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Jewish Agency, Palestine partition, 1946-1948.



Nov 18, 1946

## Partition of Palestine

Partition as solution of the Palestine problem through division of the country into an independent Jewish State, an Arab State-- independent or united with the adjoining Arab State-- and perhaps a British administered area. Partition has the advantages of automatically solving the immigration and land transfer problems, and obviating the need for Arab-Jewish cooperation within a single government. Constitution making difficulties encountered in most solutions are eliminated. However, difficult and bitterly contested questions of boundaries, minorities and fiscal matters are introduced. Partition was first proposed by the Peel Commission in 1937 and is now being put forth by the Jewish Agency.

On October 4, 1946 the President said:

"The British Government presented to the (British-Arab) Conference the so-called Morrison plan for provincial autonomy and stated that the conference was open to other proposals. Meanwhile, the Jewish Agency proposed a solution of the Palestine problem by means of the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine instead of in the whole of Palestine. It proposed, furthermore, the immediate issuance of certificates for 100,000 Jewish immigrants. This proposal received widespread attention in the United States, both in the press and in public forums. From the discussion which has ensued it is my belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States. I cannot believe that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward is too great to be bridged by men of reason and goodwill. To such a solution our Government could give its support."

This paper presents the reasoning which leads to the adoption of partition as a solution, the problem of boundaries in relation to population and economics, the pro and con of the solution and the attitude of the interested parties toward it.

### I. REASONING WHICH LEADS TO PARTITION

(a) THE CONFLICT. Partition is the surgical solution of the Palestine problem unwillingly arrived at by those who conclude that the political aspirations of both Jews and Arabs cannot be satisfied within a single state. These conflicting aspirations are the underlying basis of the struggle. Anyone approaching the problem for the first time instinctively searches for a solution which maintains the small country intact; division is turned to only when the shortcomings of these other solutions are apparent. In July 1946 a paper unofficially expressing Jewish Agency thoughts on a proposed plan for a unitary bi-national state said:

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" It is difficult to see how such a system can be made to work when there is no agreement on fundamentals between Jews and Arabs. It will be the leaders of the two national groups and not the bi-national government which will command the loyalty of their co-nationals. The Arabs will continue to press for the prevention of further Jewish development, for independence or association with their Arab neighbors. The Jews will not give up their claim to statehood and to distinctive representation in international councils. The result will be as hitherto, mutual and continuous frustration. Indeed, in the absence of any sense of unity between the two communities, democratic institutions of the kind contemplated may well tend to exacerbate relations." \* \* It is the tragic weakness of all bi-national constitutional formulas that they are unworkable where agreement on fundamental public policy is lacking and unnecessary when such agreement can be obtained."

The political conflict is merely a manifestation of the deep differences between the two peoples. The eminent Peel Commission said( Ch. XX)

" An irrepressible conflict has arisen between two national communities within the narrow bounds of one small country. About 1,600,000 Arabs are in strife, open or latent, with some 400,000 Jews. There is no common ground between them. The Arab community is predominantly Asiatic in character, the Jewish community predominantly European. They differ in religion and in language. Their cultural and social life, their ways of thought and conduct, are as incompatible as their national aspirations. These last are the greatest bar to peace. Arabs and Jews might possibly learn to live and work together in Palestine if they would make a genuine effort to reconcile and combine ~~their~~ their national ideals and so build up in time a joint or dual nationality. But this they cannot do. The War and its sequel have inspired all Arabs with the hope of reviving in a free and united world the traditions of the Arab golden age. The Jews similarly are inspired by their historic past. They mean to show what the Jewish nation can achieve when restored to the land of its birth. National assimilation between Arabs and Jews is thus ruled out. In the Arab picture the Jews could only occupy the place they occupied in Arab Egypt or in Arab Spain. The Arabs would be as much outside the Jewish picture as the Canaanites in the old land of Israel. The National Home, as we have said before, cannot be half national. In these circumstances to maintain that Palestine citizenship has any moral ~~meaning~~ meaning is a mischievous pretence. Neither Arab nor Jew has any sense of service to a single state.

\* \* \* \* It seems probable that the situation, bad as it is now, will grow worse. The conflict will go on, the gulf between Arabs and Jews will widen."

(b) Weakness of Other Plans of Government. The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in 1946 found the Peel Commission analysis of political conditions still to be valid and impressive. It said ( p. 18)

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" The gulf between the Arabs of Palestine and the Arab world on the one side and the Jews of Palestine and elsewhere on the other has widened still further. Neither side seems at all disposed at the present to make any sincere effort to reconcile either their superficial or their fundamental differences."



However the committee refused to accept the Peel recommendations of partition. It pointed the way toward an undivided state, but failed to grapple with the almost insuperable difficulties of devising a plan for a workable government embodying the laudable principles set forth in its Report. The Committee's unsuccessful efforts to find recommendation on immigration and land transfers satisfactory to both Arabs and Jews demonstrated what a constant stumbling block these issues constitute in any attempt to frame a plan for an undivided state. No immigration or land transfers provision which is specific enough to make annual determinations of policy unnecessary is satisfactory to both peoples and neither people will trust any Mandatory to administer a provision worded in general terms. The Hashomer Hatzair and Ihud proposals for a binational state both evade the delicate problem by providing for very liberal Jewish immigration and acquisition of land. This is no solution; it is completely unacceptable to the Arabs and would result in their refusal to cooperate in a government premised on cooperation.

Before departing for the London discussions of July 1946, the President's Cabinet Committee on Palestine prepared a plan for ~~workable~~ a bi-national state in which the provisions on immigration and land transfers were drafted in general terms in accordance with principles stated by the Anglo-American Committee. This was merely extension of the dilemma because disagreement between Arab and Jews once the government was set up would throw upon the British the responsibility of fixing specific immigration quotas and enacting administrable land laws in accordance with these general principles. The weakness of this course has been repeatedly demonstrated throughout the last twenty-five years.

From the Cabinet Committee discussions with representatives of the British Government emerged a plan for provisional autonomy. Under it the Jews and Arabs would each govern a province within which they would have considerable autonomy including full power over land transfers and almost unlimited power over immigration. Foreign affairs, defense, police and customs would be under the central government. Many critics sharply attacked the retention of wide powers by the central government and then, pursuing this reasoning logically proposed the creation of two independent states, each of which would have complete powers.

Thus partition can be arrived at through inability to find a workable bi-national scheme or through extension of the principle of provincial autonomy.

### III. Boundaries

(a) Standards. Boundaries are the hardest issue in the partition solution. Today, after a decade of discussion of possible boundaries, ~~the~~ the proposals put forth still differ tremendously because of the wide variance between the fundamental standards used in trying to decide the issue.



The natural principle for partition is the separation of the areas in which the Jews have acquired land and settled from those which are mainly occupied by Arabs. Since the Jewish population of Palestine is quite concentrated they receive only a small fraction of the land by this test. Even if the principle is modified in their favor to give them all land on which there is mixed Arab-Jewish population they receive only about 15% of the country.

The standard advanced by the Jewish Agency is that any Jewish state must be viable and large enough to allow for further expansion and development. To understand this feeling of a right to expand one must have at least some sympathy with the Zionist's tremendous psychological urge for development. They have built a thriving community where recently there were only swamps and sand dunes. With a reservoir of 500,000 potential immigrants in Europe they intend to continue to develop and expand. They see no justification for freezing their growth. The necessity of area for development when used as a standard for dividing the land meets with firm Arab opposition since any such area which might be granted to the Jews is presently inhabited by Arabs. Furthermore, the Arabs themselves look forward to continued increase in population.

The Partition Commission which was sent to Palestine to work out the details of partition in 1937 had terms of reference which set up two standards for drawing boundaries; first, that the states must be as nearly self supporting as possible, and secondly, that the minority within each state must be as small as possible. No Arab state will be viable in the sense that it can afford to continue rendering government services of the present level; increasing its size may help but will not make it completely viable. While almost any Jewish state will be viable, none of any size can be established that does not include a substantial number of Arabs; the area demanded by the Agency even has a 3 to 2 Arab majority at present. Thus both of these standards are, in a sense, favorable to the Arabs.

Even in making comparisons of areas which are proposed as states the measures used differ. Since most proposals made by government commissions give the Jews only 5% to 25% of the land, the Jews usually make their comparisons in terms of land which indicate injustice to them. Their opponents, however, make comparisons in terms of industry, citrus land, and taxable wealth since most proposals give the Jews virtually all of these.

(b) The Areas Discussion of boundaries can be simplified by arbitrarily designating seven areas to be thought of as units. While some of these areas will be further divided before they are apportioned to either of the states, they serve as convenient units for initial consideration of boundaries. The areas are described here and shown in map one(1).

1. Jerusalem The Christians, Moslem, and Jewish Holy places around Jerusalem make it an international area over which neither Jews nor Arabs can seriously claim exclusive control. Its population is about equally divided between Arabs and Jews. The sections of the new City of Jerusalem inhabited solely by Arabs or solely by Jews could conceivably be placed within their respective states, but in an initial analysis the area can best be considered as a unit under international control.



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Population: Arabs 100,000 Jews 100,000

Area : 70 square miles

2 Basic Jewish Area The Basic Jewish area is a serpentine shape which includes virtually all the Jewish population (except Jerusalem) and almost all the concentrations of Jewish owned land in Palestine. It is the middle Coastal plain, and the Plains of Esdraelon, Beisan, and Eastern Galilee, and includes the most valuable land of Palestine and the ports of Haifa and Tel Aviv.

Population: Arabs 300,000 Jews 450,000

Area : 1,500 square miles

3 Central Judea Central Judea, consisting of the Central Judean Hills and the lower Jordan Valley, might be called the basic Arab area. It is the only area of Palestine that is never allotted to the Jews in any proposed plan of partition. It is populated and owned almost exclusively by Arabs. It is not wealthy; agriculture on mediocre land is the only industry of any proportions.

Population: Arabs 460,000 Jews 2,000

Area : 3,000 square miles

4 Jaffa The port of Jaffa, populated by Arabs but surrounded by the basic Jewish area, is a logical enclave for the Arab State.

Population: Arabs 70,000 Jews 10,000

Area : 7 square miles

5 Western Galilee The hills of Galilee and the coastal plain above Acre are agricultural areas populated and owned almost exclusively by Arabs. The Hills at present barely support the people living there, but Jews claim that the land can be improved to support a greatly increased population. It is sometimes proposed that the town of Nazareth be made an international enclave similar to Jerusalem

Population: Arabs 118,000 Jews 2000

Area : 570 square miles

6 The Negeb, The term Negeb is loosely used to describe varying extents of land in the south of Palestine. In this paper Negeb denoted the uninhabited triangle of wasteland south of the barley lands of Beersheba and roughly south of the lower end of the Dead Sea. It has been described as "miles of ricky emptiness". People and rain are rarities here.

Population: Arabs 0 Jews 0

Area : 3,800 square miles

7 South Gaza-North Beersheba This is the intermediate area bounded on the north by the Basic Jewish Area and the Central Judea and on the south by the uninhabited Negeb. In this area the Coastal Plain near Gaza is heavily populated by Arabs with a few small Jewish settlements. Northern Beersheba, an inland area of poor quality land, supports the town of Beersheba, some semi-nomadic Bedouins and several small Jewish settlements. The Jews believe that this is one of the areas of greatest potential agricultural development in Palestine.

Population: Arabs 165,000 Jews 1,000

Area : 1,500 square miles

(c) Past Proposals The actual proposals for boundaries have differed radically. The Peel Commission recommended division of the land between Arabs and Jews except for a Jerusalem enclave with a corridor to the sea retained by the Mandatory; the Jewish state proposed varied from the basic Jewish area in that it included Western Galilee. This was labeled Plan A by the Partition Commission. (Map 3 Plan A) This later commission, in following its terms of reference that each state should contain the smallest possible minority, cut down the Peel Report Jewish area to a mere token state

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on the Coastal Plain. It recommended retention of Galilee, the Jerusalem Enclave and the Negeb by the Mandatory and the allotment of the remainder to the Arabs. This was called plan C (Map 3 Plan C). One member of the Commission interpreted the terms of the reference less strictly; he recommended creation of a Jewish state about the same as the Basic Jewish Area, retention of Western Galilee by the Mandatory, and a transfer of part of the Southern Coastal Plain from the Jewish to the Arab state. (Map 3 Plan B) It should be added that the Partition Commission in effect said that partition was impractical, and the British Government, faced with a war in Europe, abandoned partition as a solution.

The Jewish Agency proposed to the Partition Commission a Jewish State somewhat larger than that of the Peel Report including an area for agricultural development in the sparsely settled land in the south, and a corridor joining the Jewish section of the New City of Jerusalem to the Coastal Plain. (Map 4) In March 1946, an Agency official privately presented to a member of the Anglo-American Committee a proposal for partition in which all of Palestine except central Judea and Jerusalem went to the Jewish State. Jerusalem was retained under international control and Central Judea went to the Arabs. In July 1946 another Agency official privately presented substantially the same scheme to the Cabinet Committee as one which might be acceptable to the Jewish Agency. (Map 5) In September 1946, the Jewish Agency Executive meeting in Paris adopted as the Agency's program the creation of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine. Since that time it has advocated partition in talks with the British and American Governments.

The Alternates of the President's Cabinet Committee and representatives of the British Government in July 1946, agreed upon the Basic Jewish Area as the extent of a proposed Jewish Province. The Jerusalem Area and the Negeb were to be retained by the British and the balance was to go to the Arabs. (Map 6)

(d) The Areas to be Divided. Recitation of the areas and partition proposals lends an air of complexity to the boundary problem particularly to anyone unfamiliar with the geography of the country. This complexity can be reduced by eliminating from consideration those areas which are not in dispute: Central Judea and Jaffa are Arab; Jerusalem is international. As a starting point for discussion the Basic Jewish Area will be considered part of the Jewish State. This leaves Western Galilee, South Gaza, North Beersheba and the Negeb in question (Map 1) The people who are in the majority in each area are shown in Map 2.

The Basic Jewish Area is a province made up of the plains where the Jews have settled. Its boundary follows the boundaries of the present local governments where possible. Examination of the land and population maps shows that there are no additional nearby Jewish lands or settlements which could be joined to the basic Jewish area by small changes of the boundaries. This eliminates any small boundary demands which might otherwise be made by the Jews and reduces the problem to: (a) reduction of the size of the Jewish State to less than that of the Basic Jewish Area, or (b) addition to it of substantial units such as Western Galilee, South Gaza North Beersheba or the Negeb.

The very serious objection to the creation of a Jewish state in this area is that 300,000 Arabs live there. They would form a proportionately larger minority in the Jewish State (3 Jews to 2 Arabs) than the Jews presently constitute in the whole of Palestine (2 Arabs to 1 Jew) The Arab objection could be met in small part by minor boundary changes, but can not be fully met because the Arabs and Jews are so completely mingled in this area that any Jewish State

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must include a sizeable Arab minority. Even a token Jewish State along the coast ~~would have~~ 75,000 Arabs.

Judged solely by standards of self determination the Basic Jewish area is a just share for the Jews. Its 450,000 Jews and the 100,000 around Jerusalem comprise all the Jews of Palestine except for the 10,000 in Jaffa and the scattering of 5,000 in other areas. Consequently the Jews constitute no minority problem in the Arab State. Although the Jewish area is only 15% of Palestine it is the industrial and agricultural heart of the country. Here is grown 85% of the citrus the product which accounted for 80% of Palestine's pre-war exports. Except for the Dead Sea Potash Works all the Jewish industry, and, it follows, almost all of Palestine's industry is here. The rural property tax assessment is 2½ times as great as that of the remainder of rural Palestine. The best port Haifa, and the largest city Tel Aviv are here. In fairness to the Jews it should be added that most of this wealth has been created by them.

X { If the Jewish State is to be larger than the basic Jewish area, the possible additions are Western Galilee, South Gaza-North Beersheba or the Negeb. Mere inspection of a map portraying the Basic Jewish Area ( Map I ) makes Galilee the obvious first choice because it is an enclave completely separated from the Arab State. This hilly area with its short strip of plain along the Mediterranean is almost exclusively devoted to typical Arab agriculture: olives, fruit and cereals. The Jews contend that the land can be developed to support additional Jewish settlers, but the judgement of both the Peel and Partition Commissions was to the contrary. Because of this and because of the bald fact that Galilee is now inhabited by 118,000 Arabs and only 2,000 Jews, the more moderate Jews do not now consider it a logical part of the Jewish State. X.

The southern part of Palestine is looked to by most Jews as the best area for expansion and development. The Negeb, the triangle in the extreme south, in some ways offers the greatest potentialities because it has no present population; but the lack of rainfall or known underground water counterbalances this fact. In ancient times small patches of land in the Negeb were cultivated through elaborate conservation of rainwater, but there is no evidence of extensive settlement. None of the presently planned irrigation projects would furnish water to the area. Despite the present absence of military bases or evidence of oil there the British are frequently accused of wishing to retain it for military or mineral reasons.

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| The land to the north ~~is~~ of the wastelands offers a much more promising area of development. The fertile Gaza area on the coast is heavily populated by Arabs but the poorer lands around Beersheba are only thinly populated by Bedouins who have settled down to tend herds or grow barley. Though tests for underground water have so far been discouraging, the Jews believe that conserved rainwater, water from the North and underground water will furnish an adequate supply for extensive settlement. Since there is only a slight, semi-nomadic population of Arabs in this area the inclusion of it in the Jewish state would cause relatively less opposition than the inclusion of a heavily Arab section such as Galilee. It is part of this southern area which the Jewish X



Agency proposed to the Partition Commission as an addition to the Jewish ~~State~~ State recommended by the Peel Commission, ( Map 4.)

In short, because of the heavily Arab population in Galilee and Gaza and the questionable usefulness of the Negeb, Northern Beer - sheba seems the most likely area to be added to the Basic Jewish Area. \*

### 111 Transition

A transition form of government will probably have to precede partition. It would be a hazardous jump from a colonial type government with no popular participation to independent states in which the people have full responsibility. Establishment of any new government is difficult, and accomplishment of the job, while the struggle between Arabs and Jews continued and while the partisan influence of outside powers persisted, would be in grave danger of failure.

Partition is usually thought of as a system of government which could be installed immediately. Casual reading of the Peel recommendation and the present Jewish Agency demands leave the reader with this general impression, but such is not the case. The Peel Commission said that: "The new regime could not, of course, be introduced at once", and the Agency has suggested a period of two years for the change over. Even these expressions can be considered as a glossing over of a complex problem, in the case of the Peel Commission because its recommendations on partition were meant to cover only broad principles, and in the case of the Agency because it is stating its "asking" position.

The Partition Commission, after a most searching analysis of this type of solution, found it impossible to establish two independent states each of which would be self supporting. The administrative difficulties, while not insuperable, it found to be very great. It, therefore, concluded that the continued control of customs and fiscal matters by the Mandatory was a necessity and that the control of railways, posts, and telecommunications was desirable. It recommended "economic federalism" for a period of perhaps five years during which time control of all but the above mentioned powers would be given to the two states.

Continued study of the problem in the Colonial Office led to the adoption of these principles by the British Government for in 1946 it presented its plan for territorial division of the country through provincial autonomy, a system having much in common with economic federalism. *index page 8*

There certainly can be drawn from these four separate analysis of the problem the common denominator that some considerable period of transition will be required, and there probably can be drawn the conclusion that the practicable road to partition is through a form of government such as provincial autonomy or economic federalism. Serious consideration of all the difficulties in partition seems inevitably to lead to this conclusion. ↗

Criticism of this retrogression from pure partition will certainly come from those advocating the immediate establishment of completely independent states. In defense it can be answered that half a loaf today and a full loaf tomorrow are better than no loaf today and a doubtful loaf tomorrow. Confronted with the unyielding Arab opposition Britain, in all likelihood, will not grant outright partition; the stalemate will go on, perhaps indefinitely. President Truman has suggested that a solution somewhere between immediate partition and provincial autonomy be found. If the Jews would tacitly back such a proposal and gain a semi-



independent state in the near future, their ultimate attainment of complete independence--if they still wanted it--would be almost a certainty. They presumably would have the British statement that this form of government leads to partition, and they would probably have American assurances of such an aim, but most important of all the Jews would have the power in their own hands to continue to march towards independence if they felt that promises to them were not being fulfilled. They would have a territory which could add to its powers as the Jewish Agency even now does under its semi-governmental status. Great Britain could not combat these practical absorptions of power, nor could she withstand the force of world opinion which would be brought against her for what could easily be made to appear as dogged retention of colonial territory.

A more immediate barrier which might be surmounted by transition through semi-independence is Arab opposition. While Arabs oppose all partition solutions, their resistance against such a plan such as provincial autonomy could be overcome more readily than that against full partition. Not only would their inherent opposition be less, but the British backing of the less extreme program would be a compelling factor. The Jews would have reached their original goal by stages without arousing uncontrollable Arab forces.

#### IV Pro and Con

Partition has the merit of being a practical plan <sup>with</sup> a chance of success. Because each people would have exclusive control over its own state, each would be forced to work out its own problems. The old struggle and the resultant lack of cooperation by one or both people would no longer prevent the initiation of self government, and that government once established, would not be stifled by the refusal to cooperate by one segment of the population.

The difficulties in partition are great. They are so great that they would cause abandonment of this solution if the obstacles in other solutions did not appear insuperable. Faced with the necessity of working out some settlement, even though it does have great faults, partition's difficulties can be examined with a view to overcoming them rather than permitting them to paralyze progress toward self government as have other difficulties in the last quarter century. The inestimable boon of successful settlement must be constantly balanced against the imposing yet remediable drawbacks of the plan.

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(a) Disadvantages. Critics of partition say that territorial division leaves a Jewish state with a minority problem and an Arab state with a financial deficit; that there are military and administrative drawbacks; and that the solution is neither final nor politically possible. The arguments advanced are elaborated here:

(1) Partition's most serious defect is that no boundary can be drawn which does not create at least one large minority group. If the Jewish State is to be the size of the Basic Jewish Area, the 15,000 Jews left in the Arab State do not constitute a forbidding minority problem. However, the number of Arabs in the resulting Jewish State is quite large--300,000 as compared to 450,000 Jews. Depending upon the extent of which Jewish demands for additional land for expansion are granted, the number of Arabs in the Jewish State ranges up to 580,000. Partition solves the problem of the Jewish minority in the whole of Palestine only to create an Arab



Minority in the Jewish state. The Peel Commission considered the organized movement of this minority to some unsettled area under Arab control. The British Government ruled out forced movement and in any event the Partition Commission found no suitable areas to which the Arabs could migrate. It is now generally accepted that financial help would not induce the Arabs to migrate and that compulsory movement is unthinkable. The minority would remain, and with it the inevitable open troubles and subtle discriminations regarding schools, government and official languages.

(2) No Arab State will be financially viable. Almost any of the partition boundaries proposed leaves the Arab State with only hill and marginal land which has little productive wealth, few industries and commensurately low revenues. Computations by the Partition Commission and more recently by the Cabinet Committee showed that revenues from ~~only~~ any of the proposed Arab states were insufficient to pay for the standard of government services being rendered; the standard is presently maintained by revenues from the more prosperous Jewish sections. It may be true, as one member of the Commission pointed out, that the Arab State is not entitled to the standard maintained in the past by Jewish wealth, but even if the standard were lowered, the Arab State would probably have to receive a subsidy from the British Government as Transjordan now does.

(3) Administration of services which can be wholly partitioned such as education, will give less value for the money spent than before; services which provide communication between partitioned areas such as railways, posts and telegraphs will be less efficient as well as more costly. These administrative complexities will, of course, increase as the boundaries and enclaves become more complicated. Large scale development and irrigation plans such as the proposed Jordan Valley Authority, in which many sections of the country become interdependent, would be greatly hampered by the separation of those sections by national boundaries. Separation of the two states by custom barriers would seriously impair the economics of each; the Arabs must export their agricultural products and the Jews must sell their manufactured goods. A customs union is almost a necessity.

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(4) The small country of Palestine cannot be divided in a manner which makes either state defensible in modern war. Lines of communication and defensible features of the terrain are frequently cut by the partition boundaries. However in most places the boundaries can be made suitable for defense against attack with small arms, the type of warfare which might result from attempted Jewish expansion across the borders or from an irredentist Arab movement. Problems which would arise in a war of modern weapons, such as whether Acre dominates Haifa Harbor or whether the possession of the hills makes the plains untenable, cannot be successfully met in a partition plan. It is assumed that Great Britain will maintain bases in both the states which will not only discourage border warfare but act as a protection against foreign invasion.

(5) There is the possibility that the Jews will continue their struggle for expansion beyond their own borders. They would begin by flooding their own state to the bursting point with immigrants and then reopen the flight for all of Palestine. Having established a firm bridgehead in the Near East they would then expand into other Arab countries, at first



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economically and later politically. This view is very seriously taken by the Arabs.

(6) The probably violent opposition of the Arabs to partition casts some doubts on the political possibility of the plan. Not only will they withhold consent to it and exert their influence on Great Britain not to place it in effect, but they will refuse to cooperate in it once it has been placed in effect. While they will probably eventually have to accept the change, their initial attitude will be a grave handicap to success of the plan.

(b) Advantages Proponents of partition say that it is a quick and final solution which at least partially satisfies the aspirations of both Jews and Arabs and that it is politically possible. The arguments are these:

(1) Partition, it is said, would relieve the people of Palestine of the two basic fears which underlie their constant struggle. The Jews would no longer have the fear that some day the whole country might be turned into an Arab State, and the Arabs would be relieved of fear lest the Jews acquire ascendancy and rule over them. Once the boundaries were fixed and the states made independent there would be no possibility of dominance through mere numbers, purchase of land or political machinations. The Jewish National Home would be secure; Palestinian Arabs would have unquestioned control in part of Palestine; Moslems, Jew and Christians would know that their religious shrines were to continue under international protection.

(2) The national aspirations of Jews and Arabs would at least be partially satisfied. The Zionists would at last have the state they have been striving for during the last half century, a state which would have a flag, grant citizenship and speak for the Jews as a nation in international affairs. The Palestine Arabs would gain their long sought independence and take their place on an equal footing with the other Arab States in the world.

(3) Domestic peace could be restored in Palestine. The politically conscious persons of both communities would be able to hold office, and energies long wasted in criticism and violence would be diverted to constructive government service. Responsibility would have a sobering effect: the Jews would have to guard themselves against excessive immigration and ferret out their own terrorists; the Arabs would have to put down their own rebellions.

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(4) Partition is said to be rapid and final. Advocates of bi-national state are the first to admit that introduction of a bi-national government will take years; government could be turned over to Arabs and Jews only as cooperation between them was achieved. Proponents of provincial autonomy imply that it is only an interim measure by saying it leads to either partition or a bi-national state. Partition decreases these delays. Once the decision is made to divide the country, and one people accepts the solution, partition can be put into effect comparatively rapidly. Drawing the boundaries would take a few months; the transfer of functions to the new governments would require several years. During this last period, of course, the two states would be enjoying most of the privileges of self governing, independent states.



The finality of partition is due to its international character. Under any solution which keeps Jews and Arabs in the same country each will feel privileged to continue the struggle for dominance through all the political means available, but segregation by national states halts these efforts. There would be only a handful of Jews in any Arab State and the Jews in their own state would have unquestioned control through their superior political experience and majority in population. The Jewish territorial expansion, so feared by the Arabs will be possible only within the Jewish State. The international boundary, approved by the United Nations, will protect the Arab State with a sanctity which could be accorded to provincial boundaries or mere restrictive lines established by a Palestine Government.

(5) Partition is politically possible. Though perhaps not the most desirable solution by standards of strict justice, it is practically possible because it can be accomplished without the full cooperation of both Arabs and Jews. This is not true of other solutions.

The bi-national state is premised upon the cooperative participation of Arabs and Jews within a single government. While participation in governmental functions by the two peoples is hoped for, it must be remembered that all of the past efforts to achieve cooperation in government have failed through refusal of one or both sides to participate. Even if the unexpected happens and Arabs and Jews join in the operation of the government, the full problem will not have been met. The under-lying issues in dispute, the weapons with which the struggle for power are being fought--immigration and land sales-- will still have to be decided by the shaky new government. Unless the Jews relax their efforts to gain a majority or the Arabs their resistance against possible Jewish domination, the struggle will continue; ~~deadlock will result~~; deadlock will result and the British in the role of arbiters will go on governing the country.

Partition, like any solution, will fail if it is opposed by both sides. Unlike other solutions, however, partition offers a chance of success if one side accepts it. Once the boundaries are drawn the community accepting the plan can assume control in its own area unaffected by the non-acceptance of the other community. The Jewish Agency, after years of semi-governmental activity, is capable of becoming a government overnight. The community which refuses to accept self government because it objects to partition will soon find that its continuation of the struggle is futile, because it has nothing more to gain in its own territory and cannot penetrate the international boundary to prolong the fight for its objectives in the other state. This futility would eventually induce acceptance of self-government.

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#### IV. Attitudes Toward Partition

Both the American and British Governments now favor a partition type solution of some character. The Zionists want partition in a form very favorable to themselves and the Arabs flatly reject the idea in any form.

Great Britain. The primary aim of the British is a fair set -



tlement between Arabs and Jews which will maintain British strategic and economic interests in Palestine. Partition fulfills this requirement since Britain assumes that both the Arab and Jewish States would continue military and economic ties with her. The British Government accepted the principle of partition for a time after the Peel Report and more recently it has obliquely reaffirmed its belief in the principle by proposing provincial autonomy as a basis for negotiation. Partially for ease of administration during the transition period and for the even more compelling reason that the Arabs violently oppose partition, the British are now ~~now~~ advocating provincial autonomy. In the Parliamentary debates on this plan and in recent British press comment the opinion has been frequently expressed that partition would be a better solution than the plan put forward by the Government. The influential Manchester Guardian has long been in favor of partition and the Labour Party's Daily Herald has recently spoken out for it.

### ARABS

1) Arab States . The Arab states have repeatedly rejected partition. Though flat rejection of all solutions except the democratic Arab State makes it difficult to gauge the comparative intensity of their opposition to partition, their reaction would undoubtedly be violent. They do not wish to see the Jewish position in the Near East crystallized through recognition of a Jewish State. On the other hand, they need, for British and American friendship in the uncertain Near East may be forcing the Arabs to be more amenable than they publicly indicate. Transjordan, Syria or Lebanon to which could be joined the Arab parts of Palestine might logically be expected to favor partition but there is no evidence yet of this feeling.

2) Palestine Arabs . The Palestine Arabs are probably even more opposed to partition than are the Arab States. This is natural since the Palestinian Arabs through this solution will lose part of "their" territory. The Partition Commission of 1938 found that any partition would result in Arab violence, and too large a Jewish State in open Arab rebellion. This is probably still true.

NEWS The Jewish agency is now officially and openly proposing partition. At the time of the Peel proposal the Zionists at first rejected the solution and later were willing to discuss it. They even proposed boundaries to the Partition Commission. In the Biltmore Program of 1942 they reverted to the demand for a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine, but a minority group probably continued to favor partition for in March and July of 1946, Jewish Agency officials proposed it privately to the Anglo-American and Cabinet Committees, respectively. In September 1946, "a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine" was made the official Jewish Agency ~~program~~ program. However, dissident groups of such widely varying views as the Revisionists-- extremists-- and Dr. Magnes' Ihud Association--liberals-- are not in accord with the Agency on this.

Confidential



United States. President Truman's recent statement that this government could support a workable solution which would bridge the gap between provincial autonomy and complete partition is the first Presidential backing any proposed type of government for Palestine has received. Until recently the only solution receiving attention in this country was the Jewish State in the whole of Palestine, the solution backed by Zionist organizations. The bi-national state implied by the Anglo-American Committee and the provincial autonomy of the Cabinet Committee were welcomed in some quarters but not by the Zionists. Since American public opinion on this subject is shaped very largely by the interested Zionist groups, the Jewish Agency's advocacy of partition will probably win backing for the principle in the United States. X

U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Government takes no official position on Palestine, but the propaganda line is that the British should get out of Palestine and let the Palestinians establish their government by democratic processes. She criticizes any plan which necessitates continued British control by trusteeship or treaty. Russian writers have condemned provincial autonomy as a preservation of the British position and even though partition gives the states independence it would be subject to the same criticism since Britain would continue close treaty relations. Undoubtedly Russia would capitalize to the greatest extent possible on the Arab dislike of Partition. P

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# The New Palestine

Vol. XXXVIII No. 8

DECEMBER 16, 1947

TEVETH 3, 5708

## U. S. Called to Raise \$250,000,000 For Jewish State and Resettlement

### No Holy War Against Jews, Says Ibn Saud

King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, who, Arab propagandists declare, will sever relations with the United States and cut off oil concessions because of its support of partition, has called such rumors "untrue and irresponsible" and stated that he will "protect and maintain" America's oil operations and other interests in Saudi Arabia regardless of what happens in Palestine.

In an exclusive interview with Tony Smith of the Gannett News Service, distributed by the Associated Press, the Arabian King sent this message to America: "Our friendship with the United States is solid and well-established. We believe you made a mistake in the United Nations Palestine decision, but we hope you will correct it."

He expressed doubt that the Arab League would recommend economic sanctions against the U. S. He said pressure on him from Arab leaders to oppose American interests have been "heavy but unavailing" and that his country has not declared a "holy war" against the Yishuv. His statement, according to the correspondent who interviewed him "puts a depth charge under Arab League threats."

### What Is Happening In Palestine Today

By MAJOR E. LASERSON

**TEL AVIV.** — The situation throughout Palestine is comparatively calm, in spite of scare headlines in the United States. Only Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv are really affected by Arab disturbances but these are felt only in border districts. Life in this large all-Jewish city is absolutely normal. In Jerusalem, there is a slight shortage of food supplies, owing to hampered communications which block Arab villagers from reaching the city with their produce.

In Tel Aviv, some squatters have invaded the synagogues, schools, public buildings and clubs. The municipality has arranged to establish a tented refugee camp in the northern part of the city but this measure is inadequate in itself. It should be stressed, however, that many of the refugees, who are mostly Oriental Jews, are evacuating their areas unnecessarily. Aware of

that, Tel Aviv city officials are now organizing billeting and repatriation to the homes these people have abandoned.

The port of Tel Aviv is being rapidly improved and expanded so that it may be able to unload large numbers of supplies and immigrants on a large scale.

Recruiting of Jewish young men and women between 17 and 25 has begun throughout Palestine. Offices have been opened in the main towns and settlements. Tel Aviv has ten offices; Haifa, six. There is daily registration, according to age groups. On the first day, 1,000 signed up in Tel Aviv alone. Recruits are subdivided according to categories, including the militia, agriculture, technical specialist posts, telegraph engineers and other skilled groups. The spirit is so strong among all Jews that people well over the age limits are trying to register for service.

#### Future ZOA Program

See resolutions on page 8, article by Dr. Emanuel Neumann on page 6, editorial on page 4.

### To Finance Entry of 75,000 In 1948; Needs of Defense And Colonization Must Be Met

\$146,250,000 OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL GOAL FOR UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

By ERNEST E. BARBARASH

**ATLANTIC CITY.**—The rebirth of the Jewish nation in a sovereign Jewish State in Palestine dominated the proceedings and decisions of the annual conference of the United Jewish Appeal, which set a minimum goal of \$250,000,000 for the reconstruction of Palestine and overseas relief and rehabilitation in the ensuing year.

The quota set represented the outcome of lengthy committee deliberations in which Zionist leaders, headed by Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Dr. Israel Goldstein, national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, and Judge Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund, played an active and leading part.

With rapt attention, delegates paid heed to the addresses of Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Moshe Shertok as they reviewed the significance of the historic act of the United Nations and stressed the role which American Jewry is destined to play in bringing about its realization by helping the Yishuv meet the challenge confronted by the threats of the Arabs, the strengthening of the defense forces, consolidation of its positions and, above all, the absorption and colonization of at least a million Jews in Palestine within the next ten years.

#### Morgenthau Chairman

Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was drafted to serve as general chairman of the 1948 UJA campaign. Dr. Israel Goldstein, Jonah Wise and William Rosenwald are national chairmen of the campaign.

The strong Zionist aspect of this year's UJA Conference was emphasized in the address of former Governor Herbert H. Lehman who, in presenting the recommendations of the quota committee, called for adequate financial means to help in the defense and security of the nascent Jewish State. He warned that although the UN decision has been

a moral victory, the economic and reconstruction phases of the task have just begun. "Loans to the new Jewish State and even direct governmental grants of certain types should be available. In the meantime, we must keep the pump primed with every possible dollar of our voluntary contributions because we must be in the vanguard."

In a significant address, Major General John H. Hilldring, a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN who rendered valuable contributions towards the adoption of the UN decision, minimized the Arab threats and predicted the present violence in Palestine will soon end.

General Joseph T. McNarney, former U.S. military commander in Europe, said that the United Nations is still on trial in respect to the implementation of its decision. By the same token, he said, "there are no free rides in history. If the Jewish people are at last to realize their age-old dream, they are by the same token obligated to assume new responsibilities."

In his farewell address before leaving the United States, Dr. Chaim Weizmann declared that "we must try and find our way back to friendship with the country which has been primarily responsible for the upbuilding of the Jewish State. It is the country from which I come."

Moshe Shertok charged the British Government with non-cooperation in bringing about the establishment of the Jewish State. He urged greater financial aid by American Jews to

lay the economic foundations of the new state to make possible the immigration and settlement of 75,000 Jewish immigrants there in the coming year.

Eliezer Kaplan, treasurer of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in presenting a detailed outline of the immediate financial needs, asserted that the United Palestine Appeal would need \$283,156,000 next year, with the largest sum—\$95,000,000 allocated for immigration and resettlement of the new immigrants in the coming year, consisting of 51,000 adults and 24,000 orphans.

Among the major items in the Palestine budget are: \$27,500,000 for the establishment of new settlements; \$25,000,000 for urban settlement; \$28,000,000 for national organization and security, including the extension of the home guard and the permanent Jewish militia, and \$57,800,000 for the acquisition of land.

The minimum quota of \$250,000,000 was set with the stipulation that "all sums above this goal shall be devoted to the establishment of a Jewish State." Of the \$250,000,000 goal set, \$146,250,000 will go to the United Palestine Appeal.

#### Loans Sought

The difference between the \$250,000,000 quota and the requirements of \$400,000,000, it was explained, would be made up through loans and grants which Jewish Palestine will

(Continued on Page 10)



# Giant ZOA Thanksgiving Rally Hails Achievement of Statehood

## Silver, Neumann, O'Dwyer Praise UN Decision, See Difficult Tasks Remaining

As record-breaking throngs in the glare of klieg lights filled West 35th Street and an overflow crowd jammed Manhattan Center in New York, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America, and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive, solemnly expressed a deep desire for friendship and cooperation with Arab leaders and populations.

Dr. Neumann said, "So far as it will lie in the power of the Jewish people, the Arab citizens of the Jewish State will be the happiest, most flourishing and most fortunate group of Arabs in the world."

The addresses, as well as the speech by Mayor William O'Dwyer, were carried over loudspeakers to the cheering crowds in the side streets. The gigantic victory-thanksgiving rally, in celebration of the newly-created Jewish State, was sponsored by the Zionist Organization of America. Indoors, large pictures of Theodore Herzl, founder of the Zionist movement, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann, hung from the walls, while large American and Zionist flags bedecked the stage and the balcony.

Rabbi Irving Miller, chairman of the ZOA Administrative Council, was program chairman. The invocation was delivered by Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld.

In stressing the ability of the Jewish people to accept the responsibility in guiding their new nation, Dr. Neumann asserted that "we will pour out our energies, our substance, and our devotion as a humble offering for the realization of Israel's dream."

Paying strong tribute to President Truman and the American Government for the significant role in guiding the Palestine resolution through the United Nations General Assembly, Dr. Neumann also praised the efforts of the American delegation led by Secretary of State Marshall, Warren Austin, Herschel Johnson and Major General John M. Hilldring. "They bore the brunt of battle and saved the day for the Jewish State," he said.

### Truman Support

Dr. Neumann pointed to President Truman's offer of the United States Army to cooperate as well as financial assistance "to accomplish that purpose," saying, "when the British Government rejected the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee and put forward instead the Morrison plan, President Truman rejected that spurious substitute and reiterated his request for the immediate admission of Jewish refugees."

"The President's perseverance," he said, "and firm insistence exercised a continuing pressure upon the British Government and was responsible in large measure for the decision of the British Cabinet to refer the whole question to the United Nations for adjudication."

From the moment the report of the UNSCOP was submitted to President Truman, Dr. Neumann said, the President issued repeated instructions to the American delegation to support the majority recommendation favoring the early establishment of a Jewish State and urged the American delegation "to exert

their best efforts to secure the adoption of these recommendations by the General Assembly."

"The United Nations," the Zionist leader maintained, "has vindicated its existence as an instrument for international peace and kindled a new faith and hope in the future of international cooperation."

The celebration of the new State, he said, is not one done "in a lighthearted or frivolous spirit," adding, "we are deeply conscious of the tremendous challenge which this decision offers the Jewish wisdom, statesmanship and capacity; we are not so naive as to confuse a political decision with concrete reality." He continued:

"We are fully aware of the many pitfalls and dangers which lie ahead. We are equally aware of the new and heavy burdens which must be assumed. We, the Zionists of America, do not intend to relieve ourselves of all burdens and obligations; nor do we intend to demobilize and scatter to our tents. On the contrary, we plan to shoulder heavier burdens and greater responsibilities than ever before."

Dr. Neumann pledged the abilities and the resources of the Zionist Organization of America

"to back up and assist the Government of the United States, the United Nations and the Yishuv."

### Silver's Address

While giving an all-embracing assurance that the Jewish State is ready and eager to cooperate to the fullest extent with the Arab State and to contribute jointly to the progress and prosperity of the whole of Palestine within the framework of the economic union approved by the UN, Dr. Silver appealed for the cooperation of all neighboring countries with the new Jewish State "for peace and fruitful endeavors for the welfare of the new Jewish and Arab States in Palestine." He called upon the U. S. Government to provide arms for the defense of the nascent Jewish State.

Also paying tribute to the American Government and people for their support of the Zionist movement, Dr. Silver asserted that "our deep thanks go out to all the Governments which voted to set up independent Arab and Jewish States in Palestine."

In warning of the difficulties and the tribulations that will confront the new nation, Dr. Silver, however, voiced confidence that the citizenry of the Jewish State were capable of defending their Statehood and that "American public opinion will remain constantly on the alert to safeguard it."

A barrage of applause lasting several minutes greeted Mayor O'Dwyer's appearance on the podium. During the course of the day the mayor had issued a proclamation calling attention to "Palestine Day."

Long a supporter of the Zionist

### Messages from U.S. Leaders, Yishuv

Dr. Neumann read congratulatory messages from Dr. Chaim Weizmann, distinguished Zionist leader; United States Senator Irving M. Ives; former Governor Herbert H. Lehman; Thomas Mann and Lion Feuchtwanger, noted authors; Helen Rogers Reid, publisher of The New York Herald Tribune and Herschel Johnson, U. S. representative to the UN. Messages were also received from Carl Berendsen, New Zealand representative at the UN; Pedro Zuloaga, Venezuelan representative at the UN; Oscar Chapman, U. S. Under Secretary of Interior; Frank W. Buxton, member of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry and from numerous other high personalities and organizations in this country and abroad.

Still other messages were received from Major General John H. Hilldring, Mayor Rokach of Tel Aviv and Mayor Ben Ami of Nathanya.

Mrs. Reid, in her message, said: "My congratulations on the United Nations vote." Governor Lehman asserted "on the consummation of a dream of many centuries, I am sure that the American people, regardless of religion or race, will be glad to help in the development and strengthening of the new Palestine."

Dr. Weizmann, in expressing his inability to attend the conference because of the "strain of the last few days," wished the rally "every success."

General Hilldring's message read: "My congratulations to your organization and to Jews throughout the world who have steadfastly sought in Palestine a secure future for their oppressed people. I am particularly gratified that the United Nations decision will provide in the immediate future a haven and a home for hundreds of thousands of aggrieved and homeless Jews in Europe. The task that lies ahead is to give reality to the UN decision. I am confident from my own experience that, through the statesmanship of the leaders of the Jewish people, there will now emerge rapidly not only a vital and prosperous Jewish State in Palestine, but also an era of peace and understanding and neighborliness among all the peoples of the Near East."

From Mayor Rokach came this cablegram: "Mazel tov from the people of Tel Aviv and deepest gratitude from them all to all those of you who so courageously and successfully fought our battle in the international arena winning us international recognition and independence."

The cable from Mayor Ben Ami of Nathanya said: "In this great hour, we greet the United States Zionists and Jewry in general. Your solidarity and untiring efforts to achieve recognition of our historic rights will be a source of national pride. United, all of us will endeavor to be worthy of our national mission of rebuilding David's Kingdom."

Senator Irving M. Ives stated: "I join with you in spirit at the great celebration realizing the dream of the Jewish people for 2,000 years. All of us rejoice greatly over the favorable turn of events."

Herschel Johnson, U. S. representative to the UN wired: "On this occasion which means so much to your people, I send them my cordial greetings and sincerest good wishes for the future."

movement, Mayor O'Dwyer said: "It is perhaps not by historical accident that this great event has taken place in New York; many of you may know that other nations have seen the birth—or the rebirth—of their existence in our city." He pointed out that Thomas G. Masaryk laid the foundations in this city and set up the framework for what became the State of Czechoslovakia. Later, he added, the patriots of Ireland took similar steps resulting in the creation of an independent Eire.

"Today," he said, "the Jewish State comes into existence as a result of this action in New York, truly our city may be called a Mother of Nations!"

### Tribute by O'Dwyer

In calling attention to the anxiety of the Jewish people before the vote was taken, the Mayor asserted, "There were times, to be sure, when we were worried—those of us who looked to America for leadership." He added: "There were moments when we felt that not everything was being done which could have been done. But when the test came, when the decision and crucial action was to be taken, the United States was true to its traditions and led the way."

Paying high tribute to the work by the Zionist Organization of America, he said that the ZOA's "program of enlightenment in this respect has been a model one and has served to educate Americans of every faith and every walk of life."

"This is no accident. For the

## Proclamation by Mayor O'Dwyer

As Mayor of the City of New York I hereby proclaim this day, Tuesday, December 2, 1947, as a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing over the historic decision of the United Nations to re-establish the Jewish nation in its ancestral homeland. I urge my fellow citizens of all races and creeds to join in commemorating this great event, which constitutes a triumph for all of humanity. This measure of justice which has, at long last, been achieved by the Jewish people serves as an inspiration to mankind as a whole—for in the triumph of one noble cause is contained the hope of success for all lofty human purposes.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I congratulate the Jewish citizens of our country on this joyous occasion, which might not have come about had they not remained steadfast and determined in their efforts to rescue their unfortunate brethren in Europe and to re-establish

the Jewish State. In this great struggle, they have been led by men of great vision and character. I extend my warmest greetings to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver whose leadership of this noble cause has won the admiration and respect of the entire American people, and to Dr. Emanuel Neumann, the brilliant president of the Zionist Organization of America. The fact that they have not fought alone, but have received the support of an overwhelming majority of Americans of all creeds, augurs well for the future of our country. I am confident that the citizens of our city join me in expressing our deep sense of gratitude to the United Nations for its just and forthright decision on Palestine.

I sincerely hope that it will be our city's pleasure to welcome the delegate for the Jewish State to the United Nations at the earliest possible moment!

(Continued on Page 6)



# 60,000 N. Y. Jews Celebrating UN Decision



A series of shots taken at the ZOA Victory Rally at Manhattan Center three days after the UN vote. Upper left, scene of the crowd which jammed every corner of huge Manhattan Center; upper right, Dr. Silver addressing the large throng, flanked by Dr. Neumann and the Haitian delegate to the UN; center left: Dr. Neumann and Dr. Silver

standing side by side with the map of the Jewish state in the background; center, Moshe Shertok, Dr. Neumann, Mayor William O'Dwyer and Dr. Silver, in a group picture on the stage; other pictures reveal the huge throngs who attempted to get into the hall, and a scene of the speakers and guests on the stage, singing "Hatikvah."



## THE NEW PALESTINE

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ERNEST E. HARRARASH, Editor

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## Policy and Fruition

The first great wave of jubilation which swept the Jewish world following the historic decision of the United Nations has already given way to a more sober mood induced by the events of the past fortnight.

It must have been evident to every thoughtful Zionist that the United Nations resolution did not "give" us a Jewish State any more than the Balfour Declaration a generation ago "gave" us a national home. In our circumstances, neither a national home nor statehood can be granted as a boon or received as a gift. Realistically speaking, it must be acquired and achieved by vast exertions, by an unremitting expenditure of effort and energy, by toil, struggle and sacrifice. It has long been an article of Zionist faith that if the Jewish people does not build the Jewish state, fortify it and defend it, no one else will do it for us. The sooner we recover our mental equilibrium and recall that basic article of faith, the sounder will be our position and the more realistic our approach to the tasks ahead.

### GREATEST VICTORY IN 19 CENTURIES

But having said all that, and appraising the action taken by the General Assembly of the United Nations in all sobriety, we must recognize it for what it is — the greatest political victory in nineteen centuries of Jewish history, and one of the most remarkable and impressive achievements in all of political history. It is wholly without precedent. Never before has a scattered and disinherited people, without military power or political status, presented such claims before an international tribunal of this character and won such a verdict in the teeth of an opposition so bitter and determined. Never before has an exiled people, nineteen centuries after the destruction of its polity, received such international sanction to reestablish itself as an independent nation in the land of its origin.

One may well understand the orators and commentators who speak of the miracle of Flushing Meadow. For it does seem miraculous that in this age of brutal cynicism and power politics, this much should have been achieved by a people so weak and small as our own. In a deep and mysterious sense it is indeed a manifestation of the beneficent forces of truth and justice, triumphant over the forces of evil, and calls for humble gratitude to a merciful Providence that presides over the destinies of mankind. But as rational men engaged in practical statesmanship, we must inquire more closely into the nature of this miracle; the human factors and political forces by whose instrumentality it was brought about. We must do so not in the spirit of philosophical speculation or scientific research, but in a more pragmatic spirit; to understand what has transpired and to draw sound conclusions bearing upon our future program and policy.

### WHY IT WAS A MIRACLE

Why has the event struck so many as bordering on the miraculous? It is because on any reasonable appraisal of the prospects, when the Palestine question was first referred to the United Nations, the chances for a favorable outcome seemed so slight and the odds against us so heavy. Pitted against us were numerous Arab and Moslem states with seats and votes in the United Nations whose bitter opposition was a foregone conclusion. Arrayed against us was the British Empire with the vast power and influence it wields. The position of Russia was uncertain. As for the United States, no one was prepared to predict with certainty how she would act in view of divided opinions among policy makers in Washington, the attitude of powerful oil interests and other adverse influences operating behind the scenes. Even after Soviet Russia had given unmistakable indication of a basically pro-Zionist attitude in the spring session of the Assembly, the general position remained uncertain and the possibility of a two thirds majority in favor of a Jewish State even in part of Palestine continued to be questionable to the very end.



The miracle finally came off only because in the final test the United States, with the overwhelming preponderance of power and influence which it commands, lined up with Soviet Russia, its potential enemy, against Great Britain, its closest ally, and against the Arab States of the Near East with their unfathomable riches of oil reserves. This alignment of the United States in a manner so contrary to all the rules of the game of the sordid power politics was the core of the miracle. A U. S.-Soviet accord in favor of justice to the Jews and against the Anglo-Arab position was a phenomenon to excite admiration among political observers. But this alignment did take place and it was decisive. As Dr. Neumann has put it with characteristic terseness: "Without the agreement and concurrence of the Soviet Union, the result would have been difficult of achievement and perhaps unlikely. Without the United States it would have been quite impossible." In view of the vast aggregation of power and influence it represents both within and without its borders, neutrality or even tepid support on the part of the United States would have been fatal. It must be recorded that despite occasional signs of a wavering and irresolute attitude, the United States in the final test abashed all cynics and doubters by throwing its international influence into the scale, thereby ensuring a positive decision.

### MISSION OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS

How and why did this happen? How did it come about that the United States chose to brave the wrath and fury of the oil rich Arabs and join with Soviet Russia in severe criticism of the British in the open forum of the United Nations and in a firm insistence upon validating the Jewish claim to statehood? The answer to this lies in yet another miracle of history, if we speak of miracles. Fate had willed it that at this critical juncture of world affairs, after a cataclysm attended by the annihilation of six million Jews in Europe, and the emergence of the United States as the foremost military, economic and political factor in the world, there should exist in this country a great Jewish community, vigorous and flourishing, stirred to their depths by the unspeakable tragedy which had befallen the Jewish people, and enjoying the privileges and prerogatives of free men in a free and democratic society. A benign Providence had spared them from the holocaust of Europe, and they in turn were moved to bend every effort to put an end to the age-old tragedy of their people and assure it an opportunity for survival and a position of dignity among the nations of the earth.

Yet it was not so simple. The Jewish community in America was a potential source of strength rather than an active force. It had to be aroused and activated; its energies had to be released and directed. That was the task and mission of American Zionists. They had to become the vanguard placing themselves in the forefront of a vast effort, of a great struggle to win the support of America for a Zionist solution of the Jewish problem. But when the war came the Zionists themselves were unprepared for this role. For decades their Zionism had expressed itself fruitfully and constructively in raising ever larger sums for the practical work in Palestine. Subtly but steadily this concentration on fund raising had blunted their political consciousness and their Zionism tended increasingly to

approximate the philanthropic orientation of the non-Zionist. It required a tremendous effort to reorientate themselves toward political Zionism. The political requirements of the war called for a revolutionary change of mentality, attitudes, values and above all, methods. That revolution took place under the leadership of a great and dynamic personality of revolutionary temperament. The crucial hour and the critical need produced the leader. Under the direction of Abba Hillel Silver, American Zionism achieved its transformation from a philanthropic effort into a full-blown political movement, and its further transformation from a political movement into an effective political force. This was not accomplished without considerable international convulsion and heated controversy. Seen in the perspective of history, no one can doubt that this internal revolution was not only justified, but indispensable.

### A NEW POLICY

A new policy became the policy of American Zionism, one which has been overwhelmingly vindicated by the result. This policy was predicated on several assumptions. First: that Great Britain was so hopelessly enmeshed in the toils of her own Near Eastern policy, and so deeply committed to a pro-Arab and anti-Zionist line, that it was futile to hope for a voluntary change of heart on her part. The problem had to be resolved through international action. Second: the United States was bound to emerge as the foremost world power with a decisive voice in the post-war world. The key to Palestine was to be formed in Washington.

Third: that **MORE**



# 60,000 Pack Streets For Victory Rally

This is the story of an immense Zionist victory rally by a reporter who was part of the immense crowd outside. The swirling, milling, happy, ecstatic crowd was so tremendous that it was impossible to crash the gate, even though the correspondent held every kind of official card necessary to enter the hall.

It happened on December 2, in the evening, when New York Jewry was awaiting with impatience born of thousands of years the first opportunity to celebrate in public with thousands of fellow Jews the UN decision on Palestine. The Zionist Organization of America, keenly aware of Jewish desires, arranged a mass rally at the Manhattan Center, an assembly hall which can jam in more than 5,000 persons.

The speakers were Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Emanuel Neumann and William O'Dwyer, Mayor of New York.

But the speakers were only one of a group of attractions. All New York Jewry wanted to get together and cheer the creation of the Jewish state as well as pay tribute to the American Zionist leaders who played so great a role in the UN decision.

At four o'clock in the afternoon (the rally was scheduled for 7:30) the Jews began to fill the hall. By six o'clock (when this reporter arrived), there was a teeming mass of humanity, blocking the main entrance. The police cleared the streets to some degree when they siphoned off

the overflow around the corner, where public address loudspeakers were set up so that the thousands could hear the speeches. But, alas, the area where the loudspeakers were set up was where the press was supposed to enter. One had to fight, for half an hour, to get close enough to the press gate to feel that there was a chance to get in. The human beings milling about, however, made it impossible to get close enough.

## Byplay

One ruddy-faced policeman, busy directing people to stand back, muttered, "And why didn't this organization hire the Polo Grounds?" (The ball park has a capacity of 50,000).

Another officer, even busier, snorted, "Nah," he cried, "It should have been the Yankee Stadium. That holds 30,000."

One was fascinated by this byplay but could hardly stand in one spot as pushing men and women forced everyone to sway, either backwards or forwards. When it seemed unlikely that one could enter with a pass, this reporter awaited the appearance of Drs. Silver and Neumann, who undoubtedly would arrive with a cordon of cops. Meanwhile, it was pleasurable to wander about, to listen to people talk, to see prominent Zionists tramp about aimlessly.

One Zionist, Rev. Martin Adolph of Paterson (N. J.), told me, "I came an hour ago (which meant that he arrived at 7) and

could hardly move. I got close to the front but I don't want to be killed. Not yet, anyway."

Dr. Neumann's brother, a New York professor, was seen going home.

## Leaders Arrive

Then the main heroes of the evening, Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann, with Rabbi Irving Miller, arrived, flanked by a group of policemen. William Kapelman tried to keep the masses from mobbing them. Red-faced and excited, he did his level best, but the oceans of people merely pushed him aside with laughable ease. I called to Dr. Neumann to help me in. He smiled and said, "See Kapelman." The mass of humanity kept shoving me back and I found myself pushed backwards. Dr. Silver tried to follow his escort but pulling hands halted him. There was a moment's standstill, when most of us thought that we'd be crushed to death, but the officers, flailing with their nightsticks, cleared a path for the Zionist leaders. Magically, the top leaders were squeezed in. Most of the party with them was closed out. We found ourselves again among milling thousands, facing panting policemen trying to keep a semblance of order.

The newspapers the next day said there were 60,000 people outside. Perhaps there were but for two hours people continued to come and go, back and forth, happy-eyed, eager to hear the Zionist leaders speak. —H. U. R.



Two Jewish policemen are lifted shoulder high by a Palestine crowd in Tel Aviv, as happiness over the UN decision remains at a peak.

## O'Dwyer Extends Official Reception to Zion Leaders

In celebration of the UN decision on Palestine, Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York, a staunch friend of the Zionist cause, received Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Emanuel Neumann in his chambers a few hours before the mass victory demonstration at Manhattan Center.

After the Mayor read, with feeling, the proclamation making December 2 "a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing over the historic decision of the United Nations to re-establish the Jewish nation in its ancestral homeland," Dr. Silver replied with gracious eloquence.

Expressing his gratitude and

"that of Dr. Neumann and in the name of the Zionist Organization of America," Dr. Silver declared that the UN verdict was a "consummation of our long struggle which had the powerful support of our Government."

Dr. Neumann then invited the Mayor to attend the great mass meeting in the evening and the Mayor accepted. The president of the ZOA then informed Mayor O'Dwyer that the Mayor of Tel Aviv was expecting to visit New York and probably would pay his respects. The genial New York Mayor said, laughingly, "He'd better pay his respects."

## CONTINUED

in a great democracy like ours the will of the people and the voice of public opinion would ultimately determine national policy. Fourth: it was not to be expected that the government of the United States would resolve the question in favor of a pro-Zionist rather than an anti-Zionist policy, unless the force and pressure of public opinion in favor of a Zionist solution proved greater and stronger than the hostile forces exerting pressure in the opposite direction. Fifth: it was, therefore, the historic task and mission of American Zionists to marshal all the forces in American life, disposed to deal justly by the Jewish people, and lead them in a great political offensive which would result in crystallizing a definite American policy on Palestine in keeping with the basic traditional attitude of the United States.

It is unnecessary to recall here the various phases of that struggle and the successive steps by which a definite American policy was crystallized. Suffice it to mention such highlights as the Palestine planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms in 1944: the pas-

sage of the Palestine resolution by both Houses of Congress in 1945; President Truman's repeated requests for the early admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine; the participation of the U. S. in the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry; the adoption by the President of its short term constructive recommendations, and his rejection of the Morrison-Grady proposals in 1946; the President's public declaration of October, 1946 favoring a Jewish state in part of Palestine; and his letter to King Ibn Saud in the same month reaffirming America's commitment in favor of the Jewish national home—a series of steps finally culminating in America's active support of the UN-SCOP Report in the United Nations. There was no sudden change or reversal of the American position, but a steady progression, from statements, pronouncements and resolutions to decisive international action. If there were periods of faltering with danger of back-sliding of the attitude of this or that official of one department

## Policy and Fruition

or another, there was always the voice of public opinion expressed in the press, from the pulpit, in State legislatures in the halls of Congress, vigorous statements by distinguished Republican as well as Democratic leaders, backing up the officially declared policy of the United States and demanding its implementation.

### Policy Based on Strength

There were certain other assumptions basic to the policies of the Zionist Organization of America as expounded by Dr. Silver and his colleagues. There was the principle clearly articulated by Dr. Neumann in his address before the Zionist Congress at Basle that we should pursue a policy based not merely upon the elements of weakness, but also upon the elements of strength in our position. In the conception of Dr. Silver and his associates, the bargaining position of the Jewish people, which had been all but destroyed, had to be recreated. It was their contention that pressure against the British White Paper

policy had to be exerted and maintained on every front—not only in America, but also in Europe, through the movement of the refugees on the Mediterranean, and above all in Palestine itself. They openly favored the policy of resistance on the part of the Yishuv. They conceived of the resistance of the Yishuv and political action in America as two prongs of a coordinated pincers movement directed against the Bevin policy, and chose to rely upon the effect of the sustained struggle of the Jewish people rather than place reliance on continuing diplomatic negotiations with Mr. Bevin, which they feared might lead not merely to failure, but to surrender. This line had evoked sharp differences of opinion expressed at times with heat and bitterness during the last Congress, before and since. Important sections of the movement not only dissented from the American Zionist viewpoint, but condemned it as rash and disastrous. But it won the approval of the majority including a major part of

the Yishuv. It was the pursuit of this policy, based upon courage, daring and faith rather than timidity and defeatism, which brought the ultimate triumph.

The political victory at Flushing Meadow was the fruition of a courageous and consistent policy clearly conceived and firmly executed.

But the end is not yet. The forces of the adversary have been defeated but not destroyed. They continue to exist both here and abroad. Far from bowing to the decision of the United Nations and resigning themselves to the inevitable, they are giving every evidence of a determination to continue the struggle. If they do, so must we — immeasurably strengthened, however, by the full weight of the United Nations behind us.

In facing what the coming months may bring, we must continue to act in the future as in the past on the basis of clearly conceived policies taking in account the realities of political life and the forces which mould international relations. They should be policies based "not merely on the elements of weakness, but also the elements of strength in our position."



# American Zionism and The Jewish State

## The Future Program of the ZOA

By DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN

The work of the Zionist Organization must go on with redoubled vigor and intensity to ensure that the great political decision of the United Nations on Palestine shall be translated into a concrete and stable reality. The political task of the Zionist Movement will not be accomplished until the Jewish State has been firmly and unshakably established.

The Zionists of America will continue to maintain a deep, sympathetic interest in the life and fortune of the Jewish Community in Palestine and extend to it in fullest measure all such moral and practical assistance as will be necessary, possible and appropriate. American Jews will in return, benefit from the spiritual rebirth of Judaism, and the moral and cultural values which will be created in that process.

### Great Reservoir

During the transition period and until the Jewish State has been established *de jure* as well as *de facto*, the Zionist Organization will continue to function as heretofore but with greater zeal and intensity than ever, in the following directions:

1. It will continue to build up the strength of the Zionist Movement as the great reservoir of human and material resources for the practical realization of the Zionist ideal through mass enrollment of hundreds of thousands of pro-Zionist sympathizers who will wish to express their solidarity and channelize their efforts by their affiliation with the Zionist Movement.

2. It will continue to give maximum support to all official fund-raising activities of the Zionist Movement including more especially, the Palestine Foundation Fund, the Jewish National Fund and the United Palestine

Appeal, in order to provide the resources for the greatly increased immigration and colonization activities of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which must be undertaken in the coming months.

3. As a matter of immediate urgency the ZOA must take steps in consultation with the appropriate bodies to ensure adequate funds to meet the acute defense and security needs of the Yishuv.

4. It will stimulate interest in the economic problems and the economic developments of Palestine through appropriate agencies and institutions designed to promote economic development and the large scale investment of private capital in trade, industry, public utilities and other enterprises now existing or to be established in Palestine.

5. It will seek to make available for Palestine, the fruits of American science, technical progress and industrial "know-how," by enlisting the cooperation of qualified experts in their respective fields.

6. It will endeavor to utilize the idealistic urge of American Jewish youth to contribute personally toward the upbuilding of Palestine in a pioneering spirit and organize their efforts so that all those who are thus impelled shall be given the opportunity of forming volunteer pioneer groups—chalutzim—to assist the pioneers in Palestine in works of reclamation and development, especially in the crucial and formative period of the next few years.

### Public Relations Vital

7. In view of the malicious propaganda directed against the efforts of the Jewish people to reconstitute the Jewish State and the hostile propaganda directed against the United Na-

tions decision itself, the Zionists of America will carry on a campaign of education and public information to disseminate the truth and keep the American people informed to the end that the President and the Government of the United States, in pursuing further the constructive policy they have adopted, shall be backed and sustained by a strong, well-informed and vigorous public opinion which will resist all insidious attempts to undermine the decision of the United Nations.

8. The Zionist Organization of America will cooperate with all progressive forces in American life which seek to strengthen the moral and political authority of the United Nations as an effective instrument for the settling of international disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security.

9. As an indispensable prerequisite to successful activity in all these directions, the Zionist Organization of America must and will develop a broader and more intensive program of educational work particularly among its membership and the Jewish youth, through books, pamphlets and periodicals, the lecture platform, radio and film, adult-study circles and youth clubs, training courses for leadership and all other appropriate methods.

10. This range of activities for the ZOA which, far from being exhaustive, touches only the barest essentials, will be financed partly through the net revenue of membership dues, and in large measure through the American Zionist Fund whose budget and quotas must be revised and extended in a manner commensurate with the scope of the activities outlined herein.

The next World Zionist Congress, the 23rd, will take place shortly before the official estab-



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver smilingly receives congratulations from American UN delegate Herschel Johnson, after the vote taken to establish a Jewish state.

lishment of the Jewish State. It will be the most significant and momentous in Zionist history. It should reflect and represent not only all those who have been long affiliated with the Zionist Movement but many more millions of Jews, whatever their past affiliations, who now stand solidly behind the United Nations' decision in favor of the Jewish State. No member of the Jewish Community worthy of the name, must fail in this supreme moment of Jewish history to stand up and be counted by enrolling in the Zionist Movement, acquiring his shekel and going to the polls in due course, to participate in the election of delegates to the World Zionist Congress. Millions of American Jews will, I am convinced, be prepared to identify themselves with our Movement if the organized Zionists will approach

them and offer them the opportunity to indicate their adherence.

## To Ship Machinery To Yishuv

A call for desperately needed tools and machinery to be shipped to Palestine to aid in the rapid absorption of immigrants into the new Jewish state was made this week by the New York office of the World Confederation of General Zionists. This equipment is intended for the setting up of trade schools and workshops to train and initiate the newcomers into productive labor and business enterprise, the announcement said.

## Giant ZOA Thanksgiving Rally

(Continued from Page 2)

past several years you have enjoyed the leadership of men who, were they to place their talents at the disposal of others, would, without doubt, rank among the greatest statesmen of our times. There never can be adequate appraisal of the debt which the Jewish State and the Jewish people forever owe to Dr. Emanuel Neumann and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver."

He warned against any delusion that "from now on all will be calm and smooth-sailing," saying, "the problems are still difficult, but there is this difference." He then added:

"Heretofore, you have sought international sanction to your aspirations in Palestine. That approval has now been granted. The Jewish State is yours. What you do with it now becomes your own responsibility. You may be assured that the eyes of millions will be upon you. The New Judaea—or Eretz Israel—whatever it is to be called, will be subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny, will be evaluated with critical eye."

In an atmosphere of hushed silence, he concluded: "This occasion is rightly one of celebration and thanksgiving—but for human civilization it is more than that. It is a solemn and historic moment in the annals of mankind. All of us, Christian and

Jew alike, may yet look back upon this moment as the turning point in world history. More I cannot say. I give you my greetings . . . The Jewish State—Long May It Live!"

A high point of the celebration was the reading of messages by Dr. Neumann that were sent to President Truman; Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations; the Vaad Leumi (Jewish National Council in Palestine); and to the Zionist Executive in Palestine.

The message to Vaad Leumi read:

"Great victory and thanksgiving rally of Zionist Organization of America joins you in the festivities on this historic occasion. The Yishuv, through its courage and determination, has battled through to glorious culmination of greatest idea in our people's history."

The message dispatched to the Zionist Executive in Palestine stated:

"The Zionist Organization of America joins the far-flung units of our movement everywhere in celebrating the attainment of our goal of Jewish Statehood. We are conscious of the many grave tasks and problems yet ahead and pledge the utmost in our resources and efforts to effectuate the growth of a flourishing Jewish State."





# Administrative Council Sets Future ZOA Program

## Plan of U. S. Zionist Participation in Jewish State Economic Development Adopted by Extraordinary Assembly

GRANADOS, GOLDSTEIN, MILLER, FRISCH AND KAPLAN SPEAK

Neumann Reviews United Nations Events; Charges Mufti Protected by British Foreign Office

Meeting under the most auspicious and most crucial circumstances in Zionist history, the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America convened for a two-day session to formulate new policies and programs to cope with the revolutionary changes implied in Jewish life following the UN decision to create a Jewish state in Palestine.

Realizing that every sphere of Zionist activity would have to be re-assessed and reconsidered, the policy-making body of the ZOA soberly undertook to formulate a program in keeping with the new status of world Jewry now that the age-old dream of Jewish Statehood was on the verge of becoming a concrete reality.

At the opening session held at the auditorium of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, more than 750 Zionist leaders flocked to hear top Zionist spokesmen make public the new trends of thinking. Rabbi Irving Miller, chairman of the Administrative Council, opened the meeting.

Rabbi Jerome Unger, acting executive director, presented a candid report on the status of the ZOA and his figures were heartening ones. Revealing that a two-month membership drive had brought 71,440 Zionists into the fold of the ZOA, Rabbi Unger pointed out that this was a 30,000 increase over the same period last year. The American Zionist Fund too brought in an increase over last year's figure at a comparable date. He gave a dimmer view of the shekel drive, by saying that Zionists are not appreciating the actual importance of the shekel campaign. He, therefore, stressed some of the many reasons why General Zionists, interested in the future of Palestine, should sell as many shekolim as possible.

### U. S. Role Discussed

Rabbi Miller, recalling that the last time the Administrative Council met, they had discussed the UNSCOP Majority Report, reviewed the historic events of the past weeks and emphasized the great importance of the role of President Truman in bringing the American delegation around to full support of the partition plan.

Rabbi Miller outlined three measures which the American government must take to prevent "prolonged bloodshed and violence in Palestine." Here are his recommendations.

1. That the U.S. must warn the Arab states that the U.S. and other powers are prepared to take all measures to bring about a peaceful and orderly implementation of the UN decision.
2. That the American government will give no economic aid to the Arab state and the Middle East generally unless the Arabs in Palestine and in the neighboring area cooperate peacefully with the Jewish state.
3. That the U.S. make it pos-

sible for the Jews in Palestine to secure without delay the arms they need for self defense.

Dr. Neumann, who was described as a "general addressing a victorious army," delivered a lengthy, clear, candid and fascinating account of the history of Palestine at the current UN sessions. Drawing upon his vast personal experience, he revealed all the angles involved in the battle. The overflow crowd listened with appreciation and with soberness when he strongly denounced the ex-Mufti, who "evidently enjoys powerful protection from very high quarters, including, apparently, the British Foreign Office."

### Neumann Gives Program

Dr. Neumann outlined a series of measures to be taken to ensure the success of the Jewish state. He said that the Jewish defense units must become a legally-recognized militia and that steps must be taken to procure adequate military equipment so that they may be able "to assume the responsibility of maintaining law and order at the earliest possible moment." Dr. Neumann emphasized that financial arrangements must be made during the transition period to enable the "nascent Jewish state to organize its administrative apparatus and services and provide for immediate immigration and for the national defense." He stressed that the UN plan called for the evacuation by the British "not later than February 1st of a seaport and surrounding hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a substantial Jewish immigration into that area. The prompt carrying out of this provision is vital to the success of the plan."

But the president of the ZOA took time out from formulating plans for the future when he publicly thanked stalwart friends of Zionism within the UN itself. He mentioned the delegates from Poland, Uruguay and Guatemala as being especially helpful and emphasized that the Dominion support of the Zionist view was of great moral importance.

One of Dr. Neumann's own phrases best sums up much of his descriptive talk. He said that all Zionists waited for a decision with "anguished suspense and in tormenting doubt."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, the final speaker of the evening, described the joy which overflowed the delegates at the American Jewish Conference, meeting in Chicago when they heard the news of the UN decision. Dr. Gold-

stein, who is president of the World Confederation of General Zionists and National Chairman of the UPA, warned against any relaxation of effort by American Zionists "until the Jewish state, which is now a UN decision, becomes a functioning reality."

### Sunday Session

Soberly, with the comprehension that work of a highly significant nature was about to take place, the members of the National Administration Council met all day Sunday at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. One Zionist leader after another took the rostrum and spoke out, offering a partial program for the future. Rabbi Irving Miller, the chairman, called for complete unification of Jewish organizations in America and asked for the dissolution of the American Council for Judaism. Joseph Goldberg, membership chairman, revealed encouraging figures on membership and asked for a real all-out effort for the future. Willy Nordwind also emphasized membership, but he dealt mainly with life membership in the ZOA.

William Syk, presenting the treasurer's report in the absence of Mark Sugarman, also offered an encouraging picture of the financial situation. Mendell Selig, of the American Zionist Fund, offering facts and figures, presented the Council with the suggestion that there be Zionist chests in all large cities and

towns in America and that there be a campaign for \$20,000,000 for the Haganah and security for the Yishuv in Palestine.

Jacques Torczyner, national chairman of the Shekel campaign, again stressed the importance of the size of the American Zionist, particularly the General Zionist, delegation to the World Zionist Congress next year. He demanded that all Zionists sell as many shekolim as humanly possible and that in smaller communities where most Zionists were members of the ZOA, the members must be brought to the polls to vote the General Zionist ticket.

Daniel Frisch, who recently returned from Latin America on tour for the JNF, told of his experiences in Latin America, of the manner in which General Zionist aims are distorted by those opposed to General Zionism. Speaking with passion, Frisch offered a historic review of the lost opportunities by the Jewish people in not properly taking advantage of Palestine during the years when the land could have been developed without opposition. Stressing that Zionism is not Palestinianism alone, Frisch emphasized that it is important to the Jew to develop a Jewish life wherever he finds himself.

### Balance of Power

Pointing out that the Jewish home is the crux of Jewish education, he advocated that all Zionists and Jews, in spite of the establishment of the Jewish state, have plenty of work to do. In turning from the cultural aspect to the political, Frisch declared that General Zionism must be the balance of power to keep the Jewish state a "middle of the road" state, rather than an extreme leftist or extreme rightist land.

Eliezer Kaplan, treasurer of the Jewish Agency, was called upon to speak by Rabbi Miller. The first statement made by Kaplan was that American headlines concerning the riots in Palestine create a false impression. Having flown in from Palestine that very day, Kaplan's statement was taken soberly by the

Zionists present.

He revealed, however, that matters in Palestine may take a worse turn and that the Jewish people were ready to meet anything. He told of how the British charged the Yishuv for the Cyprus camps, for transportation of refugees to Palestine, for practically everything. The result, he added, was that the Jewish Agency is heavily in debt and that the American Zionist movement must do all within its means to ease the burden of the Agency.

Before the policy commission resolutions were read for discussion and a vote, Dr. Neumann, whose appearance was cheered by the Zionists, offered the Council a program of action. Declaring that the work of the ZOA would be "redoubled," Dr. Neumann presented the following outline.

1. The human and material resources of the American Zionist movement must be utilized to the full, which means a greater membership of the ZOA than ever before.
2. American Zionists must support all fund-raising activities within the Zionist movement. He stressed the need of private investments, public loans and the utilization of American "know how" to help rebuild the Jewish state.
3. Halutzith, American-Jewish pioneering, must be intensified.
4. The public relations job remains with us. We must remain alert. The campaign of education and public information must be intensified and redoubled.

After Mortimer May, rapporteur of the Policy Commission, dealt briefly with the work of the Commission, he introduced Herman Weisman of Scarsdale (N. Y.), who read a series of statements which, after they were discussed, amended and edited, were adopted as the resolutions of the Administrative Council.

### Granados Pledges Support

Following the debate, Jorge Garcia Granados, of Guatemala, staunch friend of the Zionist cause, spoke briefly to the cheer-

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Dr. Neumann addresses the National Administrative Council at the opening session December 6, Saturday night. On the stage, from left to right, are Daniel Frisch, ZOA vice president; Dr. Israel Goldstein, head of the World Confederation of General Zionists; Rabbi Irving Miller, chairman of the National Administrative Council; Mortimer May, vice chairman of the Council; Mr. Weiss, financial consultant of the Keren Kayemeth in Jerusalem.



## Arab Masses Want Peace, Says Shertok

Speaking at Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, of which Dr. Israel Goldstein is Rabbi, Moshe Shertok told the congregation at a service of prayerful thanks for the Jewish State, that "I am convinced that the Arab masses do not want any conflict with the Jews." He added that "Our business is to hold firm and to be on the alert. A great victory has been won but the battle is going on. It is a new phase in our struggle. It is the beginning. It will lead to complete and final success."

Dr. Goldstein, who is chairman of the World Confederation of General Zionists, declared that "we are fully mindful of the difficulties which will lie in the path and of the gap between the formal decision and the actual fact. But we face the future with faith."

Dr. Goldstein, in a statement issued on behalf of the Political Advisory Committee of the World Zionist Organization, publicly thanked the various governments and delegates who "fostered this equitable solution." Calling the decision "epoch making," Dr. Goldstein stressed that the decision "represents a heavy sacrifice for the Jewish people, yet a majority of the Committee felt that the Zionist movement is justified in making that heavy sacrifice in the interests of achieving a settlement of the Palestine problem."

## Sefer Ha'Medina Opened By JNF

A Sefer Ha'Medina, the Book of the Jewish State, dedicated to the decision of the United Nations, has been opened at the headquarters of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem to perpetuate the historic event. Jewish organizations, groups and individuals throughout the world have been invited to fill the Sefer Ha'Medina pages with inscriptions of tribute to the nations and leaders whose support made possible the decision to reconstitute the Jewish State in Palestine.

Announcement of the creation of the Sefer Ha'Medina, the Jewish people's Roll of Honor, was made by Dr. Abraham Granovsky, head of the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael in Jerusalem, in a cable to Judge Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund of America. Inscriptions commemorating the event may be entered on the basis of contributions of \$100.

### Administrative

(Continued from Page 7)

ing through. "I am quite sure," he said, that the Jewish people, which has shown such a strength and faith during the past 2,000 years, will now have even more faith to succeed in the task ahead. I am with you and we will all fight this thing together. I am quite sure we will succeed and get a full, independent Jewish State."

At the end of these remarks, Dr. Neumann proposed a resolution, adopted by acclamation, to the effect that the officers of the ZOA be empowered to arrange to have either a portrait or a sculptured bust of Dr. Granados and Prof. Fabregat of Uruguay presented to the national museum or national gallery in Palestine.

# Resolutions Adopted by NAC

The following resolutions were adopted by the Extraordinary Assembly of the ZOA National Administrative Council at its meeting in New York:

### Resolution on Dr. Silver

The Extraordinary Assembly of the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America voices its deep sense of appreciation to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, the distinguished leader of American Zionism, for the historic contributions he has made to the cause of national liberation of the Jewish people. His brilliant and inspiring leadership has served to marshal and unite all forces of American Jewry and to enlist the overwhelming sentiment of American public opinion and the support of the American government for the reestablishment of the Jewish State in Palestine. With indomitable will and courage he has stood at the helm of our movement, ever vigilant and ever firm in guiding our efforts in the most critical period of Zionist history. As chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, charged with the heavy responsibility of representing the Jewish cause in the historic proceedings before the United Nations, he organized, guided and directed the Jewish effort and led our people to the greatest political achievement since the destruction of the Second Commonwealth.

In this hour of thanksgiving and victory, we pause to salute his matchless leadership, which has contributed so largely to the fulfillment of the two thousand years of historic aspirations of our people.

### Policy Resolutions

I

1. The ZOA expresses its deep appreciation to the United Nations Organization and to the nations of the world for the recognition of the rights of the Jewish people to a Jewish State in Palestine.

2. It is heartening and symbolic that the problem of Palestine, cradle of the great religions and moral precepts of the world, should afford the United Nations their initial opportunity to invoke the collective judgment and authority of world powers and of nations great and small toward the settlement of a difficult international problem.

3. The Arab inhabitants of Palestine should know that the Jewish State will live in accordance with the verse of the Bible, inscribed upon the American Liberty Bell:

"Proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

It is a foremost purpose of the Jewish people to establish and preserve peace and friendship with the neighboring nations of Palestine and the Arab people.

4. The decision of the United Nations recognizing the validity and justice of millennial aspirations of the Jewish people for statehood in Palestine, thereby confirms that the security of the Jews of Palestine and those desiring to resettle there present a problem entitled to immediate and official cognizance of the United Nations. We, therefore, respectfully urge:

(a) That the appropriate authority within the United Nations call upon the Arab governmental and other leaders whose actions are in defiance of the decision of the Assembly in respect of Palestine to cease and desist from creating and causing conditions constituting a threat to peace.

(b) That the United Nations declare their readiness to initiate effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace in order to bring about the realization of the Assembly's decision concerning Palestine by peaceful means in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

5. The decisive role of the United States Government, under the leadership of President Harry S. Truman, and with the support of both the major parties, in the events leading to the UN Resolution on Palestine is appreciated by the Jewish people and by men of good will everywhere, and is gratefully acknowledged by the ZOA. The U. S. Government is urged to render every necessary assistance to the United Nations in effecting the fulfillment of the Palestine Resolution in due course. To that end, we respectfully request:

(a) That the U. S. facilitate the acquisition by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, through appropriate arrangements, of adequate military equipment for defense and security uses in Palestine,

the lack of which would severely handicap the preservation of law and order in the event of continued disturbance inspired by intransigent Arab leaders.

(b) That the U. S. Government, in keeping with its known attitude concerning the prompt transfer of Jewish refugees from Europe to Palestine, help to make available the necessary ships and facilities for the transportation of large numbers of Jews to Palestine for resettlement in the Jewish State.

6. The ZOA expresses its deep appreciation for the friendly and sympathetic understanding of the Zionist movement, and active support and endorsement given on the grounds of justice to our Zionist cause by both of the great American political parties, the Congress of the United States, the Legislatures of virtually all of the states, the outstanding religious and civil leadership of the Christian community, the enlightened press and publications of the country and the general American public.

II

### A. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

1. The political aims of the Zionist movement cannot be considered to have been attained before there shall have been established in Palestine a Jewish State enjoying legal and physical security and recognition within the family of nations and until a large scale immigration of Jews into Palestine and their resettlement shall have been accomplished.

2. The ZOA will seek not only to maintain, but to enlarge and enhance its organization in order to do all in its power to facilitate Jewish immigration and colonization in Palestine and to exert its influence to ensure the successful implementation of the UN Resolution on Palestine for the organization of a Jewish State having the greatest possible measure of political stability and economic security.

### B. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE ZOA

1. The ZOA, with greater zeal and intensity than ever, will, through its membership and affiliated Zionist agencies, provide maximum support in campaigns for funds required for the protection, transportation, absorption and colonization of Jewish emigrants into Palestine and the acquisition of land for that purpose. In addition to such international or governmental assistance as may be secured from time to time, such Jewish needs require and merit the full measure of American Jewry's generosity and support for years to come. It is the considered judgment of the ZOA that a special and adequate sum must be made available in the next 60 days for the defense and security of Jewish Palestine and the ZOA administration is directed to take appropriate steps in consultation with existing fundraising agencies, to ensure such adequate provision for defense and security.

(a) The ZOA expresses its appreciation for the earnest work of Americans for Haganah and we now urge, in the light of the UN Resolution on Palestine, that the work of this organization be absorbed by the duly constituted and existing American Zionist bodies.

2. The ZOA will, on its own responsibility and in cooperation with proper agencies, existing or to be established, devote itself to promote widespread understanding and interest in the American world of industry, agriculture, investment and finance in the economic problems and opportunities in Palestine with a view,

(a) To encourage American businessmen to finance or establish essential industries in Palestine, and to invest in existing or new Palestinian enterprise;

(b) To encourage growth of trade and commerce, increased imports and exports between the U. S. and Palestine;

(c) To present the opportunities for a maximum degree of participation by American youth of qualified training and experience in the upbuilding of Palestine and its productive life.

III

### EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The ZOA will extend and intensify its educational program and activities in order to foster in American Jewry, particularly the youth, the desire to participate in the renaissance of Jewish spiritual and cultural values.

The Administration is requested to direct the National Education Committee to study and re-

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## Frisch Urges Middle of Road Yishuv Pattern

Daniel Frisch, vice president of the ZOA, returned last week from an extended and successful tour of the Latin American countries in behalf of the Jewish National Fund. At the last meeting of the National Administrative Council, he presented a detailed report of the life of Jewry in the Argentine and neighboring Latin-American countries and on Zionist activities in particular.

In a statement on the UN vote for the reestablishment of Jewish statehood in Palestine, Mr. Frisch declared that the fact that the Jews have been accorded a partitioned area is in a certain sense the fault of the Jews themselves because of their neglect to redeem large areas of land when the opportunity was offered. He appealed to the Jewish masses in the United States to give the Yishuv the maximum aid and help in the development in this country of a large-scale chalutz movement.

### Avoid Extremes

In regard to the pattern of the Jewish state, Mr. Frisch advocated a middle of the road government avoiding extremes—either of the left or of the right. In a world of extremes, a people such as ours must follow the middle road, he said. This can only be achieved if we will follow the line of General Zionism, which embodies the highest social and economic forms based upon sound Jewish traditions.

While the last word regarding the formulation of the constitution of the new Jewish State will rest with those who are citizens of that state, Mr. Frisch believes that an effort will be made at the forthcoming World Zionist Congress toward securing for General Zionism a strong representation in influencing the formulation of this constitution. Concerning the new constitution of the World Zionist Organization, regardless of the form it may take, the decisive voice must lie in the hands of Diaspora Jewry by the same token as the way of life of the Jewish State will be decided by citizens of that state.

Commenting on the relationship which is to be established between the Jewish State and the outside world, Mr. Frisch said, "Zionism, since its inception, was based upon the harmony of the two main aspirations dominating Jewish life—one, as expressed in the renaissance of our people, its spiritual revival, the revival of its culture and tradition, and two, the redemption of the land aimed at the reestablishment of the Jewish State. As the latter aim is being attained, American Jewry must identify itself with this spiritual revival. We must concentrate our efforts toward the renaissance of the synagogue, Hebrew culture and the renewal of the Jewish spirit in the Jewish home. In other words, such a renaissance should embrace all elements of Jewry in North and South America."

## Thon Visiting Europe For General Zionists

Dr. Joseph Thon has recently left on an important mission to Europe. He will visit the DP camps in Germany and other countries in connection with the relief activities of the World Confederation of General Zionists.



# Palestine Diary

NOV. 30.—Isolated Arab groups throughout the Middle East started trouble by attacking Jews in Jerusalem and in other cities and towns in the Middle East. Seven Jews were killed as the Arabs rioted.

DEC. 1.—One the eve of the Arab League's announced three-day strike over the UN decision, there were anti-American and anti-Jewish demonstrations in Arab lands. Four Jews were wounded, one killed. Arabs raided the American legation in Damascus and the Jewish Agency set up recruiting offices to handle the Arab threat.

DEC. 2.—Jewish-Arab fighting continued to flare, in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Ramleh, Lydda and Safad. There were, all told, 14 deaths, eight of them Jewish. Thirty-two Jews were wounded, as were six Arabs. In Jerusalem there was a long day of looting, rioting and fighting. Nine Jewish blocks were burned, with more than \$1,000,000 worth of property damage. More than 10,000 Haganah men took open action to avert further strife.

DEC. 3.—Where the Jaffa slums meet with modern Jewish Tel Aviv, the Haganah and Arabs fought a six-hour battle with rifles, pistols and home made bombs. Five Arabs were killed, seven Jews died and 75 Arabs and Jews were injured. The curfew on Jerusalem remained clamped. The secretary of the Arab Higher Committee, Hussein Khalidi, said that "irresponsible elements" were responsible for the riots, and that "it can't be avoided."

DEC. 4.—There were minor skirmishes in Palestine as the final day of the Arab general strike ended. The unofficial estimate was that 20 Jews and 15 Arabs died during the strike. The Arab Higher Committee called off the final day of demonstrations, although no reason was given for the action.

## Arab Attacks Repulsed

DEC. 5.—Jerusalem was quiet, but the area between Tel Aviv and Jaffa was again the scene of battle. The Haganah repulsed attacks on Tel Aviv.

DEC. 6.—Today, seven Jews, including a ten-year-old girl, were killed in the Tel Aviv-Jaffa border. Two Arabs were killed. This brought Palestine casualties to 66 dead and hundreds hurt. Damage of about \$4,000,000 was done.

DEC. 7.—Again the Tel Aviv-Jaffa "no man's land" suffered outbursts by both Arabs and Jews. Jewish authorities again condemned the British for interfering with Jewish attempts to defend themselves and for British attacks on the Haganah. The Jewish Agency called for the national registration of men and women between the ages of 17 and 25. It was expected that 75,000 would sign up.

DEC. 8.—A group of well armed Arabs broke into the Hatikvah suburb of Tel Aviv and fought a pitched battle with the Haganah for over an hour. Haganah units, fighting back with planned vigor, repulsed the Arabs and drove them out. Including this action and fighting in

Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Jaffa and Haifa, eight Jews and five Arabs were killed as well as two Britons.

DEC. 9.—Sixteen more deaths were added to the Middle East list with Jews bitter over British favoritism toward the Arabs. In Haifa, two Jews, an Arab and a Briton were killed. Haganah claims that between 80 and 85 Arabs were killed in repelling an Arab attack on Tel Aviv, was called "bunk" by the British. A tragic tale was revealed when a British businessman in the British Protectorate of Aden, in a letter to a friend, said that more than 100 Jewish women and children were burned to death in a building in Aden.

DEC. 10.—Nine Jews, eight Arabs and one Briton died today, though the strife seemed to be letting up in Palestine. A group of seven Jews were attacked, and six of them were massacred by an Arab band in the Negev. Rumors of a truce were denied by both Arabs and Jews. Jewish Agency leaders were bitter when the British High Commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham, issued a statement to the effect that unless a truce were arranged, he would adopt "severe measures" against all those, Jews and Arabs alike, who are breaking the law. The Jewish Agency in-

sisted that Jews were breaking no laws but were merely defending themselves. Grouping Jews with rioting Arabs served only to fan the flames further in Palestine.

DEC. 11.—The death toll in Palestine reached a new high when unofficial reports set the casualties at 41. In one deadly attack, nine Jews were killed when Arabs ambushed a bus convoy. In another sharp attack, four Arabs were killed and 30 injured when a bomb demolished an Arab bus and taxi. More than half the deaths were Arab.

DEC. 12.—Thirteen Arabs were killed by Jews who attacked the Arab village of Tireh. In all, the death roll was 20 Arabs and five Jews.

DEC. 13.—Sixteen Arabs were killed and wounded, when the Irgun took action against the Arabs. The day's toll was 21 dead Arabs and three Jews.

DEC. 14.—The unofficial count of deaths in the Middle East rose to 363, when soldiers from King Abdullah's Arab Legion, on "loan" to the British, killed 14 Jews and wounded 15 others in machine-gunning a bus convoy carrying supplies for children to a village.

## Jewish Authorities Prepare to Move To Tel Aviv Area

By MAJOR E. LASERSON

TEL AVIV.—It is quite noteworthy that most of the Arab states, in spite of vehement protests at Flushing Meadow and elsewhere, do not appear (at least for the time being) to be inclined to intervene directly and officially in Palestine. They are apparently reluctant to help the Mufti in his organization of guerrilla warfare. Trans-Jordan, and even Egypt, are showing signs of neutrality. American diplomatic activity in favor of Arab non-intervention in Palestine, is felt throughout the Middle East. U.S. military observers are reported to have arrived at several Arab capitals.

Jerusalem's many consulates are very busy preparing their reorganization into Legations. The UN solution of the Palestine problem will cause many consulates-general in Jerusalem to subdivide into three main establishments: Diplomatic representations in the Jewish and Arab

states and a consular or diplomatic representative in the international district of Jerusalem. All administrative arrangements are made difficult by the fact that it is not yet known when and where the Jewish and Arab governments will be set up. Tel Aviv is one likely place, but Nathania and Ramat Gan have also been suggested. A highly placed personality in the Municipality of Tel Aviv expressed the opinion that the Jewish Government institutions would move into the ex-German colony of Sarona, which is now part of Greater Tel Aviv. Sarona, with its many large and modern buildings and villas, is now the property of the Palestine government, and serves as residential area for British officials. The houses of Sarona could be easily converted into offices and residential quarters for the Jewish administration.

Meanwhile accommodation is being prepared in Tel Aviv for



Exuberant young Jews hoist British soldiers on their shoulders in celebration of the UN vote.

## Inflation, Newspaper Style

New York newspaper editors, aware that millions of their readers are Jewish, have been over-stressing skirmishes in Palestine as though they were major battles. Particularly guilty are afternoon newspapers with their loud and sensational headlines.

When Arabs broke into Tel Aviv and were driven back, with total casualties of two deaths, some newspapers used streamer heads, reminiscent of the crucial days of World War II. The Palestine Post, calling the newspaper correspondents "foreign ghouls," published two accounts of Ramleh rioting under the heading of "as others see us." This is the edi-

torial comment of the Palestine Post:

"Some idea of the sensationally colorful reports that have appeared in the world press of the events of the last few days in Palestine, may be gained from the following. . . The stories are reproduced on the assumption that readers will be interested in comparing these stories cabled to the largest news agencies in the world . . . with their own experience and eyewitness reports of these events."

The New York Herald Tribune, always aware of the facts in the case, was the only New York newspaper to pick up the Palestine Post story and to publicize it.

the UN Commission and for the Jewish liaison staff. There is an acute shortage of accommodation facilities in Palestine and housing is a great problem.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union, the main sponsors of Jewish independence, have no consulates in Tel Aviv. These two, and several other countries are now reported to have taken initial steps to establish their official representation in the Jewish area.

Strong rumors are circulating in well informed circles that the Haganah will soon receive official recognition by the UN Commission and the retiring Mandatory Power. It is now thought that the original plan of immediately establishing a Jewish-controlled area will be adhered to by the British government and that the Jewish

authorities would be set up there. This, in all probability, would be the Tel Aviv area. The port of Tel Aviv is making all-out efforts to improve its disembarkation and unloading facilities.

Arrangements are being made to speed up the construction of roads in some frontier regions of the Jewish State, so as to facilitate supervision. Although British army camps are releasing laborers by the thousand, there appears to be no unemployment. Jewish industry is expecting a boom, in view of a temporary collapse of import arrangements. It is also thought that the Jewish government would impose protective taxes, particularly as far as the countries which have voted against the Jewish State are concerned. On the other hand, importers of building materials are trying to place as many orders abroad as possible, so as to be ready for the absorption of a large scale immigration. Hotel industry and the catering trade in general are preparing for a flood of Jewish tourists during the coming season. As it is thought that disturbances are likely during the next few months, many hotel and restaurant owners have decided to devote this period to rebuilding, improvements and reorganization. Ambitious and long-range tourist schemes are being prepared by various organizations. Jerusalem, which is about to lose much of its administrative and political importance, is hoping to become a world center of tourism and pilgrimage.

## Resolutions Adopted by NAC

(Continued from Page 8)

port to the next meeting of the National Administrative Council the best ways and means of carrying on an educational and cultural program by the ZOA, including a report on the improvement and expansion of work among the youth, the promotion of the chalutzit movement under the sponsorship of our organization, the encouragement of the Brandeis Camp Institute and the intensification and broadening of popular knowledge and appreciation of the Hebrew language, literature and the arts.

### Resolution of Tribute To Dr. Neumann

We record our deep appreciation in behalf of the Jews of America for the historic services in the cause of Jewish freedom rendered by Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Moshe Shertok and other leaders of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, whose persistent and inspired efforts contributed significantly to the success of the deliberations of the United Nations Assembly and the passage of the Palestine Resolution.



# Will U.S. Take Steps Against Arab Middle East Disorders?

By MURRAY FRANK

WASHINGTON, D. C.—While keeping a sharp look-out on developments in the Middle East, all eyes are turned on Washington these days for any action and reaction on the part of our government. And there has been plenty of it in the first few weeks since the favorable UN decision to partition Palestine, some of it encouraging and some discouraging.

Well-informed circles in Washington regard the present embargo on the shipments of arms to the Middle-East as a significant move on the part of the American Government. For one thing, it is considered as a definite warning to the Arabs that the U.S. is displeased with the disorders. For another, it shows that this country is determined to halt Arab terrorism before it spreads too far and as if to emphasize that determination the U.S. has taken the first step in that direction. Should this warning be disregarded by the Arabs, it is believed here that the U.S. will take more drastic steps.

Of interest is the interpretation mentioned in certain unofficial quarters here as to the possible effect of the arms embargo on Jews. It was pointed out that the embargo will not affect Jewish groups in this country who may seek to purchase and ship arms to Palestine for defense purposes, since the Jewish state has officially not yet come into being. This, however, is an unofficial interpretation and it remains to be seen whether the U.S. Government holds similar views.

Although Washington is keeping a wary eye on developments in the Middle East, there is as yet no sign of over-anxiety and no great apprehension in government circles over the situation in Palestine. The issuance of passports for persons desiring to go to Palestine has not been stopped by the State Department at this writing, nor has there been any thought given to the possible evacuation of Americans from Palestine or the Middle East generally. On the contrary, it is known that the State Department is considering taking steps for the protection of life and property of some 10,000 American citizens presently residing in Palestine and nearby countries. Whether these precautions visualize some form of military action is still an unknown factor.

## Shertok's Visit

In this connection, the recent visit to Washington of Moshe Shertok, head of the Jewish Agency's political department, aroused some speculation. Shertok spent only a few hours here during which he paid "courtesy calls" on State Department and other officials.

Points of speculation in connection with Shertok's visit were the following: that he advocated the use of diplomatic pressure by the U.S. on the Arab countries as a further step in ending the disorders; that he brought up the question of supplying arms to the Jews of Palestine for the defense of the Jewish state; and, finally, that he took up the question of economic aid in the form of a loan to the Jewish state for security purposes.

Most discouraging fact in recent days has been the unscrupulous and under-handed methods employed by anti-Zionist and

anti-partitionist elements in the State Department and in certain military circles in Washington who have not given up their fight against a Jewish state and refuse to be reconciled to any such idea. Instead of adhering to the policy of their own government and of the overwhelming majority of the American people and to the decision of the civilized world, they concentrate their energy on spreading wild rumors and unfounded hearsay reports about imminent Russian intervention in Palestine.

Stories are "planted" in the press through certain columnists to the effect that the military

leaders are greatly disturbed over the Arab-Jewish clashes which may give Russia an excuse for sending armed forces to restore order, under the pretext of fulfilling her UN obligations and thus secure a foothold in the Mediterranean basin. As one columnist frankly states, some "highly placed officials look with suspicion on this one and only case of Soviet cooperation with the United States" (on Palestine partition), which anti-Zionist elements are now interpreting as a "skillful operation" to bring about a permanent break between the U.S. and the Arab countries.

## U. S. CALLED

(Continued from Page 1)

seek in the United States and through contributions from Jewish communities in South America and in other countries such as Canada, South Africa, England and Mexico.

Harold J. Goldenberg, of Minneapolis, presided at the quota adoption session.

According to Dr. Israel Goldstein, national chairman of the UJA and of the UPA, hundreds of thousands of Jews in Ru-

mania, Hungary, Poland and other lands, including Arab States, are waiting for "their turn to enter Palestine," in addition to the 250,000 Jews in Europe's DP camps and to the 20,000 Jews detained on Cyprus.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann addressed the Sunday night session. He reviewed the events leading up to the UN decision and pledged the wholehearted support of American Zionists towards raising the goal set by the 1948 UJA campaign.

## London Cable

The London cable by The New Palestine correspondent was sent before the House of Commons debate on Palestine was ended. During the debate, Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech-Jones gave May 15 as the date on which the British would move out of the Holy Land, but he refused to fix the date definitely. The following day, in concluding the debate, Ernest Bevin again revealed his anti-Zionist bias when he stated that "if the Jews encourage illegal immigration, it will be regarded as a provocative act. I say to the Jews advisedly that they should leave it alone until the new state is set up." Bevin reiterated his belief that the Jews in New York make the British task "difficult." He said he could have solved the Palestine question without outside "interference," thus brushing aside the fact that he himself brought the case before the UN. He did, however, make one clear statement. "We expect to clear Cyprus," he said. "We must." —Ed.

LONDON.—British troops will be withdrawn from Palestine by August the Colonial Secretary Arthur Speech Jones told a bored, half empty House of Commons at the opening of the two-day debate on Palestine. In his speech, Creech Jones did not disclose the evacuation procedure but observers are convinced that May will be the

critical month. Perhaps the chief certainly emerging from last week's confusion is that the ex-Mufti, Haj Amin el Hussein, is not ready to launch a major drive now, as he is afraid to antagonize an important segment of Arab business interests by spoiling the citrus season. He is also afraid to clash openly with the British.

Therefore, the real question is whether the Palestine Administration will assist the UN Commission to establish conditions guaranteeing order after the troops' departure and to this question, no clear answer has emerged. However limited British cooperation will be, it will be opposed by the Tory right-wing and by the demagogic section of the Tory press led by the *Daily Mail* and the *Express*. But moderate conservatives like Col. Oliver Stanley are plainly worried by the prospect of a further loss of British prestige if the liquidation of the mandate is accompanied by violence.

As far as the Government is concerned, the chief purpose of the debate was to rally the greatest possible public support for the policy of withdrawal without giving the opposition an opportunity to charge the administration with weakness. A subsidiary purpose, chiefly envisaged by Bevin, is to disclaim in advance responsibility for all consequences. No one is able to deny that this attitude is popular with the great majority of the British public.



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## JNF National Conference In Chicago January 2-4

A national conference to plan, in accordance with the decision of the United Nations, for the implementation of a land program for the Jewish State in Palestine, has been summoned by the Jewish National Fund. The sessions will be held at the Palmer House, Chicago, from Friday, January 2 to Sunday, January 4, 1948.

Israel Rokach, Mayor of the all-Jewish city of Tel Aviv, who was imprisoned by the British in the Latrun camp last summer, and Abraham Harzfeld, noted Palestinian land settlement expert and labor leader, head a delegation of distinguished Palestinians who will come to the United States to attend and address the Jewish National Fund Conference.

The Chicago sessions and the expected arrival of the Palestine delegation headed by Mayor Rokach and Mr. Harzfeld were announced by Judge Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund of America. The announcement was made in a call issued by Judge Rothenberg.

## British Foreign Office Gloomy

By GEORGE LICHTHEIM

The precise date of British evacuation of Palestine is still subject to speculation. But certain facts are becoming clear whose significance is not affected by the time limit.

The first controversy that remains to be settled is the question of whether the Foreign Office or the Colonial Office will take charge of the actual arrangements. This is important, in view of the well-known difference in the attitude of these departments. It becomes even more strongly emphasized since the Colonial Secretary's return to London and the unabashed satisfaction over the UN decision expressed by him and his officials, while the Foreign Office remains wrapped in deepest gloom.

Secondly, whichever department ultimately takes charge of the arrangements, the cabinet as a whole will have to decide what attitude to adopt towards the UN suggestion on the Palestine administration relinquishing control over a port by February 1. If the Government follows Bevin's interpretation of the Mandate to include the White Paper, it is evidently impossible to comply with such a request before formally terminating Mandatory responsibility, which is unlikely before May, at the earliest. That this date is a certainty arises from the simple technical considerations bound up with the process of liquidating the Palestine Administration.

It is even arguable that since the five-nation UN Commission

is not even provided with a police force, it is in the general interest of the Palestine Administration to retain the responsibility to maintain law and order as long as possible. Otherwise, the virtual blocking of immigration until next summer is likely to produce a grotesque situation unless the Palestine Administration simply decides to ignore the "illegal" inflow of refugees. These and related matters were discussed at recent Cabinet meetings apparently without any clear decision.

A somewhat ominous element was injected into the situation by the rioting in Jerusalem and Jaffa where the police did not distinguish themselves but effectively hampered the Haganah. Latest reports suggest that this particular situation won't happen again, but in view of the open threats and preparations by the Arabs, there is evidently a clear case to enable the Jews to organize for their defense, which would be difficult if all ports are blocked until May. It is understood that there is some difference of opinion on this point among the Arabs, Azzam and the Egyptians generally preferring to wait until the British have gone, to avoid a clash with the British army, while the Hussein faction takes the realistic view that it is dangerous to wait until the Jews have organized for action and are not hampered by a third factor. Next week's parliamentary statements probably will decide this issue one way or the other.



## Jerusalem Cable

## And the City Rejoiced

By GERSHON SWET

JERUSALEM.—Ninety thousand of the hundred thousand radio sets of Palestine belong to Jews and most of these can pick up short wave transmissions. When the political struggle for Palestine was launched at Lake Success, Jews here hugged their radios evening after evening, waiting for news about the progress of the discussions. On the historic Saturday evening, when the final vote was taken, tens of thousands tuned in to the broadcast of the UN Assembly. Groups could be seen in the cages and when these had to close at midnight, eager listeners proceeded to the hotels and newspaper offices.

A half an hour after midnight, Palestine time, the news came through. Within a few moments, young people were crowding into the streets, spreading the glad tidings of the decision to establish a Jewish State and calls of "Mazel Tov" could be heard on all sides. The noise in the streets was soon so loud that sleep was impossible and the streets filled up steadily with people who rose from their beds to join the spontaneous celebrations.

Not in generations has Jerusalem ever witnessed a night such as this. From all the 120 Jewish quarters of Jerusalem, they poured out—Jews from Yemen and Afghanistan, from Turkey, Kurdistan, India, Iran, Syria, Algiers, Morocco, from all the lands of the West and overseas, Jews hailing from every part of the far-flung Diaspora, gathering together in the streets of Jerusalem to celebrate the Jewish independence.

On the morning following the Assembly vote, the Hallel prayer was recited in many of the orthodox synagogues and in one synagogue, near the residence of the Chief Rabbi, the Shofar was blown. Although the day was a Sunday, when the Tachanun prayer has to be recited in the morning service, it was omitted on this occasion, since the day was regarded as a festival. In Meah Shearim and Bet Israel orthodox Jews went into the streets, armed with bottles of brandy and glasses, constraining passers-by to the pleasant duty of drinking a toast to the Jewish State.

Another highlight of the joyous occasion was the attitude displayed to British troops and police. Crowds of youngsters surrounded British police, offered drinks to the police and soldiers.

The Britishers, who only a day before had regarded every Jew as a potential enemy, accepted the gestures of friendship in good spirit and in most cases with open sympathy. Above all else, they are happy at the prospect of being able to go back to their own homes. It was as though an "armistice" had been declared between them and the residents of the Jewish city.

As I write these lines, a note of sadness has already been struck. Jews have been ambushed and killed on the roads. This has come as no surprise to us. The Yishuv has known all along that those who proclaim themselves as the leaders of our Arab neighbors have been conspiring against us. Eleven and a half years ago, when the disturbances broke out in April, 1936, they began with the ambushing of Jewish buses on the roads. The intention then, as now, was to cut off the various centers of Jewish population and to disrupt vital communications. That attempt did not succeed. Neither will this one.

## New Haifa Textile Plant

A huge textile plant which will employ five to six thousand people and serve as a center for a city of from fifty to sixty thousand inhabitants is being built in the southern Zebulun Valley near Haifa on land of the Jewish National Fund which derives its American support through the United Palestine Appeal, Dr. Israel Goldstein, national UPA chairman, announced.

The Jewish National Fund, a constituent agency of the United Palestine Appeal, acquires and ameliorates land in Palestine to be kept in perpetuity in the name of the Jewish people.

Scheduled to work a five day week on three shifts, the plant will produce five million yards of textile a year, a portion of which will be earmarked for export. Undergoing construction now is the dyeing unit which will extend over an area of 63 dunams. Equipment has been ordered from the United States and Switzerland.

Surrounding the plant will be quarters for the employees, many of whom are to be recruited from the ranks of immigrants, stores, parks, playgrounds and a theatre. When completed, the enterprise will cover an area of about 500 dunams.



David Ben Gurion stands on the balcony of the Jewish Agency building in Jerusalem as a crowd estimated to be more than 40,000 gathers in the Agency courtyard and around it to cheer the UN decision.

## Italian Jews, DPs Join in March Under Arch of Titus

By FRITZ BECKER

ROME.—A most colorful and symbolic celebration of the UN decision was held in Rome, when thousands of Jews, young DPs and old bearded orthodox Jews marched under the Arch of Titus, the very Arch their ancestors passed 1,877 years ago chained to the vehicle of a victorious Roman army.

This symbolic action highlighted an impressive thanksgiving rally held amidst the ancient ruins of the Forum Romanum. The gray commemorative arch with its reliefs depicting the Jewish slaves and the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem was colored pink by the late afternoon sun, which had pierced through low-hanging clouds from which earlier rain had drenched the Eternal City.

Over time-worn broad cobblestones of the Old Via Triumphalis, over the very stones their forefathers had once stumbled as prisoners of an empire that long ago had ceased to exist, young Chutzim in blue shirts marched proudly carrying improvised banners and placards announcing the happy event of the birth of a Jewish State and thanking the Italian people "in the midst of whom we found sincere hospitality en route to our Land."

While blue-coated Carabinieri looked on bewildered and news-reel cameras ground, happy crowds of DPs, Jewish boy scouts, black-hatted, whiskered rabbis, Roman businessmen and Rome's entire ghetto population passed under the Arch, an action prohibited by Jewish tradition. But times have changed.

However, this was not the first time the Arch of Titus was chosen for a Jewish mass rally. Many of those present remembered July 2, 1946, when the Forum Romanum around the Arch was thronged by a crowd protesting against the brutal policy of the Mandatory Power in Palestine and the arrest of members of the Jewish Agency. Few imagined then that 17 months later they would return to the scene of that protest meeting, this time rejoicing, smiling and full of hope for a brighter future.

The crowd waiting amidst the ruins of ancient Roman buildings

occupied the muddy, grass-covered space around the Arch, as Dr. Raffaele Cantoni, president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and one of the men responsible for making Italy a "springboard to Palestine" for the Jewish DPs, declared that after 1,877 years, sufferings and toil have finally found just recognition.

Speaking of the policy to be adopted by Italian Jewry towards the new Jewish State, Dr. Cantoni proposed that the Jews of Italy, who always were exemplary

citizens, "look at the Jewish State the same way Italians in the U. S. and all over the world manifest their ties with their country of origin."

Stressing the strong feeling of gratitude for the human understanding showed by the Italian population and for the extremely friendly DP policy adopted by the Italian Government, Dr. Cantoni said that "the Jewish DPs, who will leave Italy for Palestine shortly, will carry with them this feeling and will never forget what Italy did for them."

## Neumann Calls for Support Of Hebrew Language Here



Leading personalities at the annual banquet of the Histadruth Ivrit of America are shown here. Seated, from left to right: Menachem Ribalow, editor of "Hadoar"; Samuel J. Borowsky, member of the praesidium of the Histadruth Ivrit; Dr. Emanuel Neumann, ZOA president, who was the main speaker of the evening; and Harry P. Fierst, toastmaster. Standing, from left to right: Mordecai Halevi, executive director of the Histadruth Ivrit; Mrs. Emanuel Halpern of Hadassah; Boris Margolin, member of the Histadruth Ivrit praesidium; and Dr. Alexander Dushkin, member of the praesidium.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the ZOA, told an overflow crowd of 600 persons attending the annual banquet of the Histadruth Ivrit of America at the Hotel Astor in New York, that "the rebirth of the Jewish State is inconceivable and would have been impossible without the rebirth of the Hebrew tongue." Dr. Neumann, a long-time Hebraist, added that "the time is coming soon, I hope, when it will be inconceivable for any Jewish leader to get along without a knowledge of Hebrew."

The Zionist leader urged the support of Hebrew and told the guests that the ZOA will stress culture to a greater extent than before. He lauded the work of the Histadruth Ivrit, which is-

sues the *Hadoar*, only Hebrew weekly in the world outside of Palestine, and which sponsors a Hebrew publishing house, Hebrew-speaking summer camps and other activities aimed towards the dissemination of Hebrew culture among American Jews.

Menachem Ribalow, editor of *Hadoar*, called upon the Zionists of America to intensify their labors for Hebrew and to support the Histadruth Ivrit. Zalman Schneur, Hebrew poet, spoke briefly, commending the Histadruth Ivrit. Samuel J. Borowsky spoke in the name of the praesidium. Harry P. Fierst was toastmaster. Mrs. Emanuel Halpern represented Hadassah.



Rome's chief Rabbi, David Prato, reciting prayers at the Arch of Titus when Rome's Jews celebrated the UN vote for a Jewish State.



# AJ Conference Becomes Permanent Body

## Role of General Zionist Bloc in Its Decisions

By RICHARD GORMAN

CHICAGO. — Staunch supporters of the American Jewish Conference since its inception in 1943, General Zionists played a decisive role in the decision to establish a permanent, over-all Jewish organization to succeed the Conference at its fourth and concluding session here last week.

By a roll call vote of 198 to 6, the delegates voted approval of the plan presented by the Conference Committee on Future Organization, providing for the establishment of "an organization, democratic in structure and representative of the American Jewish community . . . to secure and protect the rights and to promote the general welfare of the Jewish people, here and abroad; and to enhance the contribution of the Jewish community to American democracy."

Under the leadership of Dr. Israel Goldstein, former president of the Zionist Organization of America, the General Zionist bloc, one of the largest at the Conference, acted as a balance wheel between contending groups at the session and helped mobilize a large majority of reject proposals, adoption of which might have proved fatal to the new organization.

Louis Lipsky, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Conference and a member of the General Zionist bloc, presided over the powerful General Committee, which proved to be a Conference in miniature since it canvassed all the proposals which were later submitted for general debate on the floor of the convention.

Established as a temporary body in 1943, at the call of

Henry Monsky, late president of B'nai Brith, the American Jewish Conference was created to formulate a common program for American Jewry with respect to the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine and to secure the rights of the Jewish people in Europe in the peace settlements. Consisting of delegates from more than 60 national Jewish membership organizations and all the leading Jewish communities of the country, the Conference was the broadest and most representative Jewish organization ever created in the United States and from the beginning there were persistent demands that it be transformed into a permanent organization and that its scope be broadened to include the American scene. These demands reached a climax at the third session in 1945 when the delegates authorized the creation of a committee to explore the possibilities of establishing a permanent body. This committee was headed by Dr. Maurice

N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, who presented the plan to the fourth session.

Months before the Fourth Session, the 49th annual convention of the ZOA pledged support to the new organization and similar action was taken by Hadassah at its convention two months ago.

Significantly, the fourth session opened a few hours after news was received of the UN decision to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. Thus, as the Conference opened, it witnessed the fulfillment of a major plank in its 1943 program, for at the opening session of the Conference in 1943, by an overwhelming majority, the delegates declared their conviction that a Jewish commonwealth must be reconstituted in Palestine.

### Resolutions on Palestine

In its resolutions on Palestine, brought before the delegates by Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, former president of Hadassah, who acted as chairman of the Palestine Committee, the Conference hailed the UN decision, thanked the nations that voted for partition, extended its gratitude to President Truman and, calling upon

the British Government to cooperate and to maintain peace and order, urged that provision be made without delay to permit the proposed Jewish state to recruit an armed militia sufficient in number to maintain internal order. The Conference delegates looked forward to friendly cooperation between the Arab and Jewish states and they called upon all parties to adhere faithfully to the UN decision. They called upon the American Jewish community "to put at the disposal of the Yishuv and the hundreds of thousands soon to swell its ranks, the experience, knowledge, the expertness and the material resources which the young state will need." The delegates also expressed gratitude that the United States and the USSR were associated in the closest harmony and understanding on the Palestine question and expressed the hope that this would set a precedent for other decisions which would further world harmony.

At its opening session, the delegates paid tribute to the memory of Mr. Monsky. Frank Goldman, his successor as president of B'nai Brith, delivered a memorial address.

Presiding over the opening ses-

sion at the Chicago Civic Opera House, Dr. Goldstein declared:

"This is the first meeting of a great Jewish organization since the historic event of this afternoon. It may be said that the American Jewish Conference is writing the first page in a new chapter of the history of the Jewish people—the era of the Jewish state. Six million Jewish dead have not died in vain if their martyrdom has imposed a burden on the conscience of the world. An eternal people expresses its eternal gratitude. We are grateful to the United Nations, to the American government and to the American people. We trust that Great Britain, which has lost so much in world opinion by its actions in Palestine, will now retrieve its good name by cooperating wholeheartedly and faithfully with the United Nations Assembly's recommendations. We trust that the Arabs of Palestine will grasp the hand of friendship of the Jewish people. But whatever occurs, a people which has known how to guard the aspirations of Zionism will know how to safeguard itself for self-fulfillment."

"To the Yishuv, we say, your courage and determination have demonstrated that the Jewish people are worthy of national status and can make a mighty contribution to world peace. To the displaced Jews in the camps in Europe, in Cyprus and in the diaspora, we say by your refusal to accept an ersatz for Eretz, you have made it clear that Zionism is the irresistible solution for the Jewish people."

Leading Zionists who were members of the General Committee representing the General Zionist bloc included Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Miss Pearl Franklin, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Louis Lipsky, Mortimer May, Abraham A. Redelheim, Ezra Shapiro, Israel R. Goodman, Dewey D. Stone, Theodore Strimling, Robert Szold, Mrs. Robert Szold, Abraham Krumbein and Dr. Morton Robbins.



The General Zionist bloc which wielded great influence at the American Jewish Conference held in Chicago.

## Inside the News

By HAROLD U. RIBALOW

The extraordinary assembly of the National Administrative Council of the ZOA is covered elsewhere in this issue. But as often happens, one line, uttered by one man, has stuck in the memory of at least one spectator who was present at every sitting. Daniel Frisch, fresh from a trip to Latin America, delivered a speech in the closing hours of the assembly and talked of the future role of the ZOA. Here is the phrase which scratched itself on the slate of memory: "Zionism is not Palestinianism alone, *geuloth haaretz*; it is also *geuloth haam*." The words are difficult to translate into English. The meaning, however, should be made clear to all: Zionism means more than the redemption of the land. It includes the redemption of the Jewish soul, the Jewish people as such. This concept led Mr. Frisch to his logical conclusion that Zionist homes in America must be Jewish; that Zionist children in America must be inculcated with Judaism. The establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine does not mean that American Jewry's job is done. Most important, it is in many respects—particularly in the field of culture—only starting.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, who

spent an extremely busy week-end reporting to audiences on the UN events and the accomplishments of American Zionists and members of the Jewish Agency Executive towards a Zionist solution at the UN, was able to get away from political talk at the Histadruth Ivrit dinner. Speaking of the importance of the Hebrew language, he said, "Language is personality." In eloquent and moving words he described the rebirth of the Hebrew tongue and its meaning to Zionism. Together with Daniel Frisch, he indicated that if there is any reorientation to be made in the light of recent events, there are leaders in Zion who are thinking clearly.

The importance of the ZOA in American life was further reflected the day after the opening of the extraordinary assembly. The New York *Herald Tribune* ran a front-page story on the Saturday night meeting, with a picture of Dr. Neumann on the front-page to go with the story.

In an exclusive front-page spread, Fitzhugh Turner, *Herald Tribune* reporter who recently has been scooping every other correspondent in Palestine, revealed that the British would

evacuate two Palestine areas—Jaffa and Tel Aviv—by December 15. This is in line with Dr. Neumann's original idea that the English withdraw progressively so that the Jewish state could begin to function at least a half year before October 1, 1948.

Walter Lippmann, the Jewish-born newspaper pundit, who practically never discusses Jewish issues or Palestine, even though both are of top importance, finally got around to commenting on the partition plan. He called partition of Palestine "inevitable." When Dr. Silver was informed of the Lippmann column, while waiting in Mayor O'Dwyer's office where he and Dr. Neumann met with the popular Mayor, the tall, powerful Zionist leader said, "Yes, I read it. He's a little late, isn't he?"

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche has been named as the chief of the secretariat accompanying the five-nation Palestine Commission to the Holy Land. The director of the UN Trusteeship Division, Dr. Bunche also served with the UN secretariat of the UNSCOP. The grandson of an American slave, Dr. Bunche now has the opportunity to take part in the oper-

Editor, *The New Palestine*:

In light of the threat by Arab leaders that Jewish massacres may occur in their countries because of the UN decision to create a Jewish state, we must immediately lay our plans to forestall such an occurrence.

We must mobilize all the public information facilities of the ZOA and affiliated groups to the following ends:

1. To inform the American people of the threat, its background and the fact that the authority of the UN is being challenged.
2. To inform the State Depart-

ations which will free another people, long waiting for freedom.

Dr. Neumann, in one of his recent speeches, told this joke, which bears repetition. In describing the Arab voting strength in the Ad Hoc Committee and in the General Assembly, he pointed out that in the Committee the Arabs had 13 votes against partition and that, after the ups and downs on the final day's balloting, they also had 13 votes. Laughingly, he cracked, "*Sie sonen gebliben bei Bar Mitzvah*" (really untranslatable, but roughly, "they were stuck at Bar Mitzvah age").

ment that it must use all its offices to inform the Arab countries of the seriousness with which it would view the consummation of these massacre threats, and that deliveries of war surplus equipment, loans and other benefits are dependent upon compliance with UN decisions.

3. To inform Arab delegations that the full power of the World Zionist Organization would be brought to bear against those Arab countries permitting Hitlerian massacres of their Jewish population.

Plans must also be laid for concrete, positive action, other than merely informational action. Such plans should include:

1. A demand upon the United Nations that a roving commission be established to watch for any signs of impending massacres of Jewish populations.
2. Giving precedence to Jewish immigration from Arab states over Jewish immigration from the continent of Europe.

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# General Zionism— The Movement for Unity

By JOSEPH P. STERNSTEIN

General Zionism, as reflective of an ideological approach to the problems and tasks of the world Zionist movement, stems from the very beginnings of political Zionism. General Zionism, as evidenced by a more systematically developed organizational structure, on the other hand, is of comparatively recent origin. The basic and exclusive attitude of General Zionism, which determines and colors the action of its adherents to the problem of the Zionist movement, is that to attain and sustain best a Jewish State we must actively utilize all constructive and just channels of nation-building endeavor. In brief terms, the General Zionist believes and works for the primacy of national interests above constricting sectarian and partisan motives.

General Zionism aims to equalize opportunities for immigration, colonization and labor for Zionists of all shades of political, social and religious beliefs and to draw into the tasks of our movement all economic and social forces which will prove useful and beneficial to the attainment of our national interests. It is basic with General Zionism that it favors the equitable balance of various ideological streams and viewpoints within our movement and rejects as detrimental to our national interests the discriminatory encouragement of one form of development as against another, particularly when Jewish national needs demand both.

## Partisan Activity

Since the period of the Seventh Zionist Congress, from which time we trace the beginnings of the internally dividing tendencies within the Zionist movement—the formation of the left and right wings—the interests of the non-party Zionist—he who rejected diversionary paths and viewed the Zionist goal as a national whole—were steadily whittled down in the face of the greatly intensified and tightly-knit party structures. Accompanying this mechanical party structure was the natural accompanying dissemination and stimulation of individual party propaganda. It was but until recently that the General Zionist, neglected party organization and propaganda. This neglect was in a measure deliberately self-imposed, for the General Zionist (and he comprises the major bulk of the world Zionist constituency) foresaw the danger lurking in sectarian, narrowly-rigid internal party tendencies with the inevitable interparty conflicts which were to ensue.

## Confederation Launched

It soon became clear to General Zionists, however, that this neglect of organization and literature was depriving the Zionist movement, to its adverse interests, of a strong unifying voice, which would help maintain the stability of the movement, insure its dynamic progress and equal opportunity for party and non-party Zionists, and keep the movement free of encumbering diversionary sectarianism.

Efforts to activate such systematic General Zionist organization finally culminated in the launching of the united World

Confederation of General Zionists at Basle in December, 1946. The Confederation, under the chairmanship of Dr. Israel Goldstein, supported by such leaders as Dr. Silver, Dr. Neumann, Mrs. Halprin, Prof. Brodetaky, Dr. Sneh and others, immediately undertook to marshal and mobilize the constructive vitality and influence of General Zionists throughout the world. The World Confederation includes within its ranks the largest Zionist organizations in the world, the Zionist Organization of America and Hadassah, as well as powerful Zionist bodies in Great Britain, France, South Africa, Central and South America, Australia, Canada, etc. Particularly in Palestine and in Europe, tens of thousands of General Zionist chalutzim, organized into hachsharoth and kibbutzim, are active within the ranks of Haoved Hatzioni and Hanoar Hatzioni. They represent the heightened constructive role of General Zionism which is growing in stature.

Of specific portent at this time, when the political, economic and social aspects of Jewish statehood become an imminent reality, we must provide planned systematic access to nation-building opportunities for all constructive Zionist elements. All energies must be tapped—chalutz and middle-class, cooperative and private. To this end it is incumbent upon us to actively corral all human and economic machinery which will erect the state-edifice sufficiently capacious to absorb multitudes of immigrants into Palestine.

## Militant Center

Application of this point of view to the manifold aspects of Zionism may be briefly put as follows:

**Political**—General Zionism maintains the necessity for a large, militant center party flexible in its approach to political issues. This will militate against the splintering of fragmentary political parties, each basing its division on some fine and neat divergence of program.

**Economic**—General Zionism aims at the creation of a Jewish State as a liberal democracy based on the progressive principles of a planned mixed economy, combining private initiative and cooperative enterprises. It strives for and envisages the existence of a united de-politicized Histadruth including all workers in Palestine, as a Zionist necessity. It recognizes the potential harm of a divided labor movement and for this reason rejected participation in another labor organization. It joins in the continued forward-looking development of chalutz and self-help institutions of labor in Palestine. The General Zionist labor movement, Haoved Hatzioni is an integral part of Histadruth.

General Zionism also insists on maximum attention being given to the full development of private initiative in industry, handicrafts, trade, agriculture and the professions, which has already done much and will in the future serve the greatest number of immigrants by provision of employment. In this connection the General Zionist Constructive Fund aids the

work of Mifde Ezrachi, the General Zionist Finance and Housing Company, General Zionism demands a just application of national funds to all forms of economic development in Palestine.

## Unified School System

**Education**—General Zionism aims at the establishment of a unified school system in Palestine under national control for the whole body of children attending school, giving freedom to the expression of religious and social ideals. It insists that party machinery be excluded from education, noting that the unfortunate existence of several individual party school systems, each obtaining national financial support, has led and will continue to lead to educational divisions and antagonisms. General Zionism believes that the Jewish future in Palestine depends largely upon the encouragement of the sense of Jewish national unity, particularly in the younger generation, and therefore places great stress on this matter.

**Immigration**—General Zionism demands the establishment of a united Hechalutz in which all groups shall have equal rights for immigration to an agricultural settlement in Palestine. It also insists that the institutions of the Jewish Agency which deal with the absorption of immigrants shall be so organized that every Jew, independent of occupation, social position or party affiliation, shall benefit from their assistance and support.

**Tradition**—General Zionism insists upon the respecting of Jewish tradition in the public life and activities of the Yishuv and the Zionist movement, for the Jewish State should be one bearing a traditionally Jewish stamp.

**Diaspora**—General Zionism recognizes the vital necessity of strengthening Jewish community life in every land of Jewish settlement and proclaims that such strength will derive mainly from the establishment of a dynamic and creative Jewish State.

Such a program merits the support of all Jews concerned with the establishment of a Jewish state whose success will redound to Jews and humanity the world over.

## Torczyner Urges Shekel Drive Intensification

Jacques Torczyner, national Shekel chairman of the Zionist Organization of America, called upon Zionists to heed the appeal of the World Zionist Executive at Jerusalem, cabled to the United States, for an intensification of the Shekel Campaign during Chanukah.

"American Jewry which has helped in no small measure to bring about this happy culmination to the Zionist struggle can have the privilege of shaping the future of the new Jewish nation through participation in the 1948 World Zionist Congress. This can only be accomplished through the purchase of the Shekel which grants the voting franchise for the election of Congress delegates," he said.



Bernard Marks, left, captain of the Haganah ship "Exodus," and Joseph P. Sternstein, former president of Masada, burn replica of the British Mandate as news of the UN decision reached the 13th annual convention of Masada in Cincinnati.

## Masada Pledges Youth Support for Jewish State; Elects Snyder President

By JOSEPH FRIED

CINCINNATI.—Pledging the active support of American Jewish youth to the new Jewish State and warning Arab governments against any attacks on Jewish minorities in the Middle and Near East, delegates from more than 94 chapters of Masada, the youth Zionist Organization of America, concluded their 13th annual National Convention here.

A series of resolutions, one of them urging dissident groups in Palestine to place themselves individually and collectively under the command of constituted Jewish leadership, followed election of national officers.

Jacob M. Snyder, a former national vice president and executive director of the Philadelphia Zionist Youth Commission, was elected to the presidency of National Masada. He succeeds Joseph P. Sternstein of New York City.

A graduate of the Gratz College and University of Pennsylvania Law School, Snyder is well known in Zionist circles.

Elected to posts as national vice presidents were Yaakov Rosenberg, of New York City; Henry Silverman, of Boston; Irwin Blank, of Cincinnati; Israel Katz, of Atlanta (Ga.), and William Feingold, of Los Angeles.

Throughout the convention, added importance was placed on chalutzim. Strengthening the bonds with Palestinian youth, Masada, an affiliate of the Zionist Organization of America, pledged added support for Nitza-nim, a colony in the Negev, near the Jewish-Arab frontier.

Delegates favored affiliation with the World Confederation of General Zionists. A final vote on the resolution will be taken in the near future with chapters voting

on the motion through means of a national referendum. A further identification with Palestine came early in the convention when Itzhak J. Karpman, executive director of the World Confederation of General Zionists, urged American-Jewish youth to volunteer for service in Eretz Israel. He said skilled young Americans will be needed as permanent and temporary settlers in Palestine.

Daniel Brisker, representing Palestine General Zionist youth, warned against over-optimism and said, "More support than in the past will be needed from young American Jews once a Jewish State is established in Palestine."

News that the United Nations had approved establishment of a Jewish State came as Brisker concluded his speech at an Oneg Shabat festival. Delegates immediately adjourned sessions and cheering wildly marched about Cincinnati's Fountain Square in a huge demonstration. Hundreds of native Cincinnatians joined the procession.

An added note of significance followed as in a brief ceremony Bernard Marks, of Cincinnati, captain of the Haganah ship "Exodus 1947" joined Mr. Sternstein in the burning of a replica of the British Mandate for Palestine.

## A Cable from Palestine

The World Zionist Executive in Jerusalem addressed the following cable to the Jews of America through the U. S. Central Shekel and Election Board, on which are represented all Zionist organizations and parties in this country:

On the threshold of our liberation, American Jewry and the Jewish people the world over are called upon to demonstrate anew their determination for full political independence in the Jewish State of Palestine. We are on the eve of the forthcoming momentous World Zionist Congress which will close a chapter of great achievement, proclaim the realization of a centuries-old vision and open a new glorious era in Jewish history. Let no adult Jew fail to acquire a Shekel, the symbol of the restoration of Israel's statehood. We urge that Chanukah be devoted to an intensification of your drive for 2,000,000 Shekel registrants as a demonstration of American Jewish solidarity with our struggle in this great hour.



## Names in the News

Hyman Golos, president of the Zionist District of Elmira, has enlisted the support of the non-Jewish community of Elmira in behalf of Jewish Palestine. Through his initiative, the city's Mayor has accepted honorary chairmanship of the American Christian Palestine Committee. Rabbi Charles J. Shoulson, cultural chairman, has contributed to better Christian understanding of the Zionist issue by presenting a series of enthusiastically received lectures before non-Jewish audiences . . . Leonard Wolk, ably assisted by five vice-chairmen, is the membership campaign chairman of the Pittsburgh Zionist District, which is out to get 5,000 new and old members to join ZOA ranks. An army of 250 Zionist workers have enlisted in the membership drive. The vice-chairmen are Judge Samuel A. Weiss, Herman Fineberg, Oscar Robbins, Abe H. Neaman and David Olbum.

Harry I. Neaman, one of Pittsburgh's most active and generous Zionists, died last month and

is mourned by the entire Jewish community . . . The Corsicana Zionist District is now known as the Joe Wolens Zionist District, in honor of a great Zionist. The officers of the District are Dean Milkes, president; Burney Bobkoff, vice president; Rabbi Theodore Weiner, secretary; Max Rosenblum, membership chairman . . . The Worcester Zionist District sponsored a city-wide celebration in observation of the establishment of a Jewish state on Dec. 8. Co-sponsors were the other organized Zionist groups in the city. Presiding officer was Joseph Goldberg, president of the ZOA District and national chairman of the ZOA membership committee . . . The Brooklyn Zionist Region has announced its third annual educational forum series called "Zionist events of the last 30 years and their interpretation and application to the present." The forum, held on the third Monday of each month, began on Dec. 15, with a lecture by Louis Lipsky. Other speakers will be Robert Szold, Mrs. Rose Jacobs and Rabbi Irving Miller.

### Chodos on Tour

Rabbi Israel Chodos is completing a tour of the Southwest Zionist Region, which began in October . . . Abraham Beier, of the Bensonhurst Zionist District, has completed 25 years of active affiliation with the ZOA. A former president of the District and a prominent attorney, Mr. Beier, recently in ill health, has been prevailed upon to accept the chairmanship of the board of directors of his District . . . Herman Newman has been appoint-



Gathered here are the personnel responsible for the membership drive of the Scranton Zionist District. Seated, from left to right, are: Jack Silberman, Harry Poplin, Dr. Harry A. Golden, Julius T. Baer, Henry Greenfeld, A. B. Cohen, Sidney M. Weiss, H. R. Halprin, Sidney Katz. Standing: Leonard Kaplan, Sam Barton, S. M. Mittleman, M. L. Hodin, I. H. Schectman, Ben Bruck, William Greenfield.

ed full time director of the Bronx Zionist Youth Commission . . . The Worcester Zionist District is sponsoring its December meeting as an open cultural meeting with a program consisting of three motion pictures dealing with Palestine, a recording of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's address before the UN and a musical program of Palestinian songs.

In two months the new Beth Israel District 124 has enrolled 132 members. The new president of the District is Sigmund I. Sobel and the membership chairman is dynamic Morris Putter, who himself has enrolled over 50 members . . . The new officers of the Brownsville District 15 are Samuel Linick, president; Isidor Davis, vice president; Max Uberman, secretary; Abe Perper, treasurer; Irving Hermlin, membership chairman.

The ZOA shekel campaign within the greater Boston area was launched recently with its aims and purposes outlined by Samuel Bernstein, New England Zionist Regional chairman, and

Emanuel Borenstein, Regional executive director. A shekel meeting was held on Dec. 9, which was addressed by Dr. Morton J. Robbins, Regional president . . . The Louis D. Brandeis District in Washington (D. C.) has set a goal of 6,000 active members as its membership quota. More than 1,444 members have been obtained during the past two months . . . The Mat-tapan-Dorchester-Roxbury Zionist District's \$15,000 fund-raising campaign will be climaxed by a banquet at the Hotel Vendome on Sunday, January 18. Dewey Stone will be the featured speaker at the District's breakfast meeting on Dec. 21 . . . Dr. Morton J. Robbins was the main speaker at the ninth annual Roll Call Membership dinner of the Greenfield-Montague Zionist District. Rabbi Israel I. Halpern was toastmaster.

### Rocky Mountain Drive

The most active membership campaign ever conducted in the Rocky Mountain Region is go-

ing full blast under the leadership of Mel Zelinger . . . The Region was saddened by the death of Gerald Schechter, son of one of the pillars of Denver Zionism. The Rocky Mountain Region has doubled its membership for the month of November, as compared with last year. Last year the figure was 352; now 733, and only for one month!

Atlanta Jewry assembled at the Ahavath Achim Synagogue on Dec. 7 for a religious service in honor of the new Jewish state. Rabbi Geffen, Rabbi Epstein, Rabbi Cohen and Rabbi Friedman conducted services before an overflow audience of 4,000 . . . The Beverly Hills Zionist District heard Jacob Sonderling last week on "What Really Happened at Lake Success." On Dec. 28 the District will initiate new members, continue its shekel drive and discuss the rebirth of the new Judea . . . A huge Thanksgiving and victory rally was held on Dec. 10 in the Opera House of San Francisco with Bartley Crum as main speaker.

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## Manhattan Region Pushes Shekel Campaign Activity

The Manhattan Zionist Region has pushed its Shekel Campaign into high gear with functions for the mass sale of Shekolim taking place throughout the Borough. Rabbi Jacob Polish, Regional Shekel chairman revealed.

Irving Galt, President of the Region, announced that the Young Districts Council of Manhattan will exert a coordinated effort on Sunday, December 28, to sell hundreds of Shekolim. A motor cavalcade will tour the Borough calling attention to the Shekel Campaign while card tables will be stationed throughout Manhattan manned by members of the Youth Districts who will sell Shekolim to the people on the street. A simultaneous door-to-door canvass will be conducted through the larger apartment buildings in Manhattan.

On Saturday evening, January 10, 1948, a mass Shekel rally will be held in the auditorium of the Educational Alliance Building, 197 East Broadway to which all the Jewish organizations on the East Side will be invited. Prominent speakers will address the gathering and everyone present will be urged to purchase a

Shekel and sell Shekel books to their individual organizations.

Benjamin Scherman, Shekel chairman of the Inwood Zionist District 30, has organized his Inwood section so that each organization, Synagogue, apartment house JWV post, theatre, and restaurant is being solicited for Shekolim. At a Bazaar being held at the Inwood Hebrew Congregation, a Shekel booth has been stationed and is being continuously manned by the Youth Group of District 30.

For the past few weeks, the Washington Heights District 10 Youth Group has been manning tables placed in Jewish restaurants and are contacting the Jewish populace by that means. Many of the Kosher butcher shops in that area are now acting as sales units for Shekolim.

Many additional sources are being tapped for mass sales. The Manhattan Region has obtained permission from the Yiddish Theatres on Second Avenue, many restaurants, numerous organizations and employer groups, through the efforts of Leonard Lifton, Nat Kaplan and Abe Gurwitz, to sell Shekolim.

### Weisman Heads Detroit Shekel Campaign

The appointment of Harold Weisman as chairman of the Detroit shekel drive has been announced by District president Morris M. Jacobs.

### Alexandria District Elects Kaplan New President

Gustave Kaplan was elected to head the Alexandria (La.) ZOA District at recently-held elections.

## New England In Drive For 25,000 Members

The New England Zionist Region, hailing the UN decision for a Jewish state, has launched an all-out membership drive for 25,000 Zionist members "during this critical time in the history of the Zionist movement."

At a Membership Conference held on November 23, Joseph Goldberg, national ZOA membership chairman, offered the cooperation of the New England and National administration to the districts throughout the region. Dr. Morton J. Robbins, president of the Region, urged the Zionists of New England to "answer the roll call and become a partner in the building of the Jewish state."

## Contest Offers Trip to Palestine

In its campaign to double its membership total this year, the Bronx Zionist Region is sponsoring a free trip to Palestine contest.

The competition is open to members of all Zionist districts in the Bronx Region. For every member enrolled, the contestant will be credited with a chance in the drawing, to be held in June 1948.

The prize is a round trip to Palestine, including a four-week tour of the entire country. All expenses of the trip, up to \$1,500, will be paid by the Bronx Zionist Region.



## One Million Jews to Enter Palestine in Decade—Kaplan

Eliezer Kaplan, treasurer of the Jewish Agency for Palestine who arrived here from Jerusalem recently, outlined for the United Palestine Appeal Board of Directors at an emergency meeting the broad categories of economic requirements brought to the fore by the establishment of the Jewish State.

Emphasizing that the "most difficult part of the job is still ahead of us," Mr. Kaplan reported that "we plan to bring at least a million Jews to Palestine in the next ten years." At the same time, he stressed that immediate provision will have to be made for "security of the population in the area set aside for the Jewish State," warning that both states will have permanency only if "life and property are made safe for all inhabitants, Jews and Arabs alike."

Sharing the program with Mr. Kaplan was Dr. Israel Goldstein, UPA national chairman. Mark

Sugarman of Coatesville (Pa.), chairman of the Board, presided.

The Jewish Agency treasurer declared that according to a close survey of transportation costs and direct relief needs, including food, clothing, medical attention and temporary housing facilities, more than \$400,000,000 will be required, on the basis of an immigration of 150,000 within a short period as proposed by

the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

Calling upon the United Nations "to see to it that no nation which is a member of the UN shall aid or abet the disorders in Palestine," Dr. Israel Goldstein, UPA national chairman, charged that "this refers specifically to the Arab States around Palestine."

"The present Arab flareup in Palestine can be handled by Haganah. There is reason to believe that the Arab disorders, far from spontaneous mass demonstrations, are being fomented by the Mufti and other

erstwhile Hitler agents. The Jews of Palestine are exercising great restraint in meeting these attacks," Dr. Goldstein declared.

In citing the requirements of the Jewish State Dr. Goldstein pointed out the existence of an "erroneous impression" concerning the "vast State lands in Palestine which will be at the disposal of the Jewish State." He declared: "That is not so. The amount of State land available is less than three per cent of the land allotted to the Jewish State. Therefore absorption of new immigrants will necessitate the acquisition of land purchase as

heretofore. Housing, material and equipment, water supply, will continue to require the help of American Jews."

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## The Source of the Miracle

By LUDWIG LEWISOHN

It was—as those who heard will forever remember—at dusk of Saturday, November 29, that the vote on the question of the Jewish State was taken in the Assembly of the United Nations—of that "parliament of man," that "federation of the world" which a poet dreamed of long ago. And it was no idle fancy when one was suddenly aware that not a few of the delegates who voted were for the moment lifted above the common techniques of intrigue and trading that characterize every assembly of men in this world. For a brief space, some of these delegates, at least, knew that they were engaged in creating the meaning of history, that they were facing the ages and not a single perishable day.

It would have been an immeasurably grievous thing not only for the Jewish people but for mankind had they not done so, had they not had that glimpse of a transcendent circumstance which would dictate and decide the moral quality of corporate human life, if not for all time, then assuredly for an entire age. And that these men were stirred and troubled and not without awareness of the character of the decision they were making—that was the *ness*, the miracle, like unto those *nissim*, those miracles wrought in the days of our fathers, for which we thank the Eternal nightly in the second *beracha* of Chanukkah in our synagogues and in our homes.

### Indomitable Will

What is the source of those miracles which, now and then in the long ages, give meaning to history and, indeed, reveal to us and to all our fellow-men, wherein the meaning of history lies? The source is in the will of the Jewish people—the will of the Jewish people toward its destiny—a will that is no mere self-will, not born of any mere empiric consideration. It is a will which sustains a visible relation to the transcendent, to the eternal.

No, this is neither "mysticism" in the silly popular sense nor theology. It is hard historic fact. On the ninth of Ab of the year 135 of the Common Era, when the fortress of Betar fell and Bar-Kochba was slain—on that day and date re-arose out of slaughter and desolation that transcendently-guided will of the Jewish people which reached a culmination on the sixteenth of Kislev, 5708, in the secular year 1947.

That will had been sleepless through the long ages. True, it did not seek realization by political and economic means until the past half-century. But

through the long and weary centuries every Jew on every morning of his life spoke, prayed, sighed, sobbed the incomparable words: "Blow on the great trumpet for our freedom and lift the banner to gather our exiles—our galuth-dwellers—and bring us to oneness from the four corners of the earth." The great phrases are themselves like the blast of a bugle and the lifting of the banner: *Th'ka b'shofar gadol l'cheruthenu* . . .

### Shaping of Destiny

Such is the miracle and the meaning of things. If anyone prefers, as many may, the phraseology of modern science, it can be pointed out that if Freud has proved one thing up to the hilt it is this, that the individual wills his destiny much more than merely endures it. The inference is very clear that the will of many men in many lands and many ages setting their whole heart upon one hope, one goal, one aspiration, counts for not a little in the shaping of human history.

What, now, is the command of this hour for all Zionists, for all Jews? It is not to let that history-shaping will relax or grow feeble, not to let the centrifugal forces of the world distract or deter. The Jewish State must be built, the galuth-dwellers must be brought thither from the four corners of the earth, the freedom, the *cheruth* of Israel must be established on foundations that no malignity of man, no storm of history can ever shake again. But what a blessed and favored generation are we who have been preserved to this time to see this miracle and to incarnate the will of Israel.

### Frisch to Address Victory Rally

Daniel Frisch, ZOA vice president, who has just returned from an extensive speaking tour of South America, will address the victory celebration mass-meeting of the Inwood Zionist District 30 on Monday evening, December 22, at the Inwood Hebrew Congregation, 111 Vermilyea Ave., N.Y.C. Louis Dince is president of the Inwood District.

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## The Late Mrs. Wise

Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, wife of Zionist leader Rabbi Wise and active all her life in Jewish cultural, communal and philanthropic activities, died on December 10 at her home. Rabbi Wise and her children were at her bedside when she passed away.

President of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress, which she founded and headed from 1931 up to her death, Mrs. Wise also established the American Jewish Congress Refugee Houses, which later became Defense Houses where more than 300,000 soldiers of all nations found aid and assistance. Mrs. Wise was a painter who had given "one-woman" exhibits, a translator of many book from French into English, including the important "Why I Am A Jew," by Edmond Fleg. In 1946, Mrs. Wise was named an honorary member of the Order of the British Empire for her management of the Defense Houses. But she declined the appointment because of "deep unhappiness over the conduct of the British Mandatory Government with respect to the Jewish people in Palestine."

Married to Dr. Wise in 1900, Louise Waterman Wise was a fit and understanding companion of Rabbi Wise throughout his long and distinguished Jewish and Zionist career.

The ZOA Administration voices its deep sorrow at the passing of Mrs. Wise and extends its sympathy and condolences to Dr. Wise and family.

## William Edlin

William Edlin, editor of the Yiddish Day, a staunch and lifelong friend and supporter of the Zionist cause, died on Sunday, November 30, a few hours after working on his editorial writings on the UN decision to establish a Jewish State. A eulogy of Mr. Edlin will be published in the next issue of *The New Palestine*.

## CHANUKAH GREETINGS



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## Barney Ross To Address Flatbush ZOA

Barney Ross, Marine hero and former welterweight champ of the world, will be a speaker at the December 17 meeting of the Flatbush Zionist Organization, which will take place at 8 o'clock at the East Midwood Jewish Center, 1625 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn. The invocation will be delivered by Rabbi Harry Halpern and Phil Lassar will welcome the Marines and Marine Corps Fathers Association of New York.

Col. Ray E. Crist will present a scroll attesting to the planting of 30 trees in Palestine by the Flatbush District in honor of fallen Marine Corps heroes. Harry O'Donovan, secretary of the Marine Corps Fathers Association will accept the scroll. Commander Joshua Goldberg, Navy Chaplain, will be the main speaker.

## Omaha Drive In Full Swing

A total of 235 newly-enrolled members on incomplete returns is reported by the Omaha District on its current membership drive. Under the leadership of District President Morton Richards, the enrollment total gives the District a record of 300 per cent more paidup members than at the same period the previous year.

The District is continuing the all-out drive with the avowed purpose of reaching its goal of 1,000 members.

## Leonard Bernstein Joins Project

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Cantor Myro Glass, chairman of the Palestine Symphonic Choir Project, announces that Leonard Bernstein, the famous conductor of the New York City Symphony Orchestra, has joined the national sponsoring committee, the aim of which is to establish a musical settlement in Palestine.

## How Does Your Region Compare?

MEMBERSHIP ENROLLED TO NOVEMBER 30, 1947, AS COMPARED TO TOTAL ENROLLMENT FOR 1946-47

REGIONS	UP TO	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Bronx						49.4					
Brooklyn					45.9						
Long Island						60.3					
Manhattan					47.2						
Westchester						57.8					
Central States	9.1										
Connecticut					43.9						
Eastern Penna.						55					
Empire State			25.4								
Mid-West	10.7										
New England			23.2								
New Jersey					40.2						
No. Ohio & Mich.					33.4						
Northern Pacific					33.7						
Northwest					35.8						
Ohio Valley			25.6								
Rhode Island		16.5									
Rocky Mountain						58.8					
Seaboard						47.6					
Southeastern					42.9						
Southern Pacific						55.1					
Southwestern					33.5						
Tri-State			26.9								
Western N. Y.						62.4					
UNAFFILIATED DISTRICTS											
Phila.						52.6					
Chicago					36.7						

Beginning with this issue, each alternate issue will carry a graph as the above to indicate the relative regional standing on membership efforts. This graph is based on percentages and

NOT upon the number of members, so as not to put any region in a position of advantage, but to offer a basis of fair comparison.

## Chester District Drive Spurred

A number of two-man membership enrollment teams of the Chester (Pa.) ZOA District have signed up 75 new members in the current drive of the District. Under the direction of District President Sidney B. Levin, membership workers have been canvassing on a door-to-door basis to secure new adherents to the Zionist movement.

## Mattapan-Dorchester Roxbury Campaign

The Mattapan-Dorchester-Roxbury Zionist District has placed its current membership drive in the hands of the section co-chairmen of each section of the District. These are: Reuben Cahn and Harold Miller, Mattapan; Joseph Derman and Joel Spickler, Dorchester; Philip Zeidman and Charles Ladin, Roxbury.

Four methods of approach are being used in the campaign: House-to-house canvass, meetings with temple and synagogue brotherhoods and other organizations, parlor meetings and mass rallies.

## Katz Sparks White Plains Campaign

Saul Katz, a former president of the White Plains-Scarsdale (N. Y.) District, embarked on a one-man membership campaign following a recent workers' breakfast and enrolled 25 new members in one day followed shortly thereafter by 15 more.

Katz's outstanding success is in line with renewed membership efforts in the District which are concentrated in Temple Israel, The Hebrew Institute of White Plains and The White Plains Jewish Community Center.

Barney Rappoport is District president.

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with all that is Jewish on the American scene—with all that affects the quality and destiny of Jews as Americans; it will be mindful of our communities and remnants in all the lands of earth; it will, above all, for all Jews and in truth for all men, seek the cultivation and interpretation of Torah in that broad and universal sense which means the products of the Jewish spirit in all ages and all lands . . .

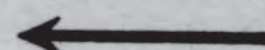
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February 1948

## PALESTINE PARTITION AND UNITED STATES SECURITY

In the two months which have passed since the adoption of the Partition Plan for Palestine by the United Nations General Assembly, the irreconcilable opponents of the Plan have been conducting a vigorous campaign aimed at the annulment of the UN decision. With inventiveness of mind worthy of a better cause, they have marshalled conceivable and sometimes quite inconceivable arguments. As soon as any one argument is refuted by hard facts and actual developments, a new reason is put forward or a new rumor spread. What all these arguments and rumors have in common is one aim: to upset the UN decision and prevent the materialization of Palestine Partition.

Several already discarded arguments of the anti-partitionists ought to be mentioned here before considering the important aspect with which we are here concerned. Among these exploded arguments the following are most prominent:

1. The threat that if the United States supported the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and the United Nations approved the Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, the Arab States in the Middle East would align themselves with Soviet Russia.
2. The threat that King Ibn Saud would cancel the American oil concession in his domain, in retaliation for American support of Palestine Partition.

The facts are that the United States of America did officially support the UNSCOP plan for Palestine Partition and the United Nations did approve of that plan, yet this did not lead to an alignment between the Arab States and the Soviet Union. Nor has King Ibn Saud cancelled American oil concessions; he told an American newspaperman in December that reports that his government was prepared to cancel American oil concessions are "untrue and irresponsible". Now that these two arguments can no longer be used to combat the Partition Plan, we find the UN decision being assiduously described as a threat to American security in this period of dangerous international friction. The unrest caused by the Partition Plan, the argument runs, may have an adverse effect on the flow of Middle Eastern oil; lose America the friendship of Arab and Moslem everywhere; and make the establishment of a Jewish State so difficult that it had better be scrapped before it is too late.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT OIL

Middle East oil, described as vital to our security, particularly in case of war, figures very prominently in the arguments against Palestine Partition. The validity of the oil argument depends on the answers to the following questions:

- (a) Is there a shortage of oil in the United States, or is such a shortage likely to arise as far as our domestic requirements in peacetime are concerned?



(b) What is the relation of Middle East oil to the Marshall Plan and what part would it play in a new world war?

(c) Can the oil-producing countries in the Middle East afford to let their "black gold" stay underground undeveloped, unproduced and unmarketed? Can they dispose of their oil through some alternative to the present American-British concessions?

(d) Is there complete identity between the business interests of the big oil companies with holdings in the Middle East and the national interests of the United States?

#### DOES OIL SHORTAGE THREATEN AMERICA?

Many authorities on oil can be quoted to the effect that the United States possesses enough domestic oil resources and has access to enough oil deposits in geographically close areas to supply all our peacetime requirements for a long time to come. To quote one authority among many, Mr. Joseph E. Pogue, Vice-President of the Chase National Bank of New York, and member of the National Petroleum Council, addressing the Economic Club of Detroit on November 17, 1947, stated:

"...The United States will face a shortage of oil only if we create it out of a shortage of understanding and imagination... The current short supply of oil is linked to our rapid industrial expansion, but there is more smoke than fire in any interpretation of this as an indication of rapid failure of oil resources.

"...Estimates of proved underground oil reserves for the entire world now stand at 73 billion barrels, distributed as follows: In the United States, 24 billion; Caribbean Basin, 9 billion; Russia, 8 billion; Middle East, 30 billion; and the rest of the world, 2 billion.

"The oil of the Middle East is not primarily required in the United States, and no large quantities of it in the foreseeable future need come here... Most of that oil will be consumed in the Eastern hemisphere, gradually relieving the dependence of that area upon the oil of the United States and the Caribbean and increasing the availability of the latter for consumption in this country."

Mr. Pogue should know. His connections with one of America's leading banks and with the National Petroleum Council, place him in a good position to judge the requirements of our industrial expansion and the extent of our oil reserves. The figures which Mr. Pogue quotes speak for themselves. Of an estimated world total of 73 billion barrels, the United States has in its own territory and at its doorstep (Caribbean Basin) 33 billion barrels, which represents over 45% of all the oil on the globe.

By way of postscript, we should quote a significant statement which has just been made on this very subject. We refer to a Letter to the Editor by Eugene Holman, President of Standard Oil of New Jersey, published in the New York Times of February 4, 1948. We suggest that Mr. Holman's letter be



read by all those who seem to be alarmed by the prospect of an oil shortage in the United States. It states inter alia:

"...That future discoveries in the United States will be large is generally agreed. One estimate is that as much oil remains to be discovered in the land area of continental United States as has been discovered since the beginning of the industry... Thus, the nation's oil 'resources' are much larger than its 'reserves'. Clearly, we have far more than - at least several times - ten years to count on for very large-scale domestic oil production."

Mr. Holman goes on to evaluate optimistically the large quantities of petroleum to be found under offshore areas, as well as the prospects of synthetic oil production.

While the magnitude of Middle East oil resources is undeniable, the sober truth emerges, that the United States is not threatened by an oil shortage at present or in the foreseeable future, and that America does not need Middle Eastern oil for its domestic requirements.

#### MIDDLE EAST OIL AND ERP

Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, testifying before a Senate Committee, stated recently that Middle East oil is indispensable to the success of the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe. All the oil experts who deny that America is threatened by an oil shortage agree that oil for Europe must be supplied largely from the Middle East.

The petroleum reserves of Europe (located in Rumania, Austria and Poland) are comparatively small, and are now for the most part under Soviet control. If America is not to oil the Marshall Plan from domestic or Caribbean resources, Europe must get oil from elsewhere. The natural source would be the Middle East.

It is now argued that though Ibn Saud has not withdrawn the oil concession from the Arabian American Oil Company, or Iraq from the British-American-French-Dutch concession, the partition decision has already caused enough trouble to slow down the flow of oil from these concessions and to prevent the construction of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline from Saudi Arabia to the Eastern Mediterranean. This is absolutely false. Actually, the refusal of the Syrian Government to ratify its agreement with the Trans-Arabian Pipeline was due not to its opposition to Palestine Partition but to a quarrel between Syria and Lebanon as to their respective shares in the pipeline royalties. As long as there is no new world war, the oil of the Middle East, it may be safely assumed, will flow to Europe. What will happen in case of a new war, we shall try to describe below.



### MIDDLE EAST OIL IN THE EVENT OF WAR

The map will tell us what our military experts must know by heart - that Russia is the only great power whose home territory is directly adjacent to the Middle East. The United States is about 7,000 miles away. Even Great Britain has the whole length of the Mediterranean and a slice of the Atlantic to cover before its ships reach the oil on the Persian Gulf.

Experience has shown that formal ownership of oil fields, pipelines and refineries is of no account in time of war. Accessibility is the only thing that matters. The Rumanian oil fields in Ploesti were owned mainly by American and British companies, but in World War II Ploesti was accessible to the Wehrmacht and not to the Western Powers. It was Hitler who used the oil of Rumania. Similarly, for many crucial months in the last war the oil of Iran, Iraq and other Middle East countries was inaccessible to allied tankers, and American and Caribbean reserves were drawn upon disproportionately. In the first World War, the British fleet succeeded in defeating the German fleet, not because Winston Churchill had acquired 51% of the stock of the Anglo-Persian Company for the British Government, but because British control of the seas enabled the oil tankers to reach Scapa Flow from the Persian Gulf.

In sum, should there be a new world war our strategists would be prudent to realize that we should not count on the oil reserves of the Middle East.

### IS IBN SAUD FREE TO CHOOSE?

King Ibn Saud may be considered the arch-type of the potentates in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, and the questions asked here about him apply to all the others. Is Ibn Saud free to choose; is he in a position suddenly to decide to cancel the American oil concession? Is there any competitor in sight, whom he could call in to work his oil fields, after withdrawing the American concession? Or would he let the vast deposits of petroleum remain underground, unproduced and unsold?

The only sober and realistic answer to all these questions is an emphatic "no". In the present state of international relations and in the light of the financial dependency of Europe on the United States, there is no country in Western Europe whose government would encourage or permit its oil companies to take over a concession which belonged to American oil interests. Nor is there today any oil combine outside of the United States which could offer King Ibn Saud sizeable royalties, technical skill and all the equipment necessary for large-scale production, piping, refining and marketing, on a level anywhere near that of the American companies.

The only country which would feel no hesitation on political grounds if the Saudi Arabian concession were offered to it, is Soviet Russia. In this case, however, Ibn Saud would be the one to hesitate - and hesitate very



definitely. For perfectly obvious reasons, Ibn Saud would be opposed to any Soviet penetration of his domain. Moreover, financially and technically Soviet Russia would be even less advanced than any of the Western European powers. We may, therefore, safely say that King Ibn Saud and the other Arab kings and governments have no choice - unless they are prepared to forego all the benefits accruing to them from the black gold found in abundance in their domains.

Should any country with large deposits of such a crucially vital resource as oil adopt a dog in the manger policy, it is rather doubtful whether the world at large would stand for it. Were King Ibn Saud, the Shah of Iran, the Regent of Iraq or the Sheik of Kuwait suddenly to announce that he no longer wished to have his oil extracted from underground and supplied to people in need of oil, the world would not hesitate to employ means which would quickly change the minds of these Arab potentates. Nor, objectively speaking, is any of these Moslem rulers or all of them jointly, in a position - political, military or economic - to withhold from the world such vital supplies. One may, however, say with the greatest certainty that such a contingency is not likely to arise. It is so well known as to be a truism that Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Bahrein are largely dependent on their income from oil for their existence, their governmental budgets, and the comforts and luxuries of their ruling classes. Striking confirmation of the correctness of this analysis is provided by King Ibn Saud's repeated statements, both before and after the Partition decision, to the effect that he has no intention of cancelling the American concession and will in fact provide all necessary protection for its normal functioning.

#### ARAMCO'S INTEREST AND U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST

The stand adopted by the Arabian-American Oil Company on political issues in the Middle East and on Palestine Partition in particular, is simple and understandable. The only criterion which the owners of the Saudi Arabian concession apply to any Middle East issue or development is its possible effect on the company's business interests and profits. This is the narrow though natural approach of the businessman, and is understandable, particularly when one remembers that Saudi Arabian oil has already provided many millions of net profit to ARAMCO and is likely to supply many more millions.

Applying its yardstick of business and profits to the Palestine problem, ARAMCO soon arrived at the conclusion that, as far as it was concerned, Jewish need and hope for national rebirth in their historic homeland were no help and might possibly prove disturbing. Clearly, even though help to Zionism cannot cause Ibn Saud to withdraw the concession, it may put him in a bad mood and result in inconvenience. This possibility was enough to cause ARAMCO to take a hostile attitude toward Zionism.

All this is human and, therefore, understandable. But American big business behind ARAMCO went much further. Over a number of years, our policy-makers in Washington have been skillfully impressed with the idea that America's national interests are necessarily and always identical with ARAMCO's business interests. This supposed identity of interests between the American



people and the Arabian-American Oil Company, was manifestly absent when ARAMCO overcharged the American navy for petroleum supplies to the tune of many millions of dollars or when ARAMCO manipulated its affairs so as to deprive the U.S. Treasury of large sums in corporation taxes - as has been demonstrated before a Senate Committee just recently. An old anti-Zionist bias among certain officials in the Department of State was reinforced by planting ARAMCO's own men in key government positions where they could promote the company's interpretation of American national interest in the Middle East. The records of the Senate Investigation Committee show several cases of men who while in service with the State Department and the Petroleum Administration were at the same time on the payroll of ARAMCO or of one of the large oil companies controlling ARAMCO. It is needless to add that the salaries they received from the oil companies were three times as high as those paid them simultaneously by the U.S. Treasury.

It is evident that the national interests of the United States are not necessarily and automatically identical with the interests of a private business concern. The whims and preferences of Ibn Saud may be all-powerful with ARAMCO, but American foreign policy must be based on long established American principles and traditions, international commitments, the interests of world peace, the upholding of the United Nations. When the line of demarcation is drawn between American national interests and ARAMCO's interests, it becomes apparent that while the United States is interested in the development of the oil fields of Saudi Arabia, there is a limit to the price - in national honor and in stable world relations - which we should be willing to pay for it.

#### U.S.A., RUSSIA, BRITAIN AND PARTITION

American-Soviet agreement on Palestine Partition was undoubtedly a very fortunate feature in United Nations developments. The two great powers, at loggerheads on every other international issue, found a common approach to one important problem. This augured well for the United Nations, for the prospects of world peace and for adequate solution of the Palestine problem. The present effort of anti-partitionists to present this American-Soviet agreement as a devilish device of the Kremlin to cause chaos in the Middle East and make America unpopular among "the 80,000,000 Arabs" or even "350,000,000 Moslems" in the world is a blatant absurdity. Assuming that American endorsement of partition has been unpopular among Arab leaders, how can Russian backing of partition be said to have made friends for the Soviet among the same Arabs?...

Appeasement of Arab extremists has never paid. The fact of the matter is that even Great Britain - despite its determined opposition to partition and despite its very outspoken pro-Arab line of policy on the question of Palestine - cannot boast of having acquired unquestioning Arab friendship in the Middle East. The developments with regard to the new British-Iraqi Treaty prove this point. Palestine Partition had nothing at all to do with the riots in Baghdad, the dismissal of the Iraqi Cabinet, the flight of the Prime Minister and the new Iraqi Government's refusal to ratify the proposed treaty. The rioting was purely anti-British, for sentiment against Britain runs high in Iraq, though it was Britain that piloted Iraq toward early independence; sponsored Iraq for membership in the League of Nations and later in the



United Nations; promoted the Arab League; saved Iraq from Rashid Ali's Nazi putsch in 1941; trained Iraq's army and supplied its armaments.

Or let us take British-Egyptian relations. The minute the Palestine question is solved, the problem of the Sudan will again appear prominently on the international agenda. Egypt will again be up in arms against Britain, and Egypt will be supported by all the other Arab States.

Britain is no more sure of the friendship of the Arab Middle East than the United States. From either or both of the two powers the Arabs will take as much as they can get - in money, arms, military training, economic development and political support - and if a world crisis comes, they will give little or nothing in return. It was so in the first and second world wars, and it will be so if and when a new world conflagration occurs.

Among the many strange rumors spread behind the scenes, there is a new story to the effect that Great Britain and with her the Arab States may stay neutral in the event of a Russian-American War. This is of course ridiculous. America may need Middle East oil to supply Europe, but England would be completely paralyzed without the oil of Iran and Iraq, for there are no domestic oil resources in the British Isles. Greece and Turkey may be considered forward positions of American security, but for Britain they are the frontline trenches of her Empire. Should the great calamity of a new world war occur, it is safe to predict that the United States will join Great Britain in such a war and not the other way around.

#### THE "FORMIDABILITY" OF ARAB OPPOSITION

If two gunmen were to attack a citizen on Times Square in New York and beat him to death, while the policeman on the corner did nothing to defend the victim or even helped the attackers, the impression would be created that the two gunmen were very strong and the victim very weak. This elementary parable applies admirably to what is happening today in Palestine and in the Arab countries. In Syria, Iraq, Aden, Bahrein the application is quite literal. The local Arabs, with the active help of the police, massacre Jews, loot and burn Jewish property, and prevent Jewish defense. In Palestine itself, the British condone and support Arab bands, and hinder Jewish defense. What is more, while the Arabs get arms from the British, via the Arab States, the Jews are denied arms by the United States Government, which applies its embargo equally to the Arabs defying the United Nations decision and to the Jews fighting for its implementation.

In these circumstances, it is easy to create the impression that Arab opposition to partition is formidable and Jewish ability to defend the future Jewish State is questionable. It was precisely this impression that the anti-partitionists wished to create in the public mind, as an important tactic in their campaign for a reversal of the United Nations decision. If one sees through this artificially distorted picture, a different pattern of Middle Eastern realities emerges.



As far as population statistics are concerned, Arab propaganda runs wild in its exaggerations, and there are naive people among us who accept their exaggerations. There are no 80,000,000 Arabs in the Middle East. There are only about 15,000,000 Arabs and 16,000,000 Egyptians (who are not Arabs but an Arabic speaking people). Likewise, there are not 350,000,000 Moslems in the world. The grand total of Mohammed's followers in the world amounts to about 285,000,000. But the Moslem world, as a whole, is very little concerned with Palestine. Mohammedan Turkey and Mohammedan Iran, the Moslems of Soviet Russia, of China and of India are not ready to wage war on behalf of Palestine's Arabs. As for the Arab States in the Middle East, the numerical weakness, inadequate technical training and equipment of their armies are well-known. These armies cannot represent a "formidable" force, even if all of them should merge under a unified supreme command. In fact, the existing Arab armies together are numerically not stronger than the Haganah. In technical skill, adaptability to the requirements of modern warfare, spiritual strength and readiness for sacrifice, the Jews of Palestine - fighting for their lives and for their only hope of national freedom - certainly represent a much more determined and potent force than the Arabs.

Furthermore, the Jews of Palestine and of the world are united (even the Irgun and the Stern Group will submerge their differences in face of an Arab onslaught), while the criss-cross ambitions, feuds and interests of the Arab potentates and the ruling cliques of Arabia are as strong as ever. Ibn Saud and King Abdullah are still mortal enemies; so are King Ibn Saud and the Regent of Iraq. The politicians of Syria are opposed to Abdullah, fearing his Greater Syria Plan. The Christian majority of the Lebanon is opposed to its own Pan-Islamic Government, to Syria and to the Arab League. The kings of Egypt and Saudi Arabia are serious rivals in the Islamic world. King Abdullah and Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, are openly opposed to each other and compete for control over the Arabs of Palestine.

With the "policeman on Times Square" siding openly or tacitly with the gunmen, it is easy to create the impression of a formidable and united Arab opposition. In actual fact, however, no more than a few thousand mercenaries, many of them drafted from among the starving proletariat in the Arab lands outside of Palestine, have thus far been active in the Palestine disorders.

Once the Jews of Palestine have the arms and modern equipment which they need; once the United Nations has all the support it legitimately deserves in the implementation of its decision; once the Arab League knows beyond doubt that the United Nations and the great powers are determined to carry out partition, the "formidability" of Arab opposition to Palestine Partition will disappear.

February, 1948



(Not printed at Government expense)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

# The Partition of Palestine

SPEECH

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 5, 1948

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to say that I regret very much to take any time at all at this late hour, but after all I feel there are some other matters of concern to the Senate of the United States, which we must take care of as the days go by. I have one matter I want to discuss for a few minutes tonight in spite of the lateness of the hour.

For a few minutes, for the purpose of the RECORD, I wish to make a few comments on the position in which I think we find our Government in its relationship to the United Nations, so far as the Palestine issue bears upon the policy of our Government in the United Nations.

The position which our Government has taken in the United Nations in failing to support the Palestine partition decision has not advanced the implementation of the United Nations' Palestine settlement which is supposed to be supported by our Government. Nor has it increased confidence in the United Nations as an instrument of peace which I had heretofore thought to be one of the keystones, if not the keystone, of our foreign policy.

Under clouds of legal sophistry, our Government has confirmed the fears of many of us that the State Department lacks the will to have our Government do its part to make the Palestine settlement work. It confirms the fears of many that the State Department is faltering in its support of the United Nations.

It is extraordinary that our Government should seem to be more concerned at this time in lecturing the Security Council on the limitations on its powers and on the powers of the Assembly than to discover the great potentialities for the development of law and peace which the Charter provides. Our Government seems more concerned to point out how little the Council could compel the member states to do, rather than to point out how much the member states could do to enforce law and peace if they had the will to enforce law and peace.

When Mr. Byrnes was Secretary of State, I was struck by the fact that in nearly every speech he made he emphasized not what the United Nations charter legally required us to do, but what the United Nations charter made it possible for us to do, in defense of law and peace. At the first meeting of the Assembly in London in January 1946, he said:

The functioning of the United Nations will depend not merely upon the words of the charter or the rules or procedures we adopt here or upon the individuals we elect to hold

office. It will depend upon the support it receives from the governments and the peoples of the nations which have created it and which must sustain it.

When the peace was threatened in Iran there were those who said that the United Nations was powerless because of the Soviet right of veto on the Security Council. Fortunately, that was not the view then taken by our Government. Secretary Byrnes, in a speech on February 28, solemnly averred:

The United Nations will fall unless its members give it life by their confidence and by their determination to make it work in concrete cases and in everyday affairs. \* \* \* The mere legal veto by one of the permanent members of the Council does not in fact relieve any state, large or small, of its moral obligation to act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. \* \* \* As a great power and as a permanent member of the Security Council we have a responsibility to use our influence to see that other powers live up to their covenant. And that responsibility we also intend to meet. \* \* \* In the interest of world peace \* \* \* we must make plain that the United States intends to defend the Charter.

It has heretofore been the policy of our Government to defend the purposes, principles, and policies of the United Nations. I had hoped that it was our policy not only to support those purposes, principles, and policies with our strength and our resources, but to show alertness, initiative, and resourcefulness in the defense of those purposes, principles, and policies. Certainly before our Government spoke on the Palestine issue, it was not our policy to sit back and debate how little we were legally bound to do, rather than how much we legally and practically could do to make the United Nations live. When President Truman told the United Nations Assembly in the fall of 1946 that the United States will support the United Nations with all the resources we possess, he gave renewed hope to peace-loving peoples everywhere.

But there is a profound difference in the approach taken by our Government on the Palestine issue from the approach which has heretofore been the keynote of our policy toward the United Nations. Whereas the affirmative, constructive approach which we have heretofore taken has strengthened the United Nations, the negative, legalistic approach now taken threatens to destroy the United Nations as an instrument of peace. Whereas Mr. Byrnes' approach to the Iran issue led to a peaceful solution, our present, dilatory, equivocal approach to the Palestine issue has only served to encourage the Arab States, contrary to their solemn obligations under the Charter, to defy by force the declared policy of the United States in regard to Palestine.

It is difficult for me to understand the purpose of the State Department in depreciating the significance of the General

Assembly's resolutions on Palestine. Certainly the situation was one likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations and consequently clearly within the authority of the General Assembly to recommend measures for its peaceful adjustment under article 14.

It may be true that the Assembly cannot compel the member states to assist in the implementation of the recommended measures. But it is certainly a violation of the Charter for any member state to threaten the use of force to obstruct the recommended measures. And I certainly should assume that there was a moral obligation on the states like the United States, which supported the recommended measures, to cooperate and aid in their execution. There is a lack of candor, if not of honesty, in any government's voting for measures which it is unwilling to support.

A special significance attaches to the Assembly's recommended measures for Palestine, owing to the fact that Great Britain has indicated its intention to abandon its mandate. Were it Britain's intention to retain the mandate, the Assembly probably would not have had the authority to require her to accept its recommendations. The Charter contemplates, if it does not require, that a state retaining a mandate should accept a United Nations trusteeship agreement, the terms of which should be agreed upon by the Assembly and the mandatory power, as set forth in article 79. While a mandatory power would under those circumstances be expected to give great weight to the views of the Assembly, it could not be obliged to administer a trusteeship on terms to which it had not consented.

But here Britain has indicated her intention to abandon its mandate, and has requested the Assembly to recommend a solution. Palestine, which under the mandate was a sacred trust of civilization, has no mandatory willing to carry out the terms of that trust. A vacuum of power has been created, I submit, in this mandated area. Palestine is not a sovereign state or a part of any sovereign state. If the member states of the United Nations do not cooperate to carry out the recommended solution, the future of Palestine will be determined by war and terror. It is disheartening to find our Government raising legalistic questions as the right of the members of the Assembly or the Security Council to collaborate to carry out the recommended solution which is the only alternative to war and terror. In the Italian treaty, the Security Council was made responsible for the security of the Free Territory of Trieste, and our Government never raised the legalistic questions which it now raises in the case of Palestine.

Both by reason of the Assembly's resolution and by reason of the terms of the



Charter, the Security Council has the right and, I think, the duty to restore and maintain peace in Palestine if there is a threat to the peace or a breach of peace. Certainly it would be difficult to sustain the premise that the Arab states have not threatened a breach of peace in Palestine. And certainly peace cannot be maintained or restored in Palestine except on the basis of a regime of law. Peace and a political settlement in Palestine are one and inseparable, and no legal sophistry of the State Department can make it otherwise. It seems to me a shameful thing that this Government of ours, which supported the partition plan in Palestine as a means to peace, should now suggest that the implementation of that plan bears no relationship to the maintenance of peace in Palestine.

Mr. President, I think we want, above all, an honest policy toward Palestine. We have not an honest policy toward Palestine today. The Jews do not know where we stand. The Arabs do not know where we stand. The United Nations does not know where we stand. We do not want Palestine to become a football of domestic politics. Neither do we wish to use it as a pawn in a power-politics maneuver abroad.

Our interest and the world interest in Palestine are in peace. Peace in Palestine requires a political settlement. We cannot get away from that fact, Mr. President. It is not easy to devise and carry out a political settlement in Palestine. No settlement can be perfect. But through the United Nations we sought a settlement. The recommended settlement is based on the plan drawn up by a committee of smaller powers. I would emphasize that the plan was not a plan of the so-called major powers, but it was a plan of the smaller powers. The larger powers were excluded, so that there would be no suspicion that the settlement would be dictated by the pressures of power politics or domestic politics. No fairer and no more workable plan has been proposed. If there is a fairer plan or a more workable plan, then let the State Department or the United Nations come forward with it. But, Mr. President, I submit that we have here a problem that must be solved both in the interest of fairness and justice and in the interest of peace.

We have a chance now to carry through a settlement that is not a unilateral settlement, but is backed by the United Nations. Tearing up or casting doubt upon that settlement will not give us peace in Palestine. I think such action only kindles the flames of terror in the Near East. Such action not only threatens the survival of the United Nations, but it threatens our own national interests in the Near East, which depend upon peace in the Near East. And peace in the Near East, as peace everywhere, Mr. President, can never be secured by appeasement. Not only is appeasement morally wrong, but it will not work, for I am satisfied that the Jewish community in Palestine will fight to extinction for the rights which the United Nations have recognized as their just due, supposedly

in the name of international justice through international law.

I would appeal this afternoon to President Truman to take prompt action to keep this situation from getting more out of hand than it already is. I would appeal to President Truman this afternoon to put to work on this Palestine problem some men with vision and understanding who are not hostile and apparently unsympathetic toward the United Nations Palestine settlement, and who have the will and resourcefulness to help make it work. General statements from the Defense Department and from the Army Department that they stand back of the United Nations Palestine settlement ring hollow to many ears in America today. It would appear that those now working on the Palestine question have not their heart in it. That very fact has given to our position a cynical turn which is contrary to our American traditions of honor and fair play.

I know the Palestine question is not easy to handle; but I am not convinced that it cannot be handled if we put to work on it men with vision, resourcefulness, and ingenuity.

The Palestine question is difficult, but it has been made more difficult, I think, by our blundering. I resent the whispering, inspired by those in various echelons of our Government, about the American troops which will be required to enforce the settlement, and about the danger of anti-Semitism growing in this country. Whether it be the conscious purpose of the whisperers or not, they are in fact stirring up divisions which can only serve to obstruct our declared policy for Palestine and the one hope for peace in Palestine.

Mr. President, if we made a mistake in voting for a partition of Palestine, then I say we should admit it, and before the world we should take the position that we favor reconsideration and a change in our vote. But let us take action one way or the other, rather than follow the course of legalism and, I think, sophistry which characterize our policy as of this hour.

The need of outside troops, American or otherwise, has been largely created by propaganda which casts doubt on our support of the Palestine settlement. I am deeply convinced that the Haganah (the Jewish militia) can maintain peace in Palestine if we will support it with but a fraction of the energy with which we are supporting the Greeks. Such a militia properly equipped and directed could defend the United Nations settlement, and proper safeguards could be insisted upon to insure that the arms were not misused and did not fall into the hands of terrorists. Such a militia would need only a minimum of outside help even if the Arab states should continue to use force in violation of the UN Charter. It is highly doubtful whether the Arab states would use force if they did not get encouragement from the British and ourselves.

But are we examining the problem of the defense of Palestine with the Jewish agency which had accepted the UN settlement which we supported? No, we treat the Jewish agency as an outcast

while our dilatory and confused policy encourages the Arab states to violence and terror. Our embargo denies to those supporting the United Nations settlement the necessary means of self-defense.

It is time that we stop this diplomatic double talk and double dealing. It is time that we take a sincere and honest position on Palestine. And we should adhere to that Palestine policy by word and by action in this country, in the Near East, and before the United Nations. We should act energetically and resourcefully to make that policy effective and not act as if we were seeking excuses for its failure. It is for us to devise and initiate appropriate measures to make our Palestine policy, the United Nations Palestine policy, succeed, to seek the cooperation of the United Nations Commission and, if necessary, the Security Council in carrying through those measures.

Assuming as I do in this argument, Mr. President, that our Palestine policy is sound, I repeat that if it is not sound and we have belatedly discovered that it is not sound, then let us take the position before the world that our policy should be revoked and rescinded and that we should adopt a new policy. But we cannot it seems to me support partition and then permit the breach of the peace which is characterizing the Palestine situation today to continue without a demand on our part that the United Nations take the steps required by its charter to be complied with in order to prevent that breach of the peace.

That is not what our State Department is doing. While terror and chaos threaten Palestine, our State Department stalls. The State Department knows that Britain is dragging her feet and will not help carry through the UN Palestine settlement. And to be frank, the State Department neither wants nor expects the help of the Soviet Union. Yet the State Department has failed to consider what we ourselves can do to cooperate with the United Nations Palestine Commission in order to provide it with a militia adequate to carry through the Palestine settlement.

An American foreign policy, a non-partisan foreign policy, in this country is possible only if we adhere to principles of justice and are unflagging in our active support of the United Nations. Let cynicism and a low order of power politics enter in, and our unity, our effectiveness in world affairs, and our security will become gravely impaired. The issue of Palestine transcends by far little Palestine. It is a test of our vision and our good faith. It is a test of our devotion to the principles of the United Nations. We must not let people with little vision and little faith sway our deep faith and our loyal devotion to the principles which unite our Nation and give us our strength.

We must not, it seems to me, fail that great ideal for which we fought in this body when we put the Charter of the United Nations through the Senate, namely, the establishment of an international system of international justice through international law. So far as the Palestine issue is concerned, I submit that as of this hour we are failing our obligations to that great ideal.



CONFIDENTIAL

March 10, 1948

PROPOSED QUESTIONS TO BE DIRECTED TO THE JEWISH AGENCY

1. It is our understanding, according to statement made by representatives of the Jewish Agency, that the Plan of Partition with economic union recommended by the General Assembly would be acceptable to the Jews of Palestine. It is believed that any comments which representatives of the Jewish Agency may wish to make on this point at this time would be helpful.
2. Do you believe that the Partition Plan can be implemented by peaceful means by agreement between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine?
3. It is our understanding, according to statements made by representatives of the Jewish Agency, that the Jews of Palestine are prepared to accept responsibility for governmental administration and for the maintenance of law and order within the proposed Jewish State. It is believed that any comments which the representatives of the Jewish Agency may wish to make on this point at this time would be helpful.
4. Has any effort been made by Jewish leaders to obtain the agreement of the leaders of those Arabs who would be in the proposed Jewish State to the Partition Plan and, if so, what were the results?
5. Which elements in the proposed Partition Plan are considered by the Jews of Palestine as absolutely essential?
6. Would modifications in the proposed Partition Plan make agreement between the Jews and Arabs more possible of attainment?
7. Do you consider the principles of the proposed economic union essential to the economic life of Palestine as a whole?
8. Will the Jews cooperate with the administration of the City of Jerusalem by the United Nations?
9. What guarantees does the Jewish Agency contemplate would be established for the Arab minority in the Jewish State?



The Church and the Movies—*Paul Blanshard*

# THE *Nation*

May 8, 1948

**TOP SECRET!**  
**Britain's Record on Partition**  
*Revealed in British Intelligence*  
*Reports from Palestine*  
**A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT**

## *The Tactics of* **A SCARED CANDIDATE**

BY ROBERT G. SPIVACK



\*  
The Nanking Farce - - - - - *Maxwell S. Stewart*  
Bonneville's First Ten Years - *Richard L. Neuberger*  
A King for Spain? - - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*  
Russia: Knowledge and Guesses - - - *Bernard Pares*



stood without placing it against the background of what happened in 1947. During the first part of that year, prices showed signs of leveling off. The President, on the basis of studies by his Council of Economic Advisers, urged business not to make further increases and to reduce where possible, and said that wage boosts should not be granted except where they would not require raising prices. The Economic Report paid particular attention to the gains made by the bituminous miners, and pleaded with coal operators and steel employers not to increase prices as a result, at least until they had had a chance to see whether the higher labor charges could not be otherwise absorbed.

Coal and steel promptly jacked prices up, and by more than the amount necessary to cover their increased costs. This, combined with the short corn crop and the resulting higher prices of food, let inflation loose again. Belatedly, the big companies have now executed an about-face, but they have not yet retraced their steps far enough to get back where they were a year ago. Even this much is better than further upward spiraling, but it is to be regretted that they did not take their present course earlier, when it might have prevented the current inflation and when they could have obtained the cooperation of organized labor.

Meanwhile, the basic excess of demand over supply has become greater, and it will be harder than ever to check the upward spiral. Bank loans, in spite of a concerted move on the part of banks to limit them, have expanded. The government, which in 1947 contributed substantially to the restriction of demand by taking billions more from the public than it paid back, now has been compelled by Congress to reduce taxes and faces expanded military expenditure. It may even have a deficit at the end of the year. It would be a considerable feat even for a confirmed optimist to believe that there is much chance for voluntary action on the part of business to make headway against this tide.

The best that can be done is to hold the line while production increases, in the hope that when and if the present abnormal stimulants to purchasing power slacken off, the decline in the ability of the lower-income groups to buy will not have become so great as to produce a serious slump. The best time to prevent a depression is before it begins to happen, and the chief danger in the present situation is that consumers are being priced out of markets.

**W**HY did the big corporations suddenly change their policy? Was it because they saw falling prices in the offing, and believed that their volume of business would drop if they did not anticipate the trend? Possibly, but in the case of steel and others who may imitate it, there is a more likely explanation. When they raised their prices, they did expect a slump in the near future. They

were not impressed by the argument that they could help to avoid it and ought to do so. They were not sure that others would do the same; the swings of the cycle seemed to them foreordained. Therefore they decided to sell all they could for high prices while the weather was fair, in order to provide ample reserves and surpluses against the storm. Now, however, they are reassured about the prospect because of the armament program and other related developments and are willing to adopt a more far-sighted policy by easing off the price pressure a little.

It is unfortunate that a program of this kind could not have been coordinated with a real anti-inflationary campaign, thorough and well planned. That would have required simultaneous action by government both in controls and in fiscal policy, together with prior consultation with labor and agriculture and appropriate action by both.

## *Partition Begins at Home*

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

**I**T IS too late to save Palestine from terrible and destructive war. Even without the documentation in the Nation Associates's memorandum, published with this issue, it has been no secret that Arab incursions and preparations for general invasion were being made with full knowledge of the mandatory power. But if British complicity was self-evident, that of the United States was almost as blatant and even more reprehensible. For Britain had made its opposition to partition clear from the beginning, while the United States had sponsored the partition resolution in the Assembly. The retreat executed by the State Department, sounded on December 5 by its embargo on arms shipments to Palestine, was an "all-clear" signal to British and Arabs. From then on, both knew that the United States would give only verbal backing to partition, and both went ahead, full steam, to create conditions designed to make partition impossible. Britain continued to arm the Arabs, and the Arabs initiated a reign of terror that increased as the weeks passed and it became evident America would continue to yield ground under threat of violence.

When the United States delegation produced its trusteeship scheme, one day after President Truman had assured Dr. Weizmann he still stood for partition, American prestige hit a new low and the British-Arab coalition knew they need not accept even trusteeship. They knew trusteeship could be blocked by the same tactics that had blocked partition. So the border violations became more flagrant and were duly recorded by British Intelligence, as our document reveals; but no effort was made to halt this invasion of Palestine by "volunteers" organized out



of the regular armies of the Arab states, and no charges were preferred in the Security Council.

But if it is too late to stop a war initiated by the Arabs, abetted by the British, and connived at by the Americans, it is still possible to end it soon and on tolerable terms. One need not indulge hopeful fantasies to realize that a narrow avenue of honorable escape still remains open.

**W**HILE the delegates go through their futile motions in the Assembly—dutifully discussing trusteeship with delegates of Arab states whose governments, at the same moment, openly announce their plans for full-fledged aggression—the Jews of Palestine have effectively taken the first steps to make partition a living reality. Resisting with remarkable courage the war of nerves being waged against them in London and Washington, the Haganah has occupied the key points in almost the whole area awarded the Jewish state by the United Nations. That partition is a fact has been acknowledged by the head of the Palestine Commission's advance party; Dr. Pablo de Azcarate, on his return from Jerusalem last week, reported that partition was in effect and could not now be overthrown. The truce commission sent out by the Security Council has reported back that the Jewish Agency is taking over suspended governmental activities as the British withdraw and is functioning effectively in spite of constant warfare. Both testified that no central authority exists in Arab areas.

The same story has been told in greater detail by other observers. Jewish authorities have taken over most of the services; they collect taxes; they have even issued stamps for use within their boundaries, and have announced the restoration of foreign mail service. More impressive still, they have set up an agency to control the properties of Arabs who fled as the Jews took over: businesses are being managed where possible; vineyards and other farms are being tended and their produce used, but the assets conserved for the legal owners. This, I should say, is the final proof of an established, responsible administration.

At the same time, the Jews are fighting the Arab invaders and their local allies with courage and success. That they can hold out for a long time is certain. American army officers who have lately inspected the Jewish forces and training centers have reported a high morale and intelligent preparation. Already, Arab leaders are letting it be known that while they are committed to a holy war to blot out the Jewish State, they will go about it gradually, accomplishing their end, as Assam Pasha said the other day, "by attrition."

**N**OT the United Nations but the Jews themselves have implemented the United Nations plan. This is the single most important fact to hold in mind. It will do more than a hundred arguments in the Assembly to de-

feat British-Arab maneuvers and expose the trusteeship scheme as empty nonsense. The unreality of the American proposal has already become so painfully apparent that a new reversal of policy is being rumored in Washington and Lake Success.

It is no secret that the President is both worried and ashamed over the part he has played. Some modification of American policy is almost certain; otherwise General John H. Hilldring would never have been put in the place of Loy Henderson as chief adviser to the Secretary of State on Palestine affairs. Hilldring helped nurse partition through the Assembly last November. He thoroughly believes the plan is the best solution available. Above all, he has steadfastly opposed the oil diplomacy of the Henderson-Wadsworth clique. That Hilldring, in spite of ill-health and a firm resolve to refuse further State Department assignments, has come back to take charge of Palestine policy is a hopeful sequel to, and undoubtedly in part a consequence of, the Jewish successes in Palestine.

The resolution of November 29 still stands. It has not been superseded by any other proposal. President Truman has continued to indorse partition even in the face of the State Department's betrayal of it. These rather pathetic discrepancies provide a loophole through which a new policy may slip, if a new policy is in the making. One dare not hope for an unqualified reversal. But the government, without too great loss of face, can recognize several facts: that its trusteeship plan has not received enough support in the Assembly to warrant pressing it farther; that an Arab invasion of Palestine has taken place; that a Jewish state is in process of being set up and partition is being effected by a Jewish militia. On the basis of these facts, it could (1) withdraw the trusteeship proposal; (2) recommend that the Security Council immediately take up the threat to peace involved in the aggression of the Arab states and the failure of the British to maintain order; (3) recognize the Jewish state on May 15 when the British mandate ends; (4) propose a trusteeship for the Arab areas pending the creation of an Arab government; (5) propose a general embargo on shipments of arms to the states of the Arab League; (6) lift the American embargo on arms for Jewish Palestine; (7) make a loan to the Jewish state.

This is a minimal program which does little more than take account of the situation so dramatically revealed in our supplement and offer frightened officials a chance to repair the worst consequences of their now irretrievable mistakes. An adequate program obviously would require international action, not only to enable the Jews to maintain partition through their own efforts, but to marshal behind those efforts the full support of the United Nations. But this would require a degree of courage and vision we have learned not to expect. At this desperate hour, we should be grateful for less.



# THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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## The British Record on PARTITION

as revealed by

British Military Intelligence  
and Other Official Sources

A Memorandum Submitted to the Special Session  
of The General Assembly of the United Nations

April 1948

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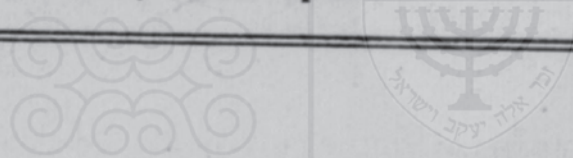
THE NATION ASSOCIATES

20 Vesey Street  
New York 7, N. Y.



The pages which follow present in condensed form a memorandum which was submitted by The Nation Associates to the General Assembly of the United Nations on April 30, covering the British record in Palestine since November 29, 1947. Deletions made in this version merely eliminate the less pertinent parts of certain documents and a section comprising photostatic reproductions of documentary texts.

Additional copies of this supplement may be obtained from *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. at the rate of twenty-five cents apiece.





## INTRODUCTION

The General Assembly of the United Nations, for the third time in twelve months, is meeting to discuss "the future government of Palestine." Discussions are taking place in an atmosphere of violence which may touch off an explosion far beyond the boundaries of the Holy Land.

The question which the General Assembly must face, and world opinion as well, is this: Was an inherent injustice in the November 29 resolution of the General Assembly responsible for the current explosion?

The Nation Associates presents the facts in this memorandum as essential to a wise and just decision. An examination of the facts will show that the present violence in Palestine results from:

(1) British Sabotage of Partition. This British sabotage was deliberately undertaken in order to insure British base rights in Palestine in perpetuity, as well as to safeguard British oil trade and military interests in the Middle East.

(2) Britain's Alliance with Arab League. To achieve these ends, the British have embarked on an alliance with the Arab League, composed of the governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan, and Yemen. The Arab League, and not the Arab Higher Committee, controls the military and political developments among the Arabs of Palestine. Representatives of the British government were present at the meetings of the Arab League where the revolt was planned and organized and are in continuous connection with it. Within a month after the November 29th resolution the Arabs were encouraged to believe partition would be substituted by a Federal State and arms shipments continued to the Arab States despite their known use for Palestine warfare. On April 28 Foreign Minister Bevin was still refusing to halt them.

The facts will show, moreover, that:

The British have allowed 10,000 foreign invaders to enter Palestine, offering the feeble excuse that the British armed forces, consisting, at the outset, of over 80,000 men, could not adequately protect the border.

Although since December 11, 1947 the British have been promising to return to Transjordan the

contingents of the Arab Legion brought to Palestine for police duty, they have allowed the members of that force to remain in Palestine and to attack Jewish communities. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the Arab Legion constitutes a major part of the effort to coerce the Jews into accepting less than the Jewish State granted by the United Nations.

At no time has the British government, in spite of its alleged impotence, requested any help from the United Nations; in fact, as the record shows, the British have continued to deprecate the situation, refused to identify the invaders, and have consistently denied that the Arab states as such are involved.

Through their action they have admitted into Palestine Arabs of known Nazi allegiance in command of the invading forces, and have even admitted escaped Nazi prisoners of war, now to be found in command of Arab detachments.

From secret British Intelligence reports, which are quoted extensively in this record, it is clear that the British know and have always known of every single Arab troop movement in Palestine, and that their relations with the Arabs are such that they could ask Arab leaders to request the invading forces to remain unobtrusive.

British sabotage has resulted in turning Jerusalem into an armed camp, has permitted the Arabs to seize the Old City and to hold as hostages some 2000 Jews.

The British have failed to take any action to insure that Haifa should remain an open city, even though they were fully aware of the desire of local Arabs to achieve this and that the Jews wanted only to be safe from attack.

Their prejudice against the Jews has been clearly indicated in their refusal to allow the Jews to arm for defense against Arab attack, and their blowing up of Jewish defense posts; in their turning over to the Arabs—and to certain death—members of the Haganah; in their confiscation of Haganah arms; in their treatment of Jewish defense personnel as criminals. The British have connived at the starving of the Jewish population of Jerusalem by their failure to keep the highways open. They have refused armed escorts to the Jews.

Their attitude to the Arab community is quite different. By British admission, the Arab com-



munity has been armed by the British. Arab train robberies, which have been frequent, have been met with shooting over the heads of the robbers. Arab desertions from the police, for the purpose of joining the attackers, accompanied by the stealing of arms, have never been prevented, and Arab violators of the peace go unpunished.

To this record can be added the detailed facts concerning the fashion in which the British have destroyed central authority, and, under the guise of establishing greater local authority, turned over in largest part to the Arabs the various services of the Palestine government created and maintained chiefly by taxation of the Jewish community. Simultaneously, assets have been dissipated and vital communications disposed of to foreign agencies. The effect of this has been to seal the Jewish community in a limited area, cut off its access to the outside world by land and sea, and surround it by Arabs in order to create such a state of siege as would cause the Jews to send up a white flag.

By arrangement with the Arab League, if par-

tition is shelved through any one of several schemes to assure Arab dominance in Palestine, the British are to receive base rights in Haifa, the Negev, and Galilee.

But the British are not depending on Arab promises alone. They have already taken the necessary steps to assure their permanent rights in Palestine to air bases and land and sea communications. To be able to carry out this program, the Mandatory has required a free hand. That is why it has kept the United Nations Commission out of Palestine and refused it cooperation.

The facts contained in this document come for the most part from the confidential reports of British Intelligence.

So intent are the British upon destroying partition that they have shown themselves oblivious to the fact that with it they may destroy the authority of the United Nations, and even the peace of the world.

FREDA KIRCHWEY, *President*  
The Nation Associates

## BRITISH PLEDGE OF COOPERATION NOT CARRIED OUT

On November 13, 1947, Sir Alexander Cadogan, British delegate, told Sub-committee I of the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, in reply to a question as to whether the United Kingdom would accept the recommendations of the General Assembly:

"If the Assembly by a two-thirds majority approves any solution, His Majesty's Government would not take any action contrary to it."

On December 11, 1947, Arthur Creech Jones, British Colonial Secretary, told the House of Commons:

"I could not easily imagine circumstances in which the United Kingdom would wish to prevent the application of the settlement recommended by the General Assembly."

A day later, Foreign Minister Bevin told the House of Commons:

"I am not going and His Majesty's Government is not going to oppose the United Nations' decision. . . . There that decision is of that world organism whether we agree with it or not. It is on the statute book of that great

organisation. May it be possible to implement it! If it is, and if my colleagues or I can render any assistance, with advice, with help, with our officials, with our administrative ability, with our historical knowledge, to smooth out the transition, to try to prevent the divisions from being widened—in other words to do anything possible to promote concord, friendship and amity between these peoples—we shall do it."

### British Pledge to Maintain Peace and Security

A specific promise that the British would maintain law and order in Palestine was made by Colonial Secretary Creech Jones. In the House of Commons on December 11, 1947, he said:

"So long as the British remained in any part of Palestine they would maintain law and order in the area of which they were still in occupation. . . . It has been made quite clear by the High Commissioner to the leaders of the Jewish and Arab communities that so long as the Mandate continues the Mandatory Government is responsible for law and order and will do its duty in protecting the life and property of citizens irrespective of race. . . . Be-



tween now and the termination of the Mandate, the British Government in Palestine will remain responsible for law and order."

None of these pledges has been fulfilled.

#### Colonial Secretary Gives Preview of British Non-Cooperation

Actually, a preview of the form British non-cooperation would take was offered by Creech Jones on December 11, 1947, in the very same speech in which he assured the House of Commons of British compliance with the Assembly's resolution. He then made clear that the primary objective would be an orderly withdrawal of the British from Palestine. Then he set down the following principles:

1. "In order that the withdrawal may be conducted in the most orderly manner and with the least destruction of the ordinary life of the country, it is essential that the Mandatory Power should retain undivided control of the country until the evacuation is well under way. It will be appreciated that the Mandatory responsibility for government in Palestine cannot be relinquished piecemeal. The whole complex of governmental responsibility must be relinquished by the Mandatory Government for the whole of Palestine on an appointed day. . . . And the date we have in mind for this, subject to negotiations with the United Nations Commission, is 15 May." . . . .

2. "As His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they cannot take part in the implementation of the United Nations plan, it will be undesirable for the Commission to arrive in Palestine until a short period before the termination of the Mandate. For reasons of Administrative efficiency, responsibility, and security, this overlap period should be comparatively brief." . . . .

3. "Other matters on which negotiations with the United Nations Commission will have to be made include the proposal in the partition plan that an area situated in the Jewish state, including a seaport and hinterland, shall be evacuated by February 1, 1948. This presents considerable difficulty and must be studied further with the U. N. Commission in connection with the thorny problem of immigration. . . . If the traffic (immigration) is encouraged during the next few months, a grave situation in Palestine will arise which will make an orderly withdrawal and transfer of authority extremely difficult. The camps in Cyprus have also to be emptied.

"The Government are aware of the strong resentment already expressed by the Arab States in regard to what may appear to them as encouragement to immigration for strengthening the Jewish State. It is essential to main-

taining orderly life in Palestine, while at the same time, preparing, in accordance with international decision, to transfer authority."

#### Bevin Refuses to Assign Port

The following day, December 12, 1947, Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary, made clear that there would be no consultations with the United Nations Commission, declaring: "that the date for the termination of the Mandate had been fixed."

He told the House of Commons:

(1) "We have fixed, after the most careful consideration, the date of 15 May. (2) We should have liked to have accepted the suggested date in February but we found it physically impossible to do so. [The reference being to the clearance of a port and area for Jewish immigration.]

"I cannot agree to open a port until we lay down the Mandate. We cannot have two administrations at one time. Really, it is impossible."

The security situation was further offered as an excuse for failing to open a port for Jewish immigration, for refusing to permit recruitment of a Jewish militia as provided in the Assembly's resolution.

On March 10, 1948, Creech Jones again told the House of Commons:

"We have been unable on grounds of security to make a port available to the Jews from 1 February for immigration of men and arms. We could not thus render our authority over a part of Palestine while still retaining responsibility for law and order in the country."

He said further:

"We were also asked whether we would agree to allow the provisional councils of the two successor states to recruit armed militias from their residents, leaving political and military control to the Commission. We have made it clear that we could not permit any authority other than our own to exercise governmental functions in Palestine before the end of the Mandate. To allow the recruitment of militias would involve two distinct authorities in the country at one time, one of them taking steps to implement the United Nations plan. Further, such a procedure could not fail to increase immeasurably the possibility of grave disturbances while the Mandate still ran. The suggestion did not take account of the realities of the situation. The possible result of an attempt to form a representative militia for the proposed Jewish State, which includes some 400,000 Arabs in its area, when the Arabs were strongly resisting the implementation of the partition plan, should be apparent to everybody. The objections to this step, of course,



apply with even greater force to the Jewish request that the Commission should immediately start to establish a purely Jewish militia for the Jewish State, with full training facilities and the acquisition of the necessary equipment and stores."

**British Declare November 29 Resolution**  
**Unworkable**

That same day, moreover, he told the House of Commons the decision was unworkable and forecast that the Commission would be unable to go to Palestine.

"The situation in Palestine has tragically deteriorated since the Assembly resolution. Consequently, the Assembly's plan, conceived as it was in conditions of strong partiality, has in some respects proved impractical and unworkable. . . . It is possible that the Palestine Commission of the U. N. may find itself unable to proceed to Palestine because suitable arrangements have not been made either by the Security Council or by other organs of the United Nations for it to take up its duties there."

On March 2, 1948 Creech Jones, in the Security Council of the United Nations, openly charged the partition plan with prejudice, declaring:

"It is not for me to comment on certain obvious defects in the partition plan which arose from its being conceived in conditions of strong partiality.

"The United States asks us to endorse the plan adopted by the General Assembly. For reasons which we have so often explained, we cannot do so. . . . We cannot participate in any way in the implementation of a plan which involves the coercion of one of the Communities, and in Palestine, that is the larger community."

Small wonder that on April 10 the Palestine Commission reported to the General Assembly that:

(1) Security has not been maintained and that "unless security is restored in Palestine, imple-

mentation of the resolution of the General Assembly will not be possible."

(2) That as a consequence of the non-cooperation of the Mandatory power:

"(a) The provisions of the Assembly's resolution for a progressive transfer of administration from the Mandatory Power to the Commission have not been complied with. The Mandatory Power has insisted on retaining undivided control of Palestine until the date of termination of the Mandate and on relinquishing the whole complex of governmental responsibilities on that day, except for the areas still occupied by British troops. In the view of the Mandatory Power the progressive transfer of authority refers only to those areas.

"(b) The Commission could not proceed to Palestine until two weeks prior to the termination of the Mandate. The insistence of the Mandatory Power on this point, even though the Commission has been prepared to restrict its activities in Palestine prior to 15 May 1948, to preparatory work and would not attempt to exercise any authority there, made it impossible for the Commission to take the necessary preparatory measure to ensure continuity in administration after the date of termination of the Mandate.

"(c) The Commission could not take any measures to establish the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem, since the Mandatory Power informed the Commission that it could not facilitate the delimitation of frontiers on the ground.

"(d) The refusal of the Mandatory Power to permit any Provisional Council of Government, whether Arab or Jewish, if selected, to carry out any functions prior to the termination of the Mandate, made it necessary for the Commission, in accordance with Part I, B, 4 of the resolution of the General Assembly, to communicate that fact to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General.

"(e) The refusal of the Mandatory Power to permit the taking of preparatory steps toward the establishment of the armed militia, envisaged by the resolution for the purpose of maintaining internal order and preventing frontier clashes, has made it impossible to implement the Assembly's resolution in that respect."



## II

### THE INTENTION BEHIND BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE

On December 29, 1947, exactly one month following the United Nations decision on partition with economic union, the Lebanese Envoy in London, reporting to the Foreign Minister of Lebanon on a meeting between himself and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, quoted Mr. Bevin as telling him the following: "Now that the question has reached this stage, we are determined to withdraw from Palestine so that Arabs and Jews should remain alone to face each other and the hard facts."

#### British Aim A Federal State

In the same report, the Lebanese envoy wrote: "Official circles here believe that if America . . . were to change its position . . . the Arabs and Jews would remain alone face-to-face with the facts. The result would then be the attainment of a solution of the question on the basis of a federal state."

#### United States Minister to Beirut Tells About Federal Plan or Abdullah Conquest

On February 11, 1948, the United States Minister in Beirut, Mr. Lowell C. Pinkerton, informed the United States State Department of the plans being discussed in Lebanon for substituting the partition plan with a new scheme either in the form of a federal state or in the form of a Jewish state within a Greater Palestine. In his communication Mr. Pinkerton wrote:

"Many Lebanese feel that they have already shown an earnest of their intention to prevent partition at all costs, and that Jews now doubt their own ability to defend the territory allotted to them by the partition plan.

"Two proposals, at least, have been discussed, either of which might be acceptable to a sizeable number of the Arabs. If adopted, the first might be only prelude to the second:

"1. Revival of the eleventh hour Arab compromise suggestion at Lake Success—cantoning, or a federal state.

"2. An autonomous Jewish state within a Greater Palestine, under King Abdullah, which would have all its own machinery of government. It has even been suggested

that such a state might take all of the Jews now in displacement camps in Europe, since the question of a majority would not arise. This proposal would certainly meet widespread opposition in Syria, Saudi Arabia and possibly Egypt.

"Visitors recently arrived in Lebanon from the United States are all eagerly questioned on the possibility of a change in the attitude of the United States towards partition, but no satisfactory reply has been received."

#### British Knowledge of Abdullah Plan to Occupy Palestine

On April 17, a day after the Security Council had adopted a resolution calling for a truce between the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency, and upon the neighboring states to refrain from activity which would upset the truce, King Abdullah of Transjordan let it be known that he would send the Arab Legion into Palestine to defend the Arabs allegedly against the Jews.

On January 31, The Nation had reported a plan whereby King Abdullah of Transjordan would be permitted to overrun Palestine in exchange for giving up his ambition to establish the Greater Syria Federation through the annexation of Syria and Lebanon.

On February 13 the British Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61 HQ Palestine confirmed The Nation's story and anticipated the April 17 declaration of Abdullah. British Intelligence reported that Musa Alami, head of the Iraqi-supported Arab Office, who had been living abroad for a year, had returned to the Middle East.

This is its explanation:

"Apart from the question of the Arab officers there is reason to believe that Musa Al Ami's visit had certain political implications. It has been rumored that in return for the shelving of the Greater Syria scheme, Syria and the Lebanon may be asked to consent to King Abdullah's occupying Palestine. Musa Al Ami's recent visit to the King may well have something to do with this."



### III

#### BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT WHEN ARAB LEAGUE PROJECTED REVOLT

The Arab revolt was openly projected in the fall of 1947 at the very time when the United Nations were meeting in the regular Assembly session and discussing the Palestine issue. The decision to launch the revolt was made at a meeting of the Council of the Arab League in Sofar, Lebanon.

This meeting was attended not only by the heads of the Arab governments constituting the League, the Mufti and Fawzi Kawukji, later of the Arab liberation army in Palestine, but by Brigadier P. A. Clayton, the British representative in Egypt, and a number of his associates from Cairo and Jerusalem. It was at this meeting that the formation of a so-called volunteer force for the liberation of Palestine was decided upon, as against the use of regular troops of the Arab governments. The decision to substitute so-called volunteer forces for the regular armies was adopted under the influence of Brigadier Clayton and his associates.

The Arab League was in fact first projected in 1943 by Brigadier Clayton who was able to convince Anthony Eden, then Foreign Minister of England, of its usefulness. The League was formed in 1945 and Brigadier Clayton continues to be the only non-Moslem who regularly attends the meetings of the Arab League.

The participation of British representatives in Arab League meetings was confirmed by Richard H. S. Crossman, British M.P. in the House of Commons on December 11, 1947. He said:

"British diplomacy has, alas concentrated Arab attention to the Zionist issue. At meetings of the Arab League British representatives have been in attendance regularly even when the most violent anti-Jewish actions were approved. We are now suffering the consequences of creating the Arab League on the basis of a single programme of denying a Jewish state to the Jews."

#### Arabs Careful Not to Attack the British

On March 6, 1948, E. D. Horn, acting for the Chief Secretary of Palestine, addressed a communication to the District Commissioner of Jerusalem, copies of which were dispatched to all district commissioners, asking them to request Arab leaders to see to it that the foreign soldiers in Palestine remained as unobtrusive as possible.

In this communication, numbered C.S. 749, and marked "top secret," Mr. Horn wrote:

"It is the opinion of the Committee that this development greatly increases the risk of clashes taking place between these persons and the Security forces and I am to request that you will take whatever steps are possible to bring this danger to the notice of Arab leaders who would be well advised to secure that the foreign soldiers remain as unobtrusive as possible."

#### British Condone Invaders

British Intelligence in Palestine is authority for the statement that the Arabs have careful instructions not to fight the British. Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61 of February 13, 1948, issued by Hq. British Troops in Palestine, reported that the Arab irregulars are "anxious to avoid being involved with the British troops, in fact, they have orders to surrender rather than fight their way out if challenged by British troops."

The Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 62, Hq. Palestine, dated February 27, 1948, further says:

"The Arab leaders are anxious not to aggravate the British in any way but the question is whether so many men, possibly ten thousand of them at present in this country, with their bitter hatred of the Jews and their excitable character, whose sole raison d'être is the killing of Jews, can hold themselves in check until the British forces have quitted."

In proof of this careful Arab attitude, the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 63 dated March 12, by the Hq. British Troops in Palestine, reported the following:

"18. On three different occasions, the G.O.C.'s car and escort were attacked in the vicinity of Bab el Wad on the Jerusalem-Jaffa road. On the first occasion a Brigadier traveling from Sarafand to Jerusalem in the car was shot at and a bullet penetrated the bonnet. On the second occasion the car was hit three times, once through the door, once through the window and once through the petrol tank. Fortunately there were no passengers and no one was hurt. Two days later the car ran into the line of fire when at Kilo 21 on the same road



a Jewish convoy was engaged by fire from Arabs. Doctor Hussein Khalidi of the Arab Higher Executive told an officer of this Headquarters that in his opinion the car had not been attacked by Arabs as they had been instructed to avoid conflict with the Security

Forces. A phone call received by this Headquarters from a person who claimed to be Abdul Kadir el Husseini, denied that Arabs had fired at the G.O.C.'s car. Arabs held great respect for the British and especially the G.O.C., the speaker claimed."

#### IV

### BRITISH KNOW EVERY ARAB INVASION PLAN

On April 10 the Palestine Commission of the United Nations, in its report to the General Assembly, stated that violence in Palestine as of April 3 has resulted in 6,187 killed and wounded, including 121 British dead, 309 wounded; 959 Arabs dead, 2,118 wounded; 875 Jews dead, 1,858 wounded.

The casualties were inflicted in the course of Arab attacks and Jewish reprisals. Responsibility for the violence rests in chief part on some 10,000 Arab invaders who have entered Palestine as members of the Arab Army of Liberation formed by the Arab League and representing incursions from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan, and upon members of the Transjordan Arab Legion, units of which are stationed in Palestine.

The British government, which maintains a number of liaison officers with the Palestine Commission, has reported to that Commission only six incursions involving small numbers. And it has offered as the excuse for not stopping these incursions the length of the frontier, the difficult nature of the terrain, and therefore the impossibility of one hundred percent frontier control.

#### Secret British Reports Give Full Data

The fact is, however, that the British are fully aware of every incursion of foreign invaders and their exact deployment. This is indicated in the reports of British Military Intelligence in Palestine and the Middle East. A few typical excerpts from these reports indicate as early as last January the full knowledge of British Military Intelligence, and therefore of the Palestine administration, the British Colonial Office, and the British Foreign Office.

A report on Arab infiltration was offered on January 30, 1948, in the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 60, issued by HQ Palestine:

"19. The main item of interest is undoubtedly the arrival of Arab bands from outside Palestine. The figures have varied consider-

ably, but it is thought that they can be put at between 1,000 and 1,500. They are almost certainly members of Fawzi Qauqji's Yarmuk Division, to which reference has been made in previous newsletters. Contrary to numerous rumors, however, Fawzi himself has not entered Palestine. He has constantly stated that he has no intention whatever of returning to this country like a thief in the night as the head of a rabble, and that he will come when preparations are complete and he can do so openly as a soldier."

On February 13, 1948, the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61, issued by HQ British Troops in Palestine, reported:

"More and more Arab irregulars have crossed the Syrian and Lebanese borders and moved into villages in the Safed area and the Galilee hills."

#### British Intelligence Reports Detailed Invasion Plan

On March 5, in a secret report entitled "Intelligence Summary No. 68," by the Sixth Airborne Division, a detailed record of the Arab invasion was presented.

"12. The infiltration of Arab bands from the neighbouring Arab States is continuing, and an Arab source thought reliable has estimated the strength of the Arab Liberation Army in Samaria as being approximately 5,000, organized into four detachments:

"(a) THE YARMUK: This was the first to arrive and is now located in the Jenin sub-district with its Headquarters at SIR 179196.

"(b) THE HUTTEIN: (Named after the battle of the Horns of Huttin 1187), located in the TULKARM sub-district and reported to be commanded by an Iraqi named NASHED BEY.

"(c) THE HUSSEIN: (Probably named after the Mufti), occupying the TUBAS area but believed to be incomplete. This detachment is said to be equipped with a British type rifle, and to be about 800 strong at present.



"(d) THE CIRCASSIAN: Composed of about 300 men—a further draft of 300 is expected shortly. This detachment is commanded by an ex-Captain of the Syrian Regular Army, and is reported to be moving into the hills to the west of Nablus.

"Whilst the main Arab Forces are located in the Nablus-Jenin-Tulkarm area, it is known that a strong force is being built up in the Galilee hills and further reports have been received of the movement of small Arab bands across the Lebanese frontier into the villages of Upper Galilee.

"13. According to a reliable source, approximately 1,000 men crossed the Transjordan and Lebanese frontiers into Palestine on 25 February in 100 trucks. These Arab irregulars are reported to be dressed in American type battle dress with orange hattas. One detachment of some 500 men went to the Nablus area via Tubas, and was received by members of the National Committee. A parade was held in their honour attended by Arab Scouts and Youth Organizations. More than 10,000 local Arabs are said to have been present, and the Mayor of Nablus and the President of the National Committee both made short addresses to the assembly. Mohd Saffar, Arab Commander in the Nablus area, then lectured this detachment of newly-arrived irregulars in the Palestine Hotel, Nablus. Following this address which lasted for two hours, the group is reported to have left for the Beisan area where the report states, they will be used in attacks on Jewish colonies which are expected to take place in the near future.

"14. The second detachment, also of approximately 500, are reported to have crossed the Lebanese frontier in the area of Bint Jhall 190280 where they were met by high-ranking officers in the 'National Liberation Army.' This detachment later dispersed into villages in the Upper Galilee area. The report indicates that these 2 contingents are the most well-equipped to cross the frontier to date. They are armed with rifles, Brens and other automatic weapons, and heavier type gun of unspecified calibre for use in the hills. Each man is said to be carrying arms sufficient for two persons, as the band is hoping to be backed up by local guerrillas who will be recruited throughout the area. The leader of the force is an Iraqi officer, who informed local leaders in the Acre sub-district that the detachment would remain in the villages in Galilee as a force available for defence, until orders are received from the Arab Liberation Army Headquarters in Damascus to start the offensive."

#### British Reveal Kawukji's Entry Into Palestine

On March 12, Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 63, issued by Hq. British Troops in

Palestine, supplemented his report with the following:

"13. The arrival in Samaria of Fauzi Qauqji is definitely confirmed, but he is believed to be paying a short visit only this time. He has indicated his desire not to embarrass the authorities in any way, but when in Transjordan recently it was reported that he talked about renewed activity against Jewish settlements, possibly with the intention of influencing the UN Security Council. It has not yet been confirmed which route he used to enter Palestine although strong rumor has it that he came across Allenby bridge at night."

#### German Officers and Yugoslav Moslems Join Liberation Army

On January 19, C. T. Evans, the District Commissioner for the Galilee District, wrote to the Chief Secretary of Palestine, Sir Henry Guernsey, that the training of the Arab liberation army is by European volunteers and that, in fact, one of the incursions was led by a German officer. In this connection, Mr. Evans wrote:

"There is no doubt that well equipped volunteers are coming across the Lebanese frontier and bivouacking in Palestine in such inaccessible places as Wadi Kurn. They appear to be bound mainly to Jaffa and that such local Arabs trying to join have been turned away. The volunteers are not coming down on the villages for provisioning.

"It is reported that European volunteers are being brought to Syria and the Lebanon as instructors and one of the parties who have crossed the frontier is stated to have been led by a German officer."

On March 12, in the Fortnightly Newsletter No. 63, issued by the HQ British Troops in Palestine, the British revealed the presence in Palestine of non-Arab volunteers as members of the Arab liberation army, including German officers and Yugoslav Moslems. The report declares:

"11. An observer of the Arab scene in Palestine has given an appreciation of the non-Arab volunteers who have been working with Arabs in Palestine owing to allegiance to the Mufti. Firstly there are the Yugoslav Moslems, estimated at less than a dozen in number who are attached to Abdul Qadir Al Husseini in the Jerusalem area. They have had experience in warfare and have expert knowledge of underground activities. Their number is almost certain to be increased later. Then there are three or four German Officers attached to Sheikh Hassan Salameh in areas around Jaffa and



Lydda. One popular rumor has it that they are survivors of the Germans who parachuted down during the last war in the Jericho region to contact Salameh, with whom they have kept in touch ever since. These Germans refuse to meet any British volunteers. Thirdly, there are constant rumors of some British nationals, but little or nothing is known about them.\*\*

"12. The infiltration of the Arab Liberation Army into Palestine continues, particularly in the Ras el Ain area\* and Jaffa, where the new commander, Abdel Bey Najin ed Din, who took over from Abdul Wahab Bey when the latter went to Syria, probably has some 1,500 regulars under his command. The Jaffa-Tel Aviv struggle has already entered a new phase, the Arabs having adopted a plan of attack as opposed to their former policy of defence."

#### British Know Every Detail of Invaders'

##### Deployment

On March 19, British Intelligence put out a document on the Arab liberation army detailing its location in every area of Palestine, its numbers, and its command as follows:

#### — ARAB LIBERATION ARMY —

Information as at 19.3.48

General:—G.O.C. Gen. Ismail Safwat Pasha, formerly Deputy Chief of Staff to the Iraqi Army. H.Q. DAMASCUS.

#### Commands in Palestine:—

North Pal: O.C. FAWZI AL KAUKJI BEY.  
2. i/c. MOHD BEY AS SAFA.

East Pal: O.C. ABDUL QADIR HUSSEINI.

West Pal: O.C. SHEIK HASSAN SALAMA.  
2. i/c a German Engineer Officer.

South Pal: Acting O.C. Col. Tarik Bey, a Sudanese.

#### Detail—

##### North Pal:

Forces at present in this area are mainly concentrated in the SAMARIA district. They consist of four regiments, each of two or three battalions. Total strength is reported as about 4,000. The SAFAD-NAZARETH-ACRE area does not seem to be garrisoned by A.L.A. troops, but is used by troops in transit. Attacks in this area would appear to

\*Area of the water pipe line to Jerusalem, mined by Arabs on April 8.

\*\*Despite this, Foreign Minister Bevin still says he has no knowledge of non-Arab fighters in Palestine.

be the work of local gangs or troops on sorties from Syria.

YARMUK Regt.—O.C. MOHD BEY AS SAFA, Lebanese.

Located in the JENIN area with an H.Q. at SIR 179176. Responsible for the attack on TIRAT TSEVI on 16 February.

HUTTEIN Regt.—O.C. NASHED BEY.

Located in the area south of TULKARM, with a battalion 600 strong under an Iraqi at RAS AL AIN 144167. Responsible for the attack on MAGDIEL 141 174.

HUSSEIN Regt.—O.C. ABDUL WAHAB.

Located North of TULKARM, with an H.Q. at ATTIL 157197. Responsible for the attack on MARBATA 15282070 on 28 February.

CIRCASSIAN Regt.—O.C. ISSAN BEY.

Located in the NABLUS area. Reported to have made no attacks as yet.

##### East Pal:

Forces are mainly in the JERUSALEM area. They consist of HUSSEINI gangsters and do not appear to be properly organised or disciplined.

##### West Pal:

Area corresponds to the Civil District of LYDDA together with that part of the GAZA District North of a line AL MAJDAL 111119 to FALUJA 126114.

JAFFA area—O.C. Lt. Col. ADEL NAJM AD DIN BEY.

Strength reported to be more than 2,000 men, possibly part of the YARMUK Regt. This garrison includes YUGOSLAVS trained in sabotage.

RAMLE area.

Strength two battalions of 500 men, each commanded by an Iraqi Captain. One battalion H.Q. reported at 13671504; the other at SALAMA village.

##### South Pal:

H.Q. of the district is at MUGHAZI camp 091092.

JULIS area.

1,000 men reported to be forming up at JULIS camp 119122, which is at present commanded by Capt. IBRAHIM ISDAR, a Syrian. This area may be used as a base hospital.

GAZA area—MUSTAFA AL WAKIL bn, an Egyptian unit, is at Gaza air field 199198. 200 men are reported at MAGHAZI.

A training camp is in the process of being established at NABI HUSEIN 108118.



## ARAB LEGION CANNOT MOVE WITHOUT BRITISH SIGNAL

On December 12, 1947, Foreign Minister Bevin told the House of Commons that the units of the Transjordan Arab Legion would be withdrawn from Palestine. He said:

"I was asked a question about the Arab Legion. I should explain that this is a Force which owes allegiance to the King of Transjordan, but units of it have, for some time, been serving under the orders of the British G. O. C. in accordance with a long standing arrangement with King Abdullah. It has been decided that all these units will be withdrawn from Palestine at the same time as the withdrawal of the British Forces. That withdrawal will be completed when the withdrawal of the British Forces is completed."

### British Promise to Withdraw Arab Legion from Palestine

But on April 16, these units numbering some thousands were still in Palestine, encamped near the units of Arab invading forces, still engaged in a series of unprovoked aggressions on peaceful Jewish residents and passersby. On that date Sir Alexander Cadogan told the Security Council: "We have already announced that the units of the Arab Legion in Palestine will be withdrawn before the Mandate comes to an end."

The following day, however, on April 17, King Abdullah of Transjordan announced that he would send his Arab Legion into Palestine to help the Arabs, and was seconded by his Foreign Minister, a threat which has since been repeated. On April 26, King Abdullah announced that on May 1st he would march into Palestine in personal command of the armies of Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon.

Could King Abdullah carry out his threat without British knowledge and consent? The facts show that Transjordan is a military appendage of the British and could not act without their knowledge and consent.

The Arab Legion, regarded as the finest military force in the Middle East, is under the command of a Britisher, Brigadier J. B. Glubb. The Legion is organized, trained, officered, and paid for by the British government at a cost of more than \$7,500,000 annually. Nonetheless, Foreign Minister Bevin told the House of Commons on April 28:

"I am not going to be drawn into promises and commitments about the Transjordan Force until I know the final decision of the U. N. on Palestine."

### Do the British Control the Arab Legion?

The first partition of Palestine took place in 1922 when the British separated Transjordan from it. In January 1946, Great Britain, without the consent of the United Nations, announced the independence of Transjordan which, since 1922, had been governed under the Palestine Mandate.

On March 22, 1946, the British Government announced the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance with Transjordan, which recognized Transjordan as an independent Kingdom, and the Emir Abdullah as its sovereign. In an annex to the Treaty, provision was made for British bases in Transjordan and the training of the armed forces of that country by British military personnel.

On March 15, 1948 a new Treaty of Alliance was signed between Transjordan and Great Britain. Under the new Treaty, Britain continues its annual grant for the maintenance of Transjordan's armed forces. Brigadier John Bagot Glubb, commander of the Transjordan Arab Legion, retains his post under King Abdullah. The British are responsible as well for equipping the Legion, and supply, in addition to Brigadier Glubb, more than 40 British senior officers.

### Provisions of 1948 Treaty with Transjordan

Under the March Treaty, the British receive the right to maintain units of the R. A. F. in Transjordan. The British finance the maintenance and development of airfields, ports, roads and other lines of communication. The British undertake to train Transjordan Forces in the United Kingdom or in any British colony. In Transjordan joint training operations are to be maintained with the British providing training personnel. The British undertake to provide arms, ammunition, equipment, aircraft and other war materials; all Transjordan war materials to be standardized with that of the British. The British receive port rights. To carry out the military alliance a permanent Joint Defense Board has been set up.



## VI

### THE BRITISH "PROTECTION" OF JERUSALEM

On December 11, 1947 Arthur Creech Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons:

"Up to the date of the relinquishment of the Mandate the Palestine Government remains responsible for the security of Jerusalem and its Holy places."

But not even the special position of Jerusalem has deterred the British from sacrificing it to its own plans for an Arab alliance.

To be sure, soon after the passage of the November 29 resolution, the British government did cooperate with the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations in drawing up a draft statute for Jerusalem establishing it as an international city under international trusteeship. But when the Arab Higher Committee objected to its efforts on the score that it was implementing one of the November 29 General Assembly resolutions, the line of cooperation was dropped and supplanted by the line of capitulation.

Under the guise of a spurious neutrality it made possible a series of events initiated by the Arabs which have splattered the sanctity of the Holy City with blood.

Thus, thanks to British neutrality:

1. Ben Yahuda Street, the chief commercial center of Jewish Jerusalem, was bombed.

2. A band of the Mufti's henchmen, calling itself the Arab National Guard, could seize and hold with impunity the Old City of Jerusalem, where the ancient shrines of all the religions are to be found; and keep 2000 Jews as hostages. The British have even concluded an agreement with this band permitting passage to distribute food and other supplies.

3. Thus the Arabs could bomb the offices of the Jewish Agency on March 11, killing 13 and wounding forty-five.

4. The Arabs could on April 13, within full sight of a British army post, attack a Hadassah medical convoy flying a medical symbol in the course of which 76 persons were killed and 20 wounded. The casualties included the Director of the Hadassah Hospital, Dr. H. Yassky, doc-

tors, nurses, and other medical personnel, as well as academic staff including scientists attached to the Hebrew University of Mt. Scopus.

This attack took place within two hundred yards of a British Army Post. Iraqi soldiers were among the Arab gangs which attacked the convoy. The attack lasted for six hours before the eyes of the British Military, who not only failed to halt the attack, but prevented the Haganah from coming to the rescue.

The April 13 attack was the climax of a series begun on December 30, 1947. Continuous complaints and a request for protection of the road, which leads to the Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University, had been made by the Jewish Community Council of Jerusalem and by Hadassah itself.

The area requiring protection was half a mile in length on the Scopus Road. Between March 26 and April 6 no incidents occurred. On December 27 the Arab Higher Committee, and on January 13 the Palestine Arab Medical Association issued memoranda asking the Arabs to refrain from attacking hospitals, ambulances, doctors, nurses. None the less, these attacks were accelerated. On March 17 Abdel Kadi el-Husseini, then the Arab Military Commander in the Jerusalem area (subsequently killed by the Haganah) publicly announced that he would occupy or even demolish the Hadassah Hebrew University Medical Center.

Despite the full evidence concerning this, no effective action was taken by the British.

On April 13 British soldiers watched the Arab onslaught, and instructed the Haganah not to send reinforcements. When Jewish reinforcements finally reached the scene, they were blocked by the British. When British troops ultimately intervened they fired mortar shells not only at the Arabs, but at Jews trying to defend themselves from the Arabs.

When Jacques de Reynier, representative of the International Red Cross, attempted to arrange a truce, it took the British five and one-half hours to bring M. de Reynier to the scene of the attack, which is not more than a 10-minute ride from the heart of Jerusalem.

Not even the events of April 13 caused the



British to safeguard the road, with the result that on April 24 the Hadassah Hospital had been, for a week, without food replenishments.

When on April 25, the Haganah attempted to insure safe passage on the road and captured a key Arab attacking post, Sheikh Jarrah village, the British in force encircled the Haganah and compelled their evacuation.

5. Though the Mufti's Organization, the Arab Higher Committee, with its headquarters in Jerusalem is directing the whole operation, not one of its leaders has been arrested.

On the contrary, the British have refused permission to the Jewish population to organize their own defense.

They have blown up Jewish defense posts.

They have advised the Jews to evacuate the commercial section of Jerusalem.

The British authorities are conniving at the starving of the Jewish population of Jerusalem.

They have failed to protect the highways and refused to allow armed escorts and self-arming by the Jews.

#### British Attack Jews

When the Jewish Agency told the UN Palestine Commission that the Jews of Jerusalem were starving because of Arab road blocks on the road from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem, and that the British Government had neither offered to escort food convoys nor stipulated conditions under which escort might be provided, J. Fletcher Cooke, British Liaison with the UN Commission, replied on April 12, 1948 with an attack on the Jews.

He said:

"It should be emphasized again that the problem is not one of food shortage in Palestine as a whole. The Government of Palestine has reported that there is food available in Palestine to maintain the necessary supplies for Jerusalem. The problem is entirely one of the transport of this food from the ports to Jerusalem.

"It may be added that transport by rail to Jerusalem is ruled out because, even if trains succeeded in escaping Arab attacks or sabotage en route, the railway station at Jerusalem is in a predominantly Arab area, and the Arabs would not permit off-loading of food destined for the Jews. Any attempt to do this would result in a major engagement."

He then proceeded to place the blame on the Jews.

"(2) Very early in the disturbances which have occurred in Palestine since 29 November, 1947, attacks on traffic using this road were made by both Jews and Arabs. It is difficult to say who initiated these attacks, but it is fairly certain that firing action was first taken by the Jews after their vehicles had been stoned by Arabs in Ramleh.

"(3) The situation then developed into a fight for control of the road. The Arabs, no doubt in order to facilitate action by their troops, withdrew all their own vehicles from the stretch of the road in question and were then secure in the knowledge that any civilian traffic which they cared to attack must be Jewish.

"(4) The Jews then appealed for assistance. During December certain escorts were provided by the Army and the Police; but it became the Jewish practice to produce at the convoy rendezvous more vehicles than had been arranged for, with the result that the escort provided was insufficient. The blame for this was laid by the Jews on the Government of Palestine."

He then charged the Jews with being responsible for the failure of their food convoys to get through because of "the employment by Jews of long slow columns of armoured and unarmoured vehicles."

The British representative also disclosed an attempt to get Arab permission for Jewish food convoys, "provided nothing but food was carried; that Jewish accompanying personnel were reduced to a minimum and that convoys were subject to search at some selected point."

Mr. Fletcher Cooke was greatly surprised that Jewish Agency officials refused this offer of capitulation to the Arabs.

#### British Draft Capitulation Under Truce Guise

Last month the British were agents for another proposal for capitulation by the Jews. Mr. R. Graves, nominated by the Palestine government as the Chairman of the Municipal Commission of Jerusalem, drafted a peace project for Jerusalem, later amended by Sir Henry Gurney, the Chief Secretary of Palestine.

This peace project proposed that "all armed men should leave the portion of the Old City occupied by Orthodox Jews whose safety would be guaranteed by the Arabs if this were done. And the old Montefiore quarter should be similarly evacuated by all armed men and placed



under the protection of British forces and the municipality."

Other provisions of the plan were:

"(a) Each Community should for the time being restrict the movement of its members to its own areas which will be policed by its own members of the Municipal Police Force.

"(b) Each Community should solemnly undertake not to attack the other by sending armed men into that Community's area or by firing from one area into another.

"(c) Each Community should bind itself to exercise the utmost self-restraint, and control the violent elements in its midst.

"(d) Each Community should refrain from retaliation and reprisals, which can only make it more difficult for the leaders of either Community to prevent further attacks and counter-reprisals. This recommendation is the most difficult of fulfilment, but it is the most important of all.

"(e) Each Community should fully respect all vehicles carrying the Red Cross, Red Crescent or Red Shield, and should undertake that any such vehicle would not be used for any purpose not authorised by these signs.

"(f) Passage by members of one Community through the territory of the other would be permitted in the case of funeral parties or re-victualling parties under a flag of truce. A minimum number of omnibuses should be permitted to operate.

"(g) No armed men should be permitted to live within any area reserved for the other Community."

On March 9 Mr. Graves told the Chief Secretary, Sir Henry Gurney:

"I have the honour to inform you that I have handed copies of my Peace Project for Jerusalem as amended by you, and with a few minor additions, to Dr. Hussein Khalidi, Secretary of the Arab Higher Committee, and Mr. David Ben Gurion, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

"2. Dr. Khalidi was very polite and thanked me for my initiative, promising to submit the Project to his Executive. He has now sent me a letter, of which I enclose a copy, stating that he and the Higher Executive consider that the arrangements contemplated are premature at the present stage.

"3. I saw Mr. Ben Gurion yesterday and discussed the Project which had been in his hands for a few days.

"4. He disagreed with the number and the

variety of the clauses, and would not accept the proposal that the Jews of the Old City should be guaranteed by the Arabs after the withdrawal of the Haganah which he said was insulting to Jewry, and considered that the proposed restriction of Jews to Jewish areas and Arabs to Arab areas was undesirable and offensive to both Communities.

"5. However, he said that he and the Yishuv were very anxious for the peace of Jerusalem and were prepared to undertake that not a shot would be fired by any Jew in the City for a specified agreed period—a week, a month or a year—if the Arabs would make and observe a similar undertaking. When I mentioned that he might have some difficulty in making Jewish dissidents comply with such an undertaking, he said that he would be able to do so.

"6. I promised to convey his views to the Arab Higher Executive."

#### The Breakdown of the Jerusalem Water Supply

On April 8, 1948 an Arab mine blew up the main water pipeline to Jerusalem at Ras-el-Ain. For seven hours water flooded the fields. The line was finally repaired by the Haganah and British army engineers.

The British authorities claimed that the destruction of the pipeline was accidental and that the Arabs did not know that the pipeline passed under the road at the point where the mining operation took place. But the revelations of British Intelligence on March 12 contradicts the British assertion.

Until the end of World War I Jerusalem was dependent upon wells and cisterns. After World War I Jerusalem began to bring its water from two nearby sources, Solomon's Pools, south of Bethlehem, and the spring of Ein Farah, six miles from Jerusalem. In 1937, to meet the needs of a growing population, the Palestine government built a pipeline bringing water from the coastal plain, Ras-el-Ain, forty miles from Jerusalem, which was pumped through the hills to Jerusalem and supplies Jerusalem with 1,500,000 cubic metres of water annually.

The pipeline runs entirely through Arab territory. Part of the area through which the pipeline runs was captured by the Jews, but a 20-mile section from Ras-el-Ain to Bab el Wad remains under Arab control, exposing the pipeline to continuous danger of being cut.

The chief victim of an interruption of the water supply would be the Jewish community of Jerusalem. Most of the Arabs in Jerusalem have cisterns and wells.



But the fact of the matter is that the threat to the Jerusalem water supply has been so serious and constant that as far back as January 1948 negotiations were begun by the Chairman of the Municipal Commission, Mr. R. N. Graves, in an effort to safeguard the water supply station. Ultimately the station at Ras-el-Ain was abandoned to Iraqi armed troops which took over the military camp there. And Mr. Graves withdrew

his demands for protection when the Lydda District Commissioner and the military commander of the South Palestine District explained that security forces were not inclined to drive them out by force and the Haganah probably could not do so.

Today, the sole deterrent to another attack on the pipeline is the supposed desire of the Arabs to maintain the water supply for their own use.

## VII

### MUFTI TURNED DOWN REQUEST THAT HAIFA BE DECLARED AN OPEN CITY

On April 22, the city of Haifa was captured by the Haganah and the Arabs sued for peace. That same afternoon the representative of Syria, Faris el-Khoury, complained to the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations at Lake Success concerning what he called the massacre of Arabs. But the fact is that it was the Mufti, Chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, who prevented Haifa from being declared an open city. And it is the British Intelligence in Palestine which is the authority for that statement.

Nor did the British make any attempt to assure this even though as far back as December, Creech Jones in the House of Commons, anticipated disturbances in that city.

In its Fortnightly Newsletter No. 61, dated February 13, 1948, the British Intelligence reported the Arab effort to make Haifa an open city.

"Toward the end of January a delegation representing all classes of Arabs from Haifa, headed by Archbishop Hakim, visited the Mufti in Cairo with the intention, it was rumored, of obtaining support for a plan to declare Haifa an 'open city.' It was unsuccessful. (However, it is learned that all sections of the Arab community have been placed under the command of the Haifa Arab national committee, who feel that it is in their own interest to maintain peace in the city for as long as possible. This, and the fact that the moneyed Jewish community in Haifa wishes for peace, provides some grounds for the hope that order may be maintained there for some time. Both communities are well armed and tension of course exists. The situation depends entirely upon the control the leaders of both factions are able to maintain over their more irresponsible followers.)"

On April 24, Sir Alexander Cadogan told the Security Council that the Syrian charges were

without justification and that in fact only about 100 Arabs had been killed.

From Jerusalem, Sir Allan Cunningham, British High Commissioner, informed the British Foreign Office that the attacks had been started by the Arabs and that the charges of massacre were untrue. The exoneration of the Haganah by the British represented the first such action in recent disturbances in Palestine.

The fact is that Haifa had been one of the areas in Palestine where the most friendly relations existed between Jews and Arabs, not only during the recent conflict, but as a matter of record even during the 1936-1939 disturbances.

The most recent disturbances in Haifa are due to the incursion of foreign Arabs. These foreign Arabs conducted a continuous warfare, attacking the Jewish residential area and Jewish traffic, inviting Jewish retaliation.

The Commander of the Haifa Legion, until he was killed, actually was a Lieutenant in the Transjordan Arab Legion and his identity card is produced elsewhere in this document. On March 9, 1948, an advertisement by him appeared in Al Urduni Amman daily. The advertisement declared:

"Muhammed Bay el Hamad, Commander of the Haifa region announces that he is prepared to accept volunteers of all ranks who have previously served in the Arab Legion or the Transjordan Frontier Force. The registration of such volunteers will take place in Haifa."

The presence of Germans and Nazis in the Arab ranks in Haifa was revealed by the Haganah in the truce terms which it laid down. These truce terms asked for the deportation of all foreign Arab fighters from Haifa and the handing over to the British military authorities of all Germans and Nazis in Arab ranks. Five Nazis



were handed over. The safety of all citizens was guaranteed by the Haganah which asked for the laying down of arms and the surrender of them to the Jews, as well as a 24-hour curfew in order to arrange for the disarming.

The presence in Haifa of well armed foreign invaders, as far back as March 5, was verified in Intelligence Summary No. 68 of the Sixth Airborne Division. Reporting on the Haifa area, it said:

#### Haifa Area

"At a recent meeting of Arab Commanders in the Haifa area it was decided that a request be sent to Syria for the assistance of a further 100 trained street-fighters to assist in attacks planned against the Jews. Pending the arrival of these men, Mohd Bey El Hamed, the Arab Commander in Haifa, ordered that bomb attacks against the Jews were to be postponed for the time being, as he considered that such attacks would only provoke reprisals which the Arabs are not yet in a position to counter effectively. He, however, gave instructions for squads of nine men from the Munazzamat Fi

Di'aya (Arab Commando Organisation) to be formed to carry out attacks against Jewish traffic on the roads leading out of Haifa. Three taxis are reported to have been allocated for this purpose. The 'Commandos' are said to be armed with Stens, TMGs and grenades.

"Further supplies of arms and ammunition are known to be arriving in Haifa to replace those confiscated by the Army during searches in town. On 22 February, seven Bren guns together with 5,000 rounds of ammunition are reported to have arrived in Haifa from Damascus, and the following day 15 boxes of grenades and 3 machine-guns were brought to Haifa by a Druze from Syria. Considerable quantities of explosives and 'Molotov Cocktails' are said to have recently arrived, together with five bomb experts from Syria. These bomb experts are stated to have already prepared three bombs of considerable size for use against Jewish targets. Several local Arabs have been attached to this group for instruction in the manufacture of bombs. A further report indicates that 25 Yugoslavian bomb experts are en route to Haifa from Damascus to assist in the preparation of bombs to be used in attacks on Jewish quarters in the town."

### VIII

## ARAB GOVERNMENTS BEHIND INVASION OF PALESTINE

On February 16, in its first report on security to the Security Council, the Palestine Commission stated:

"(a) The security situation in Palestine continues to be aggravated not only in the areas of the proposed Jewish and Arab States, but also in the city of Jerusalem, even in the presence of British troops.

"(c) Powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein."

If the activity of the Arab League, comprising the states of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi-Arabia, Yemen and Transjordan, all members of the United Nations except Transjordan, were not sufficient evidence that the Arab States as such are in revolt against the November 29th decision of the General Assembly, British Intelligence reports offer proof of the support by Arab Governments of the armed invasion of Palestine by the so-called Arab Army of Liberation.

Thus the Weekly Intelligence Report No. 45, issued on January 16, 1948 by the HQ British Forces in the Middle East (M. E. L. F.) re-

ported: "The training of volunteers in Syria is with government help and the contribution of materials by the Lebanese government." This report says:

#### "E. Syria

"The 'Palestine Liberation Army' is reported to be organised in four 'divisions', though as yet little is known of these beyond their names, which are the 'Qiadet el Yarmuk' (or Holy Battle Brigade), 'Haj Amin' (named after the Mufti), 'Fawzi Kawukji', and 'Palestine Federation'. The training centre at Qatana outside Damascus is working to capacity, and there is good reason to suppose that training is going on in other parts of the country as well, assisted by the Syrian Army. Volunteers from universities and schools, probably numbering some 5,000 in all, are being trained in elementary military subjects, though their supplies of arms and equipment are at present very limited. For the regular forces, the Government passed, in December, a conscription law, whereby all men over the age of 19 must do up to two years' military service, followed by 18 years on the reserve. Exemption from this service is said to cost £1,000 but it is not known how many have as yet taken advantage of the concession."



#### "F. Lebanon

"The Lebanese contribution to the Palestine 'war effort' will, it appears, be confined to the provision of materials rather than men.

Owing to the pro-Jewish attitude of the Lebanese Christians, who form a considerable proportion of the population, no training will take place in the country, but the best of those who wish to volunteer will be selected and sent to the Syrian centres. The government has ordered the C-in-C of the army to purchase a quantity of small arms and ammunition, tenders for which have been invited from both Czechoslovakian and Belgian companies, as was done in Syria a month ago."

The press of the Arab countries has revealed that the recruiting regulations for the so-called Arab volunteers were issued by the Syrian Minister of Defense; that the Syrian Prime Minister himself supervised the training of troops for war in Palestine at the Qatana Barracks in Syria; that the President of the Syrian Republic presided over the meeting on February 5 at his official residence where the commanders were appointed of the Arab forces of invasion.

There is ample evidence, further, that the Egyptian government has made financial allocations for operations in Palestine, that it has allotted military barracks at Hilmiyah and Helwan for the training of troops, and that the Lebanese Prime Minister announced on February 25 his government's intention to supply Palestine with arms, money, and men.

On February 13, 1948, the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61, issued by Hq. British Troops in Palestine, reported on the visit of the Mufti, who is chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, with the President of Syria, and on his meetings with the military committee of the Arab League. The report detailed the decisions reached with respect to the military campaign in Palestine as follows:

"Haj Amin el Husseini visited Damascus at the beginning of February and had talks with President Kuwatly. On 4-6 February he attended meetings of the Arab League Military Committee there, presided over by Taha el Husseini with Subhi el Hadra present. Further in the military organization of Palestine it was decided to divide the country into four major fighting zones. The Mufti proposed that each zone should have two commanders of equal status, one nominated by the Arab Higher Executive and the other by the Arab League military committee. Taha el Husseini, how-

ever, insisted on a single commander for each zone and finally it was agreed that under General Ismail Safwat as Commander in Chief, Abdel Kader el Husseini should command the Jerusalem zone, Hassan Salame the Jaffa-Jerusalem road areas, Fawsi Kawujki the Nablus Tulkarm area and that the southern sector should be operated under Egypt. A delegate of the Arab Higher Executive is to be attached to each Commander. The Mufti returned to Cairo in time for the ten-day Arab League Council meeting there on 7 February."

How the Arab governments have gotten around the use of army regulars is further revealed in the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 62, HQ Palestine, dated February 27, 1948:

"20. In Jaffa, Colonel Abdul Wahab Bey arrived with 100 Iraqis who are said to be regular soldiers temporarily retired for the Palestine venture. The Colonel was formerly in an Iraq Tank Regiment and took part in the 'Golden Square' rebellion during the war, as a result of which he spent three years in prison. He speaks English fluently, is displaying a pro-British attitude and discourages any action that would bring the Arabs into conflict with the Security Forces. His presence has had a decidedly pacifying effect on the local population similar to that in the forces in Samaria. Naturally enough the ex-gang leaders of the 1936 Arab revolt accept his presence and what amounts to military governorship with considerable reluctance. Sheikh Hassan Salameh still remains in charge of the guerrillas in the area."

Thus British Intelligence challenges the claim on March 16, 1948 of Faris el Khouri, Syrian delegate in the Security Council of the U. N., that "The Arab States, including Syria, have not interfered by taking part in these encounters."

On March 12, 1948, the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 63 reported that:

"7. The Arab League's Palestine Committee held a brief meeting in Damascus on 4 March to discuss the Palestine military situation. It is generally believed that as a result of this meeting the military situation will enter a new stage during the forthcoming weeks and this will be in the form of increased large scale operations. In addition the committee discussed the first aid arrangements for Arab wounded, the construction of field hospitals on the Palestine Syrian frontiers and future administrative arrangements for Palestine. After this first session it was decided to postpone the meeting of the committee indefinitely."



K

## STRINGENT MEASURES AGAINST THE JEWS

In contrast with the attitude of the British toward the Arabs and the Arab incursionists is the stringent measures undertaken to prevent the Jews from getting arms.

The following series of communications exchanged in the early months of 1948 are illuminating. As this correspondence indicates, the British were attempting to prevent any possibility of the Jews receiving arms at a time when no obstacles were being placed in the way of armed Arab incursions and attacks on Jewish Palestine:

"To S.P.\* Haifa.

"Your attention is invited to the Defence (Emergency) Regulations published in Palestine Gazette 164 Supplement No. 2 providing powers for the Port Authority to control ships in the territorial waters of Palestine. The purpose of these regulations is to deal with the possibility of arms smuggling to Tel-Aviv Port where there are only Jewish Customs Staff. There is reason to believe that the importation of arms and explosives through Tel-Aviv Port will be attempted from U. S. and Yugoslav ports. It will therefore be desirable that ships from these ports should be required to discharge all cargo at Haifa only. If no approach has yet been made on the subject I feel that you should see the General Manager Pal. Rly., and perhaps the Port Manager to consider what steps will be necessary to implement the new legislation.

(Sgd) Fforde  
\*\*AIG CID"

"To: S.P. Haifa

2.2.48

"I am writing about the implementation of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations H 48 published in Palestine Gazette 164, providing powers for the Port Authority to control ships in the territorial waters of Palestine. (This office letter of even number dated 19/1 refers).

"O'Sullivan tells me that he saw you about this matter last Thursday. The position, now, as I understand it, is that some ships, including American vessels, normally discharge at Breakwater and Stevedores are mixed Jews and Arabs. Customs normally examine any such cargo as is actually discharged. There does not appear to be much opportunity for the

evasion of Customs examination though it is possible for a ship lying out (and a good many ships have to do this) to discharge illegal cargo by night on to small craft and so get it ashore. But it appears that some ships, for recent example the 'Exporter' are allowed to proceed to Tel-Aviv afterwards, after first being directed to Haifa, and so get an opportunity to discharge 'hot' cargo. The 'Exporter' discharged a quantity of apples at Tel-Aviv after first having been directed to Haifa. Of course there would have been ample opportunity to discharge illegal arms etc. and so defeat the whole object of the new legislation. Surely a ship is not being allowed to go to Tel-Aviv once it has been found necessary to direct it from there, unless steps have been taken to ensure that nothing is left on board which it is not desired should be landed (which I very much doubt).

"Would you please take up this aspect of the matter and let me know the outcome.

(Sgd) Fforde AIG CID"

"To: I.G.

Secret

No. CS/758  
18/2/48

"I am directed to append the following extract from a letter received from the General Manager, Palestine Railways, regarding the enforcement of directions given by him as Port Authority under the Defence (Emergency) Regulations made on 10/1.

'I should be grateful to know whether I should be in order in invoking the assistance of the R.N. if any vessel should fail to comply with any order given by me prohibiting the vessel from entering any port or the territorial waters of Palestine.'

"The Naval authorities have been consulted and have indicated that in their view the primary responsibility for enforcing compliance rests with the Police to whom the Port Authority should apply for assistance, if he considers it necessary.

"Only in the event of the Police being unable to enforce compliance would the RN be prepared to intervene. The application for Naval assistance would be made by Police and NOT by the Port Authority.

"I am to request you to state whether you con-  
cert with the procedure suggested.

G. G. Grimwood  
for Chief Secretary"

\*Superintendent of Police.

\*\*Acting Inspector General Criminal Investigation Department.



**British Attempt to Charge Jews with  
Responsibility for Violence**

At the same time, in the United Nations, the British are making a concerted effort to involve the Jews on an equal plane with the Arabs in offensive violence in Palestine has been undertaken by the British. Thus on January 21, 1948, the Mandatory power told the Palestine Commission, as regards Arabs and Jews in Palestine, that "elements on each side were engaged in attacking or in taking reprisals indistinguishable from attacks."

This statement ignored the fact that only a month earlier, Creech Jones, Colonial Secretary, told the House of Commons on December 11: "There have been serious disturbances in Palestine since the United Nations' decision was announced, due mainly to Arab incitement".

The attempt to place blame on the Jews for the current violence was continued in the answers which the United Kingdom delegation gave to a series of questions asked by the four permanent members of the Security Council at an informal meeting on March 9.

On March 12, the answer submitted in behalf of Sir Alexander Cadogan, reveals the bias of the Mandatory power:

Question 6: "To what extent are disorders inside Palestine due to participation by armed elements from outside Palestine?"

Answer 6: "The present series of disturbances began in December last against a background of Jewish inspired disorder which had been going on for 2½ years. The Arabs implicated in this series of disturbances were originally all Palestinians. Since then both Palestinian and non-Palestinian Arabs have been engaged."

Question 7: "To what extent are disorders inside Palestine attributable to incitement to violence from outside Palestine?"

Answer 7: "As far as the Palestine Arabs are concerned, their opposition to partition is spontaneous and universal. Inflammatory material has appeared in the press of the neighbouring Arab countries, although the situation in

this respect has recently improved. On the Jewish side, widespread propaganda has of course been conducted for some time in the press of the United States and other countries by persons and organisations inciting the Jewish community to violence and terrorism principally against the Mandatory power."

Asked whether arms are flowing into Palestine from outside sources to individuals or groups unauthorized by the Mandatory power to possess arms, the United Kingdom gave the following answer:

"Both Arabs and Jews in Palestine are now receiving illicit consignments of arms from outside sources. While the Palestine Government have no exact knowledge of the quantity and description of arms possessed by either side, it is their opinion that the Jews are better armed than the Arabs. In this connexion it will be recalled that there have recently been instances of the seizure in the United States by United States authorities of large consignments of high explosives destined for Jewish organizations in Palestine.

"As regards the possibility which has been suggested of illicit importation of arms by aircraft landing in the desert, the Palestine Government consider this unlikely. Such clandestine importation by air would, however, be easier for the Jews than for the Arabs, in view of the better facilities possessed by the former for wireless communication and for distribution of arms after receipt."

In response to a question as to what measures, military and civil, the British took to prevent the movement of hostile elements in Palestine from outside Palestine, the British again tried to implicate the Jews, putting Jewish refugees seeking asylum on the same plane with armed Arab invaders:

"The principal points of entry by land are guarded by troops or police but owing to the length of the frontier and the difficult nature of the terrain, it is impossible for frontier control to be one hundred per cent effective. As regards the sea frontier, the measures taken by the mandatory authorities to prevent the entry of Jewish illegal immigrants are well known."



## XI

### BRITISH PRO ARAB BIAS

Quite different is the attitude of the British to the Arabs. When asked by the United Nations whether the incursion of Arabs from neighboring countries represents a threat to international peace, the representative of the British government replied that his government "would furnish all the facts available" and the "the question of what constitutes a threat to the peace is for the Security Council to decide." This despite the fact that Creech-Jones, anticipating trouble, told the House of Commons on December 11: "The Security Council may have to be evoked by the United Nations Commission if insurmountable difficulties occurred."

And when the United Kingdom was asked to identify Arab personnel who have invaded Palestine, and to say whether the incursions were privately organized or are supported or encouraged by governments outside Palestine, the United Kingdom's answer on March 12 was an attempted exoneration of the Arabs, as the following indicates:

Question 2: "Has the Mandatory Power been able to identify personnel involved in such incursions?"

Answer 2: "The information of the Palestine authorities regarding the origin of personnel involved in these incursions is derived from common knowledge available locally and from intelligence reports. As regards the character of these forces, they consist of irregular formations and not organised units of any national armed force."

Question 3: "Are these incursions privately organised by individuals or unofficial groups, or are they supported or encouraged by Governments outside Palestine?"

Answer 3: "H.M.G. have no special information on this point other than that given in the answer to question 2."

#### British Praise Invaders

In fact in February, 1948, the British were finding praise for the Arab invaders as a stabilising

element, offering the following proof as reported in the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61:

"In Nablus itself the good behavior of the Arab invaders is having a stabilising effect on the untrained and excitable Palestinians. A complaint was made to them recently that a lorry load of wheat had been stolen and £20 robbed from the driver. In a very short time the lorry and load had been returned and also the £20, together with a further £60 which it was explained was the fine imposed on the thief. A local villager, a spectator to this transaction, became a little vociferous. Two hours later he was dead. Four Arab train robbers have recently been dispatched to Syria by Fawzi Kawukji's men for execution."

On March 10, 1948, Mr. Rees-Williams, Deputy to Arthur Creech-Jones in the British Colonial Office, replied to questions in the House of Commons as to whether he was aware (a) that Fawzi Kawukji had established field headquarters in Palestine; (b) whether he was aware that an Arab liberation force had declared martial law in Nablus; and (c) what the government was proposing to do with respect to the incursion of Fawzi Kawukji and his followers. He said:

"The High Commissioner has informed me of a local rumour that Fawzi Kawukji recently arrived in Palestine and is in the Samaria district . . .

"The developments referred to by my hon. Friend in the Nablus area appear to be a measure adopted by the leaders of Arab irregular forces to control their adherents and represent no attempt to replace or curtail the authority of the Mandatory power in this area. The District Commissioner of the Samaria district continues to reside in Nablus and his headquarters and sub-district officers are functioning normally. Palestinian members of the Police Force continue to perform their normal duties throughout the district under the supervision and control of British police officers. The District Commissioner is in a position to call for the assistance of such military forces as he may require to assert the authority of the civil power. The security forces in Palestine will continue to protect members of either community who may be threatened with attack."



## XII

### BRITISH SMEAR CAMPAIGN SHOWN BY OFFICIAL RECORDS

The smear campaign conducted by the British against the Jews, since the Russian vote for partition in the Fall Assembly, has taken the form of charging Communist infiltration, with Jewish help, into Palestine.

A striking example of this was the charge which the British Foreign Office has allowed to be brought against the Jews in connection with the arrival in Palestine on January 1 of the Pan York and the Pan Crescent, two ships which sailed from Rumania at the end of December carrying unauthorized Jewish immigrants. The British Foreign Office first permitted Mr. Herbert L. Matthews of the New York Times to charge that among the 15,000 immigrants were "many Communist agents, according to official British sources."

The Times story dated London January 31, charged that "one thousand of the 15,000 immigrants spoke Russian, belonged to militant organizations. Some may have been non-Jews and some had documents showing that they had served in the Soviet forces during World War II."

The Times story said further that "the immigrants on these vessels and the number of others that sailed earlier from the Black Sea were collected and sent toward Palestine with the knowledge, and sometimes with the active connivance, of the Soviet Union and its satellites, according to British officials."

Later the British Foreign Office said the same thing. When this story first appeared Sir Godfrey Collins, Commissioner for the Jewish immigration camps in Cyprus, said he had no information on the subject. Subsequently, on February 5, the British Foreign Office and Colonial Office queried Sir Godfrey, and a London dispatch to the Times on February 5 stated that Sir Godfrey had denied that he had stated that there were no Communist agents aboard the ships. But a few days later he repeated he had no information on Communist agents.

Actually the top secret report of the British representative Captain Linklater who supervised the disembarkment of the refugees at Cyprus said, [in a preliminary report—marked "preliminary" only because of the size of the disembarkment—dated January 2, 1948]

"If any large guerrilla groups of Communists exist among the Russian speakers of this shipment, they are either still on board or else have arrived unarmed and without documentation."

And Captain Linklater further explained:

"Extremely large numbers of private documents, related to individual points of the journey, were taken from the Jews as they passed through the security screen at the reception camp, thereby showing a high breakdown in Jewish security. In addition to this a number of passengers were willing to discuss details . . . No documents of outstanding importance were found."

The Pan York, Pan Crescent story is revelatory of the lengths to which the British are prepared to go to smear the Jews. As soon as the boats had left Balkan waters, British officials sent a cable to their Intelligence officers in Palestine stating that the British surmise that Communists are aboard.

As a result, when the boats landed at Cyprus, for the first time in the history of Cyprus, baggage and documents of the refugees aboard the boats were searched.

The flimsy evidence on which the charges against the Jews was based is revealed in the following partial record of Captain Linklater:

#### Top Secret

#### Preliminary Report on the Disembarkation from the Pan Ships, York and Crescent

##### General

1. A peculiar disembarkation of some 15,300 Rumanian Jews began at about 1000 hours on 1 January 48 in Famagusta Harbour when the 2 Panamanian vessels Pan York and Crescent, which had been bound for the shores of Palestine volunteered to discharge their passengers in Cyprus . . .

##### Passengers

4. Rather like the previous illegal Jewish ships which sailed under Soviet auspices from a Bulgarian port, the Pan York and Crescent contained a load drawn almost entirely from Rumania and differed at least in this way from



other illegal immigrant vessels which usually contain a mixed bag of European Jews. It is also noticeable yet once again that the passengers have apparently been evacuated from Rumania by complete families including aged grandparents and very young children. In many cases these families were split up between the 2 ships.

5. The highest proportion of children in the past year was contained in these ships and the load was almost equally divided between men, women and children, some of whom however may later be counted as adult by the Jewish Agency representatives. The Pan York alone carried 700 children under the age of 5.

6. The passengers were small businessmen, shopkeepers, professional lawyers and doctors, and they carried large quantities of baggage. The Haganah authorities in Rumania had allowed them to carry up to 20 kilos of baggage each, but there was no form of weight control and this allowance was frequently exceeded. They were well dressed. Only very few turned up in rags and empty-handed. Most of them were small, rather fat and complacent. They nearly all spoke Rumanian, Yiddish and French and German. Those who did not speak Rumanian, spoke Russian and claimed to come from Bessarabia. Owing to the speed at which the operation had to be conducted, it was not possible to make a detailed examination of the Russian speakers. It was noticed however that they were not physically of a characteristically Russian type ....

#### Documentation

25. An analysis of documents carried and political parties on board will be produced in the final report by 299FS Sec after scrutiny of documents held by them. ....

#### Conditions in Rumania

29. Most of the passengers on the Pan Ships were agreed that there were still a large number of Rumanian Jews who wanted to leave the country for Palestine. In several cases they explained that these Jews would be awaiting the increased legal immigration quota which they

hoped for as a result of partition. They thought therefore that there would not be any more large illegal shipments at least for the next month and they believe that their Communist Government will grant them exit visas to correspond with their certificates after May.

#### Conclusions

30. The following conclusions may be drawn from the above evidence:

(a) That if any large guerrilla groups of Communists exist among the Russian speakers of this shipment, they are either still on board or else have arrived unarmed and without documents.

(b) That the movements, planning and administration of the final evacuation from Burgas at short notice was well and thoroughly carried out.

(c) That the Moscow controlled Communist Government of Rumania intended at all costs to evacuate this shipment of Jews and came to an agreement with Bulgaria to use a Bulgarian Port for this purpose after the delay at Constanza due, probably, to British representations. The abdication of King Michael at this juncture may well be NOT coincidental.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
Famagusta, Cyprus

(Detachment)

2 January 48

Actually, only five young men were taken off the boat by British Intelligence agents. All the remainder of the passengers were taken directly to the camps where no subsequent searches or interrogations took place. The five young men were interrogated by a member of the Palestine Criminal Investigation Department who had been sent to Cyprus in order to conduct the investigation. He told them outright that he was concerned only with information about Soviet activities in Bulgaria and Rumania, with particular reference to Soviet ship movements in the Black Sea and Soviet troop movements in Rumania and Bulgaria. When the questions failed to elicit any information the five immigrants were slapped and kicked and finally returned blindfolded from the interrogation center to the camp under escort. There were no further interrogations of passengers.



### XIII

#### BRITISH DISSIPATE PALESTINE'S ASSETS

On December 11, 1947, Arthur Creech Jones told the House of Commons:

"... We certainly did not wish to leave Palestine in disorder after the tremendous and costly contribution Britain has made in developing Palestine and discharging our responsibilities under the Mandate. . . . I can assure the House that we shall wind up our affairs in Palestine in a fair and reasonable manner and, I hope, with little suspicion and ill feeling about the arrangements we make."

This is a promise honored only in the breach.

The refusal of the Mandatory power to permit the Palestine Commission to reach the country until May 1st, two weeks before the scheduled termination of the mandate, was predicated on the intention, as the facts substantiate, to dismember the Palestine administration so as to have little or nothing to turn over to the Palestine Commission, and to take such action as would safeguard British interests after the end of the mandate.

Today, virtually all departments in the Palestine government have ceased to function. The exceptions are those like the Palestine Broadcasting Service, the Attorney General's office and the Chief Secretariat, which serve the British primarily.

##### Railway and Port Services Collapsing

1. Typical examples of collapsing public services are the railways and the port services, so that it appears unlikely that after May 1 any operating system will exist. Yet this did not come as a sudden development. Actually the Chief Secretary had received a number of warnings concerning such an eventuality as early as December 17, 1947 from the manager of the railways, Mr. A. F. Kirby.

On that date Mr. Kirby wrote to Sir Henry Gurney as follows:

"If there is to be no satisfactory transfer of function through the U. N., I consider that a collapse of the services is likely to come about some time before the termination of the mandate."

In the same letter, he expressed his anxiety concerning the disposition of the property of the railroads:

"If there is to be no handing over, what will be done with all the rolling stock on various parts of the system, who will take over the stations, buildings, valuable work shops, the permanent way, etc.; how will rolling stock on foreign railways be accounted for; what will happen to goods in transit, etc., etc. . . . There must obviously be some process of handing over—and an orderly handing over would take several weeks. . . .

"The railways outside the Haifa enclave cannot well be operated separately, in that the main locomotive running shed, workshops, and operational and maintenance headquarters are in Haifa. Withdrawal into the enclave and the operation of the railway therein only for military evacuation purposes would entail the most effective frustration possible to a succeeding authority. This course would also cut off the supplies of bulk oil and other essential supplies which are now distributed by rail to the main centers of population. The closing down of the main workshops and other activities of the railway following the termination of the mandate would probably mean that the railway would not be able to operate again for a prolonged period."

Three days later, on December 20, 1947, Mr. Kirby again wrote to the Chief Secretary, this time about the port situation, declaring:

"There is nothing that this administration or the Director of Customs can do to ease the situation there. Pressure of financial interests is the only possibility of being effective in solving the present situation at Haifa port."

##### Willing to Isolate the Jews

The Mandatory was willing to allow this breakdown on the assumption that Jewish need for supplies would force the Jews to keep roads open for themselves as well as the British. If the Jews failed, they could starve and for military purposes the British could make other arrangements. This was clearly indicated last November 27, two days before the General Assembly passed its partition resolution, in instructions issued by the Chief Secretary of Palestine to military commanders and heads of government departments. In his directive of that date, he stated:

"(a) Activism in Jewish areas is likely to be negligible. Jews cannot afford to close roads for supplies upon which they depend as



their areas are not self-supporting. They will therefore do all they can to keep the roads open. Should, however, the situation develop adversely and supplies through Jewish areas not be possible, the following roads will be followed: Gaza-Haifa, Jerusalem-Haifa.

"(b) More serious will be Arab troubles, which may assume large proportions and likely constitute a serious threat, specially in the hilly country. Arab villages and town are self-supporting and the populace can forego a great deal—Jews cannot—and can therefore hamper seriously without much harm to themselves. Serious troubles may not come about until the end of the citrus season.

"Military authorities will decide in concertation with government from time and time as to the methods which should be adopted to safeguard military supplies."

#### Government Disposes of its Property

2. As early as April 1 the Land Settlement Department closed down its offices. This was done after the head of the department, R. F. Jardine, sold out the lands in the state domain to private persons, mostly Arabs. Parcels of land in the Haifa Harbor Estate were sold by him. All plans and documents relating to irrigation projects in Palestine were shipped by him to the United Kingdom. Water installations were handed over to the Arab town and village councils. Having closed his offices he secured release from his post and has now been named by the Iraqi government as its irrigation expert.

#### No Possibility of Handing Over Land Registry to U. N. Commission

3. The land registers have been distributed by the Palestine government among several centers while micro-films of these registers have been shipped to England. The effect of this is to create chaos in the event of any disputes arising on land questions.

This has been done despite the fact that on January 5, 1948, the Solicitor General of Palestine, M. J. P. Hogan, wrote to the Chief Secretary:

"Under the law at present, any disposition of land, which has not yet received the consent of the Director of Land Registration and is not perfected by the registration of a deed, is void. This means that if the land registries are closed, no valid disposition of land can be made.

"I understand that the Director of Land Registration has suggested that the land registries should be closed at least two weeks before the

termination of the mandate, and, should the end of the mandate be followed by an interregnum in the whole or any part of Palestine, it will not be possible there to make any valid disposition of land during that time."

#### Disruption of Postal Services

4. The disruption of the postal service has ensued as a result of instructions to create a vacuum. This is confirmed by Mr. Eric Mills, Commissioner of Withdrawals, who wrote:

"The Postmaster General is proceeding in circumstances of great difficulty with his plans for withdrawal, but his recommendations on important point . . . have been made on the assumption of a vacuum."

On December 3, 1947 Mr. Mills in a circular to heads of departments and district commissioners declared:

"You will observe that the information called for . . . makes no distinction between withdrawal leaving a vacuum or handing over to a UNO Commission. The reason for this lack of differentiation is that in either case a certain amount of derangement must be expected. . . ."

#### Artificial Deficit Produced

5. The Palestine Commission has charged the British government with deliberately inducing a deficit where a surplus existed and thus creating ensuing financial and economic difficulties. Four specific charges in this connection are made by the Commission in its reports submitted both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly.

It is stated that the deficit was created by the Mandatory power by charging against its funds what the Commission called "certain extraordinary items", such as the maintenance of Jewish illegal immigration camps, and the payment of pensions to British civil servants. The Commission objected to both these charges.

As a further means of creating a deficit the British paid out £300,000 recently to the Supreme Moslem Council, knowing full well that the treasury of this organization represents the war chest of the Mufti.

The lack of a working fund, moreover, according to the Commission, has been created by the action of the Mandatory power on March 20, 1948 in freezing an unspent balance of £P3,000,000 remaining from three issues of bonds made in Palestine since 1947. This balance was invested in British securities, pending a general financial



settlement, and the Mandatory power had decided not to make any disbursements from this total prior to the termination of the mandate. These transactions were brought to the notice of the Commission only after they had been arranged.

Discussing the disappearing surplus, the Commission charged on April 10, that "the disappearance of the existing treasury surplus is almost entirely due to special and extraordinary claims," which the Commission feels "should not have precedence over securing essential food supplies and the provision of essential working funds."

The Commission also expresses fears concerning the control of the Haifa dock by the Mandatory power, pointing out that "the ordinary revenue of Palestine after May 15 will depend in a high degree on customs duties on imports. These imports will come in mainly through the port of Haifa. Hence the fiscal position . . . will depend partly on the manner in which the control of the Haifa dock will be shared with evacuating troops between May 15 and August 1.

As a consequence of these acts, Palestine was in danger of suffering a famine as a result of food shortages which would be created by the termination of the mandate. Although the Palestine Commission had been discussing this problem for months, and had even sent a special representative to London to take this matter up with the Mandatory government, no agreement was reached. The excuse of the British government was that it could not undertake to make commitments for food after May 15 as it had no funds with which to do so. Moreover, it refused to advance the money to the Palestine Commission even on the promise that the United Kingdom

would be reimbursed from the future revenues of Palestine.

On April 19 a private arrangement was agreed to by the importing firm of Steel Brothers in Palestine. The arrangement is with Steel Brothers, the Jewish Agency, and certain Arab Chambers of Commerce, and involves a transaction of about \$5,200,000.

Under this arrangement Steel Brothers will guarantee to bring into Palestine until July 15 normal food supplies in the amount of some 30,850 tons. Steel Brothers will advance 80% of the cost of wheat, meat, and sugar to be imported. The Jewish Agency will pay for 20% of the food going to the Jews, and the Arab Chamber of Commerce, 20% for food going to Arabs. The food will be imported and delivered to the warehouses of Steel Brothers in Haifa. Distribution to the Arab and Jewish groups is left to the two communities.

#### Palestine Excluded from Sterling Area

6. The Palestine Commission also charged financial complications resulting from the action taken by the Mandatory power of February 22, 1948, without consultation or even information to the Commission, blocking the accumulated Palestine sterling balances held in London and excluding Palestine from the sterling area.

The Commission describes the effect of this act as creating uncertainty among Palestine importers, and says that it regards that the release of the sterling balances in particular is essential; otherwise, "sterling may become a scarce currency of Palestine, and imports from the sterling area may be difficult to obtain."

### XIV

#### THE BREAKDOWN OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY

A continuous transfer of authority to municipal corporations and local councils by the Palestine administration has been going on based, not on a desire to prevent chaos, but rather to destroy central authority, to undermine partition, and to pave the way toward a revival of a scheme for a federal Palestine, which is the real British desire.

Preparations for this transfer were made as far back as February 14, 1948 by Sir Henry Guerney,

the Chief Secretary. In a communication on that date to heads of departments and district commissioners throughout Palestine, he proposed:

"I am directed to refer to the preliminary advice which has been given to you by the Commissioner on Special Duty to the effect that it is hoped that various government activities, buildings, stores, etc., will be transferred as it were in trust to local authorities until a new central authority makes other arrangements.

"Action in this direction has been taken in



certain matters such as water supplies where experience is advisable and central government staff is still available to give advice and assistance. I am now to require you to communicate to the District Commissioner of the District concerned full information regarding all other activities, buildings and stores which you consider might be similarly placed with local authorities if the U.N. Commission in Palestine prove not to have the necessary powers and staff to perform all the functions of the Palestine Government.

"I am also directed to say that a decision whether each such activity or property will finally be handed over to a local authority will depend on consultation with the U.N. Commission; but, unless the necessary preparatory work is done on this provisional basis, there will be not enough time later to make definite arrangements under the general assumption which governs this direction."

In February, 1948 a special law, to amend the Municipal Corporation Ordinance of 1937, was enacted empowering municipal corporations and local councils to collect property taxes due up to April 1, 1948, and thereafter, for the fiscal year 1948-1949.

The purposes of this new law were explained by the Attorney General in the following terms:

"It is anticipated that during the year 1948-49, the councils of municipal corporations and local councils will have to carry out many of the functions which would normally be carried out by Government, and consequently they will need additional sources of revenue. On the other hand, they may not be able to obtain from the Government the grants-in-aid which they have received in the past.

"Government has therefore decided to enable such councils to collect and recover arrears of urban property tax remaining due on the first day of April, 1948, and urban property tax due in respect of the year 1948-49, and this draft Ordinance is designed to give effect to that decision.

"Arrangements will be made for the handing over to such councils of the records relating to the house property and land in respect of which they will be entitled to collect and cover urban property tax, and such councils will be empowered to do such acts as may be necessary to ensure that those records will be kept up to date.

"Furthermore, in order that it will not be necessary to prepare during the year 1948-49 valuation lists to replace those valuation lists which on the first day of April 1949 will have been in force for five years, the period of valid-

ity of valuation lists has been extended from five to six years."

#### Anticipated No Successor Government

The draft law, it was explained in a communication by Mr. L. B. Gibson, Attorney General of Palestine, to Sir Henry Gurney, was in anticipation of the possibility of no successor government being named. He declared:

"My view is that it is not for this Government to legislate for things after the termination of the Mandate—at least if there is some other Government which enjoys legislative authority after that date. We should, however, make available our draft to the Commission, and there would be advantages in publishing it as part of the Bill so that any public comment would be available for the benefit of the Commission. We should, no doubt, inform the Commission that, although we had published the Bill in its entirety, we did not intend in fact to enact the Second Schedule ourselves, but there is a further question of whether we should tell the public the same thing when publishing the Bill for public information. On the whole I think it is unnecessary to do so, because in the event of there being no successor Government, we might enact the Second Schedule before we leave, but we do not want to discuss such possibilities in public notices."

#### Arabs Chief Beneficiaries of Transfers

As a result of this special legislation the three regions heavily populated by Jews, have been placed under Jewish control. All the remaining regions have been left to the Arabs. The exceptions are Jerusalem, Haifa, the Valley of Esdraelon, and Eastern Galilee.

Ceded to the Arabs were such important installations as the water plants at Ras-el-Ain and Safed.

In addition, the Arabs have received most of the government services including Health, Education, Social Welfare, Agriculture and Broadcasting Departments—services which are paid for by the taxes imposed on the population to which the Arabs, constituting two-thirds of the population of Palestine, contribute 26%, and the Jews, 74%.

In dividing the assets of the country the British allocated for themselves the Haifa enclave with all its services and installations.



## HOW THE BRITISH SAFEGUARD THEIR INTERESTS IN PALESTINE

While liquidating the mandate, the British have concentrated on safeguarding in perpetuity the British hold in Palestine in key areas, including Haifa and the Negev, and to insure uninterrupted lines of communication by air, sea and land.

### New Laws to Assure British Airfields in Palestine

1. Thus on March 2, 1948 the Attorney General of Palestine drafted a law, the purpose of which is to establish the legal basis for transferring airfields or other lands now held in the name of the High Commissioner, to various British Ministries for War, Air, or to the President of the Air Council in London. In particular, the new legislation aims to assure continued British control of the RAF stations in Aqir, Ramle, Gaza, as well as certain property in Jerusalem.

Preparations for this action began in October 1947 while the General Assembly for the United Nations was in session.

On October 19, 1947, in a secret dispatch cabled to the Air Ministry in London from Air Headquarters Levant, the Air Ministry was informed that, in view of the political situation, legal difficulties might arise with respect to the property bought by the Air Ministry in Palestine, held in the name of the High Commissioner, in trust for the RAF. In subsequent cables, in view of the pending liquidation of the Palestine government, warning was given that the British government might lose control of these assets, and that action was necessary. This is explained in the following exchange of cables:

From Air Headquarter Levant  
To Air Ministry

"OX 303. Oct. 19. Secret. Subject—Registration of Properties acquired in Palestine on behalf of R. A. F. One. All property bought by Air Ministry in Palestine held in name of High Commissioner in trust for R. A. F. leases held name of High Commissioner in trust for R. A. F. held similar manner. Two. In view of political situation of entries in Land Registers appear to be open to objection from legal point of view. Three. Palestine Government request decision made into whose name this

property and leases should be vested. Four. Request you advise."

From Air Ministry London  
To HQ MEDNE

"F. 7283/4 Nov. unclassified.

Reference Levant signal 0.303 October repeated to you on subject registration of properties acquired in Palestine on behalf R. A. F. Colonial Office had no knowledge of this question and we find it difficult to know precisely what is the tenor and purpose of Palestine Government's suggestion. Request you investigate and advise us in greater detail what are Government's proposals and why they are put forward. We are quite ready to consider them."

From A. H. Q. Levant  
To Air Ministry

"0.63 Nov 12. Secret. Your F. 7283 Nov 4 and my 0.303 Oct 17. Subject—Registration of properties acquired Palestine on behalf R. A. F. One. On acquisition it has been customary to enter this property in the Land Registry in the name of the High Commissioner in trust for the President of the Air Council or in some cases the Secretary of State for Air. The position of trust in Palestine law is obscure and this form of registration may be open to objection on that account alone. In addition registration in name of High Commissioner might give rise to difficulties particularly when Government of Palestine is transferred from High Commissioner to Palestinian or to a U. N. O. authority and it seems desirable that the land should be registered directly in the name of whatever authority the Air Force considers most appropriate either the President or the Air Council, the Air Council or the Secretary of State for Air. Two. Legal advice is that if properties remain in name of High Commissioner there is risk that we may lose all chance of realising value or of retaining control of these assets. Three. Main properties concerned are R. A. F. stations Aqir, Ramle, Gaza and certain property in Jerusalem."

As the result of this exchange a draft law was prepared by the Attorney General transferring the land now registered in the name of the High Commissioner to the British Secretary of State for War, the British Secretary of State for Air, or the President of the Air Council in London.



In submitting a draft of this proposed law to the Chief Secretary of Palestine the Attorney General stated:

"It is probable that when all parties concerned have approved the substance of the Bill, we shall convert it into an Order under the Palestine Order In Council, 1948. But I think that the first step is to get the earliest possible consideration by the parties concerned."

### The Transfer of the Hejaz Railway

2. Early in 1948 the Hejaz Railway linking Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria was transferred by the Palestine Government to the Government of Transjordan. The explanation given was that actually the British Government was the Mandatory power, initially for Transjordan as well as Palestine, and therefore was trustee for Transjordan.

### Transfer of the El Kantara-Rafa Line to the Egyptian State Railways

3. On April 1, 1948 the El Kantara-Rafa Railway Line was turned over to the Egyptian State Railways by the Palestine Government. The Egyptian Railways System is partially controlled by British capital. Moreover, the El Kantara-Rafa Line links with Rafa in the Southern Negev, now being transformed into a military base by the British.

By disposing of the El Kantara-Rafa Railway and the Hejaz Railway, the British government has attempted to seal off Jewish Palestine from access to the outside world.

The El Kantara-Rafa Railway is the principal Palestine railway connection to the outside world and consists of three sections: (1) The El Kantara-Rafa line which starts at El Kantara in the Suez Canal, continues across the Sinai Peninsula into Rafa, Palestine; (2) The Rafa-Lydd link to Jerusalem; (3) The Rafa-Haifa connection.

The Kantara-Rafa line, built by the British during World War I, was owned by the British government, with a 12% share of the capital held by the Palestine government. Until its transfer it had been operated by the Palestine Railways in behalf of the British government. All profits have gone to the British government with the exception of 12%, the proportion to the Palestine government. The Rafa-Haifa line was sold to the government of Palestine after the establishment of the Mandate.

In disposing of the El Kantara-Rafa line to the Egyptian Railways, which British capital also owns, the British have assured themselves a continuous railway connection from the port of Haifa to Egypt where their soldiers are still stationed. They have also assured a railway link between their new military encampment at Rafa and their military encampment in Egypt. At the same time, by placing this railway link in the hands of the Arabs, they have placed the railway access of the Jewish community to the outside world at the mercy of the Arabs.

The Hejaz Railway, built by the Turks, has been under British control, although its ownership remains in dispute. In a survey of Palestine submitted to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry by the Palestine administration, it is stated that the Hejaz Railway "is operated by Palestine Railways in behalf of His Majesty's Government who hold it in trust."

The Hejaz Railway runs from Damascus, Syria to Ma-an, Transjordan, from Ma-an to Haifa in Palestine. Two branch lines from Haifa run from Haifa to Acre and from Haifa to Zamakh in Palestine, which is just south of Lake Tiberias.

The effect of the transaction is to assure British rail connections from Haifa to Transjordan and uninterrupted military links between the military enclave in Haifa and the British military base in Transjordan which continues to exist under the new British military Treaty with Transjordan.

### British Establish Negev Foothold

4. A main military base has been established by the British at Rafa at the Southern border of Palestine.

To insure undivided control, the British authorities three days after the passage of the partition resolution by the United Nations General Assembly, which gave the Negev to the Jewish state, invited the Jews to evacuate the area. The ostensible reason was the inability of the British to protect the Jews against Arab aggression. The real reason was the desire of the British to hold the whole of the Negev as a base for themselves.

### Ask Jews to Leave Base Area

On December 2, 1947 the British Assistant District Commissioner for the Gaza District, W. F. M. Clemens, informed the representatives of the Jewish settlements in the South, that he could



not see how Jews could be protected against Arab attack. He suggested the Jewish settlement south of Gaza-Beersheba be transferred to the north of this road.

Two days later, on December 4, the Jewish representative was summoned by Brigadier Nelson, the Commanding Officer of Camp Julis, who reiterated the request for evacuation, again on the score that the Jews could not hold out against Arab attack even for a few minutes. The offer was declined.

Thus far the Jews have retained every settlement in the Negev, as elsewhere throughout Palestine.

#### **British Government Grants New Concession to the Iraq Petroleum Company**

5. In March, 1948 the British government granted a new concession to the Iraq Petroleum

Company in the form of a right to build a second pipe line terminating at Haifa.

The Iraq Petroleum Company holds the exclusive concession to the oil fields of Iraq, Qatar, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Oman.

A 23¾% interest in the Iraq Petroleum is held by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British Government owns 50% of the shares. Royal Dutch Shell, closely allied with British interests, holds a similar percentage. The French interests own 23¾%, and American interests, (Socony Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey) 25%. Five per cent is owned by Participations and Investments, Ltd.

The excuse offered for the granting of this concession four months after the United Nations decision, without consultation with the United Nations or the Palestine Commission, is that it represented the conclusion of discussions entered into in March of 1947.





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FROM: THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE  
16 East 66th Street  
New York 21, N. Y.  
RHineland 4-4200

July 27, 1948

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine has expressed its opposition to the establishment of Americans United for Israel.

In a letter to Abraham Feinberg, committee member of the new group and former president of the Executive Committee of Americans for Haganah, the Agency Executive called the formation of Americans United for Israel "a flagrant defiance of the decision to dissolve Americans for Haganah," many of whose functions the new organization intends to absorb.

That decision, made public on July 12, pointed out that Haganah as it existed in the past had been dissolved by the State of Israel when it established one national defense army, that the purposes of Americans for Haganah had been fully served and that it would suspend its activities.

"The reasons then stated for the dissolution of Americans for Haganah apply equally to any organization, whatever its name, which, without the approval of the recognized organs of the Zionist movement, nor with any endorsement from the Government of Israel, proposes to carry on the activities referred to in the Executive's statement."

In its new letter, the Executive issued an appeal to persons concerned in Americans United for Israel "to desist from a step which, in the unanimous opinion of this Executive, would be prejudicial to the interests of the Zionist movement in this country and to the cause of Israel."



36/ purchased  
14 planes at Hammond Ind.  
(repted) - from Pullman Standard  
Car Wf Co. -  
dismantled - sent East for shipping

4/ Rand Rifles -

5/ Made contact with Trump from  
Cicero - purchase 7 drugs

6/ His contact was in man in  
Chicago - will fly to Wilmington, Del  
H.S. R. -

7/ 4. Passports - Munam - pigeon-hole

Walter Pruskoff  
Buchman

4-0492



NOTES ON THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENTTO SEND TROOPS TO PALESTINE

1. It is a common assumption that the use of force to implement Partition involves action by the Security Council under Article 42 of the Charter. On that basis, it is believed that the sending of American troops would be governed by the United Nations Participation Act.

That, it would seem, misconceives the present authority of the Security Council. Under the Charter, the Security Council cannot act to preserve the peace by force under Article 42, until a sufficient force has been afforded to the United Nations by agreements of member nations pursuant to Article 43. As yet, no such agreements have been negotiated. None seem to be in the offing. While this situation has lasted longer than was anticipated, that contingency was dealt with by Article 106 of the Charter. By the terms of that Article, the responsibility for maintaining peace during the transitional period (i.e., before Agreements under Article 43 are negotiated) lies with the Big Five, who shall "consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security."

Unfortunately, Article 106 leaves many questions unanswered. Does that obligation of the Big Five arise only after peaceful measures by the Security Council have failed? 1/ And must they wait for a determination by the Security Council (seven votes) that there is a threat to the peace, and that peaceful measures are insufficient, before the Big Five can proceed to consult about the use of force? Must the Big Five have the invitation of the Security Council before they proceed? In other words, does Article 106 merely obligate the Big Five to supply to the Security Council the force which it needs pending negotiation of Article 43 Agreements, or is the Big Five to act instead of the Security Council? 2/

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No clear answer to these questions can be found either in the Charter or in the various commentaries which it has evoked. It would seem best to proceed to seek from the Security Council a determination under Article 39 that there is a threat to the peace. After that, unless peaceful measures have a reasonable likelihood of removing this threat, Article 106 would seem to come into play to require the Big Five to consult about "joint action." If seven votes should not be available for the determination that there is a threat to peace, it would then be time to argue that despite the absence of such finding, Article 106 obligates the Big Five to make their own determination and take their own action. 3/

2. It is against this background that we must examine the problem of sending American troops. The United Nations Participation Act merely authorizes the President to negotiate an Article 43 Agreement. Such an Agreement, the Act specifically provides, is subject to congressional approval. After the Agreement is approved by Congress, the President may, on his own authority, supply the troops provided for in the Agreement whenever the Council calls for them. 4/

Article 106 is not mentioned in the Participation Act, and American action under that Article would seem not to be controlled by that Act. 5/ What we have, then, is a duty imposed by treaty upon the United States, in given circumstances, to consult with certain other powers for the purpose of taking joint action to preserve the peace. In what Branch of the Government of the United States lies the power to implement this treaty obligation? Specifically, can the President of the United States, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and by his powers in the realm of foreign relations, send the troops agreed upon by consultation with the other Nations under Article 106?

3. "Joint action" to preserve peace is not a declaration of war, or a waging of war. The fact that the action taken involves sending troops to foreign soil does not render this action an act of war or in the conduct of war. "A state of war is therefore something quite different from the use of armed force."



(Quincy Wright in 38 American Journal of International Law, 678/,680, 681).

This distinction has been recognized since the beginning of this country's history. The power to declare and wage war is conferred by the Constitution on Congress. Yet in more than a hundred instances, the President of the United States has, without congressional authorization, sent troops to foreign soil. See The Right to Protect Citizens in Foreign Countries by Landing Forces, Government Printing Office, 1934, quoted in detail by Senator Connally, 87 Congressional Record, 5929, 5930.

The powers of the President have been the subject of innumerable and extended studies, some of which should be cited in any brief that may be written on our subject. For the present, it is sufficient to note that one of the purposes for which the President has sent troops is the implementation of treaty obligations. Ibid. See Also Senator Barkley, 91 Congressional Record, 7998. If the President of the United States has authority to send troops to Panama because of a treaty with that country, he may send troops when Article 106 in a treaty with 57 nations requires such action.

When the question was last presented, Senator Connally said that the President may send troops wherever and whenever the "national interest" required. (See also 91 Cong. Record 10967.) Recent wars are still too recent, the United Nations still too new, to leave doubt as to our national interest in the preservation of peace by action on behalf of the United Nations. Nor would it require great ingenuity to show more particular national interest in maintaining peace in Palestine.

4. Apart from American obligations under Article 106, there are other arguments to support the power of the President to send troops to Palestine. Troops were sent to China during the Boxer Rebellion, and elsewhere a hundred times, to protect American lives and property. The number of American citizens in Palestine must be considerable. American property in Palestine certainly is.



On this basis, there is no need for joint action with other nations. It is action which the United States is free to take on its own. The only question would be whether the Charter of the United Nations has terminated our right to send troops to foreign soil to protect American interests. Whatever may be true in a new Boxer Rebellion, for example, there appears to be nothing in the Charter which would prevent us from sending troops to a country whose rightful government (as certified by the United Nations) invites us to come. 6/





### Explanatory Notes

- 1/ There would seem to be no reason why the Security Council should not function under Articles 39, 40, and 41, despite the absence of an Article 43 force. But it has been implied that not only Article 42 but the entire security system of Chapter 7 does not go into effect until after the negotiation of Article 43 Agreements. "Arming the United Nations," Department of State Bulletin Supp., Vol. XVII, No. 422 A, August 3, 1947, page 240. See also Possony, Peace Enforcement, 55 Yale L.J. 910, 940, and Morgenthau, 55 Yale L.J. 1075.
- 2/ That the action of the Big Five under Article 106 is "on behalf of the Organization" does not necessarily afford an answer to these questions.
- 3/ The "joint action" in Article 106 means, it seems, unanimous action. See Goodrich and Hambro, The Charter of the United Nations, pp. 286, 288. But if one or more of the Big Five should abstain, action by the others would seem to be still "joint action."
- 4/ Since the Council can do so only by seven votes and not over a United States veto, and since the United States representative "shall at all times act in accordance with the instructions of the President" (Section 3 of the Participation Act), it means that when the Council calls for American troops pursuant to an Article 43 Agreement, the President of the United States has already in fact agreed to provide them.
- 5/ Footnote 5/ is set forth on page 2 of this memorandum. Section 6 of the Participation Act provides that nothing in the Act shall be construed to authorize the President to make available to the Security Council "for such purpose armed forces, facilities, or assistance, in addition to" those provided for in the Agreement. That, it might be argued, forbids the President to supply "on behalf of the United Nations" troops other than those provided for in an Article 43 Agreement, and would bar Presidential action under Article 106. But Congress clearly was referring to troops supplied to the Security Council under Article 42, not to any action the United States might take on its own cognizance after consultation with other powers. Besides, a failure to authorize Presidential action is not the same as an attempt to forbid such action. In any event, if the President has constitutional authority to send troops, Congress cannot deprive him of that authority, though, in view of the overlapping authority of President and Congress in the field of foreign relations, and in view of the appropriations power, there may be instances in which the President may act where Congress has said nothing, but not where Congress has forbidden it.
- 6/ When the Mandate expires, and there is some kind of Provisional Government, something might be worked out from Article 51 of the Charter. While that Article speaks of "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense" in case of an armed attack against a Member of the United Nations, it would seem clear that it must apply also to non-members who are attacked. See Kelsen, 55 Yale, 1008-09. And it does not require that there be a treaty of mutual help in advance of the armed attack.

The effect of this provision is to allow any Member of the United Nations to come to the aid of any country which is attacked. The Jewish State or Provisional Government will therefore be able to call on any nation in the world to come to its aid. And these measures of "collective self-defense" may lawfully continue until (and unless) the Security Council (Article 42), or the Big Five (Article 106) takes measures effective to terminate the breach of the peace.



Explanatory Notes(Continued)

6/(continued) There is no reason why the United States should not be the one to offer such measures of "collective self-defense." Nor should it require a formal treaty to authorize the President to offer defense against invasion, especially in view of the urgency of the situation for the protection of American interests. Compare the Iceland incident in 1941, debated in 87 Congressional Record, 5926-32.

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## NOTES ON THE PARTITION MAP OF THE MAJORITY REPORT

By Zalman Lifshitz  
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The map accompanying the UNSCOP's majority proposals for the partition of Palestine was recently received in Jerusalem where it is to be printed and distributed together with the report. The map on a scale of 1:250,000, shows the partition line in red, with the boundaries defined in considerable detail though not necessarily on schematic lines; it may be presumed that the members of the Committee intended to provide a fairly detailed picture of the limitations of the two states, as otherwise it would be difficult to understand why all the curves and windings of the boundary lines.

According to the boundaries shown on the map, the area of the proposed Jewish State covers 16,270,000 metric dunams, of which 3,825,000 are in northern Palestine and 12,445,000 in the district of Beersheba i.e. in the Negeb. The present population of the Jewish State area comprises 513,000 Jews, 416,000 non-Jews including 5,300 belonging to minority groups such as the Druses, the Matawil and Turcomans.

The map shows that generally speaking the Committee limited Jewish territory in Northern Palestine to the area of the Jewish owned land and only in a few places extended it to include places not owned by Jews today, for example south of the Valley of Jezreel or the districts of Tiberias and Safad. The Jewish owned areas within the boundaries of the Jewish State aggregate 1,647,000 dunams, of which 1,479,000 are in the northern area and 168,000 in the Negeb. Outside the Jewish State, there are 155,000 dunams of Jewish owned land.

The Jewish settlements left outside the boundaries of the Jewish State are as follows: 1) Kfar Darem, 2) Saad, 3) Beerot Izhak, 4) Ge'at Am, 5) Yad Mordecai



6) Nezinim, 7) Gat, 8) Kedma, 9) Gal-On, 10) Kfar Warburg, 11) Kfar Menahem, 12) Kfar Uriah, 13) Artuf, 14) Kfar Etzion, 15) Masuet Izhak, 16) Ein Zurin, Rvadin, 17) Kiriat Anavim, 18) Maale Hahamisha, 19) Neve Ilon, 20) Moza, 21) Moza Ilit, 22) Atarot, 23) Neve Yaakov, 24) Gezer, 25) Ben Shemen and the Youth Village, 26) Mahane Israel (an abandoned settlement), 27) Daberet, 28) Mishmar Hayam, 29) Shevel Zion, 30) Ein Sara, 31) Naharia, 32) Regba, 33) Egron, 34) Yehiam, 35) Mezuba, 36) Ilon and 37) Hanita. These settlements have a total population of 9000 souls.

The total area of the Jerusalem district is 187,500 metric dunams and it has a population of 102,375 Jews, 55,710 Moslems, 42,980 Christians and 120 others, i.e., a total of 201,185. The Jewish-owned area in the Jerusalem district is 11,800 dunams.

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Apart from these deviations in the Tiberias, Safad, Haifa and Tulkarm subdistricts, the Committee apparently used as a guidebook in drawing up the boundaries the map of the Land Transfer Regulations of 1940. This refers of course to the northern part of Palestine, for in the Beersheba district the entire area is included in the Jewish State. However in the subdistrict of Ramleh, for example, the dividing line corresponds exactly with that drawn up in connection with the Land Transfer Regulations.

In determining the boundaries, the Committee acted on the principle of not separating the rural groups from their lands. Thus when a settlement was included within the boundaries of one or other of the states, it meant that (with certain exceptions) all the lands of the settlement went with it. This principle was found advisable in order to avoid cutting off the inhabitants of one state from their fields extending into the other. But in adhering to this principle the Committee avoided another no less important; the delineation of state boundaries suited to the topographical features of the terrain and security requirements.

This probably means that UNSCOP presumed that a special Boundary Committee would take up the matter in detail, since otherwise in many places it would be almost



impossible to guard and hold the boundary. According to the Committee's recommendations, the political frontier in most places will correspond to existing village boundaries. These have often become confused in the course of generations as a result of agrarian conditions and family connections between the village headmen and the feudal landlords. The boundaries are marked by certain fundamental deficiencies which influence both possibilities of agricultural working and security. One of the results of unnecessary meanderings was that land settlement in Palestine had among its objectives the simplification and straightening out of these village boundaries. The Committee, however, seemed to regard them as immutable and thus the political frontier was drawn in a confused way.

In the plains and in all places where the topographical conditions do not demand any special treatment, it is desirable that the boundary should run along straight lines and only in the hilly districts where curves are necessary should the boundary follow the lie of the land. In such latter factors of communications and security should be decisive on the delineation of the frontier.

If the Committee did not lay down specifications in this connection, but only stated principles then there is a possibility of many important improvements. It seems to me that in many places Jewish interests have been trespassed upon unnecessarily and it is possible that the Committee did not have any special intentions in mind in drawing up the boundaries in the particular way it did and it may only have been accidental.

Thus, for example, in Haifa Bay, the boundary, according to the map passes the foothills of Givat Tel Kurdani while the springs which are of considerable importance for the water supply of the district are left outside the Jewish State; this is an impossible situation. In the same way it is difficult to imagine what made the Committee draw the boundary to run between Beertuvia and Kfar Warburg in such a way as to leave the latter village in the Arab state. There is another similar case in the neighborhood of Gezer at a spot where the boundary curves along the lands of Abu Shusha village and the settlement in the neighborhood is left



outside the borders of the Jewish state. The crossing of the borders south of Negba is also very artificial and undesirable.

Although the idea of having the four districts meet at a joint crossing is successful and affords a useful solution, the way in which the junction is made is by no means ideal and makes defence difficult. In the accompanying map a green line marks an alternative line which makes a fundamental improvement in the borders of the Jewish state though it does not involve any great change in the idea itself.

Another unsatisfactory line is the boundary running the length of the Beisan lands and the Harod Valley at the place where it passes a steep slope the approach to which it would be difficult to guard. The reasonable thing would have been to draw the boundary in these places at least to the top of Gilboa in order to include certain strategic points such as the Samaritan hills opposite Jenin and Nablus. Otherwise the boundary cannot be guarded.

This is not the place to go into detail about all the points requiring improvement and the reasons for changes, but I have tried to point out the general lines for improvement and have put them in on the partition map. It is clear that some places require changes involving an addition in both Jewish area and population. Only in two places is an additional area required and in two other places the change would mean not an addition but a subtraction from the area of the Jewish State. However these changes seem advisable to me, in spite of the fact that they may decrease the area allotted to us.

The proposed changes are marked by figures on the map. Below are relevant statistics on the area and population of areas suggested for revision in the partition scheme:



<u>No. of Section.</u>	<u>Total Area</u>	<u>Unworked Area</u>	<u>No. non-Jews</u>
1	+370,350	+ 249,000	+ 23,000
2	+ 48,500	--	--
3	+111,000	+ 50,500	+ 6,250
4	35,000	+ 31,000	--
5	- 21,000	--	- 6,000
6	+ 97,000	17,000	+ 9,200
7	+ 70,000	6,500	+ 4,400
8	+ 77,000	17,000	+ 9,250
9	+ 95,000	5,000	+ 2,350
10	- 50,000	--	--
11	+290,000	27,000	+15,200
12	132,000	40,000	8,750 (part of No.1)

Alteration Nos. 2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10 are necessary for economic, strategic and demographic considerations. There is no change of principle involved but only local and practical improvements in the borders and more convenient topographic conditions. Alterations 1 and 11 are suggested on other grounds which I should like to elaborate upon.

From what it is possible to see, the most sensitive in the Partition proposals is the inclusion of the distant Negeb in the Jewish State. The view of M.G. was that the majority report was compromise between the pre-Zionists and those who wanted to see Britain leave the Middle East. The pre-Zionists did not intend, as I see it, to give us all the Negeb, but only the northern section which has agricultural value. On the other hand, those who want to see England away from Palestine said that all the Negeb should be included in either the Jewish or the Arab state but that the southern section should not be left as a place for English military bases. Had the Negeb not been included in the Jewish State it is possible that some of the Members of the Committee might not have subscribed to the partition proposal at all.

This point will serve as motive force for the achievement of partition and without any doubt the English will try every means to undermine the majority proposals and to hold on to the southern section of the Negeb.

In the event of curtailments in the south and changes in other parts of the country, the two areas that should come into consideration are Galilee and Judea along



the borders of the Maritime Plain. It would, of course, be good to receive the whole of Western Galilee but that seems to be unlikely today. On the other hand, it is easier to demand the northern section of Upper Galilee on the Lebanese border, as compensation for part of the Negeb.

The total area of Galilee in the Arab State amounts to 1,384,000 dunams, of which 685,000 dunams are uncultivated today. The non-Jewish population is about 118,000.

The area of the section proposed for revision as No. 1 amounts to 370,350 dunams of which 249,000 dunams are uncultivated, and the number of inhabitants is 23,000. By the addition of this area we should receive a frontier bordering all along the Lebanese boundary as well as other areas less important.

According to our original proposal to cultivate desert land in various parts of the country, there were added to the Western Galilee in the Arab state, 15 development areas totalling 279,000 dunams. As can be seen, most of the territory is situated in the Northern Galilee and most of it is desert and the population density fairly thin.

A second area which might be considered as compensation is No. 11, which adds land from the Shefela and comprises most of the land today in Jewish hands but which was added by the Committee to the Arab state.

This area, too, is of considerable importance for settlement development although for topographical reasons the land is considered wasteland and it has little subterranean water. There is no doubt, however, that in the future this will be one of the areas of intensive agriculture both for crops and plantations and its settlement importance is considerable. In connection with the water supplies in Area I, it should be pointed out that in the coastal area, which covers more than 100,000 dunams, the experts believe that there are considerable quantities of underground water as shown by borings at Mezuba. This area could supply not only its own needs for irrigation but could also serve as a reserve for



for other areas where subterranean supplies are less ample. In the hill areas, the rainfall amounts to 800-1100 millimetres. This is the area most blessed with rain and thus mixed farming is possible even without irrigation. The agricultural importance of this area is considerable from every point of view, both because of the good climatic conditions and because of the presence of large areas of uncultivated land which can be brought under the plough even though the population is not small even now.

Coastal region south of Ashdod, in Arab State

The total area is 690,000 dunams. The population consists of 106,000 non-Jews and 900 Jews. The number of villages (administrative units) is 40 and there are 6 Jewish settlements.

General Note

It should be noted that all through the Committee's proposal there is evident a tendency to include as far as possible all the existing military establishments within the Arab area. This influenced the drawing of the boundary line in the area of Lydda Airport, Beit Nabala Camp and Sarafand, the largest military establishment in the country, all of which are included within the Arab area. This tendency is also evident in the fixing of the boundary in the south in the neighbourhood of Gever Am and Beerot Izak, which are left outside the Jewish State.