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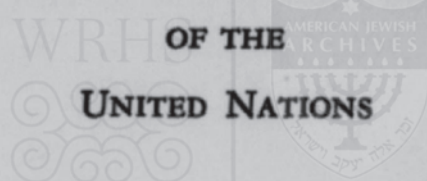
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Jewish Agency, printed material on Palestine, 1947-1948.

THE PALESTINE ISSUE

PRELIMINARY MEMORANDUM
SUBMITTED TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE



BY
THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
1947

INTRODUCTION

1. The Jewish Agency for Palestine awaits the discussion of the problem of Palestine by the United Nations with high confidence in the justice of its cause. It feels that in any parliament of mankind, dedicated to the principles of justice, it will not fail. For it comes to the bar of world opinion with a clear case in international law and with an unimpeachable claim in international morality. It comes as no new supplicant. The justice of its cause has been sustained in explicit international obligations solemnly undertaken. That cause is now sanctified by the blood of the millions of Jews who were slaughtered in Europe in the tragic years of the last decade. It has been strengthened by the toil and sacrifice of those who came to Palestine on the faith of a promise and who made of the desert a land of fulfillment and hope.

2. The Jewish Agency for Palestine refuses to accept the cynical approach to international morality. It feels that men and women everywhere have an abiding faith in enduring justice. It shares with the delegates to the United Nations their hope for a better world. In that world, the Jews have a right to survive as free men in a land pledged to the Jewish people. The Jewish Agency believes that the United Nations is more than a symbol of good will. It believes that the United Nations is custodian of the conscience of mankind. It believes that the United Nations can become a forum, free from imperial considerations, free from the politics of power and free from diplomatic expediency. It is to such a forum that the Jewish Agency for Palestine hopes to submit its case. The Jewish Agency rejects the barter of

secret diplomacy and invokes the binding force of public covenants openly undertaken.

3. Palestine today is governed by Great Britain as the Mandatory Power, under a "modification" of the Mandate known as the White Paper of 1939, with the severest restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement. That White Paper we repudiated because it was a change of the Mandate by a unilateral action of the Mandatory Power which destroyed the basic purpose in the Mandate itself. We submitted our case to the League of Nations in 1939. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was unanimously of opinion that the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council of the League of Nations, it had always placed upon the Mandate. Furthermore, by a majority of those present, the Commission declared the White Paper of 1939 inconsistent with the Mandate, "any contrary conclusion appearing to them to be ruled out by the very terms of the Mandate, and by the fundamental intentions of its authors." The World War came, international machinery was paralyzed and both the Council of the League and the Permanent Mandates Commission ceased to function. The last word from any international authority was thus that the White Paper of 1939 was illegal. This is the record as we come to the United Nations—a record of continuing illegality.

4. Since that time, events have proved the disastrous folly of that era of British policy when appeasement passed for wise caution. The action of the Mandatory Power in 1939, at the very threshold of war, in closing Palestine to the Jews of Europe, doomed to death untold numbers of men, women and children. Today, the remnants of the survivors of the gas chambers are still living victims of the Nazi terror—despairing and with only one desire—to settle in Palestine. We believe that the conscience

of mankind owes them that choice. They look to the nations of the world to quicken that conscience into decision.

The inmates of the "displaced persons" camps in Germany, Austria and Italy, of the internment camps in Cyprus, homeless Jews elsewhere, are but men and women seeking justice—claiming the right to live. From behind the barbed wire of their cantonments, from all the corners of their precarious sojourn, they ask for speedy rescue. The Assembly meets under the shadow of this critical urgency.

In the pages which follow we shall sketch briefly the background of the problem. Neither a formal memorandum nor a complete statement of the case is intended. Our purpose is preliminary and aims at the presentation of salient facts.

I.

LEGAL ORIGINS

5. These are the fundamental considerations: The present international status of Palestine is derived from the consent of the nations embodied in solemn international compacts. The authority of the Mandatory Power is based on the consent of other powers. Nor is it sovereign over Palestine. Its right to govern proceeds from its status as an international trustee or Mandatory. That status is one of limited and delegated powers. The confirmation of its right to govern, the purposes for which it may exercise that right, and the limitation on its powers stem from the Mandate and other international documents. Great Britain accepted the obligations explicit in these international instruments when it accepted the Mandate.

6. The major documents establishing the status of Palestine include the Balfour Declaration of 1917 (British), the Resolution

of the Conference of the Principal Allied Powers in San Remo in 1920, the League of Nations Mandate of 1922, and the American-British Palestine Convention of 1924. All of these international compacts are valid and subsisting obligations.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

7. On the 2nd day of November, 1917, the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration by which it pledged itself to use its best endeavors to facilitate "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The Declaration was endorsed by the French and Italian Governments and by the President of the United States. It was an international pledge. It marked the prime condition under which His Majesty's Government would undertake to exercise governmental rights over Palestine. As Mr. Winston Churchill said in 1939:

"It was in consequence of and on the basis of this pledge that we received important help in the war, and that after the war we received from the Allies and Associated Powers the mandate for Palestine."

The Balfour Declaration was, as clearly appears from its terms, a pledge to the Jewish people. The fact admits no equivocation. In a Colonial Office letter to the Palestine Arab Delegation embodied in the Palestine White Paper of 1922, the Balfour Declaration is described as "a pledge made by the British Government to the Jewish people". The letter addressed by the Prime Minister to Dr. Weizmann on February 13, 1931, recognized "that the undertaking in the Mandate is an undertaking to the Jewish people and not only to the Jewish people of Palestine". The matter was clearly put by Mr. Churchill in the debate on the Palestine White Paper of 1939:

"This pledge (of the Balfour Declaration) of a home,

of refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine, but to the Jews outside of Palestine, to that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home."

In asking the redemption of that pledge, the Jewish Agency for Palestine speaks for Jews everywhere; it speaks for those who are homeless; and not least for the men and women in the displaced persons' camps of Europe and for the unhappy "illegal" immigrant who finds himself behind the barbed wire of Cyprus.

THE MANDATE

8. On the 25th April, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers, at its meeting at San Remo, allotted the Mandate for Palestine to Great Britain with the express proviso that it was to be responsible for giving effect to the Balfour Declaration. In the Palestine Mandate, approved by the Council of the League of Nations on the 24th July, 1922, the Balfour Declaration was recited in full in the Preamble, which added that "recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country." The British Government was made responsible "for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home" and, with this end in view, was enjoined to "facilitate Jewish immigration" and "encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land." The Mandate had previously been submitted to the United States Government, and on June 30th, 1922, a joint resolution in support of the policy was adopted by Congress. By the American-British Convention of December 3rd, 1924, the United States ad-

hered to the Mandate, which was not to be modified without its consent.

The policy of the Balfour Declaration was thus ratified by the fifty-one Member States of the League of Nations and by the United States. The Balfour Declaration, originally a definition of British policy, had evolved into what Mr. Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, described in the House of Commons on March 9th, 1922, as "a great world-wide pledge" which formed the basic condition upon which His Majesty's Government was entrusted with the Mandate for Palestine. Speaking in the House of Lords on June 27th, 1923, the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Devonshire, stated:

"The Mandate is not merely a national obligation; it is an international obligation, and the Balfour Declaration was the basis on which we accepted from the Principal Allied Powers the position of mandatory power in Palestine."

In a dispatch dated October 4th, 1923, after quoting the Balfour Declaration, the Colonial Secretary went on to say:

"It (the Declaration) formed an essential part of the conditions on which Great Britain accepted the Mandate for Palestine, and thus constituted an international obligation from which there can be no question of receding." (Cmd. 1989 (1923), p. 3, para. 2.)

Two years later, at the seventh session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the accredited British Representative said:

"The Commission should remember that it was, after all, the Balfour Declaration which was the reason why the British Government was now administering Palestine."

The Balfour Declaration was conceived by its authors as an act of historic reparation. It was described in the Preamble to the Mandate as having given recognition to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine. That attachment, with the

cumulative weight of history behind it, has never been more alive than it is today.

9. The Mandate, in its ultimate purpose, as understood by those who framed it, aimed at the re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth.

"It is obvious", wrote the Royal Commission,* "that His Majesty's Government could not commit itself to the establishment of a Jewish State. It could only undertake to facilitate the growth of a Home. It would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprise of the Jews whether the Home would grow big enough to become a State. Mr. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time, informed us in evidence that:

'The idea was, and this was the interpretation put upon it at the time, that a Jewish State was not to be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth.'

"Thus His Majesty's Government evidently realized", the Royal Commission continued, "that a Jewish State might in course of time be established, but it was not in a position to say that this would happen, still less to bring it about of its own motion. The Zionist leaders, for their part, recognized that an ultimate Jewish State was not precluded by the terms of the Declaration, and so it was understood elsewhere. 'I am persuaded', said President Wilson on the 3rd of March, 1919, 'that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Gov-

* Palestine Royal Commission Report, July 1937, p. 24.

ernment and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth'. General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, speaking at Johannesburg on the 3rd November, 1919, foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and 'in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more'. Lord Robert Cecil in 1917, Sir Herbert Samuel in 1919, and Mr. Winston Churchill in 1920 spoke or wrote in terms that could only mean that they contemplated the eventual establishment of a Jewish State. Leading British newspapers were equally explicit in their comments on the Declaration."

10. We emphasize the words of the Royal Commission that "it would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprise of the Jews whether the Home would grow big enough to become a State". It is a challenge we accepted. We shall present below in summary form what the "zeal and enterprise of the Jews" *has* achieved in Palestine (*infra*, pp. 16-19). We shall show how that "zeal and enterprise" commended to us by the Mandatory have been thwarted and burdened. We shall demonstrate how the rules have been changed in the midst of the test with the avowed purpose of making our task impossible.

11. The main purpose of the Mandate cannot be in doubt. We have already noted the admissions of British spokesmen that His Majesty's Government would have had no authority to remain in Palestine except for the Balfour Declaration—"the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people". We have seen from contemporaneous interpretations of the Mandate that the eventuality to be desired was the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. Turning to the language of the Mandate itself, it seems clear, without gloss or commentary, that its primary aim was to make the British Government re-

sponsible "for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home".

The means for effecting this end were clearly stated by the League of Nations in Article 6 of the Mandate: By this article the Mandatory is required to "facilitate Jewish immigration" and "encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land".

12. In addition to these creative injunctions, the Mandate contains a number of protective clauses designed to safeguard existing rights and interests (Arts. 2, 9, 15, 16, 23). These guarantee to all inhabitants of Palestine full civil and religious rights, respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities, recognition of their holy days as legal days of rest and the safeguarding of the right of each community to maintain its own schools in its own language. Furthermore, in facilitating Jewish immigration and encouraging land settlement, the Mandatory is to ensure that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced. It is these safeguarding clauses which gave rise to the erroneous conception that the Mandatory is under a dual obligation both parts of which are of equal weight, and that the qualifying provisions neutralize the positive ones. "Merely to sit still", wrote Mr. Churchill, "and avoid friction with Arabs and safeguard their civil and religious rights and to abandon the positive exertion for the establishment of the Jewish National Home would not be a faithful interpretation of the Mandate".* An American interpreter of the Mandate expresses the same view.

"In the course of time", he writes, "it was claimed that the Mandate placed upon Great Britain an equal obligation to the Arabs and to the Zionists. . . . It required, however,

* Quoted in "The Jewish National Home", edited by P. Goodman, London, 1943, p. 66.

a transposition of the terminology of the Mandate by the transfer of secondary and subordinate clauses into primary positions to give real duality to the instrument. The plain sense of the document was inescapable. It sought to foster the establishment of a Jewish national home, while safeguarding, so far as might be compatible with that purpose, the rights and well-being of the non-Jewish population."**

The verdict of the Royal Commission on the point is explicit: "unquestionably", it wrote, "the primary purpose of the Mandate, *as expressed in its preamble and its articles*, is to promote the establishment of the Jewish National Home". (Report, p. 39).

II.

THE FRAMEWORK OF U. N. ACTION

13. It may be taken for granted that any consideration of the Palestine issue by the General Assembly of the United Nations and by any committee that may be appointed by it, in order to remain true to the spirit of the Charter, will have to proceed on the basis of the valid body of international law applicable in the matter.

14. The international status of Palestine and, more particularly, British authority with regard to Palestine, are based on a series of binding international documents already referred to. These documents are still in force, and their observance remains a major and governing consideration for the United Nations, the Preamble to whose Charter defines, as one of the ends of the organization,

"to establish conditions under which justice and respect for

** P. L. Hanna: "British Policy in Palestine", published by the American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, Washington, D. C.

the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained . . ."

15. More specifically, this general principle of respect for valid international treaty obligations is expressly confirmed with respect to territories under mandate, dealt with in Chapter XII and particularly in Articles 77 and 80 of the Charter. Article 80 (1) reads in part as follows:

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79 and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, *nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.*"

16. Article 80 of the Charter thus safeguards the rights established by existing international instruments, of "peoples" as well as of states. The Palestine Mandate of the League of Nations as one of these international instruments acknowledges the existence of the Jewish people and defines its rights in regard to Palestine. Since no trusteeship agreement for Palestine, under the procedure defined in Chapter XII of the Charter, has been either submitted or concluded, any study of the Palestine issue by the United Nations and any recommendations made by this body concerning the future government of Palestine must necessarily be based on the continuing validity of the Mandate as well as of the other documents mentioned above and must seek to carry them out to their fullest intent.

17. The claim has been asserted that promises were made to the Arabs said to be inconsistent with promises to the Jews. These are primarily (1) the McMahon-Hussein correspondence in 1915, and (2) the so-called Hogarth Message in 1918.

The answers to this claim are clear. First, Sir Henry McMahon himself has authoritatively declared that his statements to the Arab leader excluded, and were understood to exclude, Palestine. Second, no protest was lodged against the Balfour Declaration by King Hussein or his son, the Emir Feisal, who was the principal Arab representative at the Peace Conference at Versailles. Indeed, as will be indicated further below, the Emir Feisal, in his Agreement with Dr. Weizmann, of March 4, 1919, and in his letter to Professor Felix Frankfurter, of March 3, 1919, expressed full concurrence in the policy of the Balfour Declaration. Third, neither set of statements, regardless of scope or intention, were either public or binding upon the nations which gave Britain the Mandate. The existence of the Hogarth Message was announced for the first time in 1939, thus making it obviously irrelevant as regards the meaning to be attached to the solemn and public covenant of the Mandate. Its wording further was altogether equivocal in so far as concerns guarantees to the Arabs of permanent political supremacy in Palestine. Fourth, the settlement with the Arab peoples after World War I was a generous one. The Arabs were assured of independence in more than one million square miles—an assurance since fulfilled.

The inescapable fact remains that the Mandate became, in 1922, the determining international instrument with reference to the status of Palestine.

III.

JEWISH RIGHTS TO PALESTINE

18. We have seen that the decision to give to the Jewish people an opportunity to establish a Jewish Commonwealth was made during and after World War I. That decision was based on a

serious consideration of the history and position of the Jewish people. Their story, since the Dispersion, has been a story of expulsions, wanderings, restrictions and persecutions. The fundamental problem has always been security and the right to live free from the recurring waves of hatred and prejudice. For those Jews who wished to find personal security and a new way of life, for the Jewish people as a whole, striving to liberate itself from the scourge of homelessness, a land in which the elementary right of self-government would be granted was an essential. That land, by historical association and continued attachment through the centuries, is Palestine. The reasons for the decision are even more cogent today when the world has so recently seen the physical destruction of millions of Jews in a century that began with such high hopes for democracy, freedom and tolerance.

19. The destruction of Jewish statehood by the Roman Empire and the physical dispersion of Jews in the world never succeeded in weakening the awareness, whether among Jews or non-Jews, of the continuing existence of a distinct Jewish people, nor of Palestine as the historic home of that people. Held together by religious and ethnical bonds, the Jewish people never gave up its claim to Palestine nor its hope of the reconstitution there of a Jewish State. The re-establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State held a central place in Jewish prayers, and several times in the last eighteen hundred years there occurred serious movements aiming at a return of Jews to Zion.

20. Modern Zionism translated this enduring attachment into an organized political movement directed to practical achievement. The pent-up energies of centuries of exile found a creative outlet. Yet historical attachment alone could not have produced the present effort. Its compelling reason was the untenable posi-

tion of the Jews in the dispersion. It was the danger of national and physical extinction which gave birth to the new Judaea.

21. What made this national aspiration particularly important was that the fate of the Jewish people in the dispersion was, on the whole, a very unhappy one. Their religious non-conformity, their homelessness as a nation and their ubiquitous minority status rendered them ever-ready targets of incitement and victims of oppression.

22. The aftermath of the second World War finds the Jews of Europe not only economically and in many cases physically uprooted, but also morally shattered by their experiences. The countries overrun by Hitler are to them gigantic graveyards, where most of their families were driven to a dreadful death. Even now that the war is over, the survivors find themselves faced by sullen hostility and by stubborn opposition to their re-integration into the economic and political life of many of the local communities. Moreover, the years of Hitler propaganda coupled with the difficulties of post-war economic readjustment strengthened anti-Jewish tendencies even in countries of Western Europe where little anti-Semitism existed before the war. In Moslem countries, too, a combination of Hitler propaganda with the increased chauvinism of the local populations resulted in the further deterioration of the condition of the Jewish communities.

23. As a result of these developments, increasing numbers of Jews in various countries, and especially in Eastern and Central Europe and in the Moslem States, have lost all sense of security and long above all to settle in the Jewish Homeland.

24. The decision, taken at the end of the first World War, to set aside Palestine as the territory of the Jewish National Home was made at a time when the tragic implications of the homelessness of the Jewish people and of the vulnerability of individual Jews were neither as obvious nor as generally understood as they

are today. Nevertheless, far-sighted statesmen of that period considered it necessary to remedy this condition. To this end, they proclaimed the right of the Jews as a people to enter and develop Palestine and agreed upon a regime that would facilitate and further this development. The events of the last decade have strongly reinforced the wisdom of this decision and made its effectuation more urgent than ever. Indeed, the essential vulnerability of Jews in a world where group animosities and especially anti-Semitism can be so easily aroused, has been demonstrated with tragic results. Therefore, there is every reason why this decision which has become a matter of general international law should be reaffirmed and made into a reality.

25. The passage of time has dissipated any doubts which may have existed in 1917-1922 concerning the economic feasibility of large-scale Jewish development of Palestine. Searching studies by competent authorities have proved since that time that Palestine can absorb several more millions of people and that this process, far from lowering the economic standards of the existing population, would actually raise them. This has also been proved in practice by the fact that, despite the hostile attitude of the Mandatory Power which closed to the Jews the greatest part of the original territory under the Palestine Mandate and put difficulties in the way of the Jews settling in the rest of the country, 600,000 Jews have been added to Palestine's population since 1918 with economic benefit to everybody. Irrigation and modern farming methods greatly increased the agricultural possibilities of the country, and Palestine showed itself capable of supporting modern industry and trade, thus progressively augmenting the country's absorptive capacity.

26. The major achievements were in agricultural and mixed farming on the one hand, and in industrial growth on the other. Exports from the Jewish citrus groves in the last pre-war season

amounted to 10,000,000 cases or 65 % of the total. Jews pioneered in the cooperative organization of the orange growers and the discovery of new markets. The rapid extension of mixed farming covered the creation of modern dairying and poultry-keeping, introduction of new crops and fruit-trees and of a scientific crop-rotation, and a progressive system of sheep-raising and bee-keeping. Whereas citriculture was developed mainly by middle class settlers on privately-owned land, mixed farming was carried on by cooperative settlements on nationally owned soil. Nearly 550,000 dunams* were involved in drainage works in various parts of the country. The quest for water has opened up undreamed-of possibilities of irrigation. The area of irrigated Jewish land increased from 12,000 dunams in 1922 to 260,000 in 1944. The typical farm unit is becoming one of 25 dunams of extensively cultivated land, instead of the former unit of 250 dunams under cereals. Large afforestation schemes have been carried out, particularly in the hill areas.

In no field has Jewish enterprise been more marked than in that of industry. Important landmarks were harnessing in 1927 of the Jordan and Yarmuk by the Palestine Electric Corporation and the commencement in 1930 of the Palestine Potash Company's work on the Dead Sea. The growth of Jewish industry is reflected in the following table:

YEAR	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS	PERSONS EMPLOYED
1926	583	nearly 6,000
1937	1,556	22,000
1944	over 2,000	45,000

Among Palestine's industrial products are textiles, leather goods, machinery, glass, cement, foodstuffs, chemicals, polished diamonds, pharmaceuticals, artificial teeth, cosmetics and a great variety of other articles.

* 1 acre equals 4 dunams.

27. All this was accomplished in a tiny sector of Palestine and almost entirely on land bought from private owners at excessive prices. One can easily imagine how much larger the opportunities would have been had the Government abided by the provision of Article 6 of the Mandate to the effect that it "shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency . . . close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes" and had it not, in 1940, enacted regulations limiting the unrestricted freedom of Jewish land purchase to 5% of Palestine.

28. Organized labor holds an influential position in the economic and political life of the country. There is no sphere of Jewish activity on which it has not left its mark. Its contribution has been particularly impressive in agriculture, where it has evolved new forms of cooperative effort. Side by side with the growth of a large trade-union movement which today runs building and transport companies, supply and marketing organizations, factories and workshops and a country-wide health insurance society, private enterprise has played a vigorous and constructive part in every branch of the country's economic development.

In general, the new Yishuv (Jewish settlement in Palestine) represents a reversal of the Jewish social pyramid in the Diaspora. In Palestine, Jews are not concentrated in a limited number of trades and professions. Theirs is the economy of a normal society ranging from the roughest kinds of manual labor to the highest professional and managerial positions. The economic and social forms which the Yishuv has evolved are such as to offer a healthy climate for the development and adaptation of vigorous democratic institutions.

29. The Jews have in reality augmented the territory of Palestine. They have not extended its area in square miles, but they have so increased its productivity that they may be said

to have enlarged the land itself. The true test of area is ability to sustain population. The Jews have increased that capacity by their own "zeal and enterprise" as surely as if they had added to the land new provinces.

This growth in productive capacity has benefited the entire population, Jew and Arab alike. The new spirit of modern enterprise which has been introduced has been a determining factor in raising the national income and standard of living. Intensive farming has expanded the soil available. Waste lands have been reclaimed by drainage and irrigation. The activity of the Jews in Palestine is an outstanding example of what pioneering zeal, modern methods and the scientific attitude can do for backward and undeveloped areas. In this sense, Palestine is a microcosm that points up the possibilities of the new era. We reject and we believe that mankind will reject the thesis that an experiment so conceived shall be condemned because it has been successful.

30. Time has also disposed of the uncertainty in the minds of the British Cabinet in 1917 as to whether Jews would exhibit sufficient zeal and enterprise and would respond to the opportunity afforded them to the point of becoming a definite majority of the inhabitants. The few figures quoted above indicate to what extent Jewish zeal and enterprise were present. Measured in money, all this was made possible because the Jews all over the world invested in Palestine \$180,000,000 of donated capital and \$420,000,000 of private capital, making a total of \$600,000,000. Measured in human anxiety to go to Palestine, it will suffice to mention that the 650,000 Jews today in Palestine are but a small part of those who wished to go there but were prevented from doing so by restrictions on Jewish immigration. If the Jews have not yet become a majority in Palestine, this is not—to use Mr. Lloyd George's phrase—because their response was inadequate,

but because the opportunity which was supposed to be extended was not afforded them in fact.

IV.

JEWISH COLONIZATION AND THE ARABS

31. What has been the effect of Jewish settlement on the Arab population of Palestine? The Jewish return to Palestine is unique in the history of colonization. It is one of the few instances on record where European colonization raised the standard of life of the native population. It has not been conducted through the exploitation of native labor. Instead of rich and fertile land being acquired for a few strings of beads, marsh and uninhabited desert were purchased at exorbitant prices. These are striking departures from the usual pattern of colonization in a backward area. But most revealing of all, this process, as already stated, has been accompanied by a great increase in the native population. Between 1920 and 1940, the Arab community nearly doubled, growing in size from 650,000 to over a million. To get the full impact of these figures one should compare this increase with the situation in Transjordan, which was cut off from Palestine in 1922 and closed to Jewish immigration. Though this country is also under a British Mandate, the population has remained static and impoverished.

32. The extraordinary increase of the Palestinian Arabs since Jewish colonization began is due partly to the immigration into Palestine of Arabs from neighboring countries who are attracted by the higher wages and better standards of living prevailing in Palestine. Chiefly, however, the increase is due to the improved health conditions introduced by Jewish nursing services and sanitation. The Arab birth rate is still at an extremely high

level, but it is no longer counter-balanced by a high death rate. So much for the myth of the "dispossessed" Arab.

33. The wage level and standard of living of the Palestinian Arab are far higher than those of neighboring Arab countries, including Egypt. The Palestine Royal Commission Report of 1937 found that Arab progress is largely due to Jewish endeavor. It is interesting that the prosperity of an Arab settlement is in direct ratio to its proximity to an area of Jewish settlement. Arabs have benefitted from the development of the country through Jewish capital. They have learned modern methods of citriculture from the Jewish farmer. Arab industry has expanded. The exploited Arab masses are gradually becoming aware of progressive concepts in labor relations and social legislation. Because of the arrival of the Jewish settler the Arab of Palestine is healthier; he gets more pay for fewer hours of labor; and he has a higher rate of literacy. Jewish colonization has galvanized a stagnant land into an awareness of new and better ways of life.

34. Why then, despite all these tangible benefits, are the Arab spokesmen so bitter in their opposition to Zionism? On what do they rest their case? It is impossible for the Arabs to deny the incontestable statistical evidence which indicates the increased material well-being of the Arabs of Palestine, and a rate of progress quite beyond that of any purely Arab country in the Near East. Even the accusation that Arab tenant-farmers were being driven off the land through Jewish land purchase, and that a class of "landless" Arabs had been created, could not stand the test of examination. Despite the fact that the government of Palestine offered to finance the resettlement of Arab tenants who claimed to have been displaced by the sale of land, only a few hundred came forward to take up the land offered. The "landless" Arab driven from his soil is as untenable a myth as the "countryless" Arab, driven from his country. Paradoxically enough, *since*

the Balfour Declaration, Palestine has changed from a country of Arab emigration into one of Arab immigration—a phenomenon observable in none of the adjacent Arab countries who express solidarity with the supposedly wronged Arabs of Palestine.

The Arab case, except for purposes of irresponsible propaganda, no longer bases itself on the contention that Arabs have been economically or physically injured by Zionism. It rests solely on the demand of the Palestinian Arab for exclusive political domination.

V.

THE BALANCE OF JUSTICE

35. If time has not disproved but on the contrary confirmed the need for a Jewish Palestine, neither has it shown that the Arabs have a better claim to Palestine, or stand in greater need of that country today than was the case at the end of the first World War. At that time, the statesmen of the world, trying to balance rival claims and to bring national independence to all small peoples, intended that eventually a number of independent Arab States would be set up in more than 1,000,000 square miles of what was formerly territory under Turkish suzerainty, and that the Jews, as part of the same settlement, would be given the opportunity to transform Palestine into a Jewish state. As between the Arabs and the Jews, both claiming that territory, it was found that the balance of equities favored the claim of that people which had no other national territory as against the people which had just been liberated and confirmed in the possession of enormous areas. The verdict of 1917-1922 was that by asking the Arabs—a majority in so many countries—to reconcile themselves to the position of a minority in one small area, a lesser injustice was

committed than by asking the Jews—a minority everywhere—to forego their claims to become a majority in the one country in the world with which they, as a people, were historically connected. The answer to the question as to whether or not Jewish mass-settlement leading to a Jewish majority in Palestine was more equitable than a denial of that opportunity was therefore in the affirmative. Nor was there any doubt that given the democratic and egalitarian principles which are fundamental to the Jewish outlook and social structure, an Arab minority in Palestine would, as stated in repeated resolutions of the authoritative Zionist bodies, enjoy full equality of civil, linguistic and religious rights, as well as autonomy in the administration of their educational, cultural and social institutions.

36. Nothing has occurred since that time to change the picture. The Arabs as a whole have consolidated their rule over the territories awarded them after the first World War—territories which, if properly developed, offer economic opportunities for a greatly expanding population. The Arabs as a whole do not suffer from any racial or religious persecution, as do the Jews, and they do not need any additional territory to absorb their persecuted brethren. And neither the civil and religious rights of the Arabs of Palestine, safeguarded under the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, nor their economic interests, have suffered from the Jewish Settlement of Palestine; on the contrary, their economic, health and cultural standards have risen greatly precisely *because* of that settlement; and the fact that their very numbers have multiplied is an indication that the coming of the Jews to Palestine has brought with it prosperity and betterment of conditions not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors.

37. In this connection it is relevant to recall the agreement between Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann reached at the Peace

Conference in 1919. It sheds light on the reaction of the chief Arab spokesman at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued and reads in part:

"His Royal Highness the Emir Feisal, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organization, mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations, is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine, and being desirous further of confirming the good understanding which exists between them, have agreed upon the following articles:

WRHS I.



"The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial good will and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in their respective territories.

IV.

"All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.

VII.

"... The Zionist Organization will use its best efforts to assist the Arab State in providing the means for developing the natural resources and economic possibilities thereof.

Postscript Inserted by Emir Feisal

"If the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of January 4th addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be answerable for failing to carry out this agreement."

38. As it was, the Arab State indicated in the Agreement and the Emir's Postscript did not at the time come into being, for reasons which had nothing to do with Palestine or the Jewish National Home. But it is pertinent to point out that the Arabs have since attained independence throughout the area of the proposed "Arab State". Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan have now been set up as independent states in an area covering about 1,200,000 square miles. All the Arab lands of Asia are included in this enormous, underpopulated area—with the exception of the 10,000 square miles of Western Palestine, which constitutes less than 1 per cent of the total. Thus in 99 per cent of the territories liberated from Turkish rule as a result of World War I, the Arabs enjoy national sovereignty. Less than 1 per cent has been reserved for the Jewish people in the land of their fathers.

39. Lord Balfour made the British position clear when he said on July 12, 1930:

"I hope they (the Arabs) will remember that . . . the Great Powers, and among all the Great Powers most especially Great Britain, has freed them, the Arab race, from the tyranny of their bestial conqueror, who had kept them under his heel for these many centuries. I hope they will remember

that it is we who have established the independent Arab sovereignty of the Hedjaz. I hope they will remember that it is we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing autonomous Arab state. And I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small notch—for it is no more geographically, whatever it may be historically—that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it."

40. Surveying the great gains made by the Arabs, the most passionate champion of the Arab cause must concede that the Anglo-Arab understanding has been more than kept by the British Government, for even "the little notch" was diminished by two-thirds through the truncation of Transjordan, now a fifth independent Arab state. Years ago, the individual best equipped to judge the nature of Arab services in the last war and the extent of the pledges made to them by the Allies, Lawrence of Arabia, announced that the promises made to the Arabs had been fulfilled: "We have come out of the Arab affair with clean hands."

41. It has already been shown that the Arabs of Palestine have prospered and multiplied in far richer measure than any other Arab people. Their civil and political rights as individuals are safeguarded, as well as their interests as a religious and cultural community. Nevertheless they want the assurance of exclusive political domination. They do not wish to become a minority through the influx of large-scale Jewish immigration no matter what guarantees are given them. They suggest pointedly that the misfortunes of the Jews are not their affair.

42. To this we must say again, Jews are a minority everywhere and a majority nowhere. The strip of land, hallowed for them by history and promised them by solemn international

covenants, is the only one on which they can live again as a people and neither the Arab world nor the Arabs of Palestine have the moral or legal right to demand that the United Nations abrogate these international commitments in regard to Palestine.

There is no acute insoluble problem of Arab nationalism involved. The land of Palestine represents for the Arabs a tiny part of their huge territories, not an irreplaceable national whole. The bonds that tie the Palestinian Arab to his soil are those which attach a man to the house of his father, the town of his birth. These are undeniably precious ties, but the Palestinian Arab can still remain in his own country, even if a Jewish Commonwealth should be established in Palestine. The Arab who does not object to his neighbors, who wishes to stay and prosper, will continue to thrive as before. He will enjoy the full political rights and equality of opportunity assured to every citizen of the Commonwealth and his interests as a member of a special religious and cultural group will be fully honored.

43. The Arab nationalist movement undoubtedly has autochthonous popular roots. In addition, however, it has been artificially stimulated by reactionary elements both within and without Palestine. To channel the economic and social discontent of an awakening Near East into religious fanaticism and a chauvinistic nationalism is an obvious device. It is no accident that Arab leaders worked hand-in-hand with Hitler and Mussolini, and that Axis funds helped to finance the Arab disturbances in Palestine. Fascism has been the close ally of the Arab nationalist movement. The exiled Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was feted in Berlin. A notorious collaborator of Hitler, he organized Moslems in Yugoslavia to fight the Allies, and systematically instigated the Moslems of North Africa by radio; and today, though not allowed to return to Palestine, the Grand Mufti is the official president of the Palestinian Higher Arab Committee and directs the Committee's

policy and activities from Egypt. Elsewhere in the Middle East Arab reactionaries connived with the Nazis against the democracies. The tune changed once the victory of the United Nations was assured, but the record remains. It is not irrelevant that the most inveterate and rabid fomenters of discord in Palestine have also been the most indefatigable foes of the democracies.

44. In assaying Arab and Jewish counter-claims, Arab consent cannot be viewed as the decisive factor. In so far as there were responsible Arab spokesmen during the period of negotiation of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, such consent was forthcoming. Now, after the passage of nearly three decades during which Jews have resurrected Palestine through their self-sacrificial toil and through the expenditure of large sums raised among Jews throughout the world, it is manifestly unfair at this late date to ask for the approval of the Arab kings, an approval for which there is no necessity in international law or morality. And if there was urgent need for a Jewish homeland in 1917, then today that need has grown to catastrophic proportions.

VI.

THE MANDATORY, THE JEWS AND THE ARABS

45. It was one thing to enunciate a great policy of reconstruction. It was another to translate it into the humdrum terms of administrative routine. The task was without precedent. To govern a country not only in the interests of its present inhabitants, but with a view to the absorption of a continuous stream of newcomers and the progressive evolution of a new society, called for administrative statesmanship of the highest order. The Colonial Office had no tradition of an active policy of development in the countries under its control. Nor had the Palestine Administration

received any training or clear guidance for its novel task. It was recruited largely from officers who had served in the War. Many were without any administrative experience, all without preparation for this unprecedented responsibility. A good many had begun their association with the Middle East in Arabic-speaking countries. Others were accustomed to dealing with subject peoples, and felt ill at ease in handling a complex community, mainly of European origin. Not a few showed lack of sympathy with the basic purpose of the Mandate or scepticism of its practicability. There were, indeed, some leading figures imbued with the spirit of the new policy, but they were too few to change the general orientation. The Administration deserves full credit for having, within a relatively short period, built up on the ruins of the primitive Ottoman regime, a modern machinery of government, and for having constantly striven to improve it. Yet its conception of its duties was essentially static, in the sense that it considered itself mainly responsible for the well-being of the existing population and not for the promotion of further growth. The result was that, while adherence to the standards of the Colonial Office produced improvements in various fields and some notable technical achievements (such as the construction of the Haifa harbor, the building of main roads, the laying of the Jerusalem water pipe line, afforestation and agricultural experiments), the provisions of the Mandate for the active promotion of the Jewish National Home remained largely inoperative.

The lack of sympathy of the Administration for the task entrusted to it could not fail to be noted by the Arabs. They inevitably interpreted it, to quote the Royal Commission, "as showing that the British determination to implement the Balfour Declaration is not sincere" (p. 363). This was bound to encourage opposition.

46. The Zionist leaders had always realized the importance

of securing Arab good-will and made repeated attempts to establish contact with the Arab world. When, early in 1918, a Zionist Commission was sent out to Palestine to advise the British authorities, it defined one of its tasks as that of "aiding and establishing friendly relations with the Arabs".

How Dr. Weizmann then sought out the Emir Feisal and later reached with him an agreement for cooperation between the Arab State and Palestine, has been described above. Speaking of these negotiations many years later, at the 17th Zionist Congress in 1931, Dr. Weizmann said:

"Many years have passed since then, but in all these years, I have never neglected an opportunity, whenever one offered itself, whether in Palestine, in London or elsewhere, of coming into touch with Arab and Moslem leaders, and of exploring for myself all possible avenues of cooperation. The blame for the exiguous success of these endeavors does not lie with me."

47. The Zionist movement has never allowed even armed attack and provocation to deflect it from seeking the cooperation of the Arabs or from acknowledging Arab rights and welfare as fundamental. In 1922, after the 1929 riots, and again in 1936, this principle was firmly and publicly stated. In September, 1936, for instance, at a session of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency in London, the following resolution was adopted:

"Months of terror have not destroyed the bonds of a common origin, of many centuries of a common civilization, and of the common interests of the Jewish people and the Palestine Arabs in the upbuilding of Palestine. Our desire is to live in peace and cooperation with the Arabs, in accordance with the principle that neither Jews nor Arabs shall dominate or be dominated."

48. It was anticipated that, with the development of the country, common economic and social interests would mitigate the political conflict and lead to cooperation in wider fields. Actual developments lent support to these expectations. The tissue of identical interests and neighborly relations grew steadily, never entirely interrupted by outbreaks and always resumed on the restoration of peace.

One example of such normal relationship is the association of Jewish and Arab orange growers, shown in joint representations to the Government and in common efforts to open up foreign markets. Another is the existence of certain Arab trade unions established with the help of the Histadrut (Jewish Labor Federation) and linked up with it in the Palestine Labor League. It was in no small measure due to the efforts of the Histadrut that Arab workers on the railways, in the port of Haifa and in various undertakings financed by international capital, secured an eight-hour day and improved working conditions, superior to those obtaining in the Arab States. Similarly, the initial measures of labor legislation in Palestine, designed for the benefit of Arabs and Jews alike, were due to the efforts of Jewish labor.

In the municipalities of some of the mixed towns, notably in Haifa, Arab and Jewish councillors cooperated with fair smoothness.

51. Rural life likewise offered a wide field for intercourse. Arab farmers have learned from the example of their Jewish neighbors and the work of the Jewish Agency's Agricultural Research Institute. Jewish agricultural settlements throughout the country have made every effort to maintain friendly relations with neighboring Arab villages. Fellahin bring their sick children to the physicians of the Jewish settlements, receive gifts of seedlings acclimatized by the Jews and carry on trade with them. To foster such intercourse, the Jewish Agency has for a number of years maintained a system of resident and travelling

instructors in Arabic and held courses in Arab manners, folklore and traditions.

It is noteworthy that during the pre-war disturbances, attacks on Jewish settlements were usually carried out by armed bands specially sent there for that purpose. As a rule, the local Arab villagers dissociated themselves from these attacks, or even warned the settlements beforehand, at the risk of punitive reprisals against themselves.

52. Arabic is taught in all Jewish secondary schools and in many elementary and village schools. At the Hebrew University, the School of Oriental Studies was one of the first Departments to be set up; it has done much research work in Arab history and literature and has produced teachers of Arabic for the Hebrew schools.

Valuable pioneer service in the cause of Jewish-Arab friendship has been rendered by the Hadassah Medical Organization whose hospitals have always been open to Arab patients and have also been frequented by Arabs from the neighboring countries.

51. All these developments have meant a greater measure of daily contact than is generally realized abroad. They show that between Jews and Arabs, as human beings, there is no innate hostility. They also indicate the acceptance by the Arabs of the Jewish immigrants, once they are settled. Although this does not in itself resolve the present political difficulty, it is the most hopeful omen for the future.

52. The Jewish Agency has never minimized the difficulty. Zionist representatives have at every opportunity explored the chances of political agreement with the Arabs. The failure of these efforts (an account of which cannot here be rendered) has been mainly due to the denial by the Arab leaders of the basic Jewish claim for freedom of entry as prescribed by the Mandate. The Arab leaders strive to keep Palestine a predomi-

nantly Arab country in which they want the Jews to accept a minority position.

53. The Arab leaders, in their opposition to the Mandatory regime, have resorted from time to time to organized mass violence; they have played upon irrational fears, fanned religious fanaticism and exploited foreign influences—as in the disturbances of 1936-1939, when Arab terrorism was assisted by the Axis. Though the risings were eventually put down, a premium was put on violence in the form of political concessions. That resistance from the Arabs created serious difficulties for the Administration cannot be doubted. But it is the belief of the Jewish Agency that, if the Mandatory had firmly adhered to the Balfour Declaration and had speeded up the development of the Jewish National Home, there would have been more hope of Arab acquiescence and political reorientation. As it was, a converse process took place. Successive strategic withdrawals from the Balfour Declaration policy encouraged rather than diminished the resistance to it.



VII.



BREAKDOWN OF THE MANDATE

54. The subversion of the Mandate proceeded by stages. The first breach was the exclusion of Transjordan from the scope of the Jewish National Home. With one stroke the major part of the original area of Palestine was closed to Jewish immigration and settlement. But even in Western Palestine the Jewish National Home policy was not actively pursued. Except for the Electricity and Potash concessions, little specific action was taken by Government to promote the Jewish National Home. As regards immigration, the numbers for most of the period fell below the absorptive capacity created by the Jews themselves. Jewish settlement

on the land was not encouraged. Practically no agricultural State lands were set aside for it. The agrarian and fiscal systems were not helpful to Jewish colonization. In short, the building up of the Jewish National Home by the efforts of the Jews themselves was first merely tolerated and then deliberately checked. A grave revelation of this trend was the Passfield White Paper of 1930, a document substantially revoked in the Prime Minister's letter to Dr. Weizmann of February 1931. The menace of the Nazi and Fascist regimes and their agitation in the Middle East gave new impetus to the anti-Zionist drift.

55. The Report of the Royal Commission sent out in 1936 marked a new departure. It established that the original intention of the Balfour Declaration was an eventual Jewish Commonwealth. It accepted the claim of the Jewish people to statehood and recognized that only territorial sovereignty in Palestine could meet its case. On the other hand, it limited that proposed sovereignty to a fraction of Palestine—one-fifth of the country west of the Jordan, one-twentieth of the territory originally covered by the Balfour Declaration. The Mandatory Government promptly announced their acceptance of the scheme in principle, but in the process of working out its practical details, the Woodhead Commission reduced it to an absurdity. Finally, to meet the Axis challenge and win the support of the Arab States in the looming struggle, the British Government, in the White Paper of 1939, sacrificed altogether the central idea of the Mandate which had been the very *raison d'être* for its continued control of Palestine.

56. In November, 1938, the Government invited Jewish and Arab representatives to a Palestine Conference which met in London in February, 1939. In addition to the Palestine Arabs, representatives of the Governments of Egypt, Saudi-Arabia and Iraq were also called in. Though the Jewish Agency had always

denied that the Arab States had any *locus standi* in the affairs of Palestine, save as State Members of the League of Nations, it accepted the invitation in order not to obstruct the attempt at an agreement. But, owing to the refusal of the Palestine Arab leaders, the Conference did not take the originally intended form of a round-table meeting between the British, the Arabs and the Jews, and separate series of meetings were held. During the final stage of these discussions, the Government produced a new policy subsequently embodied in a White Paper which was published in May, 1939.

57. The White Paper limited Jewish immigration to Palestine to a total of 75,000, after which it was to be subject to Arab acquiescence; it empowered the High Commissioner to prohibit the transfer of land to Jews in specified areas; it provided for the establishment within ten years of a Palestine Government based on the actual population of the country, in which the Jews were not to exceed one-third of the whole. In February 1940, Land Regulations were enacted under which the Jews were completely debarred from acquiring land in 63% of the area of Palestine and restricted in another 32%. In brief, the policy denied the rights of the Jewish people as such in regard to Palestine and relegated the Jews already settled there to a permanent minority status and a territorial ghetto. Thus the conception underlying the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate of a freely growing Jewish community, eventually developing into a Jewish Commonwealth," had been stultified. "The notion," wrote Mr. Lloyd George in his analysis of the Peace Treaties, "that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."* Similarly Mr. Philip Noel-

Baker, now Secretary of State for Air, stated in Parliament: "For him (the Colonial Secretary), the primary purpose of the Mandate is no longer the establishment of the Jewish National Home, but the protection of a new right which he has invented, the right that the Arabs shall be a majority forever... By inventing this new Arab right to be in a majority, he has utterly destroyed the purpose and meaning of the Mandate."

