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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

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Jewish Agency, "V" and "W", 1947-1948.

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SUMNER WELLES

250 Via Bellaria
Palm Beach, Florida

March 3, 1947

My dear Mr. Epstein:

My most cordial thanks to you for your letter of February 28. I have read it most carefully and with extreme interest. Its contents have been particularly helpful to me.

I, of course, agree fully with the position taken in your letter that the British Government should take the steps which are necessary in order to make it possible for Jewish immigration into Palestine to be increased so as to relieve the present tragic emergency and also to achieve the purposes originally contemplated under the Mandate. I cannot, however, believe, unfortunately, that in view of present British policy there is any ground for optimism in that regard.

The imperative question at this moment, it seems to me, is to see what can be done to expedite matters so that the United Nations will be seized of the Palestine problem at the earliest moment possible. I assume that the United States Government is, in fact, urging that prompt action be taken in this regard. Personally I fear, however, that Mr. Bevin will insist that the problem be referred only to the Assembly and that no special meeting of the Assembly will be summoned to consider the Palestine question. It is solely for that reason that I have urged that the matter be brought before the Security Council. I see no other way by which a further procrastination of six months can be prevented. I believe that the question can be legitimately brought before the Security Council for the reasons I have already made public and that the Council is fully empowered to request the international Trusteeship Council to consider what a permanent solution should be and that the Security Council in the meantime can take all steps that may be required to afford security and the protection of their legitimate rights to the residents of Palestine.

Since it is now established, notwithstanding Mr. Bevin's continued hope for some behind-the-scenes negotiation, that the

Mr. Eliahu Epstein,
The Jewish Agency for Palestine,
2210 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

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United Nations must sooner or later determine what the solution of the Palestine problem is to be, I most earnestly hope that the Jewish Agency is taking all of the steps that may be desirable in order to promote an equitable solution of the problem when the members of the United Nations are finally in a position to decide what such a solution is to be. You may remember that in my more recent conversations with Dr. Goldmann I most earnestly advised that all necessary steps in this regard be taken without delay.

I am glad to hear that you are now able to return to your duties and I hope that your health is completely restored.

Let me express to you also my very real appreciation of the message you have sent me with regard to my recent article.

I expect to be back at Oren Hill before the end of this month and I shall look forward to seeing you again upon my return.

With my renewed thanks for your letter, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) SUMNER WELLES

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SUMNER WELLES

250 Via Bellaria
Palm Beach, Florida

March 17, 1947

My dear Mr. Epstein:

Your letter of March 14 is exceptionally helpful and most interesting and I am glad to have it.

I would find it very useful to know which of the Latin American Governments would, in your opinion, be unfavorable to an equitable solution of the Palestine question when that question is presented to the Assembly and also whether you feel that all the Dominions, as well as Holland, Greece and Belgium, would necessarily support whatever position the British Government might take with respect to the determination of the problem.

Personally, I see no reason to believe that there is any justification for the repeated assumption in the press here that the Latin American Republics will support the so-called Arab bloc. Nor do I feel under present conditions that we need necessarily assume that the smaller nations of Western Europe and such of the Dominions as Australia and Canada are going to follow British policy. The situation in the Assembly will not, in my opinion, be unduly favorable, but I do not think that, if proper work is done, we need anticipate so unfavorable a situation as you expect, but here again, I should like to have the opportunity of talking over some of the aspects of this question with you personally.

In the meantime, if you can give me the information requested, it would make it easier for me to clarify my own thinking during the period which must still elapse before I can get back to Oren Hill.

With my kind personal regards, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) SUMNER WELLES

Mr. Eliahu Epstein,
The Jewish Agency for Palestine,
2210 Massachusetts Avenue,
Washington 8, D.C.

Dr. Silman

UNITED NATIONS

NATIONS UNIES

Lake Success, New York - Fi.7-1100

1 April 1947

Dear Mr. Goldman:

The Economic and Social Council, having considered the application of the Jewish Agency for Palestine for consultative status, decided on 28 March 1947 that the application of this organization should be reconsidered "at the next session of the Council since it is felt that further information should be obtained as to whether this organization, in view of its purposes, is a national or international organization". This question arose not in connection with the structure of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, but in connection with its aims and purposes. I would, therefore, appreciate it very much if you would be kind enough to furnish me with information clarifying this matter, which will, of course, be made available to the Council NGO Committee and to the Members of the Economic and Social Council itself.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Lyman C. White

Lyman C. White
Non-Governmental Organizations Section

Mr. Nahum Goldman, Member of the Executive
Jewish Agency for Palestine
16 East 66th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dinner
AND
Visit to Palestine Exhibition
UNDER AUSPICES OF THE
WORLD COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE
AND WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE
PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND



Dinner at — MUSIC ROOM, HOTEL BILTMORE
Exhibition at — MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, R.C.A. BUILDING

JUNE 11, 1947

The Purposes of the WORLD COMMITTEE for PALESTINE

1. To coordinate the activities of the various national Pro-Palestine Committees, supporting the Jewish National Homeland and Commonwealth in Palestine.
2. To plan for a more effective expression of the aroused conscience of Christendom to its responsibility for the establishment of Jewish security.
3. To further the awakening of men's minds to the true tragic plight of the destitute and still persecuted Jews of Europe.
4. To promote an intelligent, articulate concern among the nations of the world that Palestine become legally and in fact the Jewish National Homeland.
5. To support the Zionist objectives to make Palestine a democratic Jewish Commonwealth as an indispensable factor in the solution of the world Jewish problem, the extension of democracy, and the establishment of permanent peace.
6. To foster an interchange of ideas, literature, speakers and programs among the Pro-Palestine Committees for the attainment of greater unity and more effective procedures of education.

*Adopted at First World Conference,
Washington, D. C., November 1-2, 1945*

Program

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Toastmaster

SIR ELLSWORTH FLAVELLE, BART.
Chairman, World Committee for Palestine

Invocation

DR. CARL HERMANN VOSS
American Representative, Executive Council, World Committee for Palestine

Addresses

DEAN HOWARD M. LESOURD
Secretary-Treasurer, World Committee for Palestine

HON. ARTHUR WENTWORTH ROEBUCK, K.C.
Senator, Canada

DR. WALTER CLAY LOWDERMILK
United States Department of Agriculture

VERY REV. DR. KENNETH C. EVANS
Dean, Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, Canada

HERBERT A. MOWAT
Assistant to Chairman, World Committee for Palestine

CHARLES RESS
Chairman, Administrative Committee, Palestine Foundation Fund

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Dutch Guiana

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DR. MODESTO ARMIJO

Norway

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Panama

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Uruguay

DR. C. SABAT ERCASTY

Venezuela

DON JOSE NUCETI SARDI

COPY OF LETTER FROM DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN TO THE UNSCOP.

17th July, 1947

The Chairman,
United Nations Special Committee on Palestine,
J e r u s a l e m.

Sir,

During the June 8th session of your Committee, the distinguished delegate from Guatemala invited me to state why I regard a federal or cantonal solution of the Palestine problem as less acceptable than Partition. In accordance with his request I have given further serious consideration to that question, and I herewith submit my reply for the consideration of the Committee and inclusion in its records.

1. It may be convenient if I first summarise my criticisms of the two federal solutions recently proposed by H.M. Government in the United Kingdom - and then explain why I consider the whole principle of federal or cantonal government to be unhelpful in the present situation.

2. The Morrison plan and the Bevin plan have the effect of excluding Jewish settlement from the greater part of the Mandatory area, without even assuring the Jews complete freedom in the small area remaining. The obligations imposed by the Palestine Mandate to "facilitate Jewish immigration" and to "encourage close settlement by the Jews on the land" applied originally to the whole of historic Palestine. Under the Morrison and Bevin plans those obligations become void in all but a minute fragment of the territory to which they applied (indeed in no more than 15% of Western Palestine).

3. Although both plans made provision for the immigration of 100,000 refugees (the Morrison plan within a reasonable period - the Bevin plan far too slowly), there is no assurance of free immigration thereafter. While the Arabs are entirely free to exclude Jews from their large area, the Jews are not entirely free to admit immigrants to their small province. Immigration prospects for the Jews are curtailed not only by the existence of controls applied by British and Arab authorities, but also by the exclusion, from Jewish settlement, of the country's underdeveloped and derelict areas which can be developed to absorb large scale immigration.

