition to the partition of Palestine. The fact, however, and it is a fact well known to American diplomats dealing with Near Eastern Affairs, is that the attitude of the Syrian Government is due to a quarrel between Syria and Lebanon as to their respective shares in the pipeline royalties.

It may be safely assumed that as long as there is no new world war, the oil of the Middle East will flow to Europe. What is likely to happen in case of a new war will be examined in the section below.

#### MIDDLE EAST OIL IN A NEW WORLD WAR

Formal ownership of oil fields, pipelines and refineries is of little account in time of war. Accessibility is the thing that matters above all. The Rumanian oil fields in Ploesti were owned mainly by American and British companies, but in World War II, it was Hitler who used their oil, for Ploesti was accessible to Germany and not to the Western Powers. Similarly, for many crucial months the oil of Iran, Iraq and other Middle East countries was inaccessible to allied tankers, and American and Caribbean reserves were drawn upon disproportionately. In the First World War, the British fleet succeeded in defeating the German fleet, not because the British Government had acquired 51% of the stock of the Anglo-Persian Company, but because Britain's control of the seas enabled its oil tankers to reach Scapa Flow from the Persian Gulf.

A look at the map will confirm something which our military experts know by heart -- that Russia is the only Great Power whose home territory is adjacent to the Middle East. The United States is about 6,000 miles away. Even Great Britain has the whole length of the Mediterranean and a slice of the Atlantic to cover before its ships reach the oil ports of the Middle East.

Therefore, in case of a major conflict, our strategists would be prudent in not counting too much on Middle East oil reserves.

#### IS IBN SAUD FREE TO CHOOSE?

Is Ibn Saud in a position to cancel the American oil concessions? Is there any competitor in sight, whom he could call in to work his oilfields, or would he leave them untouched?

The only realistic answer to these questions is "no". In the present state of the world and in the light of the financial dependence of Europe on the United States, no government in Western Europe could afford to allow its oil companies to take over an American oil concession if the American Government really objected. Nor is there today any oil combine outside of the United States which can offer King Ibn Saud royalties, tempo of production, technical skill and all the equipment necessary for large-scale production, piping, refining and marketing, on a



level anywhere near that of the American companies.

The only government which would feel no hesitation about taking over the Saudi Arabian concession is Soviet Russia. But for the reasons stated above, Ibn Saud cannot remotely be expected to invite Soviet penetration. Moreover, financially and technically Soviet Russia is less advanced than any of the Western European Powers. One may therefore safely conclude that King Ibn Saud and the other kings and governments of oil-producing countries in the Middle East have no alternative.

It is by now general knowledge that Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Bahrein are largely dependent on their income from oil for their existence, their governmental budgets, and the comforts and luxuries of their ruling classes. Striking confirmation of the correctness of this analysis is provided by King Ibn Saud's repeated statements, both before and after the Partition decision, to the effect that he has no intention of cancelling the American concession and will in fact provide all necessary protection to keep it functioning normally.

#### ARAMCO'S INTEREST AND U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST

The stand adopted by the Arabian-American Oil Company on political issues in the Middle East and on Palestine partition in particular, is simple and understandable. The only standard which the owners of the Saudi Arabian concession apply to any Middle East issue or development is its possible effect on the company's business interests and profits. This is the natural approach of the businessman, and, under normal conditions, one could hardly quarrel with it, particularly in the light of the fact that Saudi Arabian oil has already provided many millions in net profit to ARAMCO and is likely to supply many more millions.

Applying the yardstick of business and profits to the Palestine problem, ARAMCO soon arrived at the conclusion that, as far as it was concerned, Jewish need and hope for national rebirth in their historic homeland was no help and might prove disturbing. Even though concessions to Zionism cannot cause Ibn Saud to withdraw the concession, they may put him in a bad mood and compel ARAMCO to "sweeten" him by increasing his share in the profits or by other measures. This was enough to make ARAMCO take a hostile attitude toward Zionism.

All this is human and, therefore, understandable. But the oil men have gone much further. Over a number of years, they have skillfully impressed our policy-makers in Washington with the idea that America's national interests are necessarily and always identical with ARAMCO's business interests. This supposed identity of interests between the American people and the Arabian-American Oil Company was manifestly absent when ARAMCO overcharged the American navy for petroleum supplies to the tune of many millions of dollars, and when ARAMCO manipulated its affairs so as to deprive the U.S. Treasury of large sums in corporation taxes -- as has been demonstrated before a Senate Committee just recently. Men from ARAMCO and its partner corporations were placed in key government positions where they could promote the companies' interpretation of American national interests in the Middle East. The records of the Special Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program show at least two cases of men who, while in service with the Department of State and with the Petroleum Administration, were at the same time on the payroll of ARAMCO or of one of the large oil companies controlling ARAMCO. Other men, till recently associated with the Near Eastern policies of the U.S. Government, are now working for these companies.



It goes without saying that the national interests of the United States are not necessarily identical with the interests of a private business concern. The whims and preferences of Ibn Saud may be all-powerful with ARAMCO, but to the American Government they should constitute only one of many factors affecting the situation. American foreign policy must be based on an over-all picture of American interests, on established American traditions, on international commitments, on the interests of world peace, and on the United Nations. When the line of demarcation is drawn between American national interests and ARAMCO's interests, it becomes apparent that while the United States is interested in the production and export of Middle East oil, it should not be asked to underwrite every private desire of the concession holder.

#### THE RUSSIAN ARGUMENT

American-Soviet agreement on Palestine Partition was generally regarded as a fortunate development. The two Great Powers, at loggerheads on every other international issue, found a common approach to one important problem. This augured well for the United Nations, for the prospects of world peace, and for the adequate solution of the Palestine issue. The present rumor, which is so persistently cultivated in certain American and British circles, presenting this American-Soviet concurrence as a devilish device of the Kremlin to make America unpopular among "the eighty million Arabs" or even "the three-hundred-and-fifty million Moslems" in the world, should certainly not be taken seriously. How, indeed, could the Soviet exploit in its own interests the alleged Arab dissatisfaction with the American stand on Palestine, if the Soviet has adopted the same attitude as America? One should keep in mind that as long as the Soviet was expected to oppose partition, this was cited as an argument against endorsement of partition by the United States. Evidently, the opponents of a Jewish State in the American and British Governments are determined to use Russia as an argument, whatever the Russian stand may be.

On another level, it is suggested that in supporting partition, Russia looked forward to chaos in Palestine which would provide an excuse to send Russian troops into that country. Oddly enough, this argument is used by those who oppose any move that would bring to an end the chaotic conditions now prevalent in Palestine. If the American Government is concerned with this contingency, it has only to use its influence, through diplomatic and United Nations channels, to the end that the UN decision be speedily carried out.

From time to time, the Russian argument is put forth in a different form. It is rumored -- allegedly on the authority of disinterested British and American intelligence experts but, in truth, on the authority of those who are anything but disinterested and are determined to stop Jews from acquiring a homeland -- that many of the Jews reaching Palestine from Eastern Europe are Communist agents, and that a Jewish State would become a pro-Communist stronghold. The experts know that Jewish economy in Palestine is based partly on cooperative socialism of the Western European type, partly on small individual enterprise; that Communists did not get a single representative elected to the Jewish national assembly in Palestine; that the Jews fleeing from Eastern Europe are precisely those unwilling to live under Communist regimes; and that, the whispering campaign to the contrary notwithstanding, not a single Communist agent and not a single piece of Communist literature were found in the recent refugee ships from Eastern Europe.

The experts know all these facts. Nevertheless, they persist in spreading these rumors. And the non-expert public, which perforce includes some of the most



exalted figures in the American Government, is swayed by the authority and the "inside knowledge" of the experts.

#### AMERICA VERSUS BRITAIN

Another argument is beginning to be heard. According to it, the Arabs are reverting to an orientation more pro-British than pro-American. This, it is claimed, may give Britain all sorts of advantages over America in times of peace; on the other hand, should Britain remain neutral in a hypothetical war between the United States and Russia, the Arab States would stay neutral in company with Britain.

The fact of the matter is that even Great Britain -- despite its determined opposition to partition and despite its very outspoken pro-Arab line of policy -- cannot boast of having acquired genuine Arab friendship. This is clearly illustrated by events in Iraq, in connection with the recently concluded Anglo-Iraq treaty. Palestine did not figure at all in the bloody riots in Baghdad which forced the Iraqi Government to resign and the Prime Minister to flee the country. It was purely anti-British and anti-foreign sentiment which caused these outbreaks. This, despite the fact that Britain piloted Iraq towards early independence; sponsored Iraq for membership in the League of Nations and later in the United Nations; promoted the Arab League; trained Iraq's army and supplied its armaments.

Another case in point is that of British-Egyptian relations. Anti-British feeling in Egypt is notorious. The Sudan question is only temporarily shelved. It is well understood that on the Sudan issue and on other issues, Egypt will be up in arms against Britain as soon as the Palestine question is disposed of, and irrespective of the manner in which it is solved.

In theory, Britain is no surer of the friendship of the Arab Middle East than is the United States. In practice, no one can offer the Arabs more than the United States, whether in terms of economic assistance or of political security for their regimes. From either or both of the two Powers the Arabs will take as much as they can get -- in money, arms, military training, economic development and political support -- and if a world crisis comes, they will, as previously, give little or nothing in return. It was so in the First and Second World Wars, and it will be so if and when a new world conflagration occurs.

The argument now being advanced that Great Britain may stay neutral in a Russian-American war, for all its apparent finesse, is incredibly naive. Since the area of Soviet-British conflict in Europe and in the Middle East is much wider and deeper than that of Soviet-American conflict, it is highly unrealistic to speculate concerning a war in which the United States would be a participant while Britain would remain neutral. It is not a compliment to American diplomacy to suggest such a possibility. America may need Middle East oil to supply Europe, but England would be completely paralyzed without the oil of Iran and Iraq, for there are no domestic oil resources in the British Isles. Greece and Turkey may be considered advance posts of American security, but for Britain they represent the very frontline of the British Empire. If the United States is destined to be engaged in a war against Russia, it is safe to predict that the United States will join Great Britain in such a war, and not the other way around. As for the Arab States, one may confidently expect them to do what they did before -- allow the Western Powers to defend their independence, with as little exertion on their own part as possible.



## CONCLUSION

This memorandum does not deal with the exaggerated notion of Arab military strength held in some circles. The military experts of the Government are certainly aware of the extreme paucity of military resources of the Arab countries. They cannot help knowing also that a very considerable proportion of those resources are not available for use in Palestine since they are permanently tied down in the task of suppressing ever-present internal dissensions. If the Arab rioters were deprived of the indirect help which they derive from the attitude of "benevolent neutrality" assumed by the British, their weakness would become evident.

Nor is it necessary in this memorandum to enter into a discussion of the justice of the Jewish case. That justice forms, of course, the very foundation of the Jewish position. But the debate on the merits of the case is over. The United Nations has passed upon it. The attempt which is now being made to reverse the verdict is couched in terms of an alleged contradiction between the UN decision and American national interests. It is to this aspect solely that the present memorandum is devoted.

It is hoped that the responsible leaders of the American Government, conscious of the magnitude of the issues involved, will carefully weigh the allegations and rumors which are being brought to their attention. Whether the anti-partition campaign is motivated by mistaken patriotic zeal in the case of Americans, by a desire to uphold British imperial rule in the case of Englishmen, by sentimental attachment to the Arabs, by financial self-interest, or simply by a deep-rooted dislike of Jews, cannot easily be established. Different motives may prevail in different cases. What is essential is the realization that the current anti-partition campaign does not spring from a detached impartial approach, but represents an attempt to justify a pre-conceived aversion to the UN decision by using any and all arguments that may come to hand.

\* \* \* \*



Note of an interview with the three  
representatives of the International  
Red Cross on Sun. February 1st, 1948,  
at the offices of the Jewish Agency.  
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The three delegates had seen Dr. Katznelson on Friday afternoon and had discussed with him the medical aspect of their work. I had in the meantime received a note from Dr. Kahany from Geneva, brought by Zagagi, copy of which is attached herewith.

I began the conversation by giving them the general background of the present situation in the light of the decision of November 29th, the disturbances begun on the next day and the attitude of "Malevolent neutrality" adopted by the Government, giving them full details, particularly of the latter. I then analysed the implications of Cadogan's statement reported in today's paper. They were most interested and very friendly, particularly Dr. Marti who knows Kahany well and had previously dealt with the Exodus refugees. I summed up the position by saying that the central factor of the situation was the decision adopted by the United Nations by a two-thirds majority which the bulk of the Jews accepted in spite of many defects, which the Arab leadership was bent on thwarting by violence and which the British Government was endeavouring to frustrate by leaving the country in a state of chaos holding back the arrival of the U.N. Commission and swaying the balance against the Jews, particularly in the sphere of security.

They emphatically agreed, saying it was the height of absurdity to suggest that the government of a country could, even under the most peaceful conditions, be handed over in a fortnight.

They then said that the position was very unusual in that this was not a war nor possibly even a civil war. Nevertheless, the conventions governing warfare could be applied to such a case, if not in every detail of the latter, certainly in the spirit. I said we were certainly willing to do so. They thereupon stated they would let me have a copy of the Conventions and would be grateful if we could confirm our readiness to act in accordance with its spirit in writing.

I then raised a number of concrete questions falling within their province. I first referred to the case of the five boys in Beirut (at my request, Dr. Katznelson had on Friday already brought the matter to their notice). They said they had on Friday written to their representative in Beirut about it. I drew their attention to the long delay in the transmission of mail and they then said that they would cable or telephone to Beirut in view of the urgency of the matter.

I then raised the question of the mutilation of Jewish fighters killed in action by the Arab gangs and gave them a graphic description of what had happened and the intense pain caused to parents by not even being able to view the bodies before burial because the bodies were mutilated beyond recognition. They made a note of it.

I then referred to the general practice of the Arabs of not taking prisoners but of killing every Jew who fell into their hands. They said that this was definitely a matter for intervention by the I.R.C.C. Then I brought up the question of the Arabs shooting at funeral parties and described to them the untenable position which had arisen in recent weeks owing to the shooting at the cemetery and the killing of grave-diggers which had on one occasion led to some 30 bodies lying for a whole week in the mortuary. Then I referred to the Arabs shooting at Jewish ambulances, told them of the murder of Dr. Lehrs, etc., and said that the agreement recently reached was not working properly inasmuch as Jewish ambulances continued to be shot at.



I then raised the question whether their mission was confined merely to looking after the interests of the combatants or extended also to the civilian population. They said it applied also to the latter. This gave me an opportunity of raising the question of the dangers threatening the Jewish population of Jerusalem during the coming months from Arab interference with the supply traffic, the water pipe-line and the electricity system. They said this was certainly a concern of theirs. In the course of discussing this point, Dr. Katznelson, who was present, suggested the advisability of the I.R.C.C. setting up an office in Jerusalem. I supported this, saying that the mere existence of such an office might have a restraining effect in regard to many of the things I had mentioned. They took up this suggestion with interest, but said the proposal would have to come to them officially from us. They hinted that it might also have to come from the Arab side but left it open whether action could be taken if the matter was proposed by one side only. I said that the Arabs were, of course, keen mainly on getting doctors, nurses and medical supplies, but the protection of the civilian population should be taken up by their Commission on the lines suggested. They ended up by saying that they would like to have a letter from us on the subject and I said I would bring both suggestions for official communications from the Jewish Agency to their Commission to the notice of Mr. Ben-Gurion, whom they would see in Tel Aviv on Wednesday. (Their plan is to travel about the country during the next few days and to be in Tel Aviv on Wednesday and Thursday and to return to Jerusalem on Thursday of next week). They suggested that our people be advised of their travelling about this week in various parts of the country and, of course, also in the Jewish zone in a Red Cross car. I told them that it was hardly necessary to do so inasmuch as no Jew would attack a Red Cross car. They asked whether this applied also to Jewish extremists and I replied that although I had no authority to speak on their behalf, I felt sure that in this matter they would behave like the rest of the Jews.

Finally, they raised the question of finance, saying that the I.R.C.C. had no funds of its own. I said that this was well known and we understood that in such cases the I.R.C.C. were enlisting support from their affiliated national societies. They said that this was so, but they would like to get whatever help they could here, too. I said they should discuss it with our Treasurer, Mr. Kaplan, to whom I then introduced them. I finally said they should not run away with the notion, which was being assiduously spread by the Government, that the Jews had all the money and supplies while the Arabs were all poor and needed help. I told them something of the economic position of the Arabs and the help they were getting from the neighbouring countries. I found that on this point, Kahany had given them some useful preventive injection.

(Note: I just learned from R. Rosenberg that they expressed a desire on Friday to Ben-Zvi to see a spokesman of the Haganah. I suggest that this be done in Tel Aviv this week).

Note: Immediate action should be taken to consider the drafting of the two letters referred to above.

L.K.



## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date February 2, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

Enclosed you will find a fifteen minute radio script, which calls for the use of two speakers and a moderator.

We have tried to cover the principal questions involved in the present Palestine situation and we feel that it would be of great help if this material could be put on the air in your community.

A strong effort should be made to get local radio time. Where it is difficult to obtain the services of a radio commentator, it might be well to ask an outstanding community leader to serve as the moderator and have the answers given by the most representative and best-spoken among our people and our Christian friends.

We will be very glad to hear about any progress you may make.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB  
Enc.





SUGGESTED RADIO SCRIPT

MODERATOR: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. The subject of Palestine -- which has always been a most provocative one -- is especially timely at this moment since in our troublesome post-war world the Holy Land is one of those key places upon which the peace and future security of all of us may very well hinge. During the past six or seven weeks, bloodshed and civil strife have characterized life in the Holy Land. More than 900 persons have been killed since the United Nations made its recommendation to divide Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states. In the midst of all this grief and turmoil, I am very happy that we have with us this afternoon two gentlemen -- Mr. A.,

\_\_\_\_\_  
(his title and background)  
and Mr. B., \_\_\_\_\_  
(his title and background)

-- who are familiar with all aspects of the Palestine problem and who, I hope, will be able to bring us up-to-date on this vital subject. Mr. A., I wonder if you would be good enough to start the discussion rolling by giving us a brief summary of the situation in Palestine right up to the present moment.

Mr. A.: Well, as you undoubtedly know, Mr. (Moderator), in 1917 in a document called the Balfour Declaration, the Jews were promised a national home in Palestine by the British war cabinet. After a quarter-century of Jewish immigration and reconstruction in Palestine, the British issued what is known as the White Paper of 1939. This policy cut down Jewish immigration into the Holy Land to a mere trickle and stipulated that after five years, immigration would cease completely. The Jews reacted most intensely to this doctrine, because as they pointed out, the sole reason for establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine was that here, in this little country, there was finally set aside one place on earth to which Jews could legally migrate in the hour of their need. Consequently, in putting a stop to Jewish immigration, the British were putting a stop to the Jewish National Home. It will be remembered that the year in which the British instituted this White Paper policy was -- 1939 -- the year of Munich and Chamberlain appeasement. In this instance, the British appeased the Arabs with the White Paper.

When World War II finally ended in 1945, the Jews of Palestine had every good reason to believe that Great Britain would revoke its White Paper policy. In the first place, they had made a significant contribution to the allied war effort in the military campaigns in Africa and Italy. In the second place, the British Labor Party -- which you will recall came into power after V-E Day -- had made strong commitments to the Jews, promising them that they would do everything



within their power to give the Jews the State that they desired. And finally -- and perhaps, most important -- the end of the War had disclosed the tragic story of six million Jewish casualties to the Nazi war machine -- with about a million and a half Jews still alive in Europe, but with no place to go. With these three factors as a backdrop, the Zionists were led to believe that now, at long last, they would get what had been promised to them in 1917. The British, of course, had other ideas. They wanted to continue their rule of Palestine as though there had never been a war -- as though they had never made any promises -- as though there were no Jewish DP's stagnating in Europe. Finally, in 1945, a deadlock was reached between the Jews of Palestine and the British. Terrorism broke out; so-called "illegal" immigration was stepped up; the British clamped down a tighter rule. It all eventually led up to -- what might be called -- international intervention in the Palestine mess. There were two international investigations of the problem of Palestine in its entirety. The first was the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry composed of representatives from the United States and Great Britain. The second -- and the one with greater authority -- was a special committee appointed by the United Nations. To be brief -- and I realize that I have not been that at all -- both committees found justification to the Jewish claims in the Holy Land, one of them -- the committee of the United Nations -- recommending that Palestine be split up into separate Jewish and Arab states. After a great deal of debate, the United Nations, on November 29 -- just about seven weeks ago -- decided to partition the Holy Land into two states -- one Arab, one Jewish. That just about brings me up to your introduction, Mr. (Moderator).

MODERATOR: I must say that that was a most informative bit of summarizing, Mr. A. Do you have anything to add to that, Mr. B.?

Mr. B.: Well, Mr. (Moderator), I agree with everything Mr. A. has said. I would like to say something about your introduction. Although you gave a fairly accurate account of what has happened in the Holy Land in the seven weeks since partition was voted, I don't think that your bare recitation of statistics gave the full and complete story. It is necessary, I believe, Mr. (Moderator), to go beyond the figure of 700 new Jewish and Arab graves in the Holy Land and the millions of dollars lost in property damages. One must consider what the fighting is all about in Palestine. We know that -- superficially speaking -- Arabs are attacking Jews because they are bitterly opposed to the partition plan. But is that the sole motive? Are Arab attacks a popular mass demonstration against the decision, or are they being fostered by elements other than the Arab masses? What is the position of the British in all this bloodshed? Are they really neutral -- as they say they are? What is the position of the United States? What is the position of the United Nations? All these questions must be answered



if one is to understand exactly what lies behind the so-called "incidents" that recur day after day in the Holy Land.

MODERATOR: Well, Mr. B., if you can answer those questions it will certainly go a long way towards clearing up a lot of rather foggy notions that we've been getting just from reading our daily newspapers.

Mr. B.: I'll take a stab at it, Mr. (Moderator). And if my colleague, Mr. A. sees that I am committing any errors of omission I hope he will correct me. Let me start my story this way. The decision by the General Assembly of the United Nations to partition Palestine was a notable one since, for the first time in thirty years, an international body with wide powers did find a solution for what appeared to be one of the world's unsolvable problems. By agreeing to divide the Holy Land into two states, the United Nations put down -- in black and white -- a blueprint for the future of Palestine. But in finding this solution, an incidental minor miracle had occurred. For the first time in the brief but stormy history of the United Nations, both the United States and Russia found themselves on the same side of the fence. For the first time, they were in agreement on an important international issue. Both countries -- the United States and Russia -- supported partition and fought for its passage. This spirit of cooperation between the East and West was the most significant accomplishment of the recent session of the General Assembly. Out of the disillusionment that had been caused by frequent and violent differences between our country and Russia, there had emerged the miraculous sign that the impossible was quite possible after all.

MODERATOR: Yes, I can recall that very well. From the point of view of a layman -- that is, one who is not particularly conversant with the day-to-day workings of the United Nations Organization -- I remember that most Americans were pleasantly surprised at this rather unusual turn of events, and most of us thought that in the United States-Russian agreement -- the United Nations was given a shot in the arm -- one that, in time, might completely cure the ailing patient.

MR. B.: That's exactly my point, Mr. (Moderator). The Palestine solution was the only constructive accomplishment of which the United Nations could boast during the last session of the Assembly. It, therefore, becomes increasingly tragic that the partition solution -- which spoke so well for the future of the United Nations -- is now in such great danger of being stymied by certain forces bent on sabotaging it.

MODERATOR: What forces are you specifically referring to, Mr. B.?

MR. B.: I mean both the Arabs and the British in Palestine. With reference to the Arabs, their opposition was definitely anticipated by most of us. During the entire period that Palestine was before the United Nations, they demonstrated



and poured out millions of words, saying something to the effect that they would never tolerate anything in Palestine other than a complete and undivided Arab State. When the UN made its decision, they threatened to plunge the Holy Land in war, and implied that there would never be a Jewish State in Palestine, no matter how small.

MR. A.: If I can break in at this juncture, Mr. B. I would like to point out for the benefit of our radio audience that the Arabs, to whom you just referred, the Arabs who ranted and raved at Lake Success, are not the Arabs of Palestine, but actually are Arabs from such neighboring states as Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and others. These people have about as much legal right to mix the internal affairs of Palestine as, let us say, Mexico has in the internal affairs of the United States. It just so happens that their opposition to Zionism is the only common front on which seven Arab states agree. The Zionist so-called "danger", therefore, serves as the glue which holds the Arab League together.

As to the Arabs of Palestine, we know that the great majority of them are grateful to Jewish settlers for what they have done and ready to live in peace with them. This feeling is understandable if you can visualize a decadent, disease-ridden society which is suddenly rescued from its terrible plight by the influx of a modern, dynamic group of persons who are equipped to cure their diseases, give them new clothes, teach them how to get more out of their piece of soil, and acquaint them with something they had never known -- that all men are created equal. Of course, there is in Palestine a large following of Arabs who are faithful to the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem. The ex-Mufti wants to set up Palestine under his own rule and would drive out, or put to the sword, every Jew who entered the Holy Land since 1917. In other words, he would drive out some 600,000 Jews, if he could, and restore the same type of feudal Arab society that flourished during the time of the Turkish Sultan. This is the same Mufti, by the way, who served Hitler in Berlin during the war years, broadcast appeals to Arabs in the United States to sabotage our war effort and helped blueprint Himmler's plan for the liquidation of the Jews of Europe -- a plan which subsequently resulted in the deaths of more than six million Jews.

I didn't mean to make such a lengthy interpolation, but these things just seem to go on endlessly -- they are so involved.

MODERATOR: To get back to our central theme, Mr. B., you also mentioned that the British were doing some sabotage work against the partition plan. Can you elaborate on that accusation?

MR. B.: Yes, I can. You will recall -- I am sure -- that the British had emphatically promised at the last meeting of the United Nations General Assembly that they would maintain a policy of strict neutrality in the event of any



"troubles" in Palestine. As we saw, difficulties did arise. But were the British neutral? Absolutely not. Palestine is now being invaded from Syria and Lebanon, and the British have done nothing about stopping these invasions. They know exactly from what points these invading armies come, but they have refused to establish adequate patrols at the vital borders. An army of 100,000 British soldiers is unable to keep open the important Jerusalem-to-Tel-Aviv highway. This road is only 35 miles long, yet traffic on it is constantly threatened by Arab snipers and guerrilla bands who have wiped out scores of Jews who are forced to travel that highway. The Old City of Jerusalem is completely blockaded by the Arabs. 1500 Jews are locked within this small section, and are slowly being starved to death. Yet, the British have done nothing to relieve this blockade.

Whenever members of the Jewish defense militia -- the Haganah -- attempt to set up a defense against attacking Arabs, they are disarmed and jailed if arms are found in their possession. On the other hand, British police look the other way whenever Jews are attacked by Arab mobs. During a riot which broke out in the Haifa Refinery, 1500 Arabs attacked some 200 of their Jewish co-workers there, killing 41 Jews and wounding about 50 others. This Refinery was policed by the British who did not move a muscle until it was too late. In addition, I recently read that the British absolutely refuse to open a port in Palestine for Jewish use. This refusal is an out-and-out violation of the United Nations recommendation which requested that a port be opened up to the Jews no later than February 1st.

MODERATOR: In the early part of your discussion, Mr. B., you put the question before us: What about the position of the United States? Well, what about it? How does our Government fit into the picture you just painted?

MR. A.: If you don't mind, Mr. B., I'd like to answer this one. As was pointed out earlier in our discussion, the United States played perhaps the most important role in the passage by the United Nations of a decision to partition Palestine. Since the United States did play such a strategic role in securing the passage of the partition plan, it cannot now allow conditions in Palestine to become chaotic. As the situation stands, the only persons who are trying to effectuate the partition of Palestine are the Jews. But remember, it was not the Jews who ordered partition, but the United Nations. And it was not the Jews who voted for partition, but 39 different countries, including the United States. Our Government, therefore, cannot allow a decision of the United Nations -- of which it was the deciding factor -- to go to pot without attempting to implement that decision with the machinery that will make it work.