58. The Permanent Mandates Commission held unanimously that the White Paper was incompatible with the construction put on the Mandate in the past by the Mandatory itself. The majority of its members declared that the new policy was not in conformity with any construction which might properly be put on the Mandate, any contrary conclusion being "ruled out by the very terms of the Mandate and by the fundamental intentions of its authors". (Minutes of 36th Session, June 1939, page 275). In Parliament, the White Paper was denounced by Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and the whole Labor front bench as "a plain breach of a solemn obligation", as "a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration", as "a cynical breach of pledges given to the Jewish people and the world, including America", as "a breach of faith and of British honor".

59. The psychological effects of the White Paper were of the gravest character. It seemed that Jewish self-restraint during the trying years of the disturbances had been penalized, and Arab aggression rewarded. The inference that violence was the surest method to achieve political success was inescapable. The sinister lesson sank deep into the consciousness of Arabs and Jews alike. It was to be fraught with most serious consequences.

* D. Lloyd George: "The Truth About the Peace Treaties", Vol. II, pp. 1138-9.

VIII.

THE WHITE PAPER AND THE WAR

60. If the White Paper policy was out of keeping with the possibilities of Palestine, it was even more blind to Jewish needs. The blow came to the Jewish people at a time when the Nazi Government was intensifying its campaign against the Jews. But even the outbreak of war and the capture of over 3,000,000 Polish Jews produced no change of heart.

61. Before hostilities commenced, the Jewish Agency asked for the immediate admission of 20,000 children from Poland and 10,000 young men from the Balkan countries, the latter to reinforce manpower in Palestine. These requests were rejected; it was, apparently, feared that at such a pace the quota of 75,000 would be used up too quickly. The Polish-Jewish children went to Maidanek and Auschwitz instead, while of the young Jews in the Balkans many died and many were forced to work for Hitler. The fear of impending massacres expressed by the Jewish Agency at the time was written off as groundless. So the hopeless tug-of-war continued: the Jewish Agency trying to rescue Jews as quickly as possible, the Government seeking to dole out the quota as slowly as possible.

62. After the holders of pre-war permits had been admitted, a ban was imposed on all further immigration from enemy countries, on the ground that Nazi agents might come in. In May, 1940, the Jewish Agency appealed for the exemption of children and of certain adults of assured identity. The decision took nearly two years. No exemption was then granted in favor of adults. The concession regarding children came too late.

Meanwhile, groups of Jews had managed to escape from Europe and reach Palestine. Their entry was held to justify a complete suspension of the issue of new permits even to parts

of Europe which were not yet enemy territory. Thus quotas were withheld for the half-years October, 1939, to March, 1940, and October, 1940, to March, 1941. The latter period immediately preceded the German invasion of the Balkans. Only a few hundred emergency permits were at the time granted for the Balkan Jewries, mostly too late. The Government actually advised the Jewish Agency to save up permits for post-war use when they could be given to Jews from Germany, in preference to those from the Balkans.

63. The search for boats carrying Jewish fugitives and the prevention of their landing became a major concern of the authorities. In November, 1940, the Government announced that Jews coming illegally from Europe would not be allowed to land, but would be interned elsewhere and not admitted to Palestine even after the war. As a reaction, the "Patria", with 1771 Jewish refugees on board awaiting deportation, was blown up and sunk in the port of Haifa. About 250 of its passengers were drowned and the survivors landed and interned. A further 1700 refugees, who had been landed, were, with a considerable use of violence, re-embarked and deported to the island of Mauritius. From there they were released and brought to Palestine only at the end of the war, after over 100 of their number had died of disease. In December, 1940, 230 refugees, including many children, perished when the tramp steamer "Salvador" foundered in the Sea of Maomora. They had hoped to proceed overland from Istanbul, but no visas were available. In March, 1941, 793 refugees, mostly fleeing from the massacres in Rumania, arrived on board the "Darien". In view of the vessel's condition they had to be landed, but for seventeen months they were kept in detention under the threat of deportation. On the 24th February, 1942, came the "Struma" tragedy. That boat had stood in the port of Istanbul for nearly two months waiting for Palestine visas.

In the end only children were allowed to proceed, but the decision came too late. The Turkish authorities had turned the vessel back into the Black Sea, where it sank. Of its 764 passengers only one survived.

64. "In Palestine," writes an American Jewish author, "over half a million Jews waited with open arms for their tormented and homeless kin . . . while over the Mediterranean and Black Sea unclean and unseaworthy little cargo boats crept from port to port, or tossed about on the open waters, waiting in vain for permission to discharge their crowded human cargoes. Hunger, thirst, disease and unspeakable living conditions reigned on those floating coffins. . . . There is a list of mass tragedies already available; incomplete though it certainly must be, it is sickeningly long."*

65. After the "Struma" disaster the rules were relaxed. It was decided to admit and gradually release all refugees from Europe who reached Palestine on their own. At the same time it was made clear that nothing would be done to help them get there. In a communication to the Jewish Agency in May, 1942, the British Government said:

"In pursuance of the existing policy of taking all practicable steps to discourage illegal immigration into Palestine, nothing whatever will be done to facilitate the arrival of Jewish refugees in Palestine."

It should be borne in mind that at that time no facilities existed in the Balkans for obtaining visas to Palestine. The only way for a refugee to seek legal admission to Palestine was to reach Istanbul and apply to the British Consul there. But at Istanbul he was already considered "illegal".

68. Late in 1942, authentic reports about the wholesale extermination of the Jews became public. Under their impact the

* M. Samuel: "Harvest in the Desert", Philadelphia, 1944.

Government, in the middle of 1943, agreed to facilitate the journey to Palestine of all refugees reaching Istanbul. Yet this decision, of which the Jewish Agency was informed confidentially, was not published, nor was it, for a further nine months, communicated to the Turkish Government. It was thus robbed of much of its value.

There can be little doubt that substantial numbers who are dead today, certainly tens of thousands, might have been alive if the gates of Palestine had been kept open.

67. The land restrictions imposed under the White Paper were not so tragic in their immediate effect as the strangle-hold on immigration, but their consequences are grave. First, they restrict the land base of the Jewish National Home and force the Jews in Palestine to remain mainly town dwellers. Secondly, they introduce a statutory discrimination against Jews. Both strike at the essentials of Zionism and at basic provisions of the Mandate regarding Jewish settlement on the land and full racial equality. The Land Regulations claim to protect Arab peasants and cultivators from dispossession. If this were so, one would expect the restrictions to be more severe where Jews have already acquired a considerable proportion of the land. Actually the reverse is the case; in the zone where the Jews have so far only 3%, further transfer of Arab land to them is completely prohibited; where they have 7%, each new acquisition is subject to special approval; where they hold 49%, they are free to acquire the remainder. The real purpose of the Regulations is political: they are intended to preserve the Arab character of the bulk of Palestine.

Administrative practice has gone even beyond the law. Though State lands were expressly excluded from the restrictions, they were, by an administrative ruling, put on the same footing as Arab lands. The Administration has refused to relax this arbitrary ruling even in favor of Jewish ex-soldiers.

68. The White Paper cast its shadow also over the Jewish war effort. In spite of its bitter fruits, the Yishuv was eager to fight with Britain against the common enemy. When the War broke out, Dr. Weizmann, in a letter to the Prime Minister, said: "The Jewish Agency has recently had differences in the political field with the Mandatory Power. We would like these differences to give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time." The offer was officially accepted, but its execution was crippled. Like any other national group, the Yishuv felt entitled to organize its war effort on a national basis. In fact, it was only on that basis that it could be made really effective. But the British authorities felt that such status would run counter to the spirit of the White Paper. Between fighting Hitler and fighting Zionism a conflict had arisen.

69. Altogether some 33,000 Palestinian Jewish volunteers (29,000 men and 4,000 women) served in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and full-time local defense. The 26,000 in the three Services have served in Palestine, France, Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Abyssinia, Libya, Greece, Crete, Syria, Iraq, Italy, Austria and the Low Countries. Apart from the Brigade Group, there were over sixty units of Royal Engineers, transport, ordnance, electrical and mechanical service, etc., who, according to numerous reports, ranked high in the estimation of their respective Commands. This record may be compared with the total of 9,000 Arabs who enlisted in Palestine, but who hailed partly from Transjordan, Syria and the Lebanon; long before the end of the war, the Arab total was reduced by at least one-half through desertions and discharges.

70. Apart from regular military service, selected Jewish civilian volunteers carried out secret raids in the Middle East and parachute missions in enemy Europe. Half of them lost their lives. Here again, a fuller use of such human material was not made because of opposition on political grounds.

71. But for the political obstacles created by the White Paper, the Jewish war effort, both military and economic, would have developed more rapidly and on a larger scale. On the other hand, the White Paper failed in its major purpose of ensuring Arab loyalty. Even before the war, the essential background to the disturbances in Palestine were the Munich years—a period in which Axis prestige was mounting rapidly at the expense of Britain and France. The Mufti of Jerusalem, like shrewd and ambitious men elsewhere, prepared to hitch his wagon to this rising star. The White Paper merely confirmed their diagnosis of Britain's weakness. Axis victories in the opening phases of the war appeared to put the issue beyond doubt. As the threat to the Middle East grew, a pro-Axis orientation, active or passive, predominated throughout the Arab world. The Hitler legend, fostered by skillful propaganda and supported by success, captured the imagination of the Arab leadership.

72. No Middle Eastern country was willing to come into the war on the Allied side. Behind their grudging neutrality, there were pro-Axis elements poised for an attack from within, to coincide with an assault from without. In Iraq, the rising went off at half-cock. The Mufti fled to Berlin from where he exhorted the faithful. Elsewhere in the Middle East a more accurate sense of timing prevailed, and there was no eagerness to come off the fence prematurely. At the end of the war this caution was astonishingly rewarded. Without sacrificing a man or a millieme for victory, the Arab States found themselves amongst the victors, with five seats in the United Nations.

The Jewish people, for all its casualties and contributions, stood on the doormat. Contrary to every expectation, the White Paper remained, even after it had failed to pass the test of war. Bitterly disillusioned, the Jews realized that for them the war was not yet over.

IX.

INTERIM POLICY AND CONCLUSION

73. The fate of Palestine is now in the hands of the United Nations. Despite the victory over Hitler gained two years ago, the martyrdom of considerable numbers of the Jewish survivors of the European massacres continues in displaced person camps and elsewhere. The Jewish Agency holds that while the United Nations deliberate, and pending their recommendations concerning the future government of Palestine, the Mandate must be restored in spirit and in letter, and the illegal policy of the 1939 White Paper terminated. In this connection, it will be recalled that in April of 1946, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry recommended, on grounds of common humanity, the immediate transfer of substantial numbers of Jews from the European camps to Palestine. It also urged the removal of the present racial land restrictions. No action has, in the intervening twelve months, been taken in fulfillment of these recommendations.

74. The Jewish Agency finds it difficult to conceive that the United Nations would wish the present unbearable state of affairs in Palestine and in the camps of Europe to be prolonged because of further protracted deliberations. Specifically, it is urged that pending the decisions of the United Nations, the British Government should be called upon immediately to revert to the original policy confirmed by the League of Nations of regulating Jewish immigration on the basis of the country's capacity to absorb new immigrants, and should further withdraw the discriminatory land regulations of 1940.

75. The Jewish case, judged on the basis of present merit and past commitments, stands firm. The fact of Arab opposition neither weakens nor invalidates it, though it admittedly complicates it. Yet, despite this complication, the world can no longer evade a fundamental solution of the Jewish problem.

The motives for establishing the Jewish people in its own country are more compelling at the end of the second World War than they were at the end of the first. For its lack of a home the Jewish people has paid a terribly penalty. The lesson of the catastrophe is clear: the remnant must be evacuated to Palestine, and statehood must be attained as quickly as possible. The road to statehood is, primarily, that exodus from Europe. The immigration drive must take account also of the position of Oriental Jewries and of the growing insecurity in other countries outside Europe. Side by side with this influx must go large-scale development and absorption projects, which will not materialize unless the responsibility is entrusted to those most vitally interested. Political emancipation for Jewish Palestine is rendered all the more urgent by the rising tide of Pan-Arabism.

76. The State contemplated will be one in which all citizens, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights, and all communities shall control their internal affairs. The State will not be Jewish in the sense that the Jews in it will have more rights than the non-Jews, or that its Jewish community will be superior in status to other communities, or that other religions will have an inferior status to the Jewish religion. In what sense will it then be a Jewish State? It will be Jewish because Jews will have a right of entry to it, not limited by any political consideration; because in it Jews will be free to create a society according to their own way of life; because, in addition to its ordinary function of ensuring the welfare of all its inhabitants, the State will have the special function of serving as the Jewish National Home and providing refuge for oppressed Jews; because by its existence it will normalize the status of the Jewish people.

77. For the State to achieve these ends, a Jewish majority is essential. The grant of self-government to Palestine based on

an Arab majority would prevent further Jewish immigration and wreck the possibilities of the country's rapid development. In this policy the Arabs of Palestine would count on the support of the surrounding Arab States. The result would be the conversion of Palestine into an Arab State and the subjection of its Jewish minority to Arab rule. The converse fear of the Arabs being dominated by a Jewish majority is not warranted. An Arab minority would not have to rely entirely on constitutional safeguards and international guarantees. Palestine is surrounded by Arab territories. Jews everywhere else, including the Arab States, are in the minority. These two facts can be depended upon to serve as brakes on the abuse of power. Moreover, the Jews are intent on development; they cannot do this successfully without the Arabs sharing in the benefits.

78. It is our belief that, in the long view, the Jewish Commonwealth offers the surest basis for a stable relationship between Jewish Palestine and the Arab world. A Jewish minority in an Arab Palestine would be at the mercy of its neighbors. It would be much easier to oppress it than to negotiate with it. The present boycott of Palestinian-Jewish products by the members of the Arab League is a case in point. The boycott was proclaimed in the knowledge that the aggrieved party had no power to reply. Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth would change the situation.

79. Although at present cooperation between Jewish Palestine and the Arab world may seem unlikely, mutual interests are bound sooner or later to bring them closer together. The Middle East is clearly on the threshold of far-reaching developments. It represents at present a vast, under-developed area with a sparse population living mostly in extreme poverty. Palestine has already become something of a laboratory for this region which is drawing the attention of progressive minds in the countries around.

Once the Jewish Commonwealth has been set up, the stimulative effect of its example and technical resources will operate more freely than it does at present, when the Palestine issue is still in the balance. The Jews have much to contribute towards the reconstruction of the Middle East—but they can contribute it only as equals.

80. The present controversy involves the principle of self-determination on both sides. But the choice is between a constructive and a static approach. To be judged correctly, the issue must be set against a wider background. The Jewish return to Palestine is no challenge to Arab control over a huge area, no threat to Arab civilization, no obstacle to Arab progress. On the other hand, the Arab claim to dominate Palestine must be weighed against the human need of millions of Jews and the national need of the Jewish People. Philanthropic attempts to solve the urgent and practical problem of European Jewry by settling Jews elsewhere have failed to elicit a welcoming reaction from the countries of proposed immigration or a creative response from the refugees, whose great longing after all their sufferings is for a homeland of their own. Jews ask that the survivors of the European holocaust be permitted to immigrate freely into Palestine and together with the Jews already there, be enabled to set up a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth as originally envisaged by the Balfour Declaration.

The issue is not merely one between Jews and Arabs. It concerns the whole world. Only the re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth can lay the evil spirit of anti-Semitism and offer the Jews that freedom and security which are the birthright of every people.

RESOLUTION ON JEWISH-ARAB RELATIONS

ADOPTED BY THE

22ND WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS

BASLE, SWITZERLAND, DECEMBER 23, 1946

The Congress endorses the resolution adopted by the Inner Zionist Council in 1945 which laid it down that:

(i) The Jewish State will be based upon full equality of rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race in the political, civil, religious, and national domain, and without domination or subjection. All communities will enjoy full autonomy in the administration of their religious, educational, cultural and social institutions. The Arabic language and Arab schools will enjoy full State rights. Municipal self-government will be developed in all towns and villages. The Jewish State will employ all efforts to raise and equalize the standard of living of all the inhabitants of Palestine.

(ii) The Jewish people will aim at cooperating with the Arabs in Palestine in order to attain the highest degree of development of the country in the interests of all its inhabitants and will strive for an alliance of friendship between the State and the Arab peoples in the neighboring countries, on the basis of reciprocal relations and mutual assistance for the welfare and progress of all countries in the Middle East.

EMINENT DOMAIN AMONG PEOPLES

**A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE AND ARAB
SELF-DETERMINATION**

By

ABRAHAM C. WEINFELD



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EMINENT DOMAIN AMONG PEOPLES
A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE AND ARAB
SELF-DETERMINATION *

By ABRAHAM C. WEINFELD †

The Jewish people has acquired the right to establish a national home in Palestine pursuant to the mandate of the League of Nations¹ and the Anglo-American convention of 1924.² The majority and minority reports of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, hereinafter referred to as the majority and minority reports, have recommended the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine,³ the former making it politically independent, the latter making it a part of a federation. The Arabs point out that the establishment of a Jewish national home or state in all or in a part of Palestine is contrary to the principle of self-determination of nations.

"Self-determination is a term which, since the World War, has been commonly used to denote the right of every people to choose freely such forms of government and of political and cultural institutions as it thinks will best correspond to its needs."⁴ It is a just and vital principle. It is recognized in the Atlantic Charter⁵ and in the Charter of the United Nations.⁶ If the Palestinian population, including or excluding Transjordan, were given an opportunity to create a government of its own choosing, the Arabs who constitute a majority of such population would naturally control the government and would not permit free Jewish immigration, for fear that such immigration might turn the Jewish minority into a majority and enable the Jews to control the government. In the portion of Palestine which the majority report has recommended for inclusion in the Jewish state the Arabs at this time, prior to the recommended Jewish immigration,

* The views expressed herein are the personal views of the writer.

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1. O. J. League of Nations, 1007-1012 (Aug. 1922).

2. 44 STAT. 2184.

3. United States Special Committee on Palestine, Report to the General Assembly, vol. 1, hereinafter referred to as Report. N. Y. Times, Sept. 9, 1947, pp. 33-40.

4. 20 ENCYC. BRITANNICA 306 (1929 ed.).

5. Aug. 14, 1941, Executive Agreement Series (U. S. Dep't. of State Publication 1732). The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; . . ."

6. June 26, 1945 (U. S. Dep't. of State Publication 2353, Conference Series 74). Art. 1 states as one of the purposes of the United Nations "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. . . ." See also Arts. 55, 73b and 76b.

appear to the Committee, according to its estimate, to have a slight majority.⁷ It is clear that the problem of Arab self-determination is a basic one in the consideration of Palestine at this time. This article will attempt to develop a rule of international law applicable in a situation of this kind.

The principle of self-determination was and is designed to meet the needs of *peoples*. During the first World War the slogan of self-determination "was chiefly used by Allied propagandists who represented it as part of the Allied programme to liberate certain subject nationalities of eastern, central, and southeastern Europe and of the Middle East. President Wilson was one of its chief advocates, and included it in his famous Fourteen Points . . . enunciated in 1918."⁸ President Wilson demanded, in point 10, that "The peoples of Austria Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development"; in point 12, that "The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, . . ."; in point 13, he demanded an independent Polish state.⁹ The Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations aim at self-determination of "peoples."¹⁰

The evil which the principle of self-determination was designed to cure was that of a people—that is, a cultural entity, molded by centuries of common history, traditions, language—having no government of its own and therefore deprived of the opportunity to develop its life as a group, feel its needs in its own way, and fashion its own remedies to meet those needs. This was the situation of the Poles, the Czechs, and many other European and Asiatic peoples before the First World War. The Arab people of today is not in that kind of situation. It not only has a government of its own, it has seven governments of its own—Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Transjordan, the first six already members of the United Nations. It cannot be maintained that the Arab people has no opportunity at self-government. Therefore the Arabs' position must necessarily be that, no matter how many governments of their own they may have in various parts of Asia or Africa, they are entitled to self-determination

7. Report, p. 254. N. Y. Times, Sept. 9, 1947, p. 39, col. 7. The number of Jews is estimated to be 500,000 and the number of settled Arabs 416,000, and of Bedouins 90,000. The minority report does not contain an estimate as to the number of Jews and Arabs in the two states proposed by this report.

8. See note 4, *supra*. See also the Four Points speech referred to in 1 WAMBAUGH, *PLEBISCITES SINCE THE WORLD WAR II* (1933).

9. 9 ENCYC. BRITANNICA 566 (1929 ed.).

10. See notes 5 and 6, *supra*.

in Palestine also. A owns an acre of land. B wishes to occupy a small plot in the corner of that acre. A is within his legal rights in barring B from occupying even a foot, on the ground that A owns the entire acre.

We are dealing with two valid rights confronting each other. On one hand, there is the Arab right, based on self-determination, to establish a government in Palestine which will be free, in the exercise of its sovereign power, to limit Jewish immigration and by various other means to prevent the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. On the other, there is the Jewish right to immigrate, settle, work, and after becoming a majority establish a government in Palestine. This right is based not only on the mandate and the Anglo-American convention of 1924. It arises out of all the complex circumstances which brought about the mandate and the convention, and which so strongly impressed the conscience of mankind that the League of Nations as well as the United States determined after the first World War that Palestine should become a Jewish national home, and both the majority and minority reports deem the Jews entitled to statehood in Palestine. Some of those circumstances are: 1) Every civilized people constitutes all or a majority of the population in some country, while the Jews are a minority everywhere. They lack the opportunity of free development as a people according to their own lights and instead are exposed to all the handicaps and sufferings of minorities. 2) To them Palestine is not merely a piece of land where they might settle. Apart from their connection with Palestine while they inhabited that country, Palestine has been at the core of their cultural life since they were driven out of that country 2,000 years ago. The Jewish religion, rituals, festivals, law, poetry, fairy tales, mysticism are woven around and permeated with references to Palestine, and would not be what they are without this central and essential element. 3) Because of this connection, Palestine is the only country in the world where Jewish settlement has a reasonable opportunity to succeed. Not because it is a big country or because of the fertility of its soil. It is a small country, about 10,000 sq. miles on the western side of the Jordan and about 35,000 sq. miles on the eastern side.¹¹ The land is considerably eroded, and, as put succinctly by the majority report, about one-half of Palestine west of the Jordan is uninhabitable desert.¹² But the Jewish settlers are willing to work there and are capable of working there harder than anywhere else, and they turn desert into garden. Several other attempts at resettling Jews in various parts of the world

11. NATHAN, *PALESTINE: PROBLEM AND PROMISE* 101 (1946).

12. Report, p. 10; N. Y. Times, Sept. 9, 1947, p. 34, col. 2.

have failed. Only in Palestine were such attempts successful. 4) There is need for considerable shifting of occupations among the Jewish people, and especially for the creation of a numerically commensurate class of farmers. For various reasons, originally under compulsion and later voluntarily, Jews have tended to concentrate in a limited range of occupations. Shifting of occupations is a painful process and can succeed only if the people involved are willing to suffer the pain that goes with it because of other compensations. In this case, there are such other compensations, psychological in nature, connected with the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. 5) Experience of the last 25 years has shown that the Arabs in Palestine, far from suffering as a result of Jewish immigration, have greatly benefited because of higher standards of living introduced by the Jews, better wages, and better health conditions. Palestine has become a magnet attracting Arabs from all the neighboring independent Arab countries.

To arguments based on all these facts the Palestinian Arabs are in a position to reply, 1) that possession is nine-tenths of the law; they are living in Palestine and have lived there as a majority for several centuries, and 2) that no matter how beneficial Jewish immigration might be to the Jews or to the Arabs or to the world at large, the Arabs in Palestine, being the settled community there, do not want Jewish newcomers in any considerable numbers, and certainly not in numbers large enough to turn the Jewish minority into a majority in all or a large part of Palestine.

Law is the traditional form for adjusting human relationships and solving conflicts. Legal precedents, if they should exist, might be helpful. But it seems that there are no legal precedents dealing with this kind of situation. The position of the Jewish people is unique in history, and for this reason alone precedents in international law did not and could not arise. But there existed and exist similar situations in the field of private law, and in connection with them there developed legal rules which may be relied upon as analogies shedding some light on the rights of the parties.¹³ These rules lie in the area of law dealing with eminent domain.

In the life of individuals, the principle of eminent domain is well recognized. "It (eminent domain) embraces all cases where, by authority of the state and for the public good, the property of the individual is taken without his consent to be devoted to some particular use, by the state itself, by a corporation, public or private, or by a

13. As to the propriety of using analogies from municipal law in the field of international law and specifically with reference to analogies between the rules of international law as to acquisition of territorial sovereignty and the rules of municipal law as to acquisition of property, see LAUTERPACHT, *PRIVATE LAW SOURCES AND ANALOGIES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW* 43-71, 99-119 (1927).

private citizen for the welfare of the public."¹⁴ Everybody is familiar with situations where a government takes private property for public use without the consent of the owner, as, for instance, when a governmental unit condemns land for a public hospital or a public highway, or when a common carrier by railroad condemns land in order to lay tracks upon it. These cases involve taking of private property in order to devote it to the use of the public. An opinion has been expressed that Jewish rights in Palestine are supported by the principle which operates "when the recognized authority sanctions the dispossession of farmers in a valley to make a reservoir for a city,"¹⁵ which is also the principle involved in condemning land for a hospital, a highway, or railroad tracks. But the Arab-Jewish situation in Palestine does not appear to be sufficiently analogous. After a Jewish state has been set up in Palestine, the nations of the world will not have a right to govern that state, as the inhabitants of a city have a right to draw water from a city reservoir, or as the public has a right to use a public hospital, a public highway, or a common carrier by railroad.

Closer analogies are presented by situations where a government takes private property in order to make it available for use by particular individuals, as for instance, where a government condemns land for the construction of dwellings for persons of low income. Such taking has been held authorized.¹⁶ Similarly, taking has been held authorized where a government condemns farming land for the purpose of making it available to farmers who have insufficient holdings.¹⁷ Of the latter type were the large agrarian reform programs instituted in Europe in the period between the two World Wars. In these situations, the immediate beneficiary is a particular individual rather than the public, just as in Palestine the immediate beneficiary would be the Jewish people rather than all the peoples of the world. But it might be argued that the condemnation of the land for dwellings or to increase farmers' holdings is undertaken directly by a public authority, representing all the inhabitants in the area involved, while in Palestine the establishment of a Jewish state would be undertaken directly by the Jewish people and not by an authority representing the peoples of the world. Such a distinction between the two kinds of situations would not be based on a real difference, because the public authority which condemns the land for dwellings or farm purposes really acts as an intermediary in behalf of the future occupiers of the dwellings or

14. 18 AM. JUR. 631.

15. PARKES, *AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE: ANTISEMITISM* 136 (1946).

16. *Keyes v. United States*, 119 F. 2d 444 (App. D. C. 1941), *cert. denied*, 314 U. S. 639 (1941).

17. *People of Puerto Rico v. Eastern Sugar Association*, 156 F. 2d 316 (C. C. A. 1st 1946), *cert. denied*, 329 U. S. 772 (1946).

the farm land. But since there is a basis for such an argument it would be desirable to find still closer analogies.

It seems that perfect analogies exist in instances of use of eminent domain in the United States in transfers of private property from one individual to another individual *for the latter's private benefit*. The use of eminent domain in the United States for such purposes should be persuasive because private property rights enjoy a very high degree of protection in the United States, probably as high as anywhere in the world, and it may well be concluded that if the law in the United States sees fit to permit an invasion of a private property right in favor of an individual on the basis of eminent domain under certain circumstances, international law may similarly permit infringement of the right of self-determination of one people in favor of another under proper circumstances. No right, no matter how high the degree of protection afforded to it by law, is absolute.

One of the situations in which the law in the United States sanctions taking of private property of one person in favor of another on the basis of eminent domain involves so-called *ways of necessity*. "In many states statutes have been passed providing for procedure by which an individual may have the property of another person condemned for the purpose of making a road or right of way to his property . . . In some states ways of necessity may be established by specific constitutional authority. What are 'ways of necessity' within the meaning of such provisions depends upon the rule obtaining in the particular jurisdiction where condemnation is sought. It is sometimes held that there must be an absolute necessity and that the right to condemn does not exist if a man can get to his own property through his own land, however inconvenient the way to his own land may be. On the other hand, a more reasonable construction of the term 'necessity' has been adopted in some jurisdictions, and it has been held that an owner is not to be deprived of the right to condemn a way of necessity merely because he owns other land accessible to a highway if connecting the two tracts to the road would be extremely inconvenient or impractical."¹⁸

The constitution of Alabama provides that "the legislature may by law secure to persons or corporations the right of way over the lands of other persons or corporations, and by general laws provide for and regulate the exercise by persons and corporations of the rights herein reserved; but just compensation shall, in all cases, be first made to the owner . . ."¹⁹ In addition, provisions authorizing private

18. 18 AM. JUR. 686.

19. ALA. CONST. Art. I, § 23.

ways of necessity are found in the constitutions of Arizona,²⁰ Colorado,²¹ Georgia,²² Louisiana,²³ Michigan,²⁴ Mississippi,²⁵ Missouri,²⁶ Montana,²⁷ New York,²⁸ Oklahoma,²⁹ Washington,³⁰ and Wyoming.³¹ The right to establish ways of necessity over private lands of others was upheld by courts in Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Michigan, Missouri, Washington, and Wyoming.³²

Very frequently constitutional provisions for ways of necessity are combined with provisions for other takings of private property by an individual for his own benefit. For instance, the Arizona Constitution³³ provides as follows: "Private property shall not be taken for private use, except for private ways of necessity, and for drains, flumes, or ditches, on or across the lands of others for mining, agricultural, domestic, or sanitary purposes." Similar provisions, sometimes omitting one or two of these purposes and sometimes adding "milling purposes," are also contained in the constitutions of Colorado,³⁴ Illinois,³⁵ Iowa,³⁶ Missouri,³⁷ Oklahoma,³⁸ Washington,³⁹ and Wyoming.⁴⁰

At times a constitution, in effect, permits taking for private benefit but designates the private use by the beneficiary as a "public use." Thus the constitution of Idaho⁴¹ provides as follows: "Right of eminent domain. The necessary use of lands for the construction of reservoirs or storage basins, for the purpose of irrigation, or for rights of way for the construction of canals, ditches, flumes or pipes, to convey water to the place of use for any useful, beneficial or necessary purpose, or for drainage; or for the drainage of mines, or the working thereof, by means of roads, railroads, tramways, cuts, tunnels, shafts, hoisting works, dumps, or other necessary means to their complete development,

20. ARIZ. CONST. Art. II, § 17.

21. COLO. CONST. Art. II, § 14, Art. XVI, § 7.

22. GA. CONST. Art. I, § 2-301.

23. LA. CONST. Art. III, § 37; DART, CONSTITUTIONS OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA AND SELECTED FEDERAL LAW 62 (1932).

24. MICH. CONST. Art. XIII, § 3.

25. MISS. CONST. Art. IV, § 110.

26. MO. CONST. Art. I, § 28.

27. MONT. CONST. Art. III, § 15.

28. N. Y. CONST. Art. I, § 7(c).

29. OKLA. CONST. Art. II, § 23.

30. WASH. CONST. Art. I, § 16.

31. WYO. CONST. Art. I, § 32.

32. 29 C. J. S. 820, n. 5, and 831, n. 4; 20 C. J. S. 549, n. 37, and 536, n. 6.

33. See note 20, *supra*.

34. See note 21, *supra*.

35. ILL. CONST. Art. IV, § 31.

36. IOWA CONST. Art. I, § 18.

37. See note 26, *supra*.

38. See note 29, *supra*.

39. See note 30, *supra*.

40. See note 31, *supra*.

41. IDAHO CONST. Art. I, § 14.

or any other use necessary to the complete development of the material resources of the state, or the preservation of the health of its inhabitants, is hereby declared to be a public use, and subject to the regulation and control of the state. Private property may be taken for public use, but not until a just compensation, to be ascertained in the manner prescribed by law, shall be paid therefor." Provisions which authorize taking for a private use by calling it a public use are also contained in the constitutions of Massachusetts,⁴² Montana,⁴³ New York,⁴⁴ and Oregon.⁴⁵

Under constitutions which either expressly authorize taking for purposes of *irrigation* or call it taking for a public use, the courts of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming,⁴⁶ by holdings or clear dicta, have recognized the right of an individual to take property of another in order to irrigate the taker's land. Even in the absence of constitutional authorization it has been held in some states that peculiar local conditions may justify a private landowner, under statutory authority, in condemning a right of way for an irrigation ditch across the land of his neighbor; such a use is deemed to be a public use although the water is used for the benefit of the individual owner.⁴⁷ The Supreme Court of the United States, in discussing the validity of a Utah statute which, without express authority therefor in the state constitution, permitted condemnation for a ditch to convey water for the purpose of irrigation, said in part:⁴⁸ ". . . whether a statute of a State permitting condemnation by an individual for the purpose of obtaining water for his land or for mining should be held to be a condemnation for a public use, and, therefore, a valid enactment, may depend upon a number of considerations relating to the situation of the state and its possibilities for land cultivation, or the successful prosecution of its mining or other industries. Where the use is asserted to be public, and the right of the individual to condemn land for the purpose of exercising such use is founded upon or is the result of some peculiar condition of the soil or climate, or other peculiarity of the State, where right of condemnation is asserted under a state statute, we are always, where it can fairly be done, strongly inclined to hold with the state courts, when they uphold a state statute providing for such condemnation . . ."

42. MASS. CONST. AMEND. XLIX.

43. See note 27, *supra*.

44. N. Y. CONST. Art. I, § 7(d).

45. ORE. CONST. Art. I, § 18.

46. 29 C. J. S. 840, n. 15; 20 C. J. S. 576, n. 17, 18.

47. 29 C. J. S. 840, n. 14; 20 C. J. S. 576, n. 19; *Clark v. Nash*, 198 U. S. 361, 25 Sup. Ct. 676 (1905); *City of Albuquerque v. Garcia*, 17 N. M. 445, 130 Pac. 119 (1913); *Young v. Dugger*, 23 N. M. 613, 170 Pac. 61 (1918).

48. *Clark v. Nash*, 198 U. S. 361, 367, 25 Sup. Ct. 676 (1905).

The general reasoning behind the decisions in irrigation cases has been summarized as follows:⁴⁹ " . . . In other regions the natural obstacles can best be overcome by allowing the individual farmers to construct the ditches which will irrigate their own lands, and statutes have been enacted which allow each individual proprietor to exercise eminent domain for his own private irrigation. While it is generally recognized that such statutes go to the verge of constitutionality and that where agricultural conditions are normal such an interference with private rights will not be tolerated, it has been held in those states that have found it advisable to enact such statutes that they make possible the development of the natural resources of the state and are consequently constitutional."

An owner of semi-arid land who could draw his water only from springs on the land of his neighbor—the latter making no use of the water—and needed this *water primarily for household and stock-raising purposes*, was held authorized to condemn a portion of the water supply, though this authority was based on a statute only. The State constitution provided that the use of water for irrigation, mining, and manufacturing purposes be deemed a public use, but did not mention household or stock-raising purposes.⁵⁰

In earlier times, when steam as a motive power was unknown and capital was small, the erection of dams and the *flowage of lands for mill purposes and to create water power* were considered to be for a public use and the statutes authorizing them were assumed to be valid. In most states the power of taking land for such purposes has been considered as resting on the right of eminent domain, but in some it is based on the rights of riparian owners to use the stream for the public good, having due regard to the interest of all.⁵¹

In some states, *mining* is of such importance to the welfare of the people as to be regarded as a public use for which private property may be condemned, and statutes declaring the mining industry to be a public use have been upheld in Alaska, Nevada, and Utah.⁵² The reasoning in support of such a holding has been stated by a Nevada court as follows:⁵³ " . . . Mining is the greatest of the industrial pursuits in this state. All other interests are subservient to it . . . The mines are fixed by the laws of nature, and are often found in places almost inaccessible . . . and a road to and from the mine is always indispensable. The sites necessary for these purposes are often-

49. 18 AM. JUR. 701.

50. State *ex rel.* Andersen v. Superior Court of Lincoln County, 119 Wash. 406, 205 Pac. 1051 (1922).

51. 29 C. J. S. 841, n. 17, 24 and 25.

52. 29 C. J. S. 844, n. 60; 20 C. J. S. 582, n. 68.

53. Dayton Gold and Silver Mining Company v. Seawell, 11 Nev. 394, 409 (1876).

times confined to certain fixed localities. Now it so happens, or, at least, is liable to happen, that individuals, by securing a title to the barren lands adjacent to the mines, mills or works, have it within their power, by unreasonably refusing to part with their lands for a just and fair compensation, which capital is always willing to give without litigation, to greatly embarrass if not entirely defeat the business of mining in such localities. In my opinion, the mineral wealth of this state ought not to be left undeveloped for the want of any quantity of land actually necessary to enable the owner or owners of mines to conduct and carry on the business of mining . . . "

Production of electric power for use in aid of farming was held a public use within the meaning of a constitutional provision designating as public all uses "necessary to the complete development of the natural resources of the state," and condemnation of an easement necessary for the development of electric power by utilizing appropriated water in a stream was held authorized.⁵⁴

To state the underlying theory generally,⁵⁵ " . . . When . . . the natural conditions in a state are such that, unless the owners of wild and uncultivated lands can be compelled to yield their undoubted property rights in such a way as to enable their neighbors to make use of the natural resources of their own lands, the development of the state will come to a stop and its inhabitants will be obliged to abandon their homes or starve, the doctrine *salus populi suprema lex* comes into play, and no mere legal theory will compel that state to remain a desert and a waste. Different modes of reasoning have been adopted to effect the desired result; but it may be accepted as settled law that when a particular industry is vital to the prosperity of an entire region and that industry cannot be carried on without some invasion of the rights of private property as elsewhere recognized, such invasion may constitutionally be authorized."

It has thus been seen that in the United States the law permits an individual, under peculiar circumstances, to take the property of another. These circumstances are varied. One man cannot get to his land except over the property of another. He cannot farm his land unless he can irrigate it, and he cannot irrigate it unless he can construct an irrigation ditch over the land of another. He needs water for household or stock-raising purposes and can get it only from the land of his neighbor. He needs electric current for his farm and can get it only by condemning an easement on his neighbor's land. Where the mining industry is essential to the prosperity of a state, land might

54. *Bassett v. Swenson*, 51 Idaho 256, 5 P. 2d 722 (1931).

55. 18 AM. JUR. 674.

be obtained from an unwilling owner in order to construct a road to a mine. All these grants of the right to condemn property for the benefit of an individual do not represent the rule. They represent exceptions to the rule. The makers of the law, be they the people, the legislature, the courts or combinations of these bodies, consider the importance of a man's occupation or activity to himself and to the region or area involved, the degree of inconvenience or infringement of right suffered by the man whose rights are invaded, the conditions of soil, climate, and all other circumstances of a particular situation, and decide that such a situation calls for an exception to the rule and permit one individual, for his own benefit, to infringe upon the rights of another.

To apply the analogy, the Arab-Jewish situation calls for an exception to the rule. The Arabs may be entitled to self-determination in all the vast territories they occupy from Morocco to Iran, including about 1,650,000 square miles in the previously mentioned seven Arab states alone.⁵⁶ But the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, which with its 45,000 square miles—a figure including Transjordan—is a mere drop in the Arab bucket, is as essential to the Jewish people as is water in an arid country. Under the actual facts of the situation as previously recited, there would appear to be ample justification for infringement upon the Arab right of self-determination to the extent that such infringement is necessarily caused by large Jewish settlement and the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. The fact that President Wilson, who was devoted to the principle of self-determination of nations as much as any other person,⁵⁷ also supported a Jewish state in Palestine⁵⁸ ought to be some indication that the Jewish claim is valid when tested by that principle.

The law in the United States requires just compensation to be paid in cases of condemnation of property. It may be that such a rule should also prevail, as a matter of international law, in cases of infringement on a people's right to self-determination. International law contains a body of precedents and other legal materials bearing on the duty to compensate when a government deprives an alien of his property under that government's jurisdiction. In practice, governments have paid full compensation, partial compensation, and no com-

56. NATHAN, *op. cit.*, see note 11, *supra*, at 76. In these seven States the Arabs number about 35,000,000, including about 1,200,000 in Palestine west of the Jordan and about 350,000 east of the Jordan, while there probably are about 600,000 Jews in Palestine, all west of the Jordan. *Id.* at 25, 126, and majority report. N. Y. Times, Sept. 9, 1947, p. 34, col. 4.

57. See note 8, *supra*.

58. President Wilson stated to a delegation representing the American Jewish Congress, "I am . . . persuaded that the allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." N. Y. Times, Mar. 3, 1919, p. 1, col. 2.

pensation, and there has been theoretical support for each of these positions, the older view almost solidly insisting on full, while the more recent view being largely satisfied with partial compensation.⁵⁹ The right to self-determination is not tangible property but payments for violation of intangible rights are not unknown to the law. If compensation were due to the Palestinian Arabs, consideration would have to be given to the compensation already furnished to them, apart from paying the purchase price for land or other property, by the Jews' pouring energy and capital into Palestine, applying modern working methods there, and thus raising the standard of living of the Palestinian Arabs. If the majority report were put into practice, the financial benefits to the Arab state flowing from its economic union with the Jewish state would also have to be considered.

It appears that, as a basic proposition, self-determination of a people may in appropriate instances be made to yield to needs and rights of other peoples, and that large-scale Jewish immigration and settlement and the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine are justified, when considered against the background of the Arab right to self-determination in Palestine.

[Author's Note: This article was completed before the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the partition of Palestine. Within the boundaries of the Jewish State as approved by the Assembly the Jews form a clear majority, there being 538,000 Jews and 397,000 Arabs in that State. N. Y. Times, Nov. 30, 1947 Sec. 4 p. 4 col. 3. Therefore the conclusion of this article that, from the standpoint of self-determination, the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine is justified, is all the more applicable to the creation of the Jewish State as approved by the Assembly.]

59. Weinfeld, *The Mexican Oil Expropriation*, 1 NAT. LAW. GUILD Q. 367, 377, 395 (1938); SHARP, NATIONALIZATION OF KEY INDUSTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE 44-48 (1946).

MEMORANDUM
ON
ACTS OF ARAB AGGRESSION

submitted to the
UNITED NATIONS PALESTINE COMMISSION
by the
JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK

FEBRUARY 2, 1948

MEMORANDUM
ON
ACTS OF ARAB AGGRESSION TO ALTER BY FORCE THE
SETTLEMENT ON THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF PAL-
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SUMMARY

The Jewish Agency for Palestine submits that a situation has arisen in Palestine whose continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. This situation is due to an attempt by the Arab League and by the Governments represented therein in concert with the Palestine Arab Higher Committee to alter by force the settlement envisaged by the General Assembly's *Resolution on the Future Government of Palestine* (November 29, 1947, A/516)—an attempt which, according to Part A of the Resolution, should be determined “as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.”

This aggression is taking three forms:

A. *A campaign of threats, incitement and propaganda* officially sponsored by the Arab League and the Governments represented therein, which is “designed to provoke and encourage a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace and acts of aggression,” in violation of the Resolution unanimously adopted by the General Assembly with reference to *Propaganda and the Inciters of a New War* (October 28, 1947, A/428) and of *Article 2, Paragraph 4 of the Charter*.

B. *Direct acts of aggression* recently organized and sponsored by the Governments of Syria and Lebanon against the Jewish population of Palestine in a manner inconsistent with the *Purposes and Principles* of the United Nations (as defined in *Article 1 of the Charter*) and in violation of *Article 2*.

C. Threats and preparations for aggression in Palestine now being made by all or several Governments represented in the Arab League in violation of *Article 2 of the Charter*, relating to the “threat or use of force in international relations” and in a manner inconsistent with the *Purposes and Principles of the United Nations*.