4. In the matter of land settlement the effect of both proposals is to perpetuate desolation of the Negev and the under-developed state of the Galilee, since both areas are beyond access to the Jews, who alone have the incentive and the ability to develop them.

5. Neither scheme assures the Jews of the political status enjoyed by surrounding Arab countries - that of independence and U.N. membership. The Jews made a sacrifice of territory without compensation in terms of sovereignty. I should add that the Jewish areas in both schemes are so inadequate that even sovereignty would not make them acceptable.

6. Both schemes involve a continuation of Mandatory rule and the postponement of a final decision on the country's political future. The Morrison plan leaves the way open either for partition or a unitary state, and thus prolongs a dangerous uncertainty. The Bevin plan implies an Arab State with a permanent Jewish minority after a five year trusteeship; it is, therefore, bound to evoke a firm and justified opposition of every Jew. Such a proposal would not only be unjust; it would be utterly impractical. A strong Jewish community under the domination of a numerical Arab majority would be a source of constant trouble.

7. The question of the distinguished delegate from Guatemala invited me to imagine a federal scheme in which some of these difficulties are met. Let us assume according to this hypothesis that an area capable of absorbing large scale immigration is allotted to the Jews and that the Jewish provincial authority is armed with virtual freedom to admit immigrants into its area. I submit that even these improvements would make the plan less promising than a definite partition involving the immediate establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine for the reasons set out in the following paragraph.

8. A federal delimitation is not a final and lasting settlement. The Royal Commission wrote:-

"Cantonisation does not settle the question of national self-government. Cantonal autonomy would not satisfy for a moment the demands of Arab nationalism. Nor would it give the Jews the full freedom they desire to build up their National Home in their own way at their own pace, nor offer them the prospect of realising on a small territorial scale all that Zionism means. And in the background, still clouding and disturbing the situation from year to year, still intensifying the antagonism between the two races, would remain the old uncertainty as to the future destiny of Palestine....."

I fully concur in that criticism. Finality is an essential requisite of a peaceful solution, it is fulfilled by partition and denied by federalism.

9. A federal solution falls short of complete independence. A third party, in addition to the Arabs and Jews, appears at the centre of government armed with powers of sovereignty and immigration control. Whether this third party is British or international, the effect is that Arabs and Jews depend on some external agency for the satisfaction of their needs, instead of cooperating as equals and depending on each other, as they would if a Jewish State were established amidst the surrounding Arab States. All federal solutions involve a further period of foreign control.

10. Federalism does not offer the Jewish people a place in the United Nations. That is a grave disability for the Jewish people in its political life, and is also a disturbing factor in Arab-Jewish relationships. I tried to explain in my evidence that equality of status is an essential requisite of cooperation between Zionism and the Arab world.

11. Federalism cannot begin to work without a measure of agreement which is now lacking. Partition recognises the present lack of agreement and creates the conditions in which agreement may develop. The Royal Commission wrote:-

"The drafting of federal constitutions is never easy. Complicated questions are involved in the structure of the central government and the division of function between it and the component units. There are constant dangers of overlapping and of rival claims on the same field of authority. In "cantonised" Switzerland and most other federations, federation was the act of a number of separate units which bound themselves together for the furtherance of common objects. In such federations the community of interest and tradition which has supplied the motive for union will also supply that element of reasonableness and good-will by which compromises may be arranged and friction overcome. In Palestine no such element is present. The 'interference' of the Central Government would always be resented by both Arabs and Jews and, we fear, wherever possible hindered, as an alien and unwanted intrusion."

12. To sum up - federalism does not obviate foreign control or establish Jewish equality and independence or create an atmosphere of finality in which Arabs and Jews may be liberated from their fear of domination by each other. Partition does fulfil all of these conditions.

The federal plans suggested so far are unsatisfactory not only in principle, but also and chiefly because their provisions in respect of Jewish immigration and the area of Jewish settlement are completely disproportionate to Jewish needs and rights.

13. Apart from the advantages of Partition discussed in the preceding paragraphs, there is also a better prospect of international support for Partition than for Federalism. It is significant that during the past year when federal solutions have been under discussion, no Jewish or Arab support whatever has been expressed on their behalf. On the other hand, there are conditions in which Partition will secure Jewish acquiescence; and our experience has shown that such a solution because it is final, commends itself to many sections of Arab opinion. The United States Government withheld support from the federal plan, but commended the principle of the viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine (President Truman's statement, 4th October, 1946). The Statement of the Soviet Representative at the U.N. Special Assembly in June 1947 stressed partition and not federalism as the alternative to an agreed bi-national constitution. There is considerable support for partition in other international circles, of which General Smuts' recent letter to me is a good illustration. In these circumstances I trust the U.N. Committee will not abandon the principle of Partition in favor of a solution which has evoked no support from any interested party and which has been rejected by the Royal Commission and the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

14. The only sound way of applying the federal principle is to establish Jewish and Arab States and to encourage them to conclude customs agreements and arrange for joint currency, free transport and other joint services by free negotiation. In this way finality, equality and independence can be reconciled with economic unity and with cooperation between a Jewish State and as many Arab States as will wish to collaborate with it in regional institutions for the benefit of the area as a whole. These hopeful prospects, however, can only be realised if the area of the proposed Jewish State is adequate for speedy development and for the absorption of immediate large-scale immigration.

I am Sir, Respectfully yours,

Ch. Weizmann.

Congregation Beth Jacob

PLEASANT STREET

PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS

NATHAN WISE, Rabbi

Tel. Plymouth 1410

October 14, 1947

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Ave.
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Now that, thanks to your able efforts and those of your devoted co-workers in the Zionist cause, the dream of a Jewish State, for which we have worked and prayed so long and hard, is soon to become a reality, there will be many suggestions as to a suitable name for the Jewish State. I am quite certain that the Jewish State will no longer be known as "Palestine" for the same reason that the Moslem State formed from India is no longer known as India but has chosen the name "Pakistan."

It is now a little more than two years that I have begun the use of the name "Israeland" to denote the Jewish Homeland. "Israeland" has gained rather wide circulation not only in Plymouth, of which I am spiritual leader, but elsewhere as well. It is my humble opinion that "Israeland" best expresses the Jewish association with Ancient Israel while it is modern in form, for in its ending it resembles the names of such countries as Holland, Ireland, Scotland, England, and others. Actually, "Israeland" is a modernized-Anglicized form of our well-known and greatly cherished Hebrew "Eretz Yisrael."

I sincerely trust that you will give the name "Israeland" your serious consideration.

In grateful appreciation for all that you have done and will yet do for the Zionist cause and the Jewish Homeland, and best wishes for your continued success, I am

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Nathan Wise

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

MEMORANDUM

16. October 1947

To: Dr. Silver

FROM: A. S. Eban

Dr. Weizmann asks me to embody corrections
or suggestions by 11 a.m. tomorrow

A. S. E.

Chaim Weizmann

address before 11 1/2

Draft

1--MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

IT IS A MOVING EXPERIENCE FOR ME TO COME BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF SUMMARISING THE VIEWS AND ^{ITS} ~~SENTIMENTS~~ OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE AT THIS TURNING POINT OF NATIONAL FORTUNES. MY MIND GOES BACK A QUARTER OF A CENTURY TO THE PREVIOUS ASSEMBLY OF NATIONS WHICH SOLEMNLY ENDORSED OUR PROGRAMME FOR THE RECONSTITUTION IN PALESTINE OF OUR NATIONAL HOME. I CAME FROM THE COUNCIL ROOM IN WHICH THE MANDATE WAS RATIFIED WITH THE FEELING THAT THE MOST CHERISHED IDEALS OF OUR OWN HISTORY HAD BEEN SANCTIONED BY THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL MANKIND. OUR ANCIENT CIVILISATION WHICH HAD ENRICHED THE THOUGHT AND SPIRIT OF THE WORLD WAS TO BE GIVEN A FREE ABODE IN THE VERY CRADLE ^{WERE} OF ITS BIRTH. NOW OUR PEOPLE ~~WISH~~ TO FIND A HOME -- NOT A REFUGE, NOT AN ASYLUM, NOT A MERE SHELTER, BUT A HOME WITH WHICH THEIR PAST MEMORY ^{WAS} AND FUTURE HOPE WERE INSEPARATELY BOUND UP. THE JEWISH PEOPLE ~~WISH~~ TO FASHION ITS OWN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE IMAGE OF ITS OWN CHARACTER AND TRADITION, ON A LEVEL OF EQUALITY WITH ALL OTHER NATIONS IN THE HUMAN FAMILY.

