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American Zionist Emergency Council, press releases, 1949.

PRESS RELEASE

from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

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

Constituent Organizations

Zionist Organization of America
Hadassah
Mizrachi Organization of America
Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Zionists-Revisionists of America
Hashomer Hatzair
United Labor Zionist Party

426

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LIPSKY ASKS FOR U.S. "FAIR DEAL" FOR ISRAEL

- - -

ZIONIST COUNCIL HEAD SAYS DISTURBING REPORTS CANNOT BE DISMISSED
WITH "EASY PHRASES OF DIPLOMATIC LANGUAGE"

- - -

CALLS FOR END OF "AMERICAN SUPPORT OF EFFORTS TO CONVERT
DEFEAT OF ARAB AGGRESSION INTO POLITICAL VICTORY"

WRHS - - - AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

New York, N. Y., September 14 -- Mr. Louis Lipsky, newly-elected chairman of the American Zionist Council, today voiced the deep concern of American Zionists over the many disturbing reports that the United States Government is "now pressing for a solution to certain aspects of the problem of the Middle East which we are bound to regard as hostile to the basic interests of Israel." He added that these reports cannot be dismissed "with the easy phrases of diplomatic language."

The Zionist leader called for a "Fair Deal" attitude by President Truman towards Israel. Specifically, he called for "an end to American support of efforts to convert the defeat of Arab aggression into a political victory at the expense of the people and the State of Israel."

Mr. Lipsky also called for an end to all "overt or covert pressures" on Israel to cede parts of its territory to Arab states, and urged the United States not to support any policy which would call upon Israel "to absorb

(more)

impossible numbers of Arab refugees who fled Palestine at the behest of Arab war leaders."

Requesting that assurances be given by our Government that "henceforth Israel will be permitted to develop in peace and security," he called for active American support for the initiation of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states, looking toward final peace settlements.

The full text of Mr. Lipsky's statement follows:

"I have accepted the chairmanship of the American Zionist Council as an opportunity to serve the Zionist cause in a difficult time. It was the Council, under the exciting chairmanship of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, which led in mobilizing American public opinion in support of the Zionist movement and helped to pave the way for the establishment of the State of Israel.

"There is an urgent need for continuing the work of the Council with greater vigor and devotion than ever before. Israel has a long way to go to reach its goal of security and peace. Many of its enemies are still unreconciled to the new situation created by decisions of the United Nations. There are difficult days ahead. The true friends of Israel will have to stand by its side in the coming days of trial and struggle. Jews and Christians will be called upon to unite in support of the heroic efforts of the people of Israel to maintain their freedom and, at the same time, to provide homes for the tens of thousands of Jews who are finding their way back to the Jewish land.

"Gratitude to President Truman and the American Congress has been expressed by the American Zionist Council on a number of occasions for the part they have played in launching the State of Israel. Disturbing reports have come from many sources, however, that the United States Government is now pressing for a solution to certain aspects of the problem of the Middle East which we are bound to regard as hostile to the basic interests of Israel. These reports cannot be dismissed, and our anxiety relieved, with the easy phrases of diplomatic language.

(more)

"The Council is deeply interested in knowing whether President Truman's 'Fair Deal' attitude is intended to include the State of Israel. If so, this calls for an end to American support of efforts to convert the defeat of Arab aggression into a political victory at the expense of the people and the State of Israel. It calls for an end to all overt or covert pressures on Israel to cede parts of its territory to Arab states and to absorb impossible numbers of Arab refugees who fled Palestine at the behest of Arab war leaders. On the other hand, it calls for active American support for the immediate initiation of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states looking toward a final peace settlement.

"It cannot be overlooked that every discussion between Great Britain and the United States with regard to Palestine has produced schemes to further Great Power interests at the expense of Israel. If, as most recent reports indicate, the current discussions between Great Britain and the United States are to include the reconsideration of strategic defense plans in the Middle East, it is our duty as Americans and as Jews to ask that assurances be given by our Government that henceforth Israel will be permitted to develop in peace and security in the territory it has won by decision of the United Nations and by the blood of its heroic defenders."

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

September 29, 1949

PREPARE FOR THE EMERGENCY

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL: - 3

The best opinion here is that the following questions, vital to Israel and its future security, may come up at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am listing them in the order of their probable occurrence:

First, Severance of Jerusalem from Israel and its establishment under Alien Rule;

Second, The Question of Arab refugees;

Third, The Proposal to Amputate the Negev from the State of Israel.

It is said on good authority that the United States seeks a postponement of the introduction of the Jerusalem problem before the General Assembly until after the November elections. The Government's purpose is obvious. It seeks to avoid political embarrassment. There is no reason, however, why it should not be embarrassed on an issue so vital to us and to which it has apparently given its prior approval.

The question of Arab refugees will not come up until the Clapp Commission returns from the Middle East with a special report on the economic and agricultural development of that part of the world.

Concerning the dismemberment of the Negev -- which both the United States and Great Britain have been steadily pursuing through backdoor diplomatic pressure these past six months -- it seems likely that a deal could be struck on the first two issues if Israel would give its consent to an appreciable loss of territory in the Negev -- which it will not do.

In general, these are the subjects relevant to Israel which will come under the purview of the UN body. It is expected that the General Assembly will remain in session until the end of this year. No decision on the above issues are anticipated during October; they may be reached in November and December. These months may be the vital ones for Israel.