MODERATOR: What is your suggestion, Mr. A.? What policy would you recommend our Government to follow?

MR. A.: The United States must see to it that the heroic Jewish men and women



of Palestine are given arms and ammunition so that they may defend their lives against attack. In allowing weapons to reach the Jews of Palestine, the United States is not violating any international law, but on the other hand, is acting within the word and spirit of a pledged decision of the world's highest tribunal. It will be remembered that the United Nations recommended the establishment of a Jewish militia for the purpose of defending the Jewish State and maintaining public security. Well, there is such a Jewish militia and it is badly in need of arms. This Jewish militia is the Haganah which demands only the right to fight in its own defense. The United States would not be violating its policy of neutrality, because any nation which voted for the partition of Palestine is not neutral in the struggle now going on there. The fight is between those who are attempting to carry out a decision of the United Nations -- and those who are fighting desperately to sabotage it. We know where the United States stands. In a struggle between those who are fighting to preserve the United Nations and those who want to smash it to bits, the United States can not stand idly by as a neutral. We must give arms to the Jews of Palestine. This is the least we can do for those who fight on the side of liberty and justice.

MODERATOR: Well, gentlemen, our time is just about up. I believe that the subject was covered very well indeed, and I hope that the discussion this afternoon served to clear up any misapprehensions that our listeners may have had on the subject of Palestine. I wish to thank you both, Mr. A. and Mr. B., for your expert comments on a most difficult and perplexing problem.

\* \* \*



~~COPY~~ TO: DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

[illegible]

6

February 5, 1948

Confidential

Mr. Abe Tuvim  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Abe:

A wise man commented years ago about the need for deliverance from our friends. The enclosed is a case in point.

This is a telegram sent to United States Senators with the best intentions in the world, by Ted Thackrey. Ted, however, thought he was addressing cub reporters on the Cleveland Press where he was a copy reader 25 years ago. The result is that his telegram has outraged a number of Senators, one of whom gave me the enclosed copy.

Sincerely yours,

Leo R. Sack



## WHEAT SALE PRICE UPHELD BY PERON

Costly Imports Take Half of the Receipts. Other Half May Not Be Paid, Argentine Says

By MILTON BRACKER

Special to The New York Times

BUENOS AIRES, Feb. 4—President Juan Peron last night defended his regime against charges of profiteering in food at a time of world hunger. Moreover, he insisted that his Government was not "in business," and that its entire aim was to defend local production within the over-all plan to make the nation economically independent.

At a press conference in Casa Rosada, Señor Peron joined Miguel Miranda, head of the National Economic Council in an aggressive defense of Argentine trade and price policies.

The fact that Señor Miranda appeared with President Peron is significant. Foreign sources continue to hint hopefully that Señor Miranda has been gradually losing favor with his chief. If anything, the exact opposite was suggested last night.

Señor Peron declared flatly that foreign criticism of the food-sale program was based on "lies," adding that the lies were all part of a "campaign." "Argentine papers do not say such things because they know they are not so," he declared.

In the three-way discussion, which was rounded out by Senator Alberto Durand, the Marshall Plan underwent sharp reevaluation.

Señor Peron said that not only had Argentina sold wheat to all corners without haggling over means and time of payment, but also she had given away 500,000 tons. "What better plan is there for us?" he asked.

Señor Miranda followed up by

saying that the Marshall Plan involved only \$700,000,000 in Latin America, while Argentina was already aiming at \$5,000,000,000 and that the Peron plan had been in effect since June, 1946.

Perhaps the key point in Señor Peron's defense of his price policy was his assertion that the price of grain was low because of the sale price paid to Argentina in costly manufactured merchandise. As for the other half, "We don't know how it's going to be paid."

The price of wheat is sixty pesos a quintal (about 2.84 bushels). Britain has said she is not interested in buying it at that price. Nevertheless, Señor Peron said, the fact remains that such countries as France, Italy, Spain and Greece need bread, and Argentina is supplying it.

"We've made a plan and put it into operation," he continued. "If we kept on talking and these countries kept on without wheat, I wouldn't like to be in their shoes. We've allotted almost 50 per cent of our exportable surplus to countries that need wheat and cannot pay for it. I think that instead of talking about relief plans, it is better to provide relief."

## BELGIUM BALKS ON FRANC

Will Continue Official Rate of Exchange With France

Special to The New York Times

BRUSSELS, Feb. 4—Belgium does not intend to apply for introduction of a free quotation of the Belgian franc in Paris, it was officially announced today.

The statement, issued by the Ministry of Finance, declared that authorized money transfers between Belgium and France would be continued according to the official rate of exchange.

A French mission is now in Brussels to discuss the financial and commercial consequences of the French devaluation. Views will also be exchanged concerning payment of wages to 50,000 Belgian workers in French industry. A Belgian mission will go to Paris next week for final settlement of this wage question.

## HALF BILLION AID TO CHINA PROPOSED

Continued From Page 1

communism in Europe and not so in China, where there is open war between the Communists and the Nationalists.

Those who oppose the program at this time contend that the available relief supplies could be used more effectively in Europe than in China, where, they charge, conditions are so chaotic that a \$510,000,000 program will do little good.

Though this argument came up again today at the meeting, the fact is that the Administration already is committed to present a China program to Congress in the near future.

Senator Bridges recently charged that the State Department had misjudged the post-war situation in China, had failed to give the Nationalist Government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek adequate aid, and had put the United States Government in a position where its "good faith" was in question.

In reply, Secretary of State Marshall said that he was completing the China program, and that it would then be sent to the Advisory Council and the President for study before going to Congress. The first of these steps has now been completed.

The State Department has decided that it cannot hope, in the present economic and military condition of China, to launch a full scale recovery program in China until fundamental reforms have been adopted by the Nationalist Government, even if the supplies were available.

To do so, it was felt at the department, would be enormously expensive and probably ineffective. Therefore, while the program adopted foresees the possibility of additional aid for specific recovery projects, it is directed primarily at imperative relief needs as a starter. Thus, for example, a considerable amount of the proposed relief program will be for cotton, food and fuel. Much of China's food

and cotton producing areas north of the Yangtze River are under the control of the Communists. The half-billion dollar program, however, is described by officials who have been working on it as an "interim relief" measure.

In line with this, it is proposed that all the conditions passed by the Congress in the European interim relief bill last December be included in the China measure, if it is approved by Congress. At the same time, however, it is evidently the intention of the Administration to use the relief program, if passed, as a basis for reopening negotiations with the Chinese about certain reforms that are felt here to be absolutely necessary if United States aid to China is to be effective.

China's total budgeted receipts for the first six months of 1948 are estimated at only 61 per cent of her estimated budget expenditures. Receipts are put at 58 trillion Chinese dollars and expenditures at more than 90 trillion Chinese dollars. The inflation has almost paralyzed economic life over large areas, the Chinese dollar having dropped from 80,000 to 150,000 to one United States dollar in one recent two-week period.

Plans for the most careful supervision of any commodities that may be allocated to China under the proposed interim relief program have been worked out at the State Department. It is expected that these, together with the proposed reforms that will be suggested as a condition of the aid, will lead to numerous charges of United States imperialism. Nevertheless, the feeling in official quarters here is that unless the distribution of the aid is carefully supervised and unless the money collected for it is used to combat China's inflation, even the relief program will not attain its objectives.

There is obviously little enthusiasm in the executive branch of the Government for large-scale aid to China. Since the end of last June, the Chinese Government has had before the Export-Import Bank a number of specific recovery programs for which they sought loans. These have not been approved by the bank, however, because the

bank is obligated under its charter to lend money only for projects that give reasonable hope of repayment. The bank did not consider any of the Chinese projects in this category.

Humanitarian considerations for the people of China and political considerations in Washington have induced the State Department to come forward with its new program. All official reports from China emphasize the need of food, fuel, cotton, petroleum and other products that cannot be purchased except with loans or grants from the United States.

The main factor, however, in that prominent Republicans have been charging the Government with inconsistency in producing a program to combat communism in Europe and not coming forward with a similar program for China.

Just before Secretary Marshall returned from his special mission to China at the end of 1946, Senator Vandenberg made this charge against the Administration in a

speech in Cleveland. Last November, Governor Dewey also called for a China aid program, and so did former President Herbert Hoover.

Secretary Marshall himself said before the present session of Congress opened that "we should extend to the (Chinese) Government certain aid and assistance," and ever since then the Republicans have been asking where the aid program was.

Unlike most disputes over the appropriation of funds, however, it is the Administration in this case that has been counselling caution about "throwing dollars down the drain," and prominent Republicans who have been arguing for larger appropriations.

Such is the need for general political support for the European Recovery Program, however, that the China program has been put forward, even though it is feared that many of the supplies for it may come out of the allocations originally planned for Europe.

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Ciudad Trujillo is slated to be the Monte Carlo of the West Indies, all of which lends a certain gilded gaiety to tourism here. (El Jaragua Hotel, for instance, is one of the most plush in this Hemisphere.) Sightseeing (Columbus' tomb, etc.)—in small, horse-drawn carriages called *couches*. Excellent swimming—and superb game fishing at Samana Bay (3 hours from Trujillo).

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## 'EXPERTS' URGED TO ADMINISTER ERP

Senator Brooks Asserts That  
Neither State Department  
Nor Military Is Qualified

Special to The New York Times.  
WASHINGTON, Feb. 4.—Urging that any aid granted to foreign countries under the European Recovery Program be administered by an organization of experts, Senator C. Wayland Brooks, Republican of Illinois, said today that to adopt "blindly" the plan would be "strange and stifle our own production until we will be too weak to save them or ourselves."

Neither the State Department nor the military is equipped or qualified to handle the program, Senator Brooks asserted before the sixth Conference of American Small Business Organizations at a luncheon meeting.

"Whatever we give these countries should be administered to create work and production by a separate organization manned by American experts now employed in American labor, agriculture and industry, and not by political hangers-on in government departments or bureaus," he added.

He told more than 200 delegates that unless the countries which are to benefit by the program "change their socialistic plans, unless they go to work and produce themselves, everything we provide for them will be operation rat hole."

No matter what America gives them, he added, it will mean higher prices and higher taxes, and will lower the standard of living of the average American citizen.

He pointed out that President Truman already had asked for authority to re-establish rationing and price controls.

"Make no mistake about it," he declared, "when controls, rationing and price fixing go on again, they will never come off. We still live under the New Deal Administration that has created and will create emergency after emergency that will call for ever greater Government control of the lives of free American citizens."

The Senator asserted that if America turned \$17,000,000,000 of its money over to the sixteen European countries which are scheduled to receive aid under the ERP, it will no doubt be dissipated the same as the \$3,750,000,000 given to Great Britain to help subsidize their socialistic governmental practices.

He said that America was able and wanted to help the needy countries, but that such help should be directed to produce food, coal, steel and transportation, because these were the basic products from which all other production would follow.

"We must stop subsidizing Socialist Governments abroad, whether we call it charity, economic loans, political loans, or an effort to stop communism or a guarantee of future peace," he declared.

### EISLER DECISION DELAYED

Judge Congers Hears Arguments  
in Deportation Case

After a half-hour hearing, Federal Judge Edward A. Conger reserved decision yesterday in an action brought by Gerhart Eisler to obtain his release from Ellis Island, where he has been held since his arrest Monday on a deportation warrant.

Eisler's attorney, Mrs. Carol King, who had him produced in court on a writ of habeas corpus, contested the legality of his arrest on the ground that he had been ordered excluded from this country in 1941 and was still free in 1940 bail in that case. She said the present action against him was "exactly as if you already had judgment in a proceeding and started the proceeding all over again."

United States Attorney John F. X. McGohery argued that the deportation proceeding against Eisler was legal because by extending his visa from time to time he had changed his status to that of a visitor.

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SCHIRMERS

## WISHING THE BOY SCOUTS A 'HAPPY BIRTHDAY'



Senior Girl Scout Helen Walsh of Long Island presenting a twenty-seven-pound coconut cake to Kalman Gold (left) of Brooklyn and Jimmy Demer of Manhattan, Troops of Greater New York will celebrate their thirty-eighth anniversary during the week of Feb. 6-12.

## SUPPLIES FROM AIR MISS PARATROOPS

Leader Astray, Planes Lost  
Ammunition and Rations Fall  
in 'Enemy' Territory

By HANSON W. BALDWIN

Special to The New York Times.  
PINE CAMP, N. Y., Feb. 4.—Seven Fairchild "Flying Boxcars" dropped about nine tons of food, gasoline and other supplies today to the "fighting" paratroopers of the 505th Airborne Battalion as "Exercise Snowdrop" neared its end.

The Fairchild C-52 packets were part of the 316th Troop Carrier Group of the Ninth Air Force which has been working here with the airborne soldiers in the Army's most extensive overseas airborne operations.

The "re-supply" drop was carried out despite poor visibility and snow. It followed a day of simulated combat yesterday and a bitter night spent in the snow-covered pine woods by the 505 paratroopers who parachuted yesterday into deep snow.

In actual combat the "re-supply" from the air would have been badly needed, but as the drop was actually executed, it would have served little purpose. A jump master in the leading plane tossed one of the supply bundles out of a door of the C-52 before the planes had reached the "DZ" or drop zone.

Following of False Lead  
The other planes dropped on this false lead and many tons of the supplies fell two to four miles from their objective in what was simulated enemy territory. All of the ammunition and most of the gasoline was "lost" and about one-third of the rations.

Some of the planes did not follow the "leader" and dropped their cargoes from doors and "paracan" bays over the correct area, but the "re-supply" mission, as a whole, was not entirely successful. Lt. Col. Robert H. Wienecke, commander of the 505th Battalion Combat Team, which has been training here since November, pointed out that supplies were frequently dropped in combat in the last war far outside the designated drop zones and that the "mistake" actually simulated the training by forcing the ground soldiers to scurry around for new supplies.

Suggestions were made that the C-52s, at least on long-range troop-carrying missions, ought to

carry navigators in addition to pilots and co-pilots, to assist in the positive identification of the drop zones and the exact timing of the drops.

### Cold Night in the Open

Although only a few cases of frostbite were reported, the ground troops spent an uncomfortable night in the positions they had seized yesterday afternoon. The temperature dropped to 10 to 20 degrees below zero, and most of the troops slept on pine boughs in sleeping bags under lean-to's or shelter tents.

The glimmer of small fires—supposedly prohibited by the tactical situation, but actually utilized by the troops to prevent freezing—glowed red through the snow-laden pines, and an occasional flare lit the night. Sentries and outposts silently stamped the snow to warm their feet; frozen assault rations were thawed in cans of boiling water.

Today the temperature rose to 5 to 20 above zero, but snow fell lightly. The paratroopers moved out of their positions and utilizing "snowshoes" or snow tractors, sleds, "snowshoes," skis and "shank's mare," pushed cross country four to eight miles to bivouac in an assembly area.

Tonight, the dull glow of campfires again dotted the maneuver ground. The men will move out early tomorrow to establish road blocks and to make another simulated attack. The problem will end with a critique on Friday.

## FORRESTAL SETS UP NEW AIR SERVICE

Names Kuter as Commander  
of Consolidated Air Force,  
Navy Transport Units

By HAROLD R. HINTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4.—Consolidation of the air transport systems of the Navy and the Air Force was announced today by Secretary of Defense James Forrestal. It was the first concrete step in the direction of unification of the armed forces since he took office under the new law last September.

The new agency, to be known as the Military Air Transport Service, will be under the control of the Air Force. It will operate, the announcement said, "substantially all scheduled air transport required by the armed forces and the National Military Establishment, as well as a large proportion of the non-scheduled air transport."

Mr. Forrestal also announced that Maj. Gen. Laurence S. Kuter would command the consolidated service, with Rear Admiral John P. Whitney as his deputy. General Kuter is the American representative on the International Civil Aviation Organization at Montreal and will assume his new duties March 1. Admiral Whitney will take his post at once.

In its general outlines, the program called for establishment of a system of trunk airlines, with scheduled service, to serve American military and naval establishments around the globe. That is the main function of the MATS. Its strategic value will be the preservation in peacetime of a working system of military air lift to every part of the world.

Numerous feeder lines from the trunk terminals are planned. Each of these will be operated by the agency to be served, whether it be the Navy or the Air Force.

For example, the MATS trunk line might carry Navy cargo on its scheduled runs to Hawaii. There it would be picked up by the cargo flying boats of the Navy to be delivered to the Pacific Fleet at sea. The responsibility of MATS would end with the delivery to Hawaii.

Cargo for the occupation troops in Germany might be transported by MATS to its terminal near Frankfurt. The European Air Forces, acting under the theater commander, would then distribute it to the final destinations.

Full liberty is reserved to the Navy to operate what transport is necessary, principally on a non-scheduled basis, for its administrative needs, such as the transport of personnel, and for the service of routes of sole interest to the Navy, which are not served by MATS.

In his directive Mr. Forrestal gave wide latitude to the Navy and the Air Force to work out the details of the consolidation. He ordered, however, that special consideration be given to the ability of delegating to the responsibility for developing, operating, large seaplane ports.

The instructions did not cover the supporting operations now con-

ducted by the Air Force Transport Command. They are the Airways Communications Service, the Air Rescue Service, the Air Weather Service and the Flight Service.

### Increased Efficiency Seen

There has been some integration of these facilities since the unification of the armed forces, but Mr. Forrestal expects that further consolidations and extensions of service will be effected to augment the efficiency of the MATS.

The Secretary looks for increased efficiency of air transport to be the first result of the consolidation with economy in operation as a second objective that will become apparent in a year or two.

The Air Force and the Navy maintain air transport terminals on Guam and other Pacific islands. At the National Airport, a few hundred yards from Mr. Forrestal's office, the Air Force and the Navy maintain separate terminals for handling passengers and cargo. Such obvious consolidations will be carried out in short order.

General Kuter has had considerable experience in air transport. He formerly commanded the Atlantic Division of the Air Transport Command, with headquarters at Fort Totten, N. Y.

President Truman recently nominated him as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, but Congress refused to authorize him to draw his military salary of \$15,000 a year while occupying a post which pays only \$10,000, and the appointment was dropped.

Admiral Whitney served for a time, in 1945, as Chief of Staff to Rear Admiral John Walter Reeves Jr., Director of the Naval Air Transport Service.

### BACKS MARSHALL PLAN

Propper, Bronx Democrat, Also  
Favors Adequate Armed Force

Karl Propper, Democratic nominee for Representative in the Twenty-fourth Congressional District in the Bronx, announced yesterday his "whole-hearted support" of the Marshall Plan for the economic recovery of Western Europe. The special election to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Supreme Court Justice Benjamin J. Rabin will be held on Feb. 17.

Mr. Propper also announced that he favored maintenance by the United States of an adequate military protective force, legislation to empower the President to control prices and ration necessities. He called also for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act as vicious and unfair to labor, elimination of discrimination on account of race, creed or color, and effective and immediate police measures by the United Nations to enforce its partition of Palestine.

The Bronx executive committee of the Affiliated Young Democrats necessary, announced Mr. Propper and Bernard J. McDonnell, Democratic candidate for Assemblyman in the First District, at a meeting last night in the Hotel Piccadilly. Mr. Propper will speak at a rally of the Young Democrats in this hotel tonight. Representative John W. McCord, minority leader of the house, also will be a speaker.

Every Proclaims 'Heart Week' BANCY, proclaimed Feb. 8-14 "Heart Week" and urged support of the American Heart Association's campaign for funds to educate the public on the problems of heart disease.

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Thursday, February 5, 1948

# JTA *Daily News Bulletin*

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## SENATE DECIDES TO POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF REPORT ON ENTRY OF DISPLACED PERSONS TO U.S.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Congressional action on the Stratton Bill to admit 400,000 displaced persons to the United States within four years may be postponed until after March 1st as a result of a decision by the Senate today.

The Senate unanimously agreed that the report of the Judiciary Sub-Committee on immigration and displaced persons should be taken up on March 1st instead of next Tuesday, as originally scheduled. Agreement for the postponement was given by the Senate at the request of Senator Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Judiciary Committee. A draft of the sub-committee's report was submitted only yesterday to the full committee.

## U.N. COMMISSION MAPS PLANS FOR SENDING UNIT TO PALESTINE; TAKES UP AGENCY'S CHARGES

LAKE SUCCESS, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Plans for sending an advance party to Palestine were mapped out today by the U.N. Implementation Commission following the submission yesterday of a note to Great Britain protesting the British refusal to allow the Commission to enter Palestine until two weeks before the termination of the Mandate on May 15.

The advance group may leave within ten days. It will consist of Secretariat personnel and administrative experts. An unofficial suggestion that the party may include a military expert was discounted here today. The Commission staff is expected to make its headquarters in Jerusalem.

The Commission continued today preparation of its special security report for submission to the Security Council. It is understood that the report will recommend the sending of an international police force to Palestine. The report is expected to be ready early next week.

Charges of aggression which the Jewish Agency filed yesterday against Lebanon and Syria will be taken up tomorrow by the Commission. Composition of the advance party will also be discussed tomorrow.

(In Jerusalem, David Ben-Gurion reiterated at a press conference today the demand of the Jewish Agency for the speedy establishment of a Jewish militia which, he said, should be supplied with arms and ammunition by the United Nations. Such a demand, he declared, is justified, since the British are unable to maintain law and order. The Jewish militia, he added, would be ready to maintain order in the whole of Palestine, and would guard the frontiers, if the Palestine Arabs would not be willing to establish their own militia.)

Authoritative circles in London today declared that the formal request of the Commission for an earlier entry to Palestine, submitted last night at Lake Success through the British representative at the United Nations, will be "studied carefully" when received in London. Its implications, it was emphasized, will be considered on an inter-departmental level, and, if necessary, on a Cabinet level.



BRITISH REPULSE ARAB ATTACK AT PALESTINE-SYRIA FRONTIER; CAPTURE IRAQIS AND SYRIANS

JERUSALEM, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- One Arab was killed and several wounded in a fight between British frontier troops and an Arab unit dressed in military uniform which attempted to cross from Syria into Palestine to attack Jewish settlements in the Mishmar Hayarden area. Two Iraqis and four Syrians were captured in the battle, while the others retreated into Syria.

The Jewish Agency today reiterated its demand for the immediate withdrawal of King Abdullah's Arab Legion from Palestine, following the killing last night of five Jews, including one woman, and the wounding of twenty by members of the Legion firing on a Jewish convoy near Haifa.

The convoy was attacked from the Arab Legion camp outside of Haifa after a bomb exploded in the city, killing four Arabs and wounding three yesterday. An official government statement claimed that the Legion was fired on by Jews in the convoy, and the Arabs merely returned the fire. The Jewish Agency termed the official communique an "utter fabrication."

Three Jews were killed today when they repulsed an Arab attack on Migdal Zedek quarries, near Petach Tikvah. Another Jew was shot and killed by British soldiers at the Haifa port allegedly for refusing to be searched. The victim was a worker at Haifa harbor. Haim Weinberg, one of the Jews injured during the explosion this week of the building where the offices of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the Palestine Post were located, died today. He recently arrived here from Russia and participated in guerilla warfare against the German Army during the war.

Attacks on Convoys in Various Parts of Palestine Continue

Six Jews were wounded today when an armored bus in which they were traveling to Haifa was ambushed in the Khalisa quarter and raked with gunfire, it was officially reported, while seven Jews were wounded this afternoon when a Jewish convoy en route to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv was attacked near Babelwad. One Jew was wounded by Arabs in Tiberias.

British troops, retaliating for the killing of a British soldier last night at the Manshieh quarter, on the Tel Aviv-Jaffa border, today demolished one Arab and one Jewish house since they were "not certain whence the fatal shot was fired." Meanwhile, Arabs this morning blew up a Jewish house in the Manshieh quarter and also destroyed a section of the railway line between Athlit and Zichron Jacob.

The attack which Sternists carried out last night on three British policemen in Rehovoth - killing two of them and seriously wounding the third -- was made in reprisal for the killing of a member of the Stern Group a fortnight ago by the police, and not in revenge for the explosion of the Palestine Post building which the Sternists attributed to fascist members of British police units, it was revealed today.

Jaffa Customs guards today seized five boxes containing 100 pistols and 20,000 rounds of ammunition addressed to an Arab in Jaffa. The contraband was smuggled in aboard the S.S. Peksah. Customs officials said that six of the pistols are "missing."

The official casualty list for the month of January, released today, said that 160 Jews, 222 Arabs, 19 British soldiers and police and 19 other civilians were killed. In addition, 317 Jews were wounded, as were 507 Arabs and 71 Britons. The Jewish casualty figures include civilians and settlement police while the Arab totals include civilians, police and one member of the Transjordan Frontier Force.



WEIZMANN CONFIDENT U.S. WILL "PLAY ITS FULL PART" IN IMPLEMENTING PARTITION DECISION

NEW YORK, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Confidence that the United States, as a member of the United Nations, will "play its full part" in the implementation of the Palestine partition decision of the U.N. General Assembly, was expressed here today by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, leader of the world Zionist movement, upon his arrival in New York at the urgent request of the Jewish Agency.

In a statement issued following his landing from the "Queen Mary," Dr. Weizmann warned that "unless due preparations are made for Jewish defense, the Jewish population of Palestine will be exposed to grave danger when the Mandate is terminated." He appealed to Britain to fulfill its promise of "loyal acceptance" of the U.N. partition decision, and emphasized that when the Jewish State is established, it will find means to cooperate harmoniously with the Arabs.

"The purpose of my visit," he said, "is to do whatever lies in my power to help clarify the problems which the United Nations faces in carrying out the resolutions adopted at the General Assembly on the future of Palestine. I am well aware that the implementation of this project raises many difficulties, but these difficulties are as nothing compared with the dangers which would arise if the United Nations policy were to be altered by force. If that were to happen, which I do not believe, one result would be the discredit and decline of the United Nations and a grave blow to the very idea of international authority. Another result would be the prolongation of conflict in Palestine.

"I am confident," Dr. Weizmann continued, "that the United Nations, and especially those states which sponsored the United Nations resolution, cannot allow these consequences to come about. For that reason, I have no doubt that the United Nations, with the support of the United States Government and other governments concerned, will find the means of overcoming the difficulties which have been raised through a violent attempt to overthrow a just and lawful international decision."

Paying tribute to the "steadfast courage" of Palestine Jewry and expressing the hope that he will soon be in Palestine, the Zionist leader said: "The Jews of Palestine have a right to expect that the civilized world which has endorsed their title to national independence, will not leave them in the lurch, in the face of a murderous attack which is being openly prepared against them by forces of extremism in the Arab world. I am convinced that once the Jewish state is established, it will find means to cooperate harmoniously with the Arabs. The urgent task now is to convince Arab opinion by tangible facts that the Jewish state cannot be prevented from coming into existence. Least of all can this be prevented by methods which the United Nations Charter forbids. Anything that any of us can do to defend the rights of Palestine Jews, including their right of effective self-defense, will be no more than they merit, as they stand almost alone in defense of United Nations prestige."

MARSHALL SAYS 150 COMMUNISTS "INFILTRATED" JEWISH REFUGEE SHIPS; SOURCE OF DATA NOT CLEAR

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Secretary of State Marshall said today that the State Department has information that between 150 and 200 Communists were among the 15,000 Jewish immigrants on the Pan York and Pan Crescent.

Asked at his weekly press conference whether the information came from the British Government or was independently secured by the State Department, Marshall replied he was unable to answer, since the information was merely handed him on a typewritten sheet with no indication as to its source. He said he would inquire into the source, however.

Later, M. J. McDermott, special assistant on press relations to Marshall, said "The Department has thus far received only preliminary reports from the British Government with regard to Jewish refugees on the Pan York and Pan Crescent. These refugees are now on Cyprus. Most of these refugees are Rumanian Jews. The incomplete character of the preliminary reports does not warrant further comment at this time."