2--I CAN TESTIFY HERE THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JEWS AS A NATION AMONGST THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WAS THE REAL PURPOSE AND MOTIVE OF THAT INTERNATIONAL TREATY. IN THE LIGHT OF THIS KNOWLEDGE, I CANNOT FAIL TO BE AMUSED BY SUCH FRIVOLOUS ASSERTIONS AS THAT MADE BY AN ARAB DELEGATE HERE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE MOTIVE OF THE ^{MANDATE} ~~STATEMENT~~ WAS TO REWARD ME FOR ALLEGED DISCOVERIES OF POISON GAS. I CANNOT AVOID THE CONCLUSION THAT THOSE WHO MADE THESE ASSERTIONS MUST HAVE BEEN EQUALLY UNVERSE IN THE POLITICAL AND CHEMICAL LITERATURE OF THE TIME.

THE MANDATE WAS INSPIRED BY
3--MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN; ~~UNUSUAL~~ HIGH PURPOSES,
THE
WORTHY OF ALL EXERTION AND SACRIFICE WHICH WE COULD BRING. OUR
ACHIEVEMENTS IN PALESTINE WHERE OUR PEOPLE HAVE CREATED NEW SOCIAL
AND CULTURAL VALUES AND OPENED NEW ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR THEM-
SELVES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS WERE CARRIED OUT UNDER THE SANCTION OF
THIS INTERNATIONAL TREATY. TIMES HAVE CHANGED: NEW SITUATIONS, NEW
CONFLICTS HAVE ARISEN; AND NEW CONDITIONS MUST NOW BE SOUGHT TO ENABLE
US TO FULFILL OUR UNIQUE DESTINY^Y AS A NATION IN PALESTINE. BUT I
CANNOT TURN TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THESE NEW CONDITIONS WITHOUT
PAYING A TRIBUTE TO THE VISION, THE COURAGE AND THE UNIVERSAL EQUITY
WHICH ANIMATED THE FIFTY-TWO SIGNATORIES OF THE PALESTINE MANDATE IN
ENABLING OUR PEOPLE TO APPROACH THE THRESHOLD OF INDEPENDENCE, WHERE
I BELIEVE IT NOW STANDS. IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT THE STATESMEN
WHO DEVELOPED THE IDEA OF ORGANIZED INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION WERE
PROMINENTLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR JEWISH NATIONAL EQUALITY
AS WELL. WILSON AND BALFOUR, SMUTS AND MASARYK AND CECIL AS WELL AS
THE ILLUSTRIOUS ARCHITECTS OF YOUR CHARTER IN RECENT DAYS FOUND TIME
TO PLAN FOR THE SMALL JEWISH STATE IN THE GREAT UNIVERSAL FIELD.

4.—MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN, A FEW MONTHS AGO IN JERUSALEM I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF MEETING YOUR SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND SUBMITTING MY VIEWS ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION. FOR SEVERAL YEARS I HAVE CONSISTENTLY BELIEVED THAT THE IDEA OF PARTITION, FIRST PROPOSED BY THE MOST DISTINGUISHED AND AUTHORITATIVE BRITISH COMMISSION ON PALESTINE, REPRESENTS THE ONLY PRACTICAL COMPROMISE WHICH ^{FACES} ~~PRESENTS~~ THE HARD FACTS AND OFFERS AN ESCAPE FROM DEADLOCK AND FRUSTRATION. IT IS NOT AN EASY COMPROMISE TO ENVISAGE -- LEAST OF ALL TO ONE LIKE MYSELF WHO KNOWS THAT THE ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF THE MANDATE INVOLVED NO SUCH LIMITATION AS IS NOW PROPOSED. NOBODY DREAMED IN THOSE DAYS THAT THE PROCESSES OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE CONFINED IN ONE EIGHTH OF THE AREA INWHICH THE NATIONAL HOME WAS TO BE ESTABLISHED BY INTERNATIONAL CONSENT. ALL WHO WERE IDENTIFIED WITH THE INCEPTION OF THIS POLICY HAVE TESTIFIED THAT THE VISION WAS WIDER THAN THAT. BEFORE YOUR SPECIAL COMMITTEE, I BROUGHT FIRST-HAND EVIDENCE TO THIS EFFECT FROM SOURCES IN FULL ACQUAINTANCE WITH WHAT THE INTENTIONS OF THE MANDATE WERE.

NO DOUBT YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH LED YOUR SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO RECOMMEND, AND OUR OWN REPRESENTATIVES TO ACCEPT, THE PRINCIPLE OF A SETTLEMENT BY PARTITION AND IMMIGRATION. I DOUBT IF ANY POLITICAL PROBLEM HAS EVER BEEN STUDIED BY A MORE JUDICIAL AND DISINTERESTED TRIBUNAL. FOR THE MOST PART, THE MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND THE GOVERNMENTS WHICH THEY REPRESENTED HAD NO INTEREST OR PREJUDICE WHICH COULD INTERFERE WITH AN OBJECTIVE AND DISPASSIONATE VIEW. IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT THE MAJORITY RECOMMENDATIONS ARE CONCEIVED ON THE MOST STRICTLY REALISTIC PRINCIPLES. NOR IS IT SURPRISING THAT THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE EVOKED SUCH WIDESPREAD AND POWERFUL SUPPORT AMONGST THE DISINTERESTED DELEGATIONS REPRESENTED IN THIS COMMITTEE.

VI

THE PRINCIPLE OF PARTITION HAS BEEN SO VEHEMENTLY DISCUSSED IN THE COURSE OF THIS COMMITTEE'S DEBATE THAT IT MAY BE USEFUL TO COMMENT ON IT BRIEFLY AT THIS CONCLUDING STAGE. THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN THE IDEA OF A JEWISH STATE. IT IS NO DEPARTURE FROM THE MANDATE. IT IS THE INEVITABLE AND FORESEEN CONSUMATION OF THE MANDATE. I WAS SURPRISED TO OBSERVE THE OPINION OF A DISTINGUISHED ARAB DELEGATE TO THE EFFECT THAT JEWISH STATEHOOD IS A SUDDEN AND UNAUTHORIZED EXTENSION OF THE RIGHTS CONFERRED UPON THE JEWS BY THE MANDATE. IT MUST HAVE SLIPPED HIS MEMORY OR KNOWLEDGE THAT FULL SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE FOR THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME WAS CLEARLY ENVISAGED BY THE AUTHORS OF THE MANDATE; AND THERE ARE NUMEROUS PRONOUNCEMENTS TO THAT EFFECT ON RECORD.

VII

YET I AGREE WITH THE VIEW OF THE DISTINGUISHED SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE THAT THE FORMAL CONSIDERATIONS OF LAW AND HISTORY ARE SECONDARY AT THIS MOMENT TO THE CONSIDERATIONS OF LIFE ITSELF. THE MAIN JUSTIFICATION, THE MAIN NECESSITY FOR A JEWISH STATE ARISES FROM THE FACTS AND URGENCIES OF LIFE ITSELF. CONSIDER THE POSITION. HERE IS A COMMUNITY OF 700,000 WITH ITS LANGUAGE, ITS RELIGION, ITS CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND MOVEMENTS, ITS DISTINCTIVE SOCIAL OUTLOOK, ITS INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS, ITS SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT ~~AND~~, ITS ART AND ITS MUSIC, ITS UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS. ALL THESE ARE IN SOME WAY DISTINCTIVE TO ITSELF AND TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF WHICH IT IS THE ~~THE~~ CORE. THE STRONGEST SOLIDARITY OF THIS COMMUNITY IS WITH ITS KINDRED IN EUROPE, THE BATTERED REMNANTS OF ANCIENT COMMUNITIES, SURVIVORS WHO LINGER AMIDST THE MEMORIES OF THE PAST AND THE GRAVEYARDS OF THE PRESENT.