* * *

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

The pressure of an emergency situation dictates the nature of our work during the weeks and months ahead. American public opinion must be aroused and effectively organized throughout the country to the end that the State Department and the Administration will desist from their attempts to deprive Israel of Jerusalem and reduce Israel to an unviable entity.

The role of the COUNCIL during the current session of the General Assembly is self-evident. We must fight the battle for Jerusalem and the Negev in the newspapers, on the air, in the magazines, on the lecture platforms. We dare not lose the battle ahead of us. The consequences are too costly.

* * *

THEREFORE: Organize for the emergency! Follow the instructions contained in my letter of September 15th!

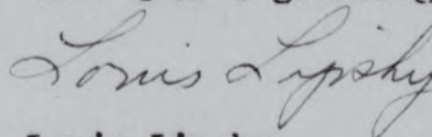
Call together representatives of all local groups affiliated with your Committee; review the political situation affecting Israel in the light of the communications that have been addressed to you; discuss your own public relations program relative to the form of emergency action your community should adopt; and if you have not done so already, elect your officers and appoint the chairmen of your committees.

If the Chairmen of your Public Relations and Press Committees are already appointed, have them get into action at once. Send their names and addresses to JEROME UNGER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, as soon as possible.

* * *

The period of the emergency will continue from now until the end of the year. But action should begin at once. Your first duty is to Help Save Jerusalem for Israel.

With Zion's greetings,



Louis Lipsky
Chairman

LL:SR
Encs.

P.S. To keep you informed on the latest developments of the Jerusalem issue, we are enclosing 1) excerpts from an address by Aubrey S. Eban to the United Nations General Assembly on this subject; and 2) two recent articles from the J.T.A. News.

Excerpts from an Address by Aubrey S. Eban, Israeli Representative to the
United Nations, before the General Assembly on September 26, 1949

"We regard the Jerusalem problem as composed of two elements. First: there is the responsibility of the United Nations for ensuring that Holy Places and sites are reverently preserved and that religious institutions are assured full liberty in the exercise of their functions. The other purpose, no less valid, and for the Government of Israel not one whit less compelling, is the need to assure the Jewish population of the city the full enjoyment of its democratic political rights in association with the only government to which it is now prepared to offer its allegiance.

"We see no incompatibility between these two purposes. Conflict can arise only if there is an unjustified encroachment by one upon the other. Thus, if the political aspirations of Israel and of Jerusalem's population were carried to the point of repudiating the concern of the United Nations for the safeguarding of Holy Places and sites there might be an encroachment upon a universal religious interest. No such eventuality will take place. On the other hand, if the United Nations were to impose upon the population of Jerusalem any burden or deprivation not strictly related to the satisfaction of universal religious interests, an encroachment would take place upon cherished political freedom.

"It would be a disservice to realistic investigation to ignore the exact relationship existing between the Jews of Jerusalem and the State of Israel at this time. The situation may be briefly described. When a law is promulgated in Israel, the Jews of Jerusalem obey it. When a tax is levied in Israel, the Jews of Jerusalem pay it. When the parliamentary institutions of Israel are elected, the Jews of Jerusalem help to elect them and participate in their operation. When civil or criminal litigation arises in Jerusalem, it is to the courts of Israel alone that the Jews of Jerusalem take their case. The coinage and stamps of Jewish Jerusalem are the coinage and stamps of Israel. The slowly reviving economy of Jerusalem is sustained and nourished from the State of Israel. The language and religion, the cultural sentiment and national allegiance of the Jews of Jerusalem are those which they hold in common with the State of Israel and its people.

"There is thus no link uniting a citizen of Paris to the Republic of France; there is no bond between a citizen of London and the United Kingdom which does not exist at this time between a Jew in Jerusalem and the State of Israel. For in modern society no man, however conscious of civic pride, feels completely in the limits of a purely municipal allegiance; he must reach out to identify himself with a wider political and social culture. In this respect, too, the Jewish citizens of Jerusalem are as those of all other cities.

"Yet there is one particular aspect in which the link between Jewish Jerusalem and the State of Israel has an altogether special strength. In 1947 the United Nations, having undertaken full responsibility, both for the religious and secular life of Jerusalem, declined to carry out any responsibility for either one of the two. Jerusalem fell into siege and famine. Its population underwent a martyrdom unknown in post-biblical times, while the international community looked on helpless, and inert. Men, women and children fell by the hundreds, both in the city's defence, and in its relief. At critical moments both its water and food supplies were cut off with no hope of replenishment. If this situation had endured for but a matter of days, there would have overtaken every living Jew in Jerusalem an annihilation more total and complete than the most effective and devastating bombardment can ever inflict. Salvation came from one quarter alone. The State of Israel, struggling against dire odds for very survival itself, girded all its strength to throw a lifeline to the beleaguered city, reopening its communication and saving it from dreadful strangulation. Every man, woman, and child in Jewish Jerusalem today can thus ascribe the fact of his physical survival directly and concretely to the State of Israel and its government."

CARDINAL SPELLMAN MUM ON REPORT HE ASKED TRUMAN
FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM

NEW YORK, Sept. 26. (JTA) -- A spokesman for Francis Cardinal Spellman today refused to comment on a report that the Cardinal had interceded with President Truman to have the city of Jerusalem internationalized.

The report, which emanated from Montreal, quoted the Rev. Raphael Quinn, secretary of the Roman Catholic Custodian of Holy Places, as the authority for the fact that Cardinal Spellman had interceded with President Truman. Father Quinn was also quoted as having charged that elements of the Israel forces were "wholly responsible for the defamation, bombing and destruction of many Holy Places" within Jerusalem.