17 SHIPS CARRYING VISALESS JEWS FLUDED BRITISH BLOCKADE SINCE V-E DAY; 40 OTHERS FAILED

LONDON, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Seventeen ships carrying visaless Jewish immigrants to Palestine broke the British blockade of Palestine since V-E Day and landed their passengers, it was disclosed today during a debate on Palestine in the House of Commons. A total of 57 ships carrying "illegal" immigrants attempted to break the blockade, but of these 40 were intercepted by the British authorities, it was revealed.

Earlier, Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech-Jones, in response to a demand by B. Janner, Laborite, that Britain do something effective to stop the invasion of Palestine from Transjordan which "is a complete transgression against the U.N. Charter," said that it is exceedingly difficult to guard all of Palestine's frontiers. Janner did not receive an answer when he proposed that Britain end the sending of funds to Transjordan and other Arab countries which, he said, are using them for equipping military forces to attack Palestine.

Simultaneous with the disclosure of the number of Jewish ships which have broken the British blockade of Palestine, Creech-Jones announced that the cost of running the Cyprus detention camps, from their inception until November, 1947, had reached \$10,000,000, which the Palestine Government was paying. Janner interrupted at this point to ask if the "Colonial Secretary will allow those poor devils to go to Palestine where they won't cost anybody anything."

Creech-Jones also revealed that the British Government and the U.N. Implementation Commission were conferring on the subject of closing down the Cyprus camps and transferring the more than 31,000 Jewish internees now on the island to Palestine.

In reply to a query, Defense Minister Alexander said today in Commons that, despite its embargo on the shipment of arms to Jews and Arabs in Palestine, the British Government will continue to send arms to Arab states. The British will do so "under existing contracts which have been undertaken as a result of our treaty obligations to certain Arab governments," he said, adding that the British have "no reason to suppose that the material supplied by them under such contracts will be used in Palestine." He also said that plans for the military and administrative withdrawal of Britain from Palestine have not been altered.

Asked why British authorities sold a number of planes to the Jews, Alexander said the planes were demilitarized and in unserviceable condition, but admitted they could be adapted to military use. He stated that steps have been taken to halt all such sales "so long as there is danger of civil war" in Palestine. The same precaution, he said, was being taken with respect to other war-like material.

SENATE HEARS CRITICISM OF U.S. POLICY ON PALESTINE; LIFTING OF EMBARGO IS ASKED

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Criticism of the State Department's "mixture of unbecoming timidity toward the Arabs and thinly-disguised disapproval towards the Jews," was voiced in the Senate today by Sen. James Murray of Montana. The Senator declared that the imposition of the embargo on shipment of arms to the Jews in Palestine was a step in the direction of "hindering rather than implementing" the U.N. partition decision.

Sen. Murray saluted "the brave American boys of Jewish parentage" who have thrown themselves into the fight in Palestine. He accused the United States Government of "unfriendly demonstrations" in carrying out official policies with reference to Palestine.

TIME BOMB EXPLODES IN SANTIAGO JEWISH CENTER; NO CASUALTIES REPORTED

SANTIAGO, Chile, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- A time bomb exploded early today inside the Israelite Club in the center of Santiago, causing damage but no casualties.



U.S. COMMANDER'S VIOLATION OF REGULATIONS LED TO KILLING OF JEWISH DP, I.R.O. CHARGES

MUNICH, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- The death of a displaced Jew in the U.S. Army raid on the Heidenheim DP camp last week was described today by Paul Edwards, director of the International Refugee Organization in the American zone in Germany, as "completely unnecessary."

"The local Army commander failed to use the proper, prescribed channels before entering the camp, which require an I.R.O. official to accompany troops raiding a camp," Edwards said. "Furthermore, this is the first time that raiding troops used fixed bayonets against unarmed people. As far as I am concerned, the only guilty party in the entire incident is the officer responsible for the staging of the raid," he said.

MORE THAN 3,000 JEWISH DP'S AT LECHFELD TURN OUT TO WELCOME U.J.A. DELEGATION

MUNICH, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- More than 3,000 displaced Jews from the Lechfeld DP camp, near here, turned out today to welcome the United Jewish Appeal delegates touring Europe and Palestine to study at first-hand the requirements of the Jews in Europe and the Jewish state in Palestine.

Earlier, the Jews in the Landsberg camp told the 26 American Jewish communal leaders comprising the delegation: "You have helped us splendidly with material means, now you must help us get out speedily."

The delegates expressed admiration of the neatly-kept quarters in the Lechfeld camp, as well as for the good spirits of the refugees and later toured several vocational retraining projects. A banquet in honor of the delegates was held last night by the Jewish Central Committee of Germany.

At a press conference today Irving Rhodes, head of the delegation, declared that the Jewish displaced persons in Europe must be helped to emigrate and all possible aid must be provided for them while they are still in the DP camps.

Speaking in behalf of the entire delegation, Rhodes, who is publisher of the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle in Milwaukee, said that American Jewry was confident that it would meet the U.J.A. 1948 quota of \$250,000,000 despite the fact that the Jewish community in the United States had already raised \$300,000,000 for the relief of the Jewish survivors and the upbuilding of the Jewish state. Denying that Communism was an issue in the problems of the Jewish DP's, Rhodes said that most of the displaced Jews would not have left Soviet-dominated countries if they were communists.

POLISH JEWS BUILDING PLACE FOR THEMSELVES IN COUNTRY'S ECONOMY, W.J.C. LEADER REPORTS

LONDON, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Many of the Jews of Poland have succeeded in finding a place for themselves within the country's new economic set-up, Dr. Noah Barou, World Jewish Congress leader who just returned from a trip to Poland, told a press conference here today.

He reported that the Jews have established efficiently-operated cooperatives, particularly in the western districts of the country which were obtained from Germany after the war. He said that there was still a strong inclination among the Jews to immigrate to Palestine, but that this sentiment was chiefly concentrated among Jews living in areas where their families had been slaughtered by the Nazis.

DR. ERNST WOLFF NAMED HEAD OF GERMAN SUPREME COURT IN BRITISH ZONE

LONDON, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Dr. Ernst Wolff, formerly president of the Berlin Bar Association who has been living in England since 1938, has been appointed president of the German Supreme Court in Cologne in the British zone, it was announced here today.



JEWISH WAR VETERANS READY TO SEND EXPERTS TO PALESTINE TO AID IN FIGHT FOR JEWISH STATE

NEW YORK, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- A list of expert technicians who will be available to leave for Palestine at a moment's notice is being prepared by the Jewish War Veterans, it was announced today. The list consists of highly-skilled persons who will proceed to Palestine to aid in the fight for the Jewish state if they are summoned by the Jewish community of Palestine.

At the same time it was announced that the J.W.V.'s national commander, Col. Julius Klein, and executive director, Col. Charles Schottland, will leave shortly for a visit to Palestine to determine what American Jewish veterans can do to aid in the establishment of the Jewish state.

BRITISH SCIENTIST SAYS JEWS WANT TO LEAVE PALESTINE; ATTACKS U.N. PARTITION DECISION

MONTREAL, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- "Dirty international politics" rather than local issues were the deciding factors in the United Nations decision to partition Palestine, Prof. F.E. Jessop, British philosopher and psychologist, charged here in an address before the local branch of the Royal Empire Society.

Prof. Jessop spent several years in the Middle East as an advisor to the British Government. He said that "like almost every Englishman who has lived there," he came back with "almost no sympathy for the Jewish cause." Declaring that many Jews who had fled to Palestine because of Nazi persecution had no political interests there, Jessop said they desired nothing more now than to get out of Palestine, "but dare not say so."

ARAB PURCHASING MISSION IN ARGENTINA REPORTED BUYING ARMS FOR PALESTINE ARABS

BUENOS AIRES, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- Reports that an Arab purchasing mission which came to Argentina last September to buy arms for Arab countries is actually shipping arms to Arab groups in Palestine are circulating in Jewish quarters here. The reports say that the transactions are being conducted through private firms here with the full knowledge and sanction of Argentine authorities.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN ADOPTS \$470,000 BUDGET FOR 1948; WILL EXPAND PROGRAM

NEW YORK, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- The largest annual budget in the history of the National Council of Jewish Women--providing for expanded overseas and community service programs--has been approved for the current year by the board of directors, it was announced today by Mrs. Joseph M. Welt, national president.

Totaling \$470,494, the current budget represents an increase of \$50,000 over the 1947 appropriation. The 1948 budget allocates \$197,941 to the overseas service program and provides \$166,460 for community service. The increased allocation for services in this country will provide for expanded programs in social legislation, international relations for peace, contemporary Jewish affairs, social welfare and service to foreign born.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES MAPS PLANS FOR COMBATTING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

NEW YORK, Feb. 4. (JTA) -- A program for "eliminating the pattern of segregation and discrimination based on racial or cultural differences, and developing fellowship and understanding between church leaders and groups across racial lines," was mapped by the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, at its 26th annual meeting held here this week.



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U.N. PALESTINE COMMISSION ADVISES JEWISH AGENCY TO APPEAL TO SECURITY COUNCIL

LAKE SUCCESS, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- The U.N. Palestine Commission, after discussing the charges of aggression brought by the Jewish Agency against Syria and Lebanon, today decided to incorporate the charges in its special report on the Palestine security situation which is now being prepared for submission to the Security Council. At the same time, the Commission advised the Agency to file its charges directly with the Security Council. This can be done through the U.N. Secretary-General.

The Commission today received British official confirmation that Palestine has been invaded three times by well-organized Arab military units from Syria and Lebanon. Complete data on the projected demobilization of the Transjordan Frontier Force in Palestine was also submitted to the Commission by the British.

On the request of the British Government, the Commission decided to send a representative to London to discuss in detail the acute food situation which is developing in Palestine as a result of Arab violence. The representative will probably be a United Nations food expert, and not a member of the Commission.

The Commission today received a cable from the Jewish Community Council of Haifa asking for immediate U.N. action to ensure the removal of the Arab Legion from Jewish areas of Palestine. The appeal emphasized that the Jews in Haifa are "outraged by the murder of Jewish passengers of buses passing the Arab Legion camp." The Legion is a Transjordan military unit used by the British in Palestine. Five Jews were killed and twenty wounded this week in a second attack by the Legion on passing Jewish buses.

Meanwhile, a Commission spokesman announced that it had received a message from the Government Wartime Department Employees in Palestine offering the services of its 3,000 members to the Commission when it takes over the administration of Palestine. The organization is composed of Arabs and Jews who have been working for the government since the war broke out.

Tomorrow the Commission will hear a report from Vicente J. Francisco, Philippine delegate, on his negotiations with British representatives regarding the Commission's recommendation that a Jewish militia be established in Palestine. In the meantime, the Commission was advised by the British Government that an investigation has been started of Haganah charges that Lebanese officers were digging entrenchments in Palestine territory for guns emplacements.

BRITISH POLICEMEN BLASTED OFFICES OF J.T.A. AND PALESTINE POST, HAGANAH ESTABLISHES

JERUSALEM, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- The Haganah announced tonight that it had completed an investigation which established that British police officers in Jerusalem were responsible for the bombing last Sunday night of the building in which were located the Jerusalem bureau of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the English-language Palestine Post. The names of the Britons involved and the license numbers of the vehicles they used in the operation were known to the Jewish militia, the announcement said.



38 JEWS ARRESTED IN NORTHERN PALESTINE FOLLOWING BATTLE BETWEEN BRITISH AND ARABS

JERUSALEM, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- Thirty-eight Jews were arrested and their arms confiscated last night and this morning following a pitched battle between British troops and an invading party of Arabs from Syria. Meanwhile, reports received here indicated that Fawzi el Kaukaji, Arab guerrilla leader, will arrive in Palestine sometime today at the head of 1,000 Arab fighters.

The 38 Jews were arrested near Metullah and the colony of Ayeleth Hashahar. It was revealed that at least 12 Arabs, and possibly more, were killed in yesterday's engagements and that six prisoners, including a German and a Syrian army sergeant, were taken by the British. The German is said to have been segregated for questioning. A continuous curfew from 8 a.m. today has been proclaimed in Tiberias, the northern sector of Palestine which is close to Syria.

One Jew was killed and two were wounded this morning in a renewal of yesterday's heavy sniping activity on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem border. In addition, one Jewish policeman was killed and several others wounded when a large gang of Arabs attacked a Jewish police station in the border area. The attackers suffered many casualties before they were beaten off.

A unit of Sternists invaded the Manshieh quarter of Jaffa, which lies next to Tel Aviv, and blew up five Arab homes. While they were making their way back to Tel Aviv through "no man's land," they met a detachment of British policemen with whom they exchanged shots, but no one was hit. All telephone and teleprinter communications between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem was halted last night when several lines were cut by unidentified persons.

Jews Repulse Renewed Arab Attack on Galilean Settlement

Four Arabs were killed and several were wounded on a road between Gaza and Beersheba when they were fired upon by a group of men in a speeding car. A Jewish settlement policeman was wounded when attacked by Arabs on a road west of Jerusalem, while at Ein Zeitim Arabs have once again attacked the Galilean settlement which has repulsed at least half-a-dozen raids within the past few weeks. In Jerusalem Arabs blew up a Jewish-owned house, wounded a British soldier and stole a tommygun from a second trooper. They also blew up a car in a Jewish funeral cortege, but no one was injured.

Three carloads of sugar were stolen by Arab bandits from a train which they held up near Qalqilia. Eight tank trucks were hijacked by Arab gunmen near Gaza this afternoon, but two have since been recovered.

British military headquarters announced that any soldier who surrenders his arms to anybody without fighting or who is not wounded in any action during which he loses his weapons will be court martialled. A Palestine Government spokesman told newsmen that the cost of the British evacuation of Palestine would come to about \$2,000,000 and that the expenses would be borne by the Palestine treasury.

A Jewish Agency spokesman today told a press conference that recent reports indicate that arms supplied by the British to Arab states neighboring on Palestine are being smuggled to Arab guerrillas in Palestine in increasingly large quantities. He also reported that the Agency has concluded its investigation of the blasting of the building housing the Jerusalem office of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the Palestine Post and has handed its report over to the authorities. Meanwhile, the Arab Higher Committee has protested to High Commissioner Sir Alan G. Cunningham against the searching of Arab villages and the confiscation of Arab weapons.

The World Mizrachi Central Committee has called a worldwide Mizrachi conference to be opened in Tel Aviv February 29. The Palestine Immigration Department has issued instructions to British consulates in 30 countries to issue visas for delegates to the parley, which is expected to last ten days.



U.S. CHARGED WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR PALESTINE CRISIS; CHANGE OF POLICY URGED

NEW YORK, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- American inactivity with regard to the implementation of the United Nations decision to partition Palestine is largely responsible for the development of the crisis in Palestine and in the Middle East, Mayor William O'Dwyer charged tonight addressing a mass demonstration here protesting the refusal of the United States to help the Jews of Palestine arm themselves for defense against Arab attacks.

Other speakers at the demonstration, which was held at Manhattan Center, included Sen. Charles W. Tobey, chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, Dr. Emanuel Neumann and Dr. Israel Goldstein. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver was also scheduled to speak, but it was not certain whether his plane from Palestine would land at a New York airfield in time for him to attend the meeting.

The major demands of all speakers included requests that this government lift the arms embargo on Palestine and that the U.N. send an international police force to Palestine. Sen. Tobey also called for "a stern warning" to the Arab states to end their sabotage of the U.N. decision.

Dr. Israel Goldstein emphasized that the Jews of America "fail to understand how the United States Government, which so vigorously favored partition on November 29, should now suddenly be seized with a fit of neutrality." He urged the American Government "to take the leadership and initiative in working out a workable plan for an international police force."

U.S. ASKS PROTECTION FOR STATELESS PERSONS AT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL SESSION

LAKE SUCCESS, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- Immediate measures for the protection of the rights of stateless persons, backed by a permanent international treaty, was proposed by the United States delegate to the U.N. Economic and Social Council.

The American statement, made by Leroy Stinebower, advisor to the American delegation, was introduced in the Council debate amidst general acclaim of the principles enunciated in a draft Declaration of Human Rights. The declaration, with a supplementary one for an international treaty, was presented by the Human Rights Commission. The Council cannot give full and immediate consideration to the work, until member governments, now being polled, have submitted their observations on the documents.

Even at this tentative stage of consideration there appeared today a great degree of unanimity for the adoption of an International Bill of Rights. At the same time, today's round-table observations indicated sharpening lines of difference regarding implementation.

The first clash came when the U.S. delegate asked that complaints of violations of the bill should be kept secret and collected merely as examples of violation. The Council, he said, "was not a court of redress." The Soviet representative urged that machinery be set up to uncover discrimination against minorities "as practiced in certain countries."

MINISTER OF INTERIOR PROMISES INQUIRY INTO BOMBING OF SANTIAGO JEWISH CENTER

SANTIAGO Chile, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- Minister of Interior Emanuel Holger Torres today promised Manuel Goren, Chilean Jewish leader, that his office would begin an immediate inquiry into yesterday's bombing of the Israelite Club here. Local police officials announced that they had already launched an investigation.



INDUSTRIAL MACHINES STOLEN BY NAZIS WILL BE RETURNED TO JEWS BY POLISH GOVERNMENT

WARSAW, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- Industrial machines stolen by the Germans from Jewish concerns in Poland during the Nazi occupation will be returned to the Jews in Poland by the Ministry of Industry, it was announced here by the Central Jewish Committee.

Consisting chiefly of textile and weaving machines, the loot will be assigned to Jewish workers cooperatives in Poland. A spokesman for the Jewish Committee said that the return of the machines will strengthen the economic position of the Jews in the country.

A letter proving that the Nazis ordered the annihilation of the Warsaw Ghetto prior to the April insurrection was made public by a Polish commission investigating wartime German documents. Previously, the Germans maintained that the ghetto was destroyed only after the revolt began.

Discovered in the Berlin central document office, the letter was addressed to the top Gestapo official in Cracow and was signed by Heinrich Himmler, head of the Gestapo in Germany. It was dated Feb. 16, 1943. The order specified that the ghetto was to be destroyed without evacuating any of its inhabitants.

In another letter, also signed by Himmler, the Germans were ordered to sort and make full use of all the building materials which the ghetto would yield after its destruction. Another report disclosed that the Germans salvaged more than 34,000,000 bricks from these buildings.

1,000TH BABY BORN AT BELSEN DP CAMP; BIRTH RATE NOW AVERAGES ONE PER DAY

LONDON, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- The birth of the 1,000th baby at the Belsen DP camp, in the British zone of Germany, was celebrated today by the camp's inmates, it was announced here by the Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad. The birth rate in the Jewish camp now averages one per day, the Committee said, while the infant mortality rate is lower than that in British and German hospitals.

Elementary and high school examinations at camp schools were given this week for the first time since the camp was opened as a DP center. A special assembly at which students were "graduated" climaxed the examination period.

HUNGARIAN GOVT. DECORATES J.D.C. DIRECTOR; PREMIER LAUDS AID GIVEN BY AMERICAN JEWRY

BUDAPEST, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- Acting on behalf of President Zoltan Tildy, Hungarian Premier Lajos Dinnyes today decorated Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, European director of the Joint Distribution Committee, with the Order of Cross and Star, Second Class, which until now has been bestowed only upon foreign ministers.

The ceremony took place in the Premier's office in the presence of Hungarian Jewish leaders. Dinnyes expressed his gratitude to American Jewry for the aid given to the People of Hungary through the J.D.C. during "most difficult times," emphasizing however, that "not all wounds have yet been healed." Dr. Schwartz, in his response, stated that the J.D.C. will continue to help the Jews in Hungary to become self-supporting.

ARMY'S JEWISH ADVISOR VISITS AUSTRIA; CONFERS WITH U.S. COMMANDER, JEWISH LEADERS

VIENNA, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- William Haber, Jewish advisor to the American command staff of Germany and Austria, today left for Germany after a one-day visit here during which he discussed the general Jewish DP picture with American Commander Lt. Gen. Geoffrey Keyes and leaders of Jewish central organizations and obtained first-hand accounts of the problems of the refugees.



U.J.A. DELEGATION FLIES TO MILAN TO STUDY CONDITIONS AT ITALIAN DP CAMPS FOR JEWS

MUNICH, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- The United Jewish Appeal delegation touring Europe and Palestine to study the needs of the displaced Jews and the new Jewish state left for Milan today by plane on the first leg of its journey through Italian DP camps for Jews.

Yesterday, the American Jewish communal leaders visited the Dachau death camp where they viewed with evident horror the gas chambers, crematoria and mass burial fields where the last remains of hundreds of thousands of Jews rest. They attended a special memorial service at the camp. Later, they proceeded to the nearby Indersdorf Children's Center where some 200 Jewish children are attending school in a former monastery.

DP CAMPS BUSTLE WITH ACTIVITY AS JEWS PREPARE FOR NEW LANDS, J.D.C. DIRECTOR REPORTS

NEW YORK, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- Despite deteriorating living conditions and increasing need, the displaced Jews of Germany are making a tremendous effort to transform the DP camps into areas of bustling activity as they prepare for useful careers and citizenship in Palestine, the U.S. and other lands, Charles Passman, acting director of the Joint Distribution Committee in the U.S. zone of Germany, declared at a press conference here today upon his return from the Continent.

"The days of DP life today are crowded to near capacity with scores of JDC-sponsored activities designed to prepare these homeless Jews for life outside the camps," Passman stated. He reported that the Jewish DP's are showing an "amazing revival of spirit and vitality" and are utilizing every moment in preparation for the new life they hope to lead when they leave their present abnormal surroundings for the lands of their eventual settlement.

"The enthusiastic participation of the DP's of Germany in these projects is a heartening demonstration of their faith in the future," the JDC official asserted. "Encouraged by the United Nations decision on Palestine and by the prospects of passage of the Stratton Bill in the United States, they are bending every effort towards improving themselves and their skills so that they can become self-supporting, self-respecting persons once again."

The outstanding new feature of life in the camps is the establishment of work projects in which 5,000 Jewish DP's, working with JDC-provided tools and raw materials, are entering into the production of needed goods. Sixty-nine production units are already in operation, including clothing plants, woodworking and metal-work shops and shoe factories, he reported. The overcoat workshops in the work projects manufacture 7,000 garments monthly, Passman said. He reported that the products manufactured in the projects are used by the DP's themselves and that workers enrolled in the program receive pay in the form of "JDC scrip," redeemable in specially-stocked JDC canteens for various supplies.

Valuable camp functions are also performed by some 17,000 Jewish men and women enrolled in service projects in the camps. Passman reported that DP's serve as teachers, physicians, cooks, firemen, policemen, sanitation workers and administrators. These workers also receive pay for their services in scrip.

The JDC official warned, however, that the provision of basic JDC aid--food, clothing, medicines and welfare services--is more important this year than ever before "in order that the DP's retain their confidence in the future and gain health and strength as they prepare for a new life." He pointed out that fully 85 percent of the 130,000 Jewish DP's in the American zone of Germany are still dependent on JDC supplies, especially since the sharp reduction of total quantity of food provided by the International Refugee Organization to the DP's. "JDC food supplies today form the major part of the daily rations of the Jewish DP's," he declared.



UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS ADOPTS 10-POINT PROGRAM ON SOCIAL ACTION

CHICAGO, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- A ten-point program on social action, rooted in the precepts of Prophetic Judaism, was adopted here by the Joint Commission on Social Action of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of American Rabbis which met at the Standard Club today.

The program envisages extensive education within and without the Liberal Jewish fold in addition to collaboration with kindred agencies of other religious denominations and secular groups to the end that "international peace, social justice and international harmony" may be furthered most effectively. It provides for the following activities:

1. To relate the teachings of the prophets and the sages of Israel to the problems of contemporary society.
2. To prepare and issue public statements indicating how the principles of Judaism give guidance to the solution of social, economic, international and inter-racial concerns.
3. To hold periodic institutes in various sections of the country discussing the relationship of Judaism to the problems of our society, and formulating platforms to guide Jews.
4. To encourage researches by scholars on moral solutions to current problems and to publish their findings.
5. To carry on through the congregations, their auxiliary organizations and schools, a campaign of education on the social action made mandatory by the Jewish religious tradition.
6. To inform the Jewish and the general public on the social message of Judaism.
7. To cooperate with social action committees of other religious denominations and also with secular groups promoting international peace, social justice and inter-racial harmony.
8. To present the attitude of Judaism before legislative bodies when they are considering laws involving the problems of justice, peace and race.
9. To rally the support of American Jews for legislation and other measures which will promote international peace, inter-racial good will and social justice for all.
10. To make Jewish communities and congregations sensitive to the social message of the Jewish faith, to the end that the congregations and their members will be inspired by Judaism to become active workers in all causes that will shape our society in accordance with the divine pattern of justice, brotherhood and peace.

SIR LEON SIMON, CHAIRMAN OF HEBREW UNIVERSITY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, ARRIVES IN U.S.

NEW YORK, Feb. 5. (JTA) -- Sir Leon Simon, chairman of the executive council of the Hebrew University, has arrived in this country from Palestine on a mission for the University, it was announced here today by the American Friends of the University.

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LEAVING FOR BOSTON BUT SHALL TRY CONTACT YOU BEFOREHAND  
IF POSSIBLE WELCOME HOME TERRIBLY SORRY YOU UNABLE  
TO GET TO LAST NIGHTS MEETING IN TIME ALL OF US GRATEFUL  
THAT YOU ARE HERE TO LEAD STRUGGLE FOR JEWISH STATE  
HOPE YOU ARE FEELING OKAY GOOD SABATH=  
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN.



MEMORANDUM

To, Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date

February 6, 1948

From Abe Tuvim

We wired you today as follows:

"YOUR PRESENT EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MODIFICATION OF ARMS EMBARGO FOR YISHUV AND FORTHRIGHT AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ESTABLISHMENT JEWISH MILITIA AND INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE MUST BE STEPPED-UP CONSIDERABLY OTHERWISE SITUATION IN WASHINGTON WILL NOT BE MEASURABLY IMPROVED. MESSAGES TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS MUST POUR IN FROM THE COUNTRY IN OVERWHELMING NUMBERS. WE CALL UPON YOU TO EXERT EVERY INFLUENCE AT YOUR COMMAND TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE. PLEASE INFORM US IMMEDIATELY NAMES YOUR DELEGATION TO EMERGENCY COUNCIL CONFERENCE WASHINGTON FEBRUARY FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH UNLESS YOU HAVE DONE SO. ORGANIZED ZIONISM SHOULD BE 100% REPRESENTED. REGARDS."

ABE TUVIM

It is of the utmost urgency that you take all measures to carry out the above directive. At no time has there been a greater need for the collective voice of America to be heard on the Palestine issue. We must bend every effort to prevent people in high places in our Government from scuttling the UN decision on Palestine. Every friendly Christian; civic, cultural and fraternal organizations; synagogues, temples and churches; and above all, the entire Jewish community must be involved in this effort.

\* \* \*

We are attaching a memorandum entitled, "Palestine Partition and United States Security" which will bring you up to date on some of the issues confronting us and which we hope you can use to good advantage in contacting the press, radio, organizations and individuals.

Kindest regards.

AT:RB  
Enc.



## PALESTINE PARTITION AND UNITED STATES SECURITY

In the two months which have passed since the adoption of the Partition Plan for Palestine by the United Nations General Assembly, the irreconcilable opponents of the Plan have been conducting a vigorous campaign aimed at the annulment of the UN decision. With inventiveness of mind worthy of a better cause, they have marshalled conceivable and sometimes quite inconceivable arguments. As soon as any one argument is refuted by hard facts and actual developments, a new reason is put forward or a new rumor spread. What all these arguments and rumors have in common is one aim: to upset the UN decision and prevent the materialization of Palestine Partition.

Several already discarded arguments of the anti-partitionists ought to be mentioned here before considering the important aspect with which we are here concerned. Among these exploded arguments the following are most prominent:

1. The threat that if the United States supported the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and the United Nations approved the Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, the Arab States in the Middle East would align themselves with Soviet Russia.

