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Jewish Agency, "J", 1947-1948.

AHS

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JOHANNESBURG

SEPTEMBER 10, 1947

LG SHERTOK JEVAGENCY NYK

FRIEND APPROVED FOLLOWING IMPROVEMENTS ONE WHOLE WESTERN GALILEE
TWO INCORPORATION JERUSALEM THREE SHORTER TRANSITION PERIOD FOUR
REMOVAL TREATY ECONOMIC UNION AS SINEQUANON FIVE IMMEDIATE
TRANSFER DISPLACED PERSONS EVEN IF NECESSARY CAMPS IN PALESTINE
SIX SPEEDY CONSIDERATION MAJORITY REPORT AND IMPLEMENTATION
SEVEN SUPPORT REPRESENTATION JEVAGENCY UNO ASSEMBLY NIGHT CONTACT
DOMINIONS DELEGATIONS TO ENSURE FRIENDLY ATTITUDE NINE CONTACT
WITH YOURSELF AS REPRESENTING JEVAGENCY STOP AIRMAILED YOU
MEMORANDUM FRIEND TRANSMITTED SOUTHAFRICAN DELEGATION SEASONS
GREETINGS ALL FRIENDS

ZIONFED

AHS
EN

Mr. Moshe Shertok

October 23, 1947

Gideon Ruffer

At a meeting with the Arab delegations, Creech-Jones is reported to have made the following statement:

"When I took office as Colonial Secretary I was an ardent supporter of Zionism. The fact that I am acting now against myself should not be attributed to your (Arab) efforts but to the Zionists themselves who caused me to change my mind. The Jews have many supporters in this country (U.S.A.), among them very highly placed persons, but the time is very near when these supporters, too, will be converted into anti-Zionists by the Zionists themselves."

GR:HF

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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To JEWISH STANDARD

12-24-47

19

Care of or Apt. No. 45 WIGMORE STREET

Street and No. LONDON, ENGLAND

Place

YOUR ISSUE DECEMBER NINETEENTH CARRIES STATEMENT HEADED ADMISSION

WHICH ATTRIBUTES TO ME CERTAIN STATEMENTS MADE AT THE MANHATTAN CENTER MEETING.

I MADE NO SUCH STATEMENTS AND YOUR REPORT IS A PURE FABRICATION. PLEASE MAKE

CORRECTIONS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

*Cable
night letter*

Sender's name and address
(For reference only)

Sender's telephone
number

W66 - JANUARY 30, 1948

TO: DON BIRMINGHAM & GIRVIN FOR JESSUP

FROM: RTE (WASHINGTON)

(SLC)

THE MIDDLE EAST - I (NA - INT'L)

LONG-UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF OUR MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY WERE BEING RECONSIDERED IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK. THE PRO-ZIONIST PRESS, SENSING THE SLOWLY CHANGING POLITICAL CLIMATE, HAS SOUGHT TO PICTURE THIS AS A HOT AND BITTER DEBATE. IT IS TRUE THAT A DEBATE ON POLICY IS UNDERWAY, BUT THE ARGUMENT IS NEITHER SO SHARP NOR SO DIRECT AS THE ZIONISTS WOULD LIKE TO MAKE IT APPEAR.

THE QUESTIONS WHICH ARE ASKED WERE FIRST ASKED WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION FIRST COMMITTED ITSELF WHOLEHEARTEDLY TO THE ZIONIST POSITION, AND THEY WERE RAISED AGAIN WHEN THE PARTITION CRISIS CAME TO A HEAD IN NEW YORK LAST WINTER. THEY ARE BEING ASKED NOW BECAUSE EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST MAKE IT SELF-EVIDENT THAT PARTITION, UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS, IS MANIFESTLY NO SOLUTION TO A PROBLEM THAT MAY INDEED BE INSOLVABLE.

THE ISSUE IS STATED IN ITS SHARPEST FORM BY KERMIT ROOSEVELT IN THE JANUARY ISSUE OF THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL (SEE ATTACHMENT) IN WHICH HE ASKS: "(AND) RECOGNITION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND SUPPORT OF POLITICAL ZIONISM, COMPLEMENTARY OR ANTAGONISTIC?" ROOSEVELT THINKS THAT THEY ARE ANTAGONISTIC, AND HE ANSWERED HIS OWN QUESTION BY SAYING: "ALMOST ALL AMERICANS WITH DIPLOMATIC, EDUCATIONAL, MISSIONARY OR BUSINESS EXPERIENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST PROTEST FERVENTLY THAT SUPPORT OF POLITICAL ZIONISM IS DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS, AS WELL AS TO COMMON JUSTICE."

THE OFFICIAL POLICY, AS EXPRESSED BY THE WHITE HOUSE, IS THAT SUPPORT OF POLITICAL ZIONISM IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. THE DIS-

SENTERS FROM THAT POSITION IN WASHINGTON DO NOT GO AS FAR AS KERMIT ROOSEVELT. THEY DO NOT SAY THAT PARTITION IS CONTRARY TO COMMON JUSTICE, BUT THEY DO SAY EMPHATICALLY THAT IT IS CONTRARY TO OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. NUMBERED AMONG THE DISSIDENTS ARE MOST MEMBERS OF THE JOINT CHIEFS, PROBABLY JIMMY FORRESTAL (ALTHOUGH HE HAS NOT SAID SO OPENLY) AND VIRTUALLY EVERY MEMBER OF THE MIDDLE AND NEAR EASTERN SECTION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO SAY THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE IN OPEN REVOLT AGAINST THE DECLARED POLICY OF THE ADMINISTRATION. IT IS MORE ACCURATE TO SAY THAT THEY HAVE GRAVE MISGIVINGS OVER THE ULTIMATE IMPLICATIONS OF OUR PRESENT POLICY. THEY SEE THIS POLICY LEADING TO THREE THINGS: 1) THE ALIENATION OF VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE ARAB WORLD; 2) THE ENTRY OF THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN; AND FINALLY 3) THE EVENTUAL LOSS OF GREAT OIL RESERVES ON WHICH OUR CURRENT WORLD STRATEGIC POSITION NOW DEPENDS. THE ONE DISSENTER WHO HAS COME CLOSEST TO LIFTING HIS VOICE IN PUBLIC IS FORRESTAL. HE GAVE HIS VIEW A WEEK AGO TO KOMING, AND REPEATED THIS WEEK TO THE SENATE WAR INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE. EVEN THEN, HIS CRITICISM OF THE CURRENT POLICY WAS IMPLIED RATHER THAN DIRECT.

THE MAIN THING TO REMEMBER ABOUT THIS POLICY FIGHT IS THAT THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE IF ANY OFFICIAL CHANGE IN POSITION SINCE THE ISSUE WAS RAISED. THE RESISTANCE SHOWN BY THE ARABS HAS, SO FAR AS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FIND OUT, MADE LITTLE IMPRESSION ON ANY ONE. AMONG THE ZIONISTS, IT HAS MAINLY INCREASED THE PRESSURE FOR U.S. ACTION TO IMPLEMENT THE POLICY. AS FOR OPPONENTS, IT HAS ONLY SHARPENED THEIR OPPOSITION.

THE ZIONISTS, OF COURSE, ARE THE NO. 1 ADVOCATES OF DIRECT U.S. MILITARY AID. THEIR FIRST OBJECTIVE IS TO HAVE THE U.S. LIFT

THE MILITARY EMBARGO SO THAT THE HAGANAH AND OTHER MILITARY GROUPS MAY OBTAIN ARMS. THEIR SECOND OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING ABOUT DIRECT OR INDIRECT U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE POLICE FORCE. THE CASE FOR DIRECT U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE POLICING OPERATIONS WAS STATED MOST BADLY BY MAX LERNER IN P.M. SOME WEEKS AGO WHEN HE SAID THAT: "THE ZIONIST CAUSE IS NOW THE U.S. CAUSE..." (PLEASE CHECK EXACT QUOTES; NOT AVAILABLE HERE).

THERE ARE PRACTICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ARGUMENTS AGAINST SENDING U.S. TROOPS AS PART OF AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE. OBJECTIONS WILL MOST CERTAINLY BE RAISED IN CONGRESS TO THE DISPATCH OF U.S. TROOPS, ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE PRESIDENT TO USE MARINES IN AN EMERGENCY WITHOUT RAISING THE ISSUE IN CONGRESS. (THE MARINES CAN BE SENT ANYWHERE AT ANY TIME ON ORDERS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.) FROM THE DIPLOMATIC STANDPOINT THE DISPATCH OF AMERICAN FORCES WOULD BE OBJECTIONABLE BECAUSE (1) THE U.S. CANNOT UNDERTAKE THE JOB ALONE; (2) ANY INTERNATIONAL FORCE DIRECTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD MOST CERTAINLY HAVE TO INCLUDE SOVIET ELEMENTS; AND (3) IT IS SOMEWHAT DUBIOUS WHETHER A DECISION AGAINST THE WILL OF THE ARABS CAN BE ENFORCED AT THE BAYONET POINT. (BRITISH DIFFICULTIES IN ENFORCING THEIR DECISIONS AGAINST THE JEWISH POPULATION ALREADY PROVIDE A PRIME EXAMPLE OF WHY BELLIGERENT COERCION, EVEN BY A UNITED NATIONS FORCE, IS NOT THE ANSWER.)

BUT BEYOND AND ABOVE THESE OBJECTIONS IS THE OVER-RIDING FEAR THAT DIRECT SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN THIS PROBLEM CAN ONLY CONFOUND THE PRESENT CONFUSION AND RAISE THE SAME KIND OF DIFFICULTIES IN PALESTINE THAT WE ARE ALREADY EXPERIENCING IN GERMANY AND KOREA. THE POST-WAR PATTERN OF BIG-POWER COLLABORATION IS NOT REASSURING. THERE IS ALSO THE FEAR THAT IF THE SOVIET FORCES EMBARK FOR PALESTINE, THE

SOVIET GOVERNMENT, WITH EVERY SHOW OF JUSTICE, COULD THEN RAISE THE MILITARY QUESTION OF LINES OF SUPPLY. THEY COULD CLAIM THE RIGHT TO BASES IN THE DARDENELLES (TO SECURE THEIR SEA LANES) OR IN AN OVERLAND "CORRIDOR". YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE SOVIET UNION JUSTIFIED THE RIGHT TO MAINTAIN TROOPS IN THE BALKAN SATELLITES AFTER THE PEACE CONFERENCES, ON THE ARGUMENT THAT THEY HAD TO SAFEGUARD THEIR AUSTRIAN COMMUNICATIONS. WE JUSTIFY OUR RIGHT TO A CORRIDOR THROUGH THE RUSSIAN ZONE IN GERMANY TO BERLIN ON THE SAME PRINCIPLE. WE COULD HARDLY DENY TO RUSSIA IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHAT WE HAVE ALREADY CONCEDED TO OURSELVES IN EUROPE AND ASIA (IN RESPECT TO KOREA).

THE QUESTION OF USING ONLY TROOPS OF THE SO-CALLED NEUTRAL NATIONS HAS BEEN CONSIDERED. IT IS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION AS A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE IF NO OTHER SOLUTION APPEARS. ON PAPER THIS WOULD APPEAR TO BE PRACTICAL EXCEPT FOR THE FACT THAT FEW OF THE MIDDLE POWERS ON OUR SIDE HAVE SUFFICIENT MILITARY BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE. CANADA AND AUSTRALIA MIGHT PROVIDE EFFICIENT SOLDIERS, BUT THEY HAVE SHOWN LITTLE OR NO ENTHUSIASM FOR PICKING UP A POTATO THAT HAS BEEN TOO HOT FOR MOTHER BRITAIN. IT IS LIKEWISE QUESTIONABLE WHETHER EITHER HOLLAND (ALREADY OVER-COMMITTED IN THE EAST INDIES) OR BELGIUM COULD PROVIDE A WELL-TRAINED, WELL-DISCIPLINED FORCE. THIS WOULD LEAVE THE SCANDINAVIAN AND BALKAN COUNTRIES. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE YUGOS WOULD BE AS LITTLE WELCOME IN PALESTINE AS THE RUSSIANS.

EVERY EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO PERSUADE THE BRITISH TO STAY ON, BUT THEY HAVE BEEN ADAMANT IN THEIR REFUSAL TO STAY ON DISPUTED GROUND. THERE IS INDIRECT EVIDENCE THAT ON PALESTINE BEVIN FEELS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BADLY LET HIM DOWN. MOREOVER FROM THE STAND-POINT REALPOLITIK IT IS IN BRITAIN'S INTEREST TO COMMIT US DEEPLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT IS NOT IN BRITAIN'S INTEREST TO CONTINUE TO BEAR

A BURDEN THAT EMBROILS BRITAIN WITH JEWS AND ARABS ALIKE.

THE ONE HOPE THAT THE BRITISH MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO WITHDRAW HINGES ON A NEW APPROACH TO THE PALESTINE PROBLEM WHICH, WHILE FEASIBLE, NOW APPEARS TO BE REMOTE. THIS WOULD BE A CALL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND A RECOMMENDATION BY ONE OF THE BIG POWERS THAT THE PARTITION PLAN BE RECONSIDERED AND POSTPONED. IN ITS STEAD, A UNITED NATIONS TRUSTEESHIP WOULD BE PROPOSED UNTIL SOME OTHER SOLUTION APPEARED POSSIBLE. UNDER THIS PLAN OF ACTION THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTROLLING PALESTINE WOULD NOT FALL UPON THE SECURITY COUNCIL BUT THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL, OF WHICH THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT A MEMBER. AN INTERNATIONAL CONSTABULARY COULD THEN BE RECRUITED FROM MEMBERS OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL.

OBVIOUSLY THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE TO TAKE THE LEAD IN ENUNCIATING SUCH A POLICY. THE BASIS FOR RECONSIDERATION, SAY LEGAL EXPERTS, CAN BE FOUND IN U.S. OFFICIAL STATEMENTS (SEE PACKET ENCLOSURES). WHEN HERSCHEL JOHNSON MADE THE U.S. STATEMENT OF POSITION BEFORE THE AD HOC COMMITTEE HE USED WORDS THAT WOULD GIVE US AN OUT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION. HE SAID: "ANY SOLUTION WHICH THIS COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS SHOULD NOT ONLY BE JUST BUT ALSO WORKABLE AND OF A NATURE TO COMMAND THE APPROVAL OF WORLD OPINION." HE ALSO SAID: "IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE PROBLEM OF MAKING ANY SOLUTION WORK RESTS WITH THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. IF NEW POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE TO ENDURE THEY MUST PROVIDE FOR THE EARLY ASSUMPTION BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES FOR THEIR OWN DOMESTIC ORDER".

THE JURIDICAL BASIS FOR A WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PRESENT U.S. POLICY WOULD REST ON THE KEY WORD "WORKABLE". IF THE PRESENT SOLUTION IS NOT "WORKABLE", THEN THE U.S. WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN ASKING FOR RECONSIDERATION. THE SECOND KEY PHRASE IS "THE PROBLEM OF MAKING

ANY SOLUTION WORK RESTS WITH THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE." OBVIOUSLY
THIS CONDITION DOES NOT NOW APPLY, PARTICULARLY IF ORDER CAN ONLY
BE ENFORCED BY AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE.

PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS SOLUTION IS NOT BEING ADVANCED OR
ADVOCATED IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT. IT IS ONLY AN ALTERNATIVE WHICH
HAS BEEN OFFERED UNOFFICIALLY FOR A WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT CRISIS.

ON PAPER SUCH A RETREAT SEEMS TO OFFER MANY ADVANTAGES. ACTUALLY
IT IS STUDDED WITH DEEP AND DANGEROUS POLITICAL PITFALLS PARTICULAR-
LY FOR THE MAN WHO FIRST ADVOCATES IT OPENLY. IT WILL BE IMMEDIATELY
ATTACKED BY THE ZIONISTS, RIGHTLY, AS A REVERSAL OF AN AGREED POSI-
TION TAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS. IF THE PRESIDENT TOOK THE INITIATIVE
IT MIGHT WELL COST HIM THE ELECTION, FOR IT WOULD WRAP UP NEW YORK,
ALREADY THREATENED BY THE WALLACE UPRISING, AND HAND IT OVER TO THE
G.O.P. ON A PLATTER. ON THE BROADER INTERNATIONAL SCENE, IT WOULD
HAVE TO BE CARRIED THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY OVER THE
PROBABLE OPPOSITION OF RUSSIA AND ALL HER SATELLITES.

THE WHITE HOUSE COULD RISK SUCH A STEP ONLY IF THERE WERE BI-
PARTISAN AGREEMENT ON A PALESTINE POLICY. SOME FEELERS HAVE BEEN
PUT OUT, BUT SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN NO CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF A REAL
CONCERTED EFFORT TO ESTABLISH PARTY AGREEMENT. AGREEMENT WOULD BE
DIFFICULT, FOR ALL OF THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES ARE AS DEEPLY COM-
MITTED AS TRUMAN HIMSELF. DEWEY AND TAFT HAVE COME OUT IN FAVOR OF
THE MAJORITY REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION. STASSEN, IN WHAT
CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED A WHOLLY IRRESPONSIBLE STATEMENT, PLEDGED
HIMSELF BEYOND RETREAT THIS WEEK.

WHILE WE SYMPATHIZE WITH YOUR DESIRE TO FIND A CENTRAL FIGURE
AROUND WHOM TO BUILD THIS STORY WE FEEL THAT IT WOULD BE UNFAIR AND
INACCURATE TO SELECT LOY HENDERSON. HE WAS THE ORIGINAL OPPONENT OF

PARTITION AND HAS NEVER CHANGED HIS VIEWS. BUT TODAY THE ARGUMENT HAS BEEN LIFTED FAR ABOVE THE LEVEL OF GEOGRAPHIC CHIEFS IN THE DOS. AS HE SAID, FRIDAY (OFF-THE-RECORD): "I HAVE BEEN MADE THE TARGET, BUT AT PRESENT I HAVE LITTLE OR NOTHING TO DO WITH MAKING OR UNMAKING OUR POLICY. IT IS NOW FAR ABOVE ME."

YOUR PEG FOR THE STORY COULD BE STASSEN'S STATEMENT OR FORRESTAL'S TESTIMONY OR THE ROOSEVELT ARTICLE. TO IDENTIFY HENDERSON AS EITHER VILLAIN OR HERO OF THE PIECE WOULD BE TO ADOPT THE CURRENT ZIONIST LINE, WHICH IS TO MAKE HENDERSON A SINISTER ANTI-SEMITES, SCHEMING TO UNDO THE WORK OF CENTURIES. HENDERSON IS ADMITTEDLY ONE OF THE MOST ARDENT ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN THE GOVERNMENT BUT AT THIS POINT HE IS ONLY ONE FIGURE IN THE CURRENT DEBATE.

ANSWERS TO OIL QUESTIONS UPKOMING SATURDAY AM. VISSON ON ZIONISTS COMING SEPARATELY TONIGHT.

1140P - PSC

-- THE END --

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES
50 West 77 Street
New York 24, N. Y.
TRafalgar 3-2900

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1948

ADDRESS OF DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, CHAIRMAN
OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE AND OF
THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, AT THE MASS DEMONSTRATION
AND MEMORIAL SERVICE IN MADISON SQUARE PARK FOLLOWING THE PARADE
OF VETERANS FOR PALESTINE -- SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1948

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The President and the Secretary of State declare that they still favor partition as the correct solution for Palestine. Why, then, have they taken the initiative to have a Special Assembly of the UN convoked to revoke the action of the last Assembly which overwhelmingly endorsed partition? Is it because the Arabs have resisted it? Do the President and the Secretary of State believe that after a period of temporary trusteeship, such as they propose, the Arabs will come to accept partition? On what information do they base such a belief? If trusteeship is not a substitute for partition, as they have declared, and the permanent solution for Palestine will still have to be found in partition, which will have to be enforced whenever it takes place, what useful purpose is served by indefinitely postponing the permanent solution and thus prolonging the period of uncertainty and strife in the Holy Land?

If our Government has finally reached the conclusion that it is prepared to join an international police force to maintain law and order in Palestine in connection with the setting-up of a UN trusteeship, why is it unwilling to do so in connection with the carrying-out of the UN Plan for Partition?

If the American Government is still committed to the partition solution, as it repeatedly declares, and to the principle that the Jewish people of Palestine has a right to independence and sovereignty, how does its new proposal for

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trusteeship advance or ensure that objective? The American people have a right to receive an answer to this question. In fact, this answer should have been given before the U. S. Delegate to the Security Council introduced the new resolutions in the name of our Government.

Every American citizen is deeply concerned in the defense of his country. Love of America and devotion to her traditions and institutions are deeply ingrained in the hearts of the Jews of America. You Jewish War Veterans, who have by the hundreds of thousands served American in two world wars, need not be told these elementary truths, nor do any politicians in Washington need to lecture you or the American Jews generally on patriotic duties and responsibilities. You need take no lessons in American patriotism from Loy Henderson, Robert Lovett or James Forrestal, or from the oil lobbyists, who have been responsible for the shocking reversal of the American position.

In these desperate times, the strength of our country lies first and foremost in the confidence that the free nations of the world have in the integrity of our purposes and in our pledged word. Any suspicion of duplicity in our foreign policy and in unreliability in our promises serves to strengthen the diplomatic offensive against us all over the world. This can hardly be balanced by the billions of dollars spent by us for aid in the various countries of Europe.

Those who truly love America and believe in the high moral role of leadership which destiny has assigned to her in this century, wish to see her integrity remain unimpeachable and her position unassailable by any suspicion of profit-seeking or power politics. Time and again in the history of nations, yielding to a temporary expediency has resulted in incalculable damage to long-range and fundamental purposes and functions. Let any American inquire today among the members of the United Nations, and he will learn to his great humiliation how badly our position has slumped as the result of the amazing reversal of the United States on Palestine, which we sought to justify by so much legalistic

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abracadabra and such fallacious arguments. It is not yet too late for our beloved country to undo the mischief for which certain officials in Washington are responsible. Neither the Congress of the United States nor the American people would approve of these machinations. Why should a little group of men be permitted to lead our great country into a morass of duplicity, undermining our prestige in the world, shaking the very foundations of the United Nations, and doing grievous wrong to a people which has been struggling to regain freedom and independence in the ancient Land of Israel?

The Congress of the United States has twice endorsed the national aspirations of the Jewish people in Palestine. Both major political parties are on record in support of the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Every President of the United States since President Wilson has endorsed it. The United Nations four months ago, with the fullest support of our Government, has likewise approved of it. American Jewry continues to stand by the United Nations decision and will not be intimidated by the propaganda of those who wish to scuttle it.

It is not yet too late for our country to return from a lamentable detour to the highway of a clear purpose and a fine, consistent position at the United Nations. Our Government should re-affirm the position which it wisely took last November in favor of solving the Palestine problem through partition, a position which the President of the United States and the Secretary of State endorsed and still endorse.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES
50 West 77 Street
New York 24, N. Y.
TRefalgar 3-2900

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1948

EXCERPT FROM ADDRESS OF SENATOR OWEN BREWSTER (R.-ME.)

AT THE MASS DEMONSTRATION AND MEMORIAL SERVICE IN MADISON SQUARE PARK
FOLLOWING THE PARADE OF VETERANS FOR PALESTINE -- SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1948

AMERICAN SECURITY

Palestine and petroleum will not mix. From the standpoint of our national security, the oil reserves of the Middle East are not worth a tinker's dam. This is the testimony of every competent military authority.

In the event of any trouble, the American and British oil developments in the Middle East will simply serve the Soviet.

The railroads and trucklines have already been built by American enterprise and generosity direct from the head of the Persian Gulf to the Russian border.

Logistics plus American built transportation ensure possession by the Red Army of the oil wells of the Middle East.

Sacrificing our honor in Palestine for the utterly unattainable oil of Arabia is not only dishonorable but stupid.

We shall lose the whole world and our own soul as well.

Let us be very sure that America gives no occasion for the indictment levelled at the Chamberlain Government in 1939 by Herbert Stanley Morrison, leader today of the Labor Majority in the British House of Commons: "The Jews must be sacrificed to the government's preoccupation with exclusively imperialist rather than human considerations."

Like the foolish dog in Aesop's fable, we shall drop our honor to get our oil and end up with neither.

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Yet in the name of oil our national honor and good faith are being tarnished. Subtly it has been whispered that Mid-Eastern oil is vital to our security and therefore our pledges in Palestine must be repudiated.

Confidence in American good faith among freedom loving people everywhere is the most vital of strategic materials so far as America is concerned. Without confidence among people everywhere in our plighted word, America can never hope to bring into being an indissoluble union of those who love freedom more than life.

In the words of Winston Churchill: "You are not going to found and forge the fabric of a grand alliance to resist aggression, except by showing continued examples of your firmness in carrying out, even under difficulties, the obligations into which you have entered -- never was the need for fidelity and firmness more urgent than now."

America stands stultified before world opinion in seeking to support -- all at the same time: (1) a truce with the Grand Mufti, fresh from five years in Berlin with Adolph Hitler -- his hands still dripping with Jewish blood; (2) a trusteeship for Palestine under some unknown trustee and supported presumably by American arms; and (3) a Partition Plan solemnly adopted after extensive study by more than 2/3 of the United Nations. Janus is outdone. This is not two-faced but three-faced.

In the scathing words of Winston Churchill, commenting on Chamberlain and his White Paper, one can only say of the President of the United States, that: "He has reason to complain of his advisors as he has been very poorly briefed."

What will the world think of a great power that seeks a truce with the Grand Mufti because he defies with force of arms the considered conclusions of practically all the nations outside of the Moslem World?

Having defeated Hitler and Hirohito, we find ourselves in full retreat before 7500 Arab mercenaries who have recently invaded Palestine in deliberate and proclaimed defiance of the Decision of the United Nations.

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The Minute Men of Concord and Lexington find their spiritual descendants in the embattled hosts of Zion among the hills of Palestine.

The shots of the Haganah are being heard around the world by every ear attuned to love of human freedom and good faith.

America became a new nation conceived in liberty because other people permitted their sons and their munitions to come to our aid. Embargoes on munition shipments and cancellation of the passports of those who dared to volunteer to fight in the cause of human freedom were fortunately unknown.

In both the first and second world wars, long before the United States was involved, munitions were flowing freely to our ultimate allies, and American boys who loved human freedom more than life were volunteering without restriction to enter the contest all around the world. The Lafayette Escadrille and the Flying Tigers were the symbols of an America still animated by the spirit of '76.

America may well demand of those in authority that the embargo shall be modified to permit arms to go to those who are defending the Decision of the United Nations.

American boys have the same inalienable right to volunteer to fight for human freedom in Palestine as in Europe or China. The Old World has no monopoly upon the spirit of Steuben or Kosciusko or Lafayette.

Lake Success must not become a synonym for failure. One Munich for this generation should be quite enough.

The magnificent mausoleum of the League of Nations upon the shores of Lake Geneva at least served for a political generation.

Here on the shores of the East River they still go forward with the preparations to build a \$60,000,000 tomb for an organization that is being destroyed by its own hand. Its epitaph might well be: "Erected to the memory of the power of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem who succeeded where Hitler and Hirohito failed."

In the Partition of Palestine the nations of the world were united in supporting a just solution of an age-old problem. To their support came the

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hosts of those who loved liberty more than life in many lands. In Palestine itself there is a deep yearning for peace among the Arabs and the Jews. The repeated assassination of Arabs who dare to dissent from the edict of the Grand Mufti sufficiently indicates the temper of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine.

With twice as many Arabs as Jews in Palestine, why is it necessary for the Grand Mufti to import his thousands of hired mercenaries from countries pledged as members of the United Nations to assist in maintaining world order under law? Is it not even more of a travesty to realize that these mercenaries hired to defy the Decision of the United Nations and the United States are being paid indirectly but in large measure, from the proceeds of American oil royalties? The Trans-Jordan Legion this last month defied the power of Great Britain by invading Palestine, although this Arab force was organized and trained by the British, and is today almost entirely supported by a grant of \$8,000,000 a year from the British Treasury, now in process of replenishment from the United States.

American intelligence and integrity cannot be so lightly trafficked with. American honor is far more important in this distraught world than Arabian oil.

The righteous wrath of the American people is gradually being aroused against those who would sell America's good faith in the world for the will o' the wisp of thirty billion barrels of utterly unavailable petroleum.

Zionism and Zionists are not today on trial. The United Nations rather has its day in court to demonstrate whether the fond hopes of its founders are to be dashed by its failure at the first obstacle.

The great dream of Zion is to be fulfilled in our day and generation because it is profoundly right.

The Jewish homeland is to grow into the Jewish Commonwealth envisioned by its founders and pledged by Woodrow Wilson in the throes of the first World War.

Both great political parties in America have pledged the development of a homeland for Jews in Palestine. It is clear now that this must mean the implementation of the Partition Plan and the establishment of an independent

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Commonwealth in the Jewish portion of Palestine.

Here is one of the keys to world peace.

Make no mistake about it. The vision of the last half century of Zionist pioneers will be converted into a reality that will forever serve.

The Partition Plan will be implemented.

The Jewish portion of Palestine as allocated by the United Nations will become an independent Commonwealth either under this Administration or under the Administration that will certainly succeed it.



JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES
50 West 77th Street
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.
TRafalgar 3-2900

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, April 5, 1948

ADDRESS OF BRIG. GEN. JULIUS KLEIN, NATIONAL COMMANDER
OF THE JWV, AT THE MASS DEMONSTRATION AND MEMORIAL SERVICE
IN MADISON SQUARE PARK FOLLOWING THE PARADE OF VETERANS FOR PALESTINE
SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1948

We have marched today for something more than justice to the heroic Jewish people of Palestine. We have marched together as living evidence that the American people are determined to retain their national honor and integrity. We have marched in the solemn recognition that to tolerate the death of a single defender of the Jewish community of Palestine is to compromise with every principle for which American veterans -- whatever their religious belief or national origin -- have gladly and proudly defended from the time our nation was born.

Let us be perfectly clear as to what has been surrendered in our country's retreat -- however temporary that retreat may be -- from its first forthright and honorable position with respect to the partition of Palestine. What has been conceded is that United Nations ballots can be nullified by the bullets of any state or group of states in the United Nations organization that finds itself outvoted. It was the failure to resist this kind of veto power that murdered the League of Nations. And it is one of the prime assassins in the bloodbath that followed who now leads the brigands that assail the Jewish community of Palestine and make a mockery of a United Nations decree.

International law itself is challenged as never before. On December 11, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously adopted a declaration against genocide -- the extermination of entire human groups through physical, biological or cultural means. Today, April 4, 1948, the so-called Grand Mufti of Jerusalem -- miraculously delivered from the prisoners' dock at

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Nuremburg after World War II -- is committing the crime of genocide against the Jewish community of Palestine. Nowhere in the world's ministries has a voice been raised putting this cutthroat on notice that he may be held accountable under international law for his savage crimes against a people who fought among the ranks of the free nations of the world. Instead, he has heard only the rich, pear-shaped tones of appeasement. Let those who have poured mellow words of concession into the Mufti's ears ask themselves whether they are accessories to the crime of genocide.

For us in America, the basic issue in Palestine today is crystal clear. The proof of what I say is on this platform and in this audience. We have come here today with a single purpose and a single loyalty. We cherish our country's honor. We cherish its devotion to the cause of political and individual freedom for all peoples and all nations. We ask no new or special privilege for the Jewish people of Palestine. We ask only that, in a time of international tension and unrest, our country stand fast by its traditional support for the just cause of a people who seek to secure themselves in a way of life akin to our own.

For this principle, we Jewish War Veterans marched with our Catholic comrades of Irish descent in the days of Ireland's heroic struggle against oppression and subjugation. For this principle, we marched with our fellow veterans of Bohemian parentage before there came into being the nation of Czechoslovakia. Ours was a single devotion then, and it is a single devotion today. Resistance to injustice is the duty of every American. It is the special obligation of Americans who have served our country in times of emergency. That is why the eloquent voice of the National Commander of the American Legion, our great and good friend, James F. O'Neill, has been raised in behalf of prompt and effective implementation of the United Nations partition decision. For this is an issue that asks of any American veteran no loyalty other than his devotion to American principles of justice and fair consideration of the democratic aspirations of a peace-loving people. American veterans -- whatever their religious belief -- can have only

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one primary allegiance. That is the allegiance to our country's welfare and security. If we look clearly and honestly at what is happening in Palestine today, we must be forced to only one conclusion. It is not the Jewish people of Palestine who have declared war on a decision of the United Nations. It is not the Jewish people of Palestine who are importing arms and ammunition for aggressive war on their neighbors. It is not the Jewish people of Palestine who are being aided by mercenaries of other countries in the reversal by force of a United Nations decree.

When we talk of truce or of trusteeship, or of any other device which is seemingly aimed at restoring peace to Palestine, let us remember that it is not the Jewish people of that country who have refused to comply with the decree of the United Nations. The violence and bloodshed in Palestine -- the avowed intention to undermine and destroy the authority of the United Nations -- is the crime of only one element of Palestine's population. It is the crime of the Arabs, and the instigator of that crime is the Grand Mufti. As American veterans, whose first concern is for the safety and stability of our own country, we must be perfectly clear on this issue. The Mufti and his cohorts have been our enemies before. Their brigades fought against us and our allies in World War II. They bore arms against us in the days when the armies of Hitler and Mussolini had the advantage in preparation and manpower. Today, they seek to blackmail us with threats of cancelling oil concessions -- concessions which are far more necessary to the Arabs than they are to the American people.

Can we suppose that these ex-partners of Nazism and Fascism would spring eagerly to the support of the United States in the unthinkable event that this country ever became involved in another war? On this score, the record of the Jewish people of Palestine is clear and unassailable. Twice in this century, they have given of their youth and labor to the armies of the free governments. With their individual labor and initiative, they have brought industry and agriculture, education and the physical and social sciences, to the Holy Land

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that had been permitted to wither and decay under Arab feudalism. Let us not be deceived by the cunning propaganda of the Arabs and their British collaborators. There is no appetite among the Jews of Palestine for totalitarian nostrums. They have worked too hard for individual and political freedoms to substitute a fresh dictatorship for an age-old injustice. It is to us in America that they look for guidance and support in their struggle for independence, just as other subjugated peoples have looked to us since we cast off our own shackles in 1776. If we fail them now, we will wreck the hopes of millions of others of every race and creed who now yearn for deliverance from political captivity. Worse still, we will have failed the cause of our own security. For to risk the sacrifice of our honor and integrity is to risk the loss of valiant and proven allies.

There is still time to stay a tragic re-enactment of Munich. There is still time to inscribe into the pages of our history a final and conclusive rejection of appeasement and surrender to illegality and aggression. We must redouble our efforts to uphold democratic processes and decisions so that we may see the achievement of a Palestine settlement based on justice and honor. We must revise the embargo that has turned out to be the most effective weapon in the Mufti's arsenal.

This is the mission of all Americans. Upon its accomplishment depends our national integrity. Upon it rests one of the pillars of our national security. Upon it is pinned our hope that freedom-loving nations of the world will continue to look to us for leadership and support in the critical days ahead.

UNITED STATES MISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

Press Release 451
May 13, 1948.

Statement by the Honorable Philip C. Jessup, Delegate
of the United States, before Committee I of the Special Session of the
General Assembly, Thursday, May 13, 1948.

Mr. Chairman:

This Special Session of the General Assembly has grappled with the problem of the future Government of Palestine for the past four weeks. During these weeks, we have exhausted every effort to find at this time a peaceful solution of the problem which would command itself to the necessary majority of the General Assembly and to the Jews and Arabs of Palestine.

In our debates, we have had the benefit of the long experience of the Mandatory power as expressed in statements made by representatives of the United Kingdom Government.

We have heard again the well-known arguments of representatives of the Arab Higher Committee, supported by the Arab states, in favor of a Palestinian State in Palestine.

We have heard reiterated, the arguments of the Jewish Agency in support of its claim for Statehood.

On the basis of the working paper presented by the United States in an effort to facilitate our efforts, we have considered in detail the possibility of a temporary trusteeship for Palestine, pending the development of a solution on which the parties can agree.

On the basis of suggestions made by the Representative of the Mandatory government and on the basis of a working paper prepared by our distinguished Rapporteur and Delegate of Norway, Mr. Finn Moe, we have considered in Sub-Committee 9 detailed proposals for a number of minimum, practical steps that might be taken, but have heard exception taken to these proposals by representatives of both the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee.

A number of simple facts have emerged from our discussions.

(1) It has not been possible for us in the time at our disposal to devise a peaceful solution of this problem acceptable to both of the principle parties.

(2) The Representatives of the Jewish Agency, supported by a number of Members of the United Nations, will not agree to any solution of the Palestine problem which fails to guaranty the establishment of a Jewish State.

(3) The Representatives of the Arab Higher Committee, also supported by a number of Members of the United Nations, will not agree to any solution which might result in the establishment of a Jewish State.

(4) No proposal has been made which would provide the means of carrying out the resolution of November 29 by peaceful means.

(5) No proposal has been made which would permit the implementation of the resolution of November 29 by use of United Nations forces.

(6) The fair and equitable character of the United States suggestion that a temporary trusteeship be established without prejudice to the rights, claims and interests of the parties or the character of the eventual political settlement has commended itself to many members.

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(7) It is clear, however, that neither Jew nor Arab is willing to make, for a temporary period, the necessary sacrifice of partisan interest to permit a trusteeship to operate effectively.

(8) It is likewise clear that in the absence of the necessary minimum of agreement between the parties, sufficient armed forces would be essential to any trusteeship plan to preserve internal order and the security and territorial integrity of the country.

(9) The United States offered to participate in contributing its fair share of the forces that might be required for this purpose and approached certain other Governments which we felt might have a similar interest -- but these governments were not in a position to participate.

(10) Meanwhile, the United Kingdom Government, despite the inability of the United Nations thus far to find a peaceful solution of the problem, will lay down its Mandate at midnight Friday or 6:00 New York time, tomorrow afternoon.

These facts suggest one question.

In the situation which will confront the world within the next twenty-four hours is there any action which the United Nations can usefully take?

I have no hesitation, Mr. Chairman, in giving a strong affirmative answer to this question. There is a great deal that the United Nations can do, not only in the few hours remaining at our disposal before six o'clock tomorrow afternoon, but thereafter, for as long as may be necessary, until, with the assistance of the United Nations, the two principal communities of Palestine shall have agreed, as I know they will in due time, on the future of their country.

We must first of all, Mr. Chairman, consider the nature of the situation which confronts us.

The Jewish and Arab communities of Palestine have rejected all efforts made by a number of governments as well as by the United Nations to find a way of settling their differences by peaceful means.

It is the view of the United States as expressed by Ambassador Austin in the Security Council on February 24 that the United Nations does not have any Charter-conferred power to impose a political decision against the will of the people concerned. It is equally clear, however, that the Security Council has the unquestioned right to use its powers under Chapter VII for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Although we anticipate developments of the most disturbing character in Palestine within the next few hours, it is not possible on the basis of the information now in hand to determine whether or not a threat to international peace will exist in that country after May 15 and consequently whether force or other measures short of force may be required to deal with this threat.

Meanwhile, the efforts which have been made by the Security Council, acting through its Truce Commission, to bring about the cessation of hostilities in Palestine and prevent the outbreak of widespread hostilities on a devastating scale, have been pursued with great diligence. In the course of its work as a member of the Truce Commission, and as a result of intensive, although informal discussions with representatives of the Jewish and Arab communities, the United States has formulated proposed Articles of Truce for Palestine.

If our Belgian and French colleagues have no objection and with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I should like now to read, for the information of the General Assembly, these Articles of Truce. Before reading them, I should

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like to make clear that these truce terms do not represent any last minute effort presented to the parties in the nature of an ultimatum. On the contrary, they reflect weeks of intensive discussion with representatives both of the Jews and Arabs here in New York and in Palestine. They are without question in the opinion of my Government fair and equitable terms which do not prejudice the rights, claims or interests of either party, or the character of the eventual political settlement. Had they been accepted by the parties they would have put an end to current hostilities; they would have prevented the outbreak of conflict amounting to open warfare in Palestine; they would have provided an opportunity for the cooling of emotions; and, above all, they would have provided the General Assembly and the parties with an opportunity to consider the problem of the future government of Palestine in a spirit of calm.

ARTICLES OF TRUCE FOR PALESTINE

PREAMBLE

The Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine accept the following Articles of Truce for Palestine effective midnight, May 12-13, 1948, and accept responsibility for insuring compliance by the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine therewith.

ARTICLE 1

All military or para-military activities, except police functions authorized by the Security Council Truce Commission, as well as acts of violence, terrorism and sabotage, shall cease immediately.

ARTICLE 2

During the period of the truce, armed bands and fighting personnel, groups and individuals, whatever their origin, shall not be brought into Palestine nor be assisted or encouraged to enter Palestine.

ARTICLE 3

During the period of the truce, weapons and war materials shall not be imported into Palestine nor shall any assistance or encouragement be given to the importation into Palestine of such weapons and war materials.

ARTICLE 4

Any person or group of persons found by the Security Council Truce Commission, after proper investigation, to have committed acts of violence, terrorism or sabotage contrary to the terms of this truce, shall be immediately expelled from Palestine or placed in custody under arrangements to be made by the Security Council Truce Commission.

ARTICLE 5

During the period of the truce, and without prejudice to the future governmental structure of Palestine, existing Arab and Jewish authorities shall function as Temporary Truce Regimes in the areas in which such authorities are now exercising control and shall accord full and equal rights to all inhabitants in such areas.

ARTICLE 6

During the period of the truce, and without prejudice to the future governmental structure of Palestine, no steps shall be taken by Arab or Jewish authorities to proclaim a sovereign state in a part or all of Palestine or to seek international recognition therefor.

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ARTICLE 7

During the period of the truce, the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine accept, as a matter of emergency, the authority of the Security Council Truce Commission to arrange the necessary collaboration between Arab and Jewish authorities required for the maintenance of public order and essential public services.

ARTICLE 8

During the period of the truce, freedom of movement and communications shall be accorded all persons and traffic throughout Palestine except as may be declared by the Security Council Truce Commission to be in violation of the truce or prejudicial to a final political settlement.

ARTICLE 9

All persons displaced from their homes in Palestine by recent disorders shall be permitted to return to their homes and resume their normal occupations unless the Security Council Truce Commission shall decide in specific cases that such repatriation would jeopardize those truce arrangements.

ARTICLE 10

During the period of the truce, existing Arab and Jewish authorities shall continue to apply the existing laws of Palestine unless otherwise authorized by the Security Council Truce Commission.

ARTICLE 11

During the period of the truce, and without prejudice to future decisions on the question of immigration, the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine accept, as a matter of emergency, the authority of the Security Council Truce Commission to deal with the question of immigration into Palestine.

ARTICLE 12

All persons, groups and organizations in Palestine pledge their maximum effort to preserve the Holy Places and to protect all activities connected therewith; to this end the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine accept, as a matter of emergency, the authority of the Security Council Truce Commission to establish special security arrangements for the protection of the City of Jerusalem and of the Holy Places.

ARTICLE 13

The Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine undertake to participate in the establishment of a Palestine Truce Council, composed of three representatives of each, to effect the joint action necessary for the execution of this truce and to assist the Security Council Truce Commission in carrying out its functions.

ARTICLE 14

This truce shall remain effective for three months, and thereafter unless either the Arab Higher Committee or the Jewish Agency for Palestine gives at least thirty days notice of termination to the Security Council Truce Commission. The Security Council Truce Commission shall immediately notify the Security Council of the receipt by it of any such notice of termination.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I think it might be helpful to review the most important developments which have led to the present situation with regard to the truce.

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Following the passage of the resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, the United States attempted by diplomatic means to urge a moderate attitude upon the interested parties in order that a peaceful implementation of the plan for partition with economic union might be possible.

On February 16, the Palestine Commission referred to the Security Council "the problem of providing the armed assistance which alone would enable the Commission to discharge its responsibilities on the termination of the mandate."

On February 25, the United States introduced a resolution in the Security Council, the first paragraph of which provided for the acceptance by the Council of the General Assembly's requests for implementing the November 29 resolution. This proposal failed to receive the necessary support. Only five countries - Belgium, France, Ukraine, Soviet Union, and the United States - voted in favor of it.

The other two paragraphs of the American resolution, as amended, providing for consultation by the Permanent Members of the Council with Representatives of the Jewish Agency, the Arab Higher Committee, the Mandatory Power, and the Palestine Commission, were accepted by the Security Council on March 5.

During the ensuing ten day period of intensive consultation, two facts emerged: First, that the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power, the Jewish Agency, and the Arab Higher Committee all believed that the partition plan could not be implemented by peaceful means; Second, that the five permanent members failed to find that the situation in Palestine constituted a threat to international peace and security.

As the result of these consultations my Government felt the United Nations was faced by a most serious dilemma. One course, the easy course, would have been to do nothing. We and other members of the Security Council could have floated for a brief while on the stream of history and then foundered on the rock of Palestinian intransigence.

The other course was more difficult. It was to take immediate and direct action to maintain the primary objective of the United Nations -- peace. We thought that action to keep the peace should, however, be without prejudice to the eventual solution of the Palestine problem and should leave the parties free -- except that they were bound to keep the peace -- to work out an eventual adjustment of their profound differences.

Consequently my Government decided to take affirmative steps in concert with other Members of the United Nations to prevent the Palestine Question from threatening the peace of an important area of the world. On March 19, Ambassador Austin, the United States Representative in the Security Council, advocated that a truce be arranged between the parties and that consequent upon this truce a temporary trusteeship be established for Palestine which would provide a framework of Government for that much-troubled land pending the eventual working out of a peaceful solution by which both the Jews and Arabs of Palestine could abide.

The position enunciated by Ambassador Austin on March 19 was immediately reiterated by Secretary Marshall the following day.

To the authority of the words spoken by Ambassador Austin and Secretary Marshall were added those of President Truman on March 25. The President said: "These dangers [to the peace of this nation and of the world] are imminent. Responsible governments in the United Nations cannot face this prospect without acting promptly to prevent it. The United States has proposed to the Security Council a temporary United Nations trusteeship for Palestine to provide a government to keep the peace. Such a trusteeship was proposed only after we had exhausted every effort to find a way to carry out partition by peaceful means.....

"If we are to avert tragedy in Palestine an immediate truce must be reached between the Arabs and Jews of that country."

On April 1, the Security Council, faced with the persistent determination of the United Kingdom to terminate its Mandate for Palestine in less than two months time, by unanimous vote adopted a resolution calling upon the parties to observe a truce. At the same time, the Security Council approved a United States proposal that the Secretary-General be requested to call a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of considering the future government of Palestine.

It was our view that a provisional regime for Palestine should be established which would be based firmly on the Charter and succeed the Mandatory Power as the duly constituted authority in Palestine after May 15.

On April 17 the Council approved a proposal to make the truce resolution more effective, and on April 23 established a Truce Commission to work in Palestine itself in an effort to accomplish a cease-fire, a cessation of hostilities, and a military and political standstill pending the Assembly's deliberations on an interim arrangement for Palestine. X

On April 20, Ambassador Austin said in this Committee: "We do not suggest a temporary trusteeship as a substitute for the plan of partition with economic union or for any other solution of the Palestine problem which may be agreed upon by the Jews and Arabs of that country. We consider it an emergency measure to ensure public order and the maintenance of public services. The truce and trusteeship together envisage a military and political standstill to save human life and to make possible further negotiations on a final political settlement. As we see it, the truce and trusteeship would be entirely without prejudice to the rights, claims or positions of the parties or to the character of the eventual political settlement."

In laying our trusteeship working paper before the Committee, Ambassador Austin also made it clear that the United States, as a responsible Member of the United Nations, was prepared, if other Governments would join with it, to provide its fair share of the armed forces which might be necessary to make such a temporary trusteeship effective.

We have envisaged truce as prerequisite to trusteeship. In other words, there should be that essential which thus far, I regret to say, has been lacking in the Palestine situation; agreement between the two principal communities of that country not to fly at each other's throats but rather to refrain from internecine warfare while the healing passage of time should cool hot blood and permit wiser counsels to prevail. ?

As a Member of the Truce Commission, we initiated informal conversations with representatives of the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee here in New York in April. These informal conversations led to concrete proposals of possible articles of truce which might have formed a modus vivendi between the parties. In the first place they would give effect to the Security Council's Resolution of April 17 in accomplishing a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities in Palestine. In the second place, they would provide the seed bed in which the germ of eventual permanent agreement could be implanted and might grow.

There were occasions during this informal endeavor when we hoped that agreement might be reached between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine. But negotiations were slow and communications with the Middle East difficult.

About ten days ago we thought the prospects of agreement might be enhanced if representatives of the Arabs and Jews of Palestine, of the Arab Governments, and of the Security Council Truce Commission could fly to Palestine itself to work out, on the territory of the Holy Land, agreed terms of truce.

To provide a breathing space for this endeavor it was suggested that there be an immediate and unconditional cease-fire for ten days, beginning May 5; that the Special Session defer any final action for ten days while the truce terms were being negotiated, and that the Mandatory Power extend its administrative responsibility in Palestine for ten days in order that the Special Session should have time after the truce was negotiated to work out a provisional Governmental arrangement for Palestine. The President of the United States offered to send such a peace-making party to Palestine immediately in an American plane.

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With deep regret we learned on May 4 that the Jewish Agency could not accept this proposal, nor was it accepted by the Mandatory Power, the Arab Higher Committee, or the Arab States.

We were disheartened but we did not give up hope. The United States Delegation continued its conversations in New York with representatives of parties concerned.

These activities, naturally, were carried on by us in consultation with representatives in New York of the other members of the Truce Commission and of the Mandatory Power.

At the end of last week perfected terms of truce were again submitted to the Arabs and Jews of Palestine and there was hope that some basis of agreement might be found. As I have indicated, however, these terms have not yet been accepted by either party.

After an exhaustive general debate, dealing with all aspects of the Palestinian problem, and a very detailed discussion of the United States working paper on trusteeship, this Committee on May 4 established a Subcommittee to formulate a proposal for a provisional regime for Palestine.

Meanwhile, on the recommendation of Committee One the General Assembly asked the Trusteeship Council to study and submit suitable measures for the protection of the City of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. The General Assembly has considered and approved a recommendation from the Trusteeship Council in this regard and Subcommittee 10 of this Committee has considered further measures which might be taken.

The United States is firm in its purpose to provide a special regime for Jerusalem which will provide adequate protection for this Holy City; (however, further discussion of this subject might best be deferred for the moment pending consideration of the Report of Subcommittee 10.)

In Subcommittee 9 we have followed with the closest attention the development of a series of ideas which lead towards a large measure of agreement. As the discussions in the Subcommittee began, the United States made it clear that it felt that the First Committee itself had explored thoroughly the United States working paper which embodied a trusteeship suggestion. Other possible solutions of the problem had been suggested in the First Committee but had not been as thoroughly explored. The United States welcomed, therefore, the opportunity for the more ample development of other approaches which the friendly informality of Subcommittee discussions facilitated.

In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I feel that we should express warmest gratitude to our Rapporteur, Mr. Moe, for his contribution in the Subcommittee of an excellent working paper incorporating various suggestions which had been raised for discussion.

When these discussions reached a point where the general trend of thought seemed to be leading to a common conclusion, the United States drafted a proposal and submitted it to the Subcommittee this morning.

This proposal is not a United States invention. It evolved out of the discussions. It was a product of the processes of the General Assembly which afford to all of the peace-loving nations of the world an opportunity to meet and to exchange views in order to reach an agreed solution of problems of international concern.

The proposal of the United States is based on the need for satisfying two fundamental conditions:

1. Any proposal must be based upon the authority of the Charter. It would be inconceivable that the General Assembly should recommend any action which would not derive its authority from the Charter.

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2. The proposal must be practical; it must take into account developments in Palestine, the positions taken by the representatives of the two principal communities, the date set by the Mandatory Power for the termination of its authority in Palestine, the central importance of bringing about an end to conflict and the widest possible measure of agreement among Members of the Organization.

The proposal which the United States submitted to the Subcommittee and which is now before you, ^{with certain amendments} is a simple one. In the interest of peace and unity of effort within the United Nations, the first paragraph of the resolution adds the great weight of the authority of the General Assembly to the continuing truce endeavors of the Security Council. It would add the voice of this great representative body in calling upon all governments, organizations and persons to cooperate in making such a truce effective.

The second part of the United States proposal rests upon mediation. The course of events has inexorably driven us to choose mediation as the central theme of General Assembly action in this matter. The use of force to impose a solution is impossible. To disperse without adopting any plan to assist in the solution of the problem of Palestine is unthinkable. The role of mediation may not be dramatic, it may not be glamorous, it may not bring results overnight, but it is a procedure of unquestionable soundness, central to the whole theory of the Charter and, if supported by the great weight of opinion in this Assembly, should be an effective instrument for peace.

draft resolution as recommended by Subcommittee

The specific points in regard to which the United States suggests that United Nations good offices and mediation should be used are as follows:

1. Arrangements for the operation of common services necessary to the safety and well being of the population of Palestine.
2. Assurance of protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Palestine.
3. Promotion of the peaceful adjustment of the situation in Palestine.

All three of these points have been discussed in the Subcommittee and the proposals in regard to them measure up to the test of practical utility.

We believe that the principle is more important than the mechanics, but mechanics cannot be overlooked. After full consideration of all possible procedures, the United States has proposed that the general function of mediation should be exercised by a single individual to be designated as United Nations Mediator in Palestine, and chosen by a committee of the General Assembly composed of representatives of China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States.

This United Nations Mediator in Palestine would serve not as the Governor, not as the administrator of Palestine, but as the representative of the United Nations who would use his good offices with the local and community authorities with a view to the attainment of the objectives I have mentioned.

In his person the UN Mediator would symbolize the continuity of the efforts for peace which we confidently expect the General Assembly will make through the adoption of this resolution. It would thus be apparent that even when this Special Session closes, the General Assembly, through its representative, would not cease its efforts to bring the unhappy conflict to a satisfactory conclusion.

The proposal which we have made emphasizes that in its attempt to solve an international problem of this kind, the United Nations Organization can operate as a unit. The proposal provides for cooperation with the Truce Commission appointed by the Security Council. The work of the Security Council and the work of the General Assembly should be parts of a single unified whole. Since the General Assembly will not be in continuous session and since particular problems may arise after we adjourn, it is provided that this United Nations ~~Commissioner~~ ^{Mediator} for Palestine shall conform his activities with such instructions as the Security Council may issue. The Mediator would report regularly to the

Security Council and, through the Secretary-General, to all Members of the United Nations.

In order to utilize other resources of the United Nations, it is specifically provided that the Mediator may invite the assistance and cooperation of appropriate Specialized Agencies of the United Nations such as the World Health Organization. Similarly, it is provided that there should be continued cooperation with such bodies as the International Red Cross which has been rendering great service in Jerusalem during the past few weeks.

It would be a mistake, we feel, if the General Assembly, while attempting to unify the efforts of the United Nations for peace in Palestine, should neglect to clarify a confusing situation. For this reason the United States proposes that the General Assembly should relieve the Palestine Commission from the further exercise of responsibility under the Resolution of November 29. The Palestine Commission has labored hard and faithfully and the members of this Assembly are appreciative of the devoted service of the individuals composing the Commission. The proposal we have made cannot in any way be considered as a reflection on it or its excellent work.

I do not want to leave any misapprehension in the mind of any member of this Committee concerning the implication of this action.

The position of the United States with regard to the Resolution of November 29 may be restated briefly in the following terms:

(1) The United States supported and voted for the plan of partition with economic union incorporated in the November 29 Resolution;

(2) Efforts to find a basis for agreement between the parties which would enable the terms of the November 29 Resolution to be carried out by peaceful means were unavailing.

(3) Discussion in this Committee has clearly revealed that the Resolution cannot be implemented by force or by peaceful means;

(4) This Special Session has not found it possible to agree upon any definitive alternative for the future government of Palestine, or upon trusteeship, or upon any other form of provisional regime which could exercise authority in Palestine after May 15;

(5) While it is clear, in the light of present circumstances, that the plan for partition with economic union as envisaged in the November 29 Resolution cannot be implemented, it is likewise clear that pending further action by the General Assembly with regard to the future government of Palestine, the Resolution of November 29, although it cannot be implemented, remains on the books as a recommendation.

We have here striven together in this Special Session, honestly and anxiously, to find a solution for a problem which has defied solution for more than a quarter of a century. In the time at our disposal, we may perhaps have been too ambitious. If we have not succeeded in achieving the full range of our ambition or in accomplishing the full scope of our desire, we are none the less in a position to utilize the great power of the United Nations in the continuing efforts to find a solution.

The proposal before us is based on the firm conviction that peace in Palestine depends in the last analysis not upon force as the final arbiter but upon the processes of reconciliation.

The success of our effort depends upon two factors.

The first is unity within the Organization in support of peace.

The second is the willingness of the peoples of Palestine to apply to the mutual solution of their differences the principles, not only of our Charter, but of the three great religions which look to Palestine as a Holy Land.



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Arranged by: Hebrew Educators Council for the Jewish National Fund
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June 25, 1948

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Rd. at East 106th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

On Sunday June 20th, the Jewish Youth of New York, pupils of all types of Jewish schools and members of Zionist Youth Organizations, celebrated Chag Habikkurim (the Festival of First Fruits) for the first time in America, as an open-air rally on the Mall in Central Park.

We are most happy to inform you that this Festival was an outstanding success and will, no doubt, leave an everlasting impression on the Jewish community of New York. Over 15,000 people participated in this biggest demonstration of the Jewish Youth of New York in which our solidarity with the Youth in Israel has been most impressively demonstrated.

We wish to thank you today for your wonderful cooperation and help you extended to us in this great undertaking. Your sponsorship of this affair added tremendously to the importance and the success of our Chag Habikkurim. Please be assured that we shall make all efforts to continue to enrich the cultural and spiritual values of our Youth through the medium of educational ventures such as the Youth Festival in which you took such a remarkable interest.

H. L. Woll
Harry L. Woll
PRESIDENT
Educators' Council
J.N.F.

Aryeh Shindelman
Aryeh Shindelman
DIRECTOR
Youth Department
J.N.F.

Dr. Silver

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy

Pension Brandstaetter
Tel-Aviv
9th July 1948

Dear Teddy.

I cabled you that I finally did receive the first LP. 500.- which you sent-- twenty-one days after the date of your cable. I had asked you to cable me to whom it had been sent, and had I known that it was sent in Shkolnik's name and mine to the Anglo-Palestine Bank, I would have been able to get the money much sooner. As it was, I was under the impression from Kaplan that he received the money, and he told me that he would send it over to me as soon as he had located the voucher or memo.

At any rate, even prior to receiving this money, I had proceeded to set up the welfare office for Canadians and Americans and to pay out against our expectation. Mrs. Ayala Zachs did a great deal of work on this project, and I am glad to be able to report to you that it will not be necessary to send any more money from the States for this project. I prepared a plan and a budget and Mrs. Zachs and I had a number of discussions on it, and then she was able to secure affirmative action from the responsible officials.

The program is now in the hands of GAHAL (Giyus Hutz L'Aaretz), and I think that it will prove very beneficial from the point of view of making a little easier the first difficult months of adjustment of the volunteers from overseas. I believe that I mailed you a tentative budget which I had prepared at the request of the Agency to be submitted to Kaplan and the Army. The final budget which was adopted is for somewhat less money. Mrs. Zachs received a check from Kaplan for LP 6,000.- to cover the first month's operations.

I have been named by the Army to be a Staff Officer in charge of GAHAL so that I may deal with this problem in cooperation with the Volunteer Committee set up on the one hand and the authoritative bodies of Army and State on the other.

Before I leave the subject of welfare, I wanted to say that you fear that there would be difficulty about discrimination between American pay and Israeli pay, is quite unfounded. As a matter of fact, a few weeks ago, a number of Israeli boys on leave from the Alexandroni Brigade called on me and said that they were a delegation of the men who felt that something should be done for the English lads serving with them by way of extra compensation. Their spokesman said that none of the (Palestinians) is able to get along on the LP. 2.- per month which the Army gives them. Practically all of them dip into their savings (if they have any) or take additional sums from their parents. But the English boys are not able to do so because of currency questions or restrictions. They, therefore, asked that something be done for them, especially, as they pointed out, as the LP 2.- per month would be used up just in writing letters to parents overseas.

In any case, the administration of special welfare for GAHAL will be carried out by each community much as the South Africans and we do, that is to say

that some financial institution or businessman from England, France, Holland and the Scandinavian countries will receive a list of the boys from his own country, and without the business of waiting in queues, will be able to give advice, discuss personal problems with them, press word on to parents, etc. at the same time that the volunteers come in to receive their LP 5.- monthly. This makes it an intimate, personal operation, lacking the organization aspects which most civilians find so annoying when they are placed in the Army, and it has the advantage of costing far less money and of being capably administered.

The other problem, which was far the more pressing in its impact on volunteers from abroad, was the policy of assignment prevailing heretofore. As a matter of policy, the boys were spread, or perhaps I should say mixed, as much as possible, and the largest units in which boys spoke on tongue --English-- were no more than sections of ten men. After I spent some time in the field talking to Americans and Canadians, several things became apparent to me. First, one cannot fight comfortably, not knowing what the man on one's right is saying--it might be an order to retreat-- and you cannot understand it.

After the organization of the section, it can only go down in strength, and it very often happens that a section of seven men is expected to do the work of ten, which makes for more casualties.

ee

There is a certain frustration in hardly being able to talk at all for weeks at a time, and contrary to the general opinion here, it does not help the boys to learn Hebrew more rapidly.

As far as the difference in background, point of view and training, some unhappiness was caused in too close quarters. I think now, for example, of sanitary arrangements and other things like food. The English boys generally prefer a plate of porridge in the morning, which it's not possible to give them if they are broken up in small units.

As far as discipline is concerned, you will recall that I wrote to you about the difficulties which the Canadian boys were having and causing. I don't recall whether I wrote that they reached the point where they demanded to be put into units of their own as they had been promised when recruited, and to tell the truth, by this time, they were so unpopular that none cared very much if they were transferred out. Benny Dunkelman took this group of boys, started a new regiment with them as a nucleus and put Joe Weiner, a Canadian with twenty-one years of Army experience, in command. In a matter of days almost, this became a crack, well-trained unit, and everyone clamored to get into it.

There has now been a decision by Headquarters that English personnel are to be transferred wherever practicable from where they are and placed in Benny's unit. New arrival will, of course, go into it. This does not include Air Force and Naval people. The Army has also named me to assign GAHAL personnel.

I have gone into all this lengthy detail because more boys have come over in these last few months than came previously in ten years for Aliyah. We have them here, and it ought to be a fairly simple matter to succeed in creating a desire to stay and become part of the Yishuv. Almost invariably they feel it when they arrive, and I have had the experience of watching boys come here full of zeal, only to have this zeal dissipated in a few days.

- 3 -

I have undertaken this job because of my feeling that the job must be done and that it has not been done or has been badly done until now. God knows that I would much rather be just an ordinary soldier and not have to knock at office doors. I think that you will understand the motives that prompt me to undertake such a job.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Harold Jaffer

521 Fifth Avenue, (Room 2601)
New York, 17, N.Y.

July 16, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Jewish Agency for Palestine
16 E. 66th Street,
New York City.

Re: Housing for Israel

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter of June 16th to Mr. Hammer on the subject above mentioned.

Last Monday, accompanied by Mr. Meir Hartman and Mr. Jacob Alkow, I met with the organization referred to in that letter as one which can supply all of the housing that Israel may require, on terms which Israel can meet.

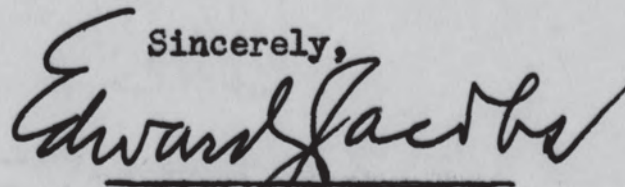
It developed at this conference that the firm wants to deal directly with Isarel, with the Jewsih Agency or with a committee which has been duly accredited for this purpose either by Israel or by the Agency. Hartman and Alkow did not submit such credentials, if they had any.

This building firm made it clear, too, that they would like to discuss the proposed building program with representatives who are not only properly accredited but who also are men of standing in the building industry.

I am satisfied that I can be helpful to you in securing men of the proper calibre to serve Israel or the Agency in this connection.

If you will please drop me a line at above address or phone MUrray Hill 2-4756, fixing a time for conference, I should like very much to discuss the matter with you.

Sincerely,


Edward Jacobs.

EJ:tc.

June 16, 1948

Jewish Agency for Palestine,
16 E. 60th Street
New York, 21, N.Y.

Attention: Mr. Gottlieb Hammer, Comptroller

Gentlemen:

You will recall our conversation in January regarding dwelling houses and other structures for Palestine.

I have followed the matter closely with the view that, when the political situation shall have been stabilized and the new State shall be prepared to go forward, an American organization of experienced personnel shall be available to do the job in cooperation with local contractors in Israel.

You will recall, too, that we spoke of 100,000 rooms annually, with sufficient surplus production for export to neighboring countries and so to establish a permanent house building industry for Middle East.

An American organization is now available which can undertake to provide the required fabricating facilities and the materials, also to arrange for financing up to 75% of the amounts required, on favorable terms, also the needed cooperation with the local building groups. The houses may, if it is so desired, be fully equipped for comfortable living. Same applies to the commercial and communal structures, also to public utilities which new settlers up to 500,000 souls may require within the next five years.

Costs, obviously, will depend upon specifications. It would be possible, I think, to proceed on the basis of agreed prices, subject to renegotiation at stated intervals.

I shall be pleased to meet with you, to agree upon procedure for implementing the project.

Very truly yours,

Edward Jacobs.

EJ:tc.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41ST STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 30, 1948

MURRAY HILL 3-2641

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. & Ansel Rd.,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

We recently received a wire from our representative in Israel, Mr. Coralnik, saying that the government was prepared to recompense our agency for all cable tolls from Israel while Palcor was to be continued by the Zionist World Organization.

We do not want any subsidies or other privileges from the government of Israel.

It would diminish our effectiveness were we to become an official or semi-official agency.

On the other hand, as you know, we have cooperated fully and will continue to do so. I refer to JTA as well as ONA.

Establishment of the State of Israel creates a new situation. Israel requires not just "Jewish" news but a general news service and news from Israel will not be just "Jewish" news.

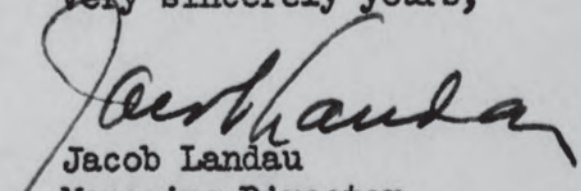
There is urgent need for a Middle Eastern news service, a service from and to all Middle Eastern countries. I believe our agency is particularly able to set up an effective service to and from the Mid-East.

As so many matters are now in the process of being redefined, perhaps it is now opportune to seek clarification of our problem, too. We are eager to forge ahead and strengthen JTA-ONA to the full extent of its potential usefulness to our community.

Would it not be useful to now send over Victor Bienstock who has represented us in Palestine on previous occasions, to have him on hand? I was thinking of having him arrive there between Aug. 15th and 26th.

We would appreciate your advice.

Very sincerely yours,


Jacob Landau
Managing Director

JL:RG:J