He added that the Israel Ministry of Religion has disclaimed responsibility for these acts and "we are still without compensation or future assurance of safety." Father Quinn said the Arabs have always respected the Holy Places and called King Abdullah of Transjordan a "great and good friend of the Franciscan Order."

A report from Rome yesterday said that the Catholic Church would not be satisfied with any solution less than internationalization of Jerusalem and the Holy Places in Palestine. The report emanated from Quotidiano, organ of the Catholic Action Party in Italy, and one of the publications through which the Vatican releases semi-official material.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM ASKED BY
APOSTOLIC REPRESENTATIVE IN CANADA

MONTREAL, Sept. 26. (JTA) -- Demand for the internationalization of Jerusalem "in the name of four hundred million Catholics" was voiced here by the Apostolic Representative to Canada, Monseignor Antoniuti who came from Ottawa to address a Montreal gathering.

The Papal Nuncio said that Christians must not remain indifferent to such a "scandalous situation" where soldiers are again making merry at the "foot of the Crucifix" and added that "four hundred million Catholics and millions of other Christians demand from all interested powers that justice be done in Palestine to the rights of the Christian world and that in the birthplace of Christ be guaranteed the peace which He sought to bring to this world."

COPY FOR MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

NO. 7

October 17, 1949

To the Local Committees
of the AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL:

In order that you may be guided in the planning of mass meetings in your community during the period October 30 to November 6, as outlined in our directive No. 6 of October 11, 1949, I am sending you the following enclosures:

- a) Excellent background material on Jerusalem for speakers, radio, and press. Please use it to its best advantage remembering that we wish the AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE U.N. TO FAVOR THE COMMON SENSE SOLUTION OF THE JERUSALEM PROBLEM AS ADVOCATED BY THE ISRAELI DELEGATION.
- b) Three model resolutions to guide your meeting in adopting a resolution to be conveyed to President Truman and, wherever possible, in person to your local Congressmen and Senators (who will be in their home districts at the close of Congress which is expected shortly).
- c) An article which appeared in the October 13 issue of the New York Times, pointing up the need for the kind of action we are requesting.

If you have not done so, please return the postal card sent to you on October 11, giving us a preliminary report on your meeting plans. At the completion of your mass meeting, send us a full report on it, enclosing a copy of the resolutions adopted and any action taken.

May I also urge you once again, if you have not done so already, to send us the names of the officers and sub-committees of your reorganized local committees. I cannot emphasize too strongly how important it is -- during this crucial period -- to have local committees ready and at work.

With Zion's greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jerome Unger
Jerome Unger
Executive Director

JU:MB
Encs.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America
Zionists-Revisionists of America

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, Israel, having won its war of independence, has now taken its rightful place as a free and independent state among the nations of the world and as a member of the community of nations -- the United Nations organization; and

WHEREAS, American Jewry, which has substantially aided in the fulfillment of the Zionist ideal, is eternally grateful to the United States Government for the leading role it played in the effectuation of Palestine's partition and in the subsequent admission of Israel to the United Nations organization; and

WHEREAS, the security of Israel is now being threatened, this time by the United Nations Conciliation Commission's plan to sever Jerusalem from Israel, a plan which would place all of the Holy City within a 60-square-mile enclave under the "full and permanent authority" of the United Nations; and

WHEREAS, the Jews of Jerusalem, having undergone the most extreme suffering during the war when their city was under siege and in difficult straits, are now being called upon to surrender their city to an alien supervision; and

WHEREAS, the siege of Jerusalem was lifted, not by a United Nations truce, but by the military strength of Israel who, though sorely pressed for its own survival summoned all of its resources to relieve stricken Jerusalem and save it from strangulation; and

WHEREAS, the City of Jerusalem is predominantly Jewish in population (comprising approximately 90 percent of its total inhabitants), in art, culture, educational and medical institutions, commerce, trade and industry.

WHEREAS, for three thousand years the Jewish people have looked upon Jerusalem with special reverence, regarding it as the spiritual center of the Jewish religion.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, representing the _____ do hereby call upon the United States Government to repudiate the impractical and unjust plan of United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission which would cut off Jerusalem, the City of Zion, from Israel.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that while we are mindful of the international character of the Christian shrines and Holy Places in Jerusalem we would recommend that only these sites -- and no more -- be placed under the supervision of the United Nations.

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to President Harry S. Truman and be brought to the personal attention of Congressman _____ and United States Senators

(name)

and

(name)

(name)

R E S O L U T I O N S

HAVING NOTED that the United States Government was instrumental in the establishment of Israel and in the Jewish State's subsequent admission to membership in the United Nations;

HAVING NOTED the successful military defense of their newborn State by the heroic inhabitants of Israel;

HAVING NOTED that Jerusalem was saved from complete destruction by the Jewish defenders of that city and by the assistance of the military forces of Israel, themselves hard-pressed in battle on other fronts;

HAVING NOTED the historical connection of Jerusalem with the Jewish people for three thousand years;

HAVING NOTED that present-day Jerusalem is predominantly Jewish in population, culture, language, trade and industry;

THE (name of organization) NOW REQUESTS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

1. To recognize the political status of the Government of Israel in Jerusalem and to limit the role of the United Nations in that city to the safeguarding of the generally-recognized Holy Places in accordance with agreements which could be entered into between the United Nations and the Government of Israel on the one hand, and the United Nations and the competent Arab Governments on the other;
2. To refrain from supporting any move, from whatever source, which would impose any alteration of the present boundaries of Israel as fixed by the series of armistice agreements entered into by the Government of Israel with the adjoining Arab States under the auspices of the United Nations.