2. The threat that King Ibn Saud would cancel the American oil concession in his domain in retaliation for American support of Palestine Partition.

The facts are that the United States of America did officially support the UNSCOP plan for Palestine Partition and the United Nations did approve of that plan, yet this did not lead to an alignment between the Arab States and the Soviet Union. Nor has King Ibn Saud cancelled American oil concessions; he told an American newspaperman in December that reports that his government was prepared to cancel American oil concessions are "untrue and irresponsible". Now that these two arguments can no longer be used to combat the Partition Plan, we find the UN decision being assiduously described as a threat to American security in this period of dangerous international friction. The unrest caused by the Partition Plan, the argument runs, may have an adverse effect on the flow of Middle Eastern oil; lose America the friendship of Arab and Moslem everywhere; and make the establishment of a Jewish State so difficult that it had better be scrapped before it is too late.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT OIL

Middle East oil, described as vital to our security, particularly in case of war, figures very prominently in the arguments against Palestine Partition. The validity of the oil argument depends on the answers to the following questions:

(a) Is there a shortage of oil in the United States, or is such a shortage likely to arise as far as our domestic requirements in peacetime are concerned?



(b) What is the relation of Middle East oil to the Marshall Plan and what part would it play in a new world war?

(c) Can the oil-producing countries in the Middle East afford to let their "black gold" stay underground undeveloped, unproduced and unmarketed? Can they dispose of their oil through some alternative to the present American-British concessions?

(d) Is there complete identity between the business interests of the big oil companies with holdings in the Middle East and the national interests of the United States?

#### DOES OIL SHORTAGE THREATEN AMERICA?

Many authorities on oil can be quoted to the effect that the United States possesses enough domestic oil resources and has access to enough oil deposits in geographically close areas to supply all our peacetime requirements for a long time to come. To quote one authority among many, Mr. Joseph E. Pogue, Vice-President of the Chase National Bank of New York, and member of the National Petroleum Council, addressing the Economic Club of Detroit on November 17, 1947, stated:

"...The United States will face a shortage of oil only if we create it out of a shortage of understanding and imagination... The current short supply of oil is linked to our rapid industrial expansion, but there is more smoke than fire in any interpretation of this as an indication of rapid failure of oil resources.

"...Estimates of proved underground oil reserves for the entire world now stand at 73 billion barrels, distributed as follows: In the United States, 24 billion; Caribbean Basin, 9 billion; Russia, 8 billion; Middle East, 30 billion; and the rest of the world, 2 billion.

"The oil of the Middle East is not primarily required in the United States, and no large quantities of it in the foreseeable future need come here... Most of that oil will be consumed in the Eastern hemisphere, gradually relieving the dependence of that area upon the oil of the United States and the Caribbean and increasing the availability of the latter for consumption in this country."

Mr. Pogue should know. His connections with one of America's leading banks and with the National Petroleum Council, place him in a good position to judge the requirements of our industrial expansion and the extent of our oil reserves. The figures which Mr. Pogue quotes speak for themselves. Of an estimated world total of 73 billion barrels, the United States has in its own territory and at its doorstep (Caribbean Basin) 33 billion barrels, which represents over 45% of all the oil on the globe.

By way of postscript, we should quote a significant statement which has just been made on this very subject. We refer to a Letter to the Editor by Eugene Holman, President of Standard Oil of New Jersey, published in the New York Times of February 4, 1948. We suggest that Mr. Holman's letter be



read by all those who seem to be alarmed by the prospect of an oil shortage in the United States. It states inter alia:

"...That future discoveries in the United States will be large is generally agreed. One estimate is that as much oil remains to be discovered in the land area of continental United States as has been discovered since the beginning of the industry... Thus, the nation's oil 'resources' are much larger than its 'reserves'. Clearly, we have far more than - at least several times - ten years to count on for very large-scale domestic oil production."

Mr. Holman goes on to evaluate optimistically the large quantities of petroleum to be found under offshore areas, as well as the prospects of synthetic oil production.

While the magnitude of Middle East oil resources is undeniable, the sober truth emerges, that the United States is not threatened by an oil shortage at present or in the foreseeable future, and that America does not need Middle Eastern oil for its domestic requirements.

#### MIDDLE EAST OIL AND ERP

Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, testifying before a Senate Committee, stated recently that Middle East oil is indispensable to the success of the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe. All the oil experts who deny that America is threatened by an oil shortage agree that oil for Europe must be supplied largely from the Middle East.

The petroleum reserves of Europe (located in Rumania, Austria and Poland) are comparatively small, and are now for the most part under Soviet control. If America is not to oil the Marshall Plan from domestic or Caribbean resources, Europe must get oil from elsewhere. The natural source would be the Middle East.

It is now argued that though Ibn Saud has not withdrawn the oil concession from the Arabian American Oil Company, or Iraq from the British-American-French-Dutch concession, the partition decision has already caused enough trouble to slow down the flow of oil from these concessions and to prevent the construction of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline from Saudi Arabia to the Eastern Mediterranean. This is absolutely false. Actually, the refusal of the Syrian Government to ratify its agreement with the Trans-Arabian Pipeline was due not to its opposition to Palestine Partition but to a quarrel between Syria and Lebanon as to their respective shares in the pipeline royalties. As long as there is no new world war, the oil of the Middle East, it may be safely assumed, will flow to Europe. What will happen in case of a new war, we shall try to describe below.



### MIDDLE EAST OIL IN THE EVENT OF WAR

The map will tell us what our military experts must know by heart - that Russia is the only great power whose home territory is directly adjacent to the Middle East. The United States is about 7,000 miles away. Even Great Britain has the whole length of the Mediterranean and a slice of the Atlantic to cover before its ships reach the oil on the Persian Gulf.

Experience has shown that formal ownership of oil fields, pipelines and refineries is of no account in time of war. Accessibility is the only thing that matters. The Rumanian oil fields in Ploesti were owned mainly by American and British companies, but in World War II Ploesti was accessible to the Wehrmacht and not to the Western Powers. It was Hitler who used the oil of Rumania. Similarly, for many crucial months in the last war the oil of Iran, Iraq and other Middle East countries was inaccessible to allied tankers, and American and Caribbean reserves were drawn upon disproportionately. In the first World War, the British fleet succeeded in defeating the German fleet, not because Winston Churchill had acquired 51% of the stock of the Anglo-Persian Company for the British Government, but because British control of the seas enabled the oil tankers to reach Scapa Flow from the Persian Gulf.

In sum, should there be a new world war our strategists would be prudent to realize that we should not count on the oil reserves of the Middle East.

### IS IBN SAUD FREE TO CHOOSE?

King Ibn Saud may be considered the arch-type of the potentates in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, and the questions asked here about him apply to all the others. Is Ibn Saud free to choose; is he in a position suddenly to decide to cancel the American oil concession? Is there any competitor in sight, whom he could call in to work his oil fields, after withdrawing the American concession? Or would he let the vast deposits of petroleum remain underground, unproduced and unsold?

The only sober and realistic answer to all these questions is an emphatic "no". In the present state of international relations and in the light of the financial dependency of Europe on the United States, there is no country in Western Europe whose government would encourage or permit its oil companies to take over a concession which belonged to American oil interests. Nor is there today any oil combine outside of the United States which could offer King Ibn Saud sizeable royalties, technical skill and all the equipment necessary for large-scale production, piping, refining and marketing, on a level anywhere near that of the American companies.

The only country which would feel no hesitation on political grounds if the Saudi Arabian concession were offered to it, is Soviet Russia. In this case, however, Ibn Saud would be the one to hesitate - and hesitate very



definitely. For perfectly obvious reasons, Ibn Saud would be opposed to any Soviet penetration of his domain. Moreover, financially and technically Soviet Russia would be even less advanced than any of the Western European powers. We may, therefore, safely say that King Ibn Saud and the other Arab kings and governments have no choice - unless they are prepared to forego all the benefits accruing to them from the black gold found in abundance in their domains.

Should any country with large deposits of such a crucially vital resource as oil adopt a dog in the manger policy, it is rather doubtful whether the world at large would stand for it. Were King Ibn Saud, the Shah of Iran, the Regent of Iraq or the Sheik of Kuwait suddenly to announce that he no longer wished to have his oil extracted from underground and supplied to people in need of oil, the world would not hesitate to employ means which would quickly change the minds of these Arab potentates. Nor, objectively speaking, is any of these Moslem rulers or all of them jointly, in a position - political, military or economic - to withhold from the world such vital supplies. One may, however, say with the greatest certainty that such a contingency is not likely to arise. It is so well known as to be a truism that Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Bahrein are largely dependent on their income from oil for their existence, their governmental budgets, and the comforts and luxuries of their ruling classes. Striking confirmation of the correctness of this analysis is provided by King Ibn Saud's repeated statements, both before and after the Partition decision, to the effect that he has no intention of cancelling the American concession and will in fact provide all necessary protection for its normal functioning.

#### ARAMCO'S INTEREST AND U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST

The stand adopted by the Arabian-American Oil Company on political issues in the Middle East and on Palestine Partition in particular, is simple and understandable. The only criterion which the owners of the Saudi Arabian concession apply to any Middle East issue or development is its possible effect on the company's business interests and profits. This is the narrow though natural approach of the businessman, and is understandable, particularly when one remembers that Saudi Arabian oil has already provided many millions of net profit to ARAMCO and is likely to supply many more millions.

Applying its yardstick of business and profits to the Palestine problem, ARAMCO soon arrived at the conclusion that, as far as it was concerned, Jewish need and hope for national rebirth in their historic homeland were no help and might possibly prove disturbing. Clearly, even though help to Zionism cannot cause Ibn Saud to withdraw the concession, it may put him in a bad mood and result in inconvenience. This possibility was enough to cause ARAMCO to take a hostile attitude toward Zionism.

All this is human and, therefore, understandable. But American big business behind ARAMCO went much further. Over a number of years, our policy-makers in Washington have been skillfully impressed with the idea that America's national interests are necessarily and always identical with ARAMCO's business interests. This supposed identity of interests between the American



people and the Arabian-American Oil Company, was manifestly absent when ARAMCO overcharged the American navy for petroleum supplies to the tune of many millions of dollars or when ARAMCO manipulated its affairs so as to deprive the U.S. Treasury of large sums in corporation taxes - as has been demonstrated before a Senate Committee just recently. An old anti-Zionist bias among certain officials in the Department of State was reinforced by planting ARAMCO's own men in key government positions where they could promote the company's interpretation of American national interest in the Middle East. The records of the Senate Investigation Committee show several cases of men who while in service with the State Department and the Petroleum Administration were at the same time on the payroll of ARAMCO or of one of the large oil companies controlling ARAMCO. It is needless to add that the salaries they received from the oil companies were three times as high as those paid them simultaneously by the U.S. Treasury.

It is evident that the national interests of the United States are not necessarily and automatically identical with the interests of a private business concern. The whims and preferences of Ibn Saud may be all-powerful with ARAMCO, but American foreign policy must be based on long established American principles and traditions, international commitments, the interests of world peace, the upholding of the United Nations. When the line of demarcation is drawn between American national interests and ARAMCO's interests, it becomes apparent that while the United States is interested in the development of the oil fields of Saudi Arabia, there is a limit to the price - in national honor and in stable world relations - which we should be willing to pay for it.

#### U.S.A., RUSSIA, BRITAIN AND PARTITION

American-Soviet agreement on Palestine Partition was undoubtedly a very fortunate feature in United Nations developments. The two great powers, at loggerheads on every other international issue, found a common approach to one important problem. This augured well for the United Nations, for the prospects of world peace and for adequate solution of the Palestine problem. The present effort of anti-partitionists to present this American-Soviet agreement as a devilish device of the Kremlin to cause chaos in the Middle East and make America unpopular among "the 80,000,000 Arabs" or even "350,000,000 Moslems" in the world is a blatant absurdity. Assuming that American endorsement of partition has been unpopular among Arab leaders, how can Russian backing of partition be said to have made friends for the Soviet among the same Arabs?...

Appeasement of Arab extremists has never paid. The fact of the matter is that even Great Britain - despite its determined opposition to partition and despite its very outspoken pro-Arab line of policy on the question of Palestine - cannot boast of having acquired unquestioning Arab friendship in the Middle East. The developments with regard to the new British-Iraqi Treaty prove this point. Palestine Partition had nothing at all to do with the riots in Baghdad, the dismissal of the Iraqi Cabinet, the flight of the Prime Minister and the new Iraqi Government's refusal to ratify the proposed treaty. The rioting was purely anti-British, for sentiment against Britain runs high in Iraq, though it was Britain that piloted Iraq toward early independence; sponsored Iraq for membership in the League of Nations and later in the



United Nations; promoted the Arab League; saved Iraq from Rashid Ali's Nazi putsch in 1941; trained Iraq's army and supplied its armaments.

Or let us take British-Egyptian relations. The minute the Palestine question is solved, the problem of the Sudan will again appear prominently on the international agenda. Egypt will again be up in arms against Britain, and Egypt will be supported by all the other Arab States.

Britain is no more sure of the friendship of the Arab Middle East than the United States. From either or both of the two powers the Arabs will take as much as they can get - in money, arms, military training, economic development and political support - and if a world crisis comes, they will give little or nothing in return. It was so in the first and second world wars, and it will be so if and when a new world conflagration occurs.

Among the many strange rumors spread behind the scenes, there is a new story to the effect that Great Britain and with her the Arab States may stay neutral in the event of a Russian-American War. This is of course ridiculous. America may need Middle East oil to supply Europe, but England would be completely paralyzed without the oil of Iran and Iraq, for there are no domestic oil resources in the British Isles. Greece and Turkey may be considered forward positions of American security, but for Britain they are the frontline trenches of her Empire. Should the great calamity of a new world war occur, it is safe to predict that the United States will join Great Britain in such a war and not the other way around.

#### THE "FORMIDABILITY" OF ARAB OPPOSITION

If two gunmen were to attack a citizen on Times Square in New York and beat him to death, while the policeman on the corner did nothing to defend the victim or even helped the attackers, the impression would be created that the two gunmen were very strong and the victim very weak. This elementary parable applies admirably to what is happening today in Palestine and in the Arab countries. In Syria, Iraq, Aden, Bahrein the application is quite literal. The local Arabs, with the active help of the police, massacre Jews, loot and burn Jewish property, and prevent Jewish defense. In Palestine itself, the British condone and support Arab bands, and hinder Jewish defense. What is more, while the Arabs get arms from the British, via the Arab States, the Jews are denied arms by the United States Government, which applies its embargo equally to the Arabs defying the United Nations decision and to the Jews fighting for its implementation.

In these circumstances, it is easy to create the impression that Arab opposition to partition is formidable and Jewish ability to defend the future Jewish State is questionable. It was precisely this impression that the anti-partitionists wished to create in the public mind, as an important tactic in their campaign for a reversal of the United Nations decision. If one sees through this artificially distorted picture, a different pattern of Middle Eastern realities emerges.



As far as population statistics are concerned, Arab propaganda runs wild in its exaggerations, and there are naive people among us who accept their exaggerations. There are no 80,000,000 Arabs in the Middle East. There are only about 15,000,000 Arabs and 16,000,000 Egyptians (who are not Arabs but an Arabic speaking people). Likewise, there are not 350,000,000 Moslems in the world. The grand total of Mohammed's followers in the world amounts to about 285,000,000. But the Moslem world, as a whole, is very little concerned with Palestine. Mohammedan Turkey and Mohammedan Iran, the Moslems of Soviet Russia, of China and of India are not ready to wage war on behalf of Palestine's Arabs. As for the Arab States in the Middle East, the numerical weakness, inadequate technical training and equipment of their armies are well-known. These armies cannot represent a "formidable" force, even if all of them should merge under a unified supreme command. In fact, the existing Arab armies together are numerically not stronger than the Haganah. In technical skill, adaptability to the requirements of modern warfare, spiritual strength and readiness for sacrifice, the Jews of Palestine - fighting for their lives and for their only hope of national freedom - certainly represent a much more determined and potent force than the Arabs.

Furthermore, the Jews of Palestine and of the world are united (even the Irgun and the Stern Group will submerge their differences in face of an Arab onslaught), while the criss-cross ambitions, feuds and interests of the Arab potentates and the ruling cliques of Arabia are as strong as ever. Ibn Saud and King Abdullah are still mortal enemies; so are King Ibn Saud and the Regent of Iraq. The politicians of Syria are opposed to Abdullah, fearing his Greater Syria Plan. The Christian majority of the Lebanon is opposed to its own Pan-Islamic Government, to Syria and to the Arab League. The kings of Egypt and Saudi Arabia are serious rivals in the Islamic world. King Abdullah and Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, are openly opposed to each other and compete for control over the Arabs of Palestine.

With the "policeman on Times Square" siding openly or tacitly with the gunmen, it is easy to create the impression of a formidable and united Arab opposition. In actual fact, however, no more than a few thousand mercenaries, many of them drafted from among the starving proletariat in the Arab lands outside of Palestine, have thus far been active in the Palestine disorders.

Once the Jews of Palestine have the arms and modern equipment which they need; once the United Nations has all the support it legitimately deserves in the implementation of its decision; once the Arab League knows beyond doubt that the United Nations and the great powers are determined to carry out partition, the "formidability" of Arab opposition to Palestine Partition will disappear.

February, 1948



# Predict More Cold as Snow Hits City; Navy Oil Distribution Under Way

Checks In With a Lot of Baggage



IN A SEA OF LUGGAGE sits George Mills, 9, who arrived today aboard the Ernie Pyle en route from Belfast, Ireland, to Jersey City. It was the ship's 18th, last and stormiest voyage, and 75 mile winds at times drove her backward.

By LEO M. SWAIM JR.

Light snows swept over New York today and had laid an inch-thick cover on streets this afternoon. The Weather Bureau indicated there would be another inch piled on by the time the snow gives way to clearing and colder weather in early evening.

With 8 of an inch recorded by noon, the Weather Bureau announced that thus far this season the city had had an even 50 inches of snow, more than in any complete winter since 1933-34, when the total was 53.1 inches. The record for a modern winter was 55.2, in 1922-23, but in 1892-93 77.6 inches fell. However, the Weather Bureau pointed out, this winter isn't over yet.

The 4,200,000 gallons, of which the city will receive 2,730,000 gallons, was the first consignment of the 12,600,000-gallon allotment the Navy has loaned the state and city to tide them over the current emergency. The balance of the allotment is for industrial consumption.

First allotments of domestic type oil were pumped from the Navy tanker into barges for transport up the Hudson to upstate communities.

The Navy Dept., in agreeing to loan oil to the distressed city and state, stipulated that it must be returned, not later than June 30.

Another Navy specification was that the oil be distributed on a basis of 65 per cent to the city and 35 per cent to the state. Thirty-five per cent of the 4,200,000 gallons which arrived today is 2,730,000 gallons or approximately half the amount of oil which the city's householders burn in their furnaces each day.

The Mayor's Emergency Committee on Fuel, which functions at Police Headquarters, said it had received 4,989 complaints from persons who said they had no fuel. The complaints were received during the period that

ended last midnight. In the same period, the Committee said, 5,011 persons who had been placed on the emergency list received deliveries of oil.

The Committee also announced that its pool of emergency fuel oil stocks had been depleted but that many emergency cases had been cared for by co-operating dealers participating in the pool. The Weather Bureau said today's storm belt extended eastward from Pittsburgh, Pa., southward into Virginia and northward to Hartford, Conn.

Unless some disturbances develop along the coast—a not unusual occurrence in storms of this sort—today's snow will not accumulate in any great depth, it was indicated by Weather Bureau spokesmen.

Thermometer readings will begin to fall when the storm blows out to sea, the Weather Bureau said, and they will probably reach a low of 15 degrees some time in the early morning hours. At 2 p. m. today, the temperature was 24 and tomorrow it is expected to be in the upper 20s.

The Sanitation Dept., doubly alert since the storm of Dec. 26-27, had 9,437 men on snow removal duty today, and they reported all highways, bridge and tunnel approaches open to traffic.

Subway and elevated lines were operating on schedule, the Board of Transportation announced, as were surface lines. Commuter trains on the Long Island R.R. and the New York Central reported some delays, most of them of a minor nature.

## Arabs Warn They'll Resist U.N. Force

By JOHN HOHENBERG

Chief N. Y. Post United Nations Correspondent

Lake Success, Feb. 6—The Arab Higher Committee, of which the exiled Mufti of Jerusalem is chairman, formally warned the United Nations today that it would resist with force any international police that are sent into the Holy Land.

The committee's statement, addressed to Secretary General Lie, called on the U.N. to abandon the partition of Palestine approved by the General Assembly.

United Nations delegates of various Arab League nations were caught flat-footed by the Mufti's virtual ultimatum, Faris Khuri of Syria disclosed. He said the Arab Higher Committee was for itself and we are not in our opinion of the Arab Committee.

The presumed mission of an international force which is to be sent to Palestine can only be to the Arabs, blow up their country and uproot them from it, he said.

The statement, titled "Self-Defense," said the Jews of Palestine could not attempt by the use of force or group of power to establish a Jewish state in the territory is an act of aggression which will be resisted in self-defense by force.

The statement was made public here as the U.N. Palestine Commission assembled to revise the first draft of its proposal to the Security Council for an international police force. The Council, meanwhile, was held in readiness to take up the Palestine case next week, possibly as early as Monday, depending on when the India-Pakistan debate is ended.

A British spokesman, meanwhile, also took a part in the day's developments with a statement that the U.N. only now was beginning to realize the difficulties of enforcing a "paper partition" plan without forces to replace British troops when they are withdrawn May 15. The statement was made in response to a charge by Vassily Tarasenko, Ukraine delegate to the Security Council, that the British are blocking enforcement of partition.

The Arab document, which presumably bore the approval of Haj Amin el Husseini, the exiled Mufti and wartime ally of Hitler, was signed by Isa Nakhleh, member of the Arab Higher Committee.

It charged that the General Assembly voted for partition only because of "political blackmail" by the U. S. The American government was accused of forcing the Siamese delegate to be absent, and obliging Haiti, the Philippines and Liberia to change their votes. President Oswaldo Aranha, distinguished Brazilian

The Jewish Agency has warned that the fate of the Palestinian Jewish community lies with the United States. See story on Page 20.

### The United Nations

who headed the General Assembly, was accused of bias in favor of partition.

For these reasons the Arab Higher Committee refused to agree to partition and said it would maintain its boycott of the U.N. Palestine commission.

"Secret maneuvers are being carried out to lead the Security Council to send an international force to Palestine to crush Arab resistance," the document said, and added:

"Our delegation declares it is the unflinching determination of every Arab in Palestine to defend his country against any power or group of powers or any force going to Palestine to partition the country."

"The Arabs are in duty and honor bound to defend their country to the last man."

The Jewish Agency for Palestine made no immediate reply, but a press conference later in the day by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chief of the American section of the Jewish Agency, was expected to produce the Zionist side of the case for an international force.

## U. S. Officials Linked To 'Plot' Against Zion

By ROBERT C. WILLIAMS

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, implied today that some U. S. government officials were collaborating in a "conspiracy" to frustrate Holy Land partition.

Silver expressed this fear during a press conference in agency headquarters, 16 E. 66th St., at which he reported on a three-week tour of Palestine, from which he returned to New York last night.

He said Jewish residents of the Holy Land were leading a normal life and emphasized that most of the disturbances reported in the press and on the radio were occurring on the periphery of what would be the Jewish state under partition.

"Not a single settlement has been abandoned by the Jewish people," he declared, "nor is there any intention to abandon any area whatsoever."

Silver said he wanted to stress the "normalcy" of conditions "to

correct a one-sided picture that people can get from reading sensational news reports."

In strong language, he condemned the British government for its refusal to co-operate with United Nations partition plan and its refusal to build up an adequate defense system in the face of armed Arab bonds.

"Everywhere I saw evidences of the unwillingness of the government to see that the plan of the U.N. should succeed," he declared.

In one of several references to a "conspiracy to frustrate partition as adopted by the nations of the world," Silver declared:

"I am afraid some members of our own government are collaborating."

## N. Y. Central Teaches the Slow Pokes

Fleetwood commuters were described as "not fleet but wooden" today by officials of the New York Central after 75 city-bound workers were left waiting on the station platform because they wouldn't hurry to catch the 8:14 for New York.

It has been the custom of the Fleetwoodians, the Central said, to dawdle and twaddle on their way to the 8:14, delaying its de-

parture from four to six minutes. The delay of the 8:14 caused delays to trains following it into the city. And commuters on those trains howled to the Central.

So today the Central had station masters and trainmen on the platform shooing the 8:14's passengers onto the train. But the 75 who were left stranded paid no heed. They dawdled and

twaddled and the good old 8:14 pulled out—leaving them behind.

From Sunrise to Sunset

WLIB

1190 on Your Dial

Leading New York in Light Classical Music

Presents

Treasure Island, children's program, at 4:30 p. m.



## Third Anniversary Broadcast



**SURROUNDED BY GUESTS**, Estelle M. Sternberger observes her third anniversary as commentator on Station WLIB in half-hour broadcast devoted to housing, liberal approaches to world problems and radio itself. In photo are (l. to r.): City Planning Commissioner Robert F. Wagner Jr., Freda Kirchway of The Nation Associates, Walter White, Miss Sternberger, William L. Shirer and Dorothy S. Thackrey, co-editor and co-publisher of the New York Post.

# Grains Drop Limit For 3d Straight Day

By MALCOLM LOGAN

For the third successive day, grain prices plummeted on the Chicago Board of Trade today, despite several sharp rallies.

All wheat ended 10 cents lower, corn closed 8 cents down and soy beans slumped 8 cents, the daily limit on these three commodities.

## Dispute Slows Buses On Crosstown Lines

Hundreds of would-be passengers on the 49th, 65th and Chambers-Madison crosstown lines of the Comprehensive Omnibus Corp. found service extremely poor today and had to resort to other means of transport.

Police reported that a slow-down by bus drivers was in progress and that the company was doing nothing to correct the situation, but a spokesman for Local 100, Transport Workers Union (CLO) denied there was a slow-down, and alleged the company had taken 25 buses out of service.

Seventeen drivers, war veterans with highest seniority, had been dismissed and had not been replaced, he said.

The runs discontinued, the union official said, had all been operated during rush hours, from 7 to 9:30 a. m., from 11:30 a. m. to 12:30 p. m., and from 3:30 to 6 p. m.

## Bakery Strike Is On —12,000 Involved

A strike of specialty bakers, clerks and delivery men, involving as many as 12,500 men, began today.

Max Kralstein, vice president of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers (AFL), said he was unable to estimate the full effect of the strike at once because the baker's work day starts late and because the three affected locals—Nos. 51, 164 and 579—are continuing to sign up shops.

He said about 150 of the 400 members of the Metropolitan Bakers Guild had signed individual contracts.

The bakers walked out at noon. Earlier, about 1,000 members of the Retail Clerks International Protective Assn. (AFL) had also walked out.

The disputes involve some 800 small and large plants which bake rye, pumpernickel and other specialty products. Local 802, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has 2,500 delivery men-members involved, but a spokes-

man said it was holding off strike action to give city mediators further time to settle the dispute. The City Labor Relations division, however, said it knew of no plans for further mediation today.

Nathan Wertheimer, vice president of the clerks, said about half of the 400 specialty firms had signed up with his union today and that consequently 200 of his members had gone back to work.

He said the signed contracts give at least a \$4 weekly raise, a 40-hour week and 3-per-cent-of-payroll welfare fund.

Bagel bakers and those who make French and Italian bread had also reached agreement with their employers, while the major manufacturers of wrapped white bread are not involved in the dispute.

When the day of wild fluctuations ended, wheat contracts were down 42½ to 50½ cents from seasonal peaks set early last month. Corn was shown 36½ to 47½ cents a bushel, oats down 14 to 28½ cents and soy beans 79 to 80½ cents. These were the steepest declines since before the war—the climax of 2½ weeks of slumping prices which turned into a spectacular crash three days ago.