VIII

NOT ONE OF
~~THESE~~ THESE CHARACTERISTICS WHICH MARK THIS COMMUNITY
ARE ~~NOT~~ SHARED BY ITS ARAB NEIGHBOURS. THE QUESTION BEFORE
THE ASSEMBLY IS HOW AND BY WHOM SHALL THIS JEWISH COMMUNITY
BE GOVERNED? ~~AND~~ BY WHOM SHALL ITS DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH BE
DETERMINED?

9.

SHALL IT BE GOVERNED BY A TRUSTEE? BY THE ARABS? BY
ITSELF? THESE THREE ALTERNATIVES COVER ALL THE VARIATIONS
OF PALESTINIAN SOLUTIONS AND THE SIMPLEST ANALYSIS OF THEM
MUST LEAD THIS COMMITTEE INEVITABLY TO THE CONCLUSIONS OF
THE MAJORITY REPORT.

10.

THE CONTINUANCE OF A REGIME OF TUTELAGE HAS BEEN UNIVERSALLY DISCARDED BY ALL PARTIES INCLUDING THE MANDATORY POWER ITSELF. THE FIRST RECOMMENDATION OF THE REPORT -- THE TERMINATION OF THE MANDATE CANNOT COMPLAIN OF A COLD RECEPTION IN ANY QUARTER AND INDEED THE CONTINUANCE OF THIS MANDATE OR OF ANY MANDATE IS HARDLY A FEASIBLE PROSPECT AFTER THE DECLARATION BY THE UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVE ^{OF} ~~AND~~ HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO PLAN FOR AN EARLY WITHDRAWAL. MY OWN SENTIMENTS ABOUT THE BRITISH MANDATE ARE PROBABLY NO SECRET TO ANY STUDENT OF THE PALESTINE QUESTION. I HOPE THAT WHEN THE JEWISH PEOPLE IS SECURE IN ITS INDEPENDENCE THE TRADITIONAL BRITISH - JEWISH FRIENDSHIP WILL REASSERT ITSELF ON A NEW BASIS AND THE PRESENT TENSION WILL VANISH AS A PASSING NIGHTMARE. WHEN THAT HAPPENS THE GREAT SERVICES WHICH BRITAIN RENDERED IN HELPING TO LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF JEWISH INDEPENDENCE WILL BE REMEMBERED WITH APPRECIATION WHILE THE SORDID CONSEQUENCES OF THE WHITE PAPER PASS INTO FORGOTTEN HISTORY.

LL.

IF WE PUT ASIDE THE CONTINUATION OF ANY MANDATE OR TRUSTEESHIP WE ARE LEFT WITH BUT TWO ALTERNATIVES FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME. EITHER IT MUST BE INDEPENDENT, FORMING A FREE NATIONAL UNIT OR IT MUST BECOME AND REMAIN A MINORITY UNDER ARAB RULE, SUBJECT IN THE LAST RESORT, TO THE WILL OF THE ARAB MAJORITY. MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THOSE FEW DELEGATES WHO HAVE SPOKEN IN THIS DEBATE AGAINST THE MAJORITY REPORT HAVE ADVOCATED THIS SOLUTION, A JEWISH MINORITY IN AN ARAB STATE. IF YOU DENY JEWISH STATEHOOD, THERE IS NO OTHER.

12.

~~THE~~ ^{NOW} SUBJECTION OF THE JEWS AS A MINORITY UNDER ARAB
RULE IS A SOLUTION WHICH ^{ALL} ~~SEVERAL~~ IMPARTIAL COMMISSIONS AND
TRIBUNALS HAVE REJECTED AND MUST REJECT. ON MORAL GROUNDS IT
IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TAKE THE ONLY COMMUNITY IN THE WORLD WHICH
EXPRESSES THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND PLACE
IT UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE ARAB HIGHER COMMITTEE. IT IS
NOT ONLY THAT THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE ARAB HIGHER
COMMITTEE CANNOT BE REGARDED AS EXTRAVAGANTLY SYMPATHETIC TO
JEWISH NATIONAL IDEALS. THE SUBJECTION OF THE JEWS AS A
MINORITY TO THEM IS UNACCEPTABLE IN ALL CONDITIONS WHETHER
OF REPRESSION OR OF TOLERANCE. THOSE OF US JEWS WHO ON THE
STRENGTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROMISE AND UNDER THE IMPULSE
OF OUR OWN HISTORY MADE OUR HOMES IN PALESTINE DID NOT DO SO
WITH THE OBJECT OF BEING CITIZENS OF AN ARAB STATE.

13.

I WILL NOT DISCUSS WHETHER IT IS A GOOD OR BAD FORTUNE TO BE A JEWISH MINORITY IN AN ARAB STATE. I WOULD LEAVE THE JEWS OF IRAQ AND YEMEN TO PRONOUNCE UPON THAT. HERE I WOULD ONLY SAY THAT IT IS NOT THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH WE CAME. IT IS CONTRARY TO THE WHOLE SPIRIT AND IDEAL OF OUR HISTORY. THE IDEA THAT A NATIONAL HOME CAN EVER BE EQUATED WITH A MINORITY POSITION IN AN ARAB STATE DESERVES NO CONSIDERATION AT ALL AND IN PRACTICE THE ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE SUCH A SOLUTION AS THE MOSLEM STATES AND THE ARAB HIGHER COMMITTEE HAVE SUGGESTED WOULD LEAD TO INCESSANT AND TERRIBLE CONFLICT. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF PALESTINE CANNOT BE ADMINISTERED BY ARAB HANDS. ~~XXXXX~~ ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS CANNOT POSSIBLY BREATHE IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE. IT WOULD BURST OUT OF SUCH AN UNNATURAL SUBJECTION. LEAST OF ALL CAN THE JEWS SUBMIT THEIR GREAT TASK ~~THE~~ OF GATHERING ^{ROOF} THEIR DISTRESSED BRETHREN UNDER THEIR NATIONAL ~~ROOF~~ TO THE VETO OR CONSENT OF THE ARAB HIGHER COMMITTEE OR THE ARAB STATES.

14. IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS BY NOW THAT A DISTINCT NATIONAL UNIT CANNOT BE SUBJECTED BY FORCE TO ANOTHER NATION IN THE NAME OF MAJORITY RULE. THE DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE OF CANADA UTTERED A PROFOUND TRUTH WHEN HE SAID THAT "UNITY CANNOT BE IMPOSED WITHOUT CONSENT." IT IS IN THE NAME OF THIS VERY PRINCIPLE THAT MY GOOD FRIEND, THE DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE OF PAKISTAN GRACES THIS ROOM WITH HIS PRESENCE.

15. IF, AS WE MUST, WE DISCARD THE MANDATE AND EMPHATICALLY REJECT MINORITY STATUS IN AN ARAB STATE, WE ARE LEFT WITH PARTITION AND JEWISH STATEHOOD AS THE ONLY POSSIBLE CONDITION FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. IT IS THE ONLY SOLUTION WHICH PROMISES FINALITY -- A CLEAR DEFINITION OF THE LIMITS WITHIN WHICH JEWS AND ARABS ARE FREE TO DEVELOP THEIR NATIONAL WILL. ABOVE ALL IT OFFERS EQUALITY WHICH IS THE ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF ARAB - JEWISH COOPERATION. WHEN THE JEWS FACE THE ARABS, AS EQUALS, MEMBERS OF THIS ASSEMBLY, AND OF THE FAMILY OF NATIONS, ONLY THEN WILL THE PROSPECT OF A REAL PARTNERSHIP OPEN OUT. A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE WILL IN ITS OWN INTERESTS, AS WELL AS BY ITS OWN IDEALS SEEK CLOSE FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH THE ARAB STATES ON ITS BORDERS AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE WELFARE AND REGENERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST AS A WHOLE. THE MAJORITY REPORT IN A MOVING PASSAGE REFERS TO THE RESULTS WHICH CAN ENSUE FROM SUCH EQUAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO SEMITIC PEOPLES. IN SUITABLE CONDITIONS THE HIGH FLOWERING OF A NEW CIVILIZATION MAY TAKE PLACE AGAIN AS IT DID IN THE MIDDLE AGES, NOTABLY IN SPAIN. THROUGH THE INTERACTION OF THESE TWO CULTURAL ELEMENTS.