THE (name or organization) has instructed its officers to forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States and to (names of Congressman and U. S. Senators).

R E S O L U T I O N S

We, as Americans and as Jews, members of the Jewish community of

Appeal to Harry S. Truman, as President of the United States, to lend the weight of his influence in the United Nations to ensure a solution of the problem of Jerusalem that shall be both equitable and practical.

We submit that for two thousand years the Jewish people in their Dispersion have prayed for their return to Jerusalem, which is eternally linked with the restoration of Zion.

We urge the rejection of the plan submitted by the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission to have Jerusalem and its environs placed under an international administration on the ground that the plan is both impractical and unjust; and would deprive its population of their civil, political and economic rights as an integral part of the State of Israel.

We are confident that a covenant can be entered into with the State of Israel for the protection of the Holy Places without impairing any of the rights of the people of Jerusalem.

From NEW YORK TIMES
October 13, 1949

U.S., BRITAIN FIRM ABOUT JERUSALEM

Will Oppose Effort by Israel to Incorporate New City -- Solution Held Far Off

By Sam Pope Brewer

Lake Success, Oct. 12 -- The United States and Britain plan to oppose any effort to incorporate the New City of Jerusalem into the State of Israel, spokesmen for their delegations to the United Nations General Assembly indicated here today.

Both countries, the spokesmen said, supported the United Nations Conciliation Commission's plan to divide the city into Israeli and Arab zones but to keep the whole area, including Bethlehem, under international rule.

A United States spokesman said that his delegation would not insist on rigid adherence to the plan as it now stands but believed that it must stick to its basic principles.

Recently there have been rumors that the United States and Britain were coming around to the view that it would be more practical to allow Israel to take over the part of the city populated by Jews. This has been denied by the representatives of both countries here. With Israel determined to take over that section of the Holy City and the Arabs equally determined to oppose the step, prospects for an early and successful settlement are not bright.

In the General Assembly the Palestine question is not expected to come up even in committee for a month. It is on the agenda of the Political Committee but has been crowded into the background by other items.

However, the Conciliation Commission on Palestine, which has been meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, is moving here and will begin meetings next week to be ready to report to the Assembly when required.

* * * *

October, 1949

MEMORANDUM ON JERUSALEM

(This material is being distributed by the American Zionist Council as a source of reference and background on the Jerusalem problem.)

The United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission has presented to the General Assembly a draft instrument establishing a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area.

All will agree that the fundamental object of an international regime for Jerusalem is to safeguard the Holy Places which are sacred to Christianity, Islam and Judaism, and to ensure free access to them. The Commission was instructed by the General Assembly to present detailed proposals which would attain that objective.

In examining the instrument submitted by the Palestine Conciliation Commission, two questions arise:

1. Is it faithful to its objective?
2. Is it practical?

To safeguard the Holy Places it is necessary to establish an international regime whose duties and functions are concerned with the Holy Places. Such a plan would respect the religious sentiments of all faiths. But the instrument drafted by the PCC provides for an international regime which would not only supervise the Holy Places, but would also intrude into the secular and political life of the people residing in Jerusalem. Such a regime, encroaching on the rights, duties and responsibilities of the inhabitants themselves, could be established only with the consent of the parties directly concerned. Patently, such consent, involving the voluntary surrender of rights won at great sacrifice, would not be forthcoming.

By proposing the impossible, the Commission has thus defeated its objective; but it has rendered a useful service, for an analysis of the draft instrument reveals the impossibility of devising an international

government, superimposed upon a population, without regard for its own problems and legitimate interests.

When one contrasts the theoretical blueprint of the Commission with the realities of life in Jerusalem itself, one must conclude that if the United Nations wishes to safeguard the Holy Places, it should do precisely that. To go beyond is to venture into the realms of futility and failure.

It is not intended to analyze the draft instrument in detail, for a plan that is fundamentally and basically unacceptable to the people whose consent is a condition precedent to its peaceful implementation cannot be saved by patchwork revision. In this connection, it is of interest to note that the peoples directly concerned were never shown the draft instrument or acquainted with its broad outlines or provisions. It is curious that an undertaking where consent is so essential an element to success, there was no consultation of any kind. Yet in another sense, the procedure is not surprising, for it is in keeping with the character of the plan itself. The plan does not consult the interests of the people. It ignores them. Indeed, it does them injury.

The proposed draft is unacceptable because:

1. It is detached from the realities of life in Jerusalem.
2. It violates fundamental principles of the United Nations.
3. It ignores all past experience.
4. It imposes an impossible burden on the United Nations itself.

I. IT IS DETACHED FROM THE REALITIES OF LIFE IN JERUSALEM

The Conciliation Commission's plan was drafted as though in a vacuum. It seems to treat Jerusalem as some devitalized antiquity inhabited by a population entirely devoid of national, communal and cultural sentiment. The City of Jerusalem is not a museum. It must not be regarded as a relic to be wrapped in wax. It is a living city. It is conscious of its rich historic and religious tradition, but at the same time it is a modern city.

It looks with keen interest to the future and the welfare of its people.

The people of Jerusalem are devoted to their City. They have a most devout reverence for its history and sanctity. This reverence is entirely compatible with the maintenance of normal every-day secular life. Like every other intelligent people, they want to elect their own government officials, decide how much they will pay in taxes, control the expenditures of their government's revenues. They desire self-determination and independence in association with their own people. Of this they gave clear evidence within the last two years when they fought for their freedom and won it at great cost of life.