INTRODUCTION

In April 1947 the United Kingdom Government as the Mandatory Power requested the General Assembly (under Article 10 of the Charter) to make a recommendation on the future Government of Palestine. The General Assembly, accepting the view repeatedly expressed by the United Kingdom Government that the United Nations had jurisdiction to define the form of government in the territory of the Palestine Mandate, took steps to study and investigate all matters bearing upon the situation in that country. A Special Session of the

General Assembly held in April and May, 1947, appointed a Special Committee of the United Nations to investigate all aspects of the Palestine question and present a Report to the General Assembly. On September 1, 1947, after a careful investigation conducted in Palestine and Europe, the Special Committee presented its Report¹ which the General Assembly referred on September 23, 1947, to an Ad Hoc Committee. This Ad Hoc Committee appointed two sub-committees, of which one presented a Resolution for a settlement by Partition and Economic Union, and the other, composed of Arab and Moslem states, submitted a Resolution for a unitary Palestinian State. The former Resolution was adopted in the Ad Hoc Committee by 25 votes to 13. The latter was rejected by 29 votes to 12. Accordingly, on November 25, 1947, the Ad Hoc Committee presented a Resolution to the General Assembly involving a settlement of the Palestine question by Partition and Economic Union. This was adopted by the General Assembly with 33 votes in favor and 13 votes against.

2. The General Assembly appointed a 5-power Commission to implement its recommendation; allotted certain functions to the Trusteeship Council and the Economic and Social Council respectively, in carrying out parts of the plan; and requested the Security Council to take action under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter if the situation in Palestine constituted a threat to the peace. The General Assembly further requested the Security Council to determine as "a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace or an act of aggression any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution." The General Assembly finally appealed "to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations."

3. The Resolution adopted on November 29, 1947, was thus the result of a prolonged attempt by the United Nations to seek a solution by inquiry and negotiation. The Arab States, as well as the Arabs of Palestine, were afforded ample opportunity to submit their views and proposals to all the organs established by the United Nations to discuss the future government of Palestine. Their representatives did in fact present proposals to the Ad Hoc Committee for a constitution establishing Palestine as a unitary Arab State.² These proposals were examined, discussed and emphatically rejected.

¹ United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, Report to the General Assembly, Volume 1.

² Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestine Question. Report of Sub-Committee 2. A/AC, 14/32, November 11, 1947.

4. The following pages will show that the *Arab States in concert with the Palestine Arab Higher Committee are attempting to overthrow by force the settlement which the General Assembly has approved and to impose by force the settlement which the General Assembly has rejected.*

A. PROPAGANDA AND INCITEMENT DESIGNED TO PROVOKE A BREACH OF THE PEACE.

5. In submitting that there is a purposeful attempt by Arab Governments in conjunction with the Palestine Arab Higher Committee to alter by force the settlement envisaged by the General Assembly's Resolution, the Jewish Agency is content to rest on the admissions of those Governments themselves. The Arab League never intended to accept the results of any mediation, arbitration or judicial settlement. When the Report of the United Nations Special Committee was published, the Political Committee of the Arab League meeting in Sofar, Lebanon, on September 16-19, 1947, passed resolutions which included the following threats:

"The Committee will regard the implementation of these recommendations (i.e., the UNSCOP recommendations of the majority and minority alike) as a certain danger menacing security in Palestine, and security and peace all over the Arab countries. Therefore it has determined by all practical and effective means *to resist the implementation of these recommendations.* They—the Palestine Arabs—*will launch a relentless war* to repel this attack on their country *especially so as they know that all the Arab countries will back and assist them,* supplying them with men, funds and ammunition. . . ." ¹

6. Subsequent events in Palestine, when the Arabs did indeed "launch a relentless war" and were "backed by men, funds and ammunition" from the Arab States, make it clear that the League's statement must be regarded as a plan and not as an abstract prediction. The "practical and effective means" contrived and advocated by the Arab States were never envisaged as being limited by the provisions of the Charter; indeed, the Secretary-General of the Arab League was thinking in terms which are quite remote from the lofty sentiments of San Francisco. "This war," he said, "will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongol massacres and the Crusades." ² In his further observations Azzam Pasha outlined three characteristics of the future war—the belief in glorious death as a road to Paradise, the opportunities of loot, and the Bedouin love of slaughter for its own sake.

¹ Al-Ahram, Cairo, September 21, 1947.

² Akhbar al-Yom, October 11, 1947.

7. Azzam Pasha had made his statement to an Egyptian newspaper; Jamal Husseini, for the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, deemed the United Nations a better platform for a call to arms against the Assembly's decision: "The partition line proposed," he said, "shall be nothing but a line of fire and blood."¹

8. At the Sessions of the General Assembly one Arab spokesman after another enunciated his conception of the Arab States' attitude to the settlement of an international problem by international decision. The Assembly was repeatedly told that it must either ratify all Arab demands or be met with fierce and widespread violence in the Arab world.²

9. When the General Assembly set its own impartial judgment above this menacing clamor and refused to subject the entire Jewish population of Palestine to the domination of a unitary Arab State, violent threat became the keynote of all Arab official utterances. It was not a propagandist campaign alone; the aim and effect of these declarations were to incite Palestine Arabs to active violence and the populations of the Arab States to active aggression in their support. On December 1, 1947, Azzam Pasha made a declaration in which he said:³

"By no means shall we permit the implementation of the resolution of the United Nations to partition Palestine. We shall resist and fight off this resolution with all the means at our disposal. *We have prepared an elaborate plan agreed upon by the Arab States in the meetings of the League Council.* This plan is being put into effect for the last two months. . . . The way of operation has been entrusted to a technical Committee. . . . The time is not a time for talk but for action."

It is clear that Azzam Pasha was here referring to the Arab League's decision at Sofar in September 1947 "to make Palestine a unified independent Arab State."⁴

10. The heads of Arab Governments have been as active as the Arab League spokesmen in provoking and encouraging threats to the peace in Palestine. Their utterances in this sense are quite unaffected by their vote in the General Assembly condemning warlike propaganda.

¹ Proceedings of Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, November 24, 1947.

² Speeches by Syrian Delegate, November 26, 1947, and by Iraqi delegate, November 28, 1947.

³ Al Wahda, Jaffa, December 1, 1947.

⁴ See above, Paragraph 5.

On September 22, the Iraqi Premier told the press, "I have requested you to prepare the Iraqi people, especially the youth, for the actions and sacrifices which may be necessitated by the situation. I now repeat this request."¹ On October 23, he declared that "*the Iraqi army will march and enter Palestine if the United Nations adopt partition.*"² On December 2, the Lebanese Prime Minister stated that "Lebanon had started carrying out the Arab League's decision to make Palestine a unitary Arab State." He went on to say that "the Lebanese Army will play its part when that time comes." On January 12, 1948, the Syrian Premier, Jamil Mardam Bey, declared to youths in Damascus clamoring for arms to fight the Jews that "President Shukri al-Quwatly approves of the movement of Arab youth and of their readiness for Jihad in defense of Arab Palestine."³

11. Efforts are sometimes made to portray the assistance given in Arab States to aggression in Palestine as the voluntary and spontaneous actions of excited citizens and not as formal acts of Governments. Some Arab representatives, however, are too candid for this subterfuge. Thus in the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies, the Prime Minister Riad al Solh said, "I am speaking under the dome of this chamber and in this official capacity proclaiming that we shall provide Palestine with all the arms, funds and men we possess."⁴ On December 7 he said, "The Lebanese Army now on the Palestine borders will play its part with other Arab armies in saving Palestine when the proper time comes."⁵

12. The above-quoted statements by Iraqi, Syrian and Lebanese ministers, designed to provoke and assist aggression against the Jews of Palestine, are well matched by similar declarations on behalf of the Governments of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Transjordan. Indeed, all seven Arab States associated themselves through their Prime Ministers with a declaration in Cairo on December 17, 1947, in which they pledged themselves to oppose the United Nations' decision by force. An announcement to the press after their consultations said: "Partition is illegal and the Arab Governments will take decisive measures which will guarantee the defeat of partition."⁶ The same announcement contained a threat by the seven Prime Ministers to throw the full force of their armies into "the battle . . . until victory is achieved." The communique added: "It now behooves the Arabs to

¹ Al-Ahram, September 24, 1947; Beirut, September 23, 1947.

² Reuter's Baghdad, October 23, 1947.

³ Associated Press Damascus, January 12, 1948.

⁴ Al-Ahram, October 1, 1947.

⁵ Associated Press Cairo, December 7, 1947.

⁶ United Press Cairo, December 17, 1947.

prepare for the struggle." The decisions taken at the Cairo meeting were subsequently interpreted in separate declarations by its participants wherein they reaffirmed the attitudes which they had already proclaimed. The Prime Minister of Lebanon then said that the Arab League "had definitely decided to arm Palestine Arabs, reinforce them with volunteers and collect a war fund to finance an all-out fight in Palestine."¹ He went on to say: "We will never sleep until we save Palestine as an independent Arab unified State. We promise you we will supply Palestine . . . with weapons, equipment and men. I hope you will have confidence in the leaders of the Arab League. You shall witness soon the results of their work." The Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, Emir Faisal al-Saud, declared: "We promise you to save Palestine by our souls, money and sons. . . . I am depending on God and you to maintain Palestine as an Arab independent State."² The Prime Minister of Syria, Jamil Mardam Bey, said that "the time for speeches is past and the stage for action is at hand. We should all be determined to liberate Palestine by our might and money."³ On December 6, 1947, the Yemenite representative in Cairo, Sayyid Ali al Muayyed said: "The Yemenite people are all armed and all are anxious to fight for Palestine."⁴ On the same day the Prime Minister of Transjordan, Samir al Rifai Pasha, said: "My country's forces will be allied with the rest of the Arab world to fight for Palestine."⁵

13. It would be manifestly absurd to contend in the face of these declarations that Arab Governments bear no responsibility for the violence and bloodshed which have been provoked in Palestine by their propaganda and intensified by the participation of their nationals. A few weeks after the Cairo meeting the Arab League evidently deemed it prudent to discard all pretense that violent action was not officially sponsored. As'ad Dagher, Press Officer of the Arab League, convened a press conference at which he disclosed that the Arab League "*had recommended that the Arab nations occupy all Palestine with their regular armies when British troops leave Palestine.*"⁶

14. The Arab leaders in Palestine who acknowledge the ex-Mufti's leadership are themselves quite conscious that they may rely on the support of neighboring Governments in their efforts to submerge the peace of Palestine in a rising tide of bloodshed and aggression. The adoption of the General Assembly's resolution was the signal for

¹ AP Cairo, December 15, 1947.

² AP Cairo, December 15, 1947.

³ AP Cairo, December 15, 1947.

⁴ AP Cairo, December 6, 1947.

⁵ AP Cairo, December 6, 1947.

⁶ AP Cairo, January 15, 1948.

attacks on Jewish life and property organized by the Arab Higher Committee through its local committees and groups in towns and village areas. A leading member of the Arab Higher Committee, Emil Ghoury, informed three American journalists on December 31, of the Higher Committee's resolve to organize bloodshed in Palestine under the direction of the Arab League's military committee at Damascus headed by General Taha al-Hashimi, former Iraq War Minister.¹ Mr. Ghoury continued: "Arab forces will also include volunteers from other Arab countries . . . and the war will start at the convenient opportunity."

On the basis of these and similar official declarations the Jewish Agency submits that the seven States represented in the Arab League are responsible—together with the Palestine Arab Higher Committee—for conducting propaganda which is designed to provoke and encourage a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, and acts of aggression within the terms of the General Assembly's Resolution of November 29, 1947, in violation of the Resolution unanimously adopted by the General Assembly with reference to *Propaganda and the Inciters of a New War (A/428 October 28, 1947)* and in a manner inconsistent with the *Purposes and Principles of the United Nations* as laid down in *Article 1 of the Charter*.

B. DIRECT ACTS OF AGGRESSION.

Attacks organized by Syria and Lebanon against Jewish villages in North Palestine on January 9, January 14 and January 21.

15. On the morning of Friday, January 9, 1948, Arab forces from Syria attacked two Jewish villages in northern Palestine, Kfar Szold and Dan, both located near the Syrian border some twenty-five miles north of Lake Tiberias.²

A study of Arab statements in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine during the days preceding this attempted invasion reveals the concern of Arab leaders at the scanty results of the violence which they had organized in Palestine. On December 31, Mr. Emil Ghoury of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee had informed press correspondents that "his only criticism of attacks by the Arabs was that they are not enough."³ Dr. Hussein Khalidi, General Secretary of the Committee, had stated that the world "would soon see evidence of Arab military skill." Reliable observers had noticed an increase in the number of "Palestine Liberation Committees" in Syria and Lebanon. In the Qatana camp near Damascus, allotted by the Syrian army to volunteers for aggression in

¹ New York Herald Tribune, January 15, 1948.

² New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, January 10, 1948.

³ New York Times, January 1, 1948.

Palestine, hundreds of Arabs from Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt and Palestine were receiving training for immediate operations.¹

16. The invaders on January 9 numbered about 400: they came across the frontiers in motor trucks and attacked the Jewish villages in two waves. They were equipped with modern automatic weapons and wore uniforms similar to those of the Syrian army. A battle between them and the Jewish settlers led by Haganah commanders, raged for three and a half hours before British troops supported by artillery and Royal Air Force Spitfires intervened to bring the situation under control. Three Jews were killed and eight were wounded; the Arabs left some 25 dead.

17. The objects of the attack were varied. According to reliable reports there was a desire to test the effects of this frontier violation on United Nations opinion; and it is significant that the aggression coincided with the first meeting of the United Nations Implementation Commission. Another object was to provide cover for the infiltration of Syrian volunteers into Palestine territory. According to a well authenticated report from Damascus,² "nine hundred men commanded by Akram Kaurani moved by truck through Lebanon and crossed into Palestine near Beit Jebeil. Another six hundred commanded by Abed Shisbekli entered Palestine by the bridge known as Jisr Banat Yaqub." The same source is probably correct in defining the main object of the attack as an effort to sustain Arab morale which "needed . . . some sensational victory, such as the capture of a town that would electrify the Arab world and stir the doubting into action."³

18. On January 12, the British Foreign Office announced that the British Minister in Damascus had "called for information from the Syrian Government and . . . had expressed the concern of the United Kingdom Government over the attack and asked that action be taken to prevent the situation from being aggravated."⁴

19. No secret was made of official Syrian and Lebanese complicity with these attacks. On January 10, a Palestinian Arab daily⁵ reported that the Syrian Defense Minister, Ahmed Sharabati, had arrived in Lebanon on Thursday, January 8, with a convoy of thirty lorries carrying 700 Arab recruits from Syria on their way to Merj Ayun on the Palestine-Lebanese frontier. The British station broad-

¹ New York Times, January 19, 1948.

² New York Times, January 18, 1948.

³ New York Times, January 18, 1948.

⁴ New York Times, January 13, 1948.

⁵ Al-Sha'ab, Jaffa.

casting in Arabic from Jaffa (Sharq al-Adna) stated that the Lebanese Defense Minister, Majid Bey Arslan, had similarly gone to Merj Ayun for "an important meeting of the Palestine Defense and Liberation Army."

20. Following a request from the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies, the Prime Minister and Defense Minister reported to the Chamber on January 14, 1948, on the progress of current aid to the Palestine Arabs. All Lebanese newspapers carried accounts of these proceedings whose highlights are the following:

The Prime Minister stated that Arab Governments are determined to fight the partition of Palestine with all their force. He emphasized that the Arab States have not recognized and will never recognize the United Nations' decision on Palestine.

The Defense Minister gave what he called "an eye-witness account" of Arab attacks on Jewish villages in Northern Palestine. "These attacks," he said, "would be strengthened and would take the shape of a real war in the near future." He added "that all activities, such as the collection of funds, registration and training of volunteers, assembling of arms, etc., are being supervised by himself and the Syrian Defense Minister in accordance with the resolutions adopted at the recent Premiers' Conference in Cairo."¹

Meanwhile in Damascus, the Syrian Defense Minister, Ahmed Sharabati, made a statement containing his impressions of the engagement at Dan and threatening "a direct frontal attack on Jewish forces in about a month."²

Attack on Dan and Lehavot

21. The attack of January 9 appears to have established a precedent for the free crossing of the Syrian-Palestine border by Arab "volunteers." On January 14, Arabs from Syria again attacked the Jewish settlement of Dan and the younger settlement of Lehavot four miles south of Dan, blowing up the community's water source and damaging its fish ponds. This attack originated at Shuta just across the Syrian border. A British official announcement said that British troops from Metullah drove the Arabs off in a battle which lasted an hour and a half. The Arabs left one dead and withdrew into Syria.³

¹ Speeches in the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies, January 14, 1948.

² New York Times, January 10, 1948.

³ AP, January 14, 1948.

Attack on Yehiam

22. On January 21, a force of about 400 Arabs crossed the Lebanon-Palestine border and attacked the Jewish village of Yehiam, 20 miles east of Nahariya in Western Galilee. Nine Jews, including five settlement policemen, were killed. The attack began at 7 a. m. and lasted five hours during which time Arabs cut all the bridges and culverts leading to the village. The battle raged for six hours before British troops arrived. There are 60 adult Jewish settlers at Yehiam.

23. On January 22, a smaller Arab force again crossed the frontier, renewed the attack on Yehiam and was driven off with heavy casualties. These attacks on January 21 and 22 were carried out by well-organized uniformed companies with covering support from mortars.¹

24. Men who infiltrated into Palestine under cover of these attacks have taken part in assaults on Jews in many parts of the country. Syrian and Iraqi units have been observed as snipers in Haifa, in attacks on Ramat Rahel (near Jerusalem), and Kfar Etzion (near Hebron), and elsewhere.²

Aggression by units of the Transjordan Arab Legion

25. The acts of aggression described above have involved the violation of the Palestinian frontier at the instigation and behest of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments in order to commit wanton and murderous aggression against peaceful Jewish villages and to bring about a political settlement which the General Assembly has condemned, by methods which the Charter forbids. Murderous acts against the Jewish population have also been committed by the Transjordan Arab Legion, a foreign army maintained in Palestine under British command. These acts, for which the responsibility falls on the Mandatory Government, will be described in a separate submission by the Jewish Agency.

Summary of Direct Acts of Aggression Already Committed

26. The following Chapter, dealing with preparations for future onslaughts on the Jews in violation of the Charter and in defiance of the General Assembly's decision, will make it clear that the main phase of Arab aggression is still to come. Yet it would be futile to ignore

¹ New York Times, January 22, 23, 1948.

² AP Jerusalem, January 4, 1948, reported "Syrians, Lebanese and Transjordanians have filtered into Jerusalem to swell the ranks of Sheikh Bakhri" (leader of Arab group in the Old City of Jerusalem).

the fact that aggression has already begun, and that the atmosphere of impunity in which it has been committed must serve as an encouragement to more ambitious violence in the future. The Syrian and Lebanese Governments have already assembled, organized, equipped and despatched Arab forces to commit aggressive acts against peaceful Jewish communities in territory wherein Syria and Lebanon have no right of access or jurisdiction at all. Syria is a member of the Security Council on which the Charter (Article 24) confers "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." Yet it is on Syrian territory, with the active support of the Syrian Government, that forces have been and are being armed and organized for frontier violation, aggression and attempts to overthrow a decision of the General Assembly by force. The Lebanon, with other Arab States, sponsored in the General Assembly a Resolution on "Illegal Immigration" amidst many eloquent protestations on the inviolability of frontiers. Yet the Lebanese and Syrian frontiers offer free passage for unauthorized entry of men and arms into Palestine under the personal supervision of the Defense Ministers concerned with the avowed object of disturbing international peace and security. In Beirut and Damascus respectively, in close touch and collusion with the Governments concerned, the two main instigators of the present disturbance and warfare in Palestine have their abode: *Haj Amin al Husseini*, ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and *Fawzi al Kawukji*, his accomplice as leader of the Arab Rebellion in 1936. Since the Report of the British Royal Commission¹ signalled these men out for primary guilt in the organization of bloodshed a decade ago, they have managed to perfect their aggressive techniques and ideologies through long residence during the war in Nazi Germany as allies of the Hitler regime. Through them, this attack on the very soul of the Charter is connected, in an invidious but appropriate lineage, with the "scourge of War" from which the United Nations aspires to "save succeeding generations of mankind."²

27. The Jewish Agency submits that the relatively limited scope of these acts of aggression within the past two months does not absolve the United Nations from the necessity of taking steps to suppress breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. It is submitted that only firm and timely international action can avert the full unfolding of the aggressive design which is now being prepared by certain Member States of the United Nations.

¹ Royal Commission Report, Chapter IV, Paragraph 14.

² Another such link is provided by the Arab commander in Jaffa and Lydda, Sheikh Hassan Salameh, who was described by Mr. Emil Ghoury on December 31, 1947, as one of the most active men in the field (New York Times, January 4, 1948). Sheikh Salameh was dropped in Palestine by parachute as a German Major for sabotage duties in 1944.

C. PREPARATIONS FOR AGGRESSION BY ARAB STATES AGAINST JEWS OF PALESTINE AND UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES.

28. The violent propaganda organized by Arab Governments in recent weeks, the three acts of aggression committed by Syria and Lebanon, and the current infiltration of officially sponsored "volunteers" are merely the prelude for the main phase of Arab aggression which is planned to take place in the near future. The Arab League spokesman, As'ad Dagher, in his statement on January 15 indicated that the end of the British Mandate would be the signal for the occupation of the whole of Palestine by armies of the Arab States.¹ The Syrian Defense Minister, Ahmed Sharabati, however, declared on January 13, on his return from the operations based on Merj Ayun against Dan and Kfar Szold, that "a direct frontal attack against Jewish forces can be expected in about a month from the Arab People's Army. Full-scale training and arming are progressing."²

Recruiting and Training in Syria.

29. According to the Cairo paper, Al-Zaman, of December 17, the Arab League Council entrusted the Syrian Government with the task of organizing "the popular movement for the rescue of Palestine." Damascus, by all accounts, is now the center of a well-organized movement under the direction of the Syrian Ministry of National Defence, Ahmed Sharabati, for the recruiting, training and equipment of Palestinian and non-Palestinian Arabs who are to form a "people's army" for the invasion of Palestine. The Cairo newspaper, Al-Ahram, reported on December 15 that "about 700 Palestinian Arabs are already training in Qatana barracks near Damascus; their number is growing by about 100 a day." Later the recruiting movement in Damascus began to embrace Syrian nationals as well. On December 4, Aref Nakadi, Governor of Jebel Druz, announced the beginning of recruitment in his area especially for Druses "who were made for war and war was made for them."³ The military commander of Aleppo, Jamil al-Burhani, announced that recruiting in the northern provinces would begin on December 8.⁴ On December 7, the Damascus newspaper, Alif-Ba, reported that the Ministry of National Defence had announced that special recruiting offices would be opened to bedouins "who are inclined by nature to draw the sword."

¹ New York Times, January 16.

² AP Damascus, January 13.

³ Al-Jabal, Damascus, December 4.

⁴ Al-Insha, Damascus, December 7.

30. On December 27 it was reliably reported that 38 senior officers of the Syrian army had "resigned" to help train a voluntary corps. On December 19 the Syrian Defence Ministry announced its "acceptance of the resignations . . . particularly of army officers who wish to volunteer for service in Palestine to fight against partition. The number of those resigning was not immediately discussed."¹ The leader of the recruiting movement is Fawzi al-Kawukji, who informed the press on December 9 that 15,000 volunteers were due to complete training at an early date.²

Apart from Syrians, the trainees at the Qatana camp include Palestinians from Jenin, Nablus and Hebron; a group of Lebanese Moslems; a number of young Iraqis who took part in the pro-Nazi revolt under Rashid Ali and a group of young Egyptians headed by their leader, Ahmed Hussein.³

According to information at the disposal of the Jewish Agency, the number of volunteers in Syria is presently as follows:

Damascus	5,700
Aleppo	5,000
Rest of Syria.....	5,000

Of these, 950 volunteers from Damascus and 400 from Aleppo are now under training, in addition to the 420 fully-equipped Palestinian volunteers in Qatana camp.

Recruiting and Training in Lebanon

31. In Lebanon, recruiting preparations are also in full swing. On December 18, the British Near East Broadcasting Station in Jaffa reported that the first group of 500 volunteers who had enlisted for service in the defence of Palestine had been called up for training by the Beirut recruiting office. Earlier in December the Mufti of Lebanon, Muhammed Tawfiq Khalid, made a public "fatwa" (ruling) declaring a holy war in Palestine.⁴ The Egyptian newspaper, Ruz el-Yusuf, reported on December 10 that "Lebanese volunteers have held manoeuvres near Baalbek using a number of batteries which were put at their disposal by the High Command of the Lebanese Army."

Recruiting and Training in Egypt

32. On December 14 the Damascus newspaper, Al-Insha, reported: "Ahmed Hussein, leader of the Young Egypt Party, has arrived in Damascus and entered the Qatana barracks for training."

¹ AFP—Damascus, December 19.

² AP—Damascus, December 9.

³ Qabas, Damascus, December 12.

⁴ Beirut (daily newspaper), December 4.

He began negotiations with Shukri Quwatli, the Syrian President, and Fawzi al-Kawukji about forming a detachment of Young Egyptians to be named after Mustafa al-Wakil, an Egyptian who collaborated with the Nazis during the war and died in Germany. On December 16 the *Journal d'Egypte* reported that the Egyptian cabinet had authorized the establishment of recruiting offices for volunteers. On December 23 the Cairo newspaper, *Al-Ahram*, published a letter from Ahmed Hussein giving full details of the progress of his work in the Qatana barracks. The Egyptian press reflects the impatience of militant elements with what they regard as a cautious attitude of their Government in this recruiting movement. Criticism has been directed against the Government at the party meetings of Young Egypt (*Al-Ahram*, December 19), the Wafd (*Al Musawwar*, December 21) and the Liberal Party (*Al-Ahram*, December 17). It would be a fair description of the position in Egypt to say that while the recruitment of volunteers for aggression in Palestine lacks something of the governmental drive which is freely given in Syria, voluntary activity for these purposes is sponsored by the Egyptian Government and is encouraged by the militant leaders of the Arab League secretariat which has its abode in Cairo. That this movement is gathering strength is clear from the *New York Times*, which reported on January 20: "Members of the Kawukji staff said they had been negotiating with Arab groups in Egypt. They said the Nationalist party and the Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt were contributing most of the men for a force that would cross the Sinai Desert to attack Jewish settlements in the south while the Kawukji force operated from the Nablus area."

Recruiting and Training in Iraq

33. Recruiting offices of the "Committee for the Rescue of Palestine" were opened in Baghdad on December 8.¹ On December 12 a number of Iraqi young men who had participated in the pro-Nazi Rashid Ali rebellion in Iraq of 1941 arrived in Damascus and put themselves at Fawzi al-Kawukji's disposal.²

On January 17, 1948, the Egyptian newspaper, *Al-Masri*, reported that Jamal Husseini had stated after visiting the Iraqi Vice-Premier that a well organized Arab Commando group was being formed in Iraq for special assignments in Palestine.

34. On December 27 Col. Taher Muhammed, a member of the "Palestine Defence Committee," stated that "two regiments of volunteers will be sent to Palestine within a week to fight for the Arabs.

¹ *Al Sa-a*, December 9.

² *Al Qabas*, Damascus, December 12.

They consist of soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers released from the Iraqi Army." The Committee further stated that 100 retired Iraqi Army Officers would proceed to Syria within a week to train Syrian officers.¹

According to reliable reports, at least 1,400 Iraqi volunteers have passed into Syria. Some of the earlier contingents, who arrived in Syria fully armed, have departed for Palestine after brief training at the Qatana barracks.

35. Recruiting in other Arab countries has not at the moment assumed large proportions, although Government statements are on record which give full authority for any such activity that might be undertaken. It is evident that the Arab population as a whole is reluctant, despite official incitement, to embark on hazardous military operations. The masses need the encouragement of military success and the certainty that there will be no strong international reaction before embarking on a general campaign. The Arab News Agency, however, reported from Mecca on December 9 that recruiting offices had only just been opened at Riyadh and other centres. The same News Agency had reported on December 21 that "hundreds of recruits are enlisting daily in Saudi Arabia." On December 8 Azzam Pasha told the press that "Ibn Saud had placed his regular troops at the League's service and had given his blessing to any desert tribe that wished to fight for Palestine."²

36. In describing these recruiting activities, the Jewish Agency has mainly relied on Arab reports. No such reliance appears to be reasonable in regard to the numbers involved. The tendency is to give exaggerated figures, but the fact remains that a widespread recruiting campaign for violence in Palestine is being encouraged and sponsored by Arab Governments. On December 18 the Ministry of the Interior in Damascus "warned correspondents against too detailed reporting on volunteer training and other military preparation in connection with Palestine."³

Arms Purchases

37. Arab Governments who possess State resources and the access to the open markets are in a good position to ensure that sufficient arms are available for creating a prolonged breach of the peace in

¹ AP, Baghdad, December 27.

² UP, Cairo, December 8.

³ UP, Damascus, December 18.

Palestine. On December 18 it was reported from Cairo that "senior military officers of four Arab states have left the country on a mission to purchase arms and ammunition as part of the Arab League plan to prevent the inception of the Jewish State in Palestine. . . . The mission officers . . . from Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon . . . plan to visit Pakistan, India, France, Switzerland, Spain and Czechoslovakia. . . . The Arab armies, it seems, have no arms surplus and such a move on the League's part is necessary to supplement the guerrilla arsenals."¹

38. The Egyptian newspaper, Al-Masri, reported on January 20 that the Mufti had asked the Egyptian Prime Minister for permission to transfer to Palestine all arms and ammunition acquired by his agents and envoys in Egypt, the Western Desert and Libya. On January 14 the same newspaper stated that all arms used by Iraqi volunteers in Palestine were modern weapons received from Britain and further that the Egyptian Government was preparing legislation which would enable Palestinian Arabs to acquire arms in Egypt and transfer them to Palestine.

39. On January 28 it was reported from Cairo: "Ahmed Hussein, leader of the Young Egyptian Party, stated that the Egyptian Government had supplied several thousand rifles to Palestine Arabs. He said that they were given to the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem."²

40. In this connection, the Jewish Agency has to draw special attention to the grave and singular feature of Arab arms purchases, which is the availability of British arms to Arab Governments and their potential use by those Governments for aggression in Palestine. This feature of the situation will be referred to in a further memorandum.

Infiltration into Palestine

41. Another stage in the assistance by Arab Governments to the projected plans of invasion and war in Palestine is the violation of frontiers between their own territories and Palestine by the infiltration of volunteers and armies. According to reliable reports and incontestable evidence, this process has been going on for several weeks. As already pointed out, attacks from Syria and Lebanon against Jewish villages in North Palestine served as cover and screen for the infiltration of hundreds of volunteers who are taking up their positions in Palestine in preparation for future aggression. On January 9, the

¹ New York Times from Cairo, December 18.

² AP, January 28.

New York Times contained the following report from the Associated Press in Baghdad:

"A convoy of Iraqi volunteers—ninety commandos and instructors released by Iraq's Army—left today en route to Palestine. The contingent, which includes officers, is supplied with light arms, including machine guns and grenades. It will instruct and train volunteers. Other such groups are expected to leave Baghdad soon."

On January 15 the Associated Press from Baghdad reported that Jamal Husseini, Vice-President of the Palestine Arab Higher Executive, had witnessed the departure of 200 trained Iraqi volunteers for Palestine. On January 25 reports were published of the arrival in Palestine of 750 armed men from Iraq via Transjordan and their concentration in Tubas in the Nablus area. According to the New York Times of January 26 Arab sources stated that these fighters "had been deployed through a wide area." The Jewish Agency is able to confirm the accuracy of the following two reports published in the New York Times of January 26. The first report from the newspaper's correspondent in Damascus reads:

"Fawzi el-Kawukji, Commander in Chief of the Arab People's Army, was reported today to be preparing to leave for Palestine. The number of his men who have crossed the Lebanese and Syrian frontiers to gather in the mountain region around Nablus in Palestine was said to exceed 3,500.

"Mr. Kawukji has organized a 'general staff,' which will enter Palestine with him to direct operations. The volunteer army is under order not to become involved in major operations but to concentrate on organization.

"Asked when he would depart, Mr. Kawukji said: 'Never mind the date, but when I go the whole world will know.'"

The second report comes from the United Press in Beirut on January 25, and reads as follows:

"One thousand well-trained Arab soldiers slipped into Palestine from Lebanon, Trans-Jordan and Syria during the past two nights, reliable sources said today. It was said to have been the third large wave of volunteers to infiltrate into Palestine since the United Nations decided to create Arab and Jewish States."

42. On January 26, the Jerusalem correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune reported the following details of the arrival in Palestine of Syrian and Iraqi volunteers:

"The 750 Syrians and Iraqis formed the largest contingents of volunteers yet to reach Palestine in preparation for the coming Arab war on partition. Unlike Abdul Kadir's men, who follow the Mufti and concern themselves with local fighting now, the foreigners arrived under the auspices of the Arab League. Reportedly, they were under instructions to confine themselves to training and familiarizing themselves with the country.

"The men traveled in column, accompanied by a mule train to ford the Jordan River and a dozen trucks with supplies. The trucks were allowed to cross the river at Jisr el-Majami, in north-eastern Palestine, where *troops of Abdullah's Arab Legion guard a bridge.*

"Their equipment included radio, Bren and Sten guns, rifles and mortars. British police believed they also had light armored cars and perhaps a few field pieces. They brought their own food and for two days camped in tents pitched in the Arab-controlled valley around Tubas, a town half-way between Jerusalem and the Sea of Galilee.

"A Government spokesman said a full report had been sent to London."

Financial Assistance

43. Direct assistance given by Arab States to aggression in Palestine also takes the form of financial contributions for the recruitment and equipment of armed forces preparing for active violence in Palestine. The Minister of the Interior of Syria announced on December 20 that "the sole body authorized to collect money for Palestine would be a committee to be appointed by him."¹ The Arab League Council had recommended at Sofar "that the League States allocate immediately the requisite funds for this purpose" (i.e. of raising funds for war in Palestine).² It is reported that a subscription of over four million dollars has been made by Arab States for the purchase of arms in aid of the Palestinian campaign. On December 17 the New York Times reported from Beirut that "money for the Arab cause appears to be plentiful. The Syrian Parliament has allocated two million Syrian pounds and the Lebanese Government another million pounds. Another 1,500,000 pounds have been raised from individuals in the two countries."

44. An unsavory feature of Arab attempts to increase the revenue available for arms purchases has been a campaign of extortion from

¹ Arab News Agency, December 20.

² Al-Ahram, October 10.

helpless Jewish minorities in Arab countries. On December 10 the Jews of Egypt were "called upon" to contribute generously to the Save Palestine Fund. The call was published in the organ of the "Moslem Brethren" by the Youth Section of the Al-Azhar University.¹ In Syria (where seven synagogues were burnt in Aleppo by a rioting mob early in December) the Jewish Community Council was forced to collect funds and hand them over to the Arab Committee for the purchase of arms to kill their Jewish brethren in Palestine. The atmosphere existing in Lebanon can best be described through the following extract from a Beirut newspaper:²

"It has been reported that Jews of Saida visited this office in order to complain about the attacks to which they have been subjected (i.e. by Arabs). They have now condemned the partition of Palestine and have declared their willingness to contribute money for Palestine (i.e. for the Arabs of Palestine). We have been informed that the Committee of the Office has reassured the Lebanese Jews that despite personal acts of hostility no future malevolence is intended against them. In the opinion of the Committee, Lebanese Jews can do nothing against the security of Arab peoples. . . .

"Donations can be sent directly to the permanent office in the city."

CONCLUSION

45. In its task of determining whether a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression exists, the Security Council may be guided by the view of the General Assembly that any or all of those three situations is created by "an attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this Resolution." The Arab Governments have jointly and severally defined their objective in almost those very words. (See Paras. 5-13 above). Indeed it is axiomatic that a violent revolt against an international judgment cannot fail to threaten international peace and security since it constitutes a defiance of the very organization to whose care the preservation of peace has been entrusted.

46. The Jews of Palestine with the full support of the Jewish Agency will do their part in resisting this aggression against their lives, their future and their internationally sanctioned rights. They regard the General Assembly's Resolution as a compromise reached

¹ Jewish Telegraphic Agency, December 11 reporting article in Al Ikhwan al Muslimun.

² Al-Ittihad al Lubnani, December 22.

by judgment between conflicting claims. This compromise makes heavy demands upon them in terms of sacrificing historic claims—and claims which had previously received international consent. The Palestine Mandate reserved an area of 45,000 square miles from the scope of Arab independence for “the primary purpose of establishing a Jewish National Home.” Transjordan was later excluded from this purpose; and now half the area of Western Palestine is allotted to the Arabs as their eighth sovereign state. Thus on seven-eighths of the area of the original Palestine Mandate two Arab States are to be established for the independence of 1,500,000 Arabs who form 80% of the Arab population in the area of the original Palestine Mandate. The “primary purpose of the Mandate” is expressed, at a time of greatest Jewish need, by the constitution of a Jewish State in one-eighth the area originally set aside for Jewish immigration and development. This restriction of Jewish claims was approved by the United Nations, in an effort to meet Arab interests and in deference to the cause of peace, after prolonged and minute investigation of the problem in the light of the Charter and with a view to seeking the maximum degree of self-determination attainable in present conditions. There is thus no justified sense of unredressed grievance to which the Arabs can have recourse. Indeed they frankly acknowledge that their aim is to deny all Jewish rights of national freedom and establish a monopoly of independence in their own behalf.

47. In their determination to resist any encroachment on the rights which the General Assembly has approved, the Jews are not fighting for themselves alone. What has been outlined in these pages is a total assault upon the principles of the Charter and the authority of the United Nations. The Arab States are taking effective collective measures for the creation of “threats to the peace,” and the encouragement of “acts of aggression” in direct violation of Article 1 of the Charter. In defiance of Article 2 they are employing “in their international relations the threat or use of force.” Regardless of Article 2 Paragraph 5 they decline to “give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter.” They turn a deaf ear to a specific appeal from the General Assembly (November 29) to abstain from “any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of its Resolution.” They flout a unanimous Resolution of the General Assembly which “condemns propaganda, in whichever country conducted . . . which is designed to provoke and encourage a threat to the peace, breach of the peace and acts of aggression.” They carry their defiance of the United Nations to the point of conspiring against the lives of representatives and officers of the

United Nations carrying out their responsibilities under the Charter. They undermine the basic purpose of the United Nations "that armed force shall not be used except in the common interest" (of the United Nations). The world is thus faced with an attempt to hold up the Charter to mockery and violation in pursuit of ambitions which have been judged and found inadmissible by the highest tribunal of international opinion. The Jewish Agency is convinced that the success of this challenge would spell the everlasting discredit of the United Nations, and is confident that the Jews in defending their own national rights are also defending the most significant and universal of human ideals.

48. The Jewish Agency therefore appeals to the Security Council through the United Nations Palestine Commission to take the action prescribed in Chapter VII of the Charter against a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace and acts of aggression provoked, committed, threatened and prepared by the Arab States, members of the Arab League, in concert with the Palestine Arab Higher Committee.





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

THE *Nation* March 27, 1948

How Close Is War?

President Truman's Message

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

The Lesson of Greece

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

The Sixteen Nations Meet

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Western Union: A Cartoon by Ezekiel Schloss

✱

American Sensuality Jacques Barzun

The Rains Came Carey McWilliams

Prague's February Revolution . . R. H. S. Crossman

Partition Was the Pay-off

THE government is now fully committed to military preparation for war with Russia.

For this, it needs bases on both sides of the Mediterranean. To secure them, it is willing to pay a price which smacks strongly of Munich. This is the real reason behind our abandonment of partition in Palestine.

The new plan, more than a month in the making (it was reported in *The Nation* of March 6), bears no relation to the actual items on the agenda of the Security Council; British sabotage of the United Nations resolution, armed revolt against it, and the Palestine commission's request for an international force.

The victims of this new policy are not the Jews, but the peace-loving peoples of all nations and the United Nations itself. The victors are Britain and its sabotage; the Arabs and their blackmail; and, not least, the military clique in our own government, led by Forrestal and briefed by Loy Henderson. To that clique, the President has abdicated his authority over the foreign policy of the United States.

A day before its announcement, the President was not aware that this reversal of policy had been decided upon. In fact, he assured an outstanding Zionist leader on March 18 of his continued efforts to hasten the implementation of partition. Not he, nor any leader of Congress, nor any representative of either political party had been consulted.

THE aim of the United States now is a tripartite trusteeship in administration of Palestine, with the British as principals. France is to be returned to the Middle East via the back door. The American role is to underwrite the whole enterprise and to serve as coadministrator. Under the new plan, *we are prepared to send American troops to Palestine*. A special meeting of the General Assembly will pass on the proposal.

To make the betrayal of partition more palatable to the Jews, the State Department plans quietly to lift the arms embargo and to propose writing into the trusteeship agreement provisions for some additional immigration and possible removal of restrictions on the sale of land. And if the Jews should still resist—well, we shall have an army in Palestine to “keep order.” And at home, those officials who have dared to charge the President with “lack

of patriotism” on the Palestine issue will hardly hesitate to accuse proponents of partition of divided loyalties.

Secretary Marshall says the new policy was forced by the failure of big-power consultations, the certainty that no implementing resolution would pass the Security Council, the fear of resulting chaos in Palestine. If this is so, the fault is ours. At no time since November 29 has the United States made any effort to secure implementation. On the contrary, we are guilty of collusion with the British and the Arab states to defeat it. When the Security Council discussions opened, the United States, Russia, France, Canada, Belgium, and the Ukraine were committed to partition. China, Britain, Colombia, and the Argentine had abstained in the November 29 vote. Syria was the sole dissenter. Only one vote was required to insure the passage of an implementing resolution; it would have passed had we given the signal.

How, then, did it come about that the Chinese proposed, and the French, under Cabinet instructions to follow America's lead, seconded the maneuver of retreat? The representative of the government of Chiang Kai-shek, dependent for its very life on the support of the United States, was the man who threw in the monkey wrench—always with American acquiescence.

Twice, skilful interventions by Gromyko almost won out; first, in defeating Security Council indorsement of “consultations” for revision; again when, for a brief moment on March 16, the United States and France agreed that the Arab revolt constituted a threat to peace. So fearful were the British of such a declaration, and of the further possibility that they would be asked to police the area, that they rushed Gladwin Jebb, Bevin's senior adviser, to Lake Success to prevent it from being made. Their great dilemma was how to avoid *publicly* casting the veto which *actually* they have been exercising by their behavior ever since partition was voted.

CAN the trusteeship proposal be carried? Probably. In the Security Council, the Russians can register their opposition by an abstention; even a veto would not prevent a General Assembly meeting from being called. Whether or not the small powers that supported partition can now resist the American steam roller is a question. The outlook is not very encouraging.

None the less, trusteeship will have a hard road to travel. Whether or not the Arabs resist,

the Jews will. The de facto Jewish state, proclaimed by Ben Gurion, can of course be crushed by British arms under the current emergency regulations. Will the United States support the British? Will the Congress send troops to put down a Jewish state when presumably it would not do so to carry out partition? The answer of the American electorate, and particularly of the progressive elements, can be decisive. At least two weeks must elapse before a special session of the General Assembly can be held. In the interval, an integrated revolt must be organized—aimed at the President and the Congress—against America's betrayal of its own policy and of the United Nations.

Whose Cold Shoulder?

Since the President's call to arms last week, rumors have multiplied that several Russian overtures looking toward a peaceful settlement of differences have been ignored or rebuffed by Washington. Accurate or not, these stories call for investigation. Before taking up the war measures demanded by Mr. Truman and Secretary Marshall, immediate hearings should be held to get answers to the following questions: Is it true that Robert Murphy, political adviser to the American mission in Germany, recently came to Washington carrying a Russian suggestion that Stalin would be glad to confer with Truman on the possibility of an agreement? Is it true that this suggestion was turned down by the President's State and Defense department advisers on the ground that it revealed Russia's weakness and thus showed that we could only gain by continued "toughness"? Is it true that John Foster Dulles, Republican foreign-affairs expert, has recently lost favor in Administration circles because he advocates more conciliatory methods in dealing with Russia? Let the proper Congressional committees call the officials of the State and Defense departments—Mr. Murphy and General Clay included—to testify; for in their answers to these questions is the key to Russian and American intentions.