16. IN THE THOUGHTFUL AND STATESMANLIKE DECLARATION WHICH THE UNITED STATES DELEGATE MADE BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE, ATTENTION IS DRAWN TO THE ACHIEVEMENT BY MANY ARAB PEOPLES OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE IN WIDE AREAS. IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT THE QUESTION SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THIS CONTEXT OF RELATIVE EQUITY. THE JEWS ARE ONLY CLAIMING IN SMALL MEASURE WHAT HAS BEEN CONFERRED UPON THE ARABS IN ABUNDANT DEGREE. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN ARAB STATESMANSHIP WAS ABLE TO SEE THIS EQUITY IN ITS PROPORTIONS TRUE ~~REMARKS~~. THAT WAS WHEN THE EMINENT LEADER OF THE ARAB NATIONAL MOVEMENT, THE EMIR FEISAL, LATER KING OF IRAQ, MADE A TREATY WITH ME DECLARING THAT IF THE REST OF ARAB ASIA WERE FREE, THE ARABS WOULD ~~EXHIBIT~~ CONCEDE ~~HE~~ ~~CONSIDER~~ THE JEWISH RIGHT FREELY TO SETTLE AND DEVELOP IN PALESTINE WHICH WOULD EXIST SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE ARAB STATES. THE CONDITION WHICH HE THEN STIPULATED, THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OUTSIDE PALESTINE, HAS NOW BEEN FULFILLED. THE AREA OF ARAB INDEPENDENCE STRETCHES FAR AND WIDE. IT CONTAINS ALL THE AREAS WHICH ARE PRIMARILY ASSOCIATED IN HISTORY WITH THE ARAB AND MOSLEM TRADITIONS. THE QUESTION BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE IS WHETHER INDEPENDENCE IS THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT OF THE ARAB, OR WHETHER THE TIME HAS COME TO EXTEND IT IN SMALL MEASURE TO THE JEWS. SELF DETERMINATION IS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES, AND NOT ONLY OF TERRITORIES; THE SELF DETERMINATION OF ONE PEOPLE CANNOT BE CARRIED TO THE EXTENT WHERE IT ENTIRELY FRUSTRATES THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF ANOTHER. THIS ASSEMBLY CANNOT POSSIBLY DECREE THAT THE DESIRE OF THE ARABS TO POSSESS AN EIGHTH STATE MUST PREDOMINATE AGAINST THE RIGHT OF THE JEWS TO POSSESS A SINGLE CENTRE OF INDEPENDENT NATIONAL LIFE.

17. GENTLEMEN: DESPITE THE CAMPAIGN OF VILIFICATION WHICH HAS
BEEN LAUNCHED AGAINST OUR PEOPLE IN THIS DEBATE, I RETAIN MY BELIEF IN THE
PROSPECT OF ARAB-JEWISH COOPERATION. ONCE A SOLUTION BASED ON FINALITY
AND EQUALITY HAS BEEN RECEIVED THE SANCTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONSENT, THE
TECHNIQUES WHICH WE EMPLOY IN OUR WORK OF DEVELOPMENT MIGHT INDEED PROVIDE
A CONSTRUCTIVE EXAMPLE TO THE MIDDLE EAST AS A WHOLE. SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE,
X SKILLED INDUSTRY, MODERN FORMS OF SOCIAL COOPERATION, THE APPLICATION OF
SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH TO REGIONAL PROBLEMS OF HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT AS
THESE ARE THE FACTORS WHICH ARE MOST CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR WORK AND WHICH
RELEVANT
ARE MOST ~~UNIQUE~~ TO THE REVIVAL AND PROSPERITY OF THE MIDDLE EAST AS A WHOLE.
THE JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE MAY BECOME AN EXPERIMENTAL STATION FOR PROCESSES
AND EXAMPLES WHICH MAY HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE MESSAGE FOR ITS NEIGHBORS AS WELL.
THE SMALLNESS OF THE STATE WILL BE ~~NOT~~ NO BAR TO ITS FULL INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENT.
ATHENS WAS ONLY ONE ~~STATE~~ ^{COTU}.

18. IN PROVIDING FOR JEWISH STATEHOOD THE MAJORITY REPORT, IN MY VIEW, CORRECTLY DEFINES THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS OF ARAB-JEWISH COOPERATION: CONDITIONS OF FINALITY AND EQUALITY. BUT THIS SOLUTION ACCOMPLISHES SOMETHING FURTHER AS WELL. IT HAS PROFOUND RELEVANCE TO THE JEWISH PROBLEM WHICH ^{WEIGHS} ~~SEES~~ SO HEAVILY UPON THE CONSCIENCE OF MANKIND. WE WERE DEEPLY MOVED TO HEAR THE SOVIET DELEGATE REFER IN SUCH ELOQUENT TERMS TO THE GREAT TRAGEDY WHICH HAS BEFALLE~~N~~D OUR PEOPLE AND WHICH HAD DEMONSTRATED THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS NATIONAL HOMELESSNESS BEYOND ANY DOUBT. IN DESCRIBING THE RIGHT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE "AS OF OTHER PEOPLES AS WELL... THAT ITS SECURITY AND WELFARE WOULD NOT BE INDEPENDENT UPON THE MERCY AND GOOD WILL OF THIS OR ANOTHER STATE" THE SOVIET DECLARATION REVEALS A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR DEEPEST HISTORIC EMOTIONS. THIS ANALYSIS DIAGNOSIS OUR DISEASE AS HOMELESSNESS AND THE CURE AS A HOME.

not in id

19. NOW THIS PROBLEM OF DISPLACED JEWS IN EUROPE AND OF JEWS WHO MAY BE IMPELLED TO SEEK NEW HOMES ELSEWHERE CAN BE SOLVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MAJORITY REPORT. THERE IS CONFORMITY BETWEEN THE SIZE OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM AND THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROPOSED JEWISH STATE. THE JEWISH PROBLEM IN ITS ACUTE PHASE ^{TODAY} IS THE PROBLEM OF ONE MILLION JEWS IN EUROPE AND THE ORIENT WHO HAVE NO ASSURANCE OF A SECURE EXISTENCE. THE PROPOSED JEWISH STATE BY INTENSIVE AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION AND BY INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT CAN PROVIDE HOMES FOR THEM ALL. THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT WHICH I HAVE IN MIND IS THAT WHICH DEPENDS NOT ON HEAVY RAW MATERIALS BUT ON SPECIALIZED TECHNICAL SKILL, SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH CAN DO MUCH TO EXPEDITE THE PROGRESS OF PRECISION AND PROCESSING INDUSTRIES. A WELL-TRAINED SKILLED POPULATION CAN DO THE REST. SWITZERLAND IS AN INSTRUCTIVE EXAMPLE OF ^A FLOURISHING INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY WITH NO ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS BUT WITH GREAT RESOURCES OF SKILLED MAN POWER.