Under the proposed draft, the peoples of Jerusalem would be denied self-determination. Decisive powers would be vested in external agencies outside their control. Jerusalem would be divided into two zones. But neither the Arab nor the Jewish zone would be integrated with the contiguous Arab and Jewish states. They would be separate zones. People of each zone are euphemistically referred to as "residents." Apparently they are to be citizens of no state. They are to bear allegiance to no national authority. In short, they are to be stateless.

Internationalization is not a concept readily acceptable to any people. Many sentiments, pride in common history and devotion to common destiny, give content and meaning to the concept of national allegiance. For the Jews in Jerusalem this concept, cherished for long generations, is all the more precious since it was only recently realized. Until some 18 months ago, most of these people were known as displaced persons, refugees, stateless. Many of them were homeless refugees in Europe, uprooted by the Nazis and set adrift for five, ten, fifteen years. The establishment of the State of Israel and the stout and successful defense of Jerusalem had made it possible for them to assert their own nationality.

Now to deny them this newly-won right, to render them stateless once again, would be a cruel blow which none would understand. But this would be more than a mere psychological disaster. Statelessness has physical, economic, juridical disabilities. The residents of these zones, citizens of no country, residents of no nationality, would ask themselves: To whom shall we turn for passports? Who will represent us in world commerce? Who will protect us from personal indignities abroad? Who will defend us from external aggression? Who will stand up as our spokesman in international councils, there to defend and advance our interests, to assert our rights, to express our views, to make our proper contribution to international affairs? It is a curious paradox that the proposal to internationalize the City removes its population from the international arena. Deprived of nationality, they would be unrepresented in the international forum.

The Jews of Jerusalem are Israelis. They regard themselves as nationals of the new State. They consider the Jewish sections of Jerusalem to be an integral part of that State. They could not be deprived of that citizenship without their consent. And in no condition would they give their consent.

To sever modern Jerusalem from the State of Israel is a surgical amputation critically injuring the health both of the City and the State. For the first time, the City now enjoys self-government and it is bound to develop far more rapidly in the future than it has done in the past. But this promise of growth and expansion is clouded by the threat of denial of self-rule. Past experience amply justifies that fear. It is fortified by the explicit provisions of the draft document, The decisive vote of the proposed general council is to be cast by those whom the people themselves do not elect. This council determines levies to

be paid. Here is taxation without representation - aggravated by the likelihood that one part of the City will be asked to subsidize the other at the expense of its own growth and development.

The primary requisite of any community's growth is people. On this point the draft document proposes a curious strait jacket. Article 5 declares the responsible authorities shall take no steps in matters of immigration which might alter the present demographic equilibrium of the area of Jerusalem. This is a bald - if unspoken - ban on Jewish immigration into Jerusalem. This in itself is an evil proscription, reviving the bitter memories of the Palestine White Paper of 1939 which all but prohibited Jewish immigration into Palestine and which set in motion the train of events that led finally to the end of the Mandate. The all-compelling incentive of the Jewish struggle for independence in Israel was the universal demand of the Jewish people to open their country to Jewish immigration. Now it is proposed that there be a limitation on Jewish immigration into Jerusalem. Are conditions to be created which will compel Jews to organize "illegal" Jewish immigration into Jerusalem? Will Jews be driven to organize a new underground to carry on that immigration and to defend it?

Moreover, it must be recognized that the ban falls with unequal weight, for the new international authority is not to attempt to control a population increase resulting from birth. The Arab birth rate in Palestine has always been much higher than the Jewish birth rate. In fact, the rate of population increase of the Arabs has been the highest in the world. Obviously, a rule which limits Jewish immigration but ignores the natural Arab increase will weight the demographic equilibrium in favor of the Arab zone.

Put bluntly, this clause asserts in the name of the UN: "No Jews are welcome here." Such a proclamation would not only create a most violent reaction inside Israel. It would be deeply resented by Jews all over the world. It would be welcomed only by those who preach racial and religious discrimination.

II. IT VIOLATES FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE UN

It does not require detailed discussion to conclude that the proposed draft is inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. The proposal to denationalize in the name of internationalization is objectionable not merely because injury is done to a people. It is objectionable because violence is done to fundamental principles. There is some irony in that Article 7 of the proposed document calls upon the local authorities of the Arab and Jewish zones to ensure human rights and fundamental freedoms. But such rights and freedoms which have been acquired by the people of Jerusalem and which are now being exercised by them are to be abrogated by this very same document.

Article 1 of the UN Charter affirms the principle of equal rights and self-determination and declares it to be the purpose of the United Nations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The obligation of the United Nations to assist peoples toward self-government and independence is clearly expressed in Article 75 of the Charter. Nowhere is the United Nations or any of its organs empowered to help people to non-self-government or to assist in the establishment of non-self-governing territories.

For the United Nations to embark on such a program would be to retreat ignominiously from high principle and purpose. Thus to announce to the world in the name of the United Nations that Jewish immigration to Jerusalem is to be barred is to suggest that the United Nations has a low estimate of the value of people themselves and it is prepared to make invidious distinctions between peoples. It would be a strange undertaking for the United Nations to attempt to withhold from people the exercise of their right of self-determination. Such proposals are neither within the competence of the United Nations nor in accord with its conscience.