Cotton futures moved erratically over a wide range on the exchange here. At one time gains of better than \$2 a bale were registered, but recurrent liquidation and hedging resulted in recessions. Late afternoon prices ranged from 70 cents a bale higher to 10 cents lower than yesterday's close.

Some stocks managed mild recoveries after two days of declining prices, but many leading stocks were apparently affected by the uncertainty and weakness of the commodity market.

Declines in bond prices outnumbered gains at the start of the final hour, and trading was slow.

Wholesale butter prices were up 1 cent here and reached a new peak of 95 to 98 cents a pound in Baltimore. In Philadelphia retail butter prices reached new records of 99 cents to \$1.05 a pound, reflecting a jump in wholesale prices earlier this week.

As a result of the losses in commodity prices this week, the Associated Press average of 35 commodities stood at 197.5, the lowest since Nov. 6. On Jan. 9, the peak day so far, it was 208.1.

©1948, N. Y. Post and Chicago Daily News  
London, Feb. 6—While expecting further declines in prices on the Chicago market, British grain authorities today predicted a rally after a "more realistic position" has been reached.

Meanwhile, the break is being greeted enthusiastically here, for Argentina has been blackjacking Britain and some other countries into paying \$5 a bushel for wheat while the price has been around \$3 in Chicago.

## China Renews Kowloon Claim

Nanking, Feb. 6 (AP)—The Chinese government renewed today its claim to jurisdiction over Kowloon, mainland city in the British crown colony of Hong Kong from which Chinese squatters were evicted recently.

## Washington Memo

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

### G.O.P. Tactics on Anti-Bias Legislation: Do a Little—Talk About It a Lot

Washington, Feb. 6.

The President's Civil Rights message put the Democrats one step ahead of their Republican brethren in the rather lackadaisical race for minority group support in the 1948 elections. The next step is up to the G.O.P.-controlled Congress.

G.O.P. tacticians have let it be known they would like to settle for a mild form of anti-lynching legislation. This would be easy to magnify in campaign speeches. It presents fewer constitutional problems than the bill to outlaw the poll tax in seven Southern states. Unlike the fair employment practices bill, it would not offend anybody outside of the South.

A. Philip Randolph and the Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, co-chairmen of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, took recognition of G.O.P. strategy today by issuing a statement declaring flatly that for minority groups all three bills—not one—"comprise the minimum acceptable legislative program."

"Action on these bills will give meaning to what platform pledges are made in the 1948 political campaign," said Randolph and Chalmers.



BALL.

Senate Labor Committee approval yesterday of the Ives bill to prevent discrimination in employment for reasons of race, creed, color or national origin was not without surprise.

When Sen. Morse (R-Ore.) strolled into the committee room yesterday afternoon, a reporter asked: "Is this going to be a death watch on the FEPC bill?"

Morse grinned. "It may not be a death, but if it is a birth, you may find it is still-born," he replied.

Morse's pessimism seemed reasonable at the time. Out of the 13-member committee, only four Senators—Morse, Ives (R-N. Y.), Murray (D-Mont.) and Thomas (D-Utah)—were committed fully in favor of the bill. Two others—Sens. Aiken (R-Vt.) and Smith (R-N. J.)—had agreed for it in committee with the reservation that they might change their minds later over the enforcement provisions.

The teeth in the Ives bill, modeled on those found in Quinn anti-discrimination law in New York, consist in cease-and-desist orders by the seven-man FEPC, enforceable by appeal to the federal courts.

Seventh and decisive vote for the Ives bill came paradoxically from Sen. Jenner (R-Ind.), who opposes the measure and will vote against it on the floor. Jenner promised at the last minute to give it a favoring shove in committee to permit consideration by the full Senate. Sen. Pepper (D-Fla.) got credit for an assist for failing to appear to add his unfavorable vote to five confirmed opponents.

The five die-hards included G.O.P. Policy Committee Chairman Taft (R-Ohio), three Southerners and Sen. Ball (R-Minn.), who approved stronger Chavez anti-discrimination bill last year, who has swung sharply to the right this year on foreign and domestic issues, apparently in hope of strengthening his weak position back home for re-election.

Curiously enough, Taft made no new enemies by his vote on the Ives bill. Minority groups gave him credit for living up to word that the bill would get out of committee early enough in session to have a chance of passage.

Taft has promised also to vote for cloture when the Ives bill runs into expected Southern filibuster.

Under Senate rules, a bill does not get on the calendar until majority and minority views from the committee have been made known. Because of the splits within both favoring and opposing this may take a couple of weeks, and by then the anti-bill and the anti-poll tax bill may be along as rival attractions.

## Brooklyn Athlete Missing Hollis Spotts Is Feared Drowned

Hollis Spaulding Spotts, 43, athletic director of Brooklyn, has been missing since Monday night, and is believed to have drowned in the 22nd St.

Spotts telephoned his wife, in Sherman, Conn., early Monday night that he was going to referee a basketball game here and would spend the night in his quarters on the St. John's Guild floating hospital ship moored at 22d St. off Bellevue Hospital. He had been superintendent of the Guild for the past 10 years.

At 11:30 p. m. a watchman on the nearby Sanitation Dept. dock saw him approach the hospital ship. Next morning his bag, containing his clothes, wallet and watch, was found on the dock. Police believe he slipped off the dock but because of ice have been unable to drag the river there.

Spotts was an outstanding boxer, baseball, basketball and tennis player at Washington & Lee University and was once described as the South's best all-around athlete.

## How 11 Live in —Bundle Up to

Collegeville, Pa.  
Harry Fell and his children have been living in a two-room cottage for months, but they are now moving into a new house. "We are bundling up to move," he said.



# ZIONIST DENOUNCES U. S. ARMS EMBARGO

Dr. Silver Fears 'Another Spain,'  
Charges Conspiracy Here to  
Frustrate Palestine Plan

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declared yesterday that unless the embargo was lifted to permit the arming of the Jewish people in Palestine the world would "build up to another Spain, just as bloody and as disastrous."

The Zionist leader, who returned on Thursday night by plane from a three-week visit to Palestine, made his statement at the agency office, 16 East Sixty-sixth Street. He asserted that Palestine Jews were resolved to defend the United Nations decision on the Palestine partition "to the last man."

"I returned sooner than I expected," he said, "first to report what I saw; then to mobilize the sentiment of our people here in support of the people in Palestine who are making a great effort to cooperate with the United Nations in setting up the Jewish state; and finally to help defeat what I regard as a conspiracy to frustrate the partition plan—a conspiracy in which I am afraid that some members of our own Government here are collaborating."

## Assails Arms Embargo

In denouncing the State Department's embargo on arms shipments, Dr. Silver asserted that the Arab states "are free to purchase arms in the open market, but the Jews are unable to do so."

The Zionist leader declared the British "are unable to maintain law and order" despite the presence of strong military forces in Palestine. He said the British Army there "is a blunted instrument, blunted by Mr. Bevin's policy for that area." He asserted Mr. Bevin "is resolved to sacrifice the Jews in order to win certain treaties with neighboring Arab countries in which he is very much interested, but which treaties he is not given, as proven by the case of Iraq."

Dr. Silver denounced "certain members of our Government" for taking part in an attempt to defeat the partition plan. "There are certain interests," he added, "that don't want to see a Jewish state created for fear of Arab punitive action against American oil interests."

He belittled what he termed an Arab contention that they hold oil necessary to foreign interests. "Actually," he asserted, "Arab states that have oil are dependent upon our purchasing oil more than we are dependent on their selling the oil."

## Denounces "Faked Stories"

In repudiating the British Foreign Office's recent charge that Communist agents were on board the two immigrant ships that sailed from Rumania, Dr. Silver denounced THE NEW YORK TIMES for printing "these faked stories."

At this point Moshe Shertok, director of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, said that all the "adults on these ships were carefully screened by Zionist groups in Europe and no Communist organization has yet applied for affiliation with the Zionist organization."

The Jewish people in Palestine, Dr. Silver said, are anxious to see an international force for the Jerusalem area and the appointment of a governor for Jerusalem, which is provided for by the United Nations decision. Palestine Jews, he added, desire the creation of a militia for both the Arab and the Jewish states, "provided the Arabs accept the decision of the United Nations."

The Zionist official said he found Palestine "a disturbed country but far from chaotic; not a single point nor a single settlement has been abandoned by the Jews, nor is there any intention to abandon any area whatsoever." The cultural and economic life of Jewish Palestine continues unmolested, he reported, pointing out that the fighting has been on the borders.





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### School Censorship

The House District Subcommittee that has set itself up as a censor of the textbooks used in Washington's public schools is treading on dangerous ground. We sympathize with the members' desire that our schools shall be "really American in viewpoint and influence." We share their belief that children too young to have developed the critical faculty should be protected from propagandistic or biased teaching, whether derived from textbooks or instructors, that might undermine their faith in the form of government and the social and economic institutions that the great majority of Americans regard as priceless possessions. But it is extraordinarily difficult to achieve these aims without transforming our educational system into a propaganda machine for turning out complacent young Americans convinced that they are living under a social and political regime admitting of no improvement.

Politicians are certainly not qualified either by training or temperament to decide what courses of study shall be pursued in the schools or what textbooks may properly be used by children. Such decisions are rightly regarded by the American people as the responsibility of professional educators who have the knowledge and experience required to formulate plans for the instruction of youth without suppressing the spirit of inquiry that is the hallmark of the enlightened, useful citizen. Often this task is ill-done. However, the people themselves are censors whose criticisms and suggestions can be relied upon to uncover mistakes of judgment and occasional deliberate efforts to preach subversive doctrines to young people under the guise of criticism of American institutions.

In Washington, the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools are the proper authorities to decide on the type of textbooks to be used. It is to them that the District Subcommittee should refer the complaints that have been called to its attention. And they should decide what changes, if any, are required in the light of such criticisms. The subcommittee itself has supplied the strongest possible argument against its own meddling procedure by admitting that "our educational system is the bulwark of our freedom and generally enjoys the confidence of our people. It can only enjoy this confidence if it is kept free from politics and propaganda." That essential freedom cannot possibly be maintained, if members of Congress set themselves up as censors, demanding the revision or banning of textbooks that, in their opinion, do not denounce the evils of communism or expatiate on the virtues of American institutions with the force and vigor they desire.

### ERP's Purpose

Every now and then in congressional debates or before Congress there issues a statement of principle of such broad perception and clarity that it pierces the wall of narrow considerations that surrounds day-to-day discussion. Such a statement on the European Recovery Program was made before Congress Tuesday by Ronald Bridges, president of the Pacific School of Religion, on behalf of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches. Among other compelling observations on the philosophy of ERP, he said:

We are confronted with a fearful threat to democracy: and cherishing our democratic institutions, wishing others to enjoy them as we do, it is natural that we should want to promote democracy, defend it, propagate it. But democracy is not a virus with which people can be inoculated, a benign appearing disease with which we can infect people. It is a state of health which must be cultivated—a state of mind that proceeds from the healthy, comfortable condition of man. Communism can be forced on people too weak to resist it—no democracy. Communism can be snatched, maneuvered and imposed by force. Democracy has to grow organically. People cannot be starved into democratic ways or frightened. They cannot be bargained or threatened into being democratic. If we try any of these tactics or give the appearance of trying them, we damage our own cause terribly. . . . That the ERP will pay off in economic and democratic benefits, I truly believe. But if we set up the program and administer it with a cold eye on these benefits to ourselves, it will fail of its high purpose and the very benefits hoped for. . . . We are not out for the purchase of global affection. Purchased love is notoriously short-lived. We want and need the support of our brother nations. But it

can't be bought. And it doesn't come because we do something for them. Affection and respect develop when you do things together. That is the genius of the ERP.

In other words, ERP is most of all a venture in international cooperation. Its great historical significance lies not so much in the fact that we are providing unparalleled aid, important as this is, as in the larger consideration that our aid is the fulcrum for multiple participation, the means by which, as General Eisenhower said Thursday, the family of free nations can band together to help themselves.

### Mufti In The Open

The spectacle of the notorious Mufti conferring in Damascus with representatives of the Syrian government on plans for the invasion of Palestine is an affront to the United Nations. Syria is a member of the Security Council, the U. N. body charged with the enforcement of peace, and yet Syria is party to a project for breaking the peace. To add to the injury, this Security Council member is deferring to the man who is seeking to overturn by force a General Assembly recommendation. Not a word of protest against this disloyalty, against this warmongering, however, has been forthcoming from either the American or the British delegate at Lake Success. The "war" conference in Damascus appears to be regarded as perfectly proper, though a similar conference in any other part of the world would excite protective measures automatically. U. N. watchfulness on the Greek frontier stands in strange contrast to the supineness over the scheming in the open in Syria.

It is incredible that there should be so much complacency about the trouble-making of Haj Amin el Hussein, the Mufti. This man used to be what Mr. Churchill called Britain's worst enemy. After taking part in anti-British riots in Palestine and Iraq before the war, he escaped to Berlin where he managed Nazi propaganda in the Near East. He was caught by the French when they entered Germany, put under surveillance near Paris, and then escaped to Cairo. Why he was allowed to slip through French fingers has never been explained. In Cairo Haj Amin stayed in hiding for a while, plotting a comeback to leadership in the Arab League, and gathered around him a gang of Arab cutthroats, many of whom had served through the war in Nazi uniform, in order, to fish in the troubled waters of Palestine. This is the man whose slate has suddenly been wiped clean—just because he has defied the United Nations! To make matters more confusing, he is the direct beneficiary of arms that the British are sending to the Near East for precisely the same purpose. It is a topsy turvy world where this cynical proceeding should go on without causing any wonder.

That Haj Amin is moved by any patriotic impulse is sheer fantasy. His interest is self-interest. His venom is directed not only against British and Jews, but mainly against those Arabs who stand in the way of his fanatical ambitions. These men are the moderates who want to live and let live by working out the plan of partition with economic union. The Guatemalan Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Granados, writes in the current *United Nations World* of the "innumerable friendship and non-aggression pacts concluded between individual Arab and Jewish communities" that he discovered while he was in Palestine as a member of the U. N.'s investigation commission. One of the leaders of the moderate group in Palestine was Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, and he has lately paid with his life for his plea for a peaceful settlement. The moderates, in consequence, are being cowed. They might show more courage but for the danger in which they are placed by what the U. N. Palestine Commission calls "the increasing deterioration in the civil administration" by Great Britain. Even Sir Alexander Cadogan, Britain's delegate to the U. N., admits this. In diplomatic language he says "There has been a severe diminution in the function and authority of civil government." In other words, no life or property is safe in Palestine.

Yet the British persistently refuse to carry out those provisions in the U. N.'s recommendation which would have kept trouble to a minimum. They refuse to let in the U. N.'s commission till two weeks before they withdraw. They will not let the Jews have a controlled port for immigration and supplies. They will not let the Hagana, or Jewish militia, help in keeping order. And the State Department is backing up the British by putting an embargo on arms for shipment to the Hagana. This appeasement of the worst elements in the Arab world, at the expense of the power and prestige of the United Nations, is bound to boomerang. Its fruit is bound to be evil. Not only is the voice of moderation in process of being silenced in Palestine, but the Anglo-American fear of the Mufti is sure to excite contempt elsewhere in the Arab world. The least the United States can do is to ameliorate the arms embargo to the extent of agreeing to ship arms upon certification of the U. N. Palestine Committee. The arms are needed for not only self-protection but also for the defense of U. N. policy.

### Not Working Together

"The exigencies of the times," concludes the *American Foreign Service Journal*, published by the United States Diplomatic Corps, "demand a closer working relationship" between Congress and the State Department. The truth of this observation leaps to the mind of anyone who closely observes the present pulling and hauling over the Marshall Plan. It is painfully evident that Congress has little faith in the State Department. And the men who actively direct our foreign relations reciprocate with a deep-seated aloofness toward Congress. Yet nothing could be plainer than the fact that these two arms of Government must work in coordination if the

United States is to make its foreign policies effective.

It is at least hopeful that the *Foreign Service Journal* recognizes the urgency of improving the relationship between the foreign policy makers in the executive and legislative branches. We hope that leaders in Congress and top personnel in the State Department will do likewise. For it is reasonable to suppose that Congress will have a larger share in the shaping of foreign policy in the years ahead than it has ever had before. Its consent will be necessary whenever funds are to be spent, and material aid looms larger than heretofore in our international dealings. Yet the problem is more than one of liaison. Skillful liaison work ought to be combined with frequent meetings between the Secretary of State and leaders of the Senate and House and their committees on foreign affairs. Secretary Hull proved the effectiveness of such consultation when the United Nations was in the gestation stage. Of course, such conferences take time and patience and statesmanship. But we know of no way in which a successful foreign policy can be carried out under our constitutional system without leadership embracing all three things.

### Price Puzzles

If the current declines in prices of foodstuffs and meats serve as a major corrective of an unbalanced price structure and lead to a drop in the cost of living index, it will be all to the good. For if the inflationary rise of living costs had continued, prices would soon have reached levels at which consumer purchasing power would not have been large enough to absorb the products of farm and factory. When that stage was reached, goods would have become a drug on the market, and prices would have been brought down by the costly and painful adjustments that characterize periods of depression.

The present price recessions do not, in our opinion, justify gloomy predictions of an imminent depression. On the contrary, they reflect a more realistic appraisal of the market outlook—a form of insurance against the greatly feared price crash so often predicted. Improved crop prospects both at home and abroad account in part for the decline in grain prices. Uncertainty regarding the fate of the Marshall Plan and ignorance of the extent of future commitments under that plan have also been unsettling price factors in the stock as well as the commodity markets. However, if better crops relieve the strain on our food resources and bring about a reduction of grossly inflated grain prices that is an advantage to American consumers as well as to the rest of the world. In any case there is no reason to fear that the bottom will drop out of the grain markets because the world food situation has improved. For we shall still be called upon to supplement huge deficiencies in world food supplies for the indefinite future. Moreover, with industrial labor fully employed at high wages, home demand for food products will remain at high levels. Finally, the Administration's farm price support policy will operate as a check on precipitate declines in prices of specific agricultural products.

The possibility of a catastrophic price break in the near future seems slight in view of the promising business outlook. Our basic industries are extended to capacity trying to satisfy the demands of American consumers, provide equipment and facilities for expansion of output and products for rehabilitation of Europe. Under such conditions there is little reason to fear a collapse of farm prices due to lack of effective demand for foodstuffs.

### British Wages

The British Government's call for a voluntary freezing of wages and profits reflects a deep concern for the future of the pound. Since devaluation of the franc rumors of impending devaluation of the pound have gained credence, partly because of the manifest alarm of the British at the French decision to set up a free exchange market in which to test the value of the franc. The British are well aware that the pound is a highly vulnerable currency the official exchange value of which can only be maintained by an elaborate system of domestic price and exchange controls. The French action has doubtless impressed upon them the necessity of tightening controls over internal prices and production costs if they are to meet competition in export markets. The alternative method of pushing exports by resort to devaluation has apparently been deferred for the time being.

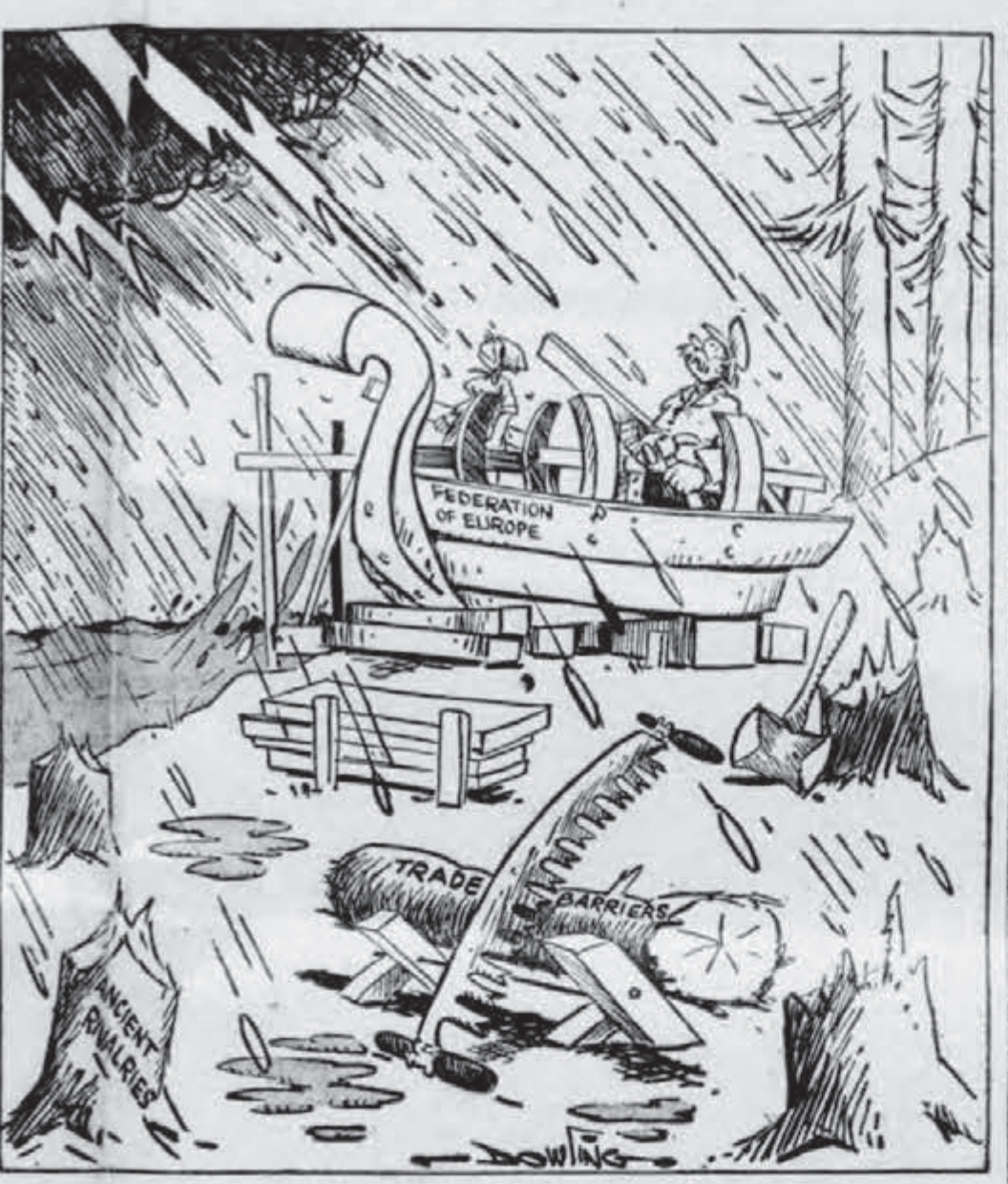
Britain is operating under a controlled economy that has enabled her to keep down basic living costs and consequently limit demands for wage increases. But the effort has been only partially successful, as indicated by the government's present warning that in a race between rising prices and rising incomes prices will always win out in the end. As a correspondent of the *London Times* recently pointed out, a combination of inflated purchasing power, subsidized prices for foodstuffs and low prices for imported raw materials, resulting from the high official dollar value put on the pound have combined to exaggerate "the amount of money chasing goods." Thus the government is faced by the necessity of giving another turn to the screw as a means of maintaining what might be called the controlled status quo.

### REBEL

Each giant star requires a million strands  
To bound its fixed routines, engage its tums,  
And arm its guards of narrow nebulae.  
Pity the rebel star who throws his ropes,  
Who leaps in freedom, streaking paths of fire!  
His skin will quickly scorch to char and dust.  
His bones will find to earth as wasted lead,  
Or vainly sink into a cauldroned sun.  
Where dreams are muffled out and melted dead.

ROBERT HINE

## Good Time To Start Building One



## Letters To The Editor

### Architectural Lapse

It has often puzzled me to determine whether the citizens of Washington lack aggressive civic spirit because they do not have the vote, or whether they do not have the vote because they lack aggressive civic spirit. It is like arguing whether the chicken or the egg comes first.

Whatever the answer to the conundrum, Washington continues to take it on the chin. First President Truman proposed to build a perfectly atrocious new west wing to the White House. This act of vandalism was stopped by public sentiment, which was vigorously led, in Washington at least, by *The Washington Post*. Now Mr. Truman is proceeding, despite even more general public protests, to build himself a "bubblegum" balcony on the south facade.

And to prove that he really does not care what happens to Washington, he has made no protest about the untidily arranged of the Pan American Union in building what the late President Roosevelt significantly referred to as a "glorified outhouse" in the triangular space in front of the Interior Building. The effect of this will be to blot out almost completely from Constitution Ave. a view of what I regard as the most graceful and dignified departmental building of them all, while at the same time making a disfiguring dent in the Constitution Ave. building line.

While he held public office, President Roosevelt did not permit this architectural atrocity. But then he would not have thought of a "peanut gallery" balcony on the south of the White House, either. Very properly, Secretary Krug has protested this outrage, but his protest was withheld for practically two years after he took office and was not uttered until the Pan American Union had actually started to excavate for the building.

Washington has taken a lot of punishment in its Board of District Commissioners, that seems to be unable to give even second-rate government and which is totally lacking in any inspirational leadership. The Commission of Fine Arts has not yet developed its milk teeth, while the National Capital Park and Planning Commission sometimes has good ideas which it is willing to whisper about. The result is that this generation is taking lying down architectural grotesqueries that will cause future generations to marvel at our bad taste and lack of discernment. HAROLD L. ICKES, Washington.

### Food For Wild Life

This bitter mid-winter weather brings us the opportunity to show some good American Christianity toward needy fellow men and beings of the humbler creation. All creatures struggle to preserve life. Since man so continuously destroys the natural habitats of wild creatures and crowds them into smaller natural areas, they often become extremely dependent upon him for sustenance when nature becomes stormy. All need food, shelter and friends. Therefore instead of filling and sealing our garbage pails let us save our cereal and fatty vegetable substances, add a little grain and help keep our little bird friends alive and active. Place out for the timid alley cats, the outcast dogs, the squirrels that are not provided enough nuts in public parks, the waste odds and ends with a little real food prepared for them and costing very little.

VIRGINIA W. SARGENT,  
Animal Protective Association,  
Washington.

### Belasco Theater

Several months ago I read an editorial in *The Washington Post* pleading for the return of the Belasco Theater to the people of Washington, since the emergency was over, and remarking how sad it was that a city the size of Washington had only one legitimate theater. I was in full sympathy with the idea and I was certain that thousands of people here shared in the hopes that the theater be brought back to its former glory.

I belong to the musicians' union here and appealed to the president of that organization to make inquiry to the deputy commissioner for real estate management to cooperate in securing other office space for the Belasco for the theater's purposes.

To my dismay I received a copy of the reply from the deputy commissioner that "other suitable space for the activities now carried on in the building cannot be located. There is little likelihood that the Government will be able to outlease the building for commercial purposes in the foreseeable future."

I take pride in my city and its activities. I wish to solicit the help of our Government officials, yes, even our President, who possibly could have attended this theater as a Senator and who might now be able to just take a stroll to attend a performance. Please give us back the Belasco Theater. JACK LEVENSON, Washington.

### Lincoln Said It

The letter on the British girl's dilemma with respect to medical insurance, in *The Washington Post* of February 4, was quite moving—until the reader reached the garbled quotation with which you concluded. Not Mark Twain, but Abraham Lincoln said it: "The Lord prefers common-looking people. That is the reason he makes so many of them." POET, Washington.

### Baltic Federation

In his February 2 article entitled "Watchman, What of the Night?" Walter Lippmann enumerates the states east of the Elbe River which should belong to the United States of Europe. He fails to mention the central Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia—and Finland and the Scandinavian countries. I hope that this omission does not indicate that Mr. Lippmann considers these states as not qualifying as prospective members of the United States of Europe.