20. THIS SORT OF DEVELOPMENT TOGETHER WITH LARGE SCALE SCHEMES OF IRRIGATION AND LAND RECLAMATED^{LOW} WILL SOLVE THE JEWISH PROBLEM IN THE HEALTHIEST WAY. LIFE IN PALESTINE OFFERS OUR PEOPLE ~~SHEN~~ NOT ONLY A REFUGE AMONGST THEIR KINSMEN BUT ALSO A CHANCE OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE REBIRTH OF A ~~NEW~~ NATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS INSTITUTIONS. IN THIS WAY THE IMMIGRANT ACHIEVES A UNITY BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE SOCIETY IN WHICH HE LIVES. OUR REMNANTS IN EUROPE DO NOT DESIRE ANOTHER DISPERSION. THEY DO NOT THROW THEMSELVES ON THE MERCY OF THE WORLD. THEY ARE NOT SUPPLIANT, THEY ARE NOT BEGGARS. THEY WISH TO BE CITIZENS OF A JEWISH SOCIETY IN WHICH THEIR CAPACITIES AND IDEALS WILL BE FULLY AT HOME. YOUR SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAD A GOOD OPPORTUNITY OF TESTING THESE ~~ASSERTIONS~~^{ASSERTIONS} IN EUROPE IN DP CAMPS.

21. I HAVE NOTHING TO SAY TO THOSE WHO REPRESENT THE NATURAL
DESIRE OF UP-ROOTED JEWS TO SEEK THEIR HOME LAND AS A SORT OF DARK
CONSPIRACY FERMENTED FROM OUTSIDE, AS A KIND OF EXPLOITATION OF MISERY.
THE ONLY HAND OF WELCOME EXTENDED TO THESE JEWISH SURVIVORS IS THE ONE
WHICH REACHED OUT FROM OUR PEOPLE IN PALESTINE. THE ONLY CREDIT IN THE
Episode OF DISPLACED JEWS BELONGS TO THOSE WHO HAVE ASSISTED
OUR JEWISH SURVIVORS TO LEAVE THE FURIES OF HIDEOUS MEMORIES BEHIND THEM
AND BECOME THE HONORED CITIZENS OF THEIR NATIONAL HOME. TO DELUDE THEM
WITH EXHORTATIONS, TO RECONSTRUCT THEIR OWN GRAVE YARDS, OR TO FALL AS
UNWANTED BURDENS ON THE MERCY OF RELUCTANT POWERS--THIS IS TO MOCK THEIR
TRAGEDY AND TO INSULT THEIR VERY SUFFERING. *Therefore* IN ESTABLISHING
JEWISH EQUALITY AND NATIONHOOD THE UNITED NATIONS CAN BOTH SOLVE THE
PROBLEM OF PALESTINE'S POLITICAL ^{FUTURE} ~~STATE~~ AND RELIEVE THE DARKEST HUMAN
TRAGEDY OF OUR TIME. IN BRINGING SO MANY COUNTRIES TOGETHER ON A
BASIS OF AGREEMENT, THE MAJORITY REPORT HAS ALREADY DONE SOME SERVICE
TO THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL HARMONY.

22. WHILE ~~THE~~ SUPPORTING THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MAJORITY REPORT
I WOULD ASK THE COMMITTEE TO GIVE NEW CONSIDERATION TO CERTAIN
MODIFICATIONS WHICH ^{WE} HAVE BEEN PROPOSED, ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT OF
WEST GALILÉE AND THE JEWISH DISTRICT OF JERUSALEM. THE PROPOSED
ECONOMIC UNION IS A PROGRESSIVE IDEA, THOUGH IF THE ARAB STATE IS
NOT WILLING TO REAP ITS BENEFITS WHICH ACCRUE MOSTLY TO ^{ITSELF} ~~IT~~ THERE
IS NO COMPELLING REASON FOR IMPOSING IT AS A COMPULSARY MEASURE.

23. MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: IN REVIEWING ITS PLANS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE PROPOSALS I WOULD ASK THIS COMMITTEE TO MAKE FULL USE OF THE ASSISTANCE WHICH OUR OWN PEOPLE CAN GIVE IN MAKING THE JEWISH STATE CAPABLE OF ITS OWN DEFENCE. I FULLY AGREE WITH THOSE DELEGATES WHO HAVE SAID THAT THE CHARTER ITSELF IS THE BEST SAFEGUARD OF SMALL STATES AGAINST ANY AGGRESSION FROM ITS NEIGHBORS. WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE, BUT NOR DO WE FEAR ANY SUCH AGGRESSION. WE FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT ANY STATES REPRESENTED HERE TAKE THEIR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS SO LIGHTLY AS TO CHALLENGE THE ASSEMBLY'S RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE THREAT OF USE OF FORCE. THE JEWISH STATE, WHEN ESTABLISHED, WILL SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVE THE CHARTER'S PROVISIONS. IT WILL BE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE ITS FULL EFFORT FROM THE VERY FIRST DAY TO THE MAINTENANCE OF ITS INTERNATIONAL SECURITY THOUGH THE INITIAL SUPERVISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS VERY DESIRABLE. WE ALSO FEEL THAT THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE WILL BE BRIGHTEST IF THE JEWISH FORCES MAINTAINING SECURITY WITHIN OUR OWN STATE ARE ACCOMPANIED ^{AT THE OUTSET} BY A ~~ARMED~~ INTERNATIONAL FORCE TO SYMBOLIZE THE CONSENT AND DECISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS. BUT WHETHER ASSISTANCE IS FORTHCOMING OR NOT OUR PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE FULL PROVISION FOR THEIR OWN DEFENSE.

24.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN, WHEN THIS COMMITTEE COMES TO PLAN THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE, IT SHOULD BE CONSCIOUS OF FULFILLING A PROUD HISTORIC MISSION. DESPITE ITS SMALL SCOPE, THIS ENTERPRISE STANDS HIGH IN THE ESTEEM OF LIBERAL THOUGHT. SO MANY CONSIDERATIONS OF JUSTICE AND HUMANITY ARE INVOLVED. THERE IS REDRESS FOR A PERSECUTED PEOPLE; EQUALITY FOR THE JEWS AMONGST THE NATIONS; THE REDEMPTION OF DESERT SOIL BY CULTIVATION; THE CREATION OF A NEW ECONOMY AND SOCIETY; THE EMBODIMENT OF PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL IDEAS IN AN AREA THAT HAS FALLEN BEHIND THE BEST STANDARDS OF MODERN LIFE; THE REVIVAL OF ONE OF THE OLDEST CULTURES OF MANKIND.

I HAVE BEEN INTERESTED AND NOT A LITTLE REPELLED TO HEAR THIS GREAT ENTERPRISE DESCRIBED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF IRAQ AND SYRIA AS NAZISM. MAKING DUE ALLOWANCE FOR THE LEGITIMATE JOYS OF DEBATE, I CONSIDER THAT THIS CARRIES DISTORTION AND LIBEL VERY ~~NEAR~~ FAR INDEED. OF COURSE, I DO NOT DISPUTE THE RIGHT OF THOSE TWO GENTLEMEN TO SPEAK WITH AUTHORITY AND INTIMACY ON THE NATURE OF NAZISM. I CANNOT RIVAL THEIR CONTACTS ^{BUT ON} IN THAT FIELD. ~~NEAR~~ THE NATURE OF ZIONISM I HOLD MYSELF A BETTER EXPONENT THAN THEY. THE CHARACTER OF OUR MOVEMENT AS A GENUINE EFFORT AT NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIETY BUILDING CANNOT BE OBSCURED BY SUCH SLANDERS. SOME OF THEM INCLUDING ABSURD ALLEGATIONS ABOUT ^{CHILDREN} ~~PEOPLE~~ BEING SNATCHED FROM THEIR ^{HOMES} ~~CHURCHES~~ ARE WORTHY SUCCESSORS OF THE MOST ATROCIOUS LIBELS IN THE SORDID HISTORY OF ANTI-JEWISH INCITEMENT. NO ONE WHO INVENTS OR GIVES CURRENCY TO SUCH STATEMENTS CAN HAVE ANY REASON FOR PRIDE. / I ^{ON THE OTHER HAND,} MUST CONFESS THE DEEP SATISFACTION THAT I FELT AFTER SO MANY YEARS EXPENT IN EXPOUNDING THE IDEALS OF OUR MOVEMENT TO HEAR SO MANY IMPARTIAL AND DISINTERESTED NATIONS FROM THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW, FROM THE EAST AND THE WEST, EXPRESSING THE SPIRITUAL AND LIBERAL MOTIVES OF ZIONISM WITH SUCH SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING.

26.