III. IT IGNORES ALL PAST EXPERIENCE

For three religions--Christianity, Islam and Judaism--Jerusalem is sacred, an eternal shrine. For the Jewish people, Jerusalem holds cultural and national as well as spiritual associations. It is the center of their national history. It was the capital of the First and Second Jewish Commonwealths. For two thousand years of Jewish exile and dispersion Jerusalem was not merely a city of a revered past. It was the promise of a glowing future. To sever Jerusalem from the Jewish State is to do violence to Jewish history. It offends the sensibilities of every Jew in Jerusalem and Israel. It arouses the deepest reaction among Jews as a people, for it would be a crushing blow to their national honor and dignity.

The plan quarrels with recent history, including the experience in the United Nations itself. It ignores completely the events of the past 24 months. It is as if the history of Jerusalem began on the day the draftsmen placed their proposals on paper.

When the General Assembly began consideration of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, the representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine made it clear to the Assembly that they believed Jerusalem was irrevocably linked with the proposed Jewish State, and they advocated that the modern sections of Jerusalem, built and inhabited by Jews, be made part of the Jewish State. This proposal was not accepted by the General Assembly, and in deference to the wishes of that body and to the sentiments expressed by religious spokesmen of the world, the Jewish Agency representatives assented to the proposal that Jerusalem be internationalized. Having given their assent, the Jewish representatives then did everything in their power to implement the plan. Representatives of the Jewish Agency, accepting the declaration of the General Assembly on Jerusalem as a promise

that Jerusalem might be spared conflict and its shrines safeguarded from war, worked with organs of the United Nations to draft a statute for Jerusalem. But confronted with Arab resistance and boycott, the organs of the United Nations failed to assume the responsibilities to which they were pledged. The Trusteeship Council on April 21, 1948, abandoned its efforts to draft a statute for Jerusalem. It adopted a resolution referring the matter back to the General Assembly.

By that action, the Jewish population in Jerusalem was abandoned by the world and left to itself in the face of grave danger. Fighting broke out in Jerusalem within a few hours after the General Assembly adopted the Resolution of November 29, 1947, and from that time on, the Jewish population of Jerusalem was subjected to sniping, shellfire, starvation and siege. In May, 1948, the position grew even more desperate, for Jerusalem was separated from the newly established State of Israel and isolated from the world itself.

The Jews of Jerusalem, the Jews of Israel, yield to no one in their devotion to the sacred City. It was not the Jews who shelled its shrines. It was not the Jews who destroyed its water supply. It was not the Jews who blockaded its roads to deny it food. It was not the Jews who blew up its Holy Places. On the contrary, it was the Jews who defended Jerusalem and sought to save it from destruction. Nothing that happens to Jerusalem is ever forgotten in history, and the world will long remember the ordeal through which Jerusalem passed. Hundreds, thousands of its people today carry wounds which painfully recall that struggle. For months the people were reduced to a pitiful ration of food and water. Many literally faced death by starvation. And those who died were unburied for days. In this crisis, the international community which had assumed the right to exercise jurisdiction over Jerusalem failed to discharge its responsibilities. Jerusalem, its people and its sacred places were rescued for civilization by the people of Israel who, by a

herculean effort, opened a road to the beleaguered City, brought it food, water, arms and life itself.

No monument to this saga in Jewish history has **yet** been erected. No memorial attests to the City's suffering and agony unless it be the charred skeletons of trucks and convoys which lie along the road from Bab-el-Wad up to the Holy City--silent sentinels of the youth who fought and died to liberate Jerusalem. The story of this struggle is etched in the mind and heart of every Jew in Jerusalem and in Israel. The bond between Jerusalem and Israel is the bond of common struggle and survival. It cannot again be severed.

In this light, the bland suggestion that the New City, surrounded as it is on three sides by Arab forces, be again rendered defenseless, seems totally unrealistic. In these circumstances it is inconceivable that the people would agree to divest themselves of military forces, essential to life itself. The United Nations may not ask any people to commit suicide.

IV. IT IMPOSES AN IMPOSSIBLE BURDEN ON THE UNITED NATIONS ITSELF

Past experience of the United Nations itself should deter it from **an** undertaking beyond its competence and capacity. It is no disrespect of the United Nations to suggest that that organization is not equipped at this stage to impose upon an unwilling people a superstructure of government which abridges the rights of the people concerned and violates the Charter of the United Nations. The chief purpose of such a commission--the safeguarding of the Holy Places--is defeated from the outset if it attempts to do more than to achieve that purpose.

It is essential, if the Holy Places are to be protected and maintained, that a practical and workable plan be adopted. The Government of Israel has repeatedly affirmed its support of the principle of full international control for the protection and immunity of the Holy Places. The Government's attitude was submitted to the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly by the

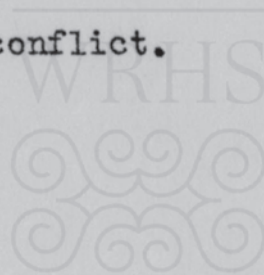
representative of the Government of Israel on May 5, 1949. At that time, the representative said in part:

- "1. The Government of Israel cooperated to the fullest extent with the Statute drawn up in November, 1947. It bears no responsibility for the failure of that project, a failure which arose through the deliberate armed resistance of the Arab States and the refusal of the organs of the United Nations to ratify or assume the obligations necessary for the fulfilment of the Statute.
- "2. The Government of Israel advocates and supports the establishment by the United Nations of an international regime for Jerusalem concerned exclusively with the control and protection of Holy Places and sites. If such a regime for the Holy Places is established, my Government will cooperate with it.
- "3. The Government of Israel will also agree to place under international control Holy Places in other parts of its territory outside Jerusalem...
- "4. The Government of Israel is prepared to offer the fullest safeguards and guarantees for the security of religious institutions in the exercise of their functions. The Government of Israel is prepared to negotiate immediately with all religious authorities concerned with this end in view...
- "5. The Government of Israel will persevere in its efforts to repair the damage inflicted on religious buildings and sites in the course of the war launched by the Arab States.
- "6. The Government of Israel regards with pride and satisfaction its part in the restoration of peace and order which are the essential requisites of any reverent care for the Holy Places and sites.
- "7. The integration of the Jewish part of Jerusalem into the life of the State of Israel has taken place as a natural historical process arising from the conditions of war, from the vacuum of authority created by the termination of the Mandate, and from the refusal of the United Nations to assume any direct administrative responsibilities on the scene. This integration, which is paralleled by a similar process in the Arab area, is not incompatible with the establishment of an international regime charged with full juridical status for the effective protection of the Holy Places, no matter where situated...
- "8. The Government of Israel will continue to seek agreements with the Arab interests concerned for the maintenance and preservation of peace and the reopening of blocked access into and within the City of Jerusalem. Such negotiations now proceeding however do not affect the juridical status of Jerusalem which we shall seek to define by international consent....
- "11. The Government of Israel draws attention to the existence of profound Jewish religious interests, which give Jerusalem a central and abiding place in Jewish spiritual life. All the sacred associations of Jerusalem

derive ultimately from its Jewish origins. The preservation of synagogues, the right of access to the Wailing Wall and of residence within the Walled City require international guarantees and implementation..."

This position remains unchanged. The Government of Israel advocates the establishment of an international regime for the Holy Places. It will help to establish such a regime. It will fully cooperate with it. It earnestly hopes that the United Nations will concede to the people of Jerusalem an appreciation of their rights and responsibilities in a measure equal to that people's understanding and respect for universal interest in the Holy City.

To keep Jerusalem sacred, it is unnecessary to profane every democratic principle. The national interests of the people of Jerusalem can be reconciled with world interest in the City's shrines, without violating either. These interests are not in conflict.



PRESS RELEASE

from AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

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Murray Hill 2-1160

Constituent Organizations

Zionist Organization of America
Hadassah
Mizrachi Organization of America
Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion
Zionists-Revisionists of America
Hashomer Hatzair
United Labor Zionist Party

426

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL ANNOUNCES FULL MOBILIZATION EFFORT TO DEFEAT PLAN TO INTERNATIONALIZE JERUSALEM

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CALLS FOR NATIONWIDE MASS MEETINGS FROM OCTOBER 30 TO NOVEMBER 6

- - -

New York -- The American Zionist Council announced that it has called upon all of its local committees throughout the United States -- of which there are more than 400 -- to convoke mass meetings during the week of October 30 to November 6 in order to bring before the American people the accurate facts concerning the plan to internationalize Jerusalem.

The Council, which speaks for the entire Zionist movement in the country, is headed by the veteran Zionist leader, Louis Lipsky.

In a memorandum sent today to its 400 local committees, the Council strongly urged that all media of public opinion be utilized to make the American people aware of the true facts of the Jerusalem problem, now on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

(Jerusalem, with its 100,000 Jews, would be placed under UN supervision if the plan recently submitted by the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission is adopted during the current session of the General Assembly.)

Announcement was made by the Council that it would hold a public meeting on the evening of November 2 at Manhattan Center in New York City. Louis Lipsky, chairman of the Council, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the American Section

(more)

of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Mrs. Rose Halprin, member of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and Rabbi Aaron D. Burack, prominent leader of the orthodox rabbinate, will be among the principal speakers. Other Zionist spokesmen, as yet unannounced, will participate in the evening's program.

It was specifically pointed out by the Council that the purpose of the nationwide meetings was to educate the American public on all phases of the Jerusalem problem. They are not being convoked in a spirit of protest, it emphasized.

The national organizations affiliated with the Council include the following: Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America; Hashomer Hatzair; Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion; Mizrachi Organization of America; United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion); Zionist Organization of America; Zionists-Revisionists of America.

PROPOSALS ON THE AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

Without encroaching on the autonomous functions of the several Zionist groups, all joint Zionist activities in the United States should be placed under the supervision of the American Zionist Council, which will conduct its activities in accordance with the decisions of the World Zionist Congress.

The terms of reference of the Council should include:

- a) The Shekel.
- b) Elections to the World Zionist Congress.
- c) All joint Zionist activities on behalf of Hebrew and Jewish culture.
- d) The problems arising in connection with fund raising campaigns on behalf of the work of the World Zionist Movement in Israel; maintaining Zionist leadership in those campaigns. Stimulating economic investment in Israel.
- e) Zionist political activity on the American scene.
- f) Representing common Zionist interests in relation to other organized groups in American Jewry and to non-Jewish groups. The democratization of the American Jewish Community in general.
- g) Implementation of the joint Zionist functions delegated by the World Zionist Executive to the organized Zionist movement in America.
- h) Chalutzit and Youth.