Bread and Votes

Secretary Marshall has repeated in speeches on the West Coast what his press chief, Michael McDermott, said the other day in Washington: Italy will get no help under E. R. P. if it votes Communist on April 18. Logically, his position

is quite defensible—except for previous awkward pledges that E. R. P. would have no political strings. Since the Communists have been fighting the Marshall Plan in Italy as elsewhere (while at the same time intimating that the United States will continue to send aid no matter how the election comes out), our government has a good case for saying a Communist-controlled Italy would rate no share in E. R. P. So much for logic. Looked at from the point of view of campaign propaganda, which is surely its sole intention, the maneuver is of more than questionable value. Logic and politics have little in common. For every Italian induced to vote against the Communists by the threat of less food and fewer dollars, ten, we believe, will react against the Great Power that uses its control of bread to buy votes—especially after so unsparingly condemning Soviet methods of influencing elections in other countries. The Western proposal to restore Trieste to Italy, whether rejected by Russia or carried out, is by comparison a vastly shrewder political maneuver. We shall discuss its merits later.

Typographical Dispute

The lock-out that stopped activity this Monday in most of the book, magazine, and job printing plants in New York was not, in the end, a product of the Taft-Hartley act. The provision in that law forbidding a closed shop was, as our editorial on page 340 asserts, originally the basic point of disagreement between the Big Six and the New York Employing Printers Association. But after this issue of *The Nation* had been closed—three days early, owing to the threatened shut-down—a formula was found that satisfied both sides and, presumably, the law. The dispute that finally closed the plants is an old-fashioned one about hours and wages. The employing printers in the New York association have posted notices establishing a forty-hour week, in place of the present week of thirty-six and a quarter hours, and they object to union demands for a wage increase. The workers have announced that a lock-out exists and will continue until the notices are taken down. Negotiations are in progress as these words are written. This page appears in its present form, with the permission of the union, in order to provide comment on vital issues which could not be included in the regular editorial section because of its early closing.



KENNETH L. DIXON:
A Reporter in Palestine

The author of these dispatches from Palestine, Kenneth L. Dixon, is a roving correspondent for the International News Service, by courtesy of which the material in this booklet is reprinted. Mr. Dixon's dispatches were written during the month of March, 1948, and appeared in newspapers from coast to coast.



The young people in the photograph on the cover are members of Haganah, the Jewish Self-Defense Army, guarding a pioneer settlement in the Negev, Palestine's southern desert.

Fire Escape from Europe

Whatever else results from the recent developments in the United Nations now-somewhat-confused Palestine policy, one thing is certain:

Traffic over the underground railroad from Europe to Palestine will be heavier than ever . . .

Six weeks ago, I stood with a young Palestinian Jew high in the snowswept mountains of Central Europe, watching a straggling shivering line of refugees wind slowly up the slope and gradually disappear in the fury of a blizzard-like storm.

Ahead of them was about twelve or fifteen miles of the roughest country in the world, and in the gathering dusk it was plain that this would not be a good night to be struggling through the mountains.

But on such nights, the border guards also tend to stay as near to shelter as possible—thus, for these displaced persons, illegally sneaking southward to the sea and a ship for Palestine, such a night was just right for slipping across the frontier.

Involuntarily I shivered at the thought of what lay ahead of the ill-clad refugees. Then, as we turned to tramp back through the snow to warmth and shelter, I said:

"Well, at least this won't have to go on much longer. As soon as partition goes into effect and the Jewish state is set up, you can close down points like this along the underground and take them all in legally."

He shot a quizzical glance at me, then slogged on through the storm a few more steps before answering.

"Perhaps," he said, "but you don't tear down your fire escape, just as soon as the city votes itself a fire department . . ."

In a sense, the underground has been exactly that—a fire escape from central and eastern Europe. The foundations for it were laid before and during the war, when thousands of Jews were fleeing the persecutions and pogroms of Nazi-dominated countries.

Like the thousands who had gone before them, the underground “passengers” have eyes only for Palestine.

“That’s the one place in the world where, once they get in, they’ll be all right,” the young Palestinian said. “That’s what keeps us operating this place—even when it sometimes seems impossible to continue.”

He paused a moment, staring out into the stormy night.

“That’s why we won’t close down until after the new Jewish state is operating on an accepted world basis,” he concluded. “Anything can happen at Lake Success, even yet. But whatever happens, it won’t change what we finally have learned to be a fact—that the only place for a displaced Jew in Europe is out of Europe!”

The Communist Smear

This is not so much of a story as it is an attempt to clear up a misapprehension which might get considerable credence if spread too far without refutation.

During recent weeks there have appeared in various newspapers around the world several references to what has been termed “Red Zionism”—indicating, apparently, that someone was trying to say there are countless Communists among displaced Jews bound for Palestine.

Just who is responsible for those reports and what the motivation might be is something this correspondent is not qualified to comment upon.

However, I am qualified to comment on the truth of the reports—and the truth is that they are utterly ridiculous.

To begin with, the reports were received with howls of laughter in those parts of Europe where the displaced persons still, unfortunately, are congregated behind barbed wire.

People who knew the stories behind those refugees were highly amused at the idea that they might be Communists.

For several weeks now I have probed the problem of Communism across Europe, the Mediterranean and Palestine. And it has not been a one-man task.

Many newspapermen along the route added their two bits worth.

No one had detected the slightest sign of any major Communistic movement in the exodus to Palestine. And that was but the beginning.

In one displaced persons camp after another in France, Germany and Italy, I heard story after story of postwar persecution of Jews in countries now under Soviet domination.

People fleeing Poland, Hungary, Rumania—yes, and even Russia—reported new waves of anti-Semitism which made Hitler's opening moves seem mild by comparison.

At a mountain border point in the Jewish Haganah underground route from Europe, I saw ill-clad, half-starved Jews who had fled those sectors with nothing more than the scant clothes they wore on their backs.

Why? Anti-Semitism.

At another point, I met a woman who literally had to shoot and bribe her way out of Poland with a brood of Jewish war orphans. Why? Anti-Semitism.

Transformation by Freedom

The transformation that freedom and liberty can bring to the faces of men and women is something difficult to describe—but impossible to forget.

During the war, I saw it several times as we liberated various concentration and P.W. camps. But that was a thing of surging immediateness, and it had been long preceded by a definite and growing hope.

The transformation that comes when persons who have been hounded across half a dozen countries for countless years suddenly find themselves at last in a free land among friends is something else. It is a moving thing—and almost unbelievable in its total effect . . .

Throughout recent weeks, I traveled with members of the United Jewish Appeal Mission from America—a group of business leaders who were inspecting the Jewish refugee situation in Europe and general conditions in Palestine.

Often in the camps for displaced persons in France, Germany and Italy, those Americans turned away with tears streaming down their cheeks at the sight of the utter and complete hopelessness which stared out of the eyes all around them.

Three years after the war had ended, these displaced people still were bound in barbed-wire enclosures and the words “freedom” and “liberty” remained bitter myths to most of them.

Hope happily still flared from the eyes of many of the younger Jewish refugees, but even they, after years in prison or camp, found it a flame for which fuel was hard to find.

And in more cases than you cared to count, the eyes were dull and cold and lifeless—the spark of hope seemingly forever dead.

But then one night I was secretly taken to a mountain point along the refugee underground line. From there, through the snow and cold, homeless Jews, Palestine-bound without benefit of passports, were being smuggled across a border enroute to a Mediterranean seaport.

That is another story in itself, but suffice it to say now that, as they waited, scantily-clad, in a cold and snow-swept building, thin shoulders straightened, tired heads came up and—momentarily safe in that remote outpost—they literally sang and danced in anticipation of the freedom which now seemed a real and beckoning thing. And the room seemed warmed by the rekindled flames in their eyes.

That should have prepared me for the full transformation when they finally reached Palestine, but it didn't. But these things I've seen and heard in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem during the past several days:

Men who a matter of weeks ago sat, broken-spirited and heartless behind barbed-wire, today are hard at work, already filled with an energy which seems unbelievable.

Women from whose faces laughter seemed to have forever fled, now joke and jibe across backyard fences with their neighbors, and vie good-naturedly with one another on shopping trips to Palestinian stores.

Children who, mere months ago, haunted Europe's alleys and garbage dumps for food, and fled furtively at the sound of a footstep in the shadows, now laugh and shout and play together and make faces at the traffic cop on the corner.

Youngsters who learned for years to cringe and flinch at every forbidding movement, and never fight back, now join the Haganah—quietly ready to die, if necessary, for this new-found freedom.

And they walk the streets of Tel Aviv, not in arrogance, but with that easy assurance you see in kids of Milwaukee, Dallas and Peoria.

"It only takes a matter of weeks," one young Palestine-born Haganah leader told me, "for most of them to absorb the atmosphere of freedom. It's pretty stimulating stuff!"

The Jewish Army

To evaluate the potential prowess of the new Jewish army Haganah it is necessary to inspect its training—past and present, at home and abroad.

Compared to ordinary armies, the new Jewish force has a training and combat background entirely unique in world military history.

It will be composed predominately of the men and women of the Haganah—Palestine Jewry's 30-year-old "illegal" defense army.

And the Haganah leadership is the boiled-down product of a score or more of world armies, training systems and combat scenes.

Further, it is quite safe to say that those present Jewish soldiers who survived the past two decades did so largely because that combat training "took" and turned them into experts.

As a result, today the new Jewish army has a basic cadre of more than 30,000 World War II veterans who, for months, have been secretly training Palestine's volunteers and recruits.

Most of those training officers and men saw service in the British army—in the Jewish Brigade, in the parachutists, the commandos, the behind-the-lines sabotage units,

the espionage and intelligence groups, the transportation corps and elsewhere.

There were 19,110 surviving male officers and men, 2,441 ATS (British equivalent to our WACS) officers and enlisted women, and 837 supernumerary police under military control in the British army. They saw service all the way from the early desert campaigns to Germany.

Finally, thousands of Jews saw service in the underground troops of central Europe, fighting the Nazis from the first to the last, and becoming experts in that highly specialized and highly dangerous field.

So much for past training, which presently is being put to good use in countless hidden camps scattered throughout Palestine. I have visited a dozen or so such camps and seen the efficiency with which these collected military tricks are being incorporated in the swift training of young Palestinians today.

All Jews, male and female, between the ages of 17 and 35 were first required to register. In rough outline, the draft called for those under 25 to serve, regardless of whether they had wives and children. Those over that age who were without dependents also were subject to immediate call.

Almost every week sees a new training post going up somewhere in Palestine to handle this huge influx of volunteers and draftees.

For nearly a month, I visited such places, from northern Palestine to the Negev, occasionally in the company of American and other outside military observers who were known to be friendly.

And with them, I agree that the quality of both trainer and training technique in the Jewish army probably is unequalled anywhere in the world.

With Utter Selfless Courage

During the Second World War, millions of dollars of American taxpayers' money was spent on what was called the Army's "I. and E. Program"—the letters standing for "information" and "education."

Sometimes it was referred to as "morale-building."

Those were high-sounding words, but the program actually was an eleventh-hour official effort to convince the American soldier that the cause in which he was fighting was worthwhile.

Whether it was necessary, wise or successful, are questions which will be argued heatedly for years to come.

But there is little argument against the theory that the man convinced of the righteousness of his cause makes a better soldier than the man plagued by doubts and disbelief. . . .

In that regard, you find many a curious paradox in Palestine today in the comparative morale of the Arabs and the Jews now locked in the Holy Land's bloody struggle.

Unquestionably, there is a sharp divergence in the ranks of the Arabs on the question of whether this war is necessary and you find both extremes. Those who view it as a religious conflict undoubtedly can be numbered, morale-wise, among the most ardent of fanatical fighting men—due to their complete willingness to die defeating Zionism.

Representing the other extreme are the drafted Arab villagers who have lived in comparative peace with the Jews for several decades. They see no need to fight, definitely resent the war and their participation in it, and would desert or break ranks on the slightest provocation.

Somewhere in between are the heavy majority of mercenaries from the surrounding Moslem states. They have

no particular interest in the cause, but operate efficiently as professional fighting men, concerned chiefly with adventure, loot and lucre.

On the other hand, the Jewish ranks are tightly knit over the necessity not to lose this conflict. Their differences—between the Haganah and the dissident groups—are based solely on the techniques, timing and targets of attack.

Otherwise, they are divided generally into two classes: those who are willing to die because they know what they are fighting against, and those equally willing because they know what they are fighting for.

Although there is overlapping of those two classes, the former is chiefly composed of refugees from Europe who have suffered too long without the means or opportunity to defend themselves or fight back.

The latter, of course, represent those pioneers of Palestine who have built themselves a homeland they will not relinquish as long as they live.

But certainly they need no I. and E. program!

It is easy to understand the refugees' refusal to submit without a struggle to the death, but it is a bit more difficult to fathom fully the philosophy of the native-born Palestinian youngsters—for in them lies the root of that curious paradox known as "the spirit of the Haganah."

For one thing, although they are huskier, healthier and better balanced psychologically than the refugees, these boys and girls are student and civilian types—not soldiers. Linguists from childhood, they command at least three languages and more often five or six. They are far more interested in discussing history, literature, painting or philosophy than in talking fighting tactics.

They look and act utterly unlike fighters as they con-

gregate at cafes and restaurants and laugh, dance, flirt and talk—and speak disparagingly of “this Sten-gun business.”

But then you watch them on patrol, in combat, and the introvert becomes an extrovert; the student is transformed into a soldier; and their utter selfless courage makes you wonder if these can be the same youngsters with whom you ate and drank and laughed and argued philosophy a few hours back. . . .

So there you have the morale lineup of the Palestine struggle, and you can take your choice as to which makes the more effective military combination:

The fanatic, the objector and the mercenary?

Or the refugee who came to live and the pioneer who will die to stay?

WRITING “Give Me Fifty Planes . . .”

The staff officer of the Haganah high command sat in his map room in the hidden headquarters command post of Palestine Jewry’s “shadow” army.

As he pondered the question, the silence grew oppressive and you could hear the steady tread of the two hard-faced young Haganah commandos who paced back and forth outside the door.

Finally he spoke.

“It is all a matter of time,” he said slowly. “If open war broke out between the Arabs and us tomorrow and we could close with them in full-scale combat, there is no question but that we would win. They know that as well as we. . . .

“But if we can’t close with them in conclusive numbers,

and the combat drags on for several months—I don't know . . . I don't know. . . .

"War is an hour-glass with us, and the sand is ammunition."

He meant more than just ammunition as such. He meant weapons and all the equipment of war. But he thus dramatized a point which was stressed over and over again as I wandered about Palestine.

And it is a point which becomes increasingly important with each day's bloody developments in the embattled Holy Land.

The Haganah commander of the Southern Palestine District put it in a slightly different way. A veteran of several years at war in the Jewish Brigade of the British Army, he chopped off the words:

"The Arabs have far more munitions than we have—but that isn't important, because they need it. They waste ten rounds of ammunition to our one. But the point is that they can get far more munitions than we can, and you know what that would mean in a long-drawn battle."

All this, of course, was curious talk, coming as it did from leaders of an army which must get every hand grenade, every round of ammunition by so-called "illegal" means.

Naturally, however, it has long been common knowledge that both the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine have been receiving arms supplies by the smugglers' route, and it is there that the Arabs have the distinct advantage, both geographically and politically.

Since the Jews in Palestine are caught between the Arabs and the Mediterranean Sea, it is obvious that the only practical route for them to smuggle in arms is by sea.

This is further complicated by the fact that the British Army stands guard over Haifa Bay and port—the only deep-water seaport in Palestine.

The Arabs, on the other hand, have access to countless overland routes through neighboring—and friendly to the Arab cause—Moslem nations.

Add to that the fact that both United States and England are shipping arms to various other countries of the Middle East under certain “pacts” and it becomes simple to deduce where the Arabs, indirectly, are getting a lot of their guns. . . .

Haganah, however, is far from being barehanded, and it is quite probable that their commanders were not being over-optimistic in saying that if a struggle came immediately and decisively they would win.

One basic advantage the Haganah has over the Arabs in the matter of weapons is the fact that they are able to fashion many of their own, and they certainly seem as efficient as those made anywhere else in the world.

Palestine-manufactured sten-guns, for instance, are almost impossible to distinguish from the imported product. Palestinian hand-grenades are almost a direct copy of ours, and it takes an expert to tell the difference.

Planes and tanks are definitely lacking—or, at least, so few in number and so small as to be unimportant in the final outcome. Those are difficult to smuggle in by sea or manufacture “freehand,” so to speak.

But their importance is not under-estimated. Two weeks ago, a spokesman for the Haganah high command told me:

“Give me 50 warplanes and 200 tanks and I could win a war—but I wouldn’t have to. Their presence would prevent a war!”

Working in a War

Things were humming inside the big Ata textile factory at the outskirts of Haifa. Thousands of bales of American cotton, shipped from New Orleans, were being hoisted into proper place in the big well-lighted storage room by ceiling cranes. And more than just cotton came from America. Almost the entire equipment of Palestine's biggest textile factory wore "Made in America" plates.

There were automatic looms from Hopedale, Mass., universal winding machines from Providence, R. I., hundreds of different spinning and weaving machines from Biddeford, Maine, Boston and elsewhere in the States.

Standing, looking about you in the modern, magnificently-equipped factory, it would have been easy to imagine that you were back in America—except for one thing. . . .

Outside, bounding the plant grounds which cover some 70,000 square yards, was barbed wire fence and barricades. Armed guards patrolled its entire perimeter. The entrance gate was under heavy protective guard, and no one could come or go without being fully identified and checked.

More than half of the approximately one thousand employes—now busy at work—had done a turn of guard duty the night before, either around the factory or in their own communities not far away. About one hundred of them had run the gauntlet of Arab sniper fire that morning to get from their homes inside Haifa to the plant gates outside.

But despite the dangers and emergencies of Palestine's semi-wartime conditions, Ata's spinning, weaving, dyeing and tailoring continued. . . .

You'd look a long ways to find a better example of how Palestine's Jews are working and protecting themselves simultaneously," smiled Factory Director Erich Moller. He pointed to a man operating a huge loom. "If you're wandering around Haifa tonight, you'll be surprised at where you might meet him, for instance . . ."

But whatever they must do in their extra-curricular hours, the factory workers keep hard at it by day, putting bales of cotton through complete processes under one roof—until they emerge in the form of suits, dresses, socks, coats, underwear, pajamas and the like.

Despite the current "unpleasantness," they're working at least two full shifts daily and sometimes three. Last year, the factory turned out more than four million square yards of material, all of which was used in Palestine—and any textile expert will testify that that's quite an output for a plant which employs less than 1,000 workers.

"Barring some entirely unexpected development," Moller said, "we'll beat that record this year . . . The trouble? Well, we're getting used to it by now—if you ever get used to it."

The Reporter Is Amazed

Returning to America after spending several weeks in war-torn Palestine, the news that the United States had reversed itself on the question of partitioning the Holy Land was like a slap in the face to this correspondent.

Because that is exactly what cynical Palestinian Jews had been predicting to me during the time I spent with them.

And that is exactly what I had insisted over and over again that America would not do!

They hoped, of course, that they were wrong—because, after all, in the days since November 29, they have committed themselves to the partition decision and taken the steps to implement it themselves, if necessary.

It does not necessarily follow that all the Jews in Palestine were in favor of partition, nor that all the Arabs were against it. The lines of argument crossed and recrossed the two groups.

But the Jews had accepted it as a decision of the United Nations, and setting out to implement it meant risking their lives in the combat line which partition had twisted crazily across the Holy Land.

Their job was tough and dangerous enough at best—with the enmity of the unfriendly nations surrounding them on three sides, and the hardly cordial relationship they maintained with the British troops—but at least they felt they had the technical support of the United Nations.

To them, that meant the support of the United States. . . .

They agreed that removing that support after it had been pledged, and they had committed themselves, would be something like feeding a man whiskey all afternoon—and then yanking the rug out from under him.

Nevertheless, they shrugged their shoulders time and again and asked me how soon we were going to break our promise.

When U. S. delegate Austin made his curious speech about how U. N. troops could only be used "to keep the peace" but not "to enforce partition" in Palestine they smiled and said it wouldn't be long now.

"The Arabs, the British and the oil interests are at work," they said. "If your people can stand up against that

combination, they'll really be doing something."

Bitterly they speculated about what would happen when the United States eventually came around to abandoning partition. And they talked of it often as though it were a matter of course.

"Look," said a Haganah officer to me one night. "Before you voted for partition, things were fairly quiet here. Then the fights started, what with all the meddling that was going on.

"Nevertheless, we've gotten things fairly well under control now, and we're carrying out the U. N. order.

"But now that everybody is keyed up over the situation, if you abandon partition, you'll see bloodshed here the like of which this Holy Land has never seen before! Remember what I said . . . and try to figure out whose fault you think it is. . . ."



OPINION



In War ...

... And in Peace

AMERICAN FUND

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News

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April, 1948



Chairman of American Habimah Committee
LOUIS NIZER, prominent attorney and author



RICHARD ALDRICH
Director, Theatre, Incorporated



EDWARD A. NORMAN
President, American Fund

HABIMAH FLIES FROM PALESTINE TO GIVE REPERTORY ON BROADWAY

Habimah, the national theatre of Palestine, a company of 29, is to visit New York this spring for a limited engagement of six weeks, in a repertory of four celebrated plays performed in Hebrew. Under the sponsorship of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, Theatre, Incorporated (producers of the "Old Vic" Theatre Company in America) — among whose directors are Richard Aldrich, Beatrice Straight and Nancy Stern — will present the Habimah Theatre players at The Broadway Theatre opening May 1st.

The Habimah presentation has been sponsored and made possible by a special committee organized by the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions which includes Louis Nizer, chairman, Harry Donnenfeld, Simon Fabian, Irving Geist, George Greenspan, William Heller, Albert D. Lasker, Edward B. Leopold, Isidore Lipschutz, Edward A. Norman, William S. Paley, Samuel Rosen, Milton H. Rubin, Max J. Schneider and Julius Stulman.

In a statement announcing the Habimah appearance, Mr. Nizer, prominent attorney and author, said "Habimah will arrive in this country on April 27th and an official reception will be given the company. The opening performance will take place on May 1st and we hope their appearance here in their world-famous productions will establish a strong cultural link between this country and Palestine. Habimah today is part of the defense of the Jewish community in Palestine. Morale is a key factor in times of crisis and the positive unifying force of Habimah in Palestine is necessary to the strengthening of the home front."

The Habimah performers leave their permanent home in Tel Aviv on April 25th, on the conclusion of their present season in Palestine and will fly in a group directly to New York.

The plays to be given in New York are "The Dybbuk," by S. Ansky, directed by E. Vachtangov; "The Golem" by H. Leivik, staged by B. Voroshilov; "David's Crown," by Calderon de la Barca, directed by A. D. Dicky; and "Oedipus Rex" by Sophocles, produced by Tyrone Guthrie.

Each play will be presented for one week, and the final two weeks will see repeat performances of the most popular of the plays.

Negotiations to bring Habimah to the U. S. have been going on for some time between the American Fund and representatives of Theatre, Incorporated. Martin Ritt, one of the members of the Board of Directors of Theatre, Incorporated, flew to Palestine last summer to discuss repertory; and Ari Warshawer, a member of Habimah's Board of Directors, is now in New York to settle arrangements.

Habimah, the Hebrew word meaning dais or platform, and therefore, stage, was founded in 1918, in Russia, in a studio of the Moscow Art Theatre, and was the first Hebrew theatre established. It was inspired by Stanislavski and directed by his pupil Vachtangov, and in the thirty years of its existence has continued in the tradition of its mentors. Since 1932 it has made its permanent home in Palestine. It is world-renowned — it has visited 15 countries including every country in Europe except Spain, Greece and Norway, — for its acting ensemble, and employs no star system. Habimah received six awards at the 1937 Paris Exposition. Sixteen members of the company's thirty have been with it from the beginning.

HABIMAH REPERTORY

The Dybbuk—May 1-6
David's Crown—May 8-13
The Golem—May 15-20
Oedipus Rex—May 22-27
Matinees—Wed. and Sun.

PRICES (Tax Included)

Evenings:

Orch. \$4.80; Mezz. \$3.60
Bal. \$2.40; \$1.80; \$1.20

Matinees:

Orch. 3.60; Mezz. \$2.40
Bal. \$1.80; \$1.20



HARRY DONNENFELD



SIMON FABIAN



IRVING GEIST



GEORGE GREENSPAN



WILLIAM HELLER



ALBERT D. LASKER



EDWARD B. LEOPOLD



ISIDORE LIPSCHUTZ



SAMUEL ROSEN



MILTON H. RUBIN



JULIUS STULMAN

DINNER RECEPTION TO HONOR HABIMAH PLAYERS, MAY 19

Members of the Habimah Theatre will be honored at a dinner reception to be given under the auspices of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, Wednesday evening, May 19th at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, as honorary chairman, and Mr. Louis Nizer, as chairman, head the dinner committee composed of eminent leaders in the fields of government, industry, theatre, music, art and civic affairs.

An outstanding program is being prepared by the committee for the dinner, including the presentation of two scenes by the Habimah players from plays not in their Broadway repertory.

Co-Chairmen of the dinner are: Louis Broido, Donald Flamm, Gilbert Miller, Brock Pemberton, Hon. Simon H. Rifkind, Charles H. Silver.

Oscar Serlin is the treasurer of the event.

Vice-Chairmen are: Barney Balaban, S. N. Behrman, Ralph Bellamy, Kermit Bloomgarden, William A. Brady, Hiram Brown, Harold Clurman, Alan Corelli, Emil K. Ellis, Charles S. Greene, George Heller, Garson Kanin, Eva Le Gallienne, Goddard, Lieberman, Bert Lytell, Raphael Bryant Malsin, Guthrie McClintic, David I. Nemerov, William Rosenblatt, Herman Shumlin, Maurice Wertheim.

AMERICAN HABIMAH COMMITTEE

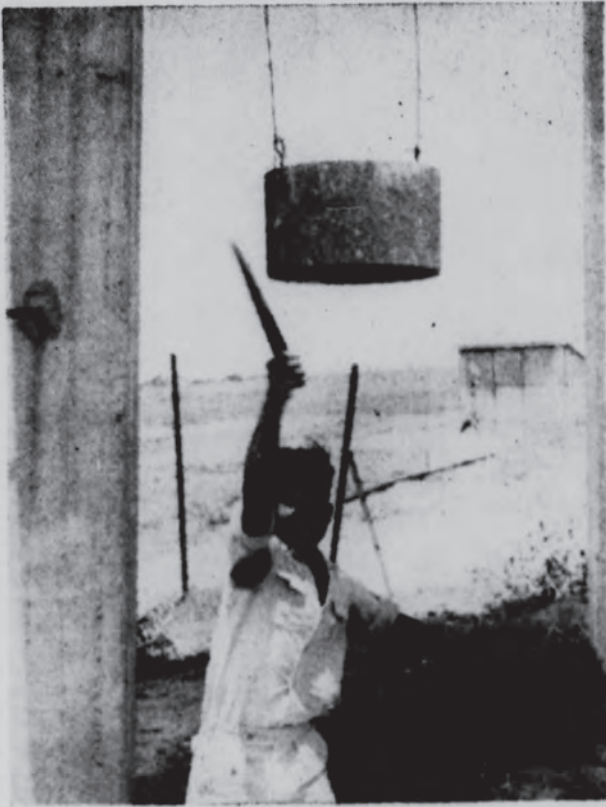
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*Out to work*

WORKING BOYS VILLAGE

(Kfar Avodah)

Kfar Avodah (Working Boys' Village), a beneficiary of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, was established by the Vaad Leumi and the Tel-Aviv Municipality in order to take care of neglected and underprivileged children. Originally located in the Emek, during the war the institution had to leave its premises which were required by the army for an air field. The institution was set up temporarily at Haderah and in 1943 the present premises were taken over. The main activity is agriculture and many of the former pupils have been absorbed in rural settlements.

Half of the day is devoted to teaching and the other half to work in agriculture, in workshops (carpentry and locksmithery) and in various domestic services (cleaning and cooking).

*Installing water irrigation**In the kitchen**Dining Hall**Hanging wash*



ELI ELIACHAR

Eli Eliachar

Palestine Sephardic Community

"The Sephardic people are descendants of the Spanish and Portugese Jews. There are 160,000 Sephardic Jews in Palestine. Most of them come from Arabic countries.

"As individuals they have fallen into the lowest income brackets. Their children because of economic conditions have little if any schooling.

"The Trade School for Children (supported by the American Fund) is taking these children in, feeding them, clothing them and teaching them various vocational trades. The number of trades taught depends on the aptitudes of the children. Psychologists test the children to see what they are best fitted for; that is what they are taught.

"We hope that the American community will help us give these children a chance in life."



DR. ALEXANDER ROSENFELD

PALESTINE SPEAKS

A group of prominent Palestinian leaders in the fields of maritime activity, education, child care, theatre, music, speaking at a press conference held by the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions recently, called for full support of every institution in Palestine that makes for a "Jewish way of life." The need for maintaining "cultural and spiritual values" was stressed as necessary to the defense of the Jewish community.

Edward A. Norman, president of the American Fund, who presided, set the theme for the discussion. He said, "We are dedicated to the purpose of supplying support to 89 secular and religious, cultural, educational and social welfare institutions in Palestine which help to build a normal life for the Jewish community there and which, at this trying time, help to sustain the morale and strengthen the confidence and the ability of the community to continue their existence, to grow in power and to achieve a full and peaceful life for themselves, their children and the terror-stricken refugees whom they welcome into their lives."

Excerpts from the speeches of these Palestinian leaders follow:

Dr. Alexander Rosenfeld

Brit Ivrit Olamit

(World Federation for Hebrew Language)

"We sometimes forget that Palestine has become in the last few years not only a haven for distressed and needy Jews but also a refuge for the Jewish spirit, a creative center of Jewish culture, covering all spheres of intellectual life.

"The revival of the Hebrew language and culture in Palestine is truly one of the great miracles of Hebrew renaissance and one of the best examples of Jewish tenacity. Our young fighters, who have aroused respect and admiration from all of us, have been mostly educated in modern Hebrew schools and inspired by modern Hebrew literature. These youngsters defend not only their houses, farms and possessions but also their new cultural and spiritual values.

"The forty-five national branches in all parts of the world, even in the displaced persons camps, receive through our organization Hebrew books, newspapers, teaching and reading materials, Hebrew teachers and organizers to strengthen the cultural relations between Palestine and all of Jewry.

"Our organization sees to it that the works published by Hebrew writers and poets and the new words created by the Hebrew Language Academy are promoted all over the world. All these institutions are carrying on a difficult struggle for life and existence and never was the need so great as in these times of national distress. We appreciate the great help which the American Jewish community has given to us through the American Fund under the direction of Mr. Edward A. Norman."

Jedediah Gorochov

Palestine Composers and Authors Association

"... The task of the Palestinian composers was especially complicated because they had to write new music for the nursery, the kindergarten and the school — for the home and community that would be in harmony with:

- a) the traditional elements of the cantillations of the Bible and prayers,
- b) the geography, climate and landscape of the new homeland,
- c) the new occupational life and spirit,
- d) the new language — the Hebrew language, and its specific accents.

"All moods and phases of the daily life are reflected in the new Palestinian song, but to be able to appraise the role the new songs play in Palestine one should hear it sung in any of the settlements. It would perhaps provide a key to understand the morale of our young people now fighting in Palestine."



JEDEDIAH GOROCHOV



MOSHE POMROK

Henry Haftel

Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra

"As the security forces are fighting for the establishment of the Jewish State, the Orchestra, too, plays its important part in the struggle for survival because no nation can survive without cultural values. The Orchestra does not hesitate to brave perilous roads in order to fulfill its task. Appreciation not only for the high musical standards, but also for the courage of the Orchestra is shown by the enthusiastic support of the public which fills the concert halls to capacity. Many even in the Orchestra are also active members of Haganah; rehearsing with the Orchestra in the morning, taking part in the concert in the evening and fighting at night. The Orchestra, furthermore, arranges special concerts for the security forces, sends small groups to the most distant outposts and provides music for even the smallest settlement."



HENRY HAFTTEL

Moshe Pomrok,

Palestine Maritime League

"The Jews of Palestine must use the sea as the key to their economic future. Just as the sea today is the path of immigration for tens of thousands of Jews from Europe, so must it always be the outlet for trade and commerce and, also, a source of food for a country that is otherwise cut off from the world. Particularly in these times, unless we can train more sailors quickly, we will be hard pressed to keep our embattled community well supplied."

"The Palestine Maritime League was founded ten years ago with the approval of the Zionist Congress to promote sea activities in the Jewish community. In these ten years we have organized a campaign to make the community sea-conscious and to train our youth in the skills of the sea."

"Our organization numbers 30,000 members and we have organized branches in South Africa, England, France, Canada, and now with the active help of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, a branch in the United States."

"We have developed a Nautical School in Haifa, a Seamen's House in Haifa which is the only Jewish Seamen's House in the world, sea scout organizations of 1500 boys', swimmers' camps on the shore for instructors."

"From time to time pamphlets and books on essential sea problems are published. A special monthly magazine 'Hayam' is edited by the Palestine Maritime League. A new holiday has been added to the Jewish calendar — Sea Day."

Dr. Raphael Patai

Institute of Folklore and Ethnology

"The Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology is devoted to the study of the Jewish communities of which some fifty are represented in Palestine by larger or smaller groups. Each one of these groups is the repository of a traditional folk-culture evolved in each place separately though ultimately based on the common Biblical-Talmudic heritage of Judaism. The Institute endeavors to gather complete records of the authentic traditional culture of the Jewish communities, as well as to study these cultures in transition, that is, in the process of merging together into the unique Hebrew culture growing up in Palestine today. The aims of the Institute are primarily scientific, though the results of studies conducted by it will no doubt prove valuable for the solution of the numerous cultural and social problems facing the nascent Jewish State."

"The study of these problems has the immediate practical value of helping to integrate the various groups into a unified working community."



DR. ELLEN SIMON

Dr. Ellen Simon

Hospital for Mental Diseases, (Ezrath Nashim)

"... I know of a number of Jewish families who did not only lose one of their beloved ones, but also their economic subsistence, their secure income, in fact, the base of their lives. And although I have to state that it is admirable how strong the Jews are and how ready they are to 'start all over again,' ... we should not forget that these psychological efforts are not achieved easily, and they leave traces in the mental makeup of the individual. These traces become a serious handicap once the capabilities for endurance are exhausted. Then we face people with acute anxiety states who seek help and have to get help immediately. If we can provide treatment for them they may return to their jobs and responsibilities without delay. While if we fail to do so they might suffer permanent damage."



DR. RAPHAEL PATAI

Palestine's Cooperative Adventure

by

Edward A. Norman

During the past forty years, an interesting form of cooperative has been developed by some of the Jewish settlers in Palestine, which probably is not widely known or well understood among cooperators in America. It is what has come to be known in cooperative literature as "comprehensive cooperation." In plain terms, it is the cooperative rural settlement, in which the cooperative aspect extends to every material facet of life.

In these communities, which now exceed 140 in number and which today average some 400 souls, young and old, in each, no member as an individual owns anything whatsoever except his right, while he remains a member, to benefit as much as any other member from the material results, by way of such things as food, shelter, clothing, education of his children, recreation, cultural activity, and care during illness. No member is paid anything individually for his labor on behalf of the community.

If it is thought necessary to classify these cooperative settlements, the answer must be that they are consumers' and producers' cooperatives, because for the most part their efforts and resources are devoted to production for the direct filling of their own needs as consumers. Only to a minor extent are they engaged in efforts to produce for the purpose of selling on the open market in order to earn cash with which to pay taxes and to purchase those items, such as machinery, fuel,

power, textiles, chemicals, insurance, medical care and other supplies and services which they cannot hope to produce on the spot by themselves.

As consumers' cooperatives, all of them, together with the usual cooperative stores, belong to the cooperative wholesale society. As producers' cooperatives, they belong to the cooperative central marketing association.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEMBERS

People who have not observed these cooperative communities might suppose that life in them might be hard, restricted, and unsatisfying. Actually, it is quite the contrary. Most of their members are very enthusiastic about their way of life, and enjoy a great sense of economic plenty and security, as well as personal freedom coupled with warm companionship and purposefulness.

Since each settlement formed itself spontaneously, usually gradually, beginning with a handful of people, everyone is a participant by virtue of his or her own choice and of acceptance by his or her fellows. Since the group form permits a high degree of division of labor, specialization in crafts and skills, and intense utilization of resources and capital equipment, it is possible for the rate of production per acre or per man-hour to become very high, with a consequent beneficial effect on the standard of living and time available for leisure, recreation, or cultural pursuits.



Mother and child of a cooperative

LIFE REQUIRES NO "FRONT"

Another economic gain for them is that by reason of the intimate yet ample social life that they afford, their members feel no compulsion to indulge in the essentially wasteful expenditures for the sake of appearances and emulation that are the rule among most people. Neither their pride nor their credit standing requires that they put on a "front," and therefore they are happy with comfortable simplicity.

In general, life in them is pleasant. There is plenty of work, but little worry, and in any case all of it is shared by the group and therefore is easier to bear than if carried by an individual alone. A man knows that if he should be stricken by illness or death, his family will go on as before, playing its part and deriving its benefits. People know that as old age overtakes them, they will be cared for among their loved ones and friends.

The sense of being at home, and of being a factor who counts, rather than alone in the great world with little if any influence in the community, is very strong. Happiness, for the spiritually healthy, emanates from the environment as much as it ever can be expected to on this earth.

Of course, occasionally unstable people do get into these communities. Sometimes they cannot stand the inherent equality and democracy, and crave a special recognition that cannot be forthcoming. Such sick or immature individuals either eventually achieve balance or they "eat their hearts out" to the point where they just have to leave. However, in most cases they come around to a realization that whatever it is for which they longed is vain and worthless, and they become cured. Children usually grow up into integrated and responsible people, and delinquency is unknown.

(Continued on page 8)



Typical cooperative settlement (kvtzah)

Wedding in a Kvutza

By Yosef Baratz

Nowadays, weddings in the Kvutza are marked by adherence to the traditional ceremony and celebration. A special program is prepared to which guests from neighboring kvutzot are invited. The occasion lasts long into the night — and sometimes even into the following day.

THE WEDDING

The wedding I'd like to describe happened in one of the oldest kvutzot, which still preserves certain traditions. The bride was the daughter of one of the founders of the kvutza. The groom had been in Palestine just a little over a year. He came here with a group from Bergen-Belsen, and, even after arriving here, re-experienced being behind barbed wire.

The wedding was to take place on the 15th day of Ab, a sad memorable day. It was at the time when the "Exodus 47" was being driven away from the shores of the homeland. Perplexity gripped the entire colony; is it possible to hold celebrations in days like these? Tactfully, the bride's father broached the question to his daughter:

"Perhaps the wedding ought to be celebrated in a quiet, modest way, leaving out the festivities?"

"Our times are full of continually 'tragic events,'" she answered. "But we live and wish to live. A wedding is not celebrated on the sly . . ."

At the set time the *shochet* arrived from the neighboring colony. He also served as the marriage performer for the settlements of the Jordan Valley. He was a native of Tiberias, and wore a yellow beard, *paiyot* curling out from beneath his hat. Looking quite young, he nevertheless has grown sons and daughters.

The *shochet*-marriage performer is also the district postmaster. Every morning sees him start out on his motor-bike, making the rounds of the various workers' settlements to slaughter poultry, and then on to the nearby slaughter-house. This work done with, he returns to his colony and becomes the postmaster. He is at home in all the kibbutzim, and is no stickler for customs foreign to our time and place. But he refuses to retreat an inch when in matters of wedding ceremonies.

The meal had been eaten out of doors, at tables standing under tall St. John's bread trees, which line a large part of the kvutza courtyard. Lights had been strung all over. Only a few individual friends had been invited from outside the kvutza. Restrained joy was the predominant mood among the guests. Not for a moment were we able to forget that at the very time we celebrated a personal joy, 4,500 Jews



Wedding in a kvutzah

ELIAHU SIGARD

were being driven away from the shores of the homeland . . .

The program was opened by one of the founders of the kvutza. We all expected a speech, but were mistaken. He made his way to the two colleagues at the piano and accordion and called upon them to play something Jewish, *volkstuemliches*, something that would remind us of the village we left behind to come to Eretz Israel, the village of Motik the groom, the village that no longer exists . . . the two started with melodies *klezmer* would play at weddings in Jewish villages. I glanced about at the faces of the tens of children and young folks who had come to us a short while back from Oswiezm and Bergen-Belsen, from Rumania and Poland and Germany . . . children whose prison numbers were branded into their arms, youths who were saved from hell only through a miracle. What were they thinking about during those moments? What sort of memories did these melodies awaken in them?

The old melodies coming to an end, we came to the festive part. Lusty songs rang out, accompanying Russian *shers* and the like. The guests watched and beat time to the music with hands and feet, following the dancers with their eyes, thinking . . . who knows what thoughts glided through the minds of the old-timers? Long live life! A toast to life! Toasts flew about . . . to the health of the bride and groom,

to our people, to the return of the olim of the "Exodus '47" to Eretz Israel. Each guests held his cup of wine. Not that there was much wine. No danger of getting drunk, of anyone running riot.

MEMORIES AND A NEW LIFE

Soon after, one of the groom's friends, a *chavera* from "Bet Bet" in Belgium, spoke. She was a girl who had passed through the dangerous path to Aretz and had lived to become the member of the first kvutza in the country together with him. She spoke a fluent Hebrew. This was something she had brought from her home, as she had brought her Hebrew culture, her Zionism and her *chalutzit* . . .

There were few speeches. We all understood and felt similarly. Our deepest feelings were brought to expression by the reading by one of our young girls of the 40th chapter of Isaiah — "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people . . ." We responded with the singing of "Ani ma'amin," the song of the camps. It was a song of identification with the wanderers on the seas, whose strength is derived from the faith that they shall soon have their hopes realized.

Everything had found its expression in this wedding; the sorrow of our time, the joy of the parents and of the entire kvutza to have lived to see the creation of a worthy generation of successors, tied with bonds to their home and their homeland.

URI ZVI GREENBERG, Bialik Prize-winner

by

I. M. Lask

Uri Zvi Greenberg has received the Tel-Aviv Bialik Prize for his most recent book of poems. The general feeling in Palestine is that this is somewhat belated recognition for a poet in the direct line of the great hymn-writers who shaped the magnificent Jewish liturgy.

Uri Zvi Greenberg is not a youngster. Even before the First World War he published a few Hebrew poems, which bore the stamp of a more sombre Heine but were not particularly outstanding. He leaped into prominence after that war, but as a Yiddish and not as a Hebrew poet. In his Yiddish poetry he ran the whole gamut of that world-disillusionment which served as the keynote in English for T. S. Eliot and his followers of the "Thirties, save that in his work there was a demonic force which at once set him among the leading Yiddish poets of the day. This drive and force, however, was Hebrew and Biblical in origin; and so in due course he forsook Yiddish and the cosmopolitanism of the Yiddishists of that day, returned to Hebrew and came up to Palestine in the mid-Twenties.

In Palestine he found himself among his own. His Hebrew verse assumed a fresh force and vigor, and he began to develop a long-line form reminiscent of Walt Whitman. The Halutzim accepted him as to all intents and purposes the man who spoke to and for their hearts; and for several years he gave utterance to the experiences and adventures of the spirit and body to be met with in rebuilding the Lower, the earthly Jerusalem.

Gradually the Halutz ideal as an end in itself became insufficient for him. After the search for God, and discovery of Him in the God of our fathers, described in his wonderful collection of lyrics, "Anacreon at the Pole of Grief," he realized that he was seeking literally for the Messiah of Jewish tradition.

From this point on, Uri Zvi, in this respect the D'Annunzio of Hebrew literature, began to move away from the standards and satisfactions of Halutz Palestine until by the end of the "Twenties he found himself one of the leading spokesmen of the Revisionist Movement. In poems and essays he, for several years, denounced those who could not grasp the urgent need for mass immigration into Palestine in order to save Jewish lives; and also to bring about that transformation in mental and spiritual approach which must precede the Days of Messiah — a time of bitter and grievous suffering,

as tradition warns us. Yet a note of warning and foreboding entered his poems. He could sense what was coming, and went to Poland to help rouse Jewry there to an awareness of the urgent and imminent danger. When the Second World War broke out he succeeded in escaping and returned to Palestine, but the magnitude of the catastrophe, in which he lost all of his own kith and kin, overwhelmed him. For several years he was silent, and since he began publishing his poems again, he has voiced the lament of Jewry for those who were destroyed.