Actually, as Mr. Lippmann well knows, the Baltic states and Finland, not to mention the Scandinavian states, geographically, historically and by their religion, technical civilization and culture belong to the western European world. Longitude 25 degrees east of Greenwich is the approximate west-east center of Europe, and it runs through Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

## Reshuffle In Jobs

By Malvina Lindsay

### Success Formula

SHADES OF Alger and McGuffey are being raised as modern business advisers workers how to hold their own in an increasingly competitive world. That character traits are more important than technical skills is the theme of this current advice. This is based, not on copybook maxims, but on surveys, studies, psychological tests.

This year is expected to bring the complete ending of the job honeymoons a war economy produced. Most firms are having to fight harder for business. They are stripping their decks for what may be a real combat after midsummer.

Many of them refer to this as a year of "adjustment" in personnel. In rebuilding their organizations they are tending to put more emphasis on intangible qualities in those they hire or advance, and less on experience and technical ability.

This attitude is being reflected among vocational advisers. Educators recognize that specific training isn't enough. They are getting more concerned over how to develop the whole personality and broaden the knowledge of the potential job-seeker. There is growing feeling that too many highly trained but lopsided personalities are being turned out by technical and professional schools.

HIRING THESE days is being done more slowly and carefully as firms seek to improve both their products and personnel. An applicant may be looked over by a batch of executives—not one—after going through the mill of examination in the personnel department. This may save him from getting stuck in the wrong job, save the company the cost of a mistake.

Recent scientific studies of employment problems have come up with some of the findings set forth by moral heavily in the copybooks and the old McGuffey Readers. This is brought out in a booklet recently issued by the Socony-Vacuum Oil Co. Paul W. Boynton, the author, who is supervisor of employment, concludes that while there is no one formula for getting better jobs, yet the rule that "looks pretty good" is: Do everything you have to do better than you have to do it. Next to willingness to work, he stresses readiness to accept responsibility—including all its headaches. He reports a study made by H. C. Hunt, Meriden, Conn., high school principal, among the office and clerical forces of 75 corporations. This showed that 90 per cent of discharges were due to character traits, 10 per cent to lack of specific skills. Seventy-six per cent of failures for promotion were the result of character traits, 24 per cent of lack of skill.

What caused the most fringes was character traits. It was closely trailed by noncooperation, then laziness. What most prevented promotion was lack of initiative. Second was lack of ambition; third, carelessness.

ALSO CITED is a study by Prof. G. H. Estabrooks of Colgate University, which rated intellect as a minor factor in business success. The study showed that given the minimum ability for a specific career, a man's success depended largely on such qualities as interest, readiness to work, additional study.

Some may cynically question whether the old, homely virtues management is emphasizing would bring the average American an Alger boy success. For several decades it has been the popular custom to sneer at them as a device of slick bosses to keep underlings of genius immersed in routine and mediocrity.

But the studies made show at least that the solid traits enter strongly into getting and holding jobs, obtaining promotions, and achieving ordinary success. Greater emphasis will be placed on them if employment gets tighter.

It is far an adult can be making himself more industrious, responsible and adaptable is a question. Psychologists say character traits are formed early in life, chiefly before the age of 6. That checks the job-getting and job-holding problem back to parents. It also shows the importance of nursery school education, which deals chiefly in habit formation. It emphasizes the importance of character building in education generally, not only as a noble endeavor but as an aid to earning power.

### Needs At Home

In its ostensible anxiety to care for foreign needs since the war ended the Administration seems to have forgotten entirely the need of actual conservation from war to peace in help its own citizens get back to a more normal way of life. There are millions of United States citizens displaced by war, directly or indirectly, who have not been able to return to previous occupations or way of life, including many veterans.

If it is true that a large segment of our people are ill-housed, ill-clothed or ill-fed, then the Government should do something about it. It should consider the needs of so-called "small people" on fixed income who can barely get by with present Government-inflated prices.

Now comes the report of the 53 economists of their national committee, who give us the real reason for this failure of our Nation to reconvert. They point directly at the Administration as the real reason for inflation. Why doesn't someone call a spade a spade, instead of apologizing for Washington's mistakes and failures of the past three or four years? REV. EDWARD PETERSEN, Los Angeles, Calif.



Navy Plans Sub Use As Guided Missile

Bridges' Ex-Wife Calls Him 'Red'



AGNES BRIDGES, former wife of Harry Bridges, told the Washington State Legislature's Un-American Activities Committee in Seattle that the West Coast CIO longshoremen's chief was a member of the Communist Party and that he had held meetings at his San Francisco home. She also said he had threatened to kill her if she "exposed" him as a Red. Bridges was absolved several years ago of the accusation that he was a Communist.

DIARY—From Page 1

Group Agrees On Pensions

reduced by 3 per cent for each year he's under 60. No other change was made in present retirement ages.

2. The pensions of persons who will retire will be increased from 2 to 25 per cent by either of these two formulas:

One and one-half per cent of average salary multiplied by years of service, or 1 per cent of average salary, plus \$25, multiplied by years of service.

3. Retired employees will have their pensions increased by either a flat \$300, or 25 per cent, whichever is smaller. However, an annuitant may elect to forego the increase and have his annuity continued after his death to his widow at a rate of 50 per cent, or \$500 a year, whichever is smaller, until she remarries or dies.

4. Widows' benefits are provided on the first time in the history of the retirement system. The report provides that a married male employee who retires may elect to take a pension equal to 90 per cent of life annuity, but reduced by 4 per cent for each year his wife is under 60 at the time of his retirement. His widow could draw pension beginning at age 50 after his death, but the annuity would end on her remarriage.

5. If an employee with at least five years of service dies, his widow will be entitled to an annuity equal to 50 per cent of the pension he was entitled to. The pension would end immediately if there is a child who is entitled to benefits by annuity to end on her remarriage or death. Otherwise, the annuity would begin at 30.

6. If an annuitant or an employee with at least five years of service, unmarried children under 18 who are incapable of self-support, is entitled to immediate benefits high end at death, marriage, or age 18. The maximum benefit is \$5 a year for several children.

7. The so-called "tontine" charge is abolished. The charge of \$1 a month was made against the retirement accounts of employees who resigned voluntarily.

8. Full credit toward retirement without deposit is allowed for military service, but only for those employees who have served at least five years.

9. Interest rate is cut from 4 to 3 per cent on all accounts.

10. If an employee resigns and withdraws his retirement fund, his service can be counted toward a pension if he returns to service, unless he redeposits to entire fund with interest.

11. If an employee has years of service that wasn't covered by the retirement act and if he doesn't take a deposit to cover this period, the service will count toward an annuity, but his pension will be reduced by 10 per cent of the amount unpaid plus interest.

12. The employee contribution to the retirement system will be increased from 3 to 6 per cent, this revision to become effective the first pay day after June 30, 1948.

Other provisions of the bill would become effective on different dates. For example, the involuntary separation feature after 5 years of service is retroactive to July 1, 1947; the reduced interest rate as of January 1, 1948, and children's and widow's benefits on date of final approval.

Chairman Langer of the Senate Civil Service Committee was enthusiastic over the report. He said it proposed the basic changes he had sponsored more than a year ago.

Undersea Vessel To Be Converted As Guided Missile

By John G. Norris  
Post Reporter

The Navy announced last night that it will convert the 1570-ton fleet submarine Cusk into a guided-missile submarine.

Three other subs of the same type and four 2400-ton Gearing-class destroyers also will be rebuilt for special combat roles in a possible atomic war. They will serve as experimental prototypes for a probably radically different fighting fleet of the future.

One of the subs—the Perch—will be refitted as an underwater troop transport. It could carry more than 100 Marines on special missions—perhaps secret landings on enemy shores.

Two other submarines will be converted into experimental radar picket craft. They could be dispatched to enemy controlled waters to give advance warning of enemy bombers attacking the United States, our advance bases, or fleet.

The destroyers will replace slower destroyer escorts in anti-submarine work when converted. Two of the very fast new vessels will be specially designed for "hunter-killer" duties, operating with carrier planes to run down enemy U-boats. The other two will be equipped for convoy work.

Secretary of the Navy John L. Sullivan announced Thursday that work had been suspended indefinitely on two large guided missile surface warships—the Kentucky and Hawaii. He said the action was taken because development of missiles for the craft was not far enough advanced and the money authorized for the project was needed for next year's shipbuilding program.

Navy spokesmen explained yesterday that armament for the guided missile submarine is of different type than that wanted for the Kentucky and Hawaii and is ready for installation on the Cusk.

The new type craft, it was said, will be able to approach a target secretly, surface to fire its rockets and then submerge and escape.

Unlike the nine-ship shipbuilding and conversion program announced by Sullivan Thursday—funds for which must be voted by Congress—work on the Cusk and seven other ships is ready to begin. Funds for the conversion were appropriated at the last session.

Conversion of the destroyers will consist of removing some of the guns and installing the latest type sound and radar detection gear. The USS Epperson and USS Basile will be reclassified as destroyer escorts, and the USS Carpenter and USS Robert A. Owens as "hunter-killer" destroyers.

Submarines chosen for conversion to radar picket craft are the USS Requin and USS Spinx.

Letter Upsets Status of Plane

January, 1944, acknowledging receipt of Orville Wright's letter. He said:

"I am not surprised to learn of your decision to have the plane returned. The full recantation by the Smithsonian of its claims for the Langley aerodrome at long last, was so wholehearted and satisfactory... that I naturally began to feel that the precious plane would have to cross the Atlantic again."

Mackintosh discussed the then hazardous Atlantic but said he had no desire "to retain the plane longer than is necessary for purely practical purposes."

Last night Colonel Mackintosh again acknowledged he received the letter from Orville Wright and said he supposed the plane would be returned if Wright's letter "fits in with the terms of the will from a legal point of view." He is now retired.

Comment could not be obtained immediately from the present director of the museum, Herman Shaw.

Earlier yesterday officials of the London museum indicated they accepted as final the terms of Wright's will bequeathing the plane to the British institution.

AID—From Page 1

Middle East Oil Evaluated

a tremendous shift in production to the Middle East, relieving United States sources," said Ambassador Lewis W. Douglas, presenting the report to the House Commerce Committee.

"If, however, anything should happen to halt or shut off this Middle East supply, the whole requirement for western Europe will have to be revised."

Douglas added that if western Europe should fall into the control of "any potentially unfriendly power," the Middle East could be relied upon as a source of oil for Europe.

The State Department report said the petroleum needs of the 16 "Marshall Plan" countries had been estimated by American Government experts at 227 million metric tons, or 1,637,000,000 barrels, in the next 4½ years. This contrasts with the Europeans' own estimates of 309 million metric tons, or 2,190,000,000 barrels.

Will Carries Warning On Attempt to Break It

Fredericksburg, Va., Feb. 6.—An estate valued at \$80,000 was left by M. H. Dickinson, 80, former member of the House of Delegates who died January 12. The will provides that if any of the beneficiaries "are not satisfied and make an attempt to overthrow" the will, they shall receive only \$10 and the rest of their share shall be returned to the estate.

Civic Leaders 'Vote' for and Against Home Rule Plan



JOHN A. REILLY, Of Trade Board; JAMES BEATTIE, Of Junior Board; LOUIS FRICK, Of Business Men's; MRS. G. EVANS, Of Union Council; J. C. TURNER, Central Labor Union

PROGRAM—From Pg. 1

Limit Set On Spending

chairman of the joint budget group, said the proposed ceiling on spending, coupled with an estimated increase in revenues to 47.3 billion dollars, would leave an estimated 10.1-billion-dollar surplus. He said there would be 7.5 billion dollars even after the proposed payment on the debt.

Said Bridges: "In the most conservative figuring, no one can issue with a 4 to 4½-billion-dollar tax cut."

**Democrat Move Fails**

Democrats tried unsuccessfully to raise the debt payment figure and hold Republicans to their initial three-billion spending cut. Only five Democrats voted with 39 Republicans for the final report. They were Representatives Robert L. Doughton (N. C.), J. Vaughan Gary (Va.), John H. Kerr (N. C.), Albert Thomas (Tex.) and Senator Edwin C. Johnson (Colo.).

Policeman's Son Gets Writ to Stay In D. C. School

District Court Justice F. Dickinson Letts yesterday issued a restraining order to prevent dismissal of Herbert Clarence Young, Jr., of 6413 Elliott st., Hyattsville, from Macfarland Junior High School here.

The student, son of a Metropolitan police detective, was ordered dismissed this week, along with 180 other out-of-town pupils who have failed to pay tuition fees. Hitherto, children of persons employed in the District service, residing outside the city, were permitted tuition-free schooling in the local schools.

Thirty-eight pupils have obtained a court injunction against dismissal on the question whether or not they "enrolled" in the local schools before July 23, 1947, the date free tuition was suspended. The new restraining order, obtained by Attorney Meyer Kronin, alleges that the congressional act did not mean to end the tuition exemption for children of District government employees. Hearing on the injunction will be had February 16.

British Jet Pilot Sets New Mark for 100 Kilometers

London, Feb. 6 (AP)—Squadron Leader W. A. Waterton, flying a standard Gloster Meteor jet-propelled fighter, broke an international speed record for a 100-kilometer (62.137-mile) closed course tonight at 542.945 M. P. H.

Waterton covered the course in 6 minutes 52 seconds.

The previous mark was 494.973 M. P. H. set April 19, 1946, by U. S. Air Force Capt. R. A. Baud in a standard P-80A jet plane.

The United States-held record of 650.6 M. P. H. over a three-kilometer (1.934-mile) open course was established at Murco Field, Calif., by Marine Maj. Marston Carl, August 25, 1947.

Mrs. Stumm Gets 1 to 5 Years Sentence

Charles Town, W. Va., Feb. 6 (AP)—Mrs. Della Johnson Stumm, 40, of Martinsburg, W. Va., pleaded guilty to a voluntary manslaughter charge in Jefferson County Circuit Court today and was sentenced to from one to five years in West Virginia Penitentiary for the shooting January 10 of Bruce Orem, 41.

Prosecutor John C. Skinner, told Judge Decatur H. Rodgers that Orem was shot on a tenant farm near Cableton, W. Va., after a three-day drinking party at the home of Freddie Johnson, Mrs. Stumm's brother.

Orem died two days later in a hospital.

Theft of Coal Stove Brings 10-Day Sentence

For stealing a coal burning stove valued at \$24 from a construction job Tuesday night at Hampton and Wilson lanes, Bethesda, John E. Driver, 48, of Brookmont, Md., yesterday was sentenced to serve 10 days in the Rockville jail.

When he pleaded guilty to the theft, the defendant said he stole it because of inability to get oil for his oil heater.

Fire Officers Elected

Sam Randall has been named president and E. E. Worth, Jr., chief of the Forestville, Md. Volunteer Fire Department. Other new officers are James A. Randall, John W. Randall, Henry DeVaughn, E. E. Worth, Jr., H. P. Griffith, Jr., Ralph Gray, Albert Windsor and David E. Randall, Jr.

RULE—From Page 1

Business and Union Leaders At Odds on Home Rule Bill

port the principle that residents of the District of Columbia should be represented in Congress and in the electoral college. In the lack of such representation it doubts any satisfactory solution of questions arising through operation of nonrepresentative government in Washington."

The policy statement then said the directors have "many doubts" about the value of the results which would be achieved by the proposed bill.

**Want Official Plebiscite**

The Board of Trade directors urged that no home-rule bill passed by Congress should take effect unless approved by an official plebiscite. They also said it would be premature to adopt the bill's present reorganization features affecting these agencies: Public Utilities Commission, Zoning Commission, Board of Tax Appeals, Board of Education, Board of Library Trustees, Recreation Board, and Unemployment Compensation Board. In line with this, the directors suggested treating the reorganization plan as separate legislation, leaving in the present bill only the minimum of reorganization essential to home rule, if enacted.

**Wants Taxpayers on Council**

Finally, the Trade Board statement said, "The directors feel that no elected official should qualify for local office who claims exemption from local taxation on the basis of his residence in a State."

Reilly was quizzed at length by committee members.

Representative James C. Auchincloss (R. N. J.) sponsor of the home-rule bill, recalled the preliminary home-rule hearings last July and said "we were very sorry that the Board of Trade didn't sit in to help us in our efforts."

Reilly replied that "about all we could have said at that time was that we favor national representation. We didn't think that would help very much."

To another question by Auchincloss, Reilly said "we're not against the home-rule bill as such; we feel the bill should be enlarged to include national representation, and anything short of that is not what the people of the District ought to have."

"We ought to have our own representatives in Congress and then study District needs; not have a qualified, limited local government and no one to represent us in Congress."

Representative Charles B. Deane (D. N. C.) asked Reilly if he is satisfied with the present District government.

"I think we have a very excellent form of government, one of the finest in the country," said Reilly.

Deane then asked about the home-rule bill's provision for long-term public borrowing here. Such loans would have to be approved by the city council, by referendum, and finally by Congress and the President.

Bonds Depend on Congress

Reilly said he did not believe the District could sell long-term bonds unless there was definite assurance of what Federal contribution Congress would make to the District. "You can't borrow money unless you know what Congress is going to do to make the bonds good," he said.

Later Auchincloss told Reilly he had been advised that the Board of Trade committee which studied the home-rule bill had reported favorably on it.

Reilly replied that Auchincloss has been misinformed. As the hearings ended, Harry N. Stull, former president of the Federation of Citizens Associations, and a member of the Board of Trade committee, told reporters he felt Reilly had given an inaccurate impression. On this point, Col. William Press, executive secretary of the Board of Trade, made public the following text of the home-rule statement prepared by the board's committee on District government:

New Rent Bill Gives Boosts Automatically for Cost Rises

Immediate Decontrol In Several Cities Is Provided in Measure

By Alfred Friendly  
Post Reporter

The Senate Banking Committee yesterday began consideration of a rent bill that would give automatic raises to all landlords whose costs have increased, and which would provide for immediate and complete decontrol in several cities.

The measure, prepared by a subcommittee, appeared to have too few teeth to satisfy some members of the full group. They predicted it would be considerably revised.

Senator Tobey (R. N. H.), chairman of the committee, indicated no agreement had been reached and only a portion of the proposed measure had been discussed. He said further consideration of it would be suspended for the next week, when many members will be absent on Lincoln Day speechmaking.

**To "Sleep On" Measure**

"We've decided to sleep on this with our consciences and then come back a week from next Monday and make all decisions," he said.

Some terms of the bill were announced on Thursday. Additional provisions disclosed yesterday showed an even greater relaxing of rent controls.

Some of the newly-reported provisions:

1. Rents are automatically increased by 50 per cent of any increase in landlords' operating costs. A top limit of a 15 per cent rent boost is fixed, however.

2. Rents are automatically decontrolled in any city or rent control area if the Census Bureau finds that there are vacancies of 1 per cent or more among all dwelling units, either for sale or for rent.

3. New leases, signed after the new rent control law becomes effective, are exempted from all controls, and rents may be fixed at any figure.

4. Local rent advisory boards would be given more authority.

Under previously announced terms of the bill, the controls would extend until April 30, 1949.

If tenants agreed with landlords on leases running eight months longer, to December 1949, the rents could be set at any level.

Units where the rent had already been upped 15 per cent under voluntary leases running until the end of this year would be decontrolled as of next December 31.

The bill provides court appeals



MRS. GERTRUDE MURPHY Says she, it's 'Communist'

both for tenant and landlord interests.

Tenants who dispute landlords' claims of higher operating costs can appeal to the Federal Housing Expediter, and to the courts.

Local rent advisory boards whose recommendations are rejected by the expediter can also make court appeals.

The provision for decontrol of all areas where one per cent of the dwelling units are vacant would apply, according to a housing official, to Denver, Seattle, San Antonio, Memphis, Tulsa, Portland, Ore., and the three Virginia cities of Newport News, Portsmouth and Norfolk.

Critics of the bill pointed out, however, that if landlords simply withheld from the market units as they became vacant, or increased the asking price of houses for sale to exorbitant levels, it would take only a brief period to bring many more cities into the decontrol classification.

**To Have 13 Days Left**

Since present rent controls expire February 29, the Senate Banking Committee, resuming consideration of legislation on February 16, will have only 13 more days before the deadline.

If there is no agreement within that time, Tobey suggested, a bill would be sought extending the present law another 30 days.

Two Democratic members predicted the full committee would reject the bill in its present form and demand a redraft.

GSI—From Page 1

Strike Heads Take Oath

which union-busting GSI had raised."

"Now," Palmer said, "GSI can stop seeking excuses to evade their obligation to bargain."

But GSI's position unchanged. Before GSI will bargain with Local 471, said GSI personnel manager J. C. Niehuss, affidavits must be filed by both the local and by UPWA. Then, the local must win an NLRB election among those workers now on the GSI rolls, Niehuss stipulated.

**Plans to Keep Workers**

"The corporation does not intend to displace any of its 1300 present employees," Niehuss said. Most of these 1300 new workers were hired to replace strikers. The strike began January 5.

Filing of the affidavits followed by one day a statement from Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach that he wouldn't help settle the strike until the local filed the affidavits.

After a conference with Assistant Secretary John W. Gibson yesterday, Schwellenbach said he had no comment. Schwellenbach entered the 33-day-old strike against 42 GSI cafeteria workers when President Truman asked him on January 20 to do what he could to settle it.

APPOINT—From Page 1

Vaughan Has Ups, Downs

the President," Ross said, "that there has been no change in the set-up here. There are three aides of equal rank. There is no top aide, no chief of Armed Forces aide."

He listed the three: General Vaughan, representing the Army; Capt. Robert L. Dennison, representing the Navy; and Col. Robert B. Landry, representing the Air Force.

The appointment of Colonel Landry, a survivor of the Pearl Harbor attack, was announced early yesterday. It was in recognition of the new status of the Air Force under the Armed Forces Unification Act.

A report got around that there was to be a new Army aide in addition to General Vaughan.

General Vaughan, appearing in the White House lobby, was asked about this. It was then that he told reporters that he was to be the head man with the others ranking as assistants. From his statement, it was concluded that Col. Louis H. Renfrow would be the new Army aide.

In hauling General Vaughan down from his summit, however, Secretary Ross explained that Colonel Renfrow was to be only an assistant aide and would not rank with the others.

Defense Secretary James Forrestal was with President Truman while Ross was making the announcement and it was thought that perhaps Vaughan was the issue. On his way out of Mr. Truman's office, however, Forrestal shook his head and said:

"That's one thing I'm glad I don't know about."

Colonel Landry, a Missourian and a crony of Mr. Truman since they met in an Army training camp late in the 1920s, has often figured in the news since he came to the White House. It was he who conceived the idea of having Winston Churchill speak at his alma mater in Fulton, Mo.

Before this, Vaughan had been quoted as saying that Churchill was a "garish old gentleman."

In that same speech, he compared Presidents Roosevelt and Truman by saying:

"It's just like having a fancy dinner of caviar over a long period. Sometimes you like to get back to ham and eggs."

Colonel Landry, the new Air Force aide at the White House, was born in New Orleans 38 years ago, attended the Jesuit High School, Tulane University, and entered West Point in 1928.

He was at Hickam Field, Hawaii, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. Later on, in Europe, he was director of fighter planes in Gen. Jimmy Doolittle's Eighth Air Force and played a notable role in the bombardment of the continent.

Colonel and Mrs. Landry (the former Mildred Plausche of New Orleans) live at 4125 Military rd. nw., with Robert B. Jr., and Myrdred Roberts, who are students at the Blessed Sacrament School.

Talk on Child Problems

Behavior problems of the normal child will be explained by Dr. Mabel Ross, head of the Prince Georges County mental hygiene clinic, Monday at 8:30 p. m. at Kaywood Gardens Nursery School, 29th and Webster sts., Mount Rainier, Md.

PRICES—From Page 1

Corn, Wheat Lead New Dive In Food Commodity Prices

pictured an improved food situation throughout the world. Since last October, Fitzgerald said, the amount of food available in this country for export has increased by about 20 million bushels.

Fitzgerald reported that the wheat crop in both Argentina and Australia is proving better than earlier forecasts. At the same time winter weather in Europe is much more favorable to a good harvest next year than it was a year ago.

Fitzgerald emphasized, however, that the food supplies in the world are far below even minimum requirements—that rations in most European countries are lower than a year ago.

**Fear Greater Use**

At the Department of Agriculture the fear was expressed that the sudden decline in grain prices might lead to greater non-essential uses of grain. It was pointed out that the January 1 report of grain It was pointed out that the January 1 report of grain stocks on hand showed a decline of almost 600 million bushels of all grain since a year ago.

For three years the Nation has been consuming and exporting more grain than it has been producing.

The collapse of commodity prices was advanced by Edgar Statesman Bernard M. Baruch, as a reason for asking to be excused from testifying before the Senate Banking subcommittee studying rationing and price controls.

Baruch telegraphed Chairman Charles W. Tobey (R. N. H.) the evidence "superficial perhaps, but existing that commodities show a tendency to soften" would

Spotsylvania Hearings Set on Tax Equalizing

Fredericksburg, Va., Feb. 6.—Applications for equalization of real estate assessments from Spotsylvania county land owners must be filed with the Circuit Court Clerk by February 29. The board of equalization has announced that it will hold hearings on the following schedule: Berkeley district, March 2-5; Livingston district, March 8-11; Chancellor district, March 15-19; and Cortland district, March 23-26.

Final Settlement Near In Insull Utilities Crash

Chicago, Feb. 6 (AP)—Sixteen years of legal wrangling over one of the major casualties of the economic crash of the early 30's neared an end in Federal Court yesterday.

Judges approved settlements which gave creditors of the utilities empire headed by the late Samuel Insull \$1 for every \$42 demanded.

Folsom Hopes Talk of 'Bolt' Will Aid Him

Tallahassee, Fla., Feb. 6 (AP)—Alabama's Governor, Jim Folsom, came to a Southern Governors' Conference today primed to push his candidacy for President of the United States.

The conference opens tomorrow. The Alabama announced last week he would oppose President Truman for the Democratic nomination.

Folsom announced he will seek support of other States. He hopes to take advantage of feelings of Southern Democrats, who are boiling over the Truman program of civil rights for Negroes.

A move to "shush" anti-Truman talk will be led by Gov. William Preston Lane, Jr., of Maryland, chairman of the Governors' Conference. This group includes Gov. M. E. Thompson of Georgia, Gov. James McLeod of Tennessee, and Gov. Mildred Caldwell of Florida.

They are expected to round against a bolt of Southern Democrats as aiding the Republican Party and disastrous to Southern "white supremacy."

They contend the way to head off "anti-Southern" legislation is to put Southern Democrats in key places in Congress—for instance, Representative Eugene Cox (D. Ga.) as chairman of the Rules Committee through a Democratic victory next November.

Governor Lane said he would attempt to hold the conference to discussion of regional colleges for specialized but racially segregated training for whites and Negroes.

U. S. Variety Sweater Girl Raising Cain, Briton Says

London, Feb. 6 (AP)—The sex life of the American female is raising Cain with international regulations. British anthropologist E. J. Dingwall said today.

An acute American interest in a well-filled sweater and shiny bathroom fixtures has helped build up a matriarchy in the United States that threatens to upset the balance of power in the world, as well as the home, he said.

"I don't see how the United States can ever really have universally happy foreign relations as long as it—a country dominated by women—has to deal with countries dominated by men, like South America, for instance," he said.

**Not a Dog House**

Dingwall is setting out to prove European women have happier sex lives than American women because they believe a man's home is his castle, not a dog house.

"I don't consider the approach of the American woman to sex particularly healthy," he explained. "It's something like the British approach to food—a compound of Puritanism and necessity. There's a national feeling of guilt. Ask any European psychiatrist."

**Like Bustles for Example**

Their dissatisfaction is evidenced in many revealing ways, like clothes which emphasize bosoms and bustles, he said.

"The American bosom mania is all part of matriarchy," he added. "It's a material symbol and it has intensity in the United States which does not duplicate itself anywhere."

"I think," Dingwall concluded, "I shall be able to prove the American emphasis on plumbing and bathroom amenities is allied to that guilt complex I mentioned. It's an act of wanting to wash it away, you see."