I CANNOT ALLOW THIS STATEMENT OF THE JEWISH CASE TO CONCLUDE WITHOUT A XXXX WORD OF APPEAL ~~AS~~ THIS GREAT BAR OF THE WORLD'S CONSCIENCE. A WORLD WHICH DOES NOT HEAR US IN THIS MOMENT OF OUR AGONY WOULD BE DEAF TO THE VOICE OF JUSTICE AND HUMAN FEELING WHICH MUST BE RAISED LOUD AND CLEAR IF THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF OUR SOCIETY ARE TO SURVIVE. IF YOU FOLLOW THE IMPARTIAL JUDGMENT OF YOUR OWN QUALIFIED COMMITTEE AND ADMIT US TO YOUR HONORED TABLE, WE SHALL ENTER YOUR COMPANY WITH A SENSE OF THE SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGE WHICH THE IDEA OF THE UNITED NATIONS MAKES TO THE CONSCIENCE OF MAN. IN GIVING US THIS OPPORTUNITY YOU WILL BE FAITHFUL TO THE NOBLEST IDEAS^L WHICH HAVE BEEN CONCEIVED BY OUR ANCESTORS AND TRANSMITTED BY THEM TO THE COMMON HERITAGE OF THE WORLD.

27.

"THE LORD ~~WILL~~ SHALL SET HIS HAND AGAIN THE SECOND TIME
TO RECOVER THE REMNANTS OF HIS PEOPLE. AND HE SHALL SET UP
AN ENSIGN FOR THE NATIONS, AND SHALL ASSEMBLE THE OUTCAST OF
ISRAEL AND GATHER TOGETHER THE DEPRESSED OF JUDAH FROM THE
FOUR CORNERS OF THE EARTH."



American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science

INCORPORATED

16 EAST 66th STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.



TELEPHONE
RHineland 4-4200

November 10, 1947

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Dr. and Mrs. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Doctor and Mrs. Silver:

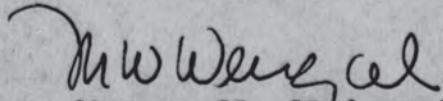
On behalf of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science, I have the pleasure of extending to you a most cordial invitation to be present as our guest at the Dinner and Reception in honor of Dr. Weizmann, on Tuesday, November 25th, at the Waldorf-Astoria, on the occasion of the completion of the Institute of Physics and Physical Chemistry of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth, Palestine.

Because of the extraordinary pressure for tickets and the limitation of space, I would most earnestly request that you let us know if you can attend. This invitation is intended for you personally, and the enclosed tickets are not transferable. If for any reason you cannot attend, I would request that you please return the tickets to us.

While I am not in a position at this moment to divulge the program of the evening, I merely would like to inform you that the guests are expected to arrive at 8:45 P.M. and not at 7 o'clock as indicated on the tickets. You might have a light bite at home, as our present plans call for a "midnight" supper at 11 P.M. Formal dress is requested.

Looking forward with pleasure to seeing you on the evening of November 25th, I am

Very cordially yours,


Meyer W. Weisgal
Executive Vice-Chairman

November 12, 1947

Mr. Meyer W. Weisgal, Executive Vice-Chairman
American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science
16 E. 66th St.
New York 21, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Weisgal:

Permit me to thank you for your kind letter of November 10 and for your invitation to attend the dinner and reception in honor of Dr. Weizmann on Tuesday, November 25. I regret that it will not be possible for me to attend this function and I am therefore returning the tickets which you were kind enough to send me.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

Enc. - 2

Welles
Summer

TELEPHONIC REPORT BY MR. EPSTEIN OF CONVERSATION
OF DR. WEIZMANN AND HIMSELF WITH SUMNER WELLES.
NOVEMBER 17, 1947

1. Mr. Welles said that he had dined with a number of people from the U.N. He was shocked, in particular, by what he had heard from Mr. Beck, the Luxembourg delegate, who told him that his government had given him complete freedom of action and that he had decided to vote against the partition proposals. Apparently he had been much impressed by Arab arguments that partition would lead to the outbreak of war in the Middle East. Mr. Welles believed that after an hour's talk with Mr. Beck he had persuaded him to the contrary. Mr. Welles said that Mr. Beck seemed very ill informed and to have had little contact with our people.

2. Mr. Welles said that Castro, of San Salvador, was also dead against us, apparently for Catholic Church reasons. He urged that Bishop Spellman should without delay be asked to do something in this matter. He also suggested that there was a friendly and helpful Cardinal in Peru who might be ready to do something in connection with San Salvador and other countries. He advised us that the Catholic Church was very much on the alert in this matter and warned us not to underestimate it. Mr. Welles expressed relief that our position on Jerusalem would not bring us into conflict with the Church.

3. Mr. Welles said that he saw no chance to reconcile our needs with any idea of British implementation in view of the obstinate attitude of Bevin, and we must prepare our plan independently of what the British might or might not do. Mr. Welles added that he had good reason to say that the world political situation was deteriorating and this process would not be arrested by the meeting of the Foreign Ministers. Even though no war was likely a very bad situation would develop if there was no agreement in connection with Germany. There was a possibility that Russia might leave the U.N. and he warned that our problem could not be solved in the absence of the Russians. The effect of the Russian departure would be to make the British position superficially stronger - though not actually so - in relation to America. Mr. Welles therefore said that it was vital for us that this General Assembly should not dissolve without a decision. He described Mr. Bevin as the worst Foreign Secretary Britain had ever had. It was British policy to see that no decision was reached at this session and he stressed that we must get that decision even if it involved concessions.

Congregation Beth Jacob

PLEASANT STREET

PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS

NATHAN WISE, Rabbi

Tel. Plymouth 1410

November 25, 1947

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I must express my surprise that up to this time, despite my several letters to you directly, and through Dr. Sidney Marks, the former Executive Director of the Zionist Organization of America, one letter to you as late as several weeks ago, I have not yet once heard from you on the subject of "Israeland."

In my most recent letter to you I pointed out that I have originated the modern-Anglicized name for the Jewish Homeland to take the place of the foreign, non-Hebraic name "Palestine," and that I have been engaged in a program which would spread the use of the new name "Israeland" everywhere among Jews and non-Jews alike. I am very happy to advise you that I have met with an excellent response and many are now employing to the exclusion of any other name the term "Israeland." I have had either articles or letters on the subject printed in "The Jewish Advocate," "The National Jewish Post," "The Jewish Spectator," "The Young Israel Viewpoint," "The Jewish Morning Journal," and more recently, in fact, ~~in~~ in the November issue of "Commentary."

I simply ask of you acknowledgment on this subject, and, hopefully, that you, in your very prominent and highly influential position in the Zionist Organization of America, will help towards the official acceptance of "Israeland" by all Zionist groups to be used in English as a modern translation of our own "Eretz Yisrael."

Please let me hear from you very soon.

With kindest regards and with best wishes in your efforts and ours for the realization of a "Jewish State" in Israeland, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Nathan Wise

Congregation Beth Jacob

PLEASANT STREET

PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS

NATHAN WISE, Rabbi

Tel. Plymouth 1410

December 9, 1947

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, O.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am writing this letter to you as a result of the terrible news emanating from Israel, namely, the atrocities and murders being perpetrated by the Arabs.

I am firmly convinced, particularly in the light of my own experience during my two visits to Israel in 1929 and in 1933 as well as the views expressed by Bartley C. Crum in his "Behind The Silken Curtain" and various Zionist reports that individual Jews and Arabs get along splendidly, that this shedding of Jewish blood is not only revolting and painful but actually can and should be avoided.

Common sense would indicate that these Arab riots and killings are neither spontaneous nor do they arise of themselves, but rather they are the outgrowth of incitement by various interested parties, primarily, the Grand Mufti and several leaders of the neighboring Arab countries. If such is the case--and I do believe it--why do not the responsible Zionist leaders and those of the "Yishuv" take it upon themselves to counter the malicious effect of the mouthings of the enemies of the "Yishuv" and Zionism.