Rarely can any poet, in any language, so have recorded his spiritual autobiography in his verse as Uri Zvi Greenberg has done. From his sombre Yiddish "Mephisto," recording the collapse of Europe, to his most recent Hebrew "Eyes of the Spirit and Eyes of the Flesh," which served as the occasion of granting him the Bialik Prize, he has recorded every stage of his inner development. He has recorded it in the long sweeping stanzas of "Vast Dread and the Moon" and "Manhood Ascendant," describing how he leaves the world revolution behind and turns back home to the physical no less than the spiritual land of our fathers. He has recorded it in the intricate rhymes and hauntingly beautiful lyrics of "Anacreon," describing how he wrestles with God all the long night through. He has recorded it in his "Vision of a Legionary" and "Watch-dog," describing the whittling down and wasting away of the original impetus behind the rebuilding of Eretz Israel. He records it in his "Book of the Change and the Faith," in which he levels his charge against the little men, warns of the wrath that came so soon after, and repeats his faith in the Full Redemption. Now he is once again recording it in his elegies and laments for Polish and European Jewry.

Uri Zvi Greenberg is one of the modern masters of Hebrew, and ranks as such with the foremost among them. His objective is always the reduction of the outer world of his experience to terms of the "uttermost plainness" and simplicity, in order that his experiences may be shared directly by all and sundry. His similes and metaphors have much of the evocative power of the prophet Ezekiel, whose directness, vividness and not infrequent crudity he shares. Yet even in his search for the "uttermost plainness" he has achieved the lyrical perfection of his "Anacreon" which, if he had written noth-



URI ZVI GREENBERG

ing more, would have served to place him on a par with Shlomo ibn Gebirol and Moshe ibn Ezra as a master of religious poesy.

Cooperative Adventure . . .

(Continued from page 6)

It might be thought that in a situation wherein all are entitled to share alike, regardless of the work they do, there would be some who would not exert themselves as much as they should. Actually, experience has shown that such "slackerism" is very rare. If it persists too long, the individual would have to be expelled, but usually the group spirit is so strong and warm that no one wants to give anything but his all and his best, and the matter does not constitute a problem.

IMPORTANCE FOR AMERICA

Perhaps, from a general standpoint, the most important implication of this form of cooperative society is its potentiality to provide a satisfactory material and spiritual way of life on the basis of comparatively little land, initial capital, or annual cash income per member or per family.

If, as may occur, a time should come to America once again when opportunities to earn a living in terms of cash — derived from employment, agriculture, professions, industry, or commerce — should be very restricted, then in this country of, on the whole, superficially cultivated vast areas of fertile land, the example of the comprehensive cooperatives in Palestine may be of wide and deep significance.

Poems

by

Uri Zvi Greenberg

Last Prayer

Bend us, if it be your will, as you bow the trees
 With the sweet weight of blessing from July to September
 Because we are also your trees
 with a burdensome yield of griefs.
 But do not uproot us out of this earth
 For we have chosen to be therein
 just as you planted us
 In the circle of days and of nights.
 If your mouth decrees that our brows shall never reach heights
 And we shall not dare the steps of the golden ladder of vision —
 Let us but delve a covenant with your living earth
 In the beautiful valley-of-Man,
 And in our life's calendar blot out the five letters: Death.



Childhood Memories of the Bible

S. FRENKEL

As A Woman

Like a woman who knows she holds me by her spell
 My God taunts: "If you can, flee from me!"
 Yet I cannot flee
 For I fled him.
 I fled in wrath and despair,
 An oath on my lips like a coal aflame
 Never to look on him more.
 I come back again
 And knock at his door
 Like a chastened swain.
 As though of his love to me I had heard tell.



At the wailing wall

HAYIM AARON BEN-DAVID

The Tower of Corpses

On our banks there is gold without price, with the sand
 as a blanket in the gloaming; the carpet of song for the
 jubilant poet of God . . .
 And the waters are blue and translucent with the radiant
 vision of the prophet flaming within his skin.
 And the grief of our race also burns, even more than the
 shape of a branchy bush.
 Burning since Titus' days with the fire that brought to the
 ground the great Kingdom of Israel that stretched from the
 sea to Euphrates.
 Is there a mouth in the skies to tell this landscape of aid
 and salvation?
 Is there upon the whole globe some woman who bears in
 her womb the unborn redeemer?
 Or is there in one of the exiles' houses a baby Messiah,
 growing in the bosom of his unwitting mother,
 Who will come one day, with the heavens covered by the
 word of redemption written in letters of fire on the blue,
 And the mountains lighting up from within, and all things
 hid within them grown radiant?
 There is no such mouth in the skies to speak us salvation.
 There is silence. . . . But hearken you can: in Time's hiding-
 places there is many a river which we shall weep.
 Even in dream we shall not know the seeming of Messiah's
 mother,
 But we shall feel the iron of those who plough on our backs
 as feels the opened field.
 And the grief of our race burning even more than the form
 of a branchy bush in the desert.
 The Hebrew tower of corpses is tiered and rises with the
 untold slain-by-and-to-order
 Yet no head has gored at these heavens! (head that has
 turned the edge of a Christian axe, or holding a Moslem dagger).

Motto To "Anacreon"

I talk of grief because
 of grief we are the trees
 And joy is but the red-cheeked fruit
 Abobbing in the breeze.



YEHUDAH GUR GRUZOVSKY
Editor of Standard Hebrew Dictionary

Hebrew Language Academy (Vaad Halashon)

The Vaad Halashon (Hebrew Language Academy), a beneficiary of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions was founded in Jerusalem in 1889, for linguistic research, and for the revival, extension and improvement of the Hebrew language. The first members of the Academy were: Seev Javetz, Michael Pines, Prof. David Yellin, Eliezer Ben Yehuda, A. M. Lunz and others. For 58 years the Vaad Halashon has served as the center of the Renaissance of Hebrew and furnished vocabularies of Hebrew terms to schools, factories, agriculture, trades, arts, scientific agencies, and Jewish and government institutions.



PROFESSOR S. ASSO
Hebrew University - Talmud



PROFESSOR S. KLAUSNER
Hebrew University - Literature and History



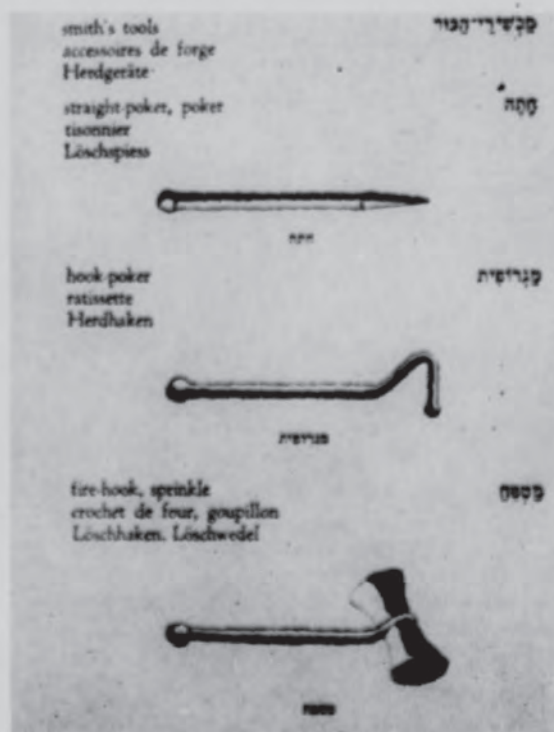
DAVID YELLIN
Late President, Vaad Halashon



PROFESSOR NAHUM SLOUCZ
President, Hebrew World Union



DR. SAMUEL EISENSTADT
Secretary of Vaad Halashon



*A page of a dictionary published
by Vaad Halashon*



DAVID SHIMONOVITCH
Poet

Palestine Bookshelf

SHIRAT BIALIK (The Poetry of Bialik) by Jacob Fichman. Published by Mossad Bialik (The Bialik Foundation), Jerusalem 1946, pp. 16 — 464, 8°

This study of Bialik, by one of his younger contemporaries and admirers "this side of idolatry," is divided into three parts: first "Life," consisting of an expanded introduction to Bialik's Collected Works; second, "Work," a series of critical essays on aspects of Bialik's development in poetry and prose; and third, "With Bialik," an account of a friendship and cooperation that lasted more than thirty years until Bialik's death.

Fichman, now himself a veteran, is one of the great stylists of Palestine, and here he has a subject worthy of his pen. Great poet though he was, Bialik was an even greater personality; and that is one of the things that all the recent literature about him brings out ever more clearly. Though he could not know it, he was the last of an age, the age and generation which reached its final blossoming in the "Odessa Circle" of Mendele Mocher Seforim, Ahad Haam and Bialik himself. That group and age still have their effect on what is left of Diaspora Jewry, albeit here in Eretz Israel they are little more than none-too-recent history.

If literary criticism is good literature written about good literature, then this volume is literary criticism *par excellence*, and will be enjoyed as such by all who are competent to enjoy it. I. M. LASK



JACOB KAHN, writer



JACOB FICHMAN

KE-ESEV HASADEH (As the Grass of the Fields) by M. Tabib, Published by Sifriat Hapoalim Workers' Book Guild (Hashomer Hatzair), Merhavia, Palestine, pp 290, 8°

One of the most interesting first novels recently published in Palestine. The way of the pious young Jew of Eastern Europe to heterodoxy and later to Jewish nationalism is a familiar element in modern Jewish life. Here, however, the road is taken by a young Yemenite actually born in Eretz Israel soon after the arrival of his parents here, and leads him to a life of productive labor among his people.

Tabib has much to learn in the actual construction of the novel, and in fact his seventeen chapters are actually seventeen episodes. This, however, is irrelevant compared to the liveliness with which he portrays the life of his characters, and the fresh vital quality of a Hebrew deriving in its entirety from Semitic roots.

The part played by the Yemenites in the upbuilding of Palestine is no small one, and their community as such is now beginning to receive more attention on the part of Hebrew writers than heretofore. Thus the last novel of Israel Zarhi, who died in his thirties only last year, deals with the return of the Yemenites to Jerusalem two generations ago, when they took up their abode perforce in the caves at Siloam village. Hayim Hazaz, who deserves to be dealt with at length and

EDER HAYEKAR (Splendid and Precious). Collection of Contributions dedicated to S. A. Horodetsky. Ed. by E. Ben Gurion. pp 202. Dvir, Tel Aviv.

There were many "Jerusalems" in the Jewish Diaspora, and one of them was Berdichev, "the Jerusalem of Wolhynia" where Schmu'el Abba Horodetsky was born three quarters of a century ago. For a lifetime now, ever since his first work was published in Odessa in 1893, he has been studying and recording the Hassidic Movement, that last amazing flowering of Jewish mysticism. Not so long ago, we had the privilege of welcoming his latest work "Three Hundred Years of Polish Judaism," the supplement to his towering study in four volumes, "Hassidim and Hassidism," and now we are glad to welcome this birthday collection in which friends and scholars pay homage to this figure of a passing age.

Thirty-seven writers and scholars participate in the various sections of this collection which includes belles-lettres, studies and essays, translations, and a bibliography. DOV VARDI

whose influence is noticeable on Tabib, is publishing his full-length, three-part novel on "Yeish," describing Jewish life in the Yemen itself. He also wrote a novel on Yemenite life in wartime Jerusalem. Now Tabib is rounding off the picture with the present volume. I. M. LASK



DR. AARON KAMINKA, Latinist

HABIMAH

Almost everyone has heard of Habimah, but if you ask about it, your informant will say, "Yes, that's the outfit Charles Laughton thinks is the greatest acting troupe in the world." And that's all he'll know.

Actually, Habimah is the first Hebrew theatre ever established. But don't let that give you an idea that it goes back in an unbroken line to charades that whiled away the long, storm-tossed evenings on Noah's ark. Habimah didn't blossom out as a full-fledged studio affiliated with the Moscow Art Theatre until 1918. It was the first Hebrew theatre because an interest in the European-type stage was very rare in Jewry until the 19th century, and because Hebrew as a modern spoken language is a little more than 60 years old.

The founder was Nahum Zemach, who combined a fanatical love for the theatre with an equally fanatical love for the spoken Hebrew word.

The tiny troupe struggled on as bloody revolution raged around it — a bevy of devoted lunatics who starved and rehearsed together in a famine-stricken, antagonistic Moscow.

From 1925 to 1931 the group toured in 20 countries, playing anywhere and everywhere. Many of its members might have found soft spots for themselves during those seven embattled years: but they were theatre-smitten — and what was security compared to a chance to act?

It had won ardent admirers wherever it had played; and eventually its supporters banded together and began collecting money to give the troupe a permanent home in Palestine. But it wasn't until the people of Palestine itself got together and formed the Habimah Circle that financial independence was achieved.

Habimah, when it settled in Palestine, played in auditoriums ranging from film houses to open fields. Tel-Aviv was its headquarters, but it toured the entire land, feeling that only so could it be a national theatre. Funds were started to build a playhouse, but it was slow work. Only in 1945, after 10 years of interrupted construction, did the curtain rise on the new Habimah House.

The group still uses Tel-Aviv only as headquarters, however. After a few performances there, new plays are taken to Jerusalem, Haifa, Petach Tikvah, Rehovot, etc. No longer do the open fields serve as auditoriums; now the troupe carries a mobile stage for appearances in the villages. It averages 360 performances and 250,000 customers a year.

There are still no stars, all members of the troupe alternating in important assignments from play to play. However Hanna Rovina who has been with the group ever since its beginnings is certainly one of its leading actresses, and among the leading actors are Shimon Finkel ("Hamlet"), Abraham Meskin ("The Golem"), and Joshua Bertanoff ("The Dybbuk").

E. B.



ARIE WARSHAUER as Chanan in "The Dybbuk"



T. JUDELVITCH
as Hanna Devora in "Mirele Efros"



S. FINKEL as Amnon in "David's Crown"



J. BERTANOFF as the Shepherd
in "Opedipus Rex"



H. GOVINSKA as Hanna in "This Land"

HABIMAH AND THE WORLD

(Views of Prominent Personalities and Critics on Habimah)

Constantin Stanislavsky: "I too have had a share in the creation of the Hebrew Art Theatre, Habimah. I consider myself fortunate that in this work of mine I realized the greatest of the artist's missions. Art is the one spiritual sphere where people meet with pure intentions, free from politics, without any personal ambitions, only for the sake of beauty and aesthetic elation. In art there are neither religious nor national differences. Art is the plane where the brotherhood of nations can reign supreme. Now upon our departure I send Habimah my most heartfelt greetings, the greetings of a friend. May Habimah abroad seek and support that which we, together with my pupil Vachtangov, loved, sought for and created."

Maxim Gorki: "The Habimah Theatre is an additional proof of the triumph of genius. Out of poverty and starvation this miracle came into being, by dint of a stiff-necked struggle for the rights of the language of the Bible and the language of the illustrious poet Bialik. Tireless effort has been devoted to the building up of this theatre which was privileged to serve as an example of the power of enchantment in art and of the creative capacity of the Jewish people."

Prof. Albert Einstein: "Your performances is one of monumental ranges. It impressed me more than any other performance I have ever seen in my life."

Gordon Craig: "What is Habimah's purpose? To walk on a path of its own towards a new theatre and not look to the right or the left — not listen to the twaddle talked in London and Paris by the horde of amateur and professional actors, producers and critics who talk round in a circle from which they cannot, because they will not, escape . . . preventing every development because of their talk. This first is Habimah. What next is Habimah? A group of actors who preserved their unity — a group which venerates the memory of its leader, Vachtangov, and even though he is no longer with it, remembers what he told it to do and does it. What else is Habimah? It is a group which knows well what *ensemble* means . . . and *ensemble* means teamwork. Teamwork is always valuable, but a team which is to pull a plough must not be composed of one or two goats, a cat, a dog, and a donkey. All must be oxen or all be horses, if you want ensemble at the plough. And in a theatre they must all be actors of capability — but men of purpose who stand together year in, year out, for many years. Habimah is composed of such men and has stood firm for twenty years. Europe honors Habimah, not for its organizing ability — it has little — but for its capacity to act plays and play the game. We in England know what it means to act — to play a game fairly — to preserve unity — to follow the leader — not to look to right or left — and we have no theatrical company which has done this for twenty years, guided by brains."

(The "Times," London, Nov. 14, 1937)

Thomas Mann: "I have seen the Habimah Theatre only once on the occasion of their guest performance in Munich, but the impression it left upon me is indelible. The play they gave was "The Dybbuk." This simple folk drama of obsession and the pervading atmosphere of a people's genuine faith, intimate contact with an unreal world, the picturesque cultural unity of the performance, together with the advanced dramatic quality of their production and the refined passion of the acting, enraptured me, as it did the whole audience. I gladly embrace the opportunity to render my thanks to the Theatre for this extraordinary hour."



H. ROVINA as Leah in "The Dybbuk"



A. MESKIN as King David in "David's Crown"



BEN HAIM as Tanchum in "The Golem"



S. DUER as Judith in "This Land"



D. VARDI as Gravedigger in "Hamlet"

Back Stage

"The Barber of Seville"

After the success of The "Pick-Up Girl," the Chamber Theatre produced the Beaumarche comedy "The Barber of Seville." Nathan Altermann's translation is a work of art in itself. Stage settings by P. Levy and music by Frank Pollak.

The company is unanimous in its admiration of Joseph Pasovsky's new way of production, which is full of novelties and "tricks."

"Day and Night"

After two months of preparations, the Habimah Theatre had the opening night for the performance of "Day and Night." Jacob Horowitz, the noted novelist, dramatist and drama critic, has rewritten the original script of "Day and Night" by S. Ansky as well as adding a third act to complete it. The play describes the wonders of Chassidic life. Production is by S. Finkel, settings by Rubin, music by E. Pugachov and dances by G. Kraus.



JACOB HOROWITZ

This play, the two first acts of which were written by the creator of "Hadibuk," is set in a Chassidic background and is rich in the folklore of that time.

Matate Theatre

The Matate Theatre is producing the comedy "Kind-Hearted Gershon," which took J. Heiblum a year to write. M. Oxenberg revised it for production and from the very first rehearsal the company took it to their hearts. They all worked on it night and day.

The comedy, the opening scene of which is in Cyprus and the final one in Tel-Aviv, is rich in humor from the first to last. The "eternal triangle" here is made up of a grandfather's inheritance, an illegal immigrant (S. Rodensky), and a daughter (H. Shindler). Here is an abundance of local atmosphere and such subjects as "key money," "a room on the roof," "speculation," etc.

"Li-La-Lo" News

The "Li-La-Lo" Company has just completed its new programme "Chaos and Disorder," a production in twenty pictures "for adults only." P. Yaroshi promises that it will fulfill the present demand for laughter. It appears, indeed, to be rich in humor and biting political satire mostly on actual subjects. N. Altermann contributes some new lyrics, the most outstanding of which is his "Song of the Night."



"Blood Wedding"

Chamber Theatre



Z. LEBIUSH in "Doctor's Dilemma" - Ohel Theatre



S. RODENSKY in "Spoiled Boy" Matate Theatre



"Merry Wives of Windsor"

Ohel Theatre

Journey to Palestine

Upper Galilee and the Jordan Valley

The best center for the exploration of the Jordan Valley is Tiberias, a town of 12,000 inhabitants on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Tiberias is an ancient Jewish center, founded in the first century A. D. by Herod Antipas and named in honor of the Roman Emperor Tiberius. In the Middle Ages, it was the site of important Yeshivot. In recent times the city has expanded and a modern Jewish section has been built. Near Tiberias are hot springs, with very beneficial medical action. Because of these springs, its warm climate and its beautiful situation on the Sea of Galilee (Yam Kinnereth), Tiberias is a popular tourist resort, especially in winter. At Tiberias the tombs of many Jewish sages may be seen, including Rabbi Meir Baal Ha-ness, Rabbi Moshe Ben Maimon (Maimonides) and others.



Tiberias

MARCEL JANCU



Galilee Kinnereth Hotel

KINNERETH

Traveling south along the shores of the Sea of Galilee, we pass the kibbutz of Kinnereth one of the pioneer settlements. The poetess Rachel lived and worked here. Continuing, we must pass a bridge over the Jordan and come to Daganah. This was the first Kvutza (communal settlement) in Palestine and was founded in 1909. It is now one of the most beautiful settlements in the country. Aharon David Gordon, whose doctrine was that only physical labor could redeem the Jews of the Diaspora, came to Daganah and lived and worked and died there.

SOUTHWARD

Leaving Daganah we come to the small Arab town of Samakh. From here one may continue northward to Ein Gev, on the eastern shore of the lake. Ein Gev is primarily a fishing village. East of Samakh, on the Syrian border, are the warm springs of el Hamma (Jewish Hotel). Continuing South from Samakh we pass close to several large settlements, including Sharr Hagolan, Massadah, and Ashdot Yaacov (pop. 1200, "Eshed" fruit juice and jam factory) on our left, and Beth Zera and Afikim (pop. 1000, flying school) to our right. The road then reaches the shores of the Yarmuk and the Palestine electric power station of Naharayim, built by the late Pinchas Rutenberg. This station utilizes the fall of the Yarmuk river just before it drops into the Jordan and supplies a large part of the power used in Palestine.



Capernaum

Marcel Jancu

by

Haim Gamzu

One member of the colorful coterie of artists who chose as their seat the neutral soil of Switzerland, during the upheaval of the first War, was Marcel Jancu, born to a Jewish family in Bucharest in 1895. He was the one to give form to the chaotic ideas of Dadaism. This group, to which the legitimate critics in those days referred as "the Gang," included, besides Jancu, Hugo Ball, Tristan Tzara, Hans Arp, Picasso, Segal, Marinetti, Van Rees, and at a later period, Apollinaire, Modigliani, Huelsenbeck, Kandinsky, Blaise Cendrars and also others, poets, painters, sculptors, dancers and musicians. In short, it consisted of all those whose souls revolted against routine and worn out brushes and pens.

THE NEW ENVIRONMENT

Marcel Jancu came to Palestine thirsty for new impressions, and faced the Palestine landscape not in the manner of a naturalist painter, but in the manner of one to whom the landscape is a mere pretext to uncover new forms and new color-schemes. Nevertheless, Palestinian landscape is a real fact to Jancu, even though

he does not allow its existence to dominate and enslave the colors, the legion of forms and hues engendered by his prolific brush. These harmonies are lacking in nature. They only exist in the subconsciousness of the artist. He does not claim to convey the Palestinian light in his pictures, nor does he propose to give a copy of the surroundings, for a copy, be it what it will, is foreign to the spirit of Marcel Jancu. The landscape, once submerged in his soul, emerges from it completely transformed. It is no longer bound to a topographical address. It lives its own inner life. Sometimes, after a spell of intimate and isolated contemplation of nature, Jancu is apt to paint, indeed, a "still life," an abstract composition, or a nude, but all these would be a sort of poetic projection of both the optic and spiritual experiences onto the canvas or the paper. Jancu's paintings are permeated with a personal style, for he does not pursue the "motif," nor does he imitate nature.

VISION STARTING FROM REALITY

It is interesting to trace the develop-



HAIM GAMZU

Director, Tel-Aviv Art Museum

ment of Jancu during the last few years in order to realize that in spite of his love of the absolute abstraction, his starting point is reality itself. From time to time he must dip himself in the pure waters of abstraction, but he swiftly returns to the cross-roads, where the paths of abstraction intersect with the echoes of the tangible universe. Jancu senses the automatism in the movements and attitudes of our neighbors better than many an avowed Realist. It is sufficient to examine some of his drawings, accented with a touch of water color, in order to be convinced that Jancu has really penetrated the legendary atmosphere of the landscapes. Some of his graphic works are pervaded with a spirit of "Arabian Nights." It is unthinkable that he could draw in this fashion if he were not living in this country. The same applies to the many "still lifes" where there is more than a hint of the produce of Palestine. All that warmth issuing from the fruit-baskets in his works as well as from the bodies of the girls and women, all the light streaming from the contorted faces of our young people and our old men bearing arms, the spirituality evident in the astonished features of young lads engrossed in a lesson at the Talmud Torah, all these could not be "facts of painting" if it were not for the everyday facts and for the artist's wonderful perception of them and their influence on his personality.

Anyone who looks at the present paintings of Jancu will become immediately aware of the extent to which Jancu's agile brush has converted the buds of abstraction into a forest of tangible experiences. Indeed, his world is not the world of reality. His silhouettes move in a nocturnal glow and a sort of delirious hypnosis flows out of each of his frames.



Village Cafe House

MARCEL JANCU

Art In Palestine

In spite of the tense political situation there has been a remarkable growth of artistic activities in Palestine, especially in the domain of painting. What has been sown by a handful of pioneers a few decades ago is beginning to bear fruit in this field, too. After a period of "incubation" the creative urge of our painters and sculptors has found an outlet in numerous exhibitions throughout Palestine, particularly in Tel-Aviv which is more alive to the problems of modern art than many a capital in Europe.

This artistic activity was due first of all to the renewed contact with world-centers of art, especially France and America, and to the improved facilities for exhibition at the Tel-Aviv Museum and in the new private and public art-galleries in Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa and elsewhere. The numerical strength of the Association of Palestine Painters and Sculptors has increased considerably through the discovery of new talent in the towns and in the settlements and owing to the steady influx of artists from Europe, some of whom had won recognition in their countries and had miraculously survived the Nazi massacre in Europe.

In response to the growing interest in art on the part of the general public most Hebrew periodicals and even dailies opened regular art-columns, and no doubt contributed to the appreciation of modern art in general and the specific problems of Palestinian art. This interest in Palestinian art has not been merely "platonic": a growing demand for works of art is coming not only from public institutions and art-dealers, but also from the general public in Palestine who are beginning to realize that art is no longer a luxury, a matter for high-brow connoisseurs or well-to-do collectors, but a real spiritual necessity of all educated men.

It is difficult to dwell in a brief survey of art in Palestine on all interesting exhibitions held last year not only in the whole country, but even in Tel-Aviv alone, where at the height of the season 4-5 new exhibitions were being opened each month. Among the highlights of last year's season were some well-known Palestinian painters such as M. Schmit, Castel, Kossonogi, Fein, Obadiah, Rubin, Yohanan Simon, Mokady, Sigard, Paldi, Frenkel, Levanon and Holzman. The more abstract trends in painting were represented by Marcel Jancu, Kahana, Zaritsky, Streichman, Steimatzky, Baser and a number of younger artists. There were some first shows of young painters born in the country and refugee artists.

The Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem continued its important educational activities by arranging travelling exhibitions in the Kibbutzim, a retrospective exhibition of works by the well-known graphic artist Jacob Steinhardt and other special shows. It has brought over from London a very interesting exhibition of works by the painter Yankiel Adler who has gained recognition in England.

Haifa, too, is gradually becoming art-conscious. Apart from one-man shows there was a general exhibition of Palestine painters on Mount Carmel.

This year's season (1947-1948) opened at the Tel-Aviv Museum with a collective show of 40 Palestinian artists and the exhibition of the well-known Palestinian painter Leo Lubin who was brought up in the United States, studied art under John Norton at the Chicago Art Institute, won the John Quincy Adams Scholarship, joined the Jewish Battalion in the first World War and came to Palestine 25 years ago. This fine show was followed by the interesting exhibition of Marcel Jancu who was one of the founders of the Dada movement in Europe three decades ago. He settled in Palestine eight years ago, and is the leader of the modernist school in Palestine. A. LERNER



Landscape

JOSEPH KOSSONOGI



Holy Feast

CASTEL



Among Mountains

ELIAHU SIGARD

Children's Art

In summer 1943 the Bezalel Museum began to prepare an Exhibition of Children's Art which was the first of its kind in Palestine.

This is not intended to summarize the exhibition in question, nor to serve as a study of the art of Jewish children in Palestine. That is something which will, we hope, be done in the near future by suitably qualified persons.

All that this sets out to do is to draw attention to the creative spirit found in these little artists, whenever the teacher succeeds in opening their hearts and eyes, and in making them eager to produce something creative of their own.

Palestinian children are in no way below those of the rest of the world in their creative powers. Their sense of color and form is as good as that of the children of other nations, living a life of liberty on their own. It is completely false to claim that the Jews have any animosity towards the arts; and these pictures can serve as proof that this is so.

The Bible and our past, the life around us in all its joys and sorrows, the war and its mishaps, the labor and fate of Jewry, the joys and fears of life, the calamities and catastrophes, the upbuilding of Palestine and the joy of labor — all these have provided the local child artists with their subjects and means of self-expression.

Specimens of work by children between the ages of seven and fourteen were chosen for an Exhibition, in which only pupils of elementary and secondary schools participated.



First Fruit for Keren Kayemeth (water color)
Boy, aged 11



Meeting (water color)

Girl, aged 12



Moses in the Water (water color)
Girl, aged 10



Landscape (colored chalk)

Girl, aged 7



Linesman (water color)

Boy, aged 11



Young Planter (cut in paper)

Boy, aged 12

*Landscape (colored chalk)**Girl, aged 7**Purim Players (water color)**Girl, aged 11**In the Orange Grove (water color)**Girl, aged 13**After the Pogrom (lino cut)*
Boy, aged 14*Portrait (water color)* *Boy, aged 14**Lambkin & flower (colored chalk)**Girl, aged 7**Oxen under the Yoke (water color)**Girl, aged 11**Man ploughing (water color)**Boy, aged 12*

Modern Traditional Institutions

The destruction of traditional institutions of learning in Eastern Europe, formerly the center of Jewish study, and the exile of the scholars who survived, has led to the reestablishment of Jewish theological and scholastic academies in Palestine. Though this movement began a long time ago, within the past fifteen years it has grown rapidly. This return of Jewish scholarship to Palestine was not accomplished without difficulties, but the least of these difficulties was the adjustment of traditional institutions to the full modern life of Palestine.

Without relinquishing the principles and practice of religious study these institutions have added a pioneering air to the conduct of their instruction. The same

student who labors over the Talmud may also labor in the field, which may be next to his house of study. The Yeshivah B'nai Akiba, Kfar Haroeh, for example, founded in 1940 by the Religious Labor Youth Movement, is an institution of higher Jewish learning which is unique in its combination of intensive traditional training and a progressive approach to the development of youth in Palestine.

Yeshivah "HaYishuv Hechadash," Tel-Aviv, as the name implies, "Yeshivah of the Modern Community" trains its students in modern fashion. They excel in scholarship and at the same time possess a general cultural knowledge. The emphasis is laid on articulate expression. Founded by the late Chief Rabbi of Tel-Aviv, Rabbi M. Amiel, its graduates are highly regarded as spiritual leaders well-versed in community affairs.

The Yeshivah "Porath Joseph," Jerusalem, located close to the Wailing Wall, gives rabbinical instruction and advanced study for ordained rabbis who wish to continue their research in the Torah. Students receive in addition to Talmudical instruction an elementary knowledge in general subjects, such as arithmetic, geometry and algebra, general Jewish and world history.

On the secondary level, the "Horeb" Secondary Religious School, Jerusalem, for both boys and girls has an eleven year course of study that in addition to Holy Studies (The Torah, Prophets, Law and Talmud) contains elementary secular studies (Hebrew, English, Arabic, Geometry, Geography, Physics, Natural Sciences, Art and Music) and manual training (carpentry, metal works, carton making, book-binding and sewing).



*Yeshivah B'nai Akiba
Returning from a Hike*



DR. JACOB COHEN
*Principal of Horeb Secondary Religious
School*



RABBI H. BROWNSITT
Yeshivah Hayishuv Hechadash



Building of Yeshivah Porath Joseph, Rehovoth



RABBI S. GREENBERG
Yeshivah Hayishuv Hechadash

FOLKLORE



VICE-ADMIRAL HERBERT FAIRFAX LEARY

Maritime League Delegate Welcomed by U.S. Naval Men

Moshe Pomrok, representative of the Palestine Maritime League (a beneficiary of the American Fund) during his stay in this country, received a cordial reception and offers of cooperation from coast guard and maritime schools in this country. Among the schools which he visited were the United States Coast Guard Academy at New London, Conn., and the New York State Maritime Academy, the oldest of its kind in this country, Fort Schuyler, New York.

Vice-Admiral Herbert Fairfax Leary, USN, urged Mr. Pomrok to convey his greetings to the students of the Haifa Nautical School and offered to discuss the possibility of sending his students on a cruise to the school in Palestine with a return cruise by the students of the Haifa Nautical School.

The setting up of harmonious relations between Palestine and American maritime authorities is regarded as an important feature in the growth of the Palestine Maritime trades.



RABBI ELIEZER SILVER, honorary chairman of the Committee for Traditional Institutions of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, a recognized leader of the American Orthodox Rabbinate, is an acknowledged leader of world-traditional Jewry. In honor of Rabbi Silver's forty years of service the Jewish Morning Journal will publish a special Silver Jubilee Issue.

One of the main fields of activity of the Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology in Jerusalem (a beneficiary of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions) is the publication of scientific studies and articles dealing with the various aspects of the culture of the different Jewish communities, as well as other works on folklore, ethnology and anthropology.

The journal "Edoth," a Quarterly for Folklore and Ethnology, appears today as a bi-lingual publication, in Hebrew and English, and thus renders the contributions published in it accessible also to scientists, scholars and interested readers who do not know Hebrew.



Jewess of Afghanistan

In 1946 the Institute launched a series of books called "Studies in Folklore and Ethnology." The first volume to be published in this series was "Maase Yerushalmi" a scientific edition of an ancient Jewish folk-tale preserved in Hebrew and Arabic Manuscripts, published by Rabbi J. L. Zlotnik of Johannesburg, South Africa. This was followed by an ethnological monograph on "The Jews of Kurdistan" by the late Dr. E. Brauer, which is the only book to date in Hebrew dealing in a scientifically adequate manner with a Jewish community. The third and fourth volumes were "The Science of Man: An Introduction to Anthropology" by Dr. Raphael Patai, which gives the latest information on the developments in the various branches of anthropological knowledge, and shows by way of numerous examples how much light anthropological treatment can throw upon Biblical and other literary data concerning the ancient Hebrew and Jewish world. A few weeks ago, the fifth and latest volume of the



Jewess of Eastern Persia

series was published: "Holy Tombs" by Dr. M. Ish-Shalom. This book is a collection of the literary material concerning the traditional tombs of Jewish legendary and historical figures in Palestine.

In the autumn of 1947 another serial publication was begun by the Institute called "Social Studies." The first volume of this series is a statistical-demographical study by Dr. Sarah Bergner-Rabinowitz on "Hygiene, Education and Nutrition among the Kurdish, Persian and Ashkenazic Jews in Jerusalem."

Dr. Raphael Patai, director of the Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology, who came to this country in October, 1947 on a Viking Fund Fellowship, has been appointed Visiting Lecturer in Anthropology at Columbia University. Dr. Patai gives a course on the "Peoples and Cultures of the Near East" to students of the Department of Anthropology. He has also undertaken to give a number of lectures under the auspices of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions on the ethnic composition and the culture of Jewish Palestine.



Jew of Kurdistan

From Dan to Beer-Sheba

Irrigation — New irrigation developments are reported from the Jezreel Valley where work has begun on the extension of the "Mekoroth" water scheme. When complete this will ensure a regular water supply to all settlements from Gincgar to the new settlement of Dovrath, at the foot of Mt. Tabor. Water supply for Afuleh, the urban center for the Jezreel Valley settlements, will be increased by another 250,000 c.m. per year.

Cordage — The new rope and hemp factory of the Palestine Cordage and Textiles, Ltd. (H. and D. Jerushalmy, Managers) has started operations. This is one of the first new postwar plants to go into production in premises constructed according to modern industrial requirements and equipped with the most up to date machinery.

Glass Products — Blown glass ornaments in handsome gift packages destined for export, mainly to North America and Australia, are among the new and most promising lines produced by the Shekef Technical Glass Products, Ltd., in the Haifa Bay area. The Shekef factory's main article of production is ampoules for the pharmaceutical industry which finds markets in Greece, Turkey, and other Mediterranean countries.

Other products are bottles, eyedroppers, tubes and similar articles for pharmaceutical and chemical purposes. The factory's equipment includes a special automatic machine for the manufacture of ampoules, invented and patented by a Palestine engineer.

Canning — Twelve Palestine factories are engaged in fruit and vegetable canning, the production of various juices and, to a smaller extent, of fish and meat preserves. Most of these factories were established during the war and supplied large Army orders for jams, juices, etc. A recent report from Holland indicates that tests made there with pasteurized citrus juice produced at the "Rimon" plant at Givat Brenner have shown it to contain 200% more vitamins than comparable American products. Rimon is one of the largest plants of its kind in Palestine with turnover of LP. 1,000,000 last season.

Asbestos — The new "Olamit" factory in Petah Tikva, which covers an area of 4,000 sq. m. plus 25 dunams for stores and sheds, expects to manufacture 3,000 sq. m. of asbestos board a day.

Modern machinery was purchased in Italy, and Italian engineers supervised the construction and installation. About 1,000 tons of raw asbestos will be imported every month from Cyprus. The railway authorities have allocated a special line to the factory and all asbestos will be brought straight from the boat to the stores.

The initial output is to include walls for buildings, roofing boards, and in three months' time, pressure pipes of various sizes.

The manufacturing process is protected by Palestinian patents and the products are calculated to reduce the price of asbestos materials, up to now imported from abroad and, incidentally, the cost of building. The new materials are said to have the advantages of considerable strength, good insulation, and low cost.

Export Produce — A valuable addition to Palestine's agricultural exports may be made in the near future by the development of seed and bulb growing, the cultivation of early vegetables and by karakul sheep breeding, according to expert articles in the newly published Annual of the Palestine Export Union. Locally grown vegetable seeds, such as tomatoes, melons and cucumbers were exported during the war to England and other countries while the first substantial consignments of Alexandrine clover, in which Palestine is specializing, have already been sent to Australia. The seed growing industry in Palestine is being developed under the auspices of "Zera," the union of Jewish seed-growing farms founded in 1938. A seed cleaning-station equipped with modern machinery, seed silos, etc., has been established at the Ramat Yohanan settlement.



Sailing on the Yarkon

Housing — The housing situation of the hundreds of evacuees from the Jaffa-Tel Aviv border is a real difficulty. It is impressive to see how calm and courageous these people are, and how ingeniously they have adapted themselves to new and difficult circumstances. Families of five are living in the spacious luxury entrance of halls of modern blocks of flats — and that is relatively comfortable housing. Some live — if it may be called living — on the empty balconies of the Great Synagogue in Rehov Allenby. Scarcely had they moved there, to escape the bombs and small-arms fire; scarcely had they set up their beds and cupboards before the women had already found one place for their cooking and another for their washing; and the children above all, had already found somewhere to play.

New Game — One of the most popular children's games in Tel-Aviv at the moment is that known as "Plisha" (Invasion). It is played as follows:

The children start by dragging out on to the staircase various objects from their parents' houses — small pieces of furniture, pails from the kitchen, plates, cups and, most important, all sorts of covers and blankets. Then they arrange everything just like the poor people who have had to leave the Tel Aviv border regions to seek temporary shelter where they may stay, sometimes in the entrances to blocks of flats. The little girls usually bring their toy tea services with them as well.

Settlement — The new settlement of "Misela" (Out of the Rock) is the fourth to be launched in the Hebron hills. Twenty-six Jewish settlements have been established so far in the neglected uplands of Palestine, twenty of them within the last ten years. The Misela settlers are Palestine-born youth ("Sabras"), many of them city-bred boys from Tel-Aviv. The group, belonging to the Hashomer Hatzair movement, received its first training in the Jordan Valley settlement of Beit Zerah. It will join the three other Jewish villages in the Hebron areas — Kfar Etzion, Mashuot Itzhak, Ein Zurim (of the orthodox Hapoel Hamizrachi) — in reclaiming the rocky slopes, planting forests, fruit orchards, etc.

PALESTINE ADVISORY BOARD OF AMERICAN FUND



A meeting of the Palestine Advisory Board of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions in Tel Aviv, Palestine. Reading from lower center around the table those present are JOSEPH SHAPIRO, Vice-Chairman; JACOB FICHMAN; S. TOLKOWSKY; MAX GREENBERG; DR. MOSHE BURSTEIN, Honorary Secretary; DR. HARRY DAVIDOWITZ, Acting Chairman; MOSHE SMILANSKY, Executive Secretary; JEAN NORMAN; LEE HARRIS; ITZHAK NORMAN, Executive Director of AFPI; ELIEZER PERELSON; ISAAC FINKELSTEIN; CHAIM ARIAV.

VISITORS FROM PALESTINE



GOLDA MEYERSON
Director of Political Department
Palestine Section, Jewish Agency



S. HOOFIEN
President of Anglo-
Palestine Bank



RABBI MOSHE GLICKMAN PORUSH
Sec'y. Palestine Agudath Israel



BENJAMIN MINTZ
Agudath Israel Labor Movement



RABBI ITCHE MEYER LEVIN
Chairman, Palestine
Agudath Israel



BRACHA HABAS
"Davar"



ISRAEL TAIBER
ZUR Development Corp.



DAVID HA-COHEN
MGR. SOLEL BONEH

AMERICAN FUND *News*

Vol. 4, No. 1  303 April, 1948

The People We Help

(We can think of no better editorial for this issue than to print part of a letter recently received from an American who lives with her children in Tel-Aviv. To us no work is too difficult to stop us from helping such people as described in this letter to achieve their desire for a better life in Palestine.)

"Last evening Leah Levenson came to call on me . . . it was eight weeks that her husband had been killed . . . she wanted to get away and to come and talk . . . she sat for four hours quietly just telling me about him . . . how she met him at 16 . . . how she left the University to study Architectural engineering simply to be with him . . . she continued her piano and he was gifted on the violin . . . how he influenced her life to join Histadruth . . . how for years before the baby both of them gave their lives to Haganah . . . how he continued day and night even after the baby came. He was commander of the whole group from Ben Shemen . . . he was not supposed to be in the truck into which they shot . . . but one of their men was wounded and he jumped into the truck to help him . . . he was shot in the face fourteen times. She told me this without a tear but in a soft sad voice and kept saying, 'I have not cried; I cannot cry.' While she was talking to me the children came into the room . . . they heard her speak about the piano; they asked her to play . . . she smiled such a sad smile and got up and played — it seems the first time since he was killed. She played as if she were playing to him, magnificently."

" . . . And Jonathan's parents spoke to me yesterday. He was 18½. He finished Gymnasium last June, was at Daphne and during the last two months in the Hulah. He was a leader of his group. They made a punitive raid on an Arab village — twenty Arabs killed, many wounded and evacuated the Arab village. There was, however, heavy hand-to-hand fighting until the Arabs were overcome . . . and three boys were killed — among them Jonathan."

"His parents Mark and Leah sat there stunned . . . spoke of all his movements in the last year . . . He had been playing the violin for years and on his only visit home in four months he told them that he thought he might try taking his violin along — perhaps there would be some opportunity of using it. Later he wrote that he played almost every day since the boys enjoyed it. . . . He also wrote and asked them to send him his bible."

"Leah looked at me and said 'I have been unable to weep . . . I can't imagine that I will see him no more . . . it is impossible . . . he was our baby . . . how quickly I use the word 'was' . . . I wonder, is it better to have had and lost than never to have had at all? Twenty-five years ago when we first came here, we were prepared to face death . . . for ourselves, but we never even dreamed then that our children would have to go through this.'"

" . . . somehow all this purges one of pettiness and the smaller, less important things of life such as thoughts of one's safety. Through the death of some of these boys, my very soul has gone through some miraculous experience — in that I feel tied to this little land one thousand times . . ."

"Such spirit only *Jews in Palestine* can really possess. This is what Palestine does to the Jews, which no American Jew can fully appreciate until he has lived here in a time of crisis such as this — and watches people meet their challenging fate."

"Doggone it — these deaths just make me more determined than ever to stick by these people NOW when they need us most! I will not return to America now under any circumstances — come what may!"



MRS. JENNIE HIRSHHORN

Supper Party Held For Ezrath Nashim

Mrs. Jennie Hirshhorn of 16 Pont Street, Great Neck, Long Island was the hostess at a supper party given in her home on behalf of the Hospital for Mental Diseases (Ezrath Nashim), Jerusalem of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions.

Over fifty guests at the affair donated a total of more than \$5,000 to the American Fund after listening to a description of the problem of mental health in Palestine by Dr. Hans Kleinschmidt, former director of treatment at the hospital and an address on the over-all work of the American Fund by Edward A. Norman, president of the organization. Frank Borden, tenor, entertained. Rabbi Jacob Rudin of Beth-El Temple presided.

Palestine Concert Held By Fund

"Music of Palestine", a concert-narrative, was presented by the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions on Sunday, February 29th to an audience of over 1,000 people at the Broadhurst Theatre. Featuring Palestinian music and Palestinian musicians, singers and dancers, the presentation was narrated by Philip Bourneuf and in a varied program illustrated both modern and traditional aspects of Palestinian music and dance.

Mrs. A. L. Garbat headed a committee of over forty members prominent in philanthropic and community activities who organized to present the concert.

THE NATIONAL *Jewish* MONTHLY

MAY, 1948

B'NAI B'RITH AND THE JWV

By Joseph F. Barr

ANALYSIS OF ANGLO-JEWRY

By Joseph Leftwich

THE ALARM CLOCK

By Leah Ain Globe

CONFERENCE ASKS PARTITION

A MASK FOR PRIVILEGE

*Reviewed By
Judge Stanley Mosk*

*News of Jewish Life, B'nai
B'rith Activities, Books,
Letters, Editorials*

Published by
B'NAI B'RITH



Brig. Gen. Julius Klein Shakes
Hands With Frank Goldman After
JWV B.B. Agreement, As Lt. Col.
Elliott Niles Looks On (p. 324)

60 NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS URGE U.S. TO HELP U. N. IMPLEMENT PALESTINE PARTITION

THE American Jewish Conference, at a closed meeting in New York on April 13, passed a resolution urging American government support for the U.N. plan to partition Palestine. Attendance was limited to three representatives from each of the more than 60 national American Jewish organizations affiliated with the Conference. B'nai B'rith's Supreme Lodge was represented by President Frank Goldman, Vice President William Gerber, and Secretary Maurice Bisgyer. The B.B. Women's Supreme Council was represented by Mrs. Ida Cook Farber.

The text of the resolution adopted follows:

"We, the representatives of the vast majority of American Jews, have assembled to record our profound sense of dismay at the startling reversal of our Government's policy on Palestine.

"As leaders of all the great national Jewish organizations of America, we express the bitter disappointment of the millions of American Jews whom we represent, at this inexplicable and unwarranted abandonment of our country's traditional support of the just and historic aspirations of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine—a policy affirmed by

repeated congressional resolutions and by every president since Woodrow Wilson, including President Truman.

"As Americans, we must deplore this change of policy which has caused irreparable harm to our national prestige, which endangers the moral leadership of this country in world affairs, and which grievously weakens the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations. This new policy, which we can only regard as a breach of faith, was announced at the very moment when the entire world was looking to the United States to assume the lead in formulating concrete and practical steps for the speedy implementation of the considered judgment of the

"By failing to provide such leadership and by demonstrating that the greatest power in the world can be made, by force, threats, and intimidation, to deviate from principles and policies it has deemed just for generations, a dangerous precedent has been created which imperils our American institutions and jeopardizes world peace and security.

"The plan which the United States has submitted as a substitute for the partition decreed by the United Nations will bring about the very consequences which it is

the desire of this country to avoid. The new plan lacks finality; it will increase rather than allay present tensions; it provides no permanent solution; it will encourage the aggressors to continue their lawless acts with renewed vigor. A people cruelly victimized by the recalcitrant administration of the present trustee or mandatory power cannot accept a new trusteeship with its rich opportunities for further frustrations and injustices.

"As Americans, we feel it our duty to petition our Government to consider the terrible implications of its altered policy on Palestine. We earnestly petition our Government, in order to safeguard its position as the hope of mankind, to revert to its original policy of supporting the United Nations' decision and of upholding the only organization standing between international order and lawlessness, between peace and war.

"We therefore call upon our Government (1) to continue the traditional policy of the United States in supporting the historic and just aspirations of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine; and (2) to withdraw its proposal for trusteeship and to cooperate with the United Nations in the implementation of its partition decision of Nov. 29, 1947."



Four who played leading roles at the special meeting of the American Jewish Conference, which demanded that the U. S. Government abandon its trusteeship plan for Palestine and once more support partition. L. to r.: Frank Goldman, President of B'nai B'rith, and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, who delivered addresses; Prof. Milton Handler, chairman of the Conference's Palestine committee, who presided; and Louis Lipsky, chairman of the Conference's executive committee.

The Journey

Sylvan Karchmer

Our Own "Molotov"

Marten S. Dworkin

That Greek Bartender

Len Zinberg

Light Upon the Land

Irene Steeper

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OPINION

A Journal of Jewish Life and Letters

Volume No. XVIII, No. 7

May, 1948

STEPHEN S. WISE, *Editor*

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The New Jewish State

ABOUT the time this issue of *OPINION* reaches its readers, the high promise and the glad tidings of the organization and declaration of a Jewish State in Palestine will have become a matter of history. No one can read the final utterance of the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Congress without being deeply moved. No idle vaunting, no unworthy boasting, no threat to Arab, no reproach, however merited, to the Christian world! Only a word of abundantly merited comment upon the failure of the Mandatory Power, which is one of the tragic failures of history—doubly tragic because the beginning was glorious and the end was shame.

How good to read that the Jewish State that is to be offers the hand of friendship to the Arabs, and undertakes to build the new Palestine together with the Arabs. Best of all, the Yishuv plans an internal loan in the large sum of twenty million dollars, which

we have no doubt will be raised. That internal loan ought to be the starting point of such external loan, though it run to hundreds of millions, as may be asked of the Jews of the world. Without it there can be no establishment of a stable, well defended Jewish State.

We American Jews can think only with rejoicing and with humble pride of the incomparable achievement of the builders of the Jewish State; of the majestic courage with which its sons and daughters are defending it. Palestine is worth the price of toil and blood, but woe to a world which makes it necessary for Jews, after two thousand years, to reclaim their own through bloodshed and infinite sacrifice. May the sixteenth will be a great day of Jewish history. It will not cancel out the memory of the Maccabees nor of TishebeAb nor of the defenders of Warsaw, but it adds yet another noble page to a volume of history enriched by moral splendor and not without the beauty of holiness.

The DP's ask "How Long"?

It is appalling to read, upon the testimony of such authorities as the Adviser on Jewish Affairs to the American Commander in Germany, Professor William Haber, and of the JDC Directors in the American and British Zones of Germany and Austria, that DP morale "has fallen perhaps to its lowest point since the end of the war in Europe." This is exactly what might have been expected and may even be designed by them who are yet to prove responsible for this collapse of morale. Dr. Haber has put it forcefully: "The sudden reversal on Palestine has been received by displaced persons as a blow right between the eyes". Apparently this circumstance has not received serious attention save from the American Jewish groups who are responsible for the well-being or ill-being of the DPs.

Now that April 1948 is passed, more than three years have gone since the "liberation" of the German and other Jews in the Nazi lands. It is nothing less than a moral tragedy that the world has made no provision for these heroic survivors of a decade and more of inhuman terror. Neither our Country nor Palestine nor Latin America has done more than discuss immigration of the DPs, with one variation,—the Yishuv of Palestine would have eagerly welcomed and is still most eager to welcome the DPs. Jewish Palestine's hospitality rather than generosity does not redeem the shame of the Christian world.

Is there to be no end of this? Are the DPs to continue to languish in what are their post-Nazi prisons? Or are they truly to be liberated at last? If there be such a thing as a moral sense surviving in the makeup of mankind, the DP's will not be compelled to spend another weary, morally and spiritually exhausting year in Germany and Austria.

Gratitude to Weizmann

If it be true that David Ben Gurion is to be the Premier or Prime Minister of the Jewish State, OPINION and its Editorial Board offer him deepest and sincerest congratulations. He has bravely led; he has wisely built, and now he is to be political leader of the State, whose head or President we are persuaded can only be Dr. Chaim Weizmann. Weizmann is our greatest and our wisest statesman, and no choice is thinkable other than the choice of the name of Dr. Weizmann. It is not too much to say that he is the candidate of world Jewry,—that World Jewish community which will evermore feel the deepest, truest gratitude to Weizmann for the years of patient, courageous and fearless leadership, which, if England had but followed it, would have averted the hurt and wound and pain of recent years. While it was possible to do so, Weizmann, with the patience of statesmanship, stood by the side of England, from the government of which under Balfour he had won the immortal Declaration bearing Balfour's name. If only England in these last days and hours

would hark to the counsel of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, peace and understanding might yet be established between the British Commonwealth—which is not of today but of the ages—and the State of Judea, the newest and the most promising of the Commonwealths of the New Day.

Thomas Mann vs Hollywood

It is nothing less than distressing to read the judgment of the foremost living writer of our day, who has just given earnest warning about some of the symptoms beginning to make themselves felt in the United States, which remind Dr. Thomas Mann of the advent of the Hitler era two decades ago. Thomas Mann has had alike the wisdom and the courage to do the immensely unpopular thing of writing a foreword to a volume which tells the story of the ten film writers indicted for refusing to answer questions about their political views before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Thomas Mann writes in terms which Americans will do well to remember, and will forget to their peril and hurt: "As an American citizen of German birth I am painfully familiar with certain political trends,—spiritual intolerance, political inquisitions, declining legal security, all in the name of an alleged state of emergency. That is how it started in Germany."

Intolerance and inquisition and alleged state of emergency,—these are the bitter reminders of the Hitler era. Hollywood itself has made it possible for Washington and Congressman Thomas to give the first exhibition of the imminence of those imperilling political trends, which Thomas Mann mentions. Every American, who cherishes human freedom, who loathes intolerance, who believes in political and legal security, will find much in the book, "Hollywood on Trial"; and, above all, in the foreword, which Mann has written for it. Would that the motion picture producers of Hollywood would be equal to or at least approach the spirit of that great Democrat as well as immortal writer, Thomas Mann!

Safeguarding the Radio

It is significant to note that the action of the American Jewish Congress has brought it about that the Federal Communications Commission has finally reached a decision denying radio license to the *New York Daily News*. The decision is honoring chiefly to the FCC, which evidently is resolved that radio communications shall not be used for the dissemination of racial and religious prejudice. Every medium of communication must be barred not only to the rabble-rousers, but, as the American Jewish Congress has rightly said, to the more subtle and respectable sources, which disseminate dangerous racist views through all mass media of communication.

The Congress has also taken action in respect to a

Los Angeles broadcasting station, which gave instruction to its subordinates to slant all news anti-Jewishly, —the case now being before the FCC. Is the American Jewish community aware of the unflagging vigilance with which the American Jewish Congress safeguards Jews and every minority in American life, not by belated complaint about slander and defamation, but by such legal and social action as limits, and in the end may yet make impossible, the empoisonment of the wells of public opinion in the nation?

Pass the Stratton Bill!

Who can fail to see that pushing aside the Stratton Bill, as it is now being pushed aside in view of the so-called Fellows Bill, is in no sense honoring to the Congress. The Bill, the author of which is the Chairman of the sub-Committee of the House Judiciary Committee, is not as inadequate as the Revercomb Bill, recently approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee, which would admit no more than fifty thousand DPs per year. But these would have to meet the strictest requirements not only as to race and nationality, but occupation. The Stratton Bill is a decent and a just measure. It was not too generous excepting from the viewpoint of Gerald Smith and Senator Revercomb, but it made provision for the admission of one hundred thousand DPs yearly over a term of four years. The treatment of the

Stratton Bill in both Houses of Congress, the substitutions for it, the weakening of it,—all these together are symptoms of an increasing demoralization in American life. Whether or not the new American xenophobia is to lead us to the horror of war, for the present it is surely bringing moral hurt to the Nation and, above all, to its putative leadership.

Unity

Strengthen us God . . .

Make keen our understanding of our needs,

Unite us, for united we are strong,

Make one our hearts and hands, our words and deeds.

Together we can fight . . . and fight and win,

And dig again the well, make green the vine,

Together build the Temple and the School,

And make our homeland ours for all time.

The foe is everywhere and tightening ranks . . .

With fire and knife . . . with wile and lying word,

United we can meet and conquer him,

Unite us, Lord!

—NETTIE GRAY

WRHS



THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY ON MT. SCOPUS. *A painting by Lionel Riess*

Our Own "Molotov"

By Martin S. Dworkin

THEY called him 'Molotov', even at roll-call. Nobody remembered who had given him the name. It had stuck since the division was stationed at Fort Bragg, in North Carolina. He had once said that he was of part Russian and part Jewish extraction, and his Russian blood may have had something to do with his being called 'Molotov'. But there were other reasons for the persistence of the nickname.

Of course, in those days the real Molotov was on our side, and was admired as an efficient ally, however grudgingly. His name, moreover, was somewhat of a symbol of warfare against the common Nazi enemy, being affectionately given to at least two weapons famed in combat. The 'Molotov Breadbasket' was a large aerial bomb which exploded high in the air, scattering a devil's brood of incendiaries over a vast area. The 'Molotov Cocktail' was the home-made anti-tank bomb, usually made of a wine bottle-full of gasoline or liquid rubber—with a rag stuck in for a fuse, which had played so great a role in Spain and in the resistance movements everywhere. The U. S. Ninth Infantry Division's 'Molotov' was in many ways as terrible as these: a one man army; an unconventional and undisciplined young terror at constant odds with Army regulations, but who performed almost miraculous feats of soldiery when in combat against the enemy.

And so his nickname, 'Molotov', may have persisted because he was as lethally effective in his own way as any incendiary or antitank bomb. Not only was he a ruthless combatant when alone, having killed over twenty of the enemy in desperate hand-to-hand encounters. Fighting with his unit, he frequently saved his comrades from annihilation, by drawing fire toward himself, and by reporting enemy positions when no other scouts could get their information through. By sheer bluff, Molotov once accomplished one of the most dramatic single exploits of the war—the capture of an entire enemy company, without a shot having been fired.

His real name was Karl Warner. He was twenty-four, handsome, blond-haired. His life before entering the Army seems to have been that of a footloose street-corner rake, traveling around the country when and where he pleased, but always gravitating back to a boarding-house on Manhattan's 44th Street, where he lived alone, and to his favorite corner hangout around the newsstand at 46th Street and Broadway. The boys of the sporting crowd who bought their racing forms at the stand used to call him 'Curly', and he later claimed to have been personally acquainted with luminaries of the stage, screen, and radio.

From the day of his induction at New Jersey's Fort Dix, Molotov's career in the Army was one of constant

contest with authority. He disregarded uniform regulations, openly evidenced his contempt for officers, training programs, Army drill and discipline, and was perpetually embroiled in courts-martial proceedings until the day he was killed in action in North Africa. Officers and men disliked him, for his bragging, his brawling, and his disdain for the requirements of military life. Always out of proper uniform, he continually disregarded the furious Military Police who repeatedly arrested him while on pass in town, and the threats, orders, and punishments heaped upon him by his company commander. He blithely went 'over-the-hill' whenever he pleased, and committed that gravest of military felonies—desertion from guard-post—as easily as he neglected to turn out for drill. He just would not be made into a docile, disciplined soldier, even if the whole momentum of the Army's juggernaut were set against him. Somehow, he managed always to talk his way out of the ever-threatening guardhouse, and a strange providence kept him from being transferred as a 'trouble-maker'.

As much as Molotov's fantastic violations of all-powerful Army law had branded him as the poorest sort of soldier during training in the States, his escapades when the division went into the field in North Africa marked him as one of that rare kind of natural fighter upon whom drill field parade and discipline are wasted, because they are unnecessary. He continued to avoid taking orders regarding the forms of military life; although he never disobeyed a combat command, it was apparent that he preferred to fight the war in his own fashion. With each exploit, his fame spread throughout the division, and what had once been notoriety and grudging acknowledgement of a man who could 'get away with it', developed into a wondering acceptance of a living legend. And a new feeling of downright affection grew up as well, among those close to him, because of Molotov's underlying warmth. The same men who had rightly castigated him for his unsociability while in training now just as rightly praised his true, howbeit peculiar, comradeship in the field.

On one occasion, Molotov led the men of his company over the wall of an enemy-held fort, and, after it was taken, found a large sum of money—between 40 and 50,000 francs—which he distributed equally among his comrades. As did many GIs, he admired and envied the terrific fire-power of the German machine-pistols, and was well along toward his goal of capturing one for every man in his outfit when he was killed. In addition to this open-handedness, which seemed so out of keeping with his hard, pugnacious exterior, Molotov was impeccably trustworthy—a characteristic of the utmost importance when men live closely together. An

insatiable gambler, he wagered, won, and lost tremendous stakes in the catch-as-catch-can card and dice games which flourished in the Army. His credit was always good, however, and he religiously repaid debts, following, even on the battlefield, the code of ethics of the 'sporting crowd' of his old street-corner days.

In Africa he continued to appear in his own variations of the standard U. S. Army uniform—only now they were more dramatic and bizarre, as he could draw upon the dress of various armies and nationalities. He wore articles of French, Italian, British, and Arab clothing in combination with his American olive drab, with regard both for utility and for the shock value his costume might have upon his own officers. Molotov's purpose never was to appear sloppy. On the contrary, he was supremely vain—and this vanity demanded the attention he immediately received in his outlandish garb. Now wrapped in a flowing French cape, now sporting a magnificently-plumed Italian hat, Molotov seemed to derive a positive aesthetic satisfaction from his quick changes. They lifted or maintained his ebullient spirits, and they certainly raised the morale of his buddies—while causing the blood-pressure of his harassed superiors to skyrocket. Disdaining the regulation complement of arms, Molotov carried two pistols, a rifle or carbine, and assorted knives, grenades, etc. And around his neck he wore his pride and joy: a pair of fine French field-glasses which were the envy of every officer and man who saw them. Bargaining, cajolements, and threats were to no avail, as he would not let them out of his possession—and for at least one good reason: he needed the glasses for his particular style of warfare.

It was not enough for Molotov that he had been made a scout for his infantry company, an arduous and dangerous function for which soldiers are traditionally given extra rations and other privileges. Whenever the whim struck him—which was often, he took on the additional task of forward artillery observer. At one time, the erstwhile 'poorest soldier' was the subject of a spirited contention between the artillery and the infantry in the division, the former wanting his exclusive services, and the latter refusing to transfer him.

Dressed as he pleased and equipped as he pleased, Molotov most often fought as he pleased. His solo expeditions far in advance of his unit enabled him to observe enemy concentrations and to bring down destructive artillery fire upon them. At Maknassy, Molotov, prowling forward alone, discovered, just in time, a large enemy force which threatened to ambush his unit. At Station de Sened, he exposed himself to enemy machine-gun fire almost half a mile ahead of his own front line, brandishing his pistols and shouting wildly to attract attention. Then, from behind a boulder, Molotov coolly picked out, through his prized field-glasses, the location of the machine-guns which were feeling for him with their murderous fire, and sent the information back to the artillery. In the barrage which followed, the menacing positions were destroyed, and the infantry was enabled to move forward.

It was at Station de Sened that Molotov performed perhaps his greatest feat, the capture of an entire Italian company. Entrenched on high ground, the Italians were treated to the sight of this American soldier, accompanied by a reluctant interpreter, blithely walking towards them across the battlefield. Telling them they were surrounded, Molotov urged them to surrender. The Italians were more than willing, convinced as they were by Molotov's glib description of his supposedly superior forces. No one among them would take the responsibility, however, and Molotov returned, with his captain and company close behind. This time, when the Italians persisted, Molotov led a quick rush, and succeeded in disarming the by now utterly confused Italians, without a shot being fired.

As Molotov's reputation spread in the division, his activities became standard subjects of conversation. One could be sure that he would come up with some new, bizarre exploit, whenever he felt things were too dull, or that he was not getting enough attention. He became a kind of folk hero for the men of the division, a living personification of their own repressed ambitions to damn authority and do things as they pleased. His refusal to regard anything in the insanity of war as intrinsically reasonable was such an attitude as would receive the approbation of the common infantryman, as it was coupled with an unhesitating willingness to share every hardship and fight the war to the hilt. The plain soldiers of the division roared with approving laughter every time Molotov talked his way out of a court-martial, or somehow managed to snap his fingers in the faces of the 'brass'. His colossal nerve was a thing of wonder and admiration—as at Port Lyautey, where Molotov, scorning the discomforts of the ordinary bivouac, fast-talked some Arabs into rigging-up a tent, in which he lived in solitary splendor. The Arabs, obviously hypnotized by his grandiose arrogance, outfitted the tent as if for a desert sheikh: with rugs, mattresses, lamps, tapestries, and other such comforts as would have been the envy of a general. They brought him eggs, wine and delicacies unheard-of for an ordinary soldier's field-rations. Arab boys served him and ran his errands, and it was generally conceded that no private in the Army had ever lived in greater luxury.

But for the combat soldiers who were his comrades and admirers, it was Molotov's fearlessness, and his miraculous survival, which made him the subject of awe and the hero of a fighters' legend of immortality in the midst of constant death. But Molotov was as vulnerable as he was real. He was killed while on a voluntary advance patrol with a party of French Ghoums and Commandos, near Sedjenane in the desert. It had been his assignment to maintain liaison with French troops flanking his unit, but this duty had not proven exciting enough. As he had done so many times in the past, this unorthodox soldier went forward on his own. His last contact with his unit was to report an enemy machine-gun position, and he was found by French soldiers, face downward on the barren ground. Someone had taken the prized pair of field-glasses from his body,

just as he had taken them himself from the body of an enemy officer months before.

The two violations of Army regulations still charged against him at the time of his death were dismissed, but in the division it was felt that the fabulous Molotov had been cheated. He could have talked the devil out of hell, they said, and his greatest pleasure in life was to out-talk the brass. This misfit soldier, product of an urban ghetto and its hard, abrasive life, was awarded the Silver Star posthumously, but no medal could be the measure of such as he. For medals are the

traditional reward of soldiers, and Molotov was no true soldier. Strange and complex, his was a colorful, unforgettable personality, which retained its individuality in the face of the crushing strictures of the Army and of war, and was unique even in death. He was a fighter, brash and boastful, but no boast excelled in fantasy what he was in reality. This hero who despised everything soldierly could not be glorified by the Army, and cannot be forgotten by the men who fought with him, who had once contemned him unreservedly, but who had come to wonder and admire.

Light Upon The Land

By Irene Steeper

"SIMON!"

Simon straightened up from his work and smiled. "She is excited, my Anna," he told himself, "she remembered this special day." He went to the open barn door and called through the pre-dawn darkness of the chill October morning.

"Yes, Anna?"

"The eggs, Simon, they are to be gathered yet."

"Yes Anna." He turned back into the barn, to the chill, good smell of it and surveyed his work in the mellow light of two lanterns. . . . baskets and boxes and vegetables, and scattered leaves on the hard earthen floor and small clods of earth. . . . The truck stood near the door already half loaded. He added two baskets of beets with their purple-veined leaves soft and curling a little. Then he began on the apples, wiping each one carefully before placing it in a clean six-quart basket. He lifted his head suddenly, in a listening way. Then dropping the cloth, he went around the truck to the open door and waited.

The black of night had changed to gray, and there was a soft rustling commotion on the edges of the day. Leaves twitched under the soft breathing of the breeze as it still slept. Simon watched the day approach and as always there grew within his breast an excitement that was full of magic and wonder. "The day," he thought, "the day is 'now' and the 'now' is always with us. And what man makes of it can be a thing of beauty or an ugly thing of disillusion; a thing of freedom or a thing of bondage."

Bondage he had known well in Poland and Germany. He had been in Canada for ten years and was learning something of what men meant when they spoke of freedom. Simon's gaze swept over the farm which was his own. The house was humble, unpainted, the barn small, but the soil was rich. . . . Now the birds burst into song, the breeze awoke, the leaves danced and light spread upon the land.

"Simon," Anna called from the kitchen, then nearer, "Simon. . . ." In a moment she stood beside him. He

was a small figure, slight and wiry. His features were quite ordinary, and faintly blurred by sixty years of living. His eyes were deep-set and she always thought that the color in them had been taken from the soil in which he worked; earth-brown, they were. His voice was soft, the inflection gentle.

He said now, "Anna, you remember what today is?"

"Forget it, you ask, when you have talked of nothing else for weeks," Anna chided. "The anniversary of your first space on the Elmvale Market."

"Yes. Five years selling vegetables from the truck, then a space on the open market and today, one year it is," he paused, savoring the thought, then continued, "one year, and Simon Loftmann has a stall in the covered section of the largest market in the County. That is good, yes?"

"It is good," Anna agreed. "Now breakfast, Simon, then we must start. An hour's drive it is, to the market."

They crossed the yard side by side. The sun was up, the trees were aflame with autumnal color and thin ice in the ruts broke under their tread with the high, tinkling sound of breaking crystal.

It was still quite early when they reached town and Simon had backed the truck into position under the shed on the Market. After the trestle-counter was erected and the truck unloaded, Simon went off to see what he could buy to add to his stock from the hucksters on the far side of the square. He left Anna busy arranging the produce on the counter and talking happily with her new neighbors. That the people around her were pleasant and friendly made Anna feel very happy. There was a little flurry of business which kept her occupied then, when that was over, she looked over her arrangement of vegetables and thought, "So . . . so ordinary, it looks. . . ." Was not this a big day, she asked herself, both an anniversary and an opening? Well then, something special it should have. She would have liked to drape the truck in gay bunting and put flowers in the cabbages. . . . Maybe, she told herself hopefully, maybe Simon would bring back

something sort of special, fruit or even marigolds. . . .

When Simon returned a little later he brought a bushel of turnips.

Anna sighed.

Hearing the sigh, Simon looked at her, "You have troubles," he enquired gently.

"Not troubles," she denied, hesitated then went on, "but such a good day for us, it needs perhaps a bit of color, something. . . ." she stopped and waved her hand at the vegetables.

Simon pursed his lips. "Yes," he agreed, "you are right. We should make it like we are inside, happy bright looking. . . ."

Anna nodded and suggested, "But first you stay here, Simon. One or two little things I buy at the store, then you go."

A crinkly smile formed around his eyes. He said, "Yes, I will wait."

She looked at him. His blue 'market suit' was spotted with earth and stained with vegetable mold. The baggy knees of his trousers made his legs look faintly bow-legged, his shirt was gray, his tie stringy and faded. She looked at him and loved him.

Anna brushed off her tweed coat, untied the woolen handkerchief on her head and went to the front of the truck. Here, she took carefully out of a paper bag, a black straw hat and placed it square upon her grey head. It had a large pink rose on the brim and when she went off to the stores a few minutes later it bobbed and jiggled as she walked.

Simon was in conversation with the Market Clerk when she returned and fear leapt within her. Clutching her purse and a long, narrow box in her work-thickened fingers, she went up to them and demanded breathlessly, "Is it troubles, Simon? What you do now?"

The Clerk smiled and replied, "He hasn't done anything. I just asked him about his sign."

"Sign?" she was puzzled, then "Oh sign. . . our name. . . it must be on show, yes?"

"That's it. Y'know, there are lots of little by-laws governing a place like this. If you break them, and other tenants point it out, I gotta investigate and see it's put in effect. Now the sign. . ."

Simon enquired, "This sign. . . someone tell you to. . . to effect it with us?"

"Yeah," The Clerk admitted.

Simon was silent a moment. He said, then, "It is because we are foreigners that they make so much a point of the law. Foreigners they do not want on the Market." It was partly question, partly a statement of fact.

"Look," the Clerk put in, "it don't matter to me if you're a Jew or not. It is just a question of this sign. . . ."

Anna could contain herself no longer. Fearfully she cried out, "You. . . you will not take my Simon to jail? This sign, we will get it. . ."

"Hey, take it easy. I'm not taking anyone to jail." He smiled at her. "You get a large card printed and

put it up somewhere where it'll show." He took a couple of steps to one side, looked at the truck door and grinned. "For today, just let the truck door swing open."

Simon did as he was told and a pleased smile spread over his thin, brown face. He read, 'Simon Loftmann, R.R. 6, Market Gardener'.

After the Clerk had strolled away Anna went to the front of the truck and climbed in. The narrow box and her hat she put carefully back in the paper bag. Then she tied the handkerchief on her head, climbed down and went back to work. "Now Simon, you go. . ." then she added, hiding her hope in a hint, "Miller's have beautiful stalls, Simon, three of them, and grapes and pears he's got, and apples. . . huge, red apples."

"Miller's no less," Simon said indulgently. "The richest man on the market, three stalls he has. . . . But you should see his house, Anna. . . large and white, with a lawn. So much land he has, he can afford a lawn, yet." He shrugged, "Yes, I will go and see Ben Miller."

When Simon arrived at the stalls, Ben was talking in his bluff, hearty way to a couple of men. Simon watched, fascinated, as Ben switched his cigar from side to side in his mouth as he talked. Simon could not remember a time when Ben was without a chewed cigar in his mouth or dressed other than in windbreaker and breeches. He let Simon stand there a moment before speaking. Then stuffing his hands in his pockets he said, "Hello Loftmann, what do you want?"

"Hello Ben," Simon replied. "I'd like some fruit. Grapes, a few pears and. . . and some of those big red apples."

"I thought your line was cabbage."

"Yes," he agreed, unperturbed, "but today we would like something special. Fruit makes a nice color on the stand." He smiled suddenly and added, "and a nice profit it gives if bought at a good price."

"I don't give discounts. Better call the wholesalers."

Simon hesitated, then, "They like to sell in large quantities and I want so little." He glanced at the profuse display of fruit. There was dignity about him as he placed his order. "Two baskets of grapes, one of pears and two dozen apples. I will pay your regular price."

"Hey Joe," Ben called to a tall, thin youth who was chewing gum and reading a comic book. "Joe, get a couple of baskets of grapes and one of pears out of the truck." He turned to Simon, "You want those apples? They're expensive, three for a quarter, imported you know." He stopped abruptly and his eyes squinted calculatingly, "Say. . . you intend to sell them?"

"Oh yes. We will make up little baskets, one apple, some grapes, pears. . . they will sell."

Ben became bluff and genial. "Look Loftmann, seeing as this is your opening day, I'll give you 10% off. How's that?"

"Why fine, thank you Ben."

"Oh, that's all right. And look, just to show you I'm an all right guy, I'll help you fix up a display. Hey Joe, bring me some of that paper straw and one of those flat apple boxes, one with a good clear label." He put the apples in the box Joe brought then gave it to Simon. "Joe," he ordered, "you carry the grapes and pears for Loftmann. Soon's Joe comes back I'll be over to fix up that display." He promised and laughed aloud.

Simon paid him, said, "Thanks Ben," and turned away feeling swamped. His glance was caught by the rich display of bronze chrysanthemums. He wished that he could buy some for Anna but remembering the small amount of money in his pocket, he went on. . . .

When he returned to his own stall, Joe had gone. Anna eyed the box of apples then her glance went to the slim bunch of bittersweet he held out to her. She took the sprays of orange berries and smiled. "They are beautiful, Simon, but perhaps for the stall they. . . ."

With an air that was made up partly of pride, partly of shyness but wholly of love, Simon murmured, "For you Anna, they are." Then absurdly casual he went to the truck for some berry boxes.

Ben's voice boomed at him. "Now then, Loftmann," he nodded to Anna, "Promised to fix up a nice display for you," he told her. "We take this box and put it here in the middle where the label shows up plain. . . ."

Anna looked at the label on the end of the box. There was a picture of a big, red apple and in inch-high black type she read, 'Delicious Apples from B.C.' She thought how nice it would look to the customers.

Ben talked as he worked and very shortly he had made up an arrangement of fruit in which the labelled box and red apples were prominently displayed. He finished with a wide gesture, "How's that?"

Anna cried happily, "Oh thank you, Mr. Miller. It is beautiful."

Ben laughed, switched his cigar, said "Nothing to it," and hurried away.

Anna watched him go and was silent while Simon waited on a customer. A minute later she said, "Simon. . . ." she spoke slowly, ". . . this day. . . it means to us so much but to the Clerk and Mr. Miller it is not important, yet they have been kind to us. It makes an ache inside, people are so good, it makes me want to give. . . ." She broke off and looked at her husband. "You know how I mean, Simon?"

"Yes, Anna, I know. It is the thankfulness inside. So we give something, you fix it."

She stood thinking a minute. "Russets are good apples," she said abruptly as though to satisfy some doubt in her mind. Then she decided with a little jerk of her head and began taking apart the display Ben Miller had erected. "We will keep the paper straw," she said, "but the box with the pretty label we use. . . . so. . . ." and with a twist of her strong fingers she severed the tops from a bunch of carrots and placed them in the shallow wooden box. Then she spent some time selecting two dozen of the smoothest, most golden

russet apples and set them upon the fern-like nest of carrot tops. She looked up proudly, "So. We give him this."

"You take it to him," Simon urged. "He. . . I. . . ." he broke off.

Anna laughed. "Men!" she snorted. "All right, I will take it to him." She picked it up and hurried off.

When Ben Miller left the Loftmann stall he went straight to the Market Clerk's office. He pushed open the door and greeted the official with a big laugh. "Hey Bill," he said, "isn't it an infraction of a by-law to sell imported apples on the market?"

The Clerk looked at him. "You should know, Ben," he said, "I've warned you enough about it."

"Me? You've never seen any apples labelled imported on my stall."

"Look Ben, you're not kidding anyone. We know those Delicious Apples are not grown locally. We also know you play it smart and never let me see the apples in their boxes so I can't prove anything."

"Well, better go take a look at the Loftmann's. They have them right in sight on their counter in the box."

Bill reached for his peaked cap. "All right Ben, but I'll bet you had something to do with it. First the sign, now this, why don't you leave them alone."

Ben's reply was surly. "We don't want any Jews on the market. . . . chiselling in on the business we've built up. . . ."

"We can't kick them off the market for selling imported fruit, only fine them."

"Same thing to the Loftmanns. Fine of fifty dollars is more than they can raise, and anyway they're so darned scared of the law that they'll pull out for good."

Bill looked disgusted. He said, "If you'd been through what they have in Europe under the guise of the law, you'd be scared too. Oh come on, let's get it over with."

Simon watched Anna disappear around the corner of the Market House with her gift box then turned to Ben and the Clerk as they approached from the other side.

When Ben saw the counter, innocent of the labelled import box, he switched his cigar furiously and began to splutter. . . . "Why you. . . ."

Bill chuckled. "How's it going Simon?" he enquired. "Fine, fine," he was assured. Simon glanced proudly at the display of fruit. "It is nice? Anna did it."

"Real nice, Simon," Bill agreed, then added kindly, "But look, if. . . ." he stressed the 'if' and some quality of warning crept into his voice. Simon looked at him intently. . . . if they are imported apples I wouldn't sell them on the Market if I were you. 'Course I can't say they are imported but. . . ." he left the sentence unfinished. With a curt, "Come on Ben," the Clerk turned away.

Simon watched them go, wondering. Then slowly he took away the red apples on the counter and put in russets.

Anna returned as he was making the change and cried out, "Simon, why you spoil our display?"

"By-Laws it is...I think," he replied slowly. "The Clerk, he was here with Ben...something, it is wrong about the apples...Ben seemed angry...he shrugged. "The Clerk is a nice boy. Next market day I ask him about these by-laws business."

Over at the Miller stall there was a great hubbub. "What if the box does say 'Delicious Apples from B.C.'?" Ben shouted, "You know those apples are russets, not Delicious."

The Clerk took an apple, bit into it, "But they *are* delicious Ben," he said smoothly. Then the banter left his voice, "Look Ben, during the War you dealt in Black Market and consistently sold above ceiling prices but could we *prove* it? No. I know you're selling imported apples but up to now I couldn't prove a thing. But there's a box of apples on your counter labelled imported and that's all I need."

"Look Bill," Ben cried, "You can't do this to me. I can prove those are locally grown apples."

"Can you? No Ben, you can only prove that russet apples are grown locally, not these particular apples. No sir, it is a technical point but it's going to cost you fifty bucks, and I hope, teach you a lesson."

"Those damned Loftmanns and their silly gift! I'll get even with them it it's the last thing I do," Ben fumed.

"No you won't," Bill's voice bit with authority. "Leave them alone, but strictly. If you don't Ben, I'll have you up before the Council on a nuisance charge and we'll take your stalls from you. That's a warning." He turned abruptly away, taking the box of apples with him.

Ben spluttered and boomed and spat his mutilated

cigar on the cement. He yelled at the man in the flower stall, "Fred, stop gaping and get busy. And look after the fruit until I get somebody else. Joe's going, His carelessness..." his voice faded as he walked away.

Fred growled a sullen, "Okay, okay."

Days are short in October and it was quite dark by the time the Loftmanns arrived home. Anna went in to get supper while Simon put away the truck and unloaded the few things they had brought back.

He came into the kitchen a little later with eggs in the crown of his felt hat. "I gathered the eggs, Anna," he said.

Anna laughed as she took them. "At dawn I remind you of the eggs and after sunset you gather them," she shook her head smiling. She leaned against him and his arm went around her waist. "It was good, the selling today?" she commented. "Everything sold. I think maybe the fruit...it helped." She gazed at the table with shining eyes. In the soft yellow glow of the lamp there was the long box, now open, in which lay a pale blue tie. "...just like the sky, it is..." Simon had said when she gave it to him. In a chipped drinking glass stood the slim gnarled branches of orange berries called bittersweet... "A good day," she repeated.

Simon was thinking of the noise and bustle of the market place, the stress and strain of buying and selling, then his thoughts went forward. Tomorrow..., the thought was warm in his mind, ... to stand in the garden and see the dawn, to watch the light grow upon the land...

"Yes," he said, "A good day."

The Road to Happiness

By Dorothy Alofsin

DURING CHANUKAH of 1943 forty Jewish women gathered at a luncheon to celebrate a *simcha*, the publication of a new Jewish book, a *safer ha-yeled* entitled The Stream of Jewish Life.

The chairman said: "This is an occasion for the ancient Jewish blessing of *she-hecheyanu*, fittingly celebrated on the festival of lights, for the light of learning does indeed kindle everlasting light."

The poet said: "Through children's books we build a road on which our girls and boys can walk with the dignity which is rightfully theirs, with courage, and in creative pride."

Then the Rabbi spoke. (That is what, in our hearts, we call this charming woman who was graduated from a training course for Rabbis) She told the luncheon guests:

"We must prepare the young people to continue our work. There will be much to be done, for many years

hence, for the remnant in Europe, and to re-build Jewish life in Palestine. The task will require spiritual strength and great devotion."

The importance of placing interesting, attractive English-Jewish books in the hands of children was discussed. One said:

"There is a serious flaw in the American Jewish youth growing up around us. They are well educated and many have talent. They include poets, and spinners of stories and songs. But they are not articulate in Jewish matters. They seldom raise their voices in behalf of their people."

She picked up a copy of the book responsible for that afternoon's celebration. "The explanation is here," she said, "on page twenty. Uncle Saul, an author, shows his nephew, Jerry, a review of his books in which he is criticised because his writing contains nothing Jewish. 'You could write a Jewish book now,' Jerry suggests.

"'Yes, I could,' Uncle Saul replies, 'if I had the Jewish knowledge to give vitality to my writing.'"

A plan for combating this weakness in the American Jewish youth was proposed. Its value was enhanced by the fact that it could easily be brought to the overwhelming number of Jewish children who were not getting any Jewish education, or only very little. And for the small percentage attending good Jewish schools, it would create added interest in their studies.

The women present dedicated themselves to follow it and to spread the idea among their friends. This was the plan:

Let all your gifts to Jewish children in your family and among your friends, be Jewish books. In addition, adopt one Jewish child to whom the story of his people is not being told. Let this be a silent adoption, known only to yourself. Give this child, too, an occasional gift of a Jewish book.

"Through knowledge our youth will acquire an understanding of, interest in, and devotion to their people," said the woman who suggested the plan. "In a few years they will be ready and willing to take up the work we do today. Their knowledge and pride will make them dynamic, creative persons. It will keep them free from scars."

She explained her last remark with a story told by a refugee, of a brilliant German boy of fourteen who hadn't known until Hitler came to power, that he was Jewish. Overwhelmed by the Nazi villification of the Jew, having no knowledge to form a resisting bulwark of strength, he cursed his parents for having given him life and then he killed himself.

"Do you think American children are free from such suffering?" she asked. "Then you should hear the stories I do, of sensitive Jewish girls and boys living in small towns and right here in New York City, who carry permanent scars because they do not know the true story, the proud story, of their people."

Four years has passed and the adoption plan has spread. Several of the women who attended that Chanukah luncheon met recently and compared notes.

One told of the joy she had kindled in a twelve-year old boy whose parents, social workers, were too busy with the problems of their town to see the torment their own child suffered. A playmate taunted him and he did not know the answer. After he read the book on Jewish contributions to the world, provided by his foster mother, slowly but surely his drooping shoulders lifted.

"I've adopted my daughter's playmate," one woman said. "No, she isn't Jewish. But she's read each book I've given her about the Jewish holidays and Jewish heroes and history. She knows the true facts about our people and is less likely to be taken in by the loose talk of hate mongers. That's inter-cultural work I'm doing, isn't it?"

Another woman cut in: "My foster child is a neglected little rich girl. She attends an exclusive school. She has dancing lessons with a Senorita. Her parents give her vitamins every day. They fail as parents, how-

ever, because they don't understand that their child, being Jewish, will travel a different road, and they, her parents, ought to provide her with the vital equipment that will keep her safe on her journey."

She added, after a moment, "I've given Elaine three books. They're worn out, she's read them so many times, over and over again."

Yes, that's the way children are, loyal to all that they love. So books—well written, attractively produced, telling the dramatic story of our people—are read many times until their contents become an integral part of the readers, moulding their attitudes, helping to shape their lives . . . leading them, eventually to raise their voices should the need arise, to build as we are building, to create more Jewish books, to come up the years eager to take an active part as workers in Jewish life.

Little can be done for the adults who comprise—from the point of Jewish culture—American Jewry's lost generation. But the children can easily be saved.

The gift of one Jewish book may light the spark that will lead a child to seek out other Jewish books—and Jewish courses—gathering information that will safeguard his future, helping him to become full enough to speak. And *his* voice may be the one that will make the world listen. One book—*your* gift—may help to bring it about.

This is the slogan of the foster mothers:

Jewish children's books are bridges . . . to security and happiness.



Dirge

By Sophie Salpeter

Hitler is dead . . . have you seen his face?
I have seen him in the eyes of those
who riddle a Negro with machine gun spray
who slink at night into papered shacks
hauling and mauling in the name of might.

Hitler is dead . . . have you seen the body?
I have seen him walk the ruins of Dachau
pointing out death to still suffering Jews
Who stand huddled close to the same cold boards
seeking the comfort, waiting the answer.

Hitler is dead . . . have you heard his voice?
I have listened to suave and smooth flowing words
of business as usual for Argentine meat
rotting the air waves and rotting the mind
feeding the people with Nazified lies.

Hitler is dead . . . but where is the peace?
It flutters and sways like a stalk in the wind
kneels under perfidy and renewed betrayals
its voice muffled from malnutrition
its life strength ebbing on the cold hard ground

That Greek Bartender

By Len Zinberg

WHEN Bess and Joe Moore became fed up with living in hotels and furnished rooms and moved into a cold water flat on the East Side, they were quite happy about it—or tried to be. They had cute cards printed inviting their friends to “come slumming and visit us;” they said they were the only Christian couple in the block and for a gag, Joe would speak with a severe Jewish accent now and then.

The building was a four story tenement, their rent was \$23 a month, and the Moores amused themselves by figuring out all sorts of “statistics;” their combined weekly salaries of \$187 was more than the total weekly income of the rest of the house; the \$758 they had spent on their flat was twice what the landlord had spent on improvements for the whole building; nearly equal his mortgage interest; etc.

The Moores never had any occasion to speak to the other tenants, except the Klines, who lived in the flat above them. Harry Kline ran a dingy hardware store next to the house, and would accept packages from the department stores for the Moores. Harry was a slight, soft-spoken, little man, with a plain kind face. His wife Emma, was 36, (four years older than Bess Moore), a plump, pretty-faced woman who helped out in the store.

One night as the Moores were listening to the radio and on the second cocktail shaker, Bess suddenly said, “Let’s have somebody over. This dump gives me the spooks.”

“I suppose that room we had on 27th Street, that was a mansion? What did that give you? You give me a sharp pain in the neck,” Joe said. “Anyway, I’m in no mood to run down and call anybody. That damn phone company—got to wait at least two more months they said. My cousin said he could fix. . .”

“I know all about your big shot family,” Bess said. “And I don’t mind living in this trap, but I’d like to do something in the evenings beside watch you tank up.”

“Now, don’t you start that. I haven’t been drinking any more than you have,” Joe said.

“I don’t want to start anything. How about inviting the Klines down—give them a treat seeing our place? We should be nice to them.”

“There’s a snappy couple,” Joe said, standing up. “I’ll ask them. Be a great gag. Tell them we have kosher whiskey.”

“Oh stop that kind of talk,” Bess told him. “They’re good souls. Maybe they play bridge.”

“I bet they certainly play a hot game of casino,” Joe said, finishing his drink in one long gulp as he walked to the door.

He found the Klines in their neat, plain, apartment,

sitting around an oil heater, reading the paper and listening to the radio. They thanked Joe, but Harry said he was tired, wasn’t dressed to go “out,” and Joe practically carried him out of the door, made a great joke of the whole matter.

As they stepped into the Moores apartment, Emma Kline glanced around and said, “Harry, see how they’ve fixed up their place. Why, it’s like a Fifth Ave. apartment—that you see in the movies.”

“Yeah, we did a lot of work,” Joe said, pouring cocktails as soon as he shut the door, as if it was a duty he wanted to get over with. “After all, we expect to stay in this fire trap for a brace of years—take some time before the housing situation eases up. Said to Bess, I’d rather live in a hole on the East Side, then run my nerves ragged living in a room.”

“Oh, those lovely big red stripes!” Emma said, pointing to the wall. “I’ve read about that in the home magazines, but—it’s beautiful.”

“Friend of ours is an interior decorator,” Bess said. “Did wonders with this place.”

“Cost us nearly two hundred bucks to have the place painted and plastered—see the arch in the doorway to the kitchen?” Joe asked, proudly. When Emma Kline sat down, Joe was surprised to see that she had rather pretty legs. “The agent kicked like hell when he saw the red, claimed he’d have to paint over it several times when we moved. I told him I’d paint the place white before we moved. Cheap bastard.”

Harry Kline sat in one of the new soft deep chairs, sipping his drink slowly, nodding now and then. Finally he said, “Nice and warm in here.”

Joe promptly pointed to a radiator against one wall. “That’s what you ought to carry in your store, Kline. Just plug it in and electricity heats it in no time. Almost the same as steam heat.”

“Heard about them,” Harry said, getting up to examine the radiator, then sitting down again. “Too expensive for our neighborhood, I’m afraid.”

“Only forty bucks each,” Joe said. “Little things things sure add up. We’ve put in nearly a thousand bucks in this place, but worth it. Hell, this is where we live, that’s what I say. Know the Wop that pushes the ice cart, bushy-haired old guy? Asked me why I didn’t buy ice from him and his eyes almost popped when I told him we have a frigidare.”

“It’s so difficult to be without one,” Bess told Emma Kline. “Especially us, we use so much ice for drinks.”

“We have one,” Emma said. “About three years before the war—Harry was it 1937 or 38?”

Harry said, “38.”

“Yes, in 1938 the ceiling fell on Harry, gave him a concussion of the brain. Landlord settled the case for several hundred dollars, and we bought an electric ice-

box, and a new radio."

"And I'll bet you sure sued the landlord, too," Joe said, winking at Bess.

"Of course," Emma said, a little bewildered.

There was an awkward silence for a few minutes as they listened to the radio, tried to make conversation, and Joe stared at Emma's legs. Once Joe asked if they had seen any of the new Broadway shows and Emma smiled, said, "We can't afford it."

"And if you ask me," Harry said, "I think movies are a big improvement over the stage—if they would only make decent movies."

Bess talked about movies for awhile, but it seemed the Klines didn't go to the movies often, either. Bess made another shaker of cocktails, and as she poured the first one, said, "Damn, I forgot the cherries. Joe, get them."

Joe made a little ceremony out of placing a cherry in each glass, and immediately started telling risqué jokes. The Klines listened and laughed politely. Finally Bess said, "Joe and his dirty jokes. He's like a kid. I hope you don't mind."

"I don't mind at all," Harry said. "Only most so-called dirty jokes aren't jokes. That is, I like them if they're funny but. . ."

"He means," Emma added, "he only judges a joke as to whether it's a joke, not by-you know."

"Yeah," Joe said. "Wait till you hear the one about the Greek bartender. Seems there was. . ."

"Joe!" Bess said loudly. "That's a revolting story."

"Revolting," Joe said to Harry, shrugging his fat shoulders. "You ought to hear her when she's tight. I'll tell you this one when we're alone. It's a killer."

Emma moved in her chair, spoiling Joe's view of her legs. He turned to the radio, dialed until he had the news, and they all listened. Joe said, "Things pretty shaky all over. I suppose in a neighborhood like this, there's a lot of radicals?"

"Well, more than you'll find on Park Ave," Harry said mildly. "After all, a poor neighborhood is where you'd expect to find radicals."

"Why, of course," Bess said. "We're liberals ourselves. Read *PM* most every Sunday."

Joe said, "I work in an advertising office, and we have to gauge business trends pretty damn accurately. Let me tell you, things are lousy all over. Worse than people think. Everyplace you read about; China Europe, even Georgia, Palestine. . . . Hope you won't take offense, folks, but it seems to me what's wrong with the Jews is. . . ."

"We're not Jewish," Harry said casually. "Kline is a German name, too."

"Well then," Joe said eagerly, "the trouble is they're too damn. . . ."

"Now wait a minute, Mr. . . . Joe," Harry said quickly. "I don't believe one can say there's anything right or wrong about any one section of the people. I mean you must consider people as people, not as to their religion, color, or their height or weight."

Bess said, "That's right. Joe's always. . ."

"But you have to admit," Joe began, "a lot of the trouble is caused by the. . ."

Emma suddenly stood up, smiled, said, "It's late."

Harry Kline looked at his watch. "Almost eleven, too late to argue. We have to be up early tomorrow, expect a shipment of cups and saucers in. We've had a fine evening. You must come up and visit us—soon."

The Moores and the Klines shook hands, said good-night, and the Klines left. Joe poured himself a straight shot, said, "Hope you're satisfied. Jesus, what a dull evening."

"They're not bad sorts," Bess said, "Can't expect too much from them—they have such narrow, petty, lives. A world of cups and saucers."

"Been a long time since I studied sociology, and that stuff in college," Joe said. "Were good-off courses anyway. But living here is an eye-opener. I never took much stock in this class stuff, but one look at the Klines. . . .just slobs. Got no breeding, no manners, no. . .no dignity."

Bess yawned, walked into the bedroom, undressing as she walked. "They mean well. Going to bed or are you going to finish the bottle?"

"Stop it," Joe said, "Just had this one to get a glow on. Say, you should have let me tell the Greek bartender joke—would have livened things up. Can you see Emma's face?" Joe burst into loud laughter.

Upstairs, the Klines sat around their oil stove and Harry said, "Let's listen to the radio for awhile, I don't feel like sleeping." He looked at Emma and smiled, and said, "Allright, allright, the walls are thin—so don't say it. I didn't want to go down in the first place."

The Diadem

Almighty wisdom
Respond to our tears;
Limit the blows
To bone and to meat
Release us from the vows of years.
Tighten your hold
And make us believe
It is worth to achieve
The shade of your shield.
Tame is the dawn
Irresolute and weak
While somewhere on earth
An assassin is free
To kill the devout and meek.
Surround the innocent
With ivory seas
Almighty wisdom
Cut the sinews and tendons
Of hate and deceit.

—JUDAH M. TURKAT

The Journey

By Sylvan Karchmer

THIS was their first Shabbos meal in the new house, and Leon, who for eighteen months had searched for a place to move his family, sat across the table from Alene, grateful for many things tonight.

First he glanced at Shirley, her golden hair tied up with a blue ribbon, sitting on his left, then at little Mark, freshly scrubbed, in his high chair on the other side . . . and thought about their two-room efficiency at Mrs. Bishop's . . . the one burner stove Alene had to cook on . . . and Mrs. Bishop's rule that children weren't allowed on her front lawn. You've got your own yard now, he thought, and stared at the silver gleaming on the linen cloth. He hoped Alene was not watching him. When finally she did glance up, he noticed she had stopped eating. There were things she remembered too . . .

But it was Shirley who first saw the tears. "Mama's crying," she announced with a long, pained face. "You spanked her, Daddy?"

"I'm all right," said Alene, hurriedly brushing away the tears. Her long eyelashes fluttered, and two more tiny bright gems sparkled.

"It's just when I think that two years ago you were in those terrible hills fighting — oh, it seemed you'd never get back, Leon — and now — now we're together in our own home . . ."

"For always," he murmured, and they all grew still. Then Mark toppled one of the crystals — and the spell was broken.

They were still at the table when the doorbell rang. David found Pudon on the porch. Pudon was a neighbor, whom Leon had met the other day when he and Alene came out to inspect the house. With his burr haircut and flat face he somehow reminded Leon of a wrestler.

"Dropped by to say hello," called Pudon. Though this was only his second meeting with Leon, he talked with the familiarity of a buddy of

long standing. "Getting settled?"

"Just about," Leon said. There was something about Pudon that repelled him. Hard to say what.

"Better examine your drain in the yard. Parkington might've rooked you on that too."

Parkington had built the addition — and in one way or another all the new owners — they were all veterans — had trouble with him. Leon's own place, in half a dozen ways, was still unfinished, but he had been so anxious to get settled, that, with Parkington's assurance that repairs would be made, he had moved in. He had a feeling it would be hard to get Parkington to do anything now, though.

He and Pudon walked out to the yard, and Leon was still crouched over the faucet when two other fellows in the neighborhood came by. "I'm Bill Collins," said the tall, scrawny one, and extended a lean, muscular hand. He indicated the faucet. "Hope you're having better luck with your plumbing than I had with mine."

"I haven't discovered any leaks yet," Leon grinned, "but everything else's causing me trouble."

"Trouble, trouble," sighed Bill with a weary little smile. "That's all I've had since moving in. Oh excuse me, this is Sam Nenner — lives down the street."

Sam Nenner had a narrow, pinched face; he was so near-sighted

Leon wondered how he ever got accepted into the army. "Trouble," he grunted, shaking hands. "I'm the original trouble man — oughta see the way Parkington sold me my house."

"Looks like we both talk the same language," said Leon. He was surprised to find another Jewish fellow in the neighborhood.

"My contract said a clean yard, no debris," explained Bill, kicking the loose soil by the walk. "But you think that meant anything to Parkington?"

"We might as well make up our minds about it," said Pudon. "We're going to be forced to do something about him. What you say we hop in the car and call on him?"

"Tonight?" asked Bill and winked at David.

"Why not? I'm just itching to lay into him."

Leon laughed. "Guess he needs more time."

"He's been promising to wax my floors for the past three weeks," said Sam. "But I guess I'm lucky to have a roof over my head."

Pudon said, "All I wish is that I had him out here with a shovel in his hand digging that ditch in my front yard. When it rains, it's like a lake."

He started back down the driveway. "Say, you fellows like to help me dig that ditch. Sure appreciate it."



Leon didn't know exactly how to turn him down. Perhaps he had been doing Pudon an injustice all along. Maybe this was Pudon's way of being neighborly. "O.K.," he said. "I'll help too," offered Sam.

Working fast in the twilight, they had the ditch soon completed. Then they sat down on the front steps to enjoy the lemonade Martha Pudon brought out, and talked about the high cost of living.

Sam drained his glass, then carefully placed it on the stone step. "Got to get home — trying to design some shelves."

Pudon snickered. "You too? That Parkington did us up brown. When I think about him, I wanna get my gun." He pounded his palm with a first. "I will, too, one of these days," he threatened darkly.

"I don't mind the shelves," said Sam. "It's finding lumber."

"Why didn't I think of it before?" cried Pudon, leaping up from the steps. "I know where there's beaucoup lumber."

They followed him around the corner, where Parkington had some more houses going up. The two-by-fours were stacked neatly on a cement porch, with only a strip of tarpaulin thrown over them. Pudon threw back the cloth, and the air was suddenly filled with the smell of resin and new wood. "Here's where we get our cabinets, boys."

"We can't just take it," protested Sam.

"Now ain't that too bad," Pudon chaffed him. "You didn't figure we had it coming to us. Cabinets and shelvings were in the specifications. What kind of lawyer are you — don't you know how to read a contract?"

Sam stepped back and looked around him. "Well." He hesitated. Leon noticed he did not take offense.

They found some thinner boards beneath the two-by-fours, and, loading themselves down, came back. "Plenty left," Pudon yelled to one of the boys he saw in the yard. "C'mon, you guys — old Parkington's treat — all you guys who got gypped on your cabinets."

Soon the street was filled with men, some of them clad in their army fatigues, others in faded khakis, all of them carrying boards for their kitchen shelves. "God Almighty," yelled Pudon. "This will kill Parkington."

The next night, when Leon came home, Alene met him at the door. "I thought you'd never come," she cried anxiously. "The whole neighborhood's been in an uproar."

"So Parkington found out about the lumber?"

"First thing this morning," Alene said. "Martha Pudon wouldn't let him in at her house, but he saw it through the screen door. He threatened to get a search warrant on all of us." She stood facing him, with a frightened expression on her face.

He tried to quiet her fears. "I'm not going to let anything happen," he said, his voice hearty with assurance. "After supper I'll see Sam.

We'll get it fixed up."

"Why can't they let us alone," she demanded. "After all the trouble we've had."

"There won't be any more trouble," he promised her.

After supper he found Sam rather gloomy about the whole situation. "He'll get it back," said Sam. "We had no business getting it in the first place. He'll have a search warrant first thing in the morning."

From his yard Bill saw them talking. "Hi, fellers," he shouted. "We hid ours under the mattress."

"I'm in favor of taking it back tonight," said Sam. "Let's go down to Pudon's. If there's trouble, it's bound to start there."

At Pudon's they found many of the boys already gathered, crowded on the small front porch. Some of them leaned against the wooden railing and others squatted on the cement steps. Pudon was standing in front of the living room door, chewing on a piece of wood. The lamp burning softly behind him in the living room outlined his flat face against the screen.

"Wish I'd been out here," he was saying. "I'd like to have licked old Parkington."

Bill turned to Sam. "Now I want to know is can they go through our homes like that — I'm asking you as a lawyer."

"They can," Sam replied briefly.

"Well, they ain't searching my place." Pudon took the wood out of his mouth and his voice grew loud. "I've got a '45 in there, and I aim to use it." He was talking in one breath now, as if he were afraid someone would try to stop him. "I'm an American citizen and I fought overseas, while guys like Parkington stayed home and cleaned up. I've been laying for him a long time."

"You can't resist the law," Sam warned. "Can't you guys realize that we're not just a — a mob of irresponsible ex-GIs. We're the same as the next fellow. There's nothing different about us."

"Don't hand us none of that lawyer talk," said Pudon.

Sam ignored him. "I'll tell you what — guess I should've thought

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of it sooner — tomorrow I'll go down to the Veterans' Bureau — they can advise us how to handle Parkington."

"We don't want no Veterans' Bureau." Pudon spat, as he moved away from the door. "Nenner, use your bean. There's eight million of us — all over the country. No, gosh, counting the navy boys, there's thirteen million. Guys just like us! And I bet they're all tired of being pushed around too . . . just as we are."

It was completely dark now. Pudon had walked over to the railing away from the light. His voice — harsh, impelling, vibrated in Leon's ears, like the sound of a whip flailing the soft spring night air.

"All we gotta do is stand up and fight once." Pudon pounded his hand with his first. A voice rang out of the darkness: "Let 'em have it!"

"Fellows," cautioned Sam, "that's Hitler talk — that strong arm stuff. This isn't Germany — we're not fascists. Over here we still got the law. And like I said before, a search warrant means law . . ."

"Aw hell," snarled Pudon, and there was a new undertone to the ugly ring in his voice. "You got Hitler on the brain . . ." Leon held his breath. He wondered what was coming next.

But Bill interrupted just then. "Look," he called. He was standing next to Leon — and Leon could see his shoulders twitch as he talked. "The only medal I got in the army was for good conduct. I'm not a hero — or anything like that. I was only a plain PFC who went through the muck and was lucky to get back alive. I'm like Pudon, I'd hate to have anybody push me around, especially in my own home. So I say, if we gotta stand up and fight for our rights, let's start now . . ."

There was a mad chorus of approvals. Then Pudon's dominating voice rose above the hubbub. "We got to stick together, men. Nobody's taking any lumber back. Is that understood?"

Sam nudged Leon with his elbow. When Leon turned, Sam was al-

ready hastening down the walk, where they had dug the ditch last night. Now they stood in the dark listening to the angry voices from the porch. "You were a major in the army," said Sam. "They'll listen to you — you know we can't afford to have any trouble now."

"But you can't reason with Pudon."

"You and I," Sam pleaded, "we've got to stop this crazy business."

For a moment Leon saw Alene at the table, her eyes shining above the silver. "We've already had so much trouble," she was saying . . . Yes, he and Sam had to stop this crazy business. Without another word he put his hand on Sam's shoulder and they came back. Pudon was still shouting. "Just a minute," Leon called out, interrupting him. "If Parkington gets a search warrant, he'll have every right to go through our homes. Do you guys understand that. We may not like it — but it's the law. And if we shoot the cop who comes with him, there'll be ten more swarming around here, because they got to uphold the law — and in the end — no matter how many we kill — Parkington will get back his lumber."

He whirled around, talking to all of them now. "Let's do it legally," he pleaded. "We're not licked yet. Sam's a lawyer — he's offered to present our case at the Veterans' Bureau. They'll help us out . . ."

He paused; someone tried to speak, but he swept on. "It might take us a while, but we can make Parkington live up to his own contracts, and we can do it legally too. The law's bound to be on our side."

Pudon backed away from Leon. Now he rocked on his heels, and his voice was ominous. "Search warrant or not, I'll shoot the guy who tries to get the lumber out of my house."

"Look," cried Leon. "It's not only us. It's our wives and kids." He turned in the darkness and again his voice rang out directly to Pudon. "Go ahead, kill your deputy — but you'll burn for it, and Martha'll be a widow, the same as if you'd been shot down on one of your missions."

Pudon broke in, and they all started to argue, talking out loud and swearing at each other, until Bill warned: "Hey, at ease, let's watch the language." And, as they quieted momentarily, he called out: "Leon's right; we can't buck the law; that's for sure. And we don't want any trouble. If Nenner'll go down to the Bureau, I'll take my lumber back."

"That goes for me, too," someone exclaimed.

"I'll go tomorrow first thing," promised Sam. "I'll talk for all of us — and I'll make 'em listen. I'll do it without a gun, too."

Pudon had been leaning against a post. He came forward now, and

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stood with his back against the screen. His squat head, with the hair closely-clipped, bobbed back and forth as he talked. "Scared of a search warrant," he cried. "Guys like you who've been in combat — afraid of Parkington!"

He tried to goad them into action, but they remained silent. They stood on his front porch, smoking quietly again, making no attempt to stop him, but they were against him. Alone, he was powerless — and he knew it.

After a while the boys left him to carry the lumber down the street. "Oughta do it in formation," Bill laughed. One of the boys struck up the army tune: *Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!* They had marched to it many times. Soon with good-natured gusto they all were singing, as they marched with the boards.

Leon took back all his lumber. Then he went to see what Pudon was doing. He found him with his elbows crossed on his knees, sitting on his front steps. "Can I help with yours?" Leon asked. He hoped Pudon wasn't going to start anything.

For answer Pudon made a snarling sound under his breath.

"Come on, Pudon, that's no way to act." Without waiting for an answer Leon walked around the

backyard and gathered the boards. It was better this way, he thought, but as he passed the squat, silent figure on the steps, his uneasiness grew. He wanted to believe they had convinced Pudon and that they had won him over. But he knew they hadn't.

"Good night," he called, trying to sound friendly. "No hard feelings, I hope."

Pudon did not raise his head.

By eleven when the moon came up, the street was quiet again.

"Tramp, tramp, tramp," said Bill, walking with Sam and Leon, "but I'm tired tonight."

"Guess I'll sleep better myself," confessed Leon.

They paused in front of Bill's house, and he started up the walk. Half-way up, he faced around. "Let 'em have it tomorrow, Sam. Make 'em see facts . . . Tell 'em we're not just a few guys in frame houses." He came back to where they stood by the curb. "I didn't realize it before, but there are millions of us. They got to make Parkington do the right thing. If they don't . . ."

Leon heard his low, easy laugh, but he could see his shoulders twitch. "Good night, boys," called Bill.

Sam and Leon crossed the street. Down the block on either side of

the street they could see the new white houses gleaming in the silvery light. "We stopped them, didn't we?" Sam looked intently into Leon's face, but there was no sound of triumph in his voice. "But next time — about next time I'm worried."

His eyes swept the street. Leon saw them stop at Pudon's. "If they all side with him — the thirteen million . . ."

Sam shook his head and was silent. After a few minutes he said, "We got to stand together — Leon, you and I, and Bill."

He hesitated before he spoke again. "I think Bill's with us." Then without waiting for an answer he said, "Good night, old man."

Later outside, he and Alene walked down from the porch and he told her they had returned the lumber.

"Pudon, too?" she asked. "Oh, I'm so relieved. But Leon, promise you'll be careful. There's no telling what they'll do next — and I don't want you to get into any trouble. Not now, when we've just got things our way, just a little."

"Nothing's going to happen," he said. "Nobody's going to bother us."

"Why can't they leave us alone?" she demanded, almost fiercely. Then her voice softened, as she faced the house. "Leon, you've got to promise to keep out of trouble."

"Still afraid?" he smiled. "Why, what can happen to us?" He spoke in the quiet, reassuring voice that would calm her fears. "We have our house, the children . . . and each other."

He had said these things before, when he was away, and they represented something for which he was fighting. "Nothing," he repeated, putting his arm around her and drawing her closer to him. But even as he spoke, he could hear Sam's troubled voice: "About next time I'm worried . . ."

And suddenly the night air seemed chilled to Leon. His lips brushed her cheek, but even as he leaned over, he shivered. He wanted to reassure, to drive away her fears, but in his heart he knew he couldn't promise . . . he wasn't able to promise yet . . .

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Palestine . . .

THE STARK FACTS and THE WAY OUT



by

WILLIAM WARBEY, M.P.

and

LYALL WILKES, M.P.



Palestine . . .

**THE STARK FACTS
and
THE WAY OUT**

A tract for Labour M.P.s—and others



William Warbey

M.P. (Labour—Luton); 1937-1941 N.C.L.C. Tutor-organiser; 1941-1945 English Press Officer to Norwegian Government in London; Chairman of International Organisations Subcommittee of Foreign Affairs Group (Parl. Labour Party); Member Advisory Committee Fabian International Bureau; Author of *Look to Norway*.

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M.P. (Labour—Newcastle Central); Started War as Machine Gunner in Middlesex Regt.—later worked in Greece in close contact with Greek Partisans on special mission—major (despatches); Member Advisory Committee Fabian Colonial Bureau; Barrister-at-Law.

Foreword

Dear Colleague,

The authors of this pamphlet fully realise how tired you are of the very mention of the word "Palestine", and how, by now, you disbelieve almost every word of the propaganda on the subject in your post bag. It is precisely because we all feel like this that we have written the following pages. We have verified every fact. It is the sober truth.

For the majority of us there is not only the weariness and disgust induced by too much propaganda—there is also an uneasiness, a feeling—(at least when we remember the party's past policy over the last 20 years and what Herbert Morrison, Hugh Dalton and all the others promised for so long) a feeling, that somehow, somewhere, something has gone very wrong. Most important of all perhaps there is the resentment which we all feel at Jewish terrorist attacks on our soldiers and police. That makes it considerably easier to accept the policy of the Government towards Palestine, though beneath our indignation most of us realise on some occasions, at least, that we by your breach of faith have also a responsibility for the terrorism that to-day defaces Palestine.

But for most of the time and insofar as we can, we try to forget about Palestine. And now Palestine can be ignored no longer. Dreadful events are on the move in the Middle East. It is imperative that we realise now what is really happening.

Why has Palestine now become so important?

Let us remember that the first nail in the coffin of the League of Nations was driven in not by Hitler but by the pro-Japanese speeches and activities of Sir John Simon, acting on the advice of the British Foreign Office. To-day (and for what appear to be disturbingly similar reasons) history repeats itself; and the first overwhelmingly voted and agreed decision of UNO is being hindered and undermined by a British Government, and Arab aggression at the least acquiesced in. But this time it is a Labour Government which is in power. And so it is our direct responsibility.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM WARBEY
LYALL WILKES

THE ARABS AND THE ALLIED WAR EFFORT—1939/45

There is no greater supporter of the Arabs than Brigadier Glubb Pasha. He sees the Middle East through Arab eyes. As Commander of the Transjordan Arab Legion during the war, he knew every move and counter-move throughout the Middle East during those years.

Writing in 1944—that is when the Arab war effort was still close enough to defy even Foreign Office attempts to romanticise it—Brigadier Glubb wrote as follows:¹

“At the time of these operations every Arab was perfectly convinced that Britain was finished for ever, and that it could only be a question of weeks before Germany took over Arabia. The Iraqis were perfectly sure of this or they would not have declared war on us—in brief, during the six weeks before the fall of Baghdad every Arab was convinced that we were done for. Every Arab force previously organised by us mutinied and refused to fight for us or faded away in desertions.”

In Palestine itself, though the Jewish population is only one half of the Arab, twice as many Palestine Jewish volunteers served in British and Allied units. One of the writers can recall the annoyance of the Palestine Administration in 1944 that this should be so, in case it might influence British post-war policy in Palestine in favour of the Jews. A member of Irgun Zvei Leumi led commando raids into Iraq during Rashid Ali's pro-Nazi revolt and was killed in a raid on an Arab air-field: Haganah was legalised and over 40 of its members went on parachute missions into occupied territory. Jewish industry was developed to supply as much as possible of the allied war needs in the Middle East, and Palestine became the one war base in the Middle East about whose loyalty we never had to worry for an instant. In response to a Jewish Agency campaign 30,000 volunteers joined the British forces, but the plea for a Jewish army was resisted to the end, and a Jewish Brigade Group was grudgingly conceded.

Our Middle East war strategy became increasingly based upon Palestine and during the dark days of 1941 and 1942, Haganah was given the role by G.H.Q. Middle East as a local defence force whose task it was to defend Palestine if the Nazis broke through beyond Cairo and into the Sinai Desert.

What of the Arabs?

In Egypt, pro-Italian and pro-German sentiment became so dangerous that British tanks had to be driven into Farouk's Abdin Palace-Yard as a show of force to compel the King's consent to the appointment of a pro-British Government under Nahas Pasha. Iraq declared war on us. The Mufti of Jerusalem—now calling from Beyrouth for war against Palestine—broadcast from Berlin

¹ Glubb Pasha's appendix at pages 214 and 215 of "The Golden Carpet" by Somerset de Chair.

calls to the Arab Middle East to revolt, whilst Fawzi al Kawukji, now chief organiser of resistance to Partition from Damascus also worked for Hitler in Germany during the war years. Today's Arab Commander in Jaffa and Lydda, Sheikh Hassan Salameh, was dropped in Palestine by parachute as a German Major for sabotage duties in 1944.

It is well to remember, therefore, that when the "Times" talks (as it did on February 28th, 1948) of "Jewish extremists fanatically hostile to Britain" it is talking of Jews who stood by this country in her greatest hour of need whilst the Arabs deserted. It is not Britain they oppose today, but a particular British policy, entirely contradictory to what was promised and which today threatens their very existence.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND PALESTINE

In view of the above, the Jews of Palestine may be forgiven for believing that no considerations of alleged British strategic interest could possibly be invoked during post-war years as a reason why they should not continue in peace-time, as previously in war, to be Britain's ally in the Middle East. Moreover, Labour Party Conference decisions had been clear on this matter for twenty years.

What were the nature of these Conference decisions? It is salutary though disturbing to look up former Labour Conference reports. In 1939, for example, Creech Jones in speaking to a resolution *passed with only two dissentients* condemning the Chamberlain Government's Palestine policy for "imposing a minority status on the Jews by making Jewish entry dependent on Arab consent, and [which] by restricting Jewish land settlement, violates the solemn pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate," said:²

² See Creech Jones' full speech in appendix 1 at back.

"It is largely a conflict between the New Order which the Jews stand for in Palestine and the old crumbling feudal system for which a few rich Arab landlords stand. That difficulty of conflict between the new and the old order has been exploited by fascist imperialism: It has been exploited by those who hate the very principles for which the Jewish democracy stood: And it has been exploited largely because in that crumbling old order one saw spreading through the Middle East a new democratic faith, which would ultimately undermine the foundation of the older system . . . the Jews are asked to end their experiment because our own Government is unable to secure good order, is unable to restrain the fascists, is unable to check the bandits who come in from outside . . . those of us who have seen the great achievement of the Jews on the spot have realised that the key principles of our great movement have been worked out by the Jews . . . it is imperative that this great experiment should be given a chance and not that it should be brought to an end . . . not that after five or ten years the Jews should be condemned to a subordinate position in the Palestine State."

Conference endorsed this policy in 1944, and yet again in the most authoritative statement of Labour's foreign policy issued before the General Election "Labour and the Post-War Settlement" (1944).

LABOUR'S RECENT POLICY

Within a few weeks of the Government's coming into power in 1945, Labour's Palestine policy was sunk without a trace. Mr. Bevin took over without question Mr. Eden's recently created Arab League policy, and aimed, as had Mr. Eden, at a great Middle East defence bloc of Arab States, whose Moslem faith and the interests of whose feudal Sheikhs seemingly guaranteed opposition to any Soviet or Communist penetration with its threatened agrarian revolution. So the states who had failed us as allies in the war against fascism were now wooed as our allies against Russian Communism.

The Government's policy became one of refusing any solution not agreed by both Arabs and Jews. This, of course, entirely ruled out Labour's promised policy; and it ruled out any solution not acceptable to the Arabs, giving them, in effect, a perpetual right of veto. Though at the Bournemouth 1946 Conference, Mr. Bevin had said that he could not admit 100,000 Jews as recommended unanimously by the Anglo-American Palestine Committee, because it would "require two British divisions to keep the Arabs quiet", he concentrated 100,000 troops in Palestine to keep the Jewish immigrants out!

The British Government rejected their former Palestine policy. They rejected the unanimous Anglo-American Committee Report in 1946. They have resolved to take no part in implementing the UNO Partition policy. What is it they really want? The answer is simple—Palestine as one of a group of Arab States with the Jews of Palestine guaranteed their minority rights. Any compromise solution less generous than this to the Arabs has to be fought as a "too Jewish" solution. This had been the Foreign Office attitude for many years. The Colonial Office on the other hand had been in favour of Partition since the Peel Commission reported in 1937.

THE U.N.O. ASSEMBLY PARTITION DECISION

On November 29th, 1947, the UNO Assembly by the decisive vote of 33 to 13 with ten abstentions voted in favour of the Majority Report of the UN Commission Report which after study of the situation in Palestine and Europe had recommended Partition. This represented a set-back for the Foreign Office, and the "Times" and newspapers close to the British official delegation at Lake Success reflected Foreign Office concern and, indeed, anger. For example,

the "Times" Correspondent at Lake Success on December 1st, said:
"Zafrullah Khan, whose speeches would have killed the project in any assembly where it was being considered on its merits.... the Partition Scheme would have been carried in no other city than New York."

and added significantly enough in view of the later British refusal
"American newspapers explain that its successful implementation depends on the extent to which the British administration and military forces facilitate the occupation by the Jewish militia of territory predominantly inhabited by the Arabs."

The British Press (with some honourable exceptions), the B.B.C., and the Foreign Office, have waged verbal warfare against the Assembly's Partition decision ever since November 29th, 1947. They have sought to exhibit that decision as a discreditable episode in UNO's history, the almost incredible product of unparalleled American-Jewish pressure and perfidy. The "Observer" of February 29th, is typical:

"The United Nations has jeopardised its good name and prestige by entering on a course of action (after some very shady vote catching manoeuvres), which it has neither the will nor the power to prosecute."

The breach between responsible international public opinion and the British Press was perhaps most vividly shown by the gloating headline in the "Times" of February 26th, proclaiming "PARTITION IS DEAD", which was followed within a few hours by a speech from UNO's Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, declaring how vital it was for UNO's future, that the Partition decision should be upheld against aggression.

What are the facts about Partition?

1 Far from suddenly emerging from the UNO Assembly last November, as the product of Jewish-American pressure, it has a long and honourable history as a proposed solution for Palestine dating back to the mid-thirties. It was recommended by the strongest British Royal Commission ever sent out to Palestine, the Peel Commission (no Jews, no Americans). It was pressed more than once by the Colonial Office against Foreign Office resistance before the War. For a period in 1946, it was propounded by almost every British newspaper from the "Daily Telegraph" to the "Times" as a solution. It is not something new. The Assembly on November 29th, 1947, merely came to the conclusion that many British investigators and administrators had reached before the war.

2 And the voting? On analysis does it bear out the Press and B.B.C. stories of sordid pressure? Every British Dominion voted for Partition—is it suggested as a result of American pressure? Remember that the Dominions include Labour Governments in New Zealand and Australia. All the Eastern bloc but one, voted for Partition—and they are extremely hostile to every form of American pressure. And Russia—did she vote for Partition to please America? On analysis the majority for Partition is seen to consist largely of British Empire countries and the Eastern bloc. This was

the one occasion in UNO where the East-West stalemate was broken.

And those who voted against Partition? There were only one or two countries apart from the Arab and Moslem states who did, but they included surely the country most open of all to American pressure — Greece! Another South American State—Cuba—voted against, and six South American States abstained—with Jugoslavia. Does all this look like the product of American pressure?

It is true that by reason of submitting the Palestine problem to the Assembly the British Government received from the Assembly a solution they disliked: but that is scarcely a good reason for the combined Press, B.B.C., and Foreign Office attempt (and a very successful attempt) to persuade the British public that the game was lost because the other side played foul, and the referee was crooked! Again, to quote the "Times", "By and large, few observers have any doubt now that the Assembly made a great mistake in conceding a Jewish claim bound to provoke strong Arab resistance". The "Times" omits to state that for a long period it had itself made the same "mistake" before the Foreign Office had clearly showed its hand!

IS PARTITION JUST?

No Palestine solution is possible without committing some injustice. The question is which solution carries the least sum of injustice. The area of Palestine partitioned for the Jews represents less than one-half per cent of the area which the Arabs have gained for State independence since 1918—even excluding Egypt. It represents some 4,500 square miles of the 44,500 square miles originally set aside in the Balfour Declaration for Jewish colonisation. Attempts are being made to describe this solution as a solution far too favourable to the Jews which could be whittled down by compromise and negotiation. The Jews of Palestine, however,—and this fact has received too little attention—regard the area of the proposed Jewish State as the minimum and will fight any further proposals to whittle it down further to a kind of "Jewish Whipsnade".

Labour Party members, especially, will surely have little difficulty in remembering that the Assembly's decision represents less than half of what—until it came to power—was the official Labour policy for Palestine. That there is clearly more likelihood of a Jewish State majority surrounded by Arab States treating its Arab minority liberally than there is of an Arab majority, treating its Jewish minority liberally since that would be a minority neither represented on UNO nor possessing any state apparatus anywhere in the world to uphold its rights.

And if one takes into final account the precarious Jewish position throughout the world, and the tens of thousands of Jews still in D.P. camps, it must be apparent to most which solution

carries with it the least injustice to the weaker party. At least UNO had little hesitation in turning down by overwhelming vote the Arab proposed alternative. It received 12 votes only—and here UNO was faced not by the almost inevitable and peaceful “lobbying” of which so much has been heard in the British press, but by the express Arab threats that if their solution was not accepted by UNO they would oppose it by force.

ARE THE ARAB STATES COMMITTED TO AGGRESSION?

Here the statements of Arab Premiers and Cabinet Ministers are at least clear and definite enough.

In the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies, the Prime Minister, Riad al Solh, said: “I am speaking under the dome of this Chamber and in this official capacity proclaiming that we shall provide Palestine with all the arms, funds and men we possess.¹ On December 7th, Riad al Solh said, “The Lebanese Army now on the Palestine borders will play its part with other Arab armies in saving Palestine when the proper time comes.”²

On September 22nd, 1947, the Iraqi Premier (the same Premier entertained later in London by the Foreign Secretary and who signed the abortive treaty with him at Portsmouth) said to the Press: “I have requested you to prepare the Iraqi people, especially the youth, for the actions and sacrifices which may be necessitated by the situation. I now repeat this request.”³ On October 23rd, 1947, the Iraqi Premier further declared: “The Iraqi Army will march and enter Palestine if the United Nations adopt Partition.”⁴

On December 2nd, the Lebanese Prime Minister stated that “Lebanon had started to carry out the Arab League’s decision to make Palestine a unitary Arab State.” He went on to say that “the Lebanese Army will play its part when that time comes.”

On January 12th, 1948, the Syrian Premier, Jamil Mardam Bey, declared to youths in Damascus clamouring for arms to fight the Jews that “President Shukri al Quwatly approves of the movement of Arab youth and of their readiness for Jihad (holy war) in defence of Arab Palestine.”⁵

On December 6th the Prime Minister of Transjordan, Samir al Rifai Pasha, said: “My country’s forces will be allied with the rest of the Arab world to fight for Palestine.”⁶

The Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, Emir Faisal al Saud, declared: “We promise you to save Palestine by our souls, money

¹ AL AHARAM, October 1st '47.

² Associated Press, Cairo, December 7th 1947.

³ AL AHARAM, Sept. 24th 1947.

⁴ Reuter’s Baghdad October 23rd 1947.

⁵ Associated Press, Damascus, January 12th 1948.

⁶ Associated Press, Cairo, December 6th 1947.

and sons . . . I am depending on God and you to maintain Palestine as an Arab independent state."⁷

The Prime Minister of Lebanon repeated that "we will never sleep until we save Palestine as an independent Arab State. We promise you we will supply Palestine . . . with weapons, equipment and men."⁸

The above statements of Arab Premiers and Foreign Ministers are mild besides the lurid threats uttered by the Arab League's official spokesmen. Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, stated: "This war will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongol Massacres and the Crusades."⁹

Jamal Husseini, spokesman for the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, at UNO said: "The Partition line proposed shall be nothing but a line of fire and blood."¹¹ On December 1st, 1947, Azzam Pasha made a declaration in which he stated: "By no means shall we permit the implementation of the resolution of the United Nations to partition Palestine. We shall resist and fight off this resolution with all the means at our disposal. *We have prepared an elaborate plan agreed upon by the Arab States in the meetings of the Arab League Council.* This plan is being put into effect . . ."

As'ad Dagher, Press Officer of the Arab League, convened a Press Conference on January 15th, 1948, where he summed up the Arab League's attitude to Partition by stating that the League "had recommended that the Arab nations occupy all Palestine with their regular Army when British troops leave."

In preparation for these events, the Syrian Defence Minister, Ahmed Sharabati, has allotted the Qatana Camp near Damascus for the training of the volunteers from Lebanon, Egypt, and Iraq, already there installed. The Cairo newspaper, Al Ahram, reported on December 15th, 1947, that "about 700 Palestinian Arabs are already training in Qatana barracks near Damascus; their number is growing by about 100 per day." Thirty-eight senior officers have temporarily resigned from the Syrian Army to help train a "volunteer" corps for Palestine. On December 19th, the Syrian Defence Ministry announced its "acceptance of the resignations . . . particularly of Army officers who wish to volunteer for service in Palestine to fight against Partition."¹¹

In Lebanon, recruiting preparations are proceeding. On December 18th, 1947, the British Near East Broadcasting Station in Jaffa reported that the first group of 500 volunteers had been called up for training by the Beirut Recruiting Office. Recruiting Offices

⁷ Associated Press, Cairo, December 15th 1947.

⁸ Associated Press, Cairo, December 15th 1947.

⁹ AKHBAR AL-YOM, October 11th 1947.

¹⁰ Proceedings of AD HOC Committee on Palestine, Nov. 24th 1947.

¹¹ A.F.P. Damascus, December 19th, 1947.

for the "Rescue of Palestine" were opened in Baghdad on December 8th, 1947.¹²

On December 8th, 1947, Azzam Pasha stated to the Press that "Ibn Saud had placed his regular troops at the League's service, and had given his blessing to any desert tribe that wished to fight for Palestine."¹³

Sufficient has here been said to indicate that a widespread campaign for violence in Palestine is being officially encouraged and sponsored by the Arab governments.

RECENT ACTS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST PALESTINE'S FRONTIERS

1. On Friday, January 9th, 400 Arabs equipped with modern automatic weapons and wearing a uniform similar to that worn by the Syrian Army crossed the Syrian-Palestine frontier and attacked two Jewish villages in Northern Palestine. A battle lasted for 4 hours and British troops and the R.A.F. eventually intervened to repel the attackers. No secret was made of official Syrian and Lebanese complicity in this attack. On January 14th, 1948, the Prime Minister of Lebanon reported to the Chamber of Deputies on aid and support provided to the Palestine Arabs. The Defence Minister giving what he called an "eye witness" account of the attacks said: "These attacks will be strengthened and take the form of a real war in the near future."

On January 12th the British Foreign Office announced that the British Minister in Damascus had "called for information from the Syrian Government and . . . expressed concern."

This, however, would appear to be the only occasion on which the British Government has protested against Arab violations of Palestine's territorial integrity.

2. On January 14th, 1948, Arabs from Syria again attacked the Jewish settlements of Dan and Lehavot. The Arabs were beaten back.

3. On January 21st a force of about 400 armed Arabs crossed the Lebanese-Palestine frontier and attacked the Jewish village of Yehiam. This attack lasted for 5 hours.

4. On January 22nd a smaller force again crossed the frontier and renewed the attack on Yehiam.

5. The "Times" and "Manchester Guardian" reported on January 26th that during the night of January 24th 700 armed Arabs crossed the frontier from Transjordan after being encouraged on their way by a speech from King Abdullah at Amman. These men are now quartered around Nablus. (It must be noted that on

¹² Al Sa-a, December 9th, 1947.

¹³ U.P. Cairo, December 8th, 1947.

January 24th the Premier of Transjordan with other Ministers left by air for London for discussion with Mr. Bevin regarding a new Treaty. The delegation was welcomed in London by the British Government. On January 28th the delegation was entertained to luncheon by Mr. Attlee at 10, Downing Street.)

6. 100 lorries containing 900 Arab soldiers entered Palestine from Syria and Transjordan on the night of February 24th to join the Arabs already training in Samaria, Palestine. Neither the Palestine nor the British Government have treated these violations of Palestine's frontiers very seriously. They have given no publicity to them and (except for one occasion) made no public protest. The Palestine Commission therefore further requested the Mandatory Power for full information regarding the incursions of armed Arabs over the frontiers of Palestine. The British Government disclosed in reply that—to quote the "Times" of February 5th, 1948:

"A band of 300 men from outside had established themselves at Safad, Galilee, that 700 Syrians with mechanical equipment, well provisioned and in battle-dress uniform had crossed the frontier, and that 950 men belonging to the "Arab Liberation Army" had also arrived in 19 vehicles. These parties, the British Government reported, had dispersed in small groups against which it was difficult to make effective military operations."

It is not only the British Government's silence on these matters until questions were put that here calls for comment. Even more strange is the fact that little or no action has been taken to expel the intruders from Palestine. And those who can recall the widespread curfews, the household and settlement searches, the detailed combing of whole towns when the Palestine Government were looking for half-a-dozen Jewish terrorists may marvel at the difficulties which impel inaction in the face of 2,000 armed intruders from across the frontiers. But even more surprising and suggestive were the facts disclosed on February 9th by the Mandatory Power in a communication to the United Nations Palestine Commission. It reported that:

"A report has been received from Jerusalem to the effect that it is now definitely established that a second party of some seven hundred guerillas (believed to be under the command of Fawzi Al Kawukji) entered via the Djamiyeh Bridge on 29th/30th January. It is understood that the band dispersed rapidly among the villages of Samaria and that there is now in that district a force of not less than 1,400. Although this force has dispersed it remains cohesive and is *increasingly exercising considerable administrative control over the whole area* (Our italics). As an instance of this, the force has of its own accord and in collaboration with Arab National Committees already dealt with local bandits and other petty crimes... it appears anxious to avoid becoming involved with the British Security Forces."

There are a few quite incredible things to be noted here: first, the lack again of any protest to the Arab States responsible; second, the Arab anxiety noted in the Report "to avoid becoming involved with the British Security Forces" appears at least to be

reciprocated; third, the admission by the Mandatory Power still—on its own request—solely responsible for government in Palestine that these Arab forces are exercising “considerable administrative control over the whole area”.

It will be remembered that the British Government has persistently refused permission to the UN Commission to enter Palestine until a fortnight before the end of the Mandate on May 15th. Again and again Mr. Creech Jones at UNO has stated that the Palestine Government could not allow a dual authority in the country during the last months of the Mandate: the British Government has repeated *ad nauseam* that they must remain (though the writers must stress—with signal lack of success) solely responsible for the maintenance of law, order and administration until the last few days of the Mandate.

41 WHAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS REFUSED TO UNO HAS BEEN GRANTED TO THE ARAB INVADER.

But perhaps the most sinister element in the situation here revealed was the attitude adopted by Sir Alexander Cadogan who on the 21st January, 1948 informed the UNO Commission that “*in present circumstances the Jewish allegations that Arabs are the attackers and Jews the attacked is not tenable*”: whilst the contrast between Mr. Bevin’s attitude to the violation of the frontiers of Palestine as compared with the frontiers of Greece makes an unpleasant and cynical contrast reminiscent of the worst days of Sir John Simon.

On 3rd March, Mr. Rees-Williams in the Commons stated that armed Arab bands who had crossed the frontiers into Palestine now totalled over 5,000 men and that “general direction of the force in Northern Palestine is believed to be exercised from Syria by Fawzi Kawukji.”

The reason for the British Government’s refusal of entry to the UNO Commission is now tolerably plain. In a few more weeks thousands more Arabs will have crossed the frontiers of Palestine which under the Mandate still operating, Britain is under duty to protect. They doubtless will also “exercise administrative control” on their arrival.

By May 15th the United Nations will be faced with a “fait accompli”.

AND MR. BEVIN IS A LABOUR FOREIGN SECRETARY!

BRITISH ARMS AND MILITARY MISSIONS AID ARABS

5 A blatant contradiction in our Palestine policy has been that although the threat of Arab violence has been given as the ostensible reason why Labour could not fulfil its traditional policy, yet it has been the British Government itself which since 1945 has created and equipped the Arab forces in the Middle East and

tipped the balance of military power increasingly in their favour and against the Jews.

Today the British Government is determined that British arms, manpower and equipment shall not be used in any circumstances to help implement the United Nations decision on Palestine. The Government, however, shows much less concern for what is surely not less important—namely that British arms, manpower and equipment shall not be used in any way to help reverse or defeat the UNO decision.

The British Military Mission consists of 18 officers and ten other ranks. Their function is to advise on the supply and training of Iraq's army and supervise its re-equipment from British sources. Iraq is now creating an air force of her own and an Air Minister is attached to the British Military Mission to help in this work. Transjordan's forces are entirely British-created. The British taxpayer subscribes 2 million pounds a year for the upkeep of the Transjordan Arab Legion; 40 British officers are attached to this Force in an executive capacity: its leaders are all British officers. Nine officers and 36 O.R.s form the B.M.M. to Saudi Arabia. This Mission is a new creation and was instituted by the British Government as recently as January 1947. The B.M.M. to Egypt (now being closed down in accordance with the wishes of the Egyptian Government) has supervised the delivery to Egypt from May 1945 to June 1947 of 40 military aircraft, 38 scout cars and 298 carriers apart from small arms. Details regarding small arms and light equipment supplied to Egypt and any details at all of arms supplied to the other Arab countries have been refused in the Commons during the last 2 years; although in the Commons on February 18th, 1948, Mr. Alexander stated that arms deliveries to Iraq under existing Treaties would continue and would consist of the following categories: 'Aircraft, small quantities of 25 pounders and anti-tank guns, A.A. guns, armoured cars.'

Every Arab country through its government has announced that every aid will be given to the Palestine Arabs to overthrow the Partition decision by all necessary force. Yet the Missions still continue to train the Arab troops and the flow of arms continues. Hector McNeill on February 16th stated:

"I have no evidence to suggest that arms supplied to Middle East Governments by virtue of these treaties . . . are being made available for warfare in Palestine."

It is obviously extremely difficult to "prove" in any legal sense that a rifle supplied to Iraq through the British Military Mission is the same rifle that turns up a month later in Palestine. But since the stockpile of Arab arms in the Middle East has in the main been supplied by Britain during the last two years, and since modern arms recently entering the Arab States make it obviously easier for those States to dispose of older stocks to Arabs

in Palestine, British responsibility in this matter cannot be evaded by merely repeating that there is no definite "proof" that the arms used in Palestine come from those supplied to the surrounding Arab States.

The Arab States have declared that they will not send their *regular* forces into Palestine on or before May 15th, when the Mandate ends. It is unlikely—to say the least—in view of the statements of Arab Premiers disclosed in this pamphlet, that this declaration will be adhered to—but it stands in theory, at least, at the moment of writing. The Arab States are, however, sending into Palestine—they make no secret of it—as guerillas, officers and men who have for this purpose temporarily resigned from the regular State forces.

The Arab States in addition have announced that if a UNO force is sent to Palestine to implement the Partition decision, then they will send their *regular* armies against the UNO force.¹ So that British missions are today continuing to train and, by their mere presence, giving immense psychological, even more than material, encouragement to the Arab armies which according to the Arab Governments themselves will move against UNO if UNO takes steps to enforce its decision.

The argument is sometimes put forward that the arms are provided under Treaty arrangements concluded before Arab movements against Palestine began. And Mr. Bevin has stated in the Commons that he has no intention of breaking his arms supply agreements with the Arab states. That is of course a Government statement of considered policy, but one difficult to reconcile with past Government statements that our foreign policy is based entirely on UNO. For quite obviously there is now a conflict between the arms clauses contained in the Treaties and our obligations towards UNO. Mr. Bevin has until now preferred to follow the Treaties.

BRITAIN'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH ARAB STATES JANUARY/MARCH, 1948

We have seen that within a few days of Transjordan levies invading Palestine's territory without any subsequent public protest by the British Government, the Transjordan Prime Minister was being entertained at No. 10, Downing Street, and confidential negotiations for a new Treaty between Britain and Transjordan began at the Foreign Office. We know that since November 29th,

¹ The *Times* Cairo Correspondent, reporting on 24th February, 1948 the results of the Arab League Conference, wrote: "Much of the Conference was devoted to the Palestine situation which Azzam Pasha described as a civil war, in which the *regular armies* of the Arab States would not intervene unless other foreign powers first sent troops to enforce partition."

all the Arab Governments have threatened war against Partition and UNO. We know also that the chief hope of staying the Arab war preparations before they advance so far that retreat becomes difficult, is to make it quite clear that if the Arabs go to war over Palestine, they will receive no sympathy or support from the British Government. So long as the Arabs believe that they have the slightest chance of the backing or at least sympathetic acquiescence of one great power in their defiance of UNO, so the more likely does such defiance become. The British Government's behaviour in recent months can only be regarded as providing a considerable condonation of Arab war preparations against Partition. Certainly that is how the lack of British reaction is being interpreted throughout the Middle East.

Let us take the case of Iraq. Iraq has been foremost in declaring her intentions to use violence if necessary over Palestine. She still shelters on her territory some of the worst of the Arabs who organised the Raschid Ali revolt, and spent the rest of the war in hiding or in Hitler's Germany. Mr. Bevin, not content with the military and air missions functioning in Iraq, desired a new treaty. That the Foreign Secretary did not obtain it was not due to any apparent unwillingness on his part to blink his eye at Iraq's violations of Palestine's frontiers or the preparations for future aggressive action now being carried on within her territories.

On the 22nd January, 1948, Mr. Bevin said in the Commons:

"I think the House welcomes with me the recent treaty with Iraq negotiated and signed upon a basis of equality.... We assure our Iraqi friends that we intend to face the problems common to us *whether they are problems of defence* (our emphasis) or of social and economic development. I hope that the treaty which is being worked out with such care will serve as a model, when it has been carefully studied, for other Middle East defence arrangements. I am discussing the situation first with Transjordan, whose Prime Minister is coming here to talk with us in a few days. The Emir Feisal will be here at the beginning of next month, and we shall have a talk with him...."

We know now that the Iraqis rejected this treaty. Not even a gift of a pair of royal swans to the Prince Regent of Iraq nor the diversion from this country to Iraq of a wheat ship carrying 8,500 tons, nor all the pomp which accompanied the signature of the treaty at Portsmouth could induce Iraqi acceptance. Seldom has the discarding of principle in foreign policy won so few material dividends.

As one example only of the condonation of Arab aggression which takes place in this country, it may be mentioned that at a reception given to the Transjordan Prime Minister at the Dorchester Hotel on Friday, February 6th, a retired British General was heard to ask a group of young Transjordan Arab officers now being trained at Sandhurst "when they were going to give him a Division" and he would "lead them across the frontiers". In the presence of Colonial Office and Foreign Office officials, these young Arab officers

described with gusto how the Transjordan Army would occupy all Palestine after the British left on May 15th, and "turn Palestine into a blood bath."

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

The present situation in Palestine (endorsed by the presence of British troops) was summarised in the "Manchester Guardian" of February 16th:

"The Arabs can and do obtain arms from the neighbouring Arab States of Syria and Transjordan. The Jews can neither buy them or import them; Arab guerillas can train in safety in the Arab States; the Jewish Haganah is still officially illegal and can train only at the risk of being disarmed . . . The one faint chance of success would have been to allow the Jews to organise for the defence of their own State from the moment of the Assembly's decision. This the British Government has steadfastly refused."

The attitude of the Palestine Administration is that of Sir Alexander Cadogan who, as we have seen, reported to UNO that "in present circumstances the Jewish allegation that Arabs are the attackers and Jews the attacked is not tenable." So that Haganah is still being disarmed even in areas which have been the object of Arab attacks only a few hours previously. As Mr. Rees-Williams stated in the Commons on 18th February, in respect of one incident, the subject of a question:

"The party of Jews to which my Hon. friend refers was encountered by the security forces on the road from Rosh Pinnah to Metulla several hours after the Arab attack in the north had been repelled by military units. The 27 Jews were arrested for illegal possession of arms contrary to the Defence (Emergency) Regulations and were released on bail after their arms and ammunition had been confiscated."

The refusal of the Government to carry out the UNO Committee's recommendation that a Jewish Militia should be formed in good time to protect the new Jewish State is all the more difficult to understand since Sir Alexander Cadogan in his report to the UNO Commission on security conditions in Palestine, stated:

"The international status of the United Nations Commission will mean little or nothing to Arabs in Palestine to whom killing of Jews now transcends all other considerations."

This present situation in which to organise their military defence in accordance with the UNO decision is considered an act of illegality by the Administration explains why terrorism between the Jews and the British Army is rising to open warfare. The Jews feel (and it is surely a fact) that the policy of the British Administration and Army menaces their very future existence; it is a truly dreadful situation because, as Jewish desperation increases, extremist elements are likely to commit more and more violent outrages against British troops, the latest of which (the train wrecking) at the time of writing has produced a statement by the Colonial Office that if the Army in Palestine desire to impose martial law they

will be allowed to. No martial law (or any action of any kind) is apparently contemplated to deal with the thousands of Arab armed invaders from across the frontiers now training and administering whole areas of Palestine!

The present situation in Palestine can therefore be summarised as one where a government which to date has refused to carry out a single one of the major UNO Recommendations, which indeed still treats as illegal the immigrants who appear off the Port which the United Nations laid down they should be allowed to enter by February 1st, is threatening to impose those reprisals and all their implications on the protesting Jews by martial law if necessary.

That the imposition and continuance of such a policy will involve more and more violence and murder during the coming weeks is certain: such violence is likely to be accompanied by an increasing Press and B.B.C. campaign against the "inherent injustice" of the Partition decision in which, as before, those newspapers which supported Partition as a solution in 1945 or 1946 can be expected to be especially vehement: increasingly we shall hear of "the Gestapo-like grip of the Jewish Agency on a frightened Jewish community desirous but unable to repudiate its 'fanatical' leadership"; there may be a search for other Jewish bodies and personalities who will negotiate a settlement on the basis of Morrison Plan federalism. The next step will then be to promote a UNO decision which entirely separates the tasks of keeping the peace from carrying out Partition and should the Jews resent this change of front by UNO brought about by Arab violence, threats of compulsion or entire abandonment to the Arabs without aid may be expected rather as the Czechs were threatened by Daladier and Chamberlain at Munich.

BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Labour Party and the Labour Government have upheld the United Nations Organisation as the main hope for the peaceful development of international relations. As far as Britain was concerned, there would be no repetition of that selfish nationalism which had killed the League of Nations when it was confronted with aggression in Manchuria and Abyssinia. From now on Britain would be to the forefront in building up the power and prestige of the international organisation. Britain would set an example in the use of international procedure in the reference of disputes to the appropriate international organs, in encouraging respect for the rule of law, and in working for the international control of armed force.

In many respects these promises have been fulfilled. The British Government has co-operated, perhaps more fully than any other, in every type of international organisation. It has allowed

its policy and actions in Greece, Indonesia and elsewhere to be openly challenged in the Security Council. It has referred its disputes with Albania, Argentine and Chile to the International Court of Justice. If it has not done all that it might have done, its record has at least compared favourably with that of all the other Great Powers. It was therefore to be expected that when the British Government referred the Palestine problem to UNO, this would provide one more example of Britain's willingness to submit herself to the bar of international opinion.

It is important to recall that it was on British initiative that the Palestine question was taken up by UNO. In February 1947 the Government finally came to the conclusion that it was useless to try any longer to find a settlement which would be acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. The Government refused to *impose* a settlement itself, and therefore decided to hand back the problem to the authority from which it had received the Mandate, i.e. to the United Nations, acting as successors to the League. As Mr. Bevin said in the House of Commons on 18th February, 1947:

"...if the conflict has to be resolved by arbitrary decision, that is not a decision which His Majesty's Government are empowered as Mandatory to take¹.... We have therefore, reached the conclusion that the only course now open to us is to submit the problem to the judgment of the United Nations."

Note the word "judgment". There was never any doubt at that time, nor was there when UNO gave its decision, as we shall show later, that what the Government was asking for was that the United Nations should give its considered view as to what should be done about Palestine, and that that decision should be accepted by all parties as an authoritative settlement of the question.

HOW U.N. HANDLED THE CASE

The General Assembly, meeting in Special Session at the British Government's urgent request, appointed a Special Committee on Palestine to investigate the situation and make a report, with recommendations, to the next ordinary meeting of the Assembly. UNSCOP, as it was called in U.N. cablese, visited Palestine, took evidence from all interested parties, studied all the documents, deliberated, and produced a number of agreed recommendations and a majority and a minority report. The majority report, signed by the representatives of Canada, Holland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Uruguay, Guatamala and Peru recommended the partition of Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states, while the minority report, signed only by Iran, India and Yugoslavia, recommended a federal state. The General Assembly, meeting in September 1947, set up an Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine to consider the reports.

¹ Many legal experts, and the Peel Commission in 1937, have taken a different view of the powers of the Mandatory.

The Ad Hoc Committee appointed two Sub-Committees to investigate, respectively, the majority proposals and a proposal for a unitary Palestine State put forward by the Arab States, and to draft a detailed plan for each case. The Ad Hoc Committee eventually adopted the partition proposals, and the General Assembly, in its turn, carried the Resolution embodying them by 33 votes to 13, with 10 abstentions. This was 7 votes more than the two-thirds majority required for decisions of substance.

The General Assembly of the United Nations had given its "judgment" in no uncertain terms. There were not wanting those, however, who tried to undermine the authority of UNO and cast doubt on the validity of its decision, by suggesting that the vote might have been different but for "pressure" exercised by interested parties. These impugnors are answered elsewhere in this pamphlet.

BRITISH ATTITUDE TO THE U.N. ENQUIRY

During the period when UNO was investigating the Palestine problem, the official British attitude was one of "neutrality". Mr. Bevin and Mr. Creech Jones explained that the British Government would not make any proposals itself and would not take sides, but would content itself with giving an account of the working of the Mandate, of the situation in Palestine, and of the various proposals for settlement which had been put forward at one time or another. It would supply UNO with all the information it was asked for, and would give UNO the benefit of its experience. Further than this it would not go.

In practice this meant that the United Kingdom delegates—Mr. Creech Jones, Sir Alexander Cadogan and others—frequently found themselves in the position of criticising the proposals put forward by the majority of the delegates, while being unable to put forward any counter-proposals themselves. As each practical issue was brought forward—transfer of authority from the Mandatory Power to the new States, arrangements for immigration, means of enforcing partition in the event of opposition—Sir Alexander or one of his colleagues would point out all the difficulties in the way of achieving the results desired by the Committee, but when he was challenged to make some practical proposals himself he could only reply that this was not the task of the British Government. This negative attitude was severely criticised at times by other delegates, including those of New Zealand.

The theory of "neutrality" was maintained right to the end, even long after it was clear that the overwhelming majority would vote for partition. Many people thought it a pity that when the final confirming vote was taken by the General Assembly, Britain could not have supported the majority, instead of abstaining—thus showing that on at least one complicated issue it was possible for

the "Big Three" to achieve unity. At that final stage abstention could have no value, except possibly as a means of demonstrating to both parties in the Middle East, the Jews and Arabs, that Britain was still "impartial". But how could Britain still be impartial at that stage, when the Arabs had already made it clear that they would refuse to accept a decision in favour of partition? It is worthy of note by the way that had the Arab States also abstained as being interested parties, the minority vote against partition would have been reduced to six.

BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITIES AS MANDATORY POWER

The British Government remained "neutral" and "impartial", as we have said, right up to the final vote in the Assembly. After the vote was taken, however, neutrality no longer remained a possible attitude, since the United Nations had given the "judgment" for which the Government had asked, and had, moreover, laid specific obligations on Britain as the Mandatory Power. What were these obligations?

They are to be found in the text of the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 29th November, 1947. First there was the general obligation: "The General Assembly . . . recommends to the United Kingdom, as the Mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below." A United Nations Palestine Commission, consisting of five members, was set up to implement the Assembly Resolution, and it was laid down in the Resolution that "the Mandatory Power shall co-operate with the Commission in the execution of its functions."

In addition there were certain specific proposals which could only be carried out with the co-operation of the Mandatory Power. The most important of these were:

- (a) Termination of the Mandate not later than 1st August, 1948;
- (b) *Progressive* withdrawal of armed forces from Palestine, to be completed not later than 1st August;
- (c) The Administration of Palestine to be turned over to the Palestine Commission, *progressively* as the Mandatory Power withdraws its forces from each area;
- (d) Evacuation, not later than 1st February, 1948, of a seaport and hinterland in the prospective Jewish State, adequate to provide facilities for substantial immigration;
- (e) Provisional Councils of Government for the Arab and Jewish States to be established by the Commission, if possible by 1st April.
- (f) Armed militias, under the general military and political control of the Commission, to be set up by each Provisional Council.

It was also explicitly laid down that "the Mandatory Power shall not take any action to prevent, obstruct or delay the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly."

In addition it should be remembered that so long as the Mandate lasts, Britain has the continuing obligation to carry out the terms of the Mandate, which include, *inter alia*, the maintenance of law and order within Palestine, and the protection of the frontiers of Palestine against aggression.

BRITISH ATTITUDE TO RESPONSIBILITIES

The first question that will naturally be asked is: Is Britain bound to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly? On a very strict legal interpretation of the Charter it might be held that there is no specific obligation laid on any member-nation to carry out any particular General Assembly decision, even though it may be passed by a two-thirds majority. There is, however, a general obligation in Article 2 (5), which lays down that:

"All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter . . ."

Moreover the future strength of the United Nations will undoubtedly depend to a large extent on the building up of a body of case-law based on precedents, and every Member-nation which is desirous of strengthening UNO must clearly be concerned to encourage respect for the Assembly's decision and to discourage those who seek to flout or belittle them.

However much some member-nations might seek to divest themselves of their obligations by taking refuge in legal quibbles, Britain clearly cannot do so. She cannot do so on three grounds. First, because it is unthinkable that a British Government which has persistently advocated respect for the authority of UNO and for the decisions of competent majorities should suddenly reverse its attitude because it dislikes the decision given in a particular case. Secondly, because it was the British Government itself which referred the Palestine problem to UNO and specifically asked for a "judgment". Thirdly, because the British Government has in fact accepted the decision as the valid verdict of a competent international authority. This is amply demonstrated by the explicit declarations of His Majesty's Ministers. Mr. Creech Jones, opening the House of Commons debate on 11th and 12th December following the passing of the Assembly Resolution, said in his very first words:

"On 29th November the General Assembly of the United Nations resolved, by a *decisive vote*, that Palestine *should be* partitioned. The decision is momentous . . ." (our italics).

Later he said that "the decision of the Assembly is regarded by His Majesty's Government as *the decision of a court of international*

opinion." He expressed the hope that "the greatest respect will be shown for *the decision of the international authority.*" Mr. Bevin, in winding up the Debate, said: "That *decision* is of *the great world organism*, whether we agree with it or not. It is on *the statute book* of that great organisation." (Our italics throughout).

There is no mistaking the meaning of these words. Although the General Assembly is not yet formally a world legislature, the use of the words "statute book" by the Foreign Secretary shows that, at least as far as the British Government is concerned, the decision of the General Assembly is regarded as having the force of an international law, to be observed by all loyal member-nations.

It was on this basis, presumably, that the British Government announced its acceptance of the decision. Mr. Creech Jones emphasised that "this is not a grudging acceptance", while Mr. Bevin, although preferring the negative form, said: "I am not going, and His Majesty's Government are not going, to oppose the United Nations decision. The decision has been taken."

We now come to an important stage in the argument. The British Government had accepted the Assembly's decision in favour of the partition of Palestine, and had indicated its readiness to assist the Commission which was charged with the task of implementing the decision. It had, however, made a qualification. The result of the decision would be accepted, said Mr. Creech Jones on December 11th, "in so far as its terms did not conflict with the conditions His Majesty's Government had announced during the discussion."

What were these conditions? On 16th October, 1947, Mr. Creech Jones told the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine that "if the Assembly should recommend a policy which is not acceptable to the Jews and Arabs, some authority alternative to the United Kingdom must be provided in order to implement United Nations Policy." He further said that "His Majesty's Government will not accept the responsibility for enforcement either *alone* or in a *major role*". These two reasonable conditions were taken note of by the Committee, and the final plan provided for an "alternative authority" to implement the Assembly's decision, namely the Palestine Commission, to which the Mandatory Power was required progressively to transfer authority for the administration of Palestine during the transition period.

There were, however, two further conditions of a more questionable character. One was stated by Mr. Creech Jones, when addressing the Ad Hoc Committee on 16th October, 1947, in these terms:

"If it is desired that His Majesty's Government should *participate* with others in the enforcement of a settlement . . . my Government adheres to the view that it must take into account the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it."

The other condition was laid down by Sir Alexander Cadogan when he told the Ad Hoc Committee on 20th November, 1947, that "the United Kingdom Government would insist upon individual control of Palestine so long as it continued to hold the Mandate."

* We shall deal with the first of these two conditions when we come to consider the question of Britain's responsibilities as a member of the United Nations. The second condition is, however, directly concerned with Britain's responsibilities as the Mandatory Power. And here we will state right away what we regard as a fundamental principle: *acceptance by the British Government of the Assembly's decision implies and includes acceptance of all practical measures essential to the implementation of that decision.* If this were not so, it would obviously be possible for Britain, in her key position as the Mandatory Power, so to obstruct and frustrate the execution of the decision as to render it nugatory. We grant, of course, that there may be secondary matters, not indispensable to the implementation of the Assembly's decision, about which negotiation is right and proper; but any general rejection of the *main lines* of the plan of implementation would be equivalent to an attempt to "prevent, obstruct or delay" the execution of the Assembly's decision.

We have already summarised above the main points in the plan of implementation. Let us see how far Britain, as the Mandatory Power, has co-operated in carrying them out. The Government has given notice that all British troops will be withdrawn by 1st August, 1948, as proposed in the Assembly Resolution. It has further announced, without consulting the Palestine Commission or any other United Nations body, that the Mandate will be terminated on 15th May, 1948, two and a half months before the final date proposed by the Assembly. It has refused to transfer its authority in Palestine "progressively" to the Palestine Commission. It has refused to open a port for Jewish immigration, which it was asked to do by 1st February. It has so far refused to allow the Palestine Commission to go to Palestine in sufficient time to set up the Provisional Councils of Government for the Jewish and Arab States and to create the proposed Jewish and Arab militias. It has refused to take any steps itself to set up the Provisional Councils or the militias. It has declared that it is prepared to allow the Commission to enter Palestine about a fortnight before the termination of the Mandate, i.e. on 1st May.

This long catalogue of refusals is grounded on the argument, re-stated by Sir Alexander Cadogan in his discussions with the Palestine Commission on 14th and 21st January, that "the United Kingdom Government regards it as essential that so long as the Mandatory regime is maintained they must retain undivided control over the whole of Palestine." This "undivided control" is further stated to be essential in order to enable Britain to carry out her

obligations as the Mandatory Power, namely, to maintain law and order and to protect Palestine against aggression. There might be something in this argument if law and order were in fact being maintained and if hostile incursions from outside were being prevented. The truth, however, as we amply demonstrate elsewhere in this pamphlet, is quite the opposite. Inside Palestine there is a virtual state of civil war, while the frontiers have been repeatedly crossed by large armed Arab bands, which have been allowed to remain on Palestine territory.

We have here a classical example of trying to have it both ways. In the name of law and order, the Government refuses to the Palestine Commission the facilities essential for carrying out its task of implementing partition. Yet within the framework of this alleged law and order, large Arab forces are able to commit acts of aggression and to take up favourable positions for the prosecution of their efforts to upset the United Nations decision. In the name of law and order, and of "impartiality" towards Jews and Arabs, the Government refuses to permit, and actively resists by force, any substantial Jewish immigration. Yet the Palestine Arabs are not prevented from receiving substantial and continuous reinforcements, as well as supplies of arms, from across the land frontiers of Palestine. In the name of law and order, and of "impartiality", the Government refuses to permit the creation of an official Jewish militia. Yet Arab forces within and outside Palestine multiply their threats and acts of violence. Thus, whatever the intention of the Government may be, the practical result of its policy is that those who oppose, in the most violent way, the General Assembly's decision are favoured at the expense of those who, with insignificant exceptions, have accepted it.

The Palestine Commission has made no secret of its disapproval of the British Government's attitude, and of the obstacles which this attitude places in the way of the execution of its tasks. In its First Monthly Progress Report to the Security Council (29.1.48), the Commission listed the steps which it had been authorised by the General Assembly to take, and which it had so far been unable to carry out owing to the attitude of the Mandatory Power. In particular it should be stated that it "did not find satisfactory the suggestion that the Commission should not come to Palestine until approximately a fortnight before the termination of the Mandate", and explained the work to be done in the following terms:

"The full implementation of the Assembly's recommendation requires the presence of the Commission in Palestine considerably in advance of the transfer of authority from the Mandatory Power to the Commission. The delimitation of boundaries; . . . preparations to ensure continuity in the maintenance of essential public services; the selection of the Provisional Councils of Government and their activation; the creation of armed militias; and negotiations with regard to

Economic Union, can be effectively undertaken only when the Commission is present in Palestine."

The question that naturally arises in one's mind is—does the British Government seriously regard two weeks as sufficient for the execution of tasks of such magnitude, or does it wish to delay their execution until a time when it is hopeless for the Commission to attempt to carry them out?

The Palestine Commission is, after all, the symbol of the authority of the United Nations, and to refuse it admission to a territory which is not a part of the British Empire but which is held in trust on behalf of the United Nations, and moreover in clear defiance of a United Nations decision, appears to be treating "the great world organism" with scant respect. If we persist in this attitude, will it not be said by other nations, with every appearance of justification, that we have accepted the United Nations decision in words, but have sought to frustrate it in our deeds?

BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITIES AS A MEMBER OF UNO

Britain is not only, until May 15th, the Mandatory Power for Palestine, she is also a member of the United Nations, and one of the "Big Five" who have permanent seats on the Security Council. As such, she has special responsibilities which are separate and distinct from her responsibilities as a Mandatory, and which will continue when the Mandate comes to an end. As one of the five leading members of the United Nations she shares with the others a *collective responsibility* for the assertion of the authority and prestige of UNO, for the execution of its decisions, and for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Security Council is concerned with the Palestine question in various ways. The General Assembly resolution requested the Security Council to "take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation", and, specifically, to give guidance, and, if necessary, instructions to the Palestine Commission; to take such action as it might deem proper if, by 1st April it had not proved possible to establish Provisional Councils for either the Arab or the Jewish State; and to receive and consider the reports of the Palestine Commission. The American delegate to the Security Council, Mr. Warren Austin, expressed the view at the Council's meeting on 24th February that "it is clear that the Security Council can undertake the above-mentioned measures."

In addition, the Security Council is charged by the Charter with the *duty* of determining "the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression", and of making recommendations or deciding "what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 (economic and military sanc-

tions, respectively), to maintain or restore international peace and security" (Article 39). The Palestine Commission, in its Special Report to the Security Council on "The Problems of Security in Palestine" (16th February, 1948), reported "organised efforts by strong Arab elements inside and outside Palestine to prevent the implementation of the Assembly's plan for partition and to thwart its objectives by threats and acts of violence, including armed incursions into Palestine territory." It said that it would be unable to carry out its task unless the Security Council provided it with an armed international force.

In commenting on this Report, the American delegate to the Security Council endeavoured to make a distinction between providing force to implement partition, and providing force to maintain or restore international peace and security. The latter, he said, was a clear duty of the Security Council; the former, however, would have to be looked into from the point of view of its legality. Some commentators have suggested that the American State Department is succumbing to the Arab threat to cancel Middle East oil concessions, and is looking for a way of throwing the whole of the Assembly's decision back into the melting-pot. It is difficult to imagine, however, that such a surrender to blackmail can be contemplated, in view of the statement, already quoted above, that in the view of the American delegate, the Security Council is competent to carry out those parts of the Assembly recommendations which require action by the Council. If the Security Council accepts responsibility for the implementation of the Assembly decision, then it cannot run away from that responsibility as soon as there are threats of pressure and violence.

The situation has, however, already gone beyond the stage of the enforcement of partition. The Report of the Palestine Commission and the other threats and acts listed in this pamphlet, demonstrate clearly that not only is there a threat to international peace and security in and around Palestine, but that actual breaches of the peace have already taken place. Indeed Mr. Warren Austin had to admit, in the same speech referred to above, that the Palestine Commission "reports facts which if accepted or substantiated by the Security Council, would appear to lead to the conclusion that a threat to international peace is present in the situation . . . The information which is before us, as well as unofficial reports from Palestine, indicates that a major security problem is involved." In view of the fact that the most disturbing of the reports referred to have come from the Palestine Government itself, there would not appear to be much need for "substantiation". The Security Council has the clear duty, if it is not to fail utterly in the discharge of its most serious responsibility, to take action under the Charter to deal effectively with the grave threat to international peace and security which already exists in the Middle East. To discharge this responsibility, and to be prepared for every even-

tuality, it must take action under Articles 42 and 48 of the Charter to organise "land, sea or air forces" and to call upon "some or all" of the member-nations to supply contingents.

If it does so, there is a clear obligation laid upon every member of the United Nations. Article 25 states that "the Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter." The Permanent Members of the Security Council can, of course, avoid this obligation by using their veto power to block a decision which would involve them in obligations which they are not prepared to accept. If they abstain from voting on the Security Council, however, they are still bound by the terms of Article 25.

Before the Assembly's decision on Palestine was taken, the British Government made it amply clear that it would not accept responsibility for enforcement of the decision, "either *alone* or in the *major role*." If the majority of the Security Council were to endeavour to place sole or major responsibility for enforcing partition or maintaining peace and security on Britain, it would obviously not be acting in accordance with the Charter, and the British Government would be fully entitled to reject any such obligation. But suppose that *collective* enforcement action is decided upon; would Britain refuse to take her due and proportionate share, along with the others? Before the Assembly's decision, Mr. Creech Jones made a qualified statement on this point. The Government would have to take into account "the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it."

It is difficult to see what the second qualification has to do with the matter. If it has any meaning at all it would appear to suggest that the more violent is the behaviour of the opponents of the decision, the more disposed the British Government would be to yield to them. Such an attitude of appeasement, such open encouragement to violence, could scarcely be intended by a Government which regards the United Nations as the core of its foreign policy. As for the first qualification, the British Government has, as we have already amply demonstrated, accepted the Assembly decision as a "judgment" of the great world organisation. How then could it question the "inherent justice" of the decision? Only by making its own judgment superior to that of the United Nations.

This the British Government has not attempted to do; yet Mr. Bevin said categorically in the House of Commons Debate on 12th December, 1947, that "we cannot ourselves undertake, either individually or *collectively in association with others*, to impose that decision by force." The qualifications made by Mr. Creech Jones *before* the Assembly decision have thus disappeared; in their place comes a definite refusal to accept Britain's obligations as a member of the United Nations in this particular case. This refusal to take any share, along with the other member-nations, in the enforcement

of the Assembly's decision, was repeated by Mr. Creech Jones at the Security Council meeting on February 24th. Britain would abstain on this issue, said Mr. Creech Jones, she would not even offer her "advice".

Thus the attitude of negative non-co-operation is maintained right up to the eleventh hour and the fifty-ninth minute. Today, as we have shown, the issue is not simply one of the implementation of the partition decision, but of international peace and security itself. Serious breaches of the peace have occurred, and continue; the frontiers of Palestine are virtually unprotected against Arab aggression; large armed Arab forces, already operating inside Palestine and encouraged, supported and directed from outside, are ready to go into action on May 15th; Arab armies in the surrounding states, armed, equipped and trained by the British Government, stand ready to rush to their aid! And in this critical situation the British Government — our Labour Government — sits back, refusing to stop the flow of arms to the Arab states, refusing to contribute a man, a gun or a farthing to a United Nations Force, which alone can save the situation—refusing even to contribute its "advice".

If the authority of the United Nations is defied, if its decisions are set at naught, if it is compelled to surrender to threats of violence and blackmail, and if it is powerless to prevent the Middle East from dissolving in chaos, disorder and bloodshed, then it might as well shut up shop. It will have failed in a crucial test, as the League of Nations failed in the crucial tasks of Manchuria and Abyssinia. And its fate will be the same. Pre-war Tory Governments bore a terrible responsibility for the death of the League. Can it be true that a Labour Government is not prepared to lift a finger to co-operate with the United Nations in order to save the world from an even more tragic disaster?

WHAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO

The aim of our Palestine policy should be three-fold:

1. To get out of Palestine as quickly as possible, and as much in advance of May 15th as is possible;
2. To support UNO's authority in and over Palestine at least as much as the American and Russian Governments have hitherto been disposed to;
3. To adhere to our repeated and quite justified policy of refusing British troops for use in any *major* role to enforce or protect Partition.

How can these three aims best be achieved?

The quicker we hand over to the UNO Commission the quicker we shall be able to get out. From this point of view alone it is desirable that the UNO Commission should be allowed to enter

Palestine as it has requested for weeks past. A few days before the Commission is due to arrive, or simultaneously with its arrival, the Port of Tel Aviv should be opened and the Jews in Palestine allowed to form their defence militia. The present Naval blockade of Palestine's coast which has only allowed four small ships to slip through in the past year, should be lifted.

We should not continue to hinder the Security Council's efforts to form an international force by continual reiteration of our refusal to co-operate in any such force. We should offer that if such a force should be formed, we should contribute only a very small token force in view of our past expenditure of blood and material, though we should also support the viewpoint previously put forward by other states in UNO that for obvious reasons it would be preferable that the International Force should be composed of uninterested "minor" powers only.

If in spite of our efforts and UNO's, it is found impossible to create any kind of international force, then we should make arrangements for the quick withdrawal of all our troops from Palestine by land and sea routes, such withdrawal to take place within a very short time after the earliest possible arrival of the UNO Commission.

It has been stated by the British Government that the arrival of the UNO Commission will lead to an increase in Arab violence and so must be deferred; but if the arrival of UNO in Palestine without an International Force to back it may lead to increased Arab violence, then surely that situation is to be preferred to increasing Jewish resentment arising because we continue quite improperly to keep the Commission out and refuse all its recommendations which the Foreign Office consider may favour the Jews. If we must choose between countering Jewish violence for two or three months arising from the flouting of our international obligations or countering Arab violence for the two or three weeks before we quit, arising from the fulfilment of our international obligations, it is surely a crazy and indefensible policy which chooses the former. And since, in default of an international force being provided after the arrival of the Commission, we could with an effort leave in a matter of weeks rather than of months as is now planned, this course of action leading to earlier handing over to UNO and our consequent earlier withdrawal would have the not inconsiderable merit of being entirely welcome to British public opinion. Any warlike stores which may have to be left behind in consequence of a speedier withdrawal should be handed over to the Palestine Commission for them to dispose of on the spot as they choose.

It is quite possible that when a port is opened for Jewish reinforcements in arms and men, and the Jewish militia created, it will be found that the new Jewish State frontiers can be safe-

guarded against the Arab troops who have shown aptitude only for sporadic and guerilla warfare. The longer this essential measure is delayed, the more difficult it will become, as the Manchester Guardian stated on the 21st February,

"One cannot quite avoid the suspicion that Mr. Bevin has a certain pleasure in making things as awkward as possible for the United Nations . . . he has never concealed his dislikes for Partition or his sympathy with the Arab case."

At all events, once we handed over to UNO we should be out of the country within a very short period with our UNO reputation unbesmirched and our soldiers safe. At the worst, it would then become a Jewish-Arab conflict in Palestine, which, tragic though it would be, is infinitely preferable to the present British-Jewish-Arab conflict in which British policy helps to arm the Arabs and effectively ties the hands of the Jews, preventing them making essential military preparations to safeguard their State amidst daily deteriorating circumstances, a policy which furthermore has brought the Government in direct conflict with the policy and recommendations of the United Nations, and, by prolonging our stay in Palestine, has endangered the lives of British troops.

A FINAL WORD FOR PRINCIPLE

When all is said and done, the crime of the Palestine Jews is not what they are, but where they are: Since 1945, they (and the pledge of support given to them by our Labour Movement) have been an embarrassment in the way of securing Arab agreement to the utilisation of their oil supplies and strategic areas. The British Government's conduct is certainly no worse than Russia's or America's in other countries and areas. This is not the first time—and it will certainly not be the last—that a people has been offered up for sacrifice for the sake of oil and power politics.

But in addition to all this we are convinced that the support implicit in the present policy for the economic and political status quo in the Middle East will prove precisely that fertile ground for the growth of Communism which it is the ostensible purpose of the Foreign Secretary's Middle Eastern policy to prevent; The brittleness of Middle Eastern society in face of the propaganda offensive of Hitler and Mussolini before and during the war years is a warning.

It is surely even now not too late for the Labour Party to insist on a change of policy more fitted to Labour's tradition, to a more realistic appraisal of method in support of our interests in the Mediterranean, and to international morality. As the UNO Commission itself states—

"A dangerous and tragic precedent will have been established if force or the threat of the use of force was to prove an effective deterrent to the will of the United Nations."

As the "Manchester Guardian" of the 21st February, puts it—
"The pattern is well-known. You send the Peel Commission to Palestine which duly recommends Partition as the best solution. The Arabs protest, so you send out the Woodhead Commission, which reports that Partition is impossible, and so on If the Arabs are prepared to fight Partition even against the United Nations, the Jews are no less determined to fight for their State even if the United Nations should change its mind."

We cannot refuse to aid UNO in Palestine, and at the same time state that our policy is to uphold UNO in Greece. When he condemned Russia's invasion of Finland in 1940, the Foreign Secretary spoke truly when he said that a people who resort to expediency at the expense of principle "are doomed." It is time that we now at long last returned to principle in international affairs and if we fail to change the present policy on such a clearcut issue as is Palestine today, then the outlook for the future is indeed dark.



APPENDIX I

Speech by Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, M.P., at the Labour Party Conference, Southport, 1939.

Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P., (Transport and General Workers' Union): I ask the Conference to re-affirm its policy in respect to the establishment of a National Home in Palestine. We are in this position today largely because of the vacillation in the policy of the "National" Government, and also because of the weak administration in Palestine itself. It will be recollected that in the Royal Commission's Report it was made perfectly plain that the deterioration which has gone on is largely due to the failure of the administration to appreciate the principles of the Mandate and to work out those principles in the spirit in which they were declared for in the Balfour Declaration. This is not a conflict between Jews and Arabs, but it is largely a conflict between the new order which the Jews stand for in Palestine and the old crumbling feudal system for which a few rich Arab landlords stand. That difficulty of conflict between the new and the old order has been exploited by those who hate the very principles for which the Jewish democracy stood; and it has been exploited largely because in the crumbling old order one saw spreading in the Middle East a new democratic faith which would ultimately undermine the foundation of the older system

There has been no suggestion that the Jews have not worked to the principles of the Mandate. We are all aware that when it has been a case of the preservation of the suffrage and the political rights of the Arabs, when it has been necessary to defend the interests in the land of the Arabs the Jews have played the game. The principles of the Mandate have been observed, and there has been no clash as between the Arab and Jewish interests. Today the situation is largely due to the fact that with this crumbling order, with the exploitation of the ignorance of the Arabs, the Jews are asked to end their experiment because our own Government is unable to secure good order, is unable to restrain the Fascists, is unable to check the bandits who come in from outside, and is unable to carry through those equitable principles of good government which they have declared for in the Balfour Declaration.

The argument of the White Paper is set out in terms of a capitulation to violence. The argument runs that it is largely because of the rebellion, which has been fostered from outside, that the Government must now consider its attitude towards the Mandate, and therefore they twist their arguments in the White Paper in the hope of trying to establish that their new policy is the fulfilment of the mandatory principle in spite of the interpretation which statesmen not only of our own country but of all parts of the world have

put on that Mandate and the principles of the Balfour Declaration for the past twenty years. This reversal of policy and capitulation to violence means that the Jew is again to be condemned to a subordinate position in the political and economic life of Palestine. Those of us who have seen the great achievement of the Jews on the spot have realised that the key principles of our great Movement have been worked out by the Jews. There you have had co-operation, extension of the social services, reclamation of marshes, the planting of forests, the construction of great public works, all in the interests of the Palestine people whether Jews or Arab, and we feel it would be a great betrayal for that experiment to be brought to an end. We want that experiment to develop, because under the Mandate not only will the rights of the Arabs be preserved, but also the Arab prosperity will be guaranteed. There are many comrades who feel that the Arabs are being prejudiced by the establishment of a National Home in Palestine, but it is to Palestine that the Arabs have flocked because of the economic improvements in their own standards; it is to Palestine they have come because they have enlarged their freedom; it is to Palestine they have come because in Palestine they may enjoy in full, political rights alongside the Jews. Therefore, in a crumbling feudal system, it is imperative that this great experiment should be given a chance, and not that it should be brought to an end after five years, not that after five or ten years the Jews should be condemned to a subordinate position in the Palestine State. Rather do we want the Jews to grow up with the fullest opportunity of building up this great National Home, and achieving this great experiment started twenty years back."

The Resolution was carried on a show of hands, only two hands being raised against it.

APPENDIX II

Mr. Bevin and the Arab War Record.

The Arab War Record and Brigadier Glubb Pasha's frank comments upon it have been given elsewhere in this pamphlet. By 1947, however, it was apparent that someone in the Foreign Office had recovered sufficient equilibrium to begin telling romantic stories to Mr. Bevin about it; and, what is more serious, Mr. Bevin believed them and began to put them into his speeches.

On October 23rd 1947, speaking at the Albert Hall to men of the 8th Army at the El Alamein celebration dinner, Mr. Bevin gave expression to one of his now favourite beliefs. The "Times" report of his speech states—"Mr. Bevin paid a tribute to the Mercantile Marine, a tribute which was loudly cheered, but when he referred to the generosity, hospitality and help of the Arab population in the Western Desert there was ironical laughter" (Times, Oct. 24th 1947). Could the fantasy from which springs some of the elements of our Middle Eastern policy be better illustrated than in this small incident?



OPINION



In War ...

... And in Peace



ACCORDING TO HITLER'S WISHES

THEY SCARE
ME TO DEATH....
THEY ARE
SOOO SMALL!



POOR POWERLESS U. S. A.





YOUR PAL FORRESTAL—
WHOSE FIRM DILLON READ
HELPED BUILD HITLER'S
WARMACHINE—
DOESN'T OBJECT....

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

THE MUFTI

PARTITION
OF
PALESTINE

UNITED NATIONS

THIS IS THE PATTERN.....
WE CAN'T FAIL!



BLUEPRINT FOR AGGRESSION