Argentina To Rush Fleet To Antarctica

Buenos Aires, Feb. 6 (AP)—The navy announced today an important task force will sail next week for Antarctica, in a race for certain South Pole areas with Britain.

The force of cruisers, destroyers, auxiliary ships and airplanes will sail February 12 for Decarion Island. It will be the first time that Argentina has sent a fleet to the Antarctic area over which she claims sovereignty.

The London Times reported that HMS Snipe, carrying Sir Miles Clifford, governor of the Falkland Islands, arrived Wednesday at Decarion.

This island, about 300 miles southeast of Cape Horn, is claimed by both Britain and Argentina.

In Santiago, Chile, authoritative sources reported President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla would go to Graham Land, to take possession personally of territories claimed by both Chile and Britain.

17 Changes In Soviet Posts Announced

Moscow, Feb. 6 (AP)—Proceedings of the Supreme Soviet published today showed 17 changes in government positions were ratified.

N. M. Rychkov, minister of justice, was replaced "because he did not deal with his work" and K. P. Gershenin, former attorney general, was promoted to the post. G. N. Sofonov, who is little known, is the new attorney general.

M. R. Kravchenko lost his job as chairman of the art committee because he "did not assure correct guidance" of the committee. P. I. Lebedev is now in that important post of supervising theatrical presentations. Graphic arts and many museums.

The Supreme Soviet ratified the appointment of Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, Lazarus M. Kaganovich and V. A. Malishev as previously announced.

Nazi General Hangs Himself In Paris on Eve of Trial

Paris, Feb. 6 (AP)—Gen. Otto von Stuepnagel, 60, the Iron Hand German administrator of self in a jump from a prison catwalk in Nuremberg, Germany.

Other German suicides included Hermann Goering, Heinrich Himmler, Robert Ley, Karl Westphal and Dr. Leonard Conti. Adolf Hitler and Paul Joseph Goebbels also reported to have taken their own lives.

Stuepnagel was arrested on August 5, 1945.

He took over in France in November, 1940. Soon after these hostilities were sent to their deaths during his administration as Nazi governor general of France.

Stuepnagel's death came a day after another German general, Johannes Blaskowitz, killed himself in a jump from a prison catwalk in Nuremberg, Germany.



























ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער צווישן  
פון ארץ ישראל

הנהגתו של השר לא תהיה נכונה, והוא יפיק את המסקנות הנכונות. השר יפיק את המסקנות הנכונות. השר יפיק את המסקנות הנכונות.

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188. און וואס פאר אן ארבעט  
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 פארגאנגענעם יאר?

189. ווען וועט ער זיך  
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190. וועט ער זיך  
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 צוריקקערן צום ארבעט?

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"עכשיו" (אדמיניסטרעטאָר)  
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 דעם אפאָרטן איז דעם נאך  
 איז דעם האט דאס בילדעט דעם  
 צו די אפאָרטן אפאָרטן  
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**גלובאָקער בר. 147 א.ר.**

מאַדערנע אויף אלע מעכערס און פרינט צו סמע צו דעם

היימאן מענדלין  
וואס וועט פארשטען  
דיינט, שבת, 7טען פעברואר, 8:30 אין אווענט  
אין „פארווערטס“ בילדינג, 175 א. בראדוועי

**ביאליסטאקער**  
מארגען, זונטאג, 8טן פעב, 5 אויגוסט 1938.  
אין ביאליסטאקער צענטער, 228 א. פראדזשע, 1.

**מכתב יד נדף ב"מסמכים קודמים**  
פרמאטונט דערנער ווערע ארעסטירט א פאנסט וויסטאנט  
דראגאס אין צוועיטעם בילדער פון דער אסאליטער און היינט  
נער ביאליסטאק וועלע עווערע ווערע אויף ליווענס. א בוך  
מיט בילדער פון ביאליסטאק אסאל און היינט. און לידער וואס  
ווייזט עווענטע בעווארע אין דער ביאליסטאקער געטע וועט  
אריינלייט ווערע.  
ארגאניזירט פון קלוב ביאליסטאקער פריינד.



דער נאצישער „תליון פון פאריז“  
הענגט זיך אויף איז פריזאן ערב  
זיין מדייעל אלס הענטער



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7-10-68 10:00 AM 10:00 AM 10:00 AM

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פערדמאן געפונען שולדיג

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רענעו מאכט סוף צו ערגסטער טרויער אין לאַ  
אויסזעצער גענוגט אין 70 יאר; ארגענזש בראַס  
בעראטעוועט. — קינדער אין לאַס אַנדזשעלעס געהן  
אין סקול אין רענעו נאָך אַ טרויערעניש, וואָס האָט זיך  
גוט אויסגעוויקלט. דאָס ערשטע, דאָס האָט אין זיך

**WET DROUGHT IN 10 YEARS ENDED IN LOS ANGELES AREA; HUGE CITRUS CROP LOSS AVOIDED.** — Los Angeles children enjoy greatly improved downpour as they waded to their classes. The week's wet spell heralded by much thunder and rain was hailed as a relief from the long drought which had ended in 1947.

דער שטענע פלארענס מענינג איז אויסגעשליסען געווארען אלס די הארדיקס  
 צו מאכען נעמט צו העלפן די ליינענדע פון הארדיקאנסקייטן. מען ש  
 ארויס איז נישט קיין רומאח צו הארדיקאנסקייטן ; מ'קען נישט לויבען  
 Frances Manning, H. who looks as if she can raise your blood pressure.

[illegible]

התאגדות חקלאים, המיועדת לייצור חלב, תהיה  
התאגדות חקלאים, המיועדת לייצור חלב, תהיה

...will lead New York health mena-

...\$12,000,000 crop loss.

בני ברית באשטט  
נענען אנטייגעטען  
אין אסעמבלי

וואשינגטאן, פעב. 18. — א  
ציעטע סאטשעס פון ארדען בני  
האט איינגעשטעלט אן ארד  
ארדען זאל ויר ניו אנטשוס א  
דער אסעמבלי דוראויס אפגע-  
עם אדווערטויזונג האטפאר א  
(1) אן סען דאזא באטראכטע א

heart Campaign in drive to raise funds to defeat America's No. 1 cardiac disease, 350,000 die yearly in U. S. from heart ailments.

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עווענטן. ביים 10טן יוני אויפגעטאן פאר  
דעם 1947. פון מיין ביורא אין זאנזא 1947  
האט מען אים אריינגענומען ווערענדיג  
דעם 19טן סעפטעמבער. און דער נאמען  
האט מען אים געגעבן צו ערשטער  
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דער  
(3) אונטערן פון אים אים געזונט  
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**פאטאגראפן**

**מאנא יוני 75 יאר**

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**פארשעמט ניט די לעבענע נעגליכענע העלדן פון אידישען ווידערשטאנד; העקפט ווי באזארגענע מיט מצות אויף פסח**

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**דאנק אויסדרוק**

[illegible][illegible][illegible]



# Silver Says Britain Dupes Marshall in 'Palestine Sabotage'

By United Press

The head of the American section of the Jewish Agency charges the British government with a "conspiracy" to sabotage the UN partition of Palestine—a conspiracy in which some members of our own government are collaborating.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, at a press conference after his return from a three-week visit to Palestine Friday declined to name any American officials as involved in the "conspiracy," but indicated he believes Secretary of State Marshall has been made an instrument of British propaganda in at least one instance.

## 2 Categories Of Propaganda

Silver said the British propaganda campaign against partition fell into two categories—oil and Communism.

He dismissed the two arguments against partition as "outrageous propaganda." As to oil, he said the Arab states were more interested in selling oil than the U. S. A. was in buying. As to the Communist threat, he said the first approach was that the Russians wanted trouble in Palestine so they could send troops into the area.

He said the Communist bugaboo was emphasized by the British Foreign Office announcement that numerous Russian agents were among Jewish emigrants aboard two Romanian ships which recently attempted to reach Palestine. He said that the commandant of the Cyprus internment camp, Sir Godfrey Collins, said no agents were found in the group.

"This (Communist) argument now has been pushed forward by the Foreign Office to our State Dept. and our Secretary of State has seen fit to announce these alleged facts to a press conference," Silver said.

(In London a Colonial Office spokesman said that Collins reported to London he did not deny publicly that Communists had been

## Arabs Threaten UN Police Force

By Associated Press

### LAKE SUCCESS

Palestine Arabs have informed the UN that they would battle any international military units sent to enforce partition, and charged in a formal note that "the pressure put by the U. S. delegation and government on certain nations is nothing short of political blackmail." This was in reference to the U. S. support of the Assembly's partition decision.

The Arabs further advised Secretary-General Trygve Lie that UN efforts to divide Palestine would be considered as an act of aggression.

found among the Jews but had merely said that "he had no information concerning such reports."

Silver called for immediate ending of the U. S. embargo on the shipment of arms to Palestine "so that the Jewish state may begin building machinery to protect itself."

## Bars Communists.

By United Press

### LA PLATA, Argentina

Federal Judge Jorge Bilbao denied legal standing to the Communist Party in Buenos Aires Province, thereby barring it from participation in the March 7 congressional election.

## Costa-Rican Election

By United Press

### SAN JOSE, Costa Rica

Costa Ricans will go to the polls Sunday to elect a president and two-thirds of Congress, after a campaign marked by unusual bitterness. Because of the closeness of the Presidential contest and attendant high feelings, at least 95 per cent of the 142,000 registered voters are expected to vote.

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# Brooklyn's Greatest RALLY for ZION!

The U. N. decision for Jewish statehood is jeopardized by Anglo-Arab sabotage and powerful special interests in Washington. Protect your Government from intrigue! Back the U. S. Government! Support the United Nations!

Attend Brooklyn's Greatest Rally  
**Sunday, Feb. 8th, 2:30 P.M.**

at

**HOTEL ST. GEORGE**

51 Clark Street

Program

**CLARK M. EICHELBERGER**

Director, American Association for the United Nations

**DR. CARL HERMANN VOSS**

Extension Secretary, Church Peace Union,  
Chairman, Executive Council, American Christian Palestine Committee

**RICHARD TUCKER**

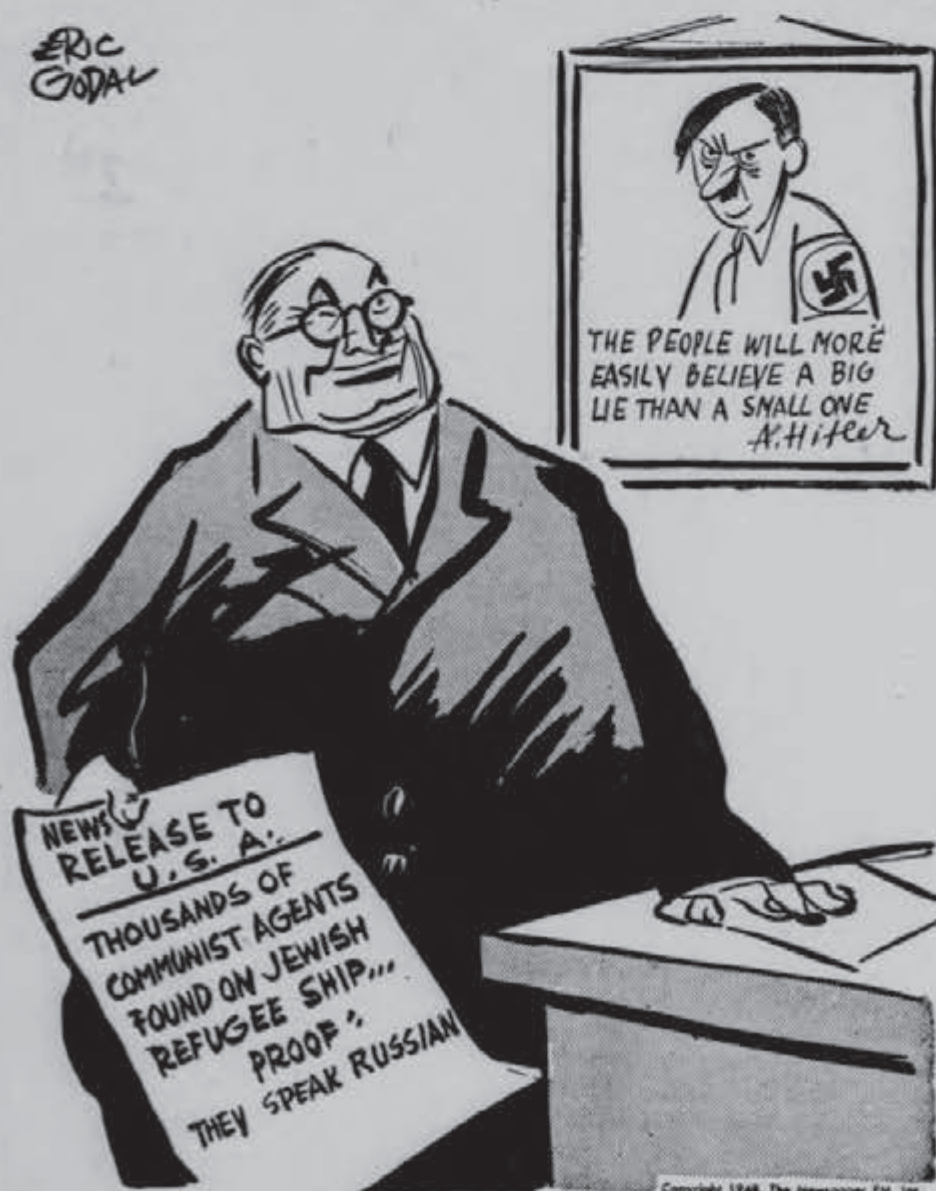
of the Metropolitan Opera Company will chant the "El Moleh"

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# Arabs Kill 3 Jews In Palestine Holdups

By United Press

## JERUSALEM

Armed Arabs held up three Jewish messengers outside the Ottoman Bank in Haifa Friday and killed one of them before fleeing with 800 pounds (\$3200). The other two messengers were wounded seriously.

Two Jews were killed and four other persons, including a British soldier, were injured in other robbery attempts and incidents throughout the Holy Land.

The fatalities and an Arab casualty occurred in spasmodic firing in the no-man's-land between Jewish Tel Aviv and Arab Jaffa.

## British Soldier

## Is Wounded

Two armed Arabs held up a Jewish merchant on the main street in Tel Aviv, shot and wounded him and stole an undisclosed amount of money. Police chased the attackers, who disappeared in heavy traffic.

In Jerusalem, a British soldier was shot and wounded seriously in downtown King George Ave., and a Jewish passerby was wounded by unidentified gunmen.

Reports from the island of Cyprus said 791 Jewish women and children embarked there for Palestine as the first of 3000 immigrants placed on a special quota.

(At Lake Success the Soviet Ukraine accused Britain of obstructing the partition of Palestine. Vassily A. Tarasenko, Ukrainian

delegate on the Security Council, charged that the position taken by the British was contrary to the Assembly's partition decision, "since such a position not only does not assist in carrying out this resolution, but is putting the drag on it." The British have declined to permit the UN's five-nation Palestine Commission to enter the Holy Land until two weeks before the tentative British withdrawal date of May 15.)

## Britain Hits Bulgaria for Helping Jews to Palestine

By United Press

## LONDON

Great Britain has sent a harshly worded note to Bulgaria charging that either its government deliberately connived in sending two shiploads of Jewish immigrants to Palestine or its officials made a "serious error" in giving the ships clearance.

The British note made no reference to current allegations that the ships in question, the Pan York and Pan Crescent, contained numerous Communists among their passengers.

Charging that it must have been evident that the 15,000 Jews aboard the ships were seeking to enter Palestine in defiance of immigration restrictions, the note said:

"... If Bulgaria aspires to mem-

## Jet Plane Sets New Air Record

By United Press

## LONDON

Squadron Leader W. A. Waterton, flying a standard Gloster Meteor jet-propelled fighter, broke an international speed record for a 100-kilometer (62.137-mile) closed course with a speed of 542.945 M.P.H.

The previous mark for the 100-kilometer closed course was 494.973 M.P.H. set April 19, 1946, by U. S. Air Force Capt. R. A. Baud in a standard P-80A jet plane.

bership of the United Nations, His Majesty's Government feels bound to suggest that the Bulgarian Government would be well advised to acquaint themselves with the activities of that organization and with the obligations which its members are called upon to undertake.

"From the evidence available, His Majesty's Government can only conclude... that the Bulgarian Government have either been deliberately conniving at illegal immigration traffic or that a serious error has been committed by the Bulgarian officials concerned," the note said.

It asked immediate action to right the situation if it were true that officials, not the government itself, were at fault.

## Fear of Russia Balks Bevin's West Bloc

By United Press

## LONDON

Diplomatic observers say that a mounting fear of Soviet Russia in European capitals is threatening to kill British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's plan for a Western European union.

Denmark is the latest to take the same stand as Sweden against Scandinavian participation in any Great Power bloc, and a Norwegian source here predicts a similar statement from Oslo.

Their attitudes are not of non-cooperation, but of non-commitment to any proposals which would bind them unalterably. It is pointed out here that these Scandinavian expressions have not been preceded by any formal moves on Britain's part.

## Benelux Offers

## Its Own Terms

The Benelux nations—Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg—appear willing to come in only on their own terms—and equal voice with Britain, France and the U. S. A. in the Western German settlement.

British Minister of State Hector McNeil is in Brussels for talks with Benelux officials.

Despite British insistence that the Bevin plan is not directed against Russia, it appears that Scandinavia is accepting Moscow's interpretation that the proposed union is directed against Russia, and was a step toward war.

It is not clear to what extent the Moscow line has influenced the Benelux powers, but observers here see significance in the fact they pressed their demand for a voice in Germany at this time.

Bevin renewed his appeal Friday night for a union of western Europe as "a great effort for peace."

# Trial of Petkov Aide Assailed by State Dept.

By United Press

## WASHINGTON

The State Dept. has expressed strong disapproval of the Communist-dominated Bulgarian Government's move to "purge" Agrarian Party opposition leader Dimitar Gitchev.

Gitchev has been indicted on a conspiracy charge, and reports from Sofia said the Communist regime will ask the death sentence or life imprisonment for him.

State Dept. press officer Michael J. McDermott said that the U. S. A. considers Gitchev's indictment another attempt by the Sofia government to violate the civil rights provisions of its World War II peace treaty.

Gitchev was a close associate of Nikola Petkov, the Bulgarian Agrarian leader who was executed last year over the protests of the U. S. A. and Britain. McDermott said the charges against Gitchev and the preparations for his trial closely resemble the Petkov purge.

The record is so similar, he said, that it "suggests strongly the Bulgarian Government's intention again to disregard its treaty obligations with respect to securing to its citizens the most basic human right."

"Mr. Gitchev has a long and impressive record as a defender of democratic principles in Bulgaria," McDermott added.

He declined to say whether a formal protest against Gitchev's trial would be made to Bulgaria or whether any other action was

## Argentina Throws Hat In Antarctic Ring

By United Press

## BUENOS AIRES

The Navy announced that an important task force will sail next week for Antarctica, as a race for certain south pole areas developed between Britain and Argentina and Britain and Chile.

A Navy Ministry announcement said a force of cruisers, destroyers, auxiliary ships and airplanes will sail Feb. 12 for Deception island.

## Soviet Visions Military Bloc

By United Press

## MOSCOW

The Government newspaper Izvestia makes plain that the Soviet Union regards the Soviet-Romanian treaty the first step in preparing Eastern Europe for military defense if needed against the Marshall, Truman and Bevin plans for Western Europe.

Izvestia declared in an editorial that the new pact had "an especially important significance" at this moment when international reaction is seeking to carve out Western Germany and attach it to the Western "military-political bloc."

This was seen here as making plain that Russia and Romania had the Marshall and Bevin plans in mind when they specified that the treaty would apply against any state allied with Germany in aggression.

This led diplomats into speculating here on the circumstances under which the treaty provisions might be called into operation.

They wondered, for instance, whether Greece's participation in the Marshall Plan along with Western Germany would be considered eventually as a threat.

This is considered far-fetched, but it is believed that the treaty was elastic enough to cover such a possibility.

planned.

The U. S. A. fired a formal complaint at the Communist-run Romanian Government only two days ago, accusing that regime of breaking its peace treaty by suppressing civil rights.

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ITZHAK BENZEVIE      DAVID REMEZ

Copy of Cable  
Dent from Jerusalem on 3.12.47

NLT DR HAIM WEIZMANN JEVAGENCY      NEWYORK

Havaad Haleumi Meushar lehabia lechah birkato beyom kum hamedinah  
hayehudit asher beyetzirata hishkata milechet sheloshim shanah  
lemin hatzharat Balfour ad hayom hazeh stop      Ko lehai do tifal  
veko tosif

ITZHAK BENZEVIE      ~~DAVID~~ DAVID REMEZ



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APx = Après payé franc.

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	<p>Handed in at _____</p>	<p>מקלט תל</p> <p>נמסר ב</p>
	<p>Time _____</p>	<p>השעה on _____</p> <p>היום</p>
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  - (ב) על ידי שליח מיוחד, אחרי שנתקבל במשרד המסירה — על פי דרישת השולח.
  - (ג) על ידי שליח מיוחד, אחרי שנתקבל במשרד המסירה — על פי דרישת המקבל.
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[undated]

STATEMENT OF DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and of  
the American Zionist Emergency Council

-----

Dr. Silver has been requested by the Executive of the Jewish Agency to return to the United States at an earlier date than he had previously planned. Problems connected with the work of the United Nations Commission necessitate his presence in the United States at this time.

Upon his departure from Jerusalem, where he has spent the last ten days in conferences with the Executive of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Silver expressed unqualified admiration for the magnificent spirit of the Jewish Community of Jerusalem, especially the men and women besieged in the Old City - for their quiet courage, discipline and confidence. This is characteristic of the entire Jewish Community of Palestine, declared Dr. Silver, and is most gloriously manifest in its youth. There is no finer youth in the world today. The Jews of Palestine, declared Dr. Silver, ardently want peace but they are prepared for every eventuality. He is confident that they will win through. The Jewish State will be established this year, he said. There is no doubt about it.

Dr. Silver stated furthermore:

I have found the Jewish Community of Palestine deeply troubled over reports that my own Government is failing to put the full weight of its authority behind the decision of the United Nations, and that - on the contrary - certain officials of the Department of State have reverted to old techniques of circumventing the declared American policy on Palestine. If it has been correctly reported, such an attitude is incomprehensible. It was largely as a result of the vigorous stand taken by the United States that the United Nations finally took its decision of November 29th. For America now to withhold positive support from the implementation of that decision, at the very moment when Arab violence is directed towards frustrating it, would be a betrayal of the United Nations and the Jewish people. Knowing the spirit of the American people, I venture the prediction that this will not happen.

It is clear that without an international force and without the arming of a Jewish militia to protect the Jewish State, which was decreed by the United Nations, the implementation of the decision will be jeopardised. President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall, who actively supported the decision, must fully realise this. They will surely not permit subordinate officials to scuttle the plan.

The decision can most certainly be carried out if the provisions which were made for its implementation are quickly and whole-heartedly put into effect by the nations responsible for it - especially the United States. One wonders why the special police force for Jerusalem, the formation of which has already been decreed by the United Nations, is not immediately organised and sent here, and why the Governor of Jerusalem has not yet been appointed and sent out. This would have a very salutary and pacifying effect on the entire Jerusalem area, which is the most troubled region in Palestine. The show of violence in Palestine is deliberately calculated to create the impression in the United States that the U.N. plan is impractical. I am hopeful that the statesmen of the world and the leaders of my own country will not yield to this shabby intimidation.

AHS/RH



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92-38

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present role as Britain won't  
be moved. Emphasis must now

be placed on U.S. Government and  
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and Marshall. Also imperative large  
cash sums be made immediately available.

Time Factor most vital ~~and~~ as large-scale  
defense preparations must be made immediately

SILVER



[undated]

## SUPPLEMENT TO PASSPORT REGULATIONS

### "TITLE 22 - FOREIGN RELATIONS

#### "Chapter I - Department of State

#### "Part 51 - Passports

#### "Subpart B -- Regulations of the Secretary of State

"Pursuant to the authority vested in me by paragraph 126 of Executive Order No. 7856, issued on March 31, 1938 (3 F.R. 681; 22 CFR 51.77), under authority of section 1 of the Act of Congress approved July 3, 1926 (44 Stat. 887; 22 USC 211 (a)), the regulations issued on March 31, 1938 (Departmental Order 749) as amended (22 CFR 51.101 to 51.134) are hereby further amended by the addition of new sections 51.135 to 51.143 as follows:

"§ 51.135 Limitation on Issuance of Passports to Persons Supporting Communist Movement. In order to promote the national interest by assuring that persons who support the world Communist movement of which the Communist Party is an integral unit may not, through use of United States passports, further the purposes of that movement, no passport, except one limited for direct and immediate return to the United States, shall be issued to:

"(a) Persons who are members of the Communist Party or who have recently terminated such membership under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion -- not otherwise rebutted by the evidence -- that they continue to act in furtherance of the interests and under the discipline of the Communist Party;

"(b) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, who engage in activities which support the Communist movement under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion -- not otherwise rebutted by the evidence -- that they have engaged in such activities as a result of direction, domination, or control exercised over them by the Communist movement.

"(c) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, as to whom there is reason to believe, on the balance of all the evidence, that they are going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement for the purpose, knowingly and willfully of advancing that movement.

"§ 51.136 Limitations on Issuance of Passports to Persons Likely to Violate Laws of the United States. In order to promote the national interest by assuring that the conduct of foreign relations shall be free from unlawful interference, no passport, except one limited for direct and immediate return to the United States, shall be issued to persons as to whom there is reason to believe, on the balance of all the evidence, that they are going abroad to engage in activities while abroad which would violate the laws of the United States, or which if carried on in the United States would violate such laws designed to protect the security of the United States.



"§ 51.137 Notification to Person Whose Passport Application Is Tentatively Disapproved. A person whose passport application is tentatively disapproved under the provisions of § 51.135 or § 51.136 will be notified in writing of the tentative refusal, and of the reasons on which it is based, as specifically as in the judgment of the Department of State security considerations permit. He shall be entitled, upon request, and before such refusal becomes final, to present his case and all relevant information informally to the Passport Division. He shall be entitled to appear in person before a hearing officer of the Passport Division, and to be represented by counsel. He will, upon request, confirm his oral statements in an affidavit for the record. After the applicant has presented his case, the Passport Division will review the record, and after consultation with other interested offices, advise the applicant of the decision. If the decision is adverse, such advice will be in writing and shall state the reasons on which the decision is based as specifically as within the judgment of the Department of State security limitations permit. Such advice shall also inform the applicant of his right to appeal under § 51.138.

"§ 51.138 Appeal by Passport Applicant. In the event of a decision adverse to the applicant, he shall be entitled to appeal his case to the Board of Passport Appeals provided for in § 51.139.

"§ 51.139 Creation and Functions of Board of Passport Appeals. There is hereby established within the Department of State a Board of Passport Appeals, hereinafter referred to as the Board, composed of not less than three officers of the Department to be designated by the Secretary of State. The Board shall act on all appeals under § 51.138. The Board shall adopt and make public its own rules of procedures, to be approved by the Secretary, which shall provide that its duties in any case may be performed by a panel of not less than three members acting by majority determination. The rules shall accord applicant the right to a hearing and to be represented by counsel, and shall accord applicant and each witness the right to inspect the transcript of his own testimony.

"§ 51.140 Duty of Board to Advise Secretary of State on Action for Disposition of Appealed Cases. It shall be the duty of the Board, on all the evidence, to advise the Secretary of the action it finds necessary and proper to the disposition of cases appealed to it, and to this end the Board may first call for clarification of the record, further investigation, or other action consistent with its duties.

"§ 51.141 Bases for Findings of Fact by Board. (a) In making or reviewing findings of fact, the Board, and all others with responsibility for so doing under §§ 51.135--51.143, shall be convinced by a preponderance of the evidence, as would a trial court in a civil case.



"(b) Consistent and prolonged adherence to the Communist Party line on a variety of issues and through shifts and changes of that line will suffice, prima facie, to support a finding under §51.135 (b).

"§51.142 Oath or Affirmation by Applicant as to Membership in Communist Party. At any stage of the proceedings in the Passport Division or before the Board, if it is deemed necessary, the applicant may be required, as a part of his application, to subscribe, under oath or affirmation, to a statement with respect to present or past membership in the Communist Party. If applicant states that he is a Communist, refusal of a passport in his case will be without further proceedings.

"§51.143 Applicability of Sections 51.135--51.142. When the standards set out in §51.135 or §51.136 are made relevant by the facts of a particular case to the exercise of the discretion of the Secretary under §51.75, the standards in §§ 51.135 and 51.136 shall be applied and the procedural safeguards of §§51.137-51.142 shall be followed in any case where the person affected takes issue with the action of the Department in granting, refusing, restricting, withdrawing, cancelling, revoking, extending, renewing, or in any other fashion or degree affecting the ability of a person to use a passport through action taken in a particular case.

"For the Secretary of State

W. K. SCOTT

"Acting Deputy Under Secretary"

\* \* \*



F. G. v. d. V.

Nahum

Goldmann

(D)

Canceled]

Since Germany incarnates the progressive principle, she is sure of victory. Germany will conquer, and the world will be ruled by the militaristic spirit. Anyone who likes to regret the fact and give voice to lamentations may do so; to desire to hinder it is a folly and a crime against the genius of history. England and France will still come to repent bitterly that they have opposed it.

N. Goldmann. 1915 Bible IX, 47

....We may venture to say: the blend of the democratic with the aristocratic results in the idea of the organism. Theoretically and practically it proves itself the leading conception of militarism.

But at the same time this idea is one of the most significant and fruitful ideas of all German philosophy, of the entire German spirit...

To have the idea of the organism recognized and proclaimed in all its details, constitutes the greatest achievement of the German spirit; to have the idea of the organism more perfectly realised than all other existing structures of society constitutes the greatest achievement of the militaristic spirit. The militaristic and the German spirit are fundamentally identical.

N. Goldmann, *ibid.*

Nahum Goldmann  
Der Geist des Militarismus  
Ed. "Der deutsche Krieg," no. 52, Berlin 1915

THUS SPEAKS GERMANY  
Harper & Brothers, Publishers

Ed. W. W. Coole and M. F. Potter - 1941



אין המערכת מחזירה כתבי יד שלא נתקבלו לדפוס

## לבואו של ד"ר סילבר

בלבביות מיוחדת אנו מקדמים היום את ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר לבור או ארצה. לא רק רגשות תודה מפע"מים אותנו למראה האיש אשר תרם כל כך מכשרונו ומרצו להשגת הנצח חון שלנו בעצרת האומות המאוחדות כי אם גם הכרת הבטחון, שהמנהיג הציוני הזה, — רב־המרץ ואיש המ"עוף, ימשיך בדרך ההעפלה אל פסגת ההגשמה של תקוות העם. ד"ר סילבר איננו מאלה המתעייפים באמצע הדרך או המסתפקים בנצחון זמני, העלול להעשות נצחון מפוקפק. דרכו בציונות היא דרך של יציבות, וודאות ובהירות. כל אותן הסגולות שהיו נעדרות בציונות הרשמית עד לפני התקופה האחרונה.

הוא בא אלינו בימים קשים, ימי המאבק הממשי, שבהם עומד הישוב העברי במערכה גורלית על עתידו הוא וגם — על עתידו של ארגון האומות המאוחדות. עד כמה שיהיו נמלצים וקצת יתירים הדברים האלה. בנינו ובנותינו נופלים כאן על קידוש שם העם והארץ וגם על קידוש הסמכות העליונה של משפחת־העמים, פסק־הדין שלה ומרותה. היהדות האמריקנית, אשר ד"ר סילבר הוא אחד ממנהיגי הגינה הנאצלים, יודעת להעריך ככה את המערכה הזאת וגם את קרבנותיה.

מנהיג ציוני לוחם בא אל ישוב עברי לוחם בימים האלה. שניהם ימצאו עידוד בפגישה הזאת; שניהם ימצאו את הניב המקשר אותם, ואם לא במלים, שהן גיטשטשו הרבה בזמן האחרון, הרי בכל אופן בהרגשות משותפות ונאמנות. התקופה הזאת אינה מתאימה למלים רבות, והמלים המעטות המתאימות לה עדיין שמורות הן באוצרות המשורר, אשר יספר עליה אחרי עבור ימים רבים. ואולם במעשים הנעשים היום ובצפייה למעשים אשר יבואו, בבנין וביצירה וב"הנחת היסודות למדינה היהודית, יר"א ד"ר סילבר כאן לא מעט מפרי השפעתו ועמלו הוא. יהיה זה סיפוק רוחני על העבודה בעבר ותוספת אומץ לפעולתו בעתיד.

## המערכה בהרי חברון

מה שמתרחש היום בהרי חברון חורג, כמובן, ממסגרת ה"תהווה" ובוהו". במשך יומים נער"כת התקפה רבת־על ישובי עובדים שלא התגרו מעולם בשכניהם, לא התנפלו עליהם ולא שדדו מהם דבר. במשך יומים מגיעים אלפי ערבים מחברון, מירושלים ומכל הכפרים שביסביבה, כולם מזוינים ודרכים לקרב. העתונות הערבית מספרת בגלוי על הגיוס של ערבים מזוינים הנעשה בפקודת הועדה הלאומית שבחברון,

ועד כמה שידוע לנו חברון זו נמצאת עדיין בשטח המסור לשלטון המנדט ולא מעבר לגבול. ואחרי כל אלה אין השלטון והצבא עושים כלום, כדי להפריע בעד המתקפים, כדי לפזר אותם בכוח וכדי להעניש את המגויסים והמזוינים אותם, המסיתים אותם להתקיף אנשי ישובים שקטים. דובר ה"ממשלה מסר רק על כך, שהממשלה תפנה לאישים ערביים בעלי השפעה, שיסכימו לפזר את המתקפים. לא נשי מע עוד כדבר הזה שממשלת הארץ שהתושבים רואים אותה כאחראית לשמירת החוק והסדר ושיש ברשותה צבא ונשק, תבטיח מצדה רק שת"ד לנות לטובת אזרחים מותקפים ע"י רוצחים.

כמדומה, שהדברים הם ברורים עתה למעלה מן המשווער. אם אבד כבר לשלטון רגש הבושה במידה כזו שהוא אינו מנסה אפילו להסתיר את רתיעתו מפני הכנופיות, — מה פשר ההתנגדות שלו למשלוח צבא בינלאומי לארץ או לבואה המידי של ועדת הביצוע? ברור מעתה, כי התנהגותו של השלטון מסייעת להקמתו של צבא ערבי כאן, מיסודו של הועד הערבי העליון, לפני בואו של צבא בינלאומי. ההסתכלות השאננה של השלטון בריכוז הכנופיות על הרי חברון, בין שהסתכלות זו היא ממרומים, מא"י וירוני־סיוור של חיל התעופה המלכותי, בין שהיא מתוך החלונות הגבוהים של משרדים ממשלתיים בירושלים, — מסוגלת רק לעורר את מארג גני הכנופיות ואת העומדים בראשן.

גם הפלישה מסוריה בצפון וגם המאורעות בהרי חברון מקורם בסיבה אחת: באולת־ידה של הממשלה ה"מנדטורית, אנו בטוחים, כי אילו נק"טה הממשלה צעדים תקיפים יותר אחר ריאות הפלישה, או אילו היתה המחאה שלה בדמשק מנוסחת בצורה חריפה והחלטית, לא היה מקום גם למאורעות שבאו אחריה. אך עצם העובדה שהממשלה הסורית לא חשבה עדיין לנחוז להשיב על אותה המחאה מוכיחה, כי היה ברור להם לשליטי דמשק, שמחאה זו היא רק מן השפה ולחץ, ואדרבה, היא שימשה להם הודמנות יפה להפגין לעיני ההמונים את תקיפותם ועמידתם הגאה, כאשר לא גרתעו מפני האריה הבריטי.

המצב הוא ברור. כל יום נוסף של שלטון זה הוא תוספת עוץ ואור־טוריטה לכל המחרחרים ריב מבחוץ ולכל מנהיגי הכנופיות הערביות מבפנים. המערכה בהרי חברון, בחסותו ה"ניטרלית" של השלטון, צריכה להעמיד את ארגון האומות המאוחדות על ההתנשקות שמכנים כאן, לא רק ב"י שוב היהודי, כי אם בסמכותו ובכ"י בודו של ארגון בינלאומי זה.

## בגליל אחרי הפלישה

— מאת סופר "הבקר" בגליל —

השחר החל בוקע, יום גלילי בהיר היום שנועד להתקפה על משמר ודן בצפון. האויר נקי.

# כיצד קצרו המגינים בהרי

בארבע אחר הצהרים עוד היתה התקפת צלפים על רכסיהם. מקום שצויה נפצעה קל, אבל התקפה זו נהדפה במהירות.

## איסוף השלל

במשך כל היום לא נראה איש צבא אחד במקום. רק אוויר חג בלילה. הערבים ברחו ופלוגות סיור יצאו לאסוף את שלל הנשק שנשאר. רובים, אקדוחים נמצאו על גופות הרוגים וכן נשק שהושאר במקום. הפלוגות הביאו אתן מלבד נשק גם תעודות וזהות של ההרוגים לעשרות, טיהון הרכה, כי בין המתקפים היו ערבים מיפן, מחברון, מכפר שבע, מבית לחם וירושלים. הלילה עבר תוך שקט גמור בסביבה. מצב הרוח בנקודות היה מרומם. רבים מהחברים התרעמו, כי לא ניתנה להם אפשרות לירות אפילו כדור אחד, כי רק כעשרים אחוז מהכח הופעל. בעוד שעמדות רבות לא ירו כלל ירו אחרות במשך עשר שעות רצופות.

בשעות הבוקר החלו להגיע מכונות ע"ביות על הכביש ופלוגות ערבים החלו לאסוף גופות הרוגים. נשים רבות וגם ילדים וגברים לכושם הדר נראו במכוניות ממאר רות. הללו חפשו קרובים ומדי פעם בפעם מלא החלל יללות וכביות של נשים וילדים את האויר.

## הצבא בא באיחור יממה

בינתיים הגיע אתמול בבוקר בשעה תשע הצבא. קבלנו אותם בפנים זועמים. הם הביאו אתם תותח, ששה טנקים נושאי־ברזן וש"י

## דובר הסוכנות

## הצבא בקרב

## ואספקת הנשק ע"י בר

דובר הסוכנות היהודית גינה אתמול את עמדת הממשלה, שהיא ורק היא אחראית לקיום הבטחון והסדר בארץ. אך מאידך גיסא תשאירה במשך יום שלם את אזור כפר עציון בלי הגנה. לפני ימים מספר לאחר פעולת הצבא בצפון הארץ הללתי במקום זה את הצבא ופעולתו היפה — אמר הדובר והוסיף — אולם אינני יכול לאמר דברים כאלה נוכח האדישות שגילה הצבא שלושם בהרי חברון.

במקום עזרה לנתקפים פרסמה הממשלה הודעה, שלפיה התקשרה עם חוגים ערביים אחראיים למניעת קרבות ושפיכת דמים. יוצא מזה, שהממשלה יודעת מי הם הח"ר גים האחרים לשפיכת הדמים. הצבא לא יצא למקום ושום שוטר לא נראה. רק בגמר הקרבות לפנות ערב חג אווירון כשמי כפר עציון ויתר הנקודות.

## למה נחוז לארצות־ערב נשק?

כן התקף הדובר את מדיניות הממשלה הבריטית בקשר מכירת נשק לארצות הע"ר. רביות נוכח דברי דוכר מיניסטריון החוץ

## איך יורכב הכ

טלגרפית, מי מאת אליסטר קוק סופר "מ"

עם הישיבה הסגורה של ועדת הביצוע לארץ־ישראל מטעם אנ"א, בשעה שהסוכנות היהודית קוננה נשק בניו־יורק ובניו־ז'רסי, מרגשים מוסדות אנ"א בליק סאכס את עצמם כאילו הם בית דין היושב בבית נשק. מוכיר אנ"א, מר טריגוזה לי, אמר בועדה כשנחבטה לישיבתה הראשונה, כי הוא זכ"אית לדרוש ממועצת הבטחון כוח בינלאומי להגן על ארץ־ישראל בשעת החלוקה. מיד נאחו אחד מחברי הועדה בדבריו אלה של מר טריגוזה לי וחייבר החלטה הדורשת את הדבר. לפי מגילת אנ"א מחויבות כל החברות של ארגון האומות המאוחדות למסור צבא לרשות מועצת הבטחון. אבל המועצה עצמה

(סוף מעמוד 1)

עליהם אש מרימות שרסקה את הרכיכו ברי נעים מעטים. לרגע נפסקה ההתקפה, אולם כעבור זמן מה אפשר היה לשמוע... ההתקפה הערבים המעודדת את שרדי... לונה ואלה שבאו כחיל מילואים בצעקות: "עליהם". אחרי כל קריאה כזו, שהיתה מלווה יללות וצריחות מעורבים בכביות וי ללות פצוצים, בא מטר יריות כבד, יריות אלה באו גלים גלים.

כאן נוצרה חזית ששטח ההפקר בכמה נקודות שהבדיל בינינו לבין הערבים לא היה גודל מחשבים מטרם. אולם סמוך לצ"ה היום הוכרחו הערבים לסגת, בהתקלם במח"סום אש שלא יכלו לעמוד בפניו.

## המאבק על השליטה על חירבית זכריה

אך זו לא היתה המטרה העיקרית של התוקפים. התקפות כאלה נמשכו לאורך כמה גדות. הן נהדפו בכמה נקודות. בעצמי רא"י תי את התבוסה במקום אבל המלחמה היתה נמשכת.

טגית חשובה הנקראת חירבת זכריה (לפי מסורת קדומה קבור כאן זכריה הנביא).

פלוגה מס' 101 של "הגדוד" היתה במקום זה והערבים עלו בכח גדול להשמדה. כוחות המתקפים היתה — הסביר זאב ממשואות יצחק — לתפוס את העמדה ועל ידי כך יוכלו בנקל לתק את יתר הנקודות מכפר עציון וקבוצת צלפים יוכלו לחסום באש את הקשר בין הנקודות.

רחל מיפרה, כי החילה ניסה ריכוז ע"ר ב"י, שמנה מאה איש, לתפוס עמדה אחרת הנקראת ב"י אנשי המקום בשם "הגבעה הצהובה" אולם ויתרו ופנו לחירבת זכריה.

## קרב דרמטי עקוב דמים

לפי דברי עדי הראיה היה הקרב על חורבה זו הדרמטי והגורלי ביותר. כאן נח"ל המתקפים הערבים את התבוסה האיומה ביותר וכל צבאם שעלה למאיתם איש הושמד.

כדי חצי הדרך בין משואות יצחק, עין־צורים ו... הערבים אבדות כבדות. הפלוגה היהודית הוכרחה לסגת מחירבת זכריה לאחר שעתים של קרב. הויתור על נקודה זו לא נעשה מחלשה אלא ככונה ללכוד את הרכיכו הערבי הגדול בתוך מלכות, שלא יוכל לצאת ממנה. אולם בטרם נסוגה הפלוגה מעמדה זו עצרו בעד התוקף פים לאורך כל השטח הנמצא בשדה הראיה. הפלוגה נסוגה לאחר שאחד מחבריה נהרג ושני נפצעו.

צלפים ערבים ואחם חיל עזו כבשו את המקום בקול תרועה. הם פתחו ביריות על עין צורים ורבים והצליחו על משואות־יצחק.

## פלוגת המארב יוצאת לדרכה

לרגע היה גרמה למתקפים כל בעוד שעות מ"ר של קרב ישמידו את כל הנק"ד. פלוגת מארב שיצאה מכמה מקומות בראשותו של יהושע מרכס התרכזה בעיקר בהבטחת מארב שיביא להשמדת התוקפים. המפקד הערבי לא יכול היה להבין, כי מכו"ח לו מ"רם מאחו שהיה בטוח, כי צלפיו חסמו את מבוואות הנקודות, אולם המארב סמוך. המפקד המארב היה בעיקר התקפת נגד וכיבוש חירבת זכריה.

ואב שהשקיף מנקודת המצפה ראה את התחלת הקרב בין פלוגה זו שמנתה כחמשים לוחמים ובין הערבים המופתעים. במשך שעה ארוכה לא הרגישו הערבים בפלוגה שבאת מהמארב. כאשר התפתח הקרב הראשון ב"י ניהם היו כבר במרחק של עשרים וחמשה מטרים מעמדות הערבים סביב חירבת זכריה. הערבים שרכו כח גדול במקום עמדו להתקיף את כפר עציון ורבים כאחת.

## הערבים בתוך המלכודת

צעיר, לוחם אמץ, מכני עדות המזרח החל לקרוא בערבית או הערבים "הפסיקו לירות, אנו ערבים, תנו לנו לעלות לג"ע".

לרגע הפסיקו הערבים את האש, אולם הם כבר היו בקף הקלע. המשים אנשי המ"ארכ פתחו באש חזקה. מכו"ח מתת מקלעים יבדמונייה. בהלה איומה קמה בין הערבים. הם התחילו לירות אש על אחיו. תוך כרבע שעה וזה כבר היה שעה שעה רים כבשנו בחזרה את ח"ה. סדמות נפל חלל...

## האמריקאים

## ישארו בברלין



הנשיא טרומן הודיע אמש שלא ישה צבא אמריקאי לא"י כדי לכבד את החלוקה. הוא הביע את הסברה כי יתכן שתוקם משטרה בינלאומית אשר היא תפקח על ביצוע החלוקה.

הבישופ מווינצ'נצ'י באמריקה שיעשו הכל כדי להציל את הנוצרים בא"י שנמצאים בסכנה לרגל החלטת החלוקה ושישתדלו למען הקמת כוח בינלאומי שיגן על כל המוסדות הנוצריים לאחר שהחלוקה תבוצע.

ידיעות הוי — ראה בעמוד 8

מאת סופר "הבוקר" בירושלים

הקרב הגדול הראשון בין מתקפים ערבים ולוחמים יהודים הסתיים בנצחון יהודי גדול. נצחון צבאי שכמותו לא היה לצבא עברי מזה דורות רבים. הנצחון היהודי בא הודות ליעילות, כוחות צבאית ונכונות להקרבה עצמית ונכונה.

# צעירה וצעיר. מלוחמי כפר עציון על המערכה הדרומית כיצד קצרו המגינים בהרי חברון במאות הרבות של התוקפים הערבים

## יום אבל

### באיזור ירושלים

בחברון, בית לחם וירושלים הערבית הוכרז יום אתמול ליום אבל ונערכו הללויות גדולות לתרדמים.

לפי אומדנה שנתאשרה אח"כ כמה ערבים מזוינים עולים עלינו מעבר בית לחם והם כפרים בסביבה. הפלוגה שצאה לסייר בדרום לא נתקלה בשום כנוסיה אולם מהידועות הרבות שהביאו אתם, היה ברור כי התקפה תתחיל בכל רגע. בגמור אנשי הפלוגה את סיפוריהם כבר נשמעו בגוש הדי היריות הראשונות. השימוש אות להתקפה הגדולה שנמשכה 11 שעות רצופות.

רחל הפסיקה לרגעים מספר את סיפורה וחזרה על עקבותיה בתארה את דרך רציבות המתקפים. בשעה שש בבוקר ראיתי מנקודת המצפה הגבוהה ביותר של כפר עציון את התכונה בדרום הגוש. ששה אנשים הגיעו ליד קצה הגן של המגור הרוסי, הנמצא מול כפר עציון וקרוב יותר לדרך ירושלים חברון. האוטובוסים פלטו כמה מאות ערבים מזוינים, רובם בלבוש ערבי כפרי וכמה מהם בבוש צבאי. אחיהם מכונות משא שהורידו מהם אנשים וכן אלונקות וארבעה רבים. אותה שעה הגיעו מכונות קטנות רבות. המולה רבה באה ממקום זה והערבים נשארו במקום שהיה רחוק ממטחוי קני הרובים שלנו.

### המפקד מגיע בגי'ם

קרוב לשעה שבע גי'ם לבן ובתוכו שני אנשים. כפי שהוברר אחר כך היה זה הגי'ם של מפקד ההתקפה, אשר לפי ידיעות ממקורות ערביים, היה זה עבדול קאדר חוסייני בעצמו ולידו היה גרמני, שהיה עטוף כפיה לבנה. הפעולה התוקפנית הראשונה — המשיכה רחל — הייתה תפיסת המגור הרוסי וסביבתו. בשעה שבע וחצי החלה ההתקפה ביריות צלפים מעבר המגור על כפר עציון, בעוד שמאות הערבים התפזרו לשדות והחלו להתקדם בסדר צבאי לעבר הנקודות. חלק מהם התפזרו לאורך בקעת הבריכה, הנמצאת דרומית מערבית לכפר עציון ומשם החלו לעלות בזחילה ובחליכה כפופה לע"ב הנקודה.

בינתיים הגיעו מכונות משא נוספות והביאו ערבים מזוינים, שעלו מעבר דרך ירושלים—חברון בעוד שהמכונית נשארו בצד הדרך. ריכוזי הערבים הלכו וגדלו ולפי ידיעות שהתקבלו מעבר עין צורים, רבדים ומשאיות יצחק נראו כבר אז כעשר קבוצות שכל אחת מהן מנתה למעלה מחמש ערבים.

### הקרב על "אוכף המוכתר"

כמה אחת של המגינים, תחת פקודת מפקד, יצאה מכפר עציון לעזור בעד המתקפה. הם הופיעו על ידי הצלפים הערבים, אולם עד מהרה הוכרחו צלפים אלה לוותר על מקום התבצרותם נוכח האש שניתכה עליהם מעמדותיהם. הכחה שלנו הגיעה עד למקום הנקרא בפי אנשי הגוש "אוכף המוכתר" (תרגום מביטוי ערבי השגור בסביבה). במקום זה יכלו בנקל לעצור בעד התקדמות הריכוז הערבי שעלה מדרום. התבצרותנו כאן הכריחה את הערבים להתחלק לשתיים ואחר כך לשלוש קבוצות. בעוד שכוחות ערבים זרמו למקום לחזקו של אגפם המערבי, כאשר הגיעה התבצורת הערבית וגברה ההתקפה נסוגה פלוגתנו לבסיסה בלי אבידות. נסיגה זו ארכה כשעה, אולם הודות להשגחה זו הצלחנו לעצור בעד התקדמות הצלפים הערבים תפסו את גל האבנים בשם "אוכף המוכתר". והחלו להמטיר אש על סביבות כפר עציון. הקרב אתם נמשך שעה קלה ובנתיים התקרבה לנקודה קבוצה של ערבים.

הירי היה התקרב כדי חמשים מטרים של הכפר נסתחה

להערכת חוגים צבאיים כריטיים ולא ברורים בירושלים. עדי ראיה, הצעירה החגיגית רחל ברוס" מן, בת 17, שהיתה בתפקיד מקשרת ליד מפקד הנקודה וזאב בן אברהם ממשואות יצחק, צעיר חובש כיפה, בעל קומה בינונית, מסרו אתמול בירושלים את פרטי הקרב. רחל, בהירת השעה, אשר ארשת רצינות נמתחה על פניה הצעירים יצאה מכפר עציון, כדי להלחם למצועים. וסיבה שניה ליציאתה לשעות ספורות מקו החזית היא: הוריה, התורים שניצלו באירוסה הגיעו לארץ באניה "יציאת אירוסה" וגורשו חזרה אך עלו עכשיו ארצה לאחר שהושגו עבורם רישיונות עליה. ישר מהמערכה יצאה לראות את הוריה, שהגיעו אתמול לחיפה. ההורים בודאי לא ידעו דבר על בתם האהבה שישבה אותה שעה בירושלים וספרה על ההתקפה.

### תנועה חשודה של ערבים

אני הייתי בכפר עציון. עד התחלת ההתקפה עזרתי בעבודות שונות וסרגלתי הספקתי אפילו לסרוג כובע לאחד הבחורים. שלשום לפנות בוקר החלה תנועה חשודה בסביבה. בשעה ארבע וכצי בבוקר נודע לנו, כי הערבים הקימו מחסומים לאורך הדרך בין בית לחם וחברון וכן הוקמו מחסומים לאורך הדרך עד ירושלים. היה זה סימן, כי התקפה עומדת לבוא בכל עת. למעשה לא הייתה תכונה גדולה, הרי כלנו מוכנים. פלוגת סיור נשלחה קרוב לשעה ארבע בבוקר צפונה לאיזור ופלוגה שניה דרומה. הפלוגה הראשונה יצאה מעין צורים ופנתה לעבר הכפר חירבית ביר זכריה. מפי חברי הפלוגה נודע, כי הם נתקלו במחסומים על הדרך ובהאיר היום בהמצאם במרחק כחמשה קילומטרים מגוש הנקודות נתקלו בכנוסיה ערבית גדולה, שהתקדמה לעבר הגוש. הקרב עם הכנוסיה הערבית נמשך שלש שעות, עד אשר מלך גת הסיור הצליחה להערים עליה ולהגיע בשלום לבסיסה בעין צורים.

### ידיעות פלוגות הסיור

הפלוגה הביאה ידיעות רבות על התכונה הערבית בסביבה. היא ידעה אפילו

# שיתוק התחבורה, יהודית כערבית, בחיפה

6 יהודים נהרגו ו20 נפצעו בהתקפות על התחבורה היהודית.

1 ערבים נהרגו ו42 נפצעו בפעולות תגמול נגד התחבורה הערבית

ההתקפות על התחבורה בחיפה הגיעו אתמול לשיאן והקשר בין שכונת הדר הכרמל והעיר נותק. התנועה הבין-עירונית הופסקה גם היא ולאחר פעולות תגמול נגד התחבורה הערבית שותקה גם היא. לחזית בעקבות היריות הכבדות פוסקות וההתפצצויות שנמשכו גם לאחר שיתוק התחבורה נהרגו ששה יהודים וכעשרים נפצעו.

בהתקפות תגמול על התחבורה הערבית נפגעו ערבים רבים רחוב המלכים בחיפה. עורק המסחר והתחבורה דמה אתמול למדבר שוממה וכך החנויות והמשרדים לא נפתחו. העבודה במחנות הצבא נפגעה קשה ואף בנמל היה מחסור באנשים. היריות שהתחילו בליל וגברו עם בוקר, נמשכו במשך כל היום וקורות הנפץ והיריות נשמעו מכל חלקי העיר.

ההתקפה על אוטובוס מספר 14 מאורעות חיסה אתמול החלו, כאשר ארבעה מספר 14, שנסע מהקריות והביא יורה פועלים לעבודתם הותקף בסביבת וארבעה פועלים באש מרוכזת של רובים ונשק זומאטי. מהיריות נהרגו שני יהודים וכמה נפצעו. ההרוגים הם יעקב בן-אריה, 18, מקרית חיים והאשה פדומה סלעמן, מקרית מוצקין. מיד לאחר התקפה זו הופסקה התנועה למסרן ומהמסרן ואוטובוסים מדו כבר בקצה הדר הכרמל חזרו כלערי שבאן.

התקפות על התחבורה בחיפה חיסה השונים

מיד לאחר כך הותקפו באש חזקה אוטובוסים שהיו בדרכם לבתי-גלים, לעיר החדש דרך עורק התחבורה היחיד שנשארה פתוחה הגרמנית. כן הותקפו מכוניות ערבים שנסעו להדרס.

התקפות על התחבורה בחיפה חיסה השונים



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Docteur Abba Hilel SILVER  
Président de l'Agence Juive  
à PARIS.