The method is very simple. All that need be done is that leaflets or other desirable means of dissemination of counter-propaganda be distributed among the Arabs to remind them of the gains that have accrued to them since the coming of the Jews to Israel and that they have nothing to gain by doing the bidding of their murderous leaders, while they are of course risking their own lives for the benefit of those leaders, something which is very foolish for them to do. The same thoughts should also be brought to them via special men whose task it would be to make personal contact with the Arab masses, who, actually, are being victimized by their leaders, and do not know it.

In addition to the direct-approach for the Arab masses, the Arab leaders, at least the more responsible ones among them, if not possibly all of them, should be advised on the folly of their anti-Zionist and warlike anti-"Yishuv" moves which can only bring self-destruction upon them and their people, who might conceivably revolt against them as a result of their machinations.

The Arabs should no longer be looked upon with disdain, but rather approached directly to neutralize the work of our enemies.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Nathan Wise

N.B. I am sending similar letters to Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Mr. David Ben-Gurion, with the text to several Anglo-Jewish newspapers.

למנוח הרב סילני, מאוס.

כליג /השנים פגמים מוזיקים /ש
מנוח /שן היעציה ל U.N.

1. כחול לא פוק ופיק לא קובן מנוח
2 אחיכיה לא משה ויליאם מרפיק,
ואל הפרעה והאם המלכי הרשע אל
הפפיהו /יהודי ואלו /אזלן יפאלי,
ואין כי צערי אלאי בעד המפיעים /ישאל
אלו /אזלן יפאלי. מלחמה קוצה
Holy War /אשם /הכניץ רק
הקובן.

2. כל אנלוג ערד הן נוחה רק פסובילייה Province
אמא בטונקיה ואלש /שן 1914. כומא צלאי
אפלסטי תולש מאלי. והם מפתיעים לא
העולם במלחמה.
יש להם א באיכות U.N. /אם אנן-סעצ
יחלן יול מנין /לחמשים מצילי - מנוח
בתימן אין אפילו עמלן אמא. באיין-סעציה
יש עמלן מפקד ב עמלן הסעציה.
אלה הצלציה /העצמיה לול בוח העם
אלו קרפיה קלנה. לא עניי באים יוליה
/הייך במציה /הוצ'ו.

K O R A N translation of Palmer

The Chapter of the Table:

(It was said to the people of Israel) : "O my people! remember the favour of God towards you when He made amongst you prophets, and made for you kings, and brought you what never was brought to anybody in the worlds. O my people ! enter the Holy Land which God has prescribed for you; and be ye not thrust back.

(the Chapter of al-Aarat :

And we (in the name of God) gave as an inheritance unto the people (of Israel) who had been weak, the eastern quarters of the earth (Palestine) and the western quarters thereof, which we had blest; and the good word of the Lord was fulfilled on the children of Israel, for that they were patient.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington

February 24, 1948

Dear Senator Wiley:

I have received your letter of February 13, 1948 with respect to the question of Palestine.

The Department is now in the process of drafting instructions to the American representative at the United Nations with regard to the question of implementation of the General Assembly's resolution. I am accordingly unable to comply with your request for a statement on this subject. It is our intention, however, to present this Government's views on implementation to the Security Council shortly.

I shall endeavor to be as brief and complete as possible in replying to the numbered statements in your letter:

(1) The present position of the Department of State:

This Government has not changed its position regarding Palestine. We endorsed the procedure which led up to the recommendation of the United Nations and we have been supporting the procedure consequent to that recommendation.

(2) The plans of the Palestine Commission:

On February 16, the United Nations Palestine Commission submitted its first special report to the Security Council concerning the problem of security in Palestine. The Security Council plans to discuss this report on February 24.

(3) Arms shipments to the Near East:

This Government decided to suspend the licensing of arms shipments to Palestine and to the neighboring Arab states under authority contained in the Neutrality Act of 1939 and the Export Control Act of 1940. It would be unwise, in my opinion, for the United States to add to the explosive situation in Palestine by permitting the shipment of implements of war to the Near East. It is my understanding that British shipments of military supplies to that area are made under treaties and other arrangements with certain Near Eastern countries for purposes of internal security in these countries. The British Government recently announced that there is an embargo by land and sea on the entry into Palestine of all warlike material. If we permitted arms shipments from the United States we should, in effect, officially be countenancing gun-running to Palestine.

(4) and (5) Future procedure:

This Government regards the solution of the immensely difficult Palestine problem as a United Nations solution and our contribution to that end will be as a member and steadfast supporter of the United Nations.

(6) British policy regarding withdrawal from Palestine:

The General Assembly's resolution of November 29, 1947 provides for the withdrawal of British armed forces from Palestine not later than August 1, 1948. This provision was based on British policy as stated in the United Nations.

I appreciate the humanitarian reasons which prompted you to write me concerning this matter and assure you that we are following developments closely and will continue to cooperate with the United Nations in its handling of this difficult problem.

Faithfully yours,

/s/ G.C. Marshall

The Honorable
Alexander Wiley,
United States Senate.

COPY

Excerpt from WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, Vol. 25, 1948-1949

WALKER, FRANK COMERFORD, ex-postmaster gen.; b. Plymouth, Pa., May 30, 1886; s. David and Ellen (Comerford) W.; student Gonzaga Univ., 1903-06, LL.D., 1937; LL.B., U. of Notre Dame, 1909, LL.D., 1934; LL.D., Montana Sch. of Mines, Butte, 1934. Georgetown University, 1942, Manhattan College, 1943; married Hallie Boucher, November 11, 1914; 1943; children -- Thomas Joseph and Laura Hallie (Mrs. Robert Louis Ameno). Admitted to Mont. bar, 1909; lawyer; mem. Walker & Walker; formerly pres. and gen. counsel Comerford Theatres, Inc., Meco Realty Co., Comerford Publix Corp.; dir. First Nat. Bank of Scranton. Mem. Mont. legislature, 1913; asst. dist. atty. Silver Bow County, Mont., 1909-12; became treas. Dem. Nat. Com., 1932 (resigned); exec. sec. President's Executive Council, 1933; exec. dir. Nat. Emergency Council to Dec. 1935; postmaster gen. U.S., 1940-45. Chairman Democratic Nat. Com., Jan. 1943-Jan. 1944. Commissioned 1st lieut. U.S. Army, World War. Trustee Notre Dame University; regent University of Scranton. Member Am., Mont. State and N.Y. State bar assns. Democrat. K.C. Apptd. alternate rep. U.S.A. to 1st part of 1st session, Gen. Assembly, United Nations, London, Jan. 1946. Home: Scranton, Pa. Address: 1600 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

for a better understanding

The first part of the speech was O.K. Dr. Weizmann spoke of the time when he was stumping the country with Ruppin and Schmarayu Levin for the Keren Hayesod and tried to raise money. ~~He~~ told of the difficulties he had to do it.

He mentioned also the truism that the fate of the Jews in the U.S.A. depends of the fate of the Jews in Eretz.

Then he started speaking about the future and our political setback. At no time did he mention partition. He supported a formula which would enable 50,000 Jews to immigrate annually to Eretz and also would permit the purchase of land. He spoke against those who took "Chutzpe for Gwure". We are weak, we should be humble. *He accepted implicitly trusteeship.*

Dr. Weizmann also said that if called upon he ~~would~~ be willing to improve the relationship ~~between~~ the Jews and the British. *He would sacrifice his bone for a better understanding. The British people and the British government are not one.* At the beginning of Dr. Weizman's remarks Louis Nizer had asked him not to leave

the U.S.A. because he is needed here in the crucial negotiations to come. Melodramatically Dr. Weizmann replied that his place is on the front line. That here we are behind the front. His place is there. His family is there, his house is there, his garden is there. He ~~was~~ leaving "tomorrow" (Today the press carries reports that at the last minute he decided to stay here which proves that Nizer's remarks were planted. The only support given by Dr. Weizman to the Yishuv was the sending of Meyer Weisgal to Palestine). *He spoke of the Jewish State as a possibility of the future.*

The reception for Dr. Weizmann was cool and the reaction of the crowd during the speech was extremely ~~cool~~. At no time was there any enthusiasm and the Hatikvah sounded sadly against the empty walls of the Waldorf.