A few words of explanation of the above enumerated items:

Item (a): The Shekel. I am not raising the issue of the merits of the Shekel as an established institution in organized Zionism. The Council will be within its rights in discussing the problem, and when a consensus of opinion is reached, in making an appropriate recommendation to the next Zionist Congress. But, unless the Zionist Congress introduces a change, the Shekel occupies a place of utmost importance in the Zionist movement. It serves two purposes: It is a token of membership in the World Zionist Movement as well as a registration certificate for the elections to the World Zionist Congress. As long as the institution of the Shekel remains, the Council will have to supervise the sale of Shkolim in the United States, eliminating the necessity of electing special shekel boards each time. Difference of opinion may also be foreseen with regard to the question of holding elections to the World Zionist Congress. The by-laws of the World Zionist Congress envisage the possibility of appointing delegates, by mutual consent, without resorting to a general election. The Council will be obliged to see to it that parties concerned consider the problem in due time, and, in the event elections do take place, the Council is to serve as the Central Election Board.

There is little to add to item (c). The vital importance of the cultural and educational work of the organized Zionist movement is recognized to a greater degree than ever before. The separate cultural activities of the particular groups would, of course, be continued, but the broad area of cultural work common to all Zionists, would be conducted by the Council.

Item (d) is included in order to safeguard the movement from open internal struggles in connection with the fund raising activities in America. The memory of the unfortunate incidents at the beginning of the 1949 campaign are still too fresh to dwell upon at length. The Zionist movement must bear the main responsibility for the maximum success of the drives; it must see to it that representatives of the organized communities be included in the bodies conducting such drives, maintaining the leadership of organized Zionism.

The entire character of the Funds will, without doubt, be discussed thoroughly in the movement. The forthcoming Zionist Congress will have to evaluate the instruments created for the purpose of meeting its financial needs and will have to take a stand on the question of the necessity of having two separate funds - Keren Kayemet and Keren Hayesod. In the event of a new decision, the organized Zionist movement in America would be obliged to conduct its affairs accordingly. If the status quo prevails, the Council, representing organized Zionism in America, would supervise this area of common activity.

To clarify item (e), I assume that all Zionist groups adhere to the basic idea that both the World Zionist Movement and the American Zionist Movement are still duty bound to perform important political tasks; that they all accept the principle that on the American scene these tasks should be assumed by the American Zionist Council.

It is obvious that the Council will not intervene in the political sphere of the State of Israel. The State carries out its work through the organs of the Government of Israel and its foreign representatives, consuls, special missions, delegations, etc.

At the same time there are political activities which remain the responsibility of the organized Zionist movement, both in relation to the United States Government and to the United Nations. These activities would form the primary tasks of the Council. Proper political representation, organized political demonstrations, when necessary, enlightenment of the American public on the problems and issues connected with Israel would be the functions of the Council.

The constituent groups of the Council would be allowed to conduct their own educational activities of a political nature and to maintain their own political contacts. All general political activities on the Zionist scene are to be conducted within the framework of the Council. The constituent groups would be obliged to report on their own separate activities at least once in two months. It would be the prerogative of the Council to demand more frequent reports.

All activities of the Council of a political nature would, of course, be conducted in close consultation with the Jewish Agency, it being understood that the Jewish Agency will, as far as possible, carry out its functions in the United States through the American Zionist Council.

Item (f) either does not require explanation, or requires very elaborate clarification. I am convinced that all leaders of the various Zionist groups realize, and none of them will deny the special role of the Zionists in introducing democratic principles and organized responsibility in the internal life of American Jewry.

Item (g) means simply that all communications of the World Zionist Executive to the American Zionist organizations and all instructions concerning Zionist activities would be addressed to the Council. The Council is to work out plans for the implementation of necessary tasks by particular groups. It must be clear that the American Zionist Council is the only body representing organized Zionism in America in relation to the World Zionist Executive.

The last item, (h), is now being earnestly and thoroughly discussed in the American Jewish community in general and in the Zionist ranks in particular.

There is no use denying that the differences of opinion are very serious. If the Council could find a common denominator for all Zionist groups in respect to Youth and Chalutzit activities in this country, it would indeed be a great, historic achievement and would open up an area of tremendous creative possibilities. But even in the event that such joint activity would prove impossible, the Council would be duty bound to coordinate the work of the particular Zionist groups in that field.

In accordance with the decision of the World Zionist Congress, the Council would have to establish liaison with Hechalutz in America.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNCIL

Our aim should be to construct the Council on a firm democratic basis. It is my proposal to accept the principle of a structure similar to that of the World Zionist Congress. By that I mean that every Jew or Jewess would be entitled to participate in creating the permanent structure of organized Zionism in America. For that purpose an instrument similar to the Shekel should be introduced, to serve as token of membership and certificate of registration for every Jew or Jewess seventeen years of age and older.

An all-American Zionist Congress is to convene bi-annually. The delegates to that Congress are to be elected by the registered Jews.

All groups participating in that democratic body will file their slates of candidates for election. Elections will be on the basis of proportional representation. The number of delegates allotted to each ticket will be in proportion to the percentage of votes received by the respective ticket.

The organs of the Council will be composed in proportion to the number of delegates of each faction at the American Zionist Congress.

This democratic structure should be our aim. In the interim a Provisional Council should be established on the following basis: A higher Council is to be created similar to the Zionist Actions Committee, along the same key as the parties are now represented in the Council. This higher Council is to be the legislative body. An Executive is to be formed on the same basis. Both the higher Council and the Executive would take over immediately all the areas of activity listed above. It would also be the task of the Provisional Council to prepare, in due course, the elections for the All-Zionist Democratic Congress and thus pave the way for the permanent democratically built American Zionist Council